

**THE 1904 VERSION OF LEOŠ JANÁČEK'S *JENŮFA*:
SOURCES, RECONSTRUCTION, COMMENTARY**

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Volume I: Introduction, Sources, Commentary

The 1904 version of Leoš Janáček's *Jenůfa*: sources, reconstruction, commentary

Abstract

The main part of the thesis comprises a two-volume reconstruction of the full score of the 1904 première version of Janáček's opera *Jenůfa* (volumes II/1, II/2 and II/3).

Jenůfa was the work that belatedly brought Janáček first to national and then to international attention as an opera composer of the first rank, yet the version heard at the Brno première in 1904 had until recently been unheard since 1906. This is also the first completely newly-set edition of the full score in any version for nearly four decades.

The companion volume (volume I) consists of a commentary including an introduction to the background history of the opera's composition, a detailed survey of the manuscript and printed sources used in the preparation of the edition, and a description of the methods used in identifying and reconstructing the 1904 version. It also includes a detailed overview of the revision process of which the 1904 version is a part, and which ultimately led to the more widely known 1908 and 1916 versions of the opera, as well as a consideration of some of the wider contextual issues to which the opera can be related, such as Janáček's broader stylistic development and contemporary operatic trends.

A series of appendices includes relevant contemporary documents, a series of tables detailing cuts and other aspects of the sources, a discussion of the nature and role of the xylophone that plays a prominent part in Act 1 of *Jenůfa*, and transcriptions of passages from the earliest, pre-1903 version of the Act 1 finale.

FOR MY FRIENDS,
WITHOUT WHOSE NEVER-FAILING SYMPATHY AND ENCOURAGEMENT
THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN FINISHED

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Preface and acknowledgements

The roots of the present study go back to the mid-1980s. In April 1982 Sir Charles Mackerras made a groundbreaking recording of Janáček's opera *Jenůfa*, which for the first time attempted a thoroughgoing restoration of the composer's own orchestration of the work in place of the revisions made — originally with Janáček's consent — by the Prague conductor, Karel Kovařovic. Universal Edition (Vienna), the publishers of most of Janáček's operas, were keen to produce an edition of the restored score, and approached Sir Charles and the Janáček expert John Tyrrell to undertake the task. As in-house editor and copyist at Universal Edition (London) at the time, I was to make the necessary alterations to the full score (a task which, in those days, was done with pen, ink, glue and plenty of Tipp-Ex[®]). Liaising with John, I would feed him any queries that arose (there were many), and he would then check these on his frequent trips to Brno against the main manuscript sources used for the edition, particularly the orchestral parts kept in the Janáček Archive in Brno. During the course of this very detailed work, it became apparent that these parts contained in addition earlier material, much of it retrievable, which dated from the 1904 première of the opera.

The task of reconstructing the 1904 première version of *Jenůfa* has long been regarded by Janáček specialists as an impossible one. Yet, as work on the Mackerras-Tyrrell edition of the '1908' version progressed (the edition was first performed in prototype form at Glyndebourne in 1989 and eventually published in study score format in 1996), the prospect seemed increasingly and tantalisingly possible. When in 1994 John suggested that I might apply for a place at the University of Nottingham as a teaching assistant, the thesis subject came down to a choice between a compositional process study of Harrison Birtwistle's *Secret Theatre* (another work with which I had been closely involved at Universal Edition) or attempting to reconstruct the 1904

Jenůfa. Thanks in part to a certain voyeuristic discomfort I felt at the prospect of studying the working methods of a living composer (and a major one at that), the *Jenůfa* project won.

The ensuing work has been lengthy and difficult. When it began, over a dozen years ago, deconstruction was already a more fashionable musicological pursuit than reconstruction. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the movement in the anglophone academic community that has come to be known as the New Musicology, mesmerised by the appearance of the first generation of translations of key post-war French philosophical and critical tracts by such writers as Foucault and Derrida, has called into question many of the assumptions that have for long prioritised composer and work over other, often competing, cultural and contextual factors, such as performance, reception and interpretation. Against such a background, a study which focuses narrowly not only on a single ‘work’, but on a specific version at that, may perhaps seem foolhardy. There nevertheless seem to be good reasons for attempting such a task. In the years following Janáček’s death in 1928, a minor industry grew up in the editing and publishing of his correspondence and other contemporary documents, generating numerous biographical studies. These preoccupations continue to the present day. Much of this activity took place against the backdrop of the post-war communist regime in Czechoslovakia. In the West, and — following the ‘Velvet Revolution’ of 1989 — in the Czech-speaking lands as well, many of the received views of Janáček’s biographical details have been robustly challenged. However, there remained (and arguably still remains) an imbalance between the amount known about (and invested in the study of) Janáček’s life — more well-documented, pored over and discussed than that of many other comparable figures — and the critical attention that the music, particularly as embodied in its

texts, has received. The complete edition of Janáček's works, started in 1978, has to a large extent generated as many problems as it set out to answer (certainly in terms of presentation).¹ At the same time, Universal Edition, in collaboration with Sir Charles Mackerras, John Tyrrell, Paul Wingfield and (most recently) Jiří Zahrádka, launched a drive to 'clean up' those scores of Janáček's (including the majority of his operas) which it published. With the exception of Wingfield's edition of the *Mša glagolskaja*, these have been of Janáček's own final versions before textual intervention and modification by other hands (usually well-meaning pupils, friends and conductors): in German parlance, these are all *Fassungen letzter Hand*.

It is against this background that the following study has been undertaken. In the last three decades or so, public interest in and enthusiasm for Janáček's music has gone hand-in-hand with movements towards a fundamental textual reappraisal of his work, of the sort that has to some extent revived a 'classical music' industry often characterised or caricatured as being under cultural threat. And this renewed appetite, from performers and audiences alike, seems as good a reason as any to attempt the present contribution, however old-fashioned and positivistic such an evidence-based exercise might seem in the current musicological climate. It also attempts to fill a gap in our knowledge of Janáček's development at a time crucial (in the fullest sense) in his progress from provincial folk music collector and pedagogue to internationally acclaimed opera composer. For, more than a century on from *Jenůfa*'s first performance, it still seems extraordinary that, with the wealth of information available concerning the composer's life and the various events, trends and impulses that informed his musical output, his most frequently staged opera is still virtually unknown in the version in which it was first performed. And, in addition to enhancing

¹ See especially Bärenreiter 1995, Burghauser 1995 and Wingfield 1995.

our knowledge of the work's overall genesis and compositional trajectory, this study might also help to further relativise the idea that any operatic work can be thought to exist in just a 'single' text or version.

The principal aim of what follows (and indeed its main substance) is the presentation of a performable reconstruction of the score of the 1904 *Jenůfa* that reflects as accurately and verifiably as possible the form in which it was heard at its première, whilst addressing and correcting obvious presentational and practical errors and incorporating editorial completions where necessary. Although detailed consideration is given to the lengthy revision process, this is emphatically not a study of the 'compositional process', above all because two crucial links in the chain — the initial detailed draft sketch and the original autograph score — are, with one small exception, apparently forever lost. Instead, the focus is on the reconstruction of the 1904 score itself and on some of the observations that can be drawn from it within broader contexts. The reconstructed score is presented in VOLUMES II/1, II/2 and II/3, and this represents the core of the study, rather than an annexe to the present volume (which would make it the world's bulkiest musical example). Rather, it is VOLUME I that is the 'companion' volume, and it falls essentially into four complementary parts. Reflecting this study's roots in my own involvement with the Mackerras-Tyrrell edition of *Jenůfa*, they build on and develop out of the work of John Tyrrell and, before him, Bohumír Štědroň on the opera's genesis, as will be evident in the frequent references in the first two chapters in particular (Bernard of Chartres's metaphor concerning dwarves, shoulders and giants comes to mind).

CHAPTER 1 outlines the compositional and revision history of the opera itself, as known from existing literature and documents, expanded with further information where relevant. CHAPTER 2 gives a detailed description of the principal sources used

in the reconstruction, followed by an outline of the methods of reconstruction, the editorial choices and the principles of the edition as presented in VOLUMES II/1, II/2 and II/3. It offers as clear an account of my approach and working method, in both a practical and an interpretative sense, as is possible within a relatively contained span, and given the overriding need for clarity and focus. CHAPTER 3 then explores a variety of contexts, both internal and external, within which the 1904 version of *Jenůfa* may fruitfully be located. In particular it details the revision process of which this version forms such a significant part, whilst also outlining certain wider relevant themes against which the 1904 version can be judged, such as operatic Naturalism and verismo, the influence and articulation of folk music, and the anticipation and gradual emergence of Janáček's own mature style. This broadly interpretative approach has no pretensions towards completeness, but offers instead perspectives which are exemplary and indicative, rather than in any way exhaustive. Finally, a series of APPENDICES contains supporting material in the form of documents, larger tables concerning the manuscript and printed sources, and transcriptions of two extended passages from the end of Act 1 in their original (pre-1904) form (APPENDICES VIII and IX). It also includes, in APPENDIX VI, a discussion of the special role and possible significance of the xylophone in the opera's soundworld. The inclusion of a lengthy table providing a concordance of rehearsal figures in the various early manuscript and printed versions of the opera (APPENDIX V) may seem like a needless extravagance: in fact, it is just the sort of resource that would have made the early stages of my work so much easier, and is designed to assist anyone else wishing to navigate between these sources.

Acknowledgements

That the project outlined above has reached even this necessarily provisional stage is due only to the steadfast (and often obstinate) support, help and encouragement of a daunting number of people.

An initial study trip to Brno was funded by the Humanities Small Project scheme at the University of Nottingham, for which I am pleased to record my thanks here. Two further trips were made possible by the kind award of travel grants from the Lenton and Wortley Hall Association (Wortley being my old hall of residence in Nottingham from 1979–82). Subsequent excursions to Vienna and Brno were entirely thanks to the personal kindness and generosity of several of the individuals listed below.

The staff of the Music History Division of the Moravian Regional Museum in Brno have been unfailingly welcoming and helpful on my Brno visits, often at awkward times of the year for them. Warm thanks are due to its successive directors, Dr Jitka Bajgarová and Dr František Malý, and to the successive curators of the Janáček Archive: Dr Jarmila Procházková, Dr Svatava Přibáňová and Dr Jiří Zahradka. Dr Procházková was ready and keen to share her knowledge of Janáček's work, particularly in the area of folk music. Despite the language barriers thrown up by my poor Czech and hardly better German, Dr Přibáňová — one of the foremost Czech experts on Janáček — kept me regularly plied with tea and biscuits, something inconceivable had I been working on Birtwistle sketches in the British Library. Dr Zahradka is now making musicological waves with his new editions of several Janáček works including *Šárka*, *Výlety páně Broučkovy* and the *Mša glagolskaja*. Both he and his wife, Šárka Zahradková, have made my recent trips to Brno especially pleasurable, always keen to discuss and debate new (and old) aspects of Janáček's life

and work. Others who have been helpful to me in Brno include Mrs Jitka Buriánková, Mrs Eleonora Doleželová, Mgr. Viktor Pantůček and Mgr. Simona Romportlová at the Music History Division of the Moravian Regional Museum; and, especially in recent visits, Mgr. Jan Špaček of the Institute of Musicology, Masaryk University.

I also thank the staff of the Musiksammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna for allowing me access to an important manuscript full score of *Jenůfa* which has not hitherto, to my knowledge, been studied at first hand in any great detail by those trying to unpick the various revision layers in the opera. In particular, I am grateful to Mag. Stefan Engl for preparing a high-resolution scan of a particularly elusive detail from this manuscript. Ben Newing of Alfred A. Kalmus Ltd (representing Universal Edition in London) and Werner Schembera-Teufenbach and Heinz Stolba at Universal Edition (Vienna) were also most kind in securing me access to this source. Herr Stolba has additionally given welcome, generous and detailed advice on the reconstruction of the score and its physical appearance; and, as part of ongoing preparations for an edition derived from the present study, he and Universal Edition have supplied me with computer hardware and software which have raised the level of presentation beyond what would otherwise have been possible.

Dr Christine Banks of the British Library and Prof. Laurence Eaves of the Department of Physics, University of Nottingham, gave me helpful advice on the use of fibre-optic light in examining pasted-over manuscript sources, advice which could only be put into practice when John Tyrrell donated such a device to the Janáček Archive in Brno (largely, I fear, on my account).

Dr Nicholas Sackman at the Department of Music, University of Nottingham, gave the project a considerable boost by equipping the department with the Sibelius music-writing programme, and by offering help and advice in getting me started on

using it. However long this project has taken, it would certainly have taken far longer without this resource.

Prof. Geoffrey Chew of Royal Holloway College, London, and Masaryk University, Brno, provided me with an important and detailed volume on the complex matter of Czech word division, of which I have made extensive use.

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Prof. Nigel Simeone supervised this study for two years, encouraging me in his own inimitable way. I have benefited countless times, during those two years and since, from the workings of his encyclopaedic mind, and from his enthusiasm for Janáček in particular. More recently the task of supervising me has fallen to Philip Weller, with whom I have spent many stimulating hours debating issues directly or obliquely related to the present study, all of which have impacted to a greater or lesser degree on its final form and scope. I only regret that, because of the nature of the study, it has not been possible to explore some of the more tantalising and intriguing ideas more fully in what follows.

Friends too numerous to mention have helped the project reach this stage, in all sorts of ways. They include Ms Sally Britten (Department of Music, Nottingham); Prof. R.B. Waterhouse (formerly of the Department of Metallurgy, Nottingham, and my old hall warden); Ian Chambers, Ralph Corrigan and Tim Pottier (all ex-Nottingham students). Jean-Luc Reichel and Joyce-Carolyn Bahner of Bern have helped me in more ways than I could reasonably expect; specifically, they helped me with a number of German translations. Michelle Phillips also helped with German

translations; and my old Decca colleague Paula Kennedy with the Czech, as did Jan Špaček. Two other ex-Decca friends, Jeremy Hall and Mari Pračkauskas, have helped to keep me on the not always straight or narrow. Prof. Robert Pascall gave helpful advice on the examination of manuscript sources based on his own extensive experience.

Tom Walker and James Williams have ferried me, for the most part uncomplainingly, to and from various airports in the course of my study trips. Additionally, Tom spent long and often unsocial hours proofreading the reconstruction before its performance in Warsaw in May 2004, and also read and commented on a number of drafts for this study at various stages, constantly encouraging me, often in the strongest possible terms. James has provided essential and much valued assistance with IT matters in the latter stages.

Sir Charles Mackerras was one of the key inspirations for this study, both through his peerless performances of Janáček's operas and through his lifelong quest to get to the 'real' Janáček. His keen interest in the project at all stages has been a major factor in its realisation, and his practical application of research has served as a constant model.

Jonathan Tilbrook's support for and faith in the reconstruction led to a concert performance of part of it in March 2000: the opportunity to hear Act 2 of the 1904 *Jenufa* (unperformed for almost a century) with University of Nottingham forces under Jonathan's direction was the sort of practical experience and encouragement of which I had until then only dreamt. It proved a crucial spur to the continuation of work on Acts 1 and 3 at a difficult time.

Much of the work that follows was done against the background of persistent and often debilitating depression. I owe a special debt of gratitude to a number of

people who have helped me through various stages: Prof. Elemer Szabadi, Dr Simon Tavernor and Dr Ruth Shaw of the Queen's Medical Centre, Nottingham, together with members of the nursing staff; the staff and members at the Middle Street Resource Centre (formerly the Beeston Day Centre), especially Peter Burgum, Teresa Woodyatt, Robert Ashford and Ken Bullivant; and, particularly, Dr Alan Lee and Dr Bernard Ratigan, whose professional expertise in both cases overlaps with a genuine love and knowledge of Janáček's operas. Rachel Scott has, for the last few years, regularly provided essential and much-valued practical and moral support, for which I am especially grateful.

My parents, Ronald and Rosemary Audus, have supported and encouraged me throughout, sometimes no doubt bemused by it all, but have always been there when it mattered.

Two people in particular have helped this project to fruition. The first is Stefan Sutkowski, founder director of the Warsaw Chamber Opera. His unshakeable belief in the value of early versions of operatic works led him to commission a performing version of the complete 1904 *Jenůfa*, which was staged in Warsaw in May 2004 as the Czech component of an extraordinary year-long musical celebration of the enlarged European Union. To hear the 'original' *Jenůfa* in the year of its centenary and of Janáček's 150th birthday was not only revelatory but also profoundly moving. My deep and lasting gratitude goes to Director Sutkowski, to Ruben Silva (conductor), Jitka Stokalska (producer), the splendid cast and all those involved in the pit and behind the scenes; and especially to Wanda Tuka (now at the Fryderyk Chopin Institute, Warsaw), who wrung the work out of me with a perfect blend of tenacity and diplomacy.

None of the above-mentioned will begrudge pride of place here to Prof. John Tyrrell. It was John who first introduced me to the world of Janáček and his music during my undergraduate years, and who was largely responsible for my involvement with the ‘Janáček project’ during my time at Universal Edition. His suggestion that I should return to Nottingham enabled me gradually to turn what might have remained a pipe dream into some sort of reality. Although he officially supervised only the first two years of what turned out to be a much longer project, he has remained ‘unofficial’ supervisor throughout, ever ready to share his unmatched knowledge of Janáček and his music. He has regularly put at my disposal his vast collection of Janáčkiana, and (under the guise of asking me to ‘read through’) gave me unfettered pre-publication access to his new Janáček biography, with its many new facts and insights into Janáček’s life and works. John has read through all of what follows; this study would have been much poorer without his unerring ability to sort the chaff from the wheat, and his always pertinent comments and suggestions have been much valued. Above all, he has retained faith in and enthusiasm for the project even when my own faltered; our many discussions on the subject of *Jenůfa* over the years have filtered into this work at every possible level. He has, in short, been a wholly benevolent *pěstoun* throughout.

Nottingham, All Hallows’ Eve, 2007

NOTES

Copyright

The reconstruction of the full score (VOLUMES II/1, II/2 and II/3) is © Copyright 2007 by Universal Edition A.G., Wien.

Music examples from *Jenůfa*, *Káťa Kabanová*, *Věc Makropulos* and the Sinfonietta appear by courtesy of the publisher, Universal Edition, Vienna.

Facsimiles from the manuscript full score (referred to here as ‘ŠFS’; full details in CHAPTER 2, §2.1 ‘Sources’) of *Jenůfa* are reproduced by courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Vienna.

Facsimiles from the manuscript vocal score (‘ŠVS’), manuscript orchestral parts (‘OP’ and ‘OPx’) and manuscript libretto (‘LB’) of *Jenůfa* are reproduced by courtesy of the Moravian Regional Museum, Brno (full details in CHAPTER 2, §2.1).

Recording

A provisional version of the present reconstruction of the 1904 version of *Jenůfa* was staged by the Warsaw Chamber Opera in May 2004. An in-house archive recording of the third performance (30 May 2004) has been issued as a non-commercial, archival CD set (WOK 0047 A/B). A copy of this recording is deposited in the record collection of the Denis Arnold Music Library, Department of Music, University of Nottingham, where it may be listened to.

JaWo catalogue numbers

References to Janáček’s works and writings are accompanied on their first mention by the appropriate number in the catalogue of Janáček’s works, *JaWo* (see BIBLIOGRAPHY),

e.g. ‘Sinfonietta (VI/18)’. A full list of bibliographic abbreviations used in the present volume is given in the BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Source abbreviations

For the sake of clarity and economy, abbreviations are used for the principal manuscript and printed sources of *Jenůfa*.

(1) *Primary sources* (wholly or partly manuscript, listed here in chronological order; for full details, see CHAPTER 2, §2.1 ‘Sources’)

- PL Gabriela Preissová: *Její pastorkyňa* (Prague: F. Šimáček, 1891), with annotations and sketches by Janáček, BmJA, L6
- SK Autograph sketch-leaf for Act 1 Scene 2, BmJA, A30.380
- ŠFS Authorised copy of full score made by Josef Štross, AWn, L1, UE 376
- ŠVS Authorised copy of vocal score made by Josef Štross, BmJA, A7426
- OP Manuscript orchestral parts copied in 1903 for the Brno première on 21 January 1904, BmJA, A49.883
- LB Manuscript libretto used for the Brno première, BmJA, L7
- OPx Manuscript orchestral parts copied between 1903 and 1916, BmJA, A23.439

(2) *Printed sources* (full details given in CHAPTERS 1 and 2, §2.1 ‘Sources’)

- KPU Cz. vocal score (Brno: Klub přátel umění, 1908)
- UE 1917 Ger./Cz. vocal score (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1917)
- UE 1918 Ger./Cz. full score (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1918) [full score version of UE 1917]
- UE 1969 Cz./Ger./Eng. full score, ed. Joannes Martin Dürr (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1969)

UE 1996 Cz./Ger./Eng. full score, ed. Charles Mackerras and John Tyrrell (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1996)

UE 2000 Cz./Ger./Eng. vocal score, ed. Charles Mackerras and John Tyrrell (Vienna: Universal Edition, 2000) [vocal score version of UE 1996]

Illustrations and rehearsal figures

References to illustrations in VOLUME I (usually facsimiles) are to ‘Fig.’ with an uppercase ‘F’ (e.g. ‘Fig. 2.1’); rehearsal figures in the various manuscript and printed scores of *Jenůfa* are referred to as ‘fig.’ with a lowercase ‘f’ (e.g. ‘fig. 63a’).

Music examples and bar references

I have tried to be as generous as is reasonably possible with the provision of music examples, for two reasons. Firstly, the practicalities of layout in the reconstruction (VOLUMES II/1, II/2 and II/3) mean that it is likely to be less easily accessible through the usual thesis channels. Secondly, the direct comparison of different versions of the opera — something that is fundamental to the motivation behind this study — is ultimately far more instructive in illustrating the details of Janáček’s revision process than reams of prose could ever be.

Music examples incorporating two staves joined by a curved brace are taken or adapted from vocal score reductions, even when details of instrumentation are included. Other music examples where two staves are bound by a square bracket are forms of short score reduction.

References to specific places in the score, whether at the start of music examples or elsewhere, are made by a sequence of Roman and Arabic numbers, and details of rehearsal figures where appropriate. Thus, for example:

I/ii/78 = Act 1 Scene 2, bar 78

I/vi/348–51 = Act 1 Scene 6, bars 348 to 351 inclusive

Act 3, figs 57–58 = the passage between rehearsal figures 57 and 58

References to passages in ŠFS and ŠVS are indicated by Act, folio, system (in the case of ŠVS), and bar number on the relevant folio/system. Thus, for example:

ŠFS I 133v/3–134r/2 = ŠFS Act 1, fol. 133v bar 3 to fol. 134r bar 2 inclusive

ŠVS II 37r/iii/3 = ŠVS Act 2, fol. 37r, system 3, bar 3

ŠVS I 9r/i–ii = ŠVS Act 2, fol. 9r, systems 1 to 2 inclusive

References to KPU are indicated by page number.

Instrument names

In music examples, as in the score of the reconstruction, instrument names are abbreviated in the Italianate form (e.g. Viol., Fg., Cor.); elsewhere, the Anglicised abbreviations used in *NG2* are employed (e.g. vn, bn, hn).

Pitch notation

Where written reference to specific pitches is necessary, Helmholtz notation is used (c' = middle C).

Versions

As will become evident during the course of this study, *Jenůfa* went through a complex series of revisions during the course of its early performance history.

However, for the sake of clarity, five versions in particular will be referred to, each of which in turn contains one or more layers of revision, often made over the course of several years. They are identified as follows:

1903 version (Urfassung/original version) Composed by Janáček between 1894 and 1903, this is the original version of the opera, as submitted (with corrections) to the Prague National Theatre in March 1903.

1904 version (première version) The result of Janáček's first substantial revision, completed by October 1903 and premièred in Brno in January 1904.

1906 version Essentially a cut form of the 1904 version, made in the summer of 1906 and performed that autumn.

1908 version The result of revisions made by Janáček over the Christmas/New Year holiday of 1906/7 and published in vocal score by the Klub přátel umění [Club of the friends of art] in 1908 (KPU). First performed in Brno in 1911, with further revisions by Janáček up until 1915: it is this 'definitive' revised version of the '1908' score (effectively a *Fassung letzter Hand*) that was published as UE 1996 and UE 2000.

1916 version (Kovařovic version) Revised by the Prague conductor Karel Kovařovic (and sanctioned by Janáček), first performed in Prague in 1916 and subsequently published as UE 1917 and UE 1918. Later amendments by conductors including Václav Talich and Erich Kleiber were incorporated into UE 1969.

For notes to the score of the reconstruction itself, the reader is referred to CHAPTER 2, §2.4 (pp. 57–71).

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

In January 1904, Leoš Janáček was forty-nine years old. It was a late age for compositional breakthrough for someone who has since come to be regarded as one of the great opera composers of the twentieth century. Of the two operas he already had to his name, the first — *Šárka* (I/1; 1887–8) — lay unperformed thanks to an obdurate poet.¹ The second — *Počátek románu* [The beginning of a romance] (I/3; 1891–2), essentially a pot-pourri of folk-tune arrangements — was withdrawn after just four performances at the National Theatre in the composer's adopted home town of Brno in 1894.² So when the curtain finally rose on his new opera, *Jenůfa* (I/4), on 21 January 1904 at the Brno National Theatre, the omens were hardly auspicious.³ The performance itself had its shortcomings, and although it achieved local success with both audiences and reviewers, the Prague critics were less favourable. Nevertheless, in retrospect the Brno première can rightly be seen as a turning point in Janáček's development and recognition as a composer, bringing to fruition — in a way that *Počátek románu* had not — his activities in the 1880s and 1890s as a folksong collector, and at the same time launching the works of his remarkable belated compositional maturity.

¹ See *JODA*, 1–6.

² See *JODA*, 21–39.

³ Janáček's own title for the opera — *Její pastorkyňa* [Her stepdaughter] — is that of the play by Gabriela Preissová on which it is based. Except in the Czech-speaking lands, the opera is almost invariably known as *Jenůfa*, an unsatisfactory and more conventional title which has had currency since the first Vienna production in 1918, but which diminishes the crucial importance of the relationship between the two central characters, Kostelnička Buryjovka and her stepdaughter Jenůfa. However, for the sake of clarity, in the following study *Její pastorkyňa* is used to refer to Preissová's drama, while *Jenůfa* refers to Janáček's opera.

Of Janáček's nine completed operas, *Jenůfa* was the first to enter the regular repertoire, both within the composer's own country and internationally, and remains his best known.⁴ The work's initial composition spanned almost a decade to 1903, by which time Janáček was still virtually unknown outside his native Moravia. It was another dozen years before real breakthrough came with a hard-won production in Prague (May 1916), and this only after a series of extensive revisions to the opera by Janáček himself, as well as further cuts and orchestral retouching by the Prague conductor Karel Kovařovic. The 1916 Prague production — together with subsequent important stagings in Vienna (1918), Cologne (1918) and Berlin (1924) — established the work's status, and is widely credited with having given Janáček the creative self-confidence that enabled him to write the extraordinary sequence of operas that stretches from *Káťa Kabanová* (I/8) to *Z mrtvého domu* [From the house of the dead] (I/11). But, as Alena Němcová has pointed out, it was the first production in Brno, and the series of revivals which followed, that for the first time gave the composer the opportunity to observe a work of his repeatedly on stage, and thereby to learn crucial lessons, both dramatic and musical.⁵

Much has been written about the opera's première, both by contemporaries and by later commentators, and studies by Němcová and John Tyrrell have made available a good deal of the early analysis and criticism of the work.⁶ So it is surprising that many of the details concerning the opera's origins, and specifically the form in which it was first heard, are still unclear. In fact, until relatively recently *Jenůfa* was known

⁴ According to Svatava Přibáňová's two surveys of Janáček opera productions, *Jenůfa* remains by far the most frequently and widely performed of the composer's works in the genre; see Přibáňová 1984a and Přibáňová 1998.

⁵ Němcová 1974, 133–4. The four performances of *Počátek románu* are hardly comparable, not least because Janáček was intimately involved with the production as conductor.

⁶ Němcová 1974; *JODA*, 41–107.

to the opera-going public almost exclusively in the version prepared for the 1916 Prague première by Kovařovic, a version published by Universal Edition in 1917–18 (UE 1917 and UE 1918) which enjoyed a monopoly in stage productions for more than seven decades.⁷ Even J.M. Dürr's 1969 edition of the score (UE 1969) preserved — and in some cases added to — Kovařovic's revised orchestration.⁸ In the early 1980s Sir Charles Mackerras began the difficult task of paring away the layers of revisions to Janáček's score,⁹ but the complex nature of the surviving manuscript sources meant that it was to be a further fourteen years before a reliable representation of the pre-Kovařovic score could be issued. With the publication in 1996 of an edition prepared by Mackerras and Tyrrell (UE 1996), we have a more complete picture than ever of the score as Janáček himself left it before Kovařovic's intervention.¹⁰ The increasing use by many international opera houses of the Mackerras-Tyrrell edition has already proved how successful Janáček's score in its pre-Kovařovic state can be.

The version of *Jenůfa* heard at the 1904 première has, however, proved as elusive as the Kovařovic version was tenacious, a result largely of the extreme thoroughness with which subsequent revisions were carried out in the surviving

⁷ UE 1917 was published in December 1917 (plate number UE 5651), UE 1918 in September 1918 (plate number UE 6001); see *JaWo*, 16. The 'prototype' of the Mackerras-Tyrrell edition (see below) was first heard in public at the Glyndebourne Festival on 19 May 1989.

⁸ UE 1969 includes further modifications to the score made by later conductors including Erich Kleiber and Václav Talich; see Dürr 1968.

⁹ This had been attempted previously only by Hynek Kašlík in the 1930s, leading to broadcast performances of excerpts in 1941 (see below). Mackerras's initial performing version of the cleaned-up *Jenůfa*, which led in turn to UE 1996, was first heard at the Paris Opéra in November 1980 and was subsequently recorded by him for Decca in Vienna in April 1982 (first released on LP and cassette in 1983).

¹⁰ Leoš Janáček, *Jenůfa/Její pastorkyňa: Brněnská verze (1908)* ed. Sir Charles Mackerras and John Tyrrell (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1996); four years later, Universal Edition issued the corresponding vocal score (UE 2000).

manuscript sources. There are nevertheless good reasons for trying to recover it, for *Jenůfa* is unique among Janáček's operatic works in being subjected by the composer to a series of revisions as a direct result of the experience of a run of early staged performances. It might therefore afford potentially valuable insights into the compositional process of what is arguably Janáček's first operatic masterpiece. Furthermore, any reconstruction would be likely to fill what has hitherto been a conspicuous gap in our knowledge of Janáček's wider development as an opera composer between his first two efforts in the genre (which effectively constituted an apprenticeship in established operatic subgenres) and the works of his artistic maturity.

1.2 Initial genesis¹¹

Janáček's second opera, *Počátek románu*, had set an adaptation by Jaroslav Tichý of a short story by the young author Gabriela Preissová (1862–1946). In November 1890 Preissová's 'drama of Moravian rural life'¹² *Její pastorkyňa* was premièred at the National Theatre in Prague; the following January it was staged in Brno, a production Janáček is likely to have seen.¹³ The composer seems to have approached Preissová with the idea of setting *Její pastorkyňa* in early November 1893, for on 6 November she wrote to him: 'I think that the material of P[astorkyňa] is not suitable for musical setting — but perhaps in time we'll find something more suitable.'¹⁴ Despite this initial discouragement, Janáček appears to have persevered, eventually winning

¹¹ For more detailed accounts of *Jenůfa*'s pre-history and early genesis, see especially ZGJ, JODA, Tyrrell 1996 and Tyrrell 2000.

¹² 'Drama z venkovského života moravského': the genre description of Preissová's play.

¹³ JODA, 42.

¹⁴ JODA, JP5.

Preissová over to the idea, and was soon at work on the opera.¹⁵

Apart from *Jenůfa*'s various musical 'precursors', as identified by Bohumír Štědroň,¹⁶ the earliest documented work on the opera is contained in Janáček's marginal annotations and sketches in his copy (PL) of Preissová's drama. Dates entered by Janáček into PL appear to chart a careful read-through and sketching, and provide the earliest detailed chronology of his work (end of Act 1: 18 March 1894; end of Act 2: 17 January 1895; end of Act 3: 11 February 1895).¹⁷ In the middle of this initial stage of sketching, Janáček composed the self-standing prelude (*Úvod*) later known as *Žárlivost* [Jealousy] (VI/10); this was completed, according to a note on the last page of Preissová's play, on 31 December 1894.¹⁸ From this preliminary sketching of ideas, Janáček seems to have proceeded to a short-score draft, if the one

¹⁵ *JODA*, 43. Janáček's approach, apparently taking steps to reach what Preissová later called a 'happy agreement' *before* starting work on the opera, may well have been influenced by his experience with Julius Zeyer, the author of *Šárka*, who, requested by Janáček to grant permission for composition only after it was virtually a *fait-accompli*, repeatedly refused; see *JODA*, 4–6 and Jiří Zahrádka's Preface to the UE vocal score of *Šárka* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 2002), i–ii (Czech original) and xxiv–xxv (Eng. translation).

¹⁶ *ZGJ*, 11–57, also Štědroň 1966a and Štědroň 1968a. These 'precursors' include the piano piece *Ej, danaj!* (VIII/12); *Zelené sem sela* [I have sown green] (III/3) for chorus and orchestra; the male-voice chorus *Žárlivec* [The jealous man] (IV/19 no. 3); *Úvod k Její pastorkyni* (*Žárlivost*) [Prelude to 'Jení pastorkyňa' (Jealousy)] (VIII/16) for piano four hands, and its orchestral version *Žárlivost* (*Úvod k Její pastorkyni*) (VI/10).

¹⁷ PL = Janáček's copy of Preissová's drama, BmJA, L6; see CHAPTER 2, §2.1, and Tyrrell 1996, ii / Tyrrell 2000, i. For a detailed account of Janáček's work on and annotations to *Jení pastorkyňa*, see Štědroň 1965 and *ZGJ*, 59–74. The gap between the read-through of Act 1 and Acts 2 and 3, whilst it may have been caused by Janáček's heavy workload from teaching and folk-collecting activities, seems to parallel the later (and even longer) hiatus at the same point during composition proper.

¹⁸ Tyrrell takes the view that the date of 31 December 1894 probably refers to the completion of the four-hand piano version (VIII/16); see *JYL* i, 411. Although the music for the orchestral version of this prelude was subsequently copied into all the orchestral parts for the 1904 *Jenůfa* (as well as those newly copied out in 1906 and 1911), it appears never to have been performed as part of the opera in Janáček's lifetime (see CHAPTER 2, §2.1, especially OP and OPx). It was, however, played as an independent concert piece, receiving its first performance in Prague on 14 September 1906 by the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra under František Neumann; see Němcová 1974, 134 (fn. 5), and Tyrrell 2000, ix. See also Němcová 1980, 159 and 164 (endnote 3), and Němcová 1984, 25–6.

surviving sketch-leaf (SK) is anything to judge by.¹⁹ A further note at the beginning of Act 2 in the play reads: ‘dne 16.II.1895 zap.[očata] instru.[mentace]’ [16 February 1895 instrumentation begun].²⁰ Janáček himself later maintained, in a letter to Otakar Nebuška, that for the first time in an opera he wrote directly into full score, which was then transcribed into vocal score.²¹ Although the progression from short-score to ‘instrumentation’ seems to contradict this assertion, it is probable that the first fully worked-out version of the score (i.e. beyond mere sketch or draft state) was indeed in full score. Certainly the nature of the manuscript vocal score reduction (ŠVS) copied out for Janáček by Josef Štross²² suggests such a process: it is for the most part more obviously a reduction than a pianistically conceived original (unlike VIII/16), though several minor discrepancies between it and the manuscript full score (ŠFS) point to a common ancestor, probably Janáček’s autograph full score which he subsequently destroyed.²³ In any event, by mid-1896 Act 1 was probably substantially complete, according to ideas advanced by John Tyrrell.²⁴ Janáček himself later pointed out, in

¹⁹ SK = autograph sketch-leaf, undated, containing fragments of Act 1 Scene 2 (voices and accompaniment), BmJA, A30.380; see CHAPTER 2, §2.1. Concerning a further, very brief sketch fragment, see Štědroň 1970b.

²⁰ *JODA*, 46–7.

²¹ *JODA*, JP9 (letter to Otakar Nebuška, 22 February 1917).

²² Josef Štross (1826–1912), oboist and Janáček’s chief copyist from the first version of *Šárka* (1887) to the first version of *Osud* (1905).

²³ According to the reminiscences of the Janáčeks’ maid, Marie Stejskalová (1873–1968), the autograph manuscript was burnt in the stove when the Janáčeks moved in the summer of 1910 from their rented apartment in Staré Brno (Klášterní 2) to their new house (Giskrova [now Kounicova] 30) in the grounds of the Brno Organ School (Trkanová 1959, 94). From a practical point of view, the autograph score had been superseded by Štross’s authorised copies, into which the subsequent layers of revision were entered; by 1910 the first printed edition of the vocal score had also appeared (KPU, published in 1908). One can only guess as to the wider possible motives for Janáček burning the autograph, given the associations of the later stages of composition with the fatal illness of his daughter Olga (see below).

²⁴ Tyrrell 1998, 14–15, and *JYL* i, 422–4; not 1897 as had previously been thought.

his letter to Nebuška, that his work with František Bartoš on the monumental *Národní písně moravské v nově nasbírané* [Moravian folksongs newly collected] (XIII/3), published in 1901, had taken up most of his time between the composition of Acts 1 and 2 of *Jenůfa*.²⁵ Tyrrell argues that another factor may have been Janáček's exposure in January 1896 to Tchaikovsky's *Пиковая дама* [The Queen of Spades]. Janáček's review of the event (*Piková dáma*, XV/149) shows the extent to which he was taken with this opera,²⁶ and Tyrrell suggests that it was Tchaikovsky's approach to musical dramaturgy, radically different from that of the relatively untested Janáček, that gave the latter pause for thought before he set out to tackle the dramatic and expressive demands of Acts 2 and 3 of *Jenůfa*, very different from those of Act 1.²⁷

By late 1901 Janáček had resumed work on the opera,²⁸ with the composition of Act 2 finished by the following summer (this Act in ŠVS was completed by Štross on 8 July 1902, one of the few helpful dates in either of the two surviving scores; see CHAPTER 2, §2.1). As is well known, the later stages of composition were bound up with the illness and subsequent death, on 26 February 1903, of Janáček's daughter Olga.²⁹ Just a month earlier, on 25 January, Štross had finished copying ŠVS, and on 18 March 1903 Janáček put a completion date in his copy of Preissová's play and in ŠVS (presumably after a final check through of both ŠFS and ŠVS).³⁰

Some time in the following weeks, Janáček submitted *Jenůfa* to the Prague National Theatre. Whatever faith he had in the opera that had cost him so much time

²⁵ *JODA*, JP9.

²⁶ *LD* I/1¹, 225–7; Eng. trans. Zemanová 1989, 176–9.

²⁷ Tyrrell 1998, 14–15, and *JYL* i, 423–4 and 438–43.

²⁸ *JODA*, 48. The possibility of an earlier resumption of work on the full score (or at least the copying of Act 1 by Štross) is raised by an erased date at the end of Act 1 in ŠFS: see CHAPTER 2, §2.1.

²⁹ See for example Vogel 1963, 139–41 (Eng. trans. 144–7) and Příbáňová 1984b, 57–9.

³⁰ *JODA*, 48; Tyrrell 1996, iv/Tyrrell 2000, ii–iii.

and effort, both physical and emotional, must have been offset by a well-founded sense of trepidation. For the music director in Prague was none other than the conductor, composer and sometime harpist Karel Kovařovic (1862–1920), whose own opera *Ženichové* [The bridegrooms, 1882; first performed Prague 1884] had been sent up by Janáček in a satirical review (XV/70) in the journal *Hudební listy* in January 1887.³¹ Sure enough, at the end of April the scores of *Jenůfa* were returned to Janáček with a curt rejection from the National Theatre’s administrative director.³² Janáček’s wife Zdenka then persuaded him, at first with difficulty, to allow the Brno National Theatre — a much smaller and less august institution than its Prague counterpart, based in a converted dance hall and with only a tiny chorus and orchestra — to stage the work. Well aware of the limitations of the Brno theatre, the composer nevertheless eventually agreed.

A letter Janáček wrote on 3 October 1903 to Camilla Urválková³³ gives the first surviving indication of any pre-première revisions to *Jenůfa*:

³¹ *Hudební listy*, iii (1886–7), 54; reprinted in Štědroň 1946, 111–12 and *LD* I/1¹, 122; Eng. trans. in *JODA*, JP12. The attack on *Ženichové* must have seemed all the more personal given that *Hudební listy* was, in effect, Janáček’s ‘own’ journal, founded and edited by him; see *JYL* i, 287–96. Seven years later, when Janáček submitted *Jenůfa* to the Prague National Theatre, Kovařovic might well have reflected that Janáček’s earlier sarcastic suggestion of stage action more suitable for the music of *Ženichové* — ‘full of horrible gloom, desperate screams, bodies stabbed by daggers’ — pretty well summed up aspects of the action in *Jenůfa*.

³² Gustav Schmoranz to Janáček, 28 April 1903, JA vii, 17; Eng. trans. *JODA*, JP15.

³³ Janáček had met Mrs Camilla Urválková (1875–1956) whilst holidaying at the Moravian spa of Luhačovice in August 1903; she was to provide the inspiration (together with Luhačovice itself) for his next opera, *Osud* [Fate] (I/5). See *JODA*, 109 and 366.

I am so taken up and overworked with the final revision [‘poslední revisí’] of my opera that I want just now to go off to Prague to see Bizet’s witty opera *Djamileh*.³⁴

Six days later he wrote to Mrs Urválková again:

Yesterday at least was one of the joyful days. I have had few of them in my life.

Perhaps that ‘Highest Justice’ has after all turned to me with a smiling face?

The Directorate of the National Theatre in Brno sent for the score of my opera *Jenůfa*.

When they took it away, the servant had something to carry on his shoulders! At the same time it seemed to me as if they had taken away my soul from so many sad years.³⁵

1.3 Première and early performances

As suggested by Janáček’s letter to Mrs Urválková of 3 October 1903, Janáček had already made revisions to the opera before he handed the score over to the Brno National Theatre on 8 October 1903, and some of these were (as will become clear) substantial.³⁶ It was this first revised version that was now copied out and eventually

³⁴ Němcová 1974, 135. Janáček saw Bizet’s one-act *opéra comique* that evening at the Prague National Theatre in a double bill with Vilém Blodek’s *V studni* [In the well]; *JYL* i, 562.

³⁵ *JODA*, JP20.

³⁶ The extent, nature, and even existence of these revisions had until recently long been a mystery. Most commentators have followed Štědroň’s lead (in *ZGJ* and Štědroň 1968b) in regarding the version of *Jenůfa* performed at the première as the ‘first’ version. Although Janáček’s letter of 3 October 1903 was known to Štědroň (Štědroň 1959, 165–6), Němcová and Tyrrell, the first serious attempt to identify the pre-première revisions mentioned in it was only possible as a result of work on the present project; see Audus 1996. For a more detailed description and evaluation of some of the features of the pre-1904 *Jenůfa*, see CHAPTER 3, §3.1. As discussed below, many of these revisions were extensive, and were by no means confined to the earlier composed Act 1.

performed in January 1904. In addition to the surviving orchestral parts (a now incomplete set; see CHAPTER 2, §2.1, OP), vocal material — probably in the form of vocal parts — would have been prepared for use by the soloists and chorus, though any such material no longer survives.³⁷ Janáček was aware, from his activities as a music critic and his experiences with *Počátek románu*, of the shortcomings of the Brno theatre with its meagre forces, and some of his early, pre-première revisions may indeed have been partly motivated by these limitations. In a lost letter to the director of the Brno National Theatre, Alois Staněk-Doubravský (who was to sing the role of Laca in the first performances), Janáček had given details of the opera's orchestral requirements.³⁸ In reply, Staněk-Doubravský wrote on 8 October 1903 (the day of the handover of scores):

In answer to your kind letter allow me to inform you that I agree to your requirements regarding orchestral forces and it would be very pleasing for me if you were not only to hear the first act when we have finished rehearsing, but were also to be present at the preliminary rehearsals and be of assistance to us with advice and suggestions according to your intentions. I will let you know the rehearsal schedule in good time.

[...]

At the same time I ask you kindly to hand over the vocal score and the full score to the messenger [to give] to me. I will endeavour to devote the greatest care to your work, so that it receives the very greatest success, as it deserves.³⁹

³⁷ Any such vocal material would have been superseded by the published vocal score of 1908 (KPU), which must surely have been used in the preparation of subsequent revivals of the opera in Brno; see CHAPTER 2, §2.1.

³⁸ Staněk-Doubravský (1867–1924) was director of the Brno National Theatre for the 1903–4 season and also sang the role of Laca in the early Brno performances of *Jenůfa*; see *JODA*, 360 and (for a more detailed account of his career) Petrželka 1996.

³⁹ *JODA*, JP19.

Orchestral parts were copied between October and December, and by mid-November police permission had been given for the performances (see CHAPTER 2, §2.1, LB). Around Christmas, Janáček wrote to Camilla Urválková that ‘Only the soloists and chorus know their parts from the opera and know how to perform them! The orchestra has not had rehearsals yet.’⁴⁰ Some of the orchestral parts were in fact still being copied (a note by the copyist at the end of the trombone 1 part dates it 30 December), which would have meant that the full score (of which there was only one copy) was still with the theatre’s copyists.

Originally scheduled for 14 January, the première was put back a week to Thursday 21 January.⁴¹ According to another note, in the oboe 1 part, the first full rehearsal for Act 1 took place as late as 19 January. Despite Staněk-Doubavský’s reassurances, the orchestra for the première and subsequent performances was notoriously small, as few as twenty-nine players, with several crucial instruments, including harp, cor anglais and bass clarinet, missing.⁴² Nevertheless, the work was received with a huge amount of enthusiasm by the local audience, and was well attended.⁴³ The Brno press was favourable, although, as Janáček later ruefully noted,

⁴⁰ JODA, 53 (JP22 and fn. 1).

⁴¹ JODA, 53.

⁴² Němcová 1971, 117–18. The orchestra was further depleted as the season wore on: around 15 April 1904 Janáček wrote to Hana Kvapilová that ‘Even before now, the orchestra has been incomplete to an alarming extent: the new director has given notice to the horn player, the trumpet player — they are apparently not needed for the summer season. I myself don’t even go to the theatre now — I don’t want to hear my own work in such a broken-down state.’ (JODA, JP39) Janáček’s references to ‘the new director’ and ‘the summer season’ testify to the unstable nature of the theatre company in Brno: although under the auspices of the Brno Theatre *družstvo* [consortium], the company itself (general director, music director, orchestra and singers) was taken on as a franchise simply for the duration of the season; see CO, 57–8.

⁴³ *Lidové noviny* (20 January 1904) reported that bookings were so numerous that the première had to be placed outside the subscription series in order to satisfy demand; Němcová 1974, 138.

most of the critics there were former pupils of his.⁴⁴ Reaction from the Prague critics was much less positive, with reviewers picking on the work's Naturalism and folk-inspired music (aspects that had been emphasised in the anonymous programme note; see APPENDIX I)⁴⁵ to find fault by making damning comparisons with Smetana. A positive three-part review article in the periodical *Jeviště* by Josef Charvát (one of Janáček's former students) provoked controversy when the editorial board sought to distance itself from Charvát's praise of the Act 1 ensemble 'Každý párek si musí'. This editorial intervention in turn prompted a spirited defence by Janáček himself.⁴⁶

Despite these difficulties, a series of repeat performances followed, as well as one-off 'touring' performances in České Budějovice (11 May 1904) and Písek (30 May 1904). However, the standard of performances, rather than improving, soon deteriorated.⁴⁷ A review of the Brno performance given on 15 April 1904 in *Lidové noviny* said that the music had become 'an unbearable racket, a chaos of notes, the singing was all over the place and the choruses were unarticulated shrieks.'⁴⁸ Two further isolated performances in Brno, on 7 December 1904 (attended by Kovařovic, as noted by some of the players in their parts) and the following 7 February, were the last until a significant three-performance revival in September and October 1906.

⁴⁴ Janáček to Artuš Rektorys, 21 March 1908 (JA i, 52).

⁴⁵ Czech original ('O významu *Její pastorkyně*') in Němcová 1974, 140; Engl. trans. ('On the significance of *Jenůfa*') in *JODA*, JP 28. This programme note, the Czech original and translation of which are given here in APPENDIX I, is thought to be either by Janáček or, at the very least, based on information supplied by him (*JODA*, 54). Its wider importance is that it introduced several of the topics which were to feature repeatedly in the critical history of *Jenůfa*.

⁴⁶ See Němcová 1974, 144–5 and *JODA*, 57–8. Charvát's three-part article, 'Její pastorkyňa', appeared in *Jeviště*, i (1904), 15–17, 76–9, 103–10; a concluding fourth part seems to have been dropped as a result of the controversy. Janáček's response is reproduced in Němcová 1974, 145; Eng. trans. in *JODA*, 57–8.

⁴⁷ See above, fn. 42.

⁴⁸ *Lidové noviny*, 17 April 1904, quoted in Němcová 1984, 27.

1.4 Post-première revisions and the 1906 revival

According to one interpretation of a letter he wrote to Kovařovic on 9 February 1904, Janáček may have made some revisions to the opera soon after the première.⁴⁹

However, the importance of the 1906 revival is that it prompted the first substantial (and substantiated) post-première revisions to the work. Evidence of this comes in a letter from the conductor Cyril Metoděj Hrazdira to Janáček on 11 July 1906 (for transcription and translation, see APPENDIX II). Hrazdira — another former Janáček pupil — conducted the première and all the early performances of *Jenůfa* from 1904 to 1906.⁵⁰ His proposals for a number of cuts, perhaps prompted by the controversy surrounding Charvát's article in *Jeviště*, seem to have been accepted and indeed added to by Janáček (see CHAPTER 2, §2.2, and APPENDIX IV). Because the first performance following these suggestions and consequent revisions took place in Ostrava (another 'touring' performance, given on 25 September 1906), this post-première revision has even been claimed as the 'Ostrava' version of *Jenůfa*.⁵¹ As will be seen below (CHAPTER 2, §2.2), this set of revisions is in turn crucial in determining what was heard at the première in 1904.

⁴⁹ JA vii, 17; Eng. trans. *JODA*, JP35. This is Štědroň's interpretation (*ZGJ*, 111; Štědroň 1968b, 24) of Janáček's penultimate paragraph: 'All sorts of corrections were of course necessary in the score — ; I think that many of the criticisms that were made have now fallen away in the corrections.' However, a perhaps more plausible explanation is that Janáček was referring to the 'criticisms' implicit in Prague's earlier rejection of the opera, and to the 'corrections' he had in consequence made in October 1903 (see above); this is Tyrrell's view (Tyrrell 1996, xii / Tyrrell 2000, vi). See CHAPTER 2, §2.2.

⁵⁰ Cyril Metoděj Hrazdira (1868–1926) was one of Janáček's pupils at the Brno Organ School (1886–8) and conductor at the Brno National Theatre from 1903 to 1907. One of his own operas, *Ječmínek*, was premièred there in the same season as *Jenůfa* (3 March 1904); Němcová 1971, 134.

⁵¹ See Gregor 1978 and Mazurek 1978.

1.5 Later revisions and publication

The 1906 performances themselves may have prompted Janáček to make the next set of more extensive revisions. A note at the end of Act 2 of ŠFS reads ‘opraveno 10.I.1907’ [revised 10 January 1907], indicating a process of revision that probably began only a month earlier.⁵² But a further incentive for these changes — which are much more wide-ranging and radical than any of the composer’s earlier alterations — is likely to have been Janáček’s decision to submit the opera in March 1907 to the Czech Academy in application for an award.⁵³ It was not until December that Janáček heard that his application had failed,⁵⁴ but by that time the Brno-based Klub přátel umění [Club of the friends of art] had decided — largely on Janáček’s own initiative — to begin a modest programme of music publication. The first (and in the event far from modest) project, a vocal score of *Jenůfa*, was turned round in a remarkably short space of time, and by mid-March 1908 copies were being sent out to the Club’s members.⁵⁵ How far in advance the idea of publishing *Jenůfa* in vocal score had been floated is not clear, but the head of the Club’s music committee was Janáček’s champion and former pupil, the critic Jan Kunc (1883–1976). If the idea had been around earlier, the incentive of publication might well be seen as a plausible further explanation for the much more radical nature of Janáček’s winter 1906/7 revisions, as compared with the essentially stop-gap revisions of summer 1906 (which were largely

⁵² A letter from Josef Antoš Frýda (director of the Brno National Theatre, 1905–9) to Janáček on 11 December 1906 refers to Janáček’s request for the return of the scores of *Jenůfa* and *Osud* (BmJA, D 717); see *JYL* i, 672. It seems that Janáček spent the Christmas–New Year holidays revising *Jenůfa*; with his heavy teaching commitments, most of his compositional activity was concentrated in the holiday periods.

⁵³ *ZGJ*, 112.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *JODA*, 62–3. For a detailed account of the Klub přátel umění and its activities, see Kundera 1948.

in the form simply of cuts; see CHAPTER 2, §2.2, and CHAPTER 3, §3.2). However that may be, both Janáček's revisions and the publication by the Klub přátel umění can be seen as part of a wider campaign for the opera's performance in Prague stemming from the sense of injustice felt by Janáček's many supporters in Brno that *Jenůfa* had still not been taken up by the National Theatre there. As discussed in some detail by Štědroň, Janáček's 1906/7 changes resulting in KPU were substantial,⁵⁶ and the Brno audience must have been keen to hear the result. This much seems clear from an often overlooked notice by the critic Hubert Doležil in the journal *Hudební revue* of 1909, complaining that plans to perform *Jenůfa* in Brno that season had been dropped:

A composer of so rare a type and such great originality as Janáček surely has the right to be performed, especially when it is known that he has made considerable alterations to his work which he deserves to hear and which the public, quite rightly, want to know and judge.⁵⁷

A period of upheaval at the Brno National Theatre, which included the departure of Hrazdira in 1907, meant that the revised *Jenůfa* in the end had to wait until 1911 for a series of five further performances in Brno (the conducting shared by Rudolf Pavlata and Josef Winkler);⁵⁸ one more isolated performance was given there two years later, on 25 March 1913. Only after a concerted effort by Janáček's friends, Dr František Veselý and his wife Marie Calma-Veselá, did Kovařovic eventually relent, accepting

⁵⁶ *ZGJ*, 84–110.

⁵⁷ *Hudební revue*, ii (1909), 71; partial Eng. trans. in Štědroň 1955, 109.

⁵⁸ According to a note in the trumpet 1 part. Josef Winkler (1885–1942) was conductor at the Brno Theatre in 1907–8, 1909–11 and 1912–1919 (*JODA*, 105, fn. 2); however the première of the new production on 31 January was conducted by Rudolf Pavlata (1873–1939), cello teacher at the Brno Organ School, who conducted at the Brno Theatre in 1908–11 (*JODA*, 149, fn. 1).

Jenůfa for Prague towards the end of 1915 on condition that he be allowed to make cuts of his own, a condition Janáček gladly accepted at the time.⁵⁹ The story of the Prague production, of Janáček's initial enthusiasm for and later repudiation of the 'Kovařovic' version is well rehearsed in the Janáček literature.⁶⁰ It was this Prague version of the opera that was published by Universal Edition (UE 1917 and UE 1918), and performed increasingly widely thereafter, particularly in the many opera houses of Germany.

1.6 Restoration of 'Janáček's' *Jenůfa*

It was the Brno-based scholar Hynek Kašlík who first attempted — with a fair degree of success — to identify and unpick Kovařovic's orchestral retouchings.⁶¹ His pioneering doctoral thesis (Brno, 1934, now apparently lost) was based on the conducting score made for Kovařovic's Prague performances by J. Košťálek and now housed in the Janáček Archive in Brno.⁶² Kašlík's work led in turn to a 1941 radio broadcast of excerpts under the conductor Břetislav Bakala (yet another Organ School pupil of Janáček's) using the manuscript Brno parts. This was, however, a performance of Janáček's final version, the result of his own revisions of 1906/7 (i.e. the '1908' version), plus the further changes he had made between 1911 and 1915, prompted by the Brno revivals of 1911 and 1913 and the growing prospect of a Prague

⁵⁹ Janáček to Kovařovic, 10 December 1915; *JODA*, JP79.

⁶⁰ See especially *JODA*, 64–77, JA vii and Maria Calma[-Veselá]: 'Z boje pro Janáčkovou Pastorkyni' [From the battle for Janáček's *Jenůfa*], *Listy Hudební matice*, iv (1924–5), 137–47. Janáček's changing attitude to Kovařovic's revisions — from his initial enthusiastic acceptance and delight at the resulting successful productions in Prague, Vienna and Berlin, to his later bitterness at the damage these retouchings had done to his own reputation as a composer — is documented in *JODA*, JP79, *JODA* 77–91 and 100–7; see also Tyrrell 1996, vii–x / Tyrrell 2000, iv–v.

⁶¹ See Kašlík 1938.

⁶² BmJA, A33.744 a–c. See Tyrrell 1996, xiv / Tyrrell 2000, vii.

production.⁶³ The first serious attempt to address the issue of the ‘original’ 1904 version came in the groundbreaking research of Bohumír Štědroň, in a series of articles culminating in his seminal work *Zur Genesis von Leoš Janáček's Oper Jenůfa* (see BIBLIOGRAPHY, *ZGJ*). Long regarded as the definitive study of the opera’s genesis, Štědroň’s research influenced generations of musicologists, and must still be regarded as required reading for anyone attempting to get to grips with the textual and musical issues of the work.

Štědroň made a detailed and perceptive study of the principal sources, in particular the manuscript vocal score copied by Štross (ŠVS) and the manuscript libretto used by the prompter at the early performances (LB). He was able to give the most detailed attention to those passages that had been cut by Janáček, since most of these were still clearly legible, having simply been crossed through; he also made important and largely successful attempts to decipher many erasures. At the same time, he acknowledged the difficulty of recovering the many passages covered up by pasted-over strips of manuscript paper. Moreover, Štědroň’s discussion of those parts of the 1904 version that he could determine — and indeed his attitude towards the 1904 version as a whole, however fragmentary his view of it — was also strongly influenced by his understandable desire to argue the case for Janáček’s own revised (1908) version of the score. This was, after all, a time when Kovařovic’s version of the opera still held a monopoly in opera houses and Janáček’s last version of the score was as good as unknown.

With the exception of a few broadcast excerpts, these attempts to discover and rehabilitate the pre-Kovařovic *Jenůfa* had little impact on the opera in performance.

⁶³ It would also have incorporated some of Kovařovic’s early changes; see Tyrrell 1996, x / Tyrrell 2000, v–vi.

That situation changed, however, when Charles Mackerras commissioned an initial investigation into Kovařovic's retouchings, using this as the basis of his 1982 recording of *Jenůfa* on Decca. The results were based initially, like Kašlík's research, on the Košťálek score kept in Brno.⁶⁴ This provisional version (as recorded by Decca) led in turn to a joint edition by Mackerras and Tyrrell which for the first time now took into account the detailed contents of the original Brno parts dating from various stages between 1903 and 1913, as well as a microfilm copy of ŠFS. Despite being notionally based on the 1908 KPU vocal score — and hence labelled 'Brněnská verze (1908)' — the Mackerras-Tyrrell edition (UE 1996 and UE 2000) also incorporated Janáček's own revisions up to 1916. And, while it restored the composer's own instrumentation, it also retained, for practical performing reasons, many of Kovařovic's extensive alterations to the opera's dynamic markings, albeit indicated in editorial brackets. Nevertheless, the subsequent widespread international success of the Mackerras-Tyrrell edition — being taken up even in Brno itself in 2004 — has provided ample proof of the viability, both musical and dramatic, of Janáček's own version of the score, something that had long been questioned.⁶⁵

The foregoing discussion gives a summary of the genesis and the performance history of Janáček's opera, introducing many of the issues that impinge upon efforts to establish an historically reliable text of the opera in any of its versions. And even such a brief sketch also serves to suggest the sheer complexity, both of the opera's growth and development as a theatre piece (and the composer's evolving conception of it), and also of the situation regarding the musical sources. These latter are, along

⁶⁴ Tyrrell 1996, x / Tyrrell 2000, v–vi.

⁶⁵ Even during his lifetime, according to Janáček himself, the Kovařovic version was being used to raise question marks over his own ability as an orchestrator; see *JODA*, JP 158.

with the surviving items of contemporary correspondence, the main providers of information that can be used to identify and reconstruct the early versions of *Jenûfa*, and the 1904 version in particular. They are described and explored in more detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2: SOURCES AND RECONSTRUCTION

The present chapter falls into four parts. The first (§2.1) consists of a description of the sources consulted in preparing the present reconstruction of the 1904 score of *Jenůfa*. This is followed by a consideration of how those sources can be used to identify (§2.2) and reconstruct (§2.3) the 1904 version of the opera. The final section (§2.4) outlines the principles and conventions of the reconstruction itself as presented in VOLUMES II/1, II/2 and II/3.

2.1 Sources

A full list of the various manuscript and printed sources for *Jenůfa* is given in *JaWo*.¹ The following is a more selective list of those sources directly pertinent to the 1904 version of the opera or consulted during its reconstruction, given in what appears to be their chronological order. Those represented by an abbreviation in bold type indicate the principal sources for the present reconstruction.

The location of sources is indicated by the following abbreviations:

BmJA Janáčkův archiv Oddělení dějin hudby Moravského zemského muzea, Brno

[Janáček archive of the Music history department of the Moravian regional museum, Brno]

AWn Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Vienna

¹ *JaWo*, 15–17; see also Tyrrell 1996, xi–xv / Tyrrell 2000, vi–viii.

PL Gabriela Preissová: *Její pastorkyňa* (Prague: F. Šimáček, 1891), with annotations and sketches by Janáček and dates ranging from 31 December 1894 to 18 March 1903, BmJA, L6.

This printed source, the first edition of Preissová's play, contains numerous manuscript alterations, marginal glosses and musical sketches by Janáček. They include what appear to be the dates of a detailed read-through and initial sketching process by Janáček (Act 1: 18 March 1894; Act 2: 17 January 1895; Act 3: 11 February 1895),² as well as dates added later that chart some of the compositional process itself. In between printed pages 20 and 21 is an interleaved folio with sketches on the recto, and blank on the verso. For a more detailed account of this source, see Štědroň 1965 and *ZGJ*, 59–74.

SK Autograph sketch-leaf for Act 1 Scene 2, undated, 330mm (h) × 245mm (w), BmJA, A30.380.

This single-sided sketch leaf — the only substantial autograph draft material for *Jenůfa* to have survived — has frequently been reproduced in the Janáček literature.³ Written on sixteen-stave printed manuscript paper, it contains a number of additional marginal staves hand-written by Janáček. Although often very densely written, it includes many decipherable passages of Act 1 Scene 2 in what appears to be a form of short-score continuity draft⁴ on two-stave systems which include vocal lines and text cues. The lower half of the verso contains a twelve-bar unfinished piano piece entitled 'Myšlenky' [Ideas/Thoughts], not included in the 'Unfinished' section (IX) of *JaWo*, and apparently unrelated to the opera; a horizontal fold across the middle of the

² See CHAPTER 1, §1.2.

³ See, for instance, *ZGJ*, upper part of plate 15, and Vogel 1981, plate [10] between pp. 112 and 113.

⁴ Just how continuous is debatable, as several phrases of Preissová's text appear out of sequence.

folio suggests that this brief sketch was probably written at some time after the sketching for *Jenůfa* on the recto.

ŠFS Authorised copy by Josef Štross of full score, undated (except for Janáček's corrections added in 1907; see below); three volumes hard-bound in black cloth, AWn, L1, UE 376.

Act 1: 205 fol. (see below), 313mm × 247mm

Act 2: 179 fol. (see below), 323mm × 246mm

Act 3: 121 fol. (see below), 319mm × 250mm

Completed by March 1903 (when it was submitted to the Prague National Theatre; see CHAPTER 1, §1.2), this score was used for all performances by the Brno National Theatre from January 1904 to December 1916, and incorporates both Janáček's own revisions from the years 1903–15 and those made by Kovařovic in 1915–16.

Subsequently it served as the *Stichvorlage* for UE 1918.⁵ Tyrrell has identified no fewer than six 'layers' in the text,⁶ details of many of the earliest now difficult to determine (for an expansion on these layers, see below, §2.2, especially TABLE 2.1).

ŠFS also contains some still later annotations connected with J.M. Dürr's 1969 edition of *Jenůfa* (UE 1969), e.g. the simplified violin 1 line in the Kostelnička's Act 1 aria, 'Aji on byl zlatohřivý'. (ŠFS I 108r/3–111r): compare UE 1969 and UE 1996, Act 1 figs 71–3, with the equivalent passage in the present reconstruction. (See also below, §2.4, especially Ex. 2.3.)

⁵ Universal Edition acknowledged receipt of the three volumes of ŠFS on 3 January 1917 (UE to Janáček, BmJA, D891); see Štědroň 1971, 259–60.

⁶ Tyrrell 1996, xii / Tyrrell 2000, vi–vii.



Fig. 2.1 ŠFS I 1r: beginning of Act 1. Reproduced by courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Vienna.

Janáček's corrections and revisions, made at various stages between 1903 and 1915, are in black ink. Early annotations, including the cuts suggested by C.M. Hrazdira in July 1906 (see below, §2.2, and APPENDIX II), are made in grey pencil; the many later cuts dating from 1907/8 are indicated in red pencil (usually with diagonal crossing), with blue pencil used to reinforce these (usually in the form of vertical lines marking the start and end of a cut). The extensive detailed alterations made to bring

ŠFS into line with the Kovařovic version of the score are in red ink.⁷ Most of the folios that had been glued together as part of the revision process have been prised apart, with varying degrees of success and resultant damage. Numerous paste-overs were made during the course of revisions: some of these have been lifted and re-attached at one edge with adhesive tape (see below, Fig. 2.4), although where the tape has dried out, many of these paste-over strips are now loose in the score.

Act I An unnumbered, interleaved folio at the beginning of the score, written on blank paper, is blank on the recto; on the verso, in Janáček's hand, is a list of characters (*Osoby*) with voice types, a general description of the opera's setting and the time-scale of the three Acts (see VOLUME II/1, iii).

There follows the first (unnumbered) folio, containing the work's title and the scene description for Act 1:

| |
|--|
| <p><u><i>Její pastorkyňa.</i></u> <i>Opera</i> <i>ve třech jednáních</i> <i>Slova Gabriely Preissové, hudba Leoše Janáčka.</i></p> |
|--|

Jednání I.

*Podvečer. Osamělý pohorský mlýn. V pravo
před domovním stavením síňka z dřev-
ných sloupů. Strážka, křoviny, několik
pokácených dřev, vzadu strouha.*

Partitura.

⁷ Kovařovic's main changes to the orchestration (Tyrrell's 'FS 6', see below, TABLE 2.1) were made first in the copy of the full score prepared for the Prague première by J. Košťálek, BmJA, A33.744 a–c; see Tyrrell 1996, xii and xiv / Tyrrell 2000, vi–vii. They were subsequently entered into ŠFS.

The first four lines of this title page (*Její pastorkyňa* [...] *hudba Leoše Janáčka*.) are in Janáček's hand on a blank label pasted over the original inscription (in Štross's hand): *Klavírní výtah*. [vocal score]. This seems to have been a mistake on Štross's part: not only does his own *Partitura*. [full score] cancel out *Klavírní výtah*., but ŠVS has its own title page, also in Štross's hand; and the ŠFS title page is on the same twenty-stave manuscript paper as the following pages of full score, whilst the ŠVS title page is on twelve-stave paper like its continuation. On the verso of this title page, in Štross's hand, are descriptions of the situations of the three characters onstage at the beginning of Act 1 (Jenůfa, Stařenka and Laca).

The music of Act 1 follows on numbered folios (original numbering in left-hand column; right-hand column shows the numbering used in this commentary):

| | |
|-------------|---------|
| 1–140 | 1–140 |
| 1–63 | 141–203 |
| [64]: blank | 204 |

The restart of foliation after fol. 140 coincides with the beginning of Scene 6 ('Výstup 7' in Janáček's numbering; see §2.4, *Scene numbers*), an indication that this bulky tome was originally split into two more manageable volumes. The pages have also been cut down from their original size, something evident from the many folio numbers that have been partly or wholly cropped. In the score's present state, folios 123 and 124 have been misbound in reverse order (i.e. fol. 124 precedes fol. 123), a confusion compounded by the fact that fol. 124 has been folded forward and glued to itself, so that the folio number on the recto is no longer showing.⁸ Folios 189 and 190 are glued together.⁹

⁸ These two folios correspond to I/v/378–89, the middle section of the much-cut ensemble 'A vy, muzikanti'; fol. 124r (glued shut) corresponds to I/v/384–6.

⁹ The hidden folios — 189v and 190r — contain music that originally came between I/vii/202 and 203 in the present reconstruction.

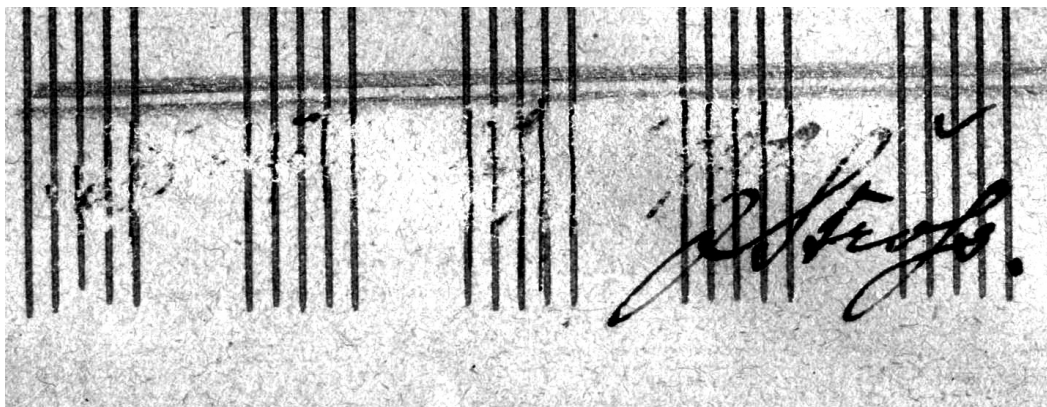


Fig. 2.2 ŠFS I 203v, detail, rotated right through 90° and digitally enhanced. Reproduced by courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Vienna.

On 203v (the last music page of Act 1) is Štross's signature preceded by an erasure. Whilst most of this erasure is so thorough as to be effectively illegible, the last part (directly above the left of the signature) appears to be the remainder of a date, of which the last part is almost certainly *1900* (see Fig. 2.2 above).

Act 2 Fol. 1r contains the Act heading and scene description; the music begins on fol. 1v. The last music side is 180r; 180v is blank. At the bottom right-hand corner of 180r (now torn off) is the hint of an erasure, perhaps originally a date. Also on the same folio, in Janáček's hand, *opraveno | 10/1 1907 | LJ* [revised 10/1 1907 LJ]. In a series of late alterations to Scene 3 (Kostelnička–Števa), fol. 66v is pasted over with a replacement folio copied by Václav Sedláček; the original fol. 67 has been removed; and fol. 71 is a replacement folio, also in Sedláček's hand.¹⁰ Two consecutive folios are numbered '102' in error.

¹⁰ Václav Sedláček (1879–1944) was flautist in the Brno National Theatre orchestra from 1910 to 1935; see *JODA*, 364. He adapted (and in some places entirely recopied) the Brno orchestral parts (OPx; see below) for the 1916 revision of *Jenůfa*. His highly distinctive, idiosyncratic copying hand (see Fig. 2.3) became a regular feature in authorised copies of Janáček scores from *Brouček* (I/6 and I/7) to such late works as the *Sinfonietta* (VI/18), *Mša glagolskaja* (III/9) and *Z mrtvého domu* (I/11). Janáček dedicated *Pochod Modráčků* [March of the Bluebirds] (VII/9; comp. 1924, pub. 1928) to Sedláček; see *JaWo*, 229.



Fig. 2.3 ŠFS II 66v: replacement paste-over copied by Václav Sedláček (?1915/16). This passage corresponds to II/iii/200–9 in the present edition; the horn parts above the second system (in red ink) are additions made to correspond to Kovařovic's revisions. Reproduced by courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Vienna.

Act 3 Fol. 1r: Jednání III.; fol. 1v contains a description of the setting, and descriptions of the situations of the characters onstage (Kostelnička, Jenůfa, Laca, Stařenka, Pastuchyňa). The music occupies folios 2r–121v. The absence of any date

or other details (erased or otherwise) on 121v is explained by the fact that this was originally the penultimate folio; fol. 122r, which contained the last three bars of the opera in the present reconstruction, was probably removed when the ending was revised in 1907 (see CHAPTER 1, §1.5).



Fig. 2.4 ŠFS III 89r (III/x/34–6): woodwind and string paste-overs (top four and bottom five staves) lifted to reveal the original notes in varying states of legibility. (Cf. CHAPTER 3, Exx. 3.21a and b.) Reproduced by courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Vienna.

ŠVS Authorised copy by Josef Štross of vocal score; Act 2 dated 8 July 1902, completed 25 January 1903; one volume, hard-bound in leather, 217 fol., 315mm × 245mm, BmJA, A7426.¹¹

Separate foliation for each Act:

Act 1: 78 fol. (1–76, 78–79: original fol. 77 missing, see below) plus three interleaved folios (see below)

Act 2: 78 fol. (numbered 1–76: two consecutive folios are numbered ‘21’ in error; likewise two further consecutive folios are numbered ‘60’)

Act 3: 61 fol.

Used in the preparation of all performances of *Jenůfa* by the Brno National Theatre from 1904 to 1906 (probably in conjunction with other vocal material in the form of vocal parts no longer extant). The separate foliation for each Act indicates that this manuscript originally formed three separate volumes. Dates on the final page suggest that it was also used as the prompter’s copy for three performances in autumn 1906, in Moravská Ostrava (25 September) and Brno (6 and 9 October). This seems also to be confirmed by the two bell-like symbols (🔔I and 🔔II) drawn towards the end of each Act (as in LB, see below): these were probably used to cue a remote-alert to backstage or front-of-house staff that the end of Act was imminent. ŠVS subsequently served as the *Stichvorlage* for the 1908 KPU edition. It therefore incorporates all Janáček’s own revisions up until December 1907, when it was sent to the Leipzig engraving firm of Engelmann & Mühlberg.¹² Thereafter, ŠVS ceased being used as performance material, having been superseded by KPU. As with ŠFS, Janáček’s revisions are made in ink, with widespread use of paste-overs and erasures.

¹¹ See also Štědroň 1966b, 518–32, and ZGJ, 74–101.

¹² JYL i, 686; see also below.

ŠVS is copied on twelve-stave pre-printed manuscript paper. Act 1 fol. 1r has the simple heading: *Klavírní výtah.* | *Jednání I.* followed by the general scene description for Act 1, all in Štross's hand. In the top right-hand corner, apparently in the hand of Vladimír Helfert: *Opisoval [?]Pštros [sic], člen orchestru divadla (něm?)* | *Podle zdělení pí. Janáčkové. V.H.* [Copied by Pštros, member of the (German?) theatre orchestra. According to information given by Mrs Janáčková. V.H.].¹⁴ In the bottom left-hand corner, in pencil: *Studovat začal dne 12/list. 1903* (indicating that rehearsals began on 12 November 1903). On fol. 1v, in Štross's hand, are descriptions of the situations of the three characters onstage at the beginning of Act 1 (Jenůfa, Stařenka and Laca; see ŠFS above).

In between this title folio and the first music page (fol. 2r) are three interleaved folios, all on blank paper. The first contains, on the recto in Janáček's hand, the cast list (*Osoby*) with voice types and (added in the left-hand margin in pencil) the names of the original singers, followed by a general description of the opera's setting and the time-scale of the three Acts (see ŠFS above); on the verso, in pencil: *Její pastorkyňa*. At the top of this page, in another hand: *Bitte diese Seite recht deutlich abzuschreiben und zwar in der richtigen Reihenfolge* (evidently a note from the Leipzig engravers, unable to decipher Janáček's hand in a language with which they were unfamiliar).¹⁵ In response, stuck to the recto of the second interleaved folio, is the cast list from the printed copy of Preissová's drama, with the title — *Její pastorkyňa*. — added in Janáček's hand. The cast

¹⁴ This note appears to be in the hand of Vladimír Helfert (1886–1945), musicologist, Janáček biographer and founder of the music archive of the Moravian Museum in Brno, and must date from after Janáček's death. Either Zdenka Janáčková misremembered Štross's name, or Helfert misheard: 'pštros' is Czech for 'ostrich' (I am indebted to Mgr. Jan Špaček for drawing this to my attention); the initial 'P' appears to have been crossed through. The role of Števa in Preissová's *Její pastorkyňa* was created in 1890 by Adolf Pštros (1851–1903); see Závodský 1962, 139.

¹⁵ See *JYL* i, 686.

list is amended by Janáček, with voice types added in the right-hand margin. On the recto of the third interleaved folio is pasted a telegram from Engelmann & Mühlberg to ‘direktor jaunacek [*sic*] | bruenn 2 klosterplatz’ dated 30 December 1907 (some two weeks after ŠVS had originally been sent to Leipzig) requesting the manuscript’s urgent return.¹⁶ Beneath this telegram are pasted two postage receipts, dated 30 and 31 December 1907, for ‘Manuskript’ sent from Brno to Engelmann & Mühlberg.

Act 1 fol. 77 was removed as part of extensive pre-première alterations to the end of this Act. The music contained on it — twelve bars in total — would have corresponded to bars 5–16 of the passage reconstructed from ŠFS I 197v–200r as presented in APPENDIX IX (see also CHAPTER 3, §3.1).

The end of Act 1 (fol. 79v) is signed ‘Josef Štross’ preceded by an erasure (a date?) that is no longer legible: see notes above concerning the corresponding place in ŠFS. At the end of Act 2 (76v) in Štross’s hand: *8/7. 902. J Štross*. At the end of Act 3 (61v) in Štross’s hand: *25. Ledna 1903. | 3½ hodiny od poledne | J Štross. | Copist.* [25 January 1903 | 3.30 p.m. | J. Štross | Copyist]. Beneath this, in miniscule Cyrillic script in Janáček’s hand: *Тебе Ольга! В память | 18/3 1903* [Tebe Olgo! V pamyat’ / To you, Olga! In memory].¹⁷

In a letter to Otakar Nebuška on 22 February 1917 giving an account of *Jenůfa*’s composition, Janáček maintained that ‘I compose first in full score and do the vocal

¹⁶ Janáček had only just received the first batch of proofs (see Tyrrell 1996, xiii / Tyrrell 2000, vii): the engravers had perhaps sent with them the whole manuscript, rather than just that portion of the vocal score already set, hence the urgent request for the return of ‘des uns so noetigen manuscripts’. The Janáčeks’ (rented) home from 1882 to 1910 was at Klášterní 2 in Staré Brno.

¹⁷ The copying of ŠVS was thus finished by Štross on 25 January 1903, and 18 March 1903 appears to be the date by which Janáček had looked through the score, made any preliminary corrections and added the dedication to his daughter, who had died just three weeks earlier; see *JODA*, 48.

score from that; thus work on the full score was finished earlier.¹⁸ Assuming that Janáček's memory was correct, this was the reverse of the procedure in his first two operas, and Tyrrell takes this as an indication that ŠFS was copied first, before ŠVS.¹⁹ Certainly, the piano part in ŠVS has about it (as noted in CHAPTER 1, §1.2) more of a reduction than a score originally fashioned at the keyboard. This, however, cannot be taken to mean that ŠFS was necessarily copied first: both ŠFS and ŠVS are copies, and although there are some minor discrepancies between them (suggesting that, at least in the case of Act 1, ŠVS may have been copied first), they reveal little about the nature of the lost autograph master score(s).²⁰

OP Orchestral parts copied by two unidentified copyists (here referred to as copyists

A and B) from the Brno National Theatre, missing picc, fl 1, bn 2, vn 2 and onstage parts; used for the Brno première on 21 January 1904, BmJA, 49.883. 20 parts: fl 2, ob 1, ob 2, cl 1, cl 2, bn 1 (incl. 'Bühnenmusik' insert for Act 1 Scene 4), hn 1, hn 2, hn 3/4, tpt 1, tpt 2, trbn 1, trbn 2, trbn 3/4 [4 = tuba], hp, timp/perc, vn 1, va, vc, db

OP contains material originally prepared for the Brno première of 21 January 1904.

Copying took place between 8 October 1903 (the day Janáček handed over the score²¹ to a messenger from the Brno National Theatre) and the beginning of January: the end

¹⁸ JODA, JP9.

¹⁹ Tyrrell 1996, xii / Tyrrell 2000, vii.

²⁰ If Janáček's reminiscences to Nebuška are correct, there would have been two autographs, a full score and a vocal score; most references are, however, to the destroyed 'original' or 'autograph', implying merely a full score.

²¹ Janáček's description to Camilla Urválková on 9 October 1903 that 'the servant had something to carry on his shoulders' seems to refer to the bulky full score (ŠFS); see CHAPTER 1, §1.2.



Fig. 2.6 OP violin 1: detail from Act 1 Scene 6 (fig. 92) showing the hand of copyist A. Reproduced by courtesy of the Moravian Regional Museum, Brno.

of Act 3 in the trombone 1 part is dated 30 December 1903 by copyist B. The late copying of trombone 1 suggests that the parts were copied in a modified score order, with the strings (the orchestral backbone) copied first, then the woodwind, horns, brass and percussion. This is confirmed by the distribution of work between the copyists. The violin 1 part is the work of just copyist A; violin 2 is missing, but from the viola part onwards the work was divided so that copyist B copied the parts for Acts 1 and 3, and copyist A copied out Act 2.²² From this, it may be inferred that copyist A had

²² That there were indeed only single copies of the string parts is confirmed by the tiny size of the Brno theatre orchestra: just twenty-nine players at the time of the première, and even fewer as the season wore on (see Němcová 1971, 117–8; Němcová 1984, 27; *JODA*, 56). Although in retrospect this seems impossibly small for such a work as *Jenůfa*, there are plenty of indications to confirm this. When in November 1891 Janáček had approached Dvořák about possible performances of the latter's operas in Brno, Dvořák had responded that he would have to re-orchestrate them (*JYL* i, 368). In 1906, when it looked as though the Brno National Theatre might perform the newly completed *Osud*, Janáček made a point of specifying minimum forces including 4 first violins, 3 seconds, 4 violas, 2 cellos and 2 double basses (*JODA*, 132, fn. 2), suggesting that the orchestra for *Jenůfa* had fallen short of this. And a list of players in the 1911 season made by the trumpeter Karel Horký in the OP trumpet 1 part indicates that even by then the string section numbered only 4.3.2.2.2. Furthermore, the absence of bassoons in some early performances of *Jenůfa* is attested to by the presence in the OP cello part (in use only until 1906; see below, §2.2) of numerous pencilled bassoon cues, which the cello was clearly expected to cover.

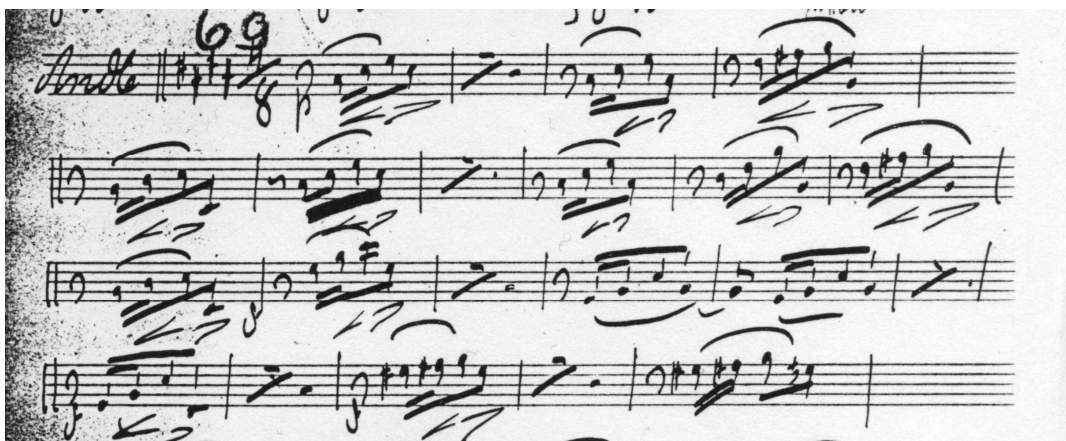


Fig. 2.7 OP cello: detail from Act 1 Scene 6 (fig. 92) showing the hand of copyist B. Reproduced by courtesy of the Moravian Regional Museum, Brno.

originally been assigned the task of copying out all the parts; once it was realised that the job would take too long with just one person, copyist B was also engaged. Given that there was only one copy of the full score (ŠFS, in three separate volumes), the most practical way of dividing the work between two copyists would then be to give one Act to one copyist, and two Acts to the other (copyist B, no doubt the faster of the two).

Lost from this set altogether are the piccolo, flute 1 and violin 2 parts.

Furthermore, with the sole exception of an insert in the bassoon 1 part, no stage-band parts from 1904 survive. (Whilst the orchestra at the première was tiny, it seems most unlikely that this music — the only instrumental accompaniment in many bars of Act 1 Scene 4 — was left altogether uncovered.) The original Act 1 horn 3/4 part is replaced part way through (from fig. 80a onwards in the present edition). The original bassoon 2 part no longer survives intact: most of Act 2 was incorporated into OPx (see below) and further heavily revised with Kovařovic's changes, often making the original illegible even with the aid of fibre-optics (see below, 2.3). Other pages from the 1904 bassoon 2 part were recycled in OPx as follows:

| 1904 bn 2 [OP] | OPx |
|---|--|
| title page and <i>Úvod</i> (double-sided) | → glued reinforcement to db stage band part (1916) |
| end of Act 1 (single-sided) | → verso of db stage band part (1916) |
| end of Act 2 (single-sided) | → verso of bass cl part (1916) |

The cor anglais and bass clarinet parts are written respectively into the oboe 2 and clarinet 2 parts. All the percussion music (including the ‘onstage’ xylophone) is written into the timpani part.

All the OP parts contain the independent orchestral introduction (*Úvod*), although there are no signs — such as performance annotations — to indicate that this was ever used in performances of the opera in Brno.²³ They also all contain various layers of revision, often extensive. The string parts are least altered, the woodwind, brass and percussion parts more thoroughly reworked with erasures, recopying and paste-overs in line with Janáček’s revisions of 1907–8. The OP harp part contains the most extensive changes, incorporating all layers of revision including those of Kovařovic in 1916 (the part had been taken over into OPx and remained in use long after all the others — including the stage band and percussion — had been recopied).

LB Manuscript libretto copied by ‘Kostka’, dated 25/26 October 1903; police censor’s permission dated 16 November 1903 and annotations by Janáček; black textured stiff paper cover (blank white on reverse) with black cloth spine, end papers (1 blank bifolium) and 72 pages (17 ruled bifolia), 204mm × 161mm, BmJA, L7.

²³ See CHAPTER 1, fn. 18. The *Úvod* is also included in the orchestral parts copied later, in 1906, 1911 and 1913–14; see below, ‘OPx’.

Used by the prompter in all the early Brno performances (1904 and 1905), this libretto was copied, probably from ŠVS, into a small black-covered exercise book with blank endpapers and faint ruling. It contains many precise annotations regarding word and phrase repetitions.²⁴

On the inside front cover is a series of dates and other details in Janáček's hand in pencil, many of them copied from ŠVS, which probably served as *aides-mémoire* when the composer was answering queries like that from Nebuška (see above). In English translation they read as follows:

According to information from the maid M. Stejskalová
I began to compose in 1896

Completion of the vocal score of Act I rubbed out.

$\frac{8}{7}$ 902 Jo. Štross
finished writing the vocal score
[of] Act II

End of the opera

25 January 1903, 3.30 p.m.

J. Štross

copyist

Тебе Ольго В память [To you, Olga, in memory]

$\frac{18}{3}$ 1903

²⁴ See Štědroň's description and commentary in Štědroň 1966b, 511–18 and *ZGJ*, 74–83.

On the facing page (the recto of the endpaper) in ink is the police censor's permission, granted on 15 November 1903 and dated 16 November 1903, with official stamps and signed by *C.K. vládní rada a policejní ředitel. | Soika* [Imperial and Royal privy councillor and police chief. Soika]. Below this, also in ink: *Její pastorkyně | Opera o 3. Jednáních od | Leoše Janáčka*. Beneath this title are two more annotations by Janáček, again in pencil: *v lednu 1904 v Brně po prvé | dáváno*. [performed for the first time in January 1904 in Brno] followed by *12. listopadu 1903 začali studovat | v Brně* [rehearsals began 12 November 1903 in Brno].

The verso of this endpaper contains a cast list (*Osoby*), against which have been added the surnames of the singers at the first performance. That of the original Jenůfa — [Maria] Kabeláčová — has been crossed through and replaced with 'sl. Kašparová' [Miss Kašparová, i.e. Růžena Kašparová, the original Karolka, who replaced the indisposed Kabeláčová at later performances].²⁵ Added at the head of the page in pencil is the title: *Její pastorkyňa. | Hudební moravské drama ve 3 j. | na slova Gabriely Preissové, složil Leoš Janáček*.

The libretto itself occupies the first 55 numbered pages of the exercise book, with separate pagination also added for each Act:

| | general pagination | individual pagination |
|-------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Act 1 | 1–19 | 1–19 |
| Act 2 | 20–36 | 1–17 |
| Act 3 | 37–55 | 1–19 |

As originally copied in ink, LB includes frequent use of repeat marks to indicate word and phrase repetitions. These are supplemented by extensive pencil annotations indicating bars' rests, rehearsal figures, orchestral interludes and dances, as well as

²⁵ See Němcová 1984, 27.

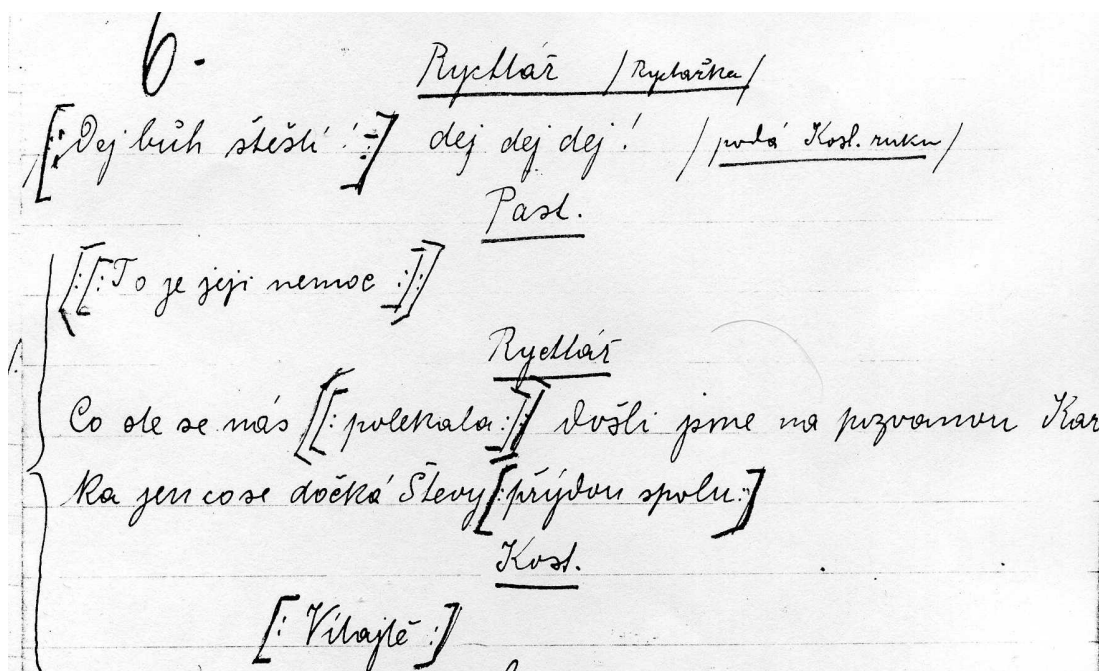


Fig. 2.8 LB, 38 (detail): beginning of Act 3 Scene 2 (the Mayor's entrance), showing word repetitions that help in identifying the 1904 version of this passage (see CHAPTER 3, Ex. 3.39). Reproduced by courtesy of the Moravian Regional Museum, Brno.

corrections and other alterations, and several (often elaborate) doodles. At the beginnings of Acts 1 and 2 are added in pencil the words 'Krátká hudba' [lit. 'brief music'] indicating the orchestral introduction before the action commences; and at the corresponding place at the head of Act 3, 'Delší hudba' ['longer music']. Towards the end of each Act, a pair of hand-drawn bells (♪I and ♪II) were probably used to cue a remote alert for backstage or front-of-house staff that the Act ending was imminent (see Fig. 2.9; see also ŠVS above). Textual corrections include, in the Kostelnička's Act 1 aria, a change from 'Aji on byl žlutohřívý' [*recte* 'žlutohřívý': Ah, he was yellow-haired] to 'Aji on byl zlatohřívý' [*recte* 'zlatohřívý': Ah, he was golden-haired].²⁶

Among the more notable changes is an alteration to the wording of the big Act 1 ensemble (led by Stařenka), from 'Každý párek si musí svoje trápení přestát' [Every couple must weather its own troubles] to 'Každý člověk si musí [...]' [Every one/man

²⁶ LB, 12; ŠVS has 'žlutohřívý', ŠFS 'zlatohřívý', and PL (Preissová's printed drama) 'žlutohřívý'.

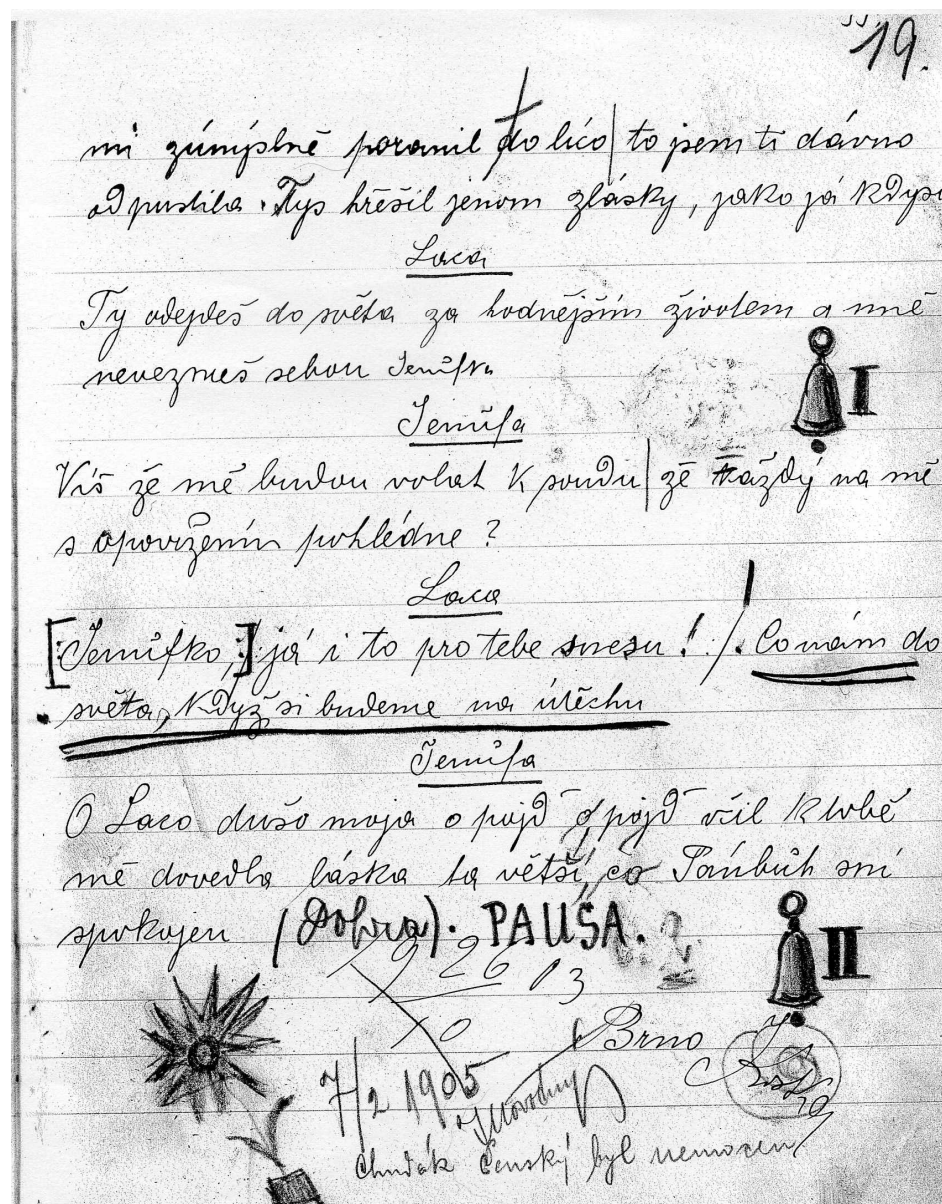


Fig. 2.9 LB, 55: end of Act 3, showing Kostka's date and signature, prompter's annotations and doodles, and the end-of-Act 'bell' cues. The repetition marks around Laca's final 'Jenůfko' appear to be an error. Reproduced by courtesy of the Moravian Regional Museum, Brno.

must get over his own troubles].²⁷ And in Act 2 Scene 4 (Kostelnička-Laca), when Laca asks his aunt to give him Jenůfka's hand, 'jak jste mně vždycky, vždycky těšivaly, že se to může stát' [just as you've always encouraged me to hope it might turn out like that], the repeated 'vždycky' [always] is changed to the less emphatic 'často'

²⁷ LB, 15.

[often].²⁸ Neither of these however, found their way into the published versions of Janáček's score (KPU in 1908, UE in 1917/18), or indeed even into ŠFS and ŠVS.

Dates entered at the end of the libretto give some idea of its brief lifespan as performance material as used by prompters. The end of Act 3 is signed and dated (26 October 1903) by the copyist, Kostka.²⁹ In chronological order, prompters' dates are as follows: on the inside back cover in pencil is the annotation: *11/5. 1904 Č.[eské] Budějovice Koudelky* (i.e. the prompter Koudelka); in pencil underneath Kostka's date on page 55: *7/2 1905 | J Novotný* and the comment *Chudák Čenský byl nemocen* [poor Čenský was ill]; and on the otherwise blank page 56: *V Moravské Ostravě, 25/9 06 Háček*. Although this suggests that LB was used as prompter's copy from 1904 to 1906, three dates from autumn 1906 entered into ŠVS by the same 'Háček' (including 25 September) seem to indicate that by then it was ŠVS, with the 1906 cuts marked in, that was being used for this purpose. LB was thus probably used by the prompter for all performances of *Jenůfa* in 1904 and the single performance (7 February) in 1905.

Notwithstanding some inaccuracies and anomalies noted by Štědroň in his description of this source, LB's usually very precise indication of word- and phrase-repetition offers great help in reconstructing the 1904 vocal parts, as discussed below. Although Štědroň's discussion of LB at times seems to imply that Janáček revised this source in creating the 1907/8 version of *Jenůfa*, it is clear both from an examination of the manuscript and from the wider context of Štědroň's remarks that he was referring to the text (in the 'abstract' sense) embodied in LB rather than to the manuscript itself.³⁰ With the exception of the dates relating to composition, etc., added later by Janáček himself on the manuscript's preliminary pages, all the annotations relate to

²⁸ LB, 27.

²⁹ LB, 55.

³⁰ See especially Štědroň 1966b, 516 and *ZGJ*, 81.

issues of practical, pre-revision use in the early performances of the opera between January 1904 and February 1905.

OPx Mixed set of orchestral parts, copied between 1903 and 1916, various copyists, BmJA, A23.439.

39 parts: picc, fl 1, fl 2, ob 1/cor angl, ob 2, cl 1 ×2, cl 2 ×2, bass cl, bn 1, bn 2, hn 1, hn 2, hn 3, hn 4, tpt 1, tpt 2, trbn 1, trbn 2, trbn 3, tuba, timp, cym, xyl, trgl, vn 1 ×3, vn 2 ×2, va, vc, db; 'Za scénou' [offstage instruments]: vn 1, vn 2, va, vc, db (the *za scénou* vn 2 and db parts are attached to one another with adhesive tape, as are va and vc)

OPx comprises a mixture of parts copied between 1903 and 1916 (the first Brno performances of the Kovařovic version). Dates entered into the parts by players confirm that this set was in use for performances by the Brno National Theatre at least until 1919. Oldest is Act 2 of bassoon 2 (in the hand of copyist A; see above, description of OP), most of which was taken over from OP and heavily altered with Janáček's and (subsequently) Kovařovic's revisions. In the same part, Act 1 appears to have been copied by copyist B in the late summer of 1906 (i.e. for the performances in September/October that year). Two of the violin 1 parts (subsequently marked 'II. Pult' and 'III. Pult'), one violin 2 ('I. Pult') and the single copies of viola, cello and double bass all date from 1911 (by which time the OP string parts had ceased being used).³¹ The oboe 1/cor anglais part likewise appears to date from 1911. All these parts contain the *Úvod*, although (as with the parts in OP) there is no indication that it

³¹ The OP violin 1 part was partially revised in 1911 but then abandoned, presumably in favour of recopying rather than messy adaptation and correction (see below, §2.2).

was ever played as part of the opera. In the bassoon 2 Act 1 part it is labelled 'Úvod', in violin 2 'Ouvertura', and in all the other 1911 parts 'Předehra' [prelude].

Distinct from the other material in this set is a pair of clarinet parts copied in 1913–14. These are dated by the copyist 12 September 1913 (clarinet 1) and 27 February 1914 (clarinet 2). Together with the absence of copying dates in most of the other OPx parts, these dates have led to the belief that OPx is a combination of material dating from 1904 (i.e. OP), 1913/14 and 1916, with the first wave of recopying coming only in 1913.³² Essentially, these two clarinet parts contain the 1907/11 version of the opera, and appear to have been copied directly from the heavily revised OP clarinet parts. However, their clean condition and absence of performance markings suggests that they were never used in complete performances of the opera. Rehearsal numbers and neat blue ink alterations in Act 1 Scene 1, Act 2 Scene 1 and the final scene of Act 3 point to their use in (or — given the absence of other markings — merely preparation for) the 1941 Brno radio performance of excerpts conducted by Břetislav Bakala.³³ It is, however, unclear why these parts were copied in 1913/14 and then never (apparently) used in complete performances of the opera. Difficulties in using the much-altered 1904 material for the one-off performance of *Jenůfa* in Brno on 25 March 1913 may have led to plans for recopying, with a view to possible future revivals (repertory at the Brno theatre was decided on an *ad hoc*, almost day-to-day basis, according to profitability).³⁴ In any event their existence seems to have been overlooked when a pair of completely new clarinet parts was copied in 1916, incorporating Kovařovic's revisions. The significance of the two 1913/14 clarinet parts is the light they shed on the shape of

³² Němcová 1980, 163

³³ See Chapter 1, §1.6.

³⁴ *CO*, 47

Jenůfa in 1913, providing a ‘snapshot’ of the opera’s form at that point: the last performance of the work in Brno prior to Janáček’s late revisions and those of Kovařovic. In particular, they confirm that two passages in Act 2 Scene 3 consigned in UE 1996 to appendices (= II/iii/200–9 and 231–6 in the present edition) formed part of the text of the opera up to and including 1913.³⁵ Like the OPx parts copied in 1911, they also contain the music of the *Úvod*, designated ‘Předehra’.

The remaining OPx parts (including Act 3 of bassoon 2, the individual percussion parts and the ‘za scénou’ strings) were copied in 1916 from Kovařovic’s revised version of the work.³⁶ All of these 1916 parts lack the *Úvod*, a sign (together with its complete absence from the KPU vocal score) that this independent prelude had by that time been definitively dropped from the opera.

The material contained in OPx thus falls into four chronological groups:

(1) 1903–04: bn 2 (Act 2)

(2) 1911: ob 1/cor angl, bn 2 (Act 1), vn 1 ×2 (desks 2 and 3), vn 2 (desk 1),
va, vc, db

(3) 1913/14: cl 1, cl 2 (both unused)

(4) 1916: picc, fl 1, fl 2, ob 2, cl 1, cl 2, bass cl, bn 1, bn 2 (Act 3), hn 1, hn 2,
hn 3, hn 4, tpt 1, tpt 2, trbn 1, trbn 2, trbn 3, tuba, timp, cym, xyl, trgl, vn 1
(desk 1), vn 2 (desk 2); ‘Za scénou’: vn 1, vn 2, va, vc, db

³⁵ UE 1996, 486–91. The final revised versions of these passages (see above, ‘ŠFS’) are used as the main text in UE 1996 on the grounds that they appear to be among Janáček’s own late, pre-Kovařovic revisions of November 1915 (see Tyrrell 1996, xii / Tyrrell 2000, vii; see also below, §2.2).

³⁶ The ‘Kovařovic’ version of *Jenůfa* was premièred at the Prague National Theatre on 26 May 1916; it received its Brno premièred on 4 October that year. The following two performances in Brno (9 and 11 October) featured the celebrated Prague Kostelníčka, Gabriela Horvátová (1877–1967), as several players noted in their parts (ob 1, hn 2, hn 3, tpt 1, timp).

KPU *Její pastorkyňa ... Klavírní výtah ze zpěvy* [vocal score] (Brno: Klub přátel umění, 1908). Published by 18 March 1908; engraved by Engelmann & Mühlberg, Leipzig. No plate number, vi + 281 pp.

In Tyrrell's words, 'As the only published material of the opera supervised directly and exclusively by Janáček, this source carries particular authority, especially since it was subjected to more rigorous proofreading [...] than was the case in later works. 600 copies were printed, 300 of them as free gifts for the members of the Klub přátel umění.'³⁷ Although not of direct relevance to the 1904 version of the opera, it has been referred to during preparation of the present reconstruction since, particularly in those cases where the music was left largely unaltered, it is of help in resolving many (though not all) of the anomalies in the manuscript sources.

ER *Zkratky a změny*. [Cuts and changes.] Errata slip issued as a supplement to KPU. Printed by the Benediktinská knihtiskárna [Benedictine book printing press], Brno, undated. 2 pp (single leaf, printed on both sides).

This was probably printed around the time of the Prague première in May 1916.³⁸ It includes, in addition to a list of possible cuts, the late revised version of passages from Števa's response to the Kostelnička in Act 2 Scene 3 (see above, ŠFS, OPx and fn. 35).

³⁷ Tyrrell 1996, xiii / Tyrrell 2000, vii.

³⁸ Ibid.

2.2 Determining the 1904 version from the sources

Given the complex state of the surviving manuscript sources, it is hardly surprising that determining what was heard at the 1904 première of *Jenůfa* has long been regarded as impossible. This was the view of Bohumír Štědroň, whose detailed studies of the main sources made him well equipped to judge, even though he regarded the work as existing in essentially just three different versions: 1903, 1904–8 and 1916.³⁹ Alena Němcová, who shared his opinion of the difficulty, declared in 1980:

To distinguish between the individual stages of Janáček's revisions is today already quite impossible, as it is to reconstruct the version heard at the première, since many places which were corrected by erasing are now illegible, and moreover it is not possible to date individual cuts carried out before 1908.⁴⁰

Notwithstanding this pessimistic assessment, the documentary clues for establishing a rather more nuanced view of the opera's layers of revision enabled John Tyrrell to refine Štědroň's view of a work that existed in essentially just three discrete versions. Tyrrell's work in preparing UE 1996 had the benefit of access to sources not available to (or simply not studied by) Štědroň, namely the two sets of Brno orchestral parts (OP and OPx). As a result, Tyrrell was able to determine, from the surviving performance material in conjunction with corroborating correspondence and other

³⁹ For many years it was assumed that the première version of the opera was identical with the first version, i.e. that what Janáček originally wrote (as copied out by Štross in ŠFS and ŠVS) is what was heard at the first performance in 1904. This was certainly Štědroň's belief, as articulated in *ZGJ* and (in summary version) in Štědroň 1968b. See CHAPTER 1, fn. 48.

⁴⁰ Němcová 1980, 161. See also Němcová 1984, 25: 'From both the sources mentioned [ŠVS and ŠFS] and from the set of orchestral parts (now incomplete) used at the première [OP], it is not possible to distinguish reliably between the first, première version and the second, which was established with the publication of the [KPU] vocal score.'

documentary evidence, not merely three but six layers to ŠFS — the only source in continuous use from the original copying of the opera (i.e. prior to the October 1903 revisions) up to Kovařovic’s revisions, Universal Edition’s publication of the full score in 1918, and even beyond.

Tyrrell’s six layers — FS1 to FS6 — are listed below in TABLE 2.1 (column 2), alongside Štědroň’s three versions (column 1). These are supplemented, in column 3, by further layers discernible as the result of a more thoroughgoing study of the main sources for the 1904 version; they are discussed in more detail below, and (in the case of FS1.2) in CHAPTER 3, §3.1.

TABLE 2.1: Versions and layers in ŠFS

| Štědroň 1968b | Tyrrell 1996 / Tyrrell 2000 | Suggested versions and supplementary layers |
|--|---|--|
| 1903: the original version as copied by Josef Štross, perf. on 21.1.1904 | FS1: Štross’s original copy, completed 25.1.1903, corrected by 18.3.1903 | FS1.1: <i>1903 version/Urfassung</i> |
| | | FS1.2: early changes evident in Act 1 finale; these predate the revisions that created the première version (FS2) |
| | FS2: corrections made by 8.10.1903; perf. Brno 21.1.1904 | FS2: extensive cuts and changes (including metric revisions) made by 8.10.1903: <i>1904/première version</i> |
| 1904–7: Janáček revises the opera, this version pub. by KPU in 1908 | FS3: corrections 1906–7 (Act 2 ‘corrected 10.1.1907’), incorporating cuts by C.M. Hrazdira and further changes by Janáček; pub. by KPU in 1908 | FS3.1: limited cuts suggested by Hrazdira (11.7.1906) to which Janáček adds others, notably the removal of the Kostelníčka’s aria ‘Aji on byl zlatohřivý’ and cuts to the Laca/Jenůfa duet towards the end of Act 2; the results of these cuts first heard 25.9.1906 |
| | | FS3.2: Christmas/New Year 1906/7 – extensive cuts and revisions to create the <i>1908 version</i> pub. by KPU |
| | FS4: later corrections (1911?) for the 1911 Brno revival — the first perfs since pub. of 1908 KPU vocal score; further corrections 1915 (letter to Marie Calma-Veselá, 12.11.1905) = UE 1996/2000 | Janáček’s <i>Fassung letzter Hand</i> |

| Štědroň 1968b | Tyrrell 1996 / Tyrrell 2000 | Suggested versions and supplementary layers |
|---|---|---|
| | FS5: cuts made to correspond with Kovařovic's first suggestions, after 26.12.1915 | |
| 1916: Kovařovic's version, pub. by UE in 1917 (vocal score) and 1918 (full score) | FS6: reorchestration and further cuts to bring ŠFS into line with Kovařovic's version (Košťálek copy of FS) | 1916 'Kovařovic' version |

The establishment of these layers, whilst it hints at the wealth of potential information contained in ŠFS, also illustrates the difficulty of identifying the earlier versions of the score with any certainty from this source alone. With every subsequent layer of change, many parts of the earlier layers became progressively less legible, and some completely irrecoverable. The thoroughness with which changes were made to ŠFS — as noted above (§2.1), by scratching out, pasting over, rewriting or even the removal of folios — makes the task of reconstructing any early version a particularly daunting one. Even in ŠVS, which was in continuous use for a far shorter period (1903–7) before being supplanted by KPU, the number of layers and the thoroughness of the revisions mean that its usefulness in determining the precise text of the earlier versions of the score is likewise circumscribed, albeit less extensively. Little wonder that Štědroň, taking ŠVS as his main musical source, judged the possibility of reconstructing the ‘original’ version of *Jenůfa* to be so remote.

TABLE 2.2 shows the lifespan of all the main early sources for *Jenůfa*, mapped against the evident layers of revision. The shorter the period of use for any given pre-1916 source, the more useful it will be in reconstructing the particular version of the score to which it relates. Based on dates in the surviving manuscripts, it is the OP string parts and LB (the manuscript libretto) that come closest to fulfilling this criterion for the 1904 version (Tyrrell's layer FS2). (See also APPENDIX III, which shows the lifespan of the OP parts used in Brno between 1904 and 1913.)

TABLE 2.2: Layers and sources

The OP parts were in use as a complete set up until 1906, after which they were steadily replaced by recopied parts (OPx), although the harp part remained in continuous use throughout. For the purposes of this table, OPx is divided into two sets, OPx1 and OPx2, the latter being those parts newly copied in 1916 from the Kovařovic version of the score (see above, 2.1). As a ‘fixed’ printed source, KPU embodies just a single ‘layer’ of text, although it must have been used in slightly adapted form as performance material for revivals in Brno between 1911 and 1916 (for the latter date, in conjunction with the errata slip, ER).

| Date | Layer | ŠFS | ŠVS | OP | OPx1 | OPx2 | LB | KPU | Version |
|--------|-------|-----|-----|----|------|------|----|-----|--------------------------|
| 1903 | FS1.1 | ↓ | ↓ | | | | | | <i>Urfassung</i> |
| | FS1.2 | ↓ | ↓ | | | | | | |
| 1904 | FS2 | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | | | ↓ | | 1904 (première version) |
| 1905 | | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | | | ↓ | | |
| 1906 | FS3.1 | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | | | | | (‘1906’ version) |
| 1907/8 | FS3.2 | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | | | | ↓ | 1908 |
| 1911 | FS4 | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | | | ↓ | |
| 1913 | | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | | | ↓ | |
| 1916 | FS5–6 | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | | ↓ | 1916 (Kovařovic version) |

With their relatively few changes, the OP string parts offer the clearest clue to the 1904 version of *Jenůfa*. They were used throughout the first run of performances in 1904, as dates entered in the cello part show, whilst the viola part contains dates from the first two of three performances given in 1906 in Moravská Ostrava (25 September) and Brno (6 and 9 October) (see APPENDIX III). All four surviving string parts contain cuts and other alterations, concentrated for the most part in the first two Acts; the alterations in the viola and, particularly, violin 1 are more extensive than those in the cello and double bass (see below).

Of most help in dating the changes to the OP string parts is the letter written to Janáček by Hrazdira on 11 July 1906 (APPENDIX II). Hrazdira proposes cuts to the

two ensembles in Act 1, ‘A vy, muzikanti, jděte dom’ and ‘Každý párek si musí svoje trápení přestát’, and further suggests two short cuts, one of two bars, the other of three, in Act 1 Scene 7. Earlier in the letter, Hrazdira indicates that, as he is still waiting for the copy of the full score from the composer, he is making do in his preparations with the piano reduction (‘Prozatím mi stačí kl. výtah.’): by this he must have meant ŠVS, for it is in this that his suggestions appear to have been entered.⁴¹

As described above (§2.1), ŠVS contains many extensive cuts, mostly indicated in bold red pencil.⁴² However, an examination of the passages specified in Hrazdira’s letter shows that his more limited cuts were suggested by lightly pencilled ‘vi-de’ markings (using a normal lead pencil) which were then reinforced in bolder pencil (likewise lead); these cuts were evidently made at some time *before* the more numerous and extensive red pencil excisions. In fact, the ‘red’ cuts must have been made between late 1906 and December 1907, when Janáček handed over the vocal score for publication by the Klub přátel umění.⁴³ Closer examination of ŠVS suggests that, as well as those passages specifically mentioned in his letter of 11 July, Hrazdira may have proposed further cuts (perhaps feeling emboldened by a positive response to his written suggestions), including some in Act 2, since these too are indicated in the same neat, light pencil. Most of Hrazdira’s suggestions were accepted by Janáček, although traces of rubbed-out pencil marks indicate that a few were rejected — some permanently, others only to be made again at a later stage (see APPENDIX IV, cuts (i)–(v)).

⁴¹ Whether or not there was other vocal material for the early performances of *Jenůfa* (i.e. before the publication in 1908 of KPU), it is clear from the many alterations, corrections and annotations that ŠVS served as the main vocal material in the years 1904–6.

⁴² These are the cuts listed by Štědroň in *ZGJ*, 85.

⁴³ These ‘red’ cuts include changes corresponding to those made to ŠFS by January 1907: Janáček made a note at the end of Act 2 of ŠFS, ‘Opraveno 10/1 1907’ (see §2.1, ŠFS).

All the cuts entered by 1906 into ŠVS also appear in the OP string parts. However, the situation in these parts is complicated somewhat by the presence of two further sets of cuts and changes made at later date. A partial revision of the violin 1 part was undertaken by the time of the opera's revival in Brno in 1911 — the first performances of *Jenůfa* since the publication of KPU, and thus the first to incorporate its extensive revisions. But the messy task of adapting this existing part was abandoned by the beginning of Act 1 Scene 8, together with any hope of converting the other 1904 string parts (by far the busiest instruments in the score). Instead, a new set of string parts was copied for the 1911 performances.⁴⁴ A further group of short cuts in Act 1 Scene 1 common to all the OP string parts, and further changes (including paste-overs) to the violin 1 and viola parts in Act 2 Scene 1 and the final scene of the opera, appear to date from the pioneering Brno Radio broadcast of extracts from the opera in May 1941.⁴⁵

Discounting these 1911 and 1941 cuts, it becomes evident that the OP string parts were used in complete performances of the opera only until 1906. A correlation emerges between the pre-1911 cuts in these string parts and those cuts made to ŠVS before the 'red' cuts, which enables a more precise dating of these cuts than has hitherto been possible. Whilst most appear to date from 1906, some may have been made earlier. One such is the long cut in Act 1 of the Kostelnička's 'explanation aria', 'Aji on byl zlatohřivý': Němcová has outlined reasons for thinking that this may have

⁴⁴ These newly-copied parts — two violin 1 parts and one each of violin 2, viola, cello and double bass — belong to OPx; see §2.1, OPx.

⁴⁵ See *JODA*, 107. Judging from the annotations in these and other parts (the 1911 strings, and the already converted woodwind and brass), the broadcast consisted of the first scene of each of Acts 1 and 2, and the final scene of the opera.

been cut before the première.⁴⁶ Three factors, however, point against this. Firstly, there are clear signs that this scene was at least looked at in rehearsal (there are, for example, indications for fingering in the violin 1 and viola parts). Taking into account the short rehearsal period before the première, these annotations suggest that the passage was also played in performance. Second, there are similarities between the notation of this cut and others in the OP string parts which were clearly made in 1906. Finally, there is no indication in LB (in use until 1905) that this passage was cut: indeed, there are even some corrections made to this passage which strongly support the idea of its use in performance (see above, §2.1, LB). Since LB, which appears to have been copied out from ŠVS, contains detailed annotations of bars' rest, word repetitions, and occasional emendations and corrections, it seems on balance unlikely that such an extensive cut would have been left completely unmarked.⁴⁷ APPENDIX IV gives details of all the cuts made to ŠVS and the OP string parts by autumn 1906.

Given that the original orchestral parts were prepared with such haste, it is hardly surprising that, apart from the occasional correction, relatively few changes were made to the performing material during the initial run of performances.⁴⁸ What emerges from a study of the OP string parts is that the only substantial changes made by October 1906 were straightforward cuts: the first significant changes to the textual

⁴⁶ Němcová 1974, 134–5; Němcová 1984, 26–7.

⁴⁷ The aria itself appears in both UE 1969 and UE 1996 / 2000: the success it has enjoyed in performance disguises the fact that in both these editions it is an anomaly (as acknowledged in Tyrrell 1996, xvi–xvii / Tyrrell 2000, ix), for the OP string parts show that it was certainly cut from the opera by 1906. Neither of these editions, however, includes the preceding orchestral interlude on the so-called 'reminiscence motif' (I/v/210–18) which was certainly excised at the same time (see *ZGJ*, 85–6); this passage was included in an undated (1950s/60s?) Czech Radio recording of the Kostelnička's aria, kindly made available to me by John Tyrrell, but does not feature on the more recent recording of the aria on Supraphon's *Čekám tě: Janáček unknown* (Supraphon 11 1878-2 931, recorded 1994).

⁴⁸ See Němcová 1974, 137; *JODA*, 52–3. Tyrrell suggests that the first full rehearsal of Act 1 may have taken place as late as 19 January 1904 (*JODA*, 54).

detail resulted from the incorporation of Janáček's subsequent 1906/7 revisions, published in KPU in 1908. It is thus evident that the bottom layer of OP provided the basic text for all performances of *Jenůfa* during the period 1904–6.

2.3 The process of reconstruction

The orchestral score

The ability to pinpoint the early stages of revision to OP allows the 'base layer' of these parts to serve as the basis of a reconstruction of the 1904 score. The strings, with their relatively few changes, form the foundation of the reconstruction. They not only determine much of the detail of the première version, but also its broader shape in terms of number of bars, metre and tempo indications. The copyists, doubtless working under pressure of time, did not always bother too much with the finer nuances of articulation and dynamics: *sf* and *ff*, for example, are often abbreviated to a simple *f*. But the occasional metronome mark appears to confirm that Janáček had indeed added these indications by the time the parts were copied.

Often more difficult to decipher is the original form of the wind and percussion parts: some of these were in use until 1911, or even 1916, and thus contain many more layers of revision in the form of cuts, paste-overs and scratchings out. However, by using a fibre-optic light source, most of the pasted-over passages can be read with a good deal of accuracy; and a combination of keen eyesight and comparison with ŠFS and the restored OP string parts enables almost all the other altered passages to be reconstructed in their original form with a high degree of certainty. In the case of the missing parts (flute 1, bassoon 2 and violin 2) the 'ghost' image of erased notes can usually be read from the heavily altered ŠFS, often in conjunction with the surviving parts. For instance, Janáček frequently uses violins 1

and 2 in unison (in the context of the Brno performances, with a tiny pit band perhaps boasting as few as four violins *in toto*, this was perhaps just as well), while the flutes often play *a 2* or have similar figuration in thirds. Parallel passages in ŠVS also sometimes assist in the reconstruction of missing parts. Only relatively rarely is it necessary to add editorial completions (see below, §2.4).

The vocal lines

Whilst the reconstruction of the orchestral component of the score, though not without its difficulties, is fairly straightforward, the vocal lines are more problematic. No vocal parts corresponding to OP are extant, and the two main surviving sources for the vocal lines (ŠFS and ŠVS) were heavily altered, both before and after the première: ŠVS was in use until KPU appeared in 1908, while ŠFS contains not only all of Janáček's revisions, but also those made by Kovařovic in 1916. The many changes were made, as described above, by a combination of very thorough scratching out and paste-overs (the latter often on both sides of a folio, making the original difficult to read even with the aid of fibre-optics). Determining which version of the vocal line 'fits' the 1904 score thus requires careful scrutiny and comparison of both the Štross scores, taking into account the orchestral context reconstructed from OP.

Of further help in reconstructing the voice parts is LB, the manuscript libretto used by the prompter at early performances. Like the OP strings, this was in use for a short enough time that it provides a very clear picture of the opera in its 1904 form. It contains no music but, as observed above, its notation of the words is quite precise, with detailed indications of word repetitions many of which Janáček later removed. In Fig. 2.10, the notation of the repeated phrase in LB provides confirmation of the vocal line in a way that the orchestral parts (which could fit either version) cannot:

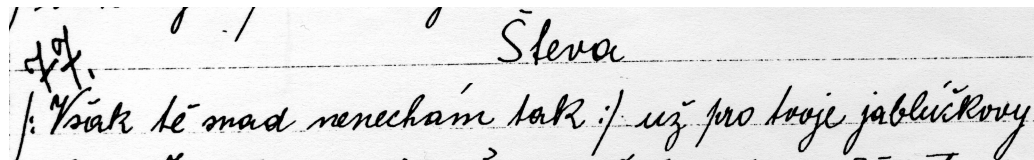


Fig. 2.10 LB, 16 (detail); reproduced by courtesy of the Moravian Regional Museum, Brno.

Ex. 2.1

I/vi/223 ŠTEVA (chlácholivě k Jenůfě) *mf*

1904 *mf* Však tě snad ne ne-chám tak, však tě snad ne ne-chám tak!

KPU, 85

1908 *mf* Však tě snad ne - ne-chám tak!

Fig. 2.11 from LB helps to confirm not only that the Foreman's words 'to je mi' were repeated (indicated with a horizontal bracket in Ex. 2.2), but that the entire phrase was then sung again. Both repetitions were omitted by 1907:

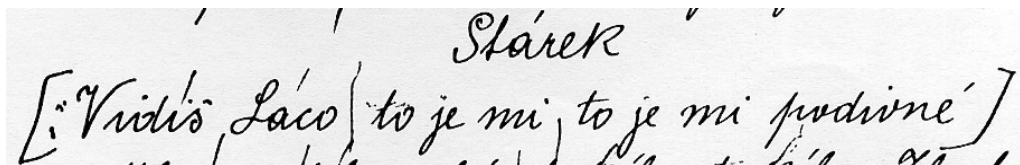


Fig. 2.11 LB, 7 (detail); reproduced by courtesy of the Moravian Regional Museum, Brno.

Ex. 2.2

I/ii/116 STÁREK *f*

1904 *f* Vi - diš, La - co, to je mi, to je mi po-div - né!

KPU, 33 *f*

1908 *f* Vi - diš, La - co, to je mi po-div - né,

Viol. *f* 6 *sf* 6 *5* *ff* 6 *sf*

Vlc. Vlc. Cb. *sf*

Although many other instances of vocal line revision cannot be determined from LB, examples such as those given above can help in developing a feel for the

nature of the changes, which can then be brought to bear on less clear-cut examples. It is by no means always the case that the vocal line revisions were made at the same time as the orchestral ones. Many of the changes to the voice parts were carried out non-synchronously with those to the instrumental lines. For example, in the Kostelnička's passage in Act 2 Scene 1, 'Už od té chvíle' (fig. 5), the vocal line appears to have reached more or less its final form — the second layer of revision — before the strings, whose 1904 ostinato represents a first layer of revision (see also CHAPTER 3, Exx. 3.11 and 3.15):

| | <i>voice</i> | <i>orchestra</i> |
|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| | FS 1.1 | FS 1.1 |
| | FS 1.2 | — |
| 1904 | FS 2 | FS 2 |
| 1908 | — | FS 3.2 |

Where there are two variant readings that might both plausibly fit with the reconstructed orchestral score, I have generally chosen the earlier unless there is good reason to opt for the latter. Word-setting gave Janáček some problems, since his dialect Czech was often at variance with the stress patterns of 'standard' Czech, and his many revisions to the voice parts — apparently made incrementally both before and after the première — reflect his concern to iron out some of these anomalies. In standard Czech the name 'Jenůfa', for instance, has a short, stressed first syllable but a long, unstressed second syllable. Janáček appears instinctively to have set the first syllable as an upbeat (which effectively shifts the stress to the second syllable), whilst in his revisions he generally (though not always) moved it to the more 'correct' downbeat position (see CHAPTER 3, Ex. 3.37). In general, the earlier versions of the vocal lines are not only less 'correct' or idiomatic, but also stick rather more closely and conventionally to the often apparently instrumentally-conceived ideas in the

orchestra (see CHAPTER 3, §3.3.4). As such, they are of considerable interest in the context of the gradual emergence of Janáček's conception of speech-melody and its influence on his vocal music in particular. In the publicity material for the *Jenůfa* première, Janáček made much of this new development in his music, but its at best only partial realisation goes some way to explaining the rather dismissive, if not outright hostile reaction of the Prague critics to the Brno première.

2.4 Notes to the reconstruction

Any edition that goes beyond the mere reproduction of an existing manuscript or printed source inevitably contains anomalies, whether acknowledged therein or not. Departures from the original sources, be they in the form not only of unwittingly introduced new errors but also of corrections, editorial suggestions, completions, or choices between competing readings, even when made for the soundest possible reasons, entail to some extent a remove from the historically transmitted text. This edition is no exception.

Dürr's 1969 edition of *Jenůfa*, whilst it did not pretend to embody a chronologically specific 'version' of the opera as such, preserved Kovařovic's retouchings, as well as supplementing them with further alterations by later conductors.⁴⁹ However, at the same time Dürr restored the Kostelnička's Act 1 solo 'Aji on byl zlatohřivý', even though it had been cut from the opera by Janáček himself by 1906 (and demonstrably so, from Dürr's vantage point, by 1908). Mackerras and Tyrrell, using the plates of UE 1969 as the basis for their edition of the 'Brno version 1908', retained this passage in UE 1996/2000 whilst at the same time acknowledging its

⁴⁹ See Dürr 1968 and Dürr's Preface to UE 1969.

anomalous status there.⁵⁰ A further anomaly in UE 1996/2000 is its designated version label ('Brněnská verze 1908'), for it not only incorporates changes made by Janáček up to 1915, but in so doing presents a text that was never actually heard in Brno (where the last performance of *Jenůfa* before the adoption of the Kovařovic version was in March 1913).

In the present edition there are two main conscious anomalies. The first is in Act 1 Scene 4 (the appearance of Števa and the recruits): the lack of original stage band parts from the première and the thoroughness of revisions to ŠFS together mean that the possibility of reconstructing the onstage music in its 1904 version with any certainty is remote indeed. Rather than attempt a hypothetical reconstruction based on very little available evidence, the 1908 version of this music has been used here.

A more far-reaching difficulty concerns the vocal lines throughout the opera, as outlined above (§2.3). The lack of a firmly verifiable source from 1904 other than LB means that, whilst the different layers are for the most part discernible (albeit often with difficulty), the particular layer of vocal revision used in the present edition at any given point is sometimes unavoidably conjectural. Every attempt has been made to judge each case within its context; in those instances where reference to LB is not able to decide the issue, a general preference for the earlier version of a given passage has been tempered by a close comparison with any surrounding revisions to the orchestral texture, as well as to other, verifiable revisions to the vocal lines themselves.

An overriding consideration has been to present as clearly as possible the text of *Jenůfa* as performed in 1904 whilst incorporating any necessary corrections. For this edition — the first entirely new setting of the opera's full score in any version for almost forty years — a decision was taken early on to revert throughout to Janáček's

⁵⁰ See above, fn. 47.

own time signatures and governing key signatures (see below, pp. 61–2; for further details concerning the conventions adopted for the application of key signatures to transposing instruments and to the timpani and harp, see below, pp. 68–9 and 71).

As a general rule I have not sought to ‘improve’ obviously difficult passages where this would in effect introduce prematurely a revision made only subsequently in the opera’s performance history. In Ex. 2.3, which shows a particularly awkward passage for the first violins during the Kostelnička’s Act 1 solo, I have restored the original notation rather than opt for Dürr’s much easier *divisi* solution (also used in UE 1996):

Ex. 2.3

71

I/v/292

1904

UE 1969/1996

sfp

div.

sfp

p

Likewise in the following passage from Act 3 Scene 8, for violins (1 and 2 in unison) and violas, the awkward offbeat viola demisemiquavers have been left unaltered (Ex. 2.4a) in preference to the much less tricky 1908 revision (Ex. 2.4b):

Ex. 2.4a

48

1904

III/viii/10

sul sol

Viol.

(¹ Arpa)

Vle.

Ex. 2.4b

48

1908

sul sol

Viol.

Vle.

p

However much more practicable the revision is, it is *inter alia* precisely in such changes that the significance of Janáček's subsequent revisions (in the form of cuts and practical improvements) resides. Thus, whilst making necessary editorial emendations, I have not sought to pre-empt either Janáček's own changes or the improvements of later editors. Footnotes give details of the more significant variant readings in the sources.

Layout

For the sake of clarity, the present edition gives just one full-score system per page. However, the system divisions follow as closely as is practicable those of UE 1996 in order to facilitate comparison between versions.

Scene numbers

Unlike many of Janáček's later operas, there are no physical changes of scene within each Act of *Jenůfa*. Instead Janáček, like Preissová, employs the classical convention of new scenes according to the entrance or exit of characters (*výstup* is in this sense the Czech equivalent of the German *Auftritt*). Janáček retained Preissová's numbering, although his omission of some scenes from the play means that, in ŠFS, ŠVS and KPU, there are several 'double' scene numbers in Acts 1 and 2. These have

been rationalised here, as they have been in all scores published by Universal Edition; see APPENDIX V, which includes the original scene numberings.

Rehearsal figures

The present reconstruction adopts the rehearsal figures used by Dürr (UE 1969) and Mackerras-Tyrrell (UE 1996/2000), again in order to facilitate comparison with those editions. However, because the present edition contains substantially more music, these rehearsal figures have been supplemented with extra ones (e.g. 118a, 118b) where appropriate. As in UE 1917, UE 1969 and UE 1996/2000, the strophic pseudo-folksongs in Acts 1 and 3 ('Daleko, široko' and 'Ej, mamko, mamko'), notated as repeated passages in ŠFS, ŠVS and KPU, are here written out in full. A concordance with the original rehearsal numbers as used in ŠFS and KPU is provided in APPENDIX V.

1906 cuts

The cuts made to Acts 1 and 2 of *Jenůfa* by the time of the three performances in autumn 1906 (see above, and APPENDIX IV) are indicated by **vi-** **-de** markings above the top stave.

Key signatures and accidentals

Notoriously, Janáček's choice of key signatures often appears quixotic, and for this reason both UE 1969 and UE 1996/2000 rationalised these, for the most part either using more appropriate ones or dispensing with them altogether. For the present reconstruction, Janáček's original governing key signatures⁵¹ have been reinstated: they served as the basis for KPU, UE 1917/18 and all later Czech editions of the vocal

⁵¹ i.e. the general key signatures applying to the vocal lines and non-transposing instruments.

score. Playing standards have improved over the years and musicians have grown more used to Janáček's idiom: in performances of the present reconstruction in Nottingham (by the University Philharmonia, 4 March 2000, Act 2) and Warsaw (Warsaw Chamber Opera, May 2004) the original governing key signatures posed no serious problems for the players. They have therefore been retained throughout.⁵²

Tied accidentals across systems follow the conventions used by Universal Edition, which differ from modern anglophone practice.

Time signatures

UE 1969 and 1996/2000 occasionally made changes to the original time signatures, for instance when consistent use of triplets made re-notation in compound time a possibility. Here, as with key signatures, Janáček's original time signatures have been retained throughout, including his occasional use of multiple (i.e. simultaneous) time signatures (e.g. Act 2 Scene 5).

Rhythmic irrationals (tuplets)

Janáček is well-known to editors and performers for frequently getting his notation of rhythmic irrationals (particularly duplets and quadruplets) 'wrong' according to what has emerged as 'standard practice'; and specifically, for using the wrong durational unit as the basis for the irrational group. Usually, however, Janáček's notation is clear on its own terms (as, for example, with the xylophone's quadruplet quavers that open

⁵² Both Paul Wingfield and Thomas Adès have argued persuasively for the retention and — where necessary — restoration of Janáček's original key signatures, on both musicological and musical grounds. Although a consideration of the musical significance of Janáček's key signatures does not form part of the present study, such arguments have — along with the practical considerations outlined above — influenced the decision made here to restore the composer's own notation. See Wingfield 1995 and Adès 1999.

the opera); it has been ‘corrected’ here only in those cases where genuine confusion might otherwise arise.

Editorial completions

Where editorial completion has been necessary (particularly in the case of ‘missing’ parts such as Flute 1, Violin 2 and Cor anglais; see above), this is shown in small notation. Small notes are also used for corrections and other editorial suggestions.

Faulenzer (notational abbreviations)

Both ŠFS and OP make widespread use of *Faulenzer*: common notational abbreviations which indicate repeated figuration patterns, or single or multiple slashes through note stems to indicate multiple repetitions of the same note. All have been written out in full except in those cases in the latter category where keeping the abbreviated form is clear in itself and idiomatic for the instrument(s) concerned.

Janáček’s and Štross’s application of *Faulenzer* is often erratic. In the following example, a literal reading of the original notation (a) would result in (b), with an awkwardly repeated *e* (marked here with an asterisk), whereas (c) is surely what was intended. (This is confirmed by parallel — though not identical — written-out figuration in ŠVS.)

Ex. 2.5

II/i/44 Vle.

ŠFS/OP

(a) Original notation: A violin staff in 2/4 time, key of D major (F# and C#). The notation shows a sequence of notes: D4, E4, F#4, G4, A4, B4, C#5, D5. A double slash (//) indicates a repeat of the preceding notes.

(b) Literal reading of (a): The same sequence of notes is written out in full. The note D5 is marked with an asterisk (*) to indicate it is a repeated note from the previous measure.

(c) Intended notation: The same sequence of notes is written out in full, but the note D5 is not marked with an asterisk, indicating it is a new note.

Such instances have been tacitly corrected. Furthermore, the triplet semiquaver string figuration in the prelude to Act 2 is explicit only from II/i/40, and even then is erratically notated. Again, comparison with ŠVS suggests that triplet semiquavers should be applied throughout, and therefore this and other such passages have likewise been corrected without further comment.

Dynamics

Editorial dynamics such as *mf* and *pp* are given in small type; other editorial dynamic markings (*dim.*, *cresc.* and hairpins) are indicated by square brackets. Dynamics added by players to the Brno parts are indicated in parentheses (e.g. the trumpet *crescendo* hairpin at fig. 84 in Jenůfa's Act 2 solo). Štross makes frequent use of *rf* (*rinforzando*); however Janáček, in his additions, corrections and revisions to parallel passages, consistently prefers *sf* (*sforzando*), suggesting a notational equivalence by which Štross's *rf* is to be understood in the sense of a sudden accent. The present edition therefore uses *sf* throughout.

ŠFS also makes use of general dynamic indications (*dim.* and *cresc.*) which indicate the overall dynamic progression of certain passages, independently of the finer, localised dynamic shaping in individual instrumental and vocal lines, and sometimes in conjunction with tempo markings (e.g. *accel. e cresc.*). In the present edition these general dynamics are given above the top woodwind and string staves in the same type as the tempo indications.

Concerning the further reasons for retaining Janáček's own original dynamics, see 'Instrumentation' below.

Tempo markings

Tempo markings are Janáček's own for the opera in its 1904 version, as are the metronome marks added by him to ŠFS and ŠVS, probably before the copying of OP. In those places where tempo indications appear to have been added after the copying of OP, but may apply to the 1904 version, they are given in parentheses. Editorial suggestions or clarifications are given in square brackets.

Beaming

The original beaming is often contradictory, both between and even within ŠFS and ŠVS. It has been standardised except in those cases where it seems to reinforce either the sense of phrasing or articulation within a passage, or the motivic sense.⁵³ In this respect (as in others) the present edition differs from UE 1969 and UE 1996/2000. Thus, for example, in Act 1 Scene 5 the oboe beaming at bar 4 — Ex. 2.6(a) below — enhances the motivic reading of the passage, although it contradicts 'correct' notational practice (b):

Ex. 2.6

I/v/4 Ob. (a 2)

(a)

(b)

In Act 2 Scene 2, the use of tails rather than beaming in clarinet 1 and violin 2 at fig. 19 (Ex. 2.7) serves to reinforce the articulation in that bar, distinguishing it from the unaccented continuation:

⁵³ On the significance of beaming in revealing the underlying rhythmic unit ('sclovací sčasovka') of a given passage in Janáček's theoretical work on rhythm, see *HTD* ii, 70.

Ex. 2.7**19***II/ii/9* Cl. 1°, Viol. II*Articulation and phrasing*

Editorial articulation marks are indicated by small type; editorial phrasing and slurs are shown by broken slurs. Rationalisation of articulation and phrasing has been consciously limited to those cases which seem most to demand identical or parallel treatment. In evaluating individual cases, regard has been given to varying contexts, and to the various techniques and characteristics of different instruments.

Occasionally, too, Janáček calls for what appears to be deliberately contrastive articulation, as in the following example (Ex. 2.8): such instances have not been standardised.

Ex. 2.8

II/i/109 **7** **Con moto** (♩ = 92)

Viol. I *ff*

Viol. II *ff*

Vocal phrasing slurs

For the most part, ŠFS and ŠVS use slurs in the voice parts in the modern conventional manner, to indicate two or more notes sung to a single syllable of text. Occasionally, however, they are also used to bind together a multi-syllable phrase, as in the following example (Ex. 2.9) from Act 3, where the legato phrase mark seems

intended, among other things, to discourage too accented an attack on the octave leap to the third note:

Ex. 2.9

III/ii/75 KOSTELNÍČKA
mf

 O - na Je - nů - fa?

As is shown in Ex. 2.10, UE 1969, 1996 and 2000 dispensed with such phrase marks (following the precedent of UE 1917 and 1918), but they feature in KPU as well as ŠFS and ŠFS, and their potential for indicating an extra level of expressive nuance has led to their retention in the present reconstruction.

Ex. 2.10

36 Quasi adagio (♩ = 144)
 II/iii/120 *dolcissimo*
 1904 KOST.

 je ce - lý po te - bě!
dolcis.
 1908 KPU, 134

 je ce - lý po te - bě!
 UE 1969/
 1996/2000

 je ce - lý po te - bě!

Word division

The division of syllables in the sung text follows the principles and detailed examples set out in Haller 1956 (see BIBLIOGRAPHY). Occasionally, permitted alternatives have been used. For instance, in the case of the word ‘všecko’ [all, everything] the usual division is ‘vše-cko’, but the alternative ‘všec-ko’ (with the *c* and *k* separated) seems better to reflect for non-Czech speakers (and particularly anglophone ones) the phonetics of the word: ‘vshetsko’ (with the *c* pronounced as *ts* in ‘cats’).

Instrumentation

In line with Universal Edition house-style, and since they are widely comprehended, Italian instrument names are adopted in the score, except for those instruments (zvonky and lyra) which have a special meaning in Czech (see below).

As noted above, the instrumental forces at the Brno National Theatre in 1904 were small and, for the first run of performances, incomplete to varying degrees.⁵⁴ Whilst Janáček's minimum requirements for his next opera, *Osud*, can in no sense be interpreted as an ideal,⁵⁵ the smaller size of the orchestra in Brno in general (compared with that common today even in medium-sized opera houses) has been a factor in retaining Janáček's original dynamics, rather than adopting any of those added by Kovařovic — often for sound practical reasons — for the much larger theatre and orchestra in Prague. Although strictly requiring an orchestra with triple woodwind, the 1904 score of *Jenůfa* is for the most part playable by a double woodwind section plus piccolo, with oboe and clarinet doubling on cor anglais and bass clarinet, as undoubtedly happened in early performances. Details of the horn and brass dispositions are given in the notes below. Precise details of woodwind and brass deployment ('1°', '2°', 'a 2', etc.) are based on a thorough re-examination of both ŠFS and OP.

Transposing instruments

This edition adopts the widely used convention that transposing woodwind instruments (i.e. cor anglais and clarinets) are given with the appropriate corresponding key signatures: thus, for example, in a passage with a governing key

⁵⁴ CHAPTER 1, fn. 42, and this chapter, fn. 22.

⁵⁵ See above, fn. 22.

signature of C major, B flat clarinets are notated with a key signature of D major).

Contrariwise, but according to the same set of conventions, transposing brass instruments (i.e. horns and trumpets) are notated without key signatures, as also are the timpani.⁵⁶

In ŠFS and OP, the horns are notated at various points in G, E and F; in the present reconstruction the notation has been standardised according to modern practice, with the horns playing in F throughout. Trumpet transpositions are as in ŠFS and OP. The clarinets likewise follow the original transpositions, except in those cases where a quick change between instruments is unfeasible or where the notation is clearer in the alternative transposition (A or B flat): such departures from the original transpositions are specified in footnotes.

Horns

The full complement of four horns is used only rarely, and much of the opera is written for just horns 1 to 3. In OP, the third and fourth horns are both copied in the same part. The limited resources of the Brno National Theatre orchestra at the time of the première in any case seem not to have extended beyond a trio of horns. Occasional editorial suggestions for the additional use of all four horns are indicated in small notes.

Trombones and tuba

As with the horns (see above), the trombone section at the Brno National Theatre around 1904 appears to have been limited to three players. The fourth part is written in the

⁵⁶ ŠFS includes sporadic — and often erratic — key signatures for cor anglais and clarinets, but far less frequently for trumpets and horns (an exception is the first page of the full score: see Fig. 2.1.)

trombone 3 part, and in both ŠFS and OP is sometimes labelled '4' and at others 'Tuba'. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that Janáček envisaged a full complement of four trombones plus one tuba, and the fourth part is here assigned to the tuba throughout.

Occasionally an additional or alternative fourth part in a low octave is written in the OP trombone 3/tuba part in pencil. These annotations appear to pre-date the 1907/8 revisions and have accordingly been included in the present edition in small notes.

Xylophone

Although modern xylophone parts are written at pitch, an older tradition treats the instrument as a transposing instrument, notated an octave below the sounding pitch, sometimes in the bass clef. Janáček (as copied by Štross) notates the xylophone in the bass clef throughout; as all the written notes are below the stave on the treble clef, the original notation has been retained in the present score. Whilst the xylophone of Janáček's time would almost certainly have sounded an octave higher than this written pitch, there remain some questions as to what sound Janáček might have had in mind, and the adoption of the original notation in this reconstruction is designed to allow for this ambiguity. Janáček annotated the xylophone line in ŠFS 'na jevišti, ve mlýně' [onstage, by the mill]. However, at early performances the instrument would have been played in the pit: in OP its music is written, like that for the timpani and other percussion instruments, in a single percussion part. For a more detailed consideration of some of these issues, see APPENDIX VI: Janáček, *Jenůfa* and the straw-fiddle.

Lyra and zvonky

Janáček's use of these terms and instruments is considered in detail in Tyrrell 1996, xvii–xviii, and *JaWo*, xx–xxii.

The lyra is a lyre-shaped portable glockenspiel of the sort used in military bands, usually designated by the term ‘campanelli’ in Italianate nomenclature.

In UE 1996, *zvonky* [literally ‘little bells’] is taken to designate an unpitched bell. However, the notation (admittedly often erratic) and context in ŠFS suggest that, whilst the onstage use of the instrument (in the recruits’ scene, Act 1 Scene 4) should indeed be some sort of unpitched handbell, elsewhere (e.g. in Act 1 Scene 5, fig. 59 ff, and Act 3 Scene 6, fig. 41) a pitched bell is probably intended. Accordingly, the present edition uses a single-line stave for the unpitched passages, and a conventional five-line treble staff for the pitched ones. The original notation in ŠFS is given where necessary in footnotes.

Triangle

Judging from ŠFS, Janáček may have regarded the triangle at certain points in the score as pitched. However, its notation is riddled with inconsistencies, and in the present reconstruction the modern unpitched convention is adopted throughout.

Harp

Because of the peculiarities of the instrument and for the sake of clarity, the harp part has often been renotated here either enharmonically or with replacement key signature (e.g. I/i/145 and Act 1, fig. 16; Act 2, figs. 15 and 117; Act 3, fig. 1a).

‘Ad libitum’ parts: contrabassoon and trumpet 3

In addition to the relatively infrequently used fourth horn and tuba, the 1904 version of *Jenůfa* also contains two instruments that did not survive the 1907 revisions: a contrabassoon and a third trumpet, both of which play only in the closing pages of

Act 1. On the basis of all available evidence, including not just the OP parts but also surviving documentation concerning the state and size of the Brno theatre orchestra, it seems highly improbable that they were ever heard in performances. They are included here, but play for so few bars that they could reasonably be regarded as *ad libitum* parts. The contrabassoon plays in just eight bars: I/vii/225–7 and I/vii/281–5. Similarly the third trumpet plays in only eight bars: I/vii/205–12.

CHAPTER 3: THE REVISION PROCESS

This chapter examines the 1904 version of *Jenůfa* within the context of the opera's revision history, and thus explores a significant part of the work's musico-dramatic evolution. The ability to identify more precisely than hitherto the content of the 1904 version provides a *terminus ante et post quem* for determining the various layers of revision that came before and after it. And this in turn opens up the possibility of a more nuanced view of both the opera's own genesis (including the revision process itself), and also its relationship to certain wider musical and operatic developments of the time, which are considered in the brief conclusion (§3.6).

The following survey examines the nature of the revisions undertaken, the immediate contexts within which they occurred and, more particularly, what purposes — technical, notational, textural, rhythmic, expressive — they seem to have been intended to fulfil, in terms of the specific question of the shaping and reshaping of the opera. They afford us a glimpse, at however remote a distance, into Janáček's workshop (or at least the workshop of his mind and inner ear, and later his real ear as well), as well as into the stage-by-stage evolution of the piece. In addition to offering an overview of the wider revision process of which the 1904 version is part, this chapter also seeks to arrive at a general typology of revision, thereby suggesting how the different sorts of change contributed to and in turn reflect Janáček's evolving conception of the work.

With its composition straddling two centuries in more than just the strictly chronological sense, *Jenůfa* is often rightly viewed as a transitional work: between its composer's operatic juvenilia and his mature essays in the genre, in the context of the emergence of Janáček's mature musical style in general, and indeed in the wider

development of twentieth-century opera. Whilst such transitional qualities are by no means always reflected in or dependent on a work's genesis, *Jenůfa* provides one of the most striking cases of convergence: a transitional opera, itself in the process of transition.

Although one can reasonably speak of four 'versions' of *Jenůfa* — original, 1904, 1908 and 1916 — there are good grounds, as suggested in CHAPTER 2, for regarding the process of revision as somewhat more fluid than even the establishment of a discrete series of layers might suggest (see TABLE 2.1). Inevitably, recognised 'versions' proposed by musicologists tend to coalesce around verifiable dates, as transmitted through manuscripts, publications, other documents and performances. There are usually good reasons for this state of affairs: composers' revisions are themselves normally (although by no means invariably) prompted by the immediate prospects of performance or publication, whether realised or not, and thus tend to be concentrated around such events. Often, however, the versions established as a result — or at least, the labels by which they become known — can be misleading. Thus, for instance, the '1908 version' of *Jenůfa*, as embodied in the KPU published vocal score, appears already to have been subjected to minor revisions by the time it was first performed in January 1911, and it was further altered up until the time of the pre-Prague revisions of 1915. It is this 'final revision' of the '1908 version' that is presented in the Mackerras-Tyrrell edition (UE 1996 / UE 2000).¹ The need to allow for a certain latitude in labelling versions recognises not only the need for simplicity as well as transparency in such matters, but also the fact that the reality of the revision process will usually lie somewhere between the extremes of a series of 'fixed',

¹ See Tyrrell 1996, vii, xii and xv / Tyrrell 2000, iv and vii.

discrete versions on the one hand and what one might call a ‘painting the Forth Bridge’ scenario on the other, with the text in a near-constant state of flux and remaking. Moreover, as a particularly complex and collaborative genre, opera gives rise to special complications when trying neatly to compartmentalise the compositional process and to assign ‘authority’ to certain readings (let alone reconstruct them with any accuracy), for it is invariably subjected to an unusually wide range of socialising and cultural influences on its realisation in performance.²

Taking into account these provisos and the relativities which emerge from them, *Jenůfa* nevertheless still seems to have moved through a number of more or less distinct phases which can be characterised in broader terms, with what appear to be different objectives to the fore at different stages. Throughout this process (albeit at varying levels of intensity) was a series of revisions to the vocal lines which, though not exactly systematic, shows Janáček steadily changing, improving and refining the declamation, gradually attaining a more natural, realistic and often less melodically dependent idiom for the voices (see below, §3.3.5). The possibility of pinpointing the 1904 version and also the significant 1906 revisions with a greater degree of exactness than has been possible until now helps in refining the identification and chronology of other revisions, in particular those made before 1904. What follows is intended as a general overview — rather than an exhaustively detailed account — of the various stages of the revision process. It focuses particularly on those revisions made both shortly before and relatively soon after the 1904 première (autumn 1903, summer 1906, and late 1906/7, the latter resulting in the 1908 KPU vocal score), as well as on certain significant features of the 1904 version itself. It also offers a more generalised summary of subsequent revisions by both Janáček himself and Karel Kovařovic.

² See Grier 1996, 206.

3.1 The *Urfassung* and the pre-première revisions

For present purposes Janáček's pre-première revisions can be split into two broad categories: notational and substantive.³ To the former belong numerous changes to time signatures and note values which, whilst altering the notated appearance and even the perception (by the performers who read the notation) of certain passages, leave the sounding substance of the music essentially unaltered. TABLE 3.1 (on the following page) lists the main notational changes made to ŠFS and ŠVS between their initial copying by Josef Štross and 8 October 1903, when Janáček handed over both scores to the Brno National Theatre. Excluded are a number of instances of **C** being changed to **♯** (or vice versa), and also the more extensive changes to the closing pages of Act 1 (now difficult to reconstruct with any certainty because of the heavily revised state of ŠFS and ŠVS; but see below and APPENDICES VIII and IX). Many of the metrical changes, including those listed in the following table, were facilitated by Josef Štross having presciently ruled many of the barlines in ŠFS, as well as some of those in ŠVS, in pencil.

³ The distinction made here between 'notation' and 'substance' is a relative rather than an absolute one. Substance in music is clearly dependent on more factors than pitch alone; and metre, note values, articulation, phrasing and instrumentation equally clearly have a vital role in determining the character and substance of a given work as realised in performance. Here the difference implied is one of degree: most of Janáček's alterations to metre, for example, result in a notational clarification rather than a marked sonic transformation of any given passage.

TABLE 3.1: Early notational changes to ŠFS and ŠVS

| Act/sc | bars | original | by Oct 1903 | comments |
|---------|---------|-------------------------------|-------------|---|
| I/iii | 1–18 | 6/4 (12/8) | ♠ | Stařenka: ‘Co ty, Jenůfo, za mamičkou nechodíš?’ |
| I/iv | 1–61 | 6/4 | ♠ | recruits: ‘Všeci sa ženija’ |
| I/v | 1–3 | | | |
| I/v | 4–24 | 3/2 | 3/4 | orch. interlude Jenůfa: ‘Duša moja, Števo, Števuško!’ Števa: ‘Já, já! Já napilým?’ |
| | 25–68 | 6/4 | ♠ | Števa: ‘To ty mně, Jenůfka!’ |
| | 69–186 | 6/4 | 2/4 | number of bars doubled, i.e. one 6/4 bar becomes two 2/4 bars |
| | 187–205 | 6/4 | ♠ | chorus: ‘Daleko, široko’ – Kostelnička’s entrance |
| | 325–34 | 6/8 | 6/16 | recruits: ‘Ale je to přísná ženská’ |
| I/vi | 97–128 | 5/8 | 4/8 | Jenůfa: ‘Beztoho bude’ (Andante) |
| | 129–40 | 5/8 | 2/4 | Števa: ‘Vždyť vidíš, tetka Kostelnička mne pro tebe’ (Allegro) |
| I/vii | 68–94 | 2/8 | 2/4 | Laca: ‘Okaž, já ti ji zastrčím za kordulku’ – Jenůfa: ‘Dej ji sem!’ (ŠVS only; ŠFS always 2/4) |
| | 107 | 6/4 | 3/2 | Jenůfa: ‘mohu se pýšit!’ (Maestoso) |
| | 117–22 | continuation of preceding 3/8 | 2/4 | fig. 114: Presto the change of metre explains why the left hand in ŠVS is in triplet semiquavers rather than quavers |
| II/i | 124–88 | key sig: 2 sharps | 2 flats | Jenůfa: ‘Řekla jste sama’: some of this passage originally a semitone higher |
| | 163–97 | 3/4 | 3/8 | Kostelnička: ‘Ale bude bečat’ |
| II/iii | 210–30 | 4/16 | 2/8 | Števa: ‘A vás, tetko’ |
| II/iv | 43–84 | 3/2 | 3/4 | Kostelnička: ‘Laco, ty máš všecko zvědět ... Jenůfa, bědná děvčica’ |
| II/viii | 1–9 | 3/8 Presto (17 bars) | 2/4 | Kostelnička: ‘Tu zrovna jde!’ |
| | 24–136 | 2/4 | 2/8 | Jenůfa: ‘Děkuji ti, Laco’ |
| III/xi | 23–53 | 2/4 | 4/8 Grave | Kostelnička: ‘Odpusť mi jenom ty’ |

That most of these notational changes are found in Act 1 is hardly surprising, as this was the earliest Act to be composed by several years, and thus the most likely to be in need of being brought ‘up to date’. Most extensive, in terms of number of bars affected, is the re-notation of the ‘folk’ passages in Act 1 Scenes 3 to 5 (the pseudo-folksongs ‘Všeci sa ženija’ and ‘Daleko, široko’), in which the metrical framework changed from 6/4 to ♠. Although this can be viewed as a largely cosmetic change, it

seems also to reflect an original conception which perhaps attempted to emulate the rhythmic subtleties of folk music, with much use of duplets within the original 6/4 metre. Elsewhere the change in metre is sometimes linked to a change of tempo: the interjection of the recruits in Act 1 Scene 5 (‘Ale je to přísná ženská’, fig. 75), after the Kostelnička’s demand that Števa should abstain from drink for one year, was originally written in 6/8 but revised to a more animated 6/16 *Più mosso* by October 1903. In such instances, the metrical change serves primarily as notational clarification (in this case, the new tempo arguably ‘looks’ faster when notated in semiquavers rather than the original quavers).

More radical, however, was the metrical revision to Jenůfa’s ‘Beztoho bude’ (Act 1 Scene 6, fig. 92). A close examination of both ŠFS and ŠVS reveals that this passage was originally notated not in the 4/8 of 1904 and later versions but in 5/8:

Ex. 3.1

92

1897/1903 **Andante**
[= *l/vi/97*] JENŮFA

Bez-to - ho bu - de od ma-mič-ky těch vý - či - tek dost, dost!

pp *sfz*

In his 1903 revisions (most probably after the opera was turned down by the Prague National Theatre that spring) Janáček effected a change to 4/8 by adding semiquaver beams to the second and third quavers in each bar, as is visible in Fig. 3.1:



Fig. 3.1 ŠVS II 58v/ii (detail), reproduced by courtesy of the Moravian Regional Museum, Brno. Semiquaver beams have been omitted in error from the upper part of the left-hand piano stave; the rhythm of the lower part on the right-hand stave is likewise uncorrected. The paste-over in bar 1 of the voice part (above the word ‘Bez-to-ho’) is a 1907/8 revision, as is the vocal rhythm in bar 3 (‘vý-či-tek’).

The quintuple metre of this passage originally also extended as far as the initial section of Števa’s *Allegro* response (figs 95–96):

Ex. 3.2

1897/1903 **95**
[= I/vi/129] **Allegro** ŠTEVA

Vždyť vi - díš, tet - ka Kos - tel - nič - ka mne pro te - be

The 1903 metre change from 5/8 to 4/8 clearly goes beyond mere notational niceties. Janáček had made excursions into quintuplets or quintuple metre before: an early example is found in the outer *Adagio* sections of the fifth movement of the *Idyll* for strings (VI/3; 1878), whilst later instances can be found in the early versions of the ‘Úvod’ and ‘Gospodi pomiluj’ movements of the *Mša glagolskaja* (III/9; 1927).⁴ One

⁴ See Wingfield 1992a, 48–51.

could speculate that the change of metre might in this instance have been influenced by the shortcomings of the forces at the Brno National Theatre, although one would surely be justified in assuming that, at least in the *Andante* section, this would hardly have been unduly taxing for the players. In any event, the rhythmic variety introduced by the semiquavers of Janáček's revision achieves an intensification of expression not quite present in the undifferentiated succession of 5/8 quavers of the pre-première original. In his 1907/8 revisions (resulting in the KPU vocal score) Janáček took this intensification a stage further, freeing up the vocal line from the orchestral accompaniment (I/vi/115–17) in a manner that would come to typify the 1908 version (see below, §3.3.5):⁵

Ex. 3.3

I/vi/115 JENŮFA

1904 

KPU, 81

1908 



*) 1908: accompaniment top line rhythm changed to same rhythm as 1908 voice part

Although the vocal line revision in the above example was made after the 1904 première, it is clear that some changes to the voice parts were made before this date. Among these were alterations to the Kostelnička's Act 1 intervention aria, 'Aji on byl zlatohřivý', including not merely rhythmic adjustment (removal of duplets in favour of compound time) but also the excision of some phrases of text (see Ex. 3.4). The modification of the

⁵ See also *CO*, 283–6.

notation of rhythmic irrationals is a characteristic of Janáček's pre-première changes, and he continued tinkering with the nuances of vocal rhythms in his later revisions.

Ex. 3.4

II/v/296 KOST. 72

orig. *Po-řád jsem ješ - tě, ješ - tě ml - če - la to tvé - mu srd - ci k vů -*

rev. = LB *Po-řád jsem ješ - tě, ješ - tě ml - če - la,*

orig. *- li, po - řád jsem ješ - tě ml - če - la to tvé - mu* etc.

rev. = LB *po - řád jsem ješ - tě ml - če - la to tvé - mu* etc.

Ex. 3.5 shows the original notation (triplets throughout) of the Foreman's 'Vidiš, Laco, to je mi podivné' [You see, Laca, that's what I find strange] in Act 1 Scene 2. The pre-première revision of 1903 replaced these triplets with duple rhythms, whilst the 1907/8 changes resulted in a mixture of the two (cf. Ex. 2.2):

Ex. 3.5

STÁREK

orig. *[=I/ii/116] f Vi - diš, La - co, to je mi, to je mi po - div - né!*

1904 *I/ii/116 f Vi - diš, La - co, to je mi, to je mi po - div - né!*

1908 *KPU, 33 f Vi - diš, La - co, to je mi po - div - né,*

One of the most striking pre-première revisions occurs in Act 2 Scene 7, when Jenůfa, after lamenting the death of her baby ('Tož umřel' [He died then]), asks the Kostelníčka: 'A co Števa?' [And what of Števa?] (fig. 103). In the versions of 1904 onwards, this is a moment of hiatus: as the timpani strokes die away, the

accompaniment evaporates completely, so that Jenůfa is left singing alone at the tempo change to *Larghetto*. However, until 1903 this passage had in fact featured a continuous orchestral accompaniment, with a steady tread of crotchets in the strings and timpani plus sustained wind chords, and no change of tempo:

Ex. 3.6a

1902/3
[= II/vii/119]

Cl. (in Sib)

Fg.

Timp.

Jen.

Kost.

Viol.

Vle.

Vlc.

Cb.

Fl.

Cl. (in Sib)

Fg.

Timp.

Jen.

Kost.

Viol.

Vle.

Vlc.

Cb.

Solo

A co šte - va? Ma-mič-ko, sli-bo-

jsi za-se svo-bod-ná, svo-bod-ná!

va-li jste mi, že pro ně-ho po-šle-te. Ten to mu-sí ta-ké vě-dět

Ne-vzpo-mí-nej ho, le-da

Janáček's bold removal of the accompaniment (Ex. 3.6b) strengthened one of the crucial points in the opera: from a moment of emotional exhaustion and desolation begins the long build-up through Laca's arrival (Scene 8, fig. 107a) to the climactic ending of Act 2.

Ex. 3.6b

1904
II/vii/119 Solo

103

riten. *Larghetto* (♩ = 80)

p

Timp.

Jen.

Kost.

svo-bod-ná!

A co Šte - va? Ma-mič-ko, sli-bo-

103

riten. *Larghetto* (♩ = 80)

Viol.

Vle.

Vlc.

Cb.

*) added bar

104

Fl.

Cl. (in Sib)

mf

Jen.

va - li jste mi, že pro ně - ho po - šle - te. Ten to mu - sí ta - ké vě - dět

Kost.

f

Ne-vzpo-mí-nej ho, le-da

104

Viol.

Vle.

Vlc.

Cb.

mf

This radical pre-première revision also has a wider significance, inasmuch as it can also be seen as the beginning of a process of textural and motivic ‘distillation’ by which many passages featuring continuous orchestral textures were pared down to bare essentials, another feature that is typical of Janáček’s later revisions (see below, §3.3.2).

(One of the few contrary examples, i.e. of silence being ‘filled out’, is the transition between Scenes 5 and 6 in Act 1. Here, the end of the ensemble ‘Každý párek’ as originally copied by Štross had died away to leave Jenůfa’s four-bar recitative at the beginning of Scene 6 — ‘Števo, Števo, já vím, žes to urobil z té radosti dnes!’ [Števa, I know you were only behaving like that today out of high spirits] (fig. 87) — unaccompanied. By October 1903 Janáček had added the xylophone semiquavers (quavers in the 1908 version) to fill this void. For further details, and on the possible wider significance of the xylophone in Act 1 of *Jenůfa*, see APPENDIX VI.)

Another notable change at this stage came in the last scene of the opera, where Laca’s final words, ‘na útěchu’, were originally sung three times. Janáček pasted over the two sequential repetitions (shown in small notes in Ex. 3.7), thus turning what then became Laca’s last note in the work, *e_b* (asterisked), into an unresolved passing note. The removal of these repetitions before the première is confirmed by LB.

Ex. 3.7

III/xii/43

81 JENŮFA (překonána) *ff*

LACA O, La - - co, du ša mo - ja! O

když si bu - de-me na ú - tě - chu, na ú - tě - chu, na ú - tě - chu!

mf

Reo. Reo.

By far the most extensive pre-première alterations, however, came in the Act 1 finale. In Janáček's later revisions, all three Act endings were subjected to some sort of significant change (see below, §3.3.4), but the ending of Act 1 seems to have given him particular problems, with extensive reworkings occurring in 1907/8. The nature of these later changes, and in particular the manner in which they were implemented in the manuscripts, means that much of the original, pre-première version is now irrecoverable. However, two passages in particular can be retrieved with a fair amount of certainty, and are presented in the appendices at the back of this volume. The first is legible in ŠVS, on a two-page opening that had at one time been stuck together (ŠVS I/72v–73r); it corresponds to I/vii/206–16 in the present edition of the 1904 version, the moment of maximum crisis when Laca cuts Jenůfa's cheek. It is presented in APPENDICES VIIIa and VIIIb, the first as originally copied by Štross, the second an early revision corresponding to layer FS1.2 in TABLE 2.1 (i.e. before the changes of autumn 1903). Despite some obvious similarities with the 1904 version (Laca's vocal line; the ascending groups of four semiquavers), the content of this passage is quite different in its pre-première guise. Jenůfa's cry of 'Ježíš Maryja' [Jesus Maria!] is repeated (at first sequentially) and pitched (as it was to be again in 1908), contrasting with the unpitched outburst in 1904 (I/vii/210–13), and its rhythm is taken up in the accompaniment. The piano left-hand in ŠVS suggests that the original accompaniment to this passage also featured string tremolos. Apart from Laca's line (rhythmically altered) the only feature to survive in the 1904 version is the rapid semiquaver figuration.

Another passage from the Act 1 finale that survives relatively intact in its pre-première form is found in ŠFS I/198r–200r, a cut passage which comes between I/vii/261 and 262 in the present edition (see APPENDIX XI). The text of the vocal lines

corresponds to the present figs 122–122b, with Barena expressing relief that Laca’s knife has not cut Jenůfa’s eye, and Stařenka bemoaning the grief she has to deal with from the ‘boys’ and (in a line cut by autumn 1903) exclaiming what madness it is to play with knives (‘Co je to za rozum laškovat s nožem v ruce!’) before the Foreman runs back on stage. Like the surrounding bars as they survive in the 1904 version, this passage is in 3/4, with a key signature of four flats. It is built around an agitated figure of semiquaver sextuplets (initially flutes and strings) followed by triplet quavers (strings) with a held pedal (clarinet and bassoon plus tremolo lower strings). This texture is used to effect a build-up over a pedal D flat (from 198v/2), becoming harmonically diffuse (199v) but finding its footing again (199v) and climaxing on a chord of D flat major before the music starts building a second ascent (200v/1 = I/vii/262).

The excision of both these passages suggests that Janáček undertook a radical overhaul of the entire Act 1 ending at some point before he handed over the score to the Brno National Theatre in October 1903. Indeed, it was perhaps this, the most thoroughgoing of the pre-première revisions, to which Janáček was referring when he wrote to Camilla Urválková: ‘I am so taken up and overworked with the final revision of my opera [...]’.⁶

Generally, however, although the changes made by autumn 1903 featured a sizeable group of major revisions as outlined here, the overriding trend is one of clarification, with Janáček recasting the notation of many passages, whilst leaving their musical substance broadly intact. With the exception of the two passages from the end of Act 1 detailed above, there were no major cuts: these would come later.

⁶ Němcová 1974, 135; see CHAPTER 1, §1.2.

3.2 From 1904 to 1906

As mentioned in CHAPTER 1, it was suggested by Bohumír Štědroň on the basis of a letter from Janáček to Kovařovic that the first layer of post-première revisions to *Jenůfa* may have been made as early February 1904.⁷ On the whole, however, this seems unlikely. Firstly, Janáček may well have been referring in that letter to revisions made before the première, i.e. those made by October 1903.⁸ Furthermore, all the available performance material would still have been at the Brno theatre (the autograph manuscript, still in Janáček's possession at this stage, had already been rendered effectively redundant as performance material because of the pre-première revisions made to both ŠFS and ŠVS, as outlined above). Whilst ŠVS may possibly have been available to Janáček, enabling him to make changes to the voice parts, the singers would already have learnt their parts, making any significant alterations to their lines unlikely from a practical point of view. Furthermore, the evidence of the orchestral parts suggests that, with minor exceptions (most notably the removal of an harmonically awkward anticipatory motif for cello and bassoon before the beginning of the Kostelnička's Act 3 confession),⁹ the first substantive changes (a) occurred largely in the form of cuts and (b) appear not to have been made until 1906, in preparation for the three performances given by the Brno company that autumn.

Hrazdira's letter to Janáček of 11 July 1906 (see APPENDIX II) mentions relatively few changes compared with the number of cuts that were eventually made by that September (listed in full in APPENDIX IV). He suggests making cuts to the two Act 1 ensembles, 'A vy, muzikanti' and 'Každý párek', without giving details ('I would copy out those passages and send them to you for you to inspect'), and two

⁷ CHAPTER 1, fn. 48.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ III/x/32–3; see vol. II/3, p. 736, footnote.

more specific cuts, the first of two bars and the second of three, in Act 1 Scene 7.

Presumably with Janáček's approval, or even participation, these suggestions were greatly expanded upon in ŠVS (where the cuts seem first to have been made), and then transferred to ŠFS and OP. If the evidence of OP and LB is reliable (see CHAPTER 2), these cuts included the Kostelnička's Act 1 aria, 'Aji on byl zlatohřivý' (cut no. 2 in APPENDIX IV), together with its introductory orchestral paragraph (Ex. 3.8; cut no. 1):¹⁰

Ex. 3.8

63a
1904
I/v/210 **Moderato** (♩ = 66)

Viol.
sf
Vle. Vlc.
Cl. Fg.
sf
Cor.
sf
Cl. Fg. (+ Vle. Vlc.)
Viol. Vle.
sfp

The cutting of the Kostelnička's aria at this stage is a significant one in the light of the criticisms in 1904 of the opera's self-proclaimed but only imperfectly achieved 'realism'.¹¹ For although this passage is not referred to in any of the contemporary

¹⁰ See CHAPTER 2, fn. 47.

¹¹ See APPENDIX I and CHAPTER 1, §1.3.

reviews or correspondence, its omission (reversed in recent years following its inclusion in UE 1969 and UE 1996 / UE 2000) actually strengthens the opera's Naturalistic credentials.¹²

Two other important 1906 cuts were those made to the ensembles mentioned in Hrazdira's letter. 'A vy, muzikanti' was reduced from 45 to 29 bars (cuts 3–6 in APPENDIX IV; Janáček would take this even further in his 1907/8 revisions: see TABLE 3.2 below). Even more significant, however, was the removal of the central part of 'Každý párek', reducing it from 67 to 53 bars (cut no. 7). This was the ensemble that had caused such controversy in the wake of Josef Charvát's review article in 1904.¹³ The main criticism that had emerged in Janáček's spat with the editorial board of *Jeviště* was the multiple repetition by soloists and chorus of just one short line of homespun wisdom from Grandmother Buryjovka: 'Každý párek si musí svoje trápení přestát' [Every couple must overcome their own troubles], a repetition which all too obviously flew in the face of the opera's much trumpeted realism. Janáček's defence — that 'Whoever hears this motif of the Grandmother [...] not only sighs in spirit

¹² In classic Naturalism, as epitomised in the novels of Émile Zola and notionally taken up (albeit in modified form) by operatic Naturalism and *verismo*, the reader or audience is denied the privilege 'of identifying with the characters' motives and feelings': Andrew Rothwell, Introduction to Émile Zola, *Thérèse Raquin* (Oxford: OUP, 1992), viii. It is just such motives that the Kostelnička's Act 1 aria (and her monologue in Preissova's play) sets out at length. Taken in context, the 'realism' referred to in the original *Jenůfa* programme note (APPENDIX I) is clearly synonymous with what would now be referred to as Naturalism; for an outline of the definitions of and distinctions between the terms, see Chew 2003, 101–3. Although the Kostelnička's aria is now widely performed in productions and recordings, there are no grounds to believe that it was cut for any reason other than that Janáček himself felt it should be removed. Nor are there any signs that Janáček ever sought to reinstate it, unlike *Jenůfa*'s Act 2 Scene 6 prayer 'Zdrávas královno' [Hail, queen] which had been cut from the second performance of the opera (28 January 1904) because of the indisposition of the singer, Marie Kabeláčová, but was subsequently restored.

¹³ See CHAPTER 1, §1.3.

with the same words, but also agrees out loud'¹⁴ — attempted to justify the repetition on expressive grounds, but also betrays the fact that, in wanting ‘*to linger here*’,¹⁵ he had made ‘something of a concession to an effective musical motif which I would hardly allow myself today’.¹⁶ And indeed in its uncut 1904 guise this ensemble — together with the preceding ‘A vy, muzikanti’ and the bridging passage, ‘Jdi se vyspat, Števuško, jdi [...] Kamarádi tě svádi?’ — is strongly suggestive of the classic *pezzo concertato* form, with each of the three sections launched by a solo from Grandmother Buryjovka.¹⁷ Even by the time that Janáček had started work on *Jenůfa*, in the mid-1890s, this type of ensemble was already anachronistic; by 1904 it must have appeared even more so.¹⁸ The cutting of the oboe-led central section of ‘Každý párek’ (Ex. 3.9 below), with its spot-lighting of the four soloists (Jenůfa, Grandmother Buryjovka, Laca and the Foreman) and its steady harmonic intensification, removed a passage that was particularly redolent of this outmoded form. And although Janáček would take the cuts to ‘A vy, muzikanti’ even further in 1907/8 (see ‘KPU’ in TABLE 3.2 below), the task begun in 1906 had already begun to address the issues raised by this problematic scene.

¹⁴ *JODA*, JP 34.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Janáček’s emphasis.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ That Janáček himself thought of this passage as a more or less discrete ‘number’ is suggested in his letter to *Jeviště*, where he uses the word ‘číslo’ (in the sense of a dramatic number) apparently to refer to this section as a whole: ‘Více textu, který pro toto číslo uvolila se ještě napsat spisovatelka pí G. Preissová, sotva pomůže’ [More text, which the writer Mrs Gabriela Preissová was ready to write for this number, would hardly help]. His expressed wish for ‘a livelier staging for each of the three parts of the ensemble’ indicates that he recognised a tripartite formal division of the whole. Cz. orig. in Němcová 1974, 145; Eng. trans. *JODA*, JP34.

¹⁸ See Julian Budden: ‘Pezzo concertato’, *NG2*, iii, 989. Janáček was familiar with such ensembles from operas like *La traviata*, *Il trovatore* and *Les Huguenots*, all of which he is known to have seen before he embarked on the composition of *Jenůfa*.

Ex. 3.9

1904
I/v/460

84b

TABLE 3.2: Cuts to the Act 1 ensembles (columns show number of bars in each ensemble)

| | A vy, muzikanti | Jdi se vyspat, Števuško, jdi ... Kamarádi tě svádi? | Každý párek |
|---------|-----------------|--|-------------|
| 1904 | 45 | 28 | 67 |
| 1906 | 29 | 28 | 53 |
| KPU | 14 | 28 | 52 |
| UE 1917 | 12 | 26 | 52 |

The 1906 cuts were not just limited to Act 1, however: several were made to Act 2 as well, including a long one (46 bars in all, apparently in two stages: cuts 16a

and 16b in APPENDIX IV) to Laca's final-scene solo, 'Chci, Jenůfka' (II/viii/41), which proceeds to a duet with Jenůfa (fig. 116c) and then a trio with the Kostelnička (fig. 117). Although, as with 'A vy, muzikanti', these cuts would be taken even further in 1907/8, the 1906 changes removed the entire duet with Jenůfa, as well as the second 'verse' of Laca's solo ('Hle, ta jizva', II/viii/163), thereby substantially lessening the impression (so obvious in the 1904 version) of an operatic set number.

In addition to such larger scale cuts, which address not only formal anachronisms but also the crucial question of dramatic pacing, the excision of several short 'orchestral interludes'¹⁹ is an important development: it would be taken much further in Janáček's revisions of 1907/8, thereby removing some of the more four-square periodicity of the 1904 version. Although in his initial suggestions Hrazdira appears to have been motivated simply by a desire to address a few of the opera's more obvious *longueurs*, the 1906 cuts, as evidenced by the musical sources, in fact prepare the way for the far more extensive revisions of 1907/8.

3.3 The 1907/8 revisions

The revisions made to the opera by Janáček over the Christmas/New Year holiday of 1906/7, and continued during the course of preparations for the 1908 KPU vocal score, combine types of change already used in the pre-première alterations (i.e. textural changes) and the 1906 revisions (i.e. cuts). Both, however, were now taken much further. Janáček had by this stage had ample time to absorb the experience and lessons of two series of performances, given in 1904–5 and in autumn 1906. This, coupled with the incentive of, firstly, the possibility of an award from the Czech Academy and then

¹⁹ 'orch. mezihry': Hrazdira's term for the one-, two- or three-bar instrumental phrases that frequently punctuate the voice parts; see APPENDIX II.

the publication of *Jenůfa* in vocal score (see CHAPTER 1, §1.5), as well as the possibility — however remote it must have seemed as time dragged on — of having the opera accepted in Prague, appear to have prompted a fundamental reappraisal of the opera's musical dramaturgy which led in turn to the most far-reaching series of revisions in the opera's lengthy genesis.

3.3.1 *Cuts*

The extent of the resulting revisions is hinted at in APPENDIX VII, which presents bar-counts for the opera at four different points in its post-compositional development: 1904, 1906, 1908 and 1916. A comparison of the columns gives some idea — albeit a rather crude one — both of the scale of the differences between these distinct and verifiable versions of the opera and of the scale of the changes made to the length of the work over a period of a dozen years. In particular, it should be noted that the scale of the cuts introduced by Janáček himself between 1906 and 1908 dwarfs those made in 1915/16 by Kovařovic. And although this tabular summary does not address the just as extensive alterations made to the remaining musical substance — by way of changes to motivic content, orchestration, texture, vocal lines, etc. — it does suggest the larger perspective in which Kovařovic's much-discussed but essentially cosmetic alterations should be viewed.

As with the earlier 1906 cuts, Janáček's 1907/8 excisions range from one-, two- or three-bar abridgements — removing repetitions and instrumental interjections, and moving away from some of the more regular periodic structures of the 1904 version — to much larger-scale alterations. Among the latter are the further abridgement of the Act 1 ensemble 'A vy, muzikanti' (see TABLE 3.2), and the even more radical shortening of the solo/trio for Laca, Jenůfa and the Kostelnička launched

by Laca's 'Chci, Jenůfka' — the entire passage now taking up just 23 bars in all (UE 1996, figs 116 to 119), compared with the 82 bars of 1904.²⁰ Both these revisions substantially lessen the impression — so strong in the 1904 version of the score — of operatic set numbers. So too do the cuts to Laca's entrance in Act 2 Scene 4. In 1904 the music of the opening section, where he announces his arrival (II/iv/1–8; see Ex. 3.10a), was reprised in altered form with different text (I/iv/36–41) to create what amounts, musically at least, to a miniature modified da capo structure.

Ex. 3.10a

1904 Viol.
II/iii/280[pizz.]

51a Allegro (♩ = 152)

II/iv/1

f Cor.

mf

Vlc. Cb.
pizz.

LACA

mf

To jsem já, tet-ko, ob-chá-zel jsem ko - lem, ví - te,

Ob.

Vle.

²⁰ As a consequence of the abridgement at this stage, Laca's initial entry is brought forward so that he now sings over what had originally been the purely orchestral four-bar introduction to this passage (fig. 116 in the present edition). Tyrrell's reckoning of the trio as now taking up 'a mere 8 bars' (Tyrrell 1970, 794) counts just the eight-bar passage of simultaneous singing from fig. 117.

8 jak rád kvám cho-dím, jak rád kvám cho-dím

Janáček removed the outer sections of this regularised structure in his 1907 revisions, with the slightly abridged and less repetitious version of the text now set as a quasi-recitative:

Ex. 3.10b

1908

(KOST.)

8 ní?
LACA *mf*
To jsem já, tet-ko! Ví - te, jak, rad kvám cho - dím

Ob.
Vle.

Allegro (♩ = 152)

52

8 vá - mi se po - tě - šit!

Archi *sf*
pp
Vc. Cb. (pizz.)

Other extensive cuts made at this stage include the 31 bars removed from the opening scene of Act 2 between Jenůfa and the Kostelnička (II/i/167–94) and a notable abridgement of the orchestral introduction to Act 3 (102 bars in 1904, shortened to 77 in 1908).

Many of the longer cuts in particular went hand-in-hand with significant textural alterations to the surrounding passages that remained (see below, §3.3.2), although Janáček nevertheless often preserved the musical and expressive essence of the original material even where it was drastically pruned, unwilling to forego entirely the residual lyricism of the original inspiration.²¹ There are also a few passages that, although brief, were relatively self-contained and that were excised at this stage of the revision process. Of these, one of the more striking is a short, impassioned aside from the Kostelnička in Act 2 Scene 8, just after she has offered to bless Jenůfa and Laca (Ex. 3.11 below): ‘Ach, ona neví, neví’ [Ah, she doesn’t realise how hard it’s been for me to bring this all about], after which she sinks into the chair.²² This sudden, musically arresting outburst is (arguably) an expressive consequence of her preceding ‘Půjde, za tebe, půjde, Laco, půjde!’ [Of course she’ll go with you, Laca] (II/viii/82, marked *zimničě*, i.e. feverishly) and ‘Ona včil už ztracený rozum našla!’ [Now she has come to her senses again] (II/viii/93, marked *rozčileně*, i.e. wildly or excitedly). However, from a purely dramatic point of view (and, indeed, from a musico-dramatic one) this short passage seems weak. As a musically self-contained aside, it is in one sense a miniature counterpart to the Kostelnička’s Act 1 ‘Aji on byl zlatohřivý’. And whilst it hardly holds up the action to the same extent, it does threaten to steal thunder, however fleetingly, from the Kostelnička’s later chilling descent into the mental abyss (Act 2, fig. 120).

²¹ A point made by Tyrrell in connection with the surviving ‘torso’ of ‘Chci, Jenůfa’, Tyrrell 1968, 74.

²² As well she might, given the demands of Janáček’s specified metronome mark: see Ex. 3.11.

Ex. 3.11

113a
II/viii/100 Con moto (♩ = 92)
 KOST. *f*

Ach, o - na ne - ví, ne - ví, jak jsem to těž - ko po - sta - vi - la, ach, o - na ne - ví, ne - ví, jak jsem to těž - ko po - sta - vi - la! (klesne na židli)

That Janáček was concerned in these revisions with removing such musically and dramatically tangential moments is further suggested by his cutting of a short passage for Jenůfa in Act 3 Scene 4. Just after Karolka has warned her against telling Števa how handsome he is, because it makes him conceited (III/iv/74), Jenůfa, accompanied by a disarmingly simple idea in the strings, appears to reflect on her own earlier, naïve belief in a superficially perfect wedding (see Ex. 3.12 below): ‘Oh, I also once thought that two beautiful, nicely dressed people could go to the altar alone in happiness’.

Whether this cut was motivated by the ambiguity of Jenůfa’s reflection (is she merely thinking of her own youthful naïvety, or are her words directed also at Karolka and Števa?), the musical material (relatively unrelated to the passages either side of it) or simply the fact that these eleven bars detract somewhat from the dramatic flow, the decision seems again to be a well-judged one, however affecting in its simplicity the music itself may be.

Ex. 3.12

33a

III/iv/86 **Moderato** (♩ = 54)
JENŮFA *mf*

O, já jsem ta - ké dří - ve my - sle - la, že tam - ku ol - tá - ři v štěs - ti

mo - hou cho - dit jen dva pěk - ni, a na - stro - je - ni!

Archi con sord. *p* *f* *rit.*

3.3.2 Textural alterations

Janáček's 1907/8 cuts (most of them clearly legible in both ŠFS and ŠVS) have, like the alterations to the vocal lines (see below, §3.3.4), received a good deal of attention in the past, notably in the various studies by Štědroň and Tyrrell. Yet just as important at this stage of the revision process were his many wide-ranging changes to the opera's musical textures, which amount to not merely a bringing into focus of existing ideas, but also very often a highly distinctive transformation of the work's soundworld. Because many of these changes were effected with particular thoroughness in the manuscript sources, they have tended, necessarily, to be overlooked until now. The possibility of comparing the reconstructed 1904 score with the 1908 version in this especial respect affords new insights into an important aspect of the opera's transformation at this stage.

Of the various ways used to achieve such a textural transformation, one of the most obvious is Janáček's increased deployment of silence as an accompaniment to the voices. A relatively straightforward example of this comes in Act 3 Scene 4 (Exx. 3.13a and b), a passage following immediately on from Ex. 3.12 discussed above. Števa tells Laca that he and Karolka are to be wed in a fortnight's time, to which Karolka jokingly responds 'Aha, only if I feel like it!' In 1904, all this is accompanied by steady crotchet chords in strings and horns, with bassoons joining in at Karolka's high *b♭* :

Ex. 3.13a

1904 **34**
III/iv/97 **Tempo I** (♩ = 116)

(žertovně) *f* *f*
Ka. I - ha,

mf
Laca Kdy vy bu-de-temít ve-se-li?

f
Šte. Zrov-na za čtr-náct dní.

mf Cor. Archi *cresc.* Fg. Va.

Ka. bu - du - li já je - nom chtít! Tře - ba tě ješ - tě od - pra - vím!

In 1908, Janáček holds back the crotchet chords until the fifth bar, so that the exchange between the half-brothers comes across more conversationally, while Karolka's vocally extravagant — and psychologically ostentatious — tease is gloriously enhanced:

Ex. 3.13b

34

1908 **Andante** (♩ = 116) (žertovně) **f**

Ka. *mf* I -

Laca Kdy vy bu-de-te mít ve - se - lí? **f**

Šte. Zrov-na za čtr-náct dní.

Ka. ha, bu-du-li já je-nom chtít! Tře-ba tě ješ-tě od-pra -vím!

Cl. Fg. **f**

Cor. Archi

This revision is similar to the one Janáček had made to Jenůfa's 'A co Števa' in Act 2 in the pre-première revisions (see above, §3.1, Exx. 3.6a and b), although an important difference is that Janáček now removes the accompaniment for just a few bars at a time while keeping it as occasional punctuation for the vocal lines (as in the continuation of Ex. 3.13b). Such a technique becomes particularly effective when the orchestral accompaniment features a short motif which, instead of being constantly repeated, is broken up, so that the essence of the original idea is, as it were, 'distilled'.

A particularly instructive example of this kind of process is the Kostelnička's 'Už od té chvíle' in the first scene of Act 2 (fig. 5). This is the point at which the music of the prelude finally gives way to an arching motif developed from the cadence figure of the prelude, as the Kostelnička reflects on her feelings 'ever since that

moment I brought you home'. In 1904, this arching motif provides a continuous textural backdrop for the Kostelnička's reflections right up to fig. 7:

Ex. 3.14

1904
II/i/83 **5**

KOST.

Už od té chví - - le co jsem tě do - ved - la

[Viol. II]
Viol. I
Fl. Cl. *fp*
Vle.
Vlc. Cb.

dom, na - pad - lo mi z tvé - - - ho - na - ří - ká - ní ne - štěs - tí.

At first glance this accompaniment (and particularly the motivic profile) seems to have much in common with the ostinatos that are such a notable feature of Janáček's mature style, for instance the ones that appear in the first movement of the second String Quartet (Ex. 3.15) and the second movement of the Sinfonietta (Ex. 3.16):

Ex. 3.15 Kvartet 'Listy důvěrné' VII/3 (1928), first movement

Meno mosso $\text{♩} = 72$

dolce

p

p

p pizz.

mf



Ex. 3.16 Sinfonietta VI/18 (1926), second movement, 15 → 3

Meno mosso
1°

Fl. *mf*
1° Solo

Ob. *mf*

Viol. I *p*

Viol. II *p*

However, the rather conventionally balanced texture of ‘Už od té chvíle’ in its 1904 guise (even disregarding the editorial violin 2 part) is somewhat different from the ostinatos found in Janáček’s later operas, which tend to be much sparer, usually in higher registers, as in the following example from the opening scene of *Věc Makropulos*, in which the clerk, Vítek, is making a phone call to track down his boss, Dr Kolenatý:

Ex. 3.17

30 *Più mosso* ($\text{♩} = 80$) (do aparátu)

Vítek
Ha - ló! Dok - tor Ko - le - na - tý.

Viol. I
pp

Viol. II
pp

Již o - de - šel? Tak dě - ku - ju. (zavěšuje sluchátko)

f [*p*]

Janáček's 1907 revision of 'Už od té chvíle' removed the ostinato for bars at a time, leaving a fractured transformation of the arching motif as a punctuating figure in the manner of an accompanied recitative (see CHAPTER 2, §2.3):

Ex. 3.18

KPU, 109–10

5 Kostelníčka.

Už od té chví - le co jsem tě do - ved - la

fp

dom, na - pad - lo mi z tvé - - ho - na - ři - ká - ní ne - štěs - tí.

The result is actually much closer to the use of punctuating accompanimental motifs as used in Janáček's later operas, as the following example — from just a few bars earlier in *Věc Makropulos* than Ex. 3.17 — clearly demonstrates:

Ex. 3.19

29 **Meno mosso** (♩ = 66) *mf* *f*

Gregor
Vítek
Archi *f*

Dok-to-ra tu ne-ní? A
Do-sud se ne-vrá-til.
roz-su-dek? Sto-jí špat-ně? Jsem ztra-cen?
Ne-mo-hu slou-žit.

Other instances of motivic and textural distillation are plentiful in the 1907/8 revisions. Towards the end of Act 2 Scene 7, after Jenůfa has lamented the death of her baby, the Kostelnička tells her the news about Števa: ‘A s tou rychtářovou už je zaslíben’ [Now he’s engaged to the mayor’s daughter]. In 1904 this is accompanied by a constant triplet quaver ostinato in the strings:

Ex. 3.20a

1904 **106**
II/vii/166 **a tempo**

Kost.
Viol.
Vle.
Vlc.
Cb.

A s tou rych-tá-řo-vou už je za-slí-ben. Ne-lá-mej-si

In 1908, the accompaniment evaporates for one or two bars at a time, a revision coupled to a more idiomatic, less slavishly thematic rhythm in the vocal line:

Ex. 3.20b

1908 **106** *a tempo* [$\text{♩} = 80$]

Cl.

Kost.

Viol.

Vle.

Vlc.

Cb.

f *mf* *mf* *mf* *mf*

A s tou rych-tá-řo-vou už je za-slí-ben. Ne-lá-mej si

An altogether more extreme example of this tendency towards textural distillation is found in Act 3 at the moment of the Kostelníčka's initial revelation of the truth about the baby's murder, 'To můj skutek, můj trest boží' [Mine the deed, mine the punishment]. In 1904 both this line of text and the initial stunned reaction of the men in the crowd were made against an expansive, lyrical orchestral accompaniment, the Kostelníčka's vocal line closely entwined with the instrumental motifs (cf. CHAPTER 2, Fig. 2.5):

Ex. 3.21a

1904 **57** *Adagio* ($\text{♩} = 54$)
III/x/34 KOSTELNÍČKA *f*

To můj sku-tek, můj trest bo-ží, můj trest

Cl. Viol.

Fg. Vlc.

Vle.

Cb.

f

boží,
T. Ko-stel-nič-ka!
B. Ko-stel - nič-ka!
Ob. Viol. Vle.
Tbn. Legni
Archi

In 1908 Janáček delays the appearance of this theme until the Kostelníčka's powerful outpouring, 'Tys, Bože, to věděl že to nebylo k snesení' [Oh God, you know how unbearable it was] (Act 3, fig. 59), leaving the moment of initial confession unaccompanied except for the brief interjectory motif that underpins the crowd's reaction:

Ex. 3.21b

49
KPU, 259 **Adagio** (♩ = 54)
KOSTELNÍČKA *mf*
To můj sku-tek, můj trest bo-ží! Já jsem dí-tě
T. Ko-stel-nič-ka!
B. Ko-stel-nič-ka!
f

Silence, however, was not the only means by which Janáček achieved his remarkable musical transformation of the opera: in many cases he pared away much textural padding, thus bringing musical motifs into sharper focus. In Ex. 3.22 (from the Kostelníčka–Števa scene in Act 2) the insistent violin demisemiquavers and viola

semiquavers of the 1904 version (upper staff) were discarded by 1908, leaving the rhythmically accelerating bass line to stand alone.

Ex. 3.22

25

II/iii/10

Viol.
Vlc.
Cl. basso
Vlc. Cb.

f

3 3 6

The first four bars of Jenůfa's Act 2 lament, 'Tož umřel' [He died then], were similarly given greater definition by the suppression of all but the viola line, now played *sul ponticello* and marked *espressivo*:

Ex. 3.23a

1904

II/vii/46

Moderato (♩ = 88) *f* (těžce)

Jen. Tož u - mřel, Tož

Viol.

(+ Fg.
Cor.)

Cl. Vle.

Vlc. Cb.

f

pp

Ex. 3.23b

1908

Moderato (♩ = 88) *f* (těžce) *mf*

Jen. Tož u - mřel, Tož

sul ponticello
f *espressivo*

Vle.

pp

Whilst a general trend at this stage was the paring down of orchestral textures, especially where serving as accompaniments, there are also some noteworthy examples of textural enrichment. A good instance of this is the very opening of Act 3, where the relatively drab scoring of 1904 (Ex. 3.24a, cellos in unison with double basses) is greatly enlivened in 1908 simply by having the cellos play in parallel tenths with the basses and added bassoons (Ex. 3.24b):

Ex. 3.24a

1904
III/i/1 **Andante** (♩ = 76)

Cor. (in Fa) *p*

Vle. *mf*

Vlc. *mf*

Cb. *mf*

Ex. 3.24b

1908
III/i/1 **Andante** (♩ = 76)
a 2

Fg. *p*

Cor. (in Fa) *p*

Vle. *mf*

Vlc. *mf*

Cb. *mf*

A more complex example of textural transformation comes in the Kostelnička's confession (Act 3 Scene 10), particularly her vivid relation of the events

on the fateful night she killed Jenůfa's baby. The jettisoning of the 1904 version's agitated string demisemiquavers at the moment she describes her sensations on drowning the child ('Bylo to večer', fig. 61) in favour of the sustained harmonics of 1908 is one of the most chillingly effective of the many inspired changes that Janáček made prior to publication of the vocal score. A similarly comprehensive reworking was made of the beginning of the following scene, where Jenůfa, in a conciliatory gesture, bids her stepmother to stand up. The thickly-scored, rather foursquare 1904 setting of this passage (Ex. 3.25a), with the voice doubled by cor anglais, clarinets and violas, and repeated string demisemiquaver chords reinforced by flutes and bassoons, was replaced in 1908 by a much more transparent texture: the original melody now the sole preserve of Jenůfa's rhythmically freer vocal line, bright *pianissimo* E major sustained chords substituted for the previous sombre B flat minor leanings, and the reaching-over motif originally introduced only at fig. 68 now anticipated in bassoons, cellos and clarinet (Ex. 3.25b).

Ex. 3.25a

1904
III/xi/4 **Largo** (♩ = 40)
mf (se samostatně povznese, ke Kostelníče)

Jen. *mf*
Vstaň - te, přeš - toun - ko mo - ja...

Fl. Viol.
Cor. ingl.
Cl. Vle.
Fg. Vlc.
Cb.

Jen.
Do - sti smr - tel - né - ho po - ní - že - ní a muk vás če - ká!

66


1908

Janáček's textural changes also extended to the folk-influenced passages of the score. These are of special interest because, together with the opera's prose text and self-proclaimed use of speech melody, its 'realistic expression of the locality' was fundamental to its particular embodiment of a Naturalistic (and indeed nationalistic) strain of realism as outlined in the original programme note (see APPENDIX I).

Already in his pre-première revisions Janáček had made some notational changes to the folk-based ensembles in Act 1 (see above, §3.1). In 1907 he went further (as elsewhere in his revisions at this time), reducing the scoring of the offstage instrumental accompaniment in 'Všeci sa ženija'²³ and removing the vocal drones for

²³ It is this reduced scoring that is used in the present edition, the original being largely irrecoverable; see CHAPTER 2. In 1904 the stage band had additionally included a bassoon and trombone.

tenors and basses in ‘Daleko, široko’. In the Act 3 village girls’ song (‘Ej, mamko, mamko’), he not only lightened the scoring — making it considerably less earthy and bass-heavy — but also removed Barena’s charming yet fussy descant.²⁴

Particularly notable are the revisions Janáček made to passages featuring the *duvaj* or ‘double-stroke’ style of folk accompaniment. This homophonic, chordal string figuration featuring offbeat stress patterns () was described at some length by Janáček himself in his detailed introduction (XV/163) to *Národní písně moravské v nově nasbírané* [Moravian folksongs newly collected] (XIII/3; 1901).²⁵ There he identified it as a typical rhythmic figure of the *Starosvětská* [old-world] dance²⁶ from Slovácko, and emphasised its disruptive and vivifying qualities. Several of the accompanied dance-songs and melodies included in the latter part of this monumental volume (in the section devoted to dance tunes) contain examples of the *duvaj* accompaniment in context, including the one reproduced on the following page (Fig. 3.2), showing the beginning of a transcription from Velká nad Veličkou in the Hornácko district of Slovácko. In the accompanimental chords, each pair of quavers is slurred in a continuous bow-stroke, with an increase in pressure on the second quaver (indicated in Janáček’s notation by an accent). In Moravian (and specifically Slovácko) folk ensemble music this is an idiomatic string accompaniment, typically using simple diatonic chords and usually taken by the second fiddle (*kontráš*) and string bass (*bassa*) which together support the voice (*zpěv*) and first fiddle (*hudec*).

²⁴ Barena’s descant was perhaps influenced by the leader-chorus style of Slovakian female-voice folksong that also led to Janáček’s *Lidová nokturna* [Folk nocturnes] (IV/32, 1906). Janáček first collected the material that gave rise to these nocturnes in September 1901; see *JYL* i, 343, 345 and 649–50.

²⁵ *BJ III*, i–cxxxvi.

²⁶ ‘Typická sčarovka Starosvětské’, *ibid.*, cxv.

1735.

Velká.

Když sem k vám chodíval.

(Hrávalo se i v měkké *d* tonině se zvýšenou sextou t. j. s *h*).

Zpěv

Dyž sem k vám, má mi - lá, cho - dí - vał,

Hudec

Kontráš

Bassa

Fig. 3.2 *BJ III*, 900.

The use by ethnomusicologists of the term *duvaj* for this type of figuration is more recent:²⁷ the term itself appears originally to come from Slovakia, and is perhaps onomatopoeic, with the vowel shift from *u* to *a* mimicking the opening out of sound on the second, stressed quaver.²⁸ *Duvaj*-style folk accompaniments can be found not only in Slovácko and Slovakia but also further south and east in Hungary and Romania,²⁹ and influences in art music can be detected, for example, in the accented offbeat chords of the opening of Bartók's Rhapsody no. 1 for violin and piano or orchestra (BB94a/b, 1928–9).

²⁷ See Marta Toncrová (with Oskár Elschek), 'Czech Republic, §II, 2: Traditional music: Moravia and Silesia: (iii) Instrumental music', *NG2*, vi, 821; also Holý 1963.

²⁸ Holý 1963, 65.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

The Janáček biographer Jaroslav Vogel drew attention to this figuration (although he did not use the term *duvaj*) in the onstage instrumental accompaniment to the chorus ‘Všeci sa ženija’ in Act 1 of *Jenůfa* (fig. 48).³⁰ In that particular passage its use is well motivated: it accompanies the male offstage chorus in a folksong celebrating Števa’s avoidance of conscription. Although the offstage band parts underwent some changes, the *duvaj* accompaniment survived Janáček’s revisions (albeit with modifications) as well as those of Kovařovic. The 1904 version of *Jenůfa*, however, had also contained two further examples of this type of figuration. One of these was in the orchestral introduction to Act 3:

Ex. 3.26a (oboe melody plus timp/hp/db accompaniment: all other instruments omitted)

1904 **1a**
III/1/35

The musical score for Ex. 3.26a is a four-staff excerpt from the 1904 version of *Jenůfa*, Act 3, Introduction. The staves are for Oboe (Ob.), Tympani (Timp.), Arpa (Harp), and Contrabass (Cb.). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/5. The Oboe part begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic and a trill (*tr*) on the second measure. The Tympani part has a rhythmic pattern with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The Arpa part has a chordal accompaniment with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The Contrabass part has a rhythmic pattern with a forte (*f*) dynamic.

Janáček, in his working copy of Preissová’s drama (PL), had designated the opening of Act 3 in a marginal note as ‘Introduction — and fiddlers’ music outside the house’, in anticipation of the wedding celebrations for Jenůfa and Laca.³¹ Although a

³⁰ Vogel 1963, 133; Eng. trans. Vogel 1981, 140.

³¹ ‘Úvod — | a hudba | hudců před | domem.’, PL, 48, left-hand margin; see Štědroň 1965, 339 and ZGJ, 73.

sketch for the oboe melody of the prelude appears only later on in PL,³² it is clear from the 1904 accompaniment — with double basses playing a *duvaj* bass line reinforced by offbeat quavers in timpani and harp — that this passage does indeed have folk associations (even if its melody is played by an oboist rather than a fiddler). By 1907, however, Janáček had made substantial cuts to the prelude (see above, §3.3.1), and although this particular passage remained, he also removed the ‘literal’ use of *duvaj* in this and parallel passages in the prelude, replacing it for the most part with steady pizzicato quavers in the double basses. Only in the offbeat chords in timpani and harp is there a hint of the music’s folk accompaniment associations:

Ex. 3.26b (oboe melody plus timp/hp/db accompaniment: all other instruments omitted)

1908 1
[= III/1/35]

Ob. *f* *tr* *a 2*

Timp.

Arpa *f* *f*

Cb. *pizz.* *f*

The other, more extensive — and in many ways more surprising — example of *duvaj* came in the third scene of Act 2 (Kostelnička and Števa). It began at the point where Števa describes his emotions on seeing Jenůfa (with her cheek cut) the morning after the army levy: ‘když jsem ji po odvodě ráno uhlídal’ (fig. 44). Although not an

³² PL, 55 (Scene 6); as so often with Janáček’s sketching, he appears simply to have jotted down the idea when and where it occurred to him, rather than on the relevant page.

obvious opportunity for folk-music treatment, this appearance of *duvaj* figuration was no doubt prompted by Števa's reference to 'the morning after the levy' ('po odvodě ráno', Ex. 3.27a). However, the double-stroke accompaniment then continues in the same vein well beyond this fleeting reminiscence of the events of Act 1, almost to the end of the scene (fig. 51): through the point at which Števa tells the Kostelnička how frightful he finds her (Ex. 3.27b) and even beyond his exit as Jenůfa cries out in her sleep, 'Mother, a rock is falling on me' (Ex. 3.27c).

Ex. 3.27a (voice and strings only: other instruments omitted)

1904 **44** *Moderato*
II/iii/202 *ff*

Šte. *ff*
když jsem ji po od-vo-dě rá-no u-hlí-dal, když jsem ji po od-vo-dě rá-no u-hlí-dal,
Viol. I *ff*
Viol. II *ff*
Vle. *ff*
Vlc. *ff*
Cb. *ff*

Ex. 3.27b (voice and strings only: other instruments omitted)

1904 **45**
II/iii/210

Šte. *ff*
A vás, tet - ko, ne-hně-vej-te se za u-přim - nost,
Viol. I *ff*
Viol. II *ff*
Vle. *ff*
Vlc. *ff*
Cb. *ff*

Ex. 3.27c

48

1904
II/iii/237 **Meno mosso**

Cl. basso (in Sib) *p*

Arpa *p*

Jen. (Ma) - mič-ko, ká-men na mě pa - dá!

Viol. I *pp*

Viol. II *pp*

In his 1907 changes to this extended episode, Janáček removed all the slurs and subdivided the semiquavers in the violins, violas and cellos into demisemiquavers whilst retaining the offbeat *duvaj* accents (cf Ex. 3.27a):

Ex. 3.28

44

1908/11 **Moderato**

Šte. když jsem ji po od-vo-dě rá-no u-hlí-dal, když jsem ji po od-vo-dě rá-no u-hlí-dal,

Viol. I *ff*

Viol. II *ff*

Vle. *ff*

Vlc. *ff*

Cb. *ff*

It is possible to view this change (and the others to the folk passages in Acts 1 and 3) as simply a further instance of Janáček's thoroughgoing textural transformation of the opera. In the specific case of the *duvaj* examples, the changes may also have been

prompted by the fact that, though such figuration comes naturally to fiddle players in folk bands, the technique is less easily captured by musicians trained in the playing of art music. There is also a third possibility. By 1916, Janáček reworked the music of the Kostelnička–Števa scene (see below, §3.4), so that the only trace left of this figuration — in its 1908 demisemiquaver guise — is at the moment of Jenůfa’s cry from the bedroom (fig. 48). In his changes to the folk music passages in general, and to the *duvaj* figuration in particular, Janáček may have been trying to play down the more ostentatiously ‘Moravian’ aspects of *Jenůfa*’s soundworld, a possibility that is discussed further below in the conclusion (§3.6).

3.3.4 *The Act endings*

Among the most telling of Janáček’s 1907/8 revisions are the changes he made to the end of each Act. Whilst the Act openings were, more or less, ‘right first time’ (with the possible exception of the Act 3 prelude; see above), the changes to the final curtains are revealing because, both in *Jenůfa* and in his later operas, Janáček achieved some of the most thrilling and often uplifting closes in the operatic repertoire.

Some of the revisions are simple yet surprising: not even those who had pored closely over the surviving manuscripts had spotted that in 1904 the very end of the opera was two bars longer. In 1907 the original ending was pasted over in ŠVS, effectively removing the antepenultimate and penultimate bars (as indicated by the bracket in Ex. 3.29), whilst in ŠFS the final folio (fol. 122) was removed and the shortened ending squeezed onto fol. 121v (see CHAPTER 2, §2.1). At the same time, a gradual quickening of pace was added: originally the whole of the final scene, including the orchestral conclusion, was marked simply ‘Moderato’, but in 1907

Ex. 3.29

A more emphatic sense of finality was likewise achieved at the end of Act 2 by a small but significant change to the timpani figuration (at the point asterisked in Ex. 3.30):

Ex. 3.30

II/viii/295

Timp.
(1904)

Timp.
(1908)

(1904)

(1908)

Konec 2. jednání

Another change to the timpani line was made at the end of Act 1. Compared with the 1904 version of these bars, the continuous quavers of the 1908 version create an increased sense of momentum which is halted only in the final bar:

Ex. 3.31

124

I/vii/279 Presto

Tim. (1904)

Tim. (1908)

(1904)

(1908)

Konec 1. jednání

It was in the Act 1 finale leading up to this close, however, that Janáček made some of the most far-reaching changes among his 1907/8 revisions. One of the most notable excisions here was the extended passage based on diminished chords starting at fig. 118a, which in the 1904 version seems to mark the beginning of the finale as a formal unit (see Ex. 3.32a on the following page). By jettisoning this music — twenty bars in all — and grafting Laca’s words over a skilfully dovetailed revision of the passages either side of it (see Ex. 3.32b), Janáček not only managed to achieve a more seamless — and dramatically much faster moving — transition to the crucial moment when

Jenůfa's cheek is slashed, but also removed something that, even in 1904, must have seemed a distinct throwback in harmonic terms. The cut of a further twenty bars between figures 118c and 119 meant that the passage from Laca's menacing 'Tenhle křivák by ti je mohl pokazit' (This knife could ruin them [i.e. Jenůfa's cheeks] for you) to Jenůfa's terrified cry of 'Ježíš, Maria!', which in 1904 had taken up a total of 52 bars, was now over in a mere eleven (Ex. 3.32b).

Ex. 3.32a

1904 **118a**
I/vii/169 **Allegro** (♩. = 88)

LACA *f*
 A - le za - dar - mo
 ti tu vo - nič - ku ne - dām!

Cl. Vle.
 Tr. Viol. *ffp*
 Fg. Vlc.
 Cor.
 Cb. (Timp.)

cresc.
sfp
cresc.

Ex.3.32b

1908 **118**
Recit.
 LACA *p* **Allegro**

LACA *p*
 Ten-hle kři-vák by ti je mo-hl po - ka - zit.
 Archi
 Cl.

p
f

Xil.

(blíží se k Jenůfě, v pravici drží voničku a křivák – zimničně rozčilen) **Poco allegro** (chce je obejmout)

A - le za-dar-mo ti tu vo - nič - ku ne - dám.

Fl. **Picc. Fl. Cl.**

accel. **JENŮFA** (brání se) (vykřikne)

La - co, u - ho-dím - tě! Je - zíš, Ma - ri - a!

(v jejím bránění, jak se k ní shýba, přejede jí křivákem tvář při slovech:)

Co máš pro-ti mně?

Legni Viol. **Vle.**

The commotion that follows the slashing (figures 119 to 122b) was not noticeably shortened in the 1907/8 revisions (it had already been cut in 1903; see above, §3.1). However, the distinctly episodic feel of this passage in 1904 (a change to 3/4 Allegro at fig. 120a, and another tempo change to Meno mosso at fig. 122a) was now effectively removed both by renotating it in 3/2 throughout (with no speed changes) and by more consistent use of the urgent scalic sextuplet quaver figuration.

A final cut of the five bars of purely orchestral *Più mosso* at fig. 122b (Ex. 3.33a: a sequence of agitated simultaneous semiquavers and crotchets, and a classic example of needless musical and dramatic padding if ever there was one)³³ resulted in a far more effective ascent to the woodwind tremolo underpinning the Foreman's line 'Laco, neutikej!' [Laca, don't run away!] (Ex. 3.33b).

³³ The semiquavers' motivic derivation from Laca's earlier 'od malička lúbil' makes them no less superfluous.

Ex. 3.33a

1904 STÁREK (Stařenka pospíchá do jizby; zdrcený Laca se vzhopí a utíká) **122b** Più mosso

Ho - nem ho - jit! Ho - nem ho - jit!

Arch. Ob. Arch. Cor.

Cl. Fg.

123 (volá za ním)

La - co, ne - u - tí - kej! Tys ji to u - ro - bil na - schvál, na - schvál!

Ex. 3.33b

1908 STÁREK (Stařenka pospíchá do jizby) (zdrcený Laca se vzhopí a utíká)

ho - nem ho - jit! Ho - nem ho - jit!

Viol.

(cresc.)

Cl. Fg.

123 (Stárek volá za ním)

La - co, ne - u - tí - kej, tys ji to u - ro - bil na - schvál, na - schvál!

Fl. Ob.

3.3.5 *Vocal lines*

Both Štědroň and Tyrrell have devoted a good deal of discussion to the reworking of the opera's vocal lines in 1908,³⁴ and particularly to those examples which were simply erased (rather than pasted over) and are therefore still legible in varying degrees to the naked eye or else were corrected at proof stage during the preparation of KPU. In general, the evidence of the 1904 version confirms their observations, rather than revealing any startling new findings.

Janáček appears to have been addressing three issues in particular in his ongoing revisions to the vocal lines: achieving a greater consistency in text-setting according to 'standard' Czech stress patterns (which usually place the stress on the first syllable of a word); the removal or adjustment of many instances of word or phrase repetition; and the freeing up of vocal phrases that, in their earlier form, were more closely tied to what often appear to be instrumentally-conceived melodic ideas in the orchestra.³⁵

(a) Word setting

Many of the examples of stress-pattern problems seem to have arisen from Janáček initially trying to fit Preissová's text — even where he had modified it prior to setting — to regularised, pre-conceived melodic ideas. Ex. 3.34 as originally set by Janáček contains both final- and penultimate-syllable mis-stress: 'by ti od ně-*ho* u-*leh*-čil'.³⁶ At proof stage in the preparation of KPU Janáček reorganised the word order

³⁴ See in particular *ZGJ*, 103–10, and *CO*, 283–92

³⁵ The first two issues were among the most persistent criticisms of the opera from early on in its reception.

³⁶ Preissová's text is slightly different, although the word order matches that of Janáček's original version: '[...] aby ti od něho raději odlehčil.'

so that the stress fell on the first syllables, ‘by ti *u*-leh-čil od *ně*-ho’,³⁷

Ex. 3.34

ŠVS & LB
II/i/134
KOST.

1904

by ti od ně-ho u-leh-čil, by ti od ně-ho u-leh-čil.

KPU, 112

1908

by ti u-leh-čil od ně-ho, by ti u-leh-čil od ně-ho!

9

In Ex. 3.35, the second-syllable stress of ‘tak *ve-se-lá*’ likewise seems to have been caused by an original setting of the text dictated by the melodic contour. This example, like many others, was corrected by Janáček in ŠVS, i.e. by December 1907 (see CHAPTER 2, §2.1, ‘ŠVS’).

Ex. 3.35

II/iii/184 ŠTEVA
mf

1904

O - na bý - va - la ta - ko - vá mi - lá, tak ve - se - lá,

KPU, 138

1908

O - na bý - va - la ta - ko - vá mi - lá, tak____ ve - se - lá,

Janáček’s problems with text setting are sometimes explained by reference to his dialect Czech, but not even this can justify the bumpy final-syllable stress in Ex. 3.36, ‘u-cti-vo vás prosím’, also corrected by December 1907:

³⁷ See *ZGJ*, 103.

Ex. 3.36

1904 LACA dolce
8 U - cti - vo vás pro-sím, u - cti - vo vás pro-sím

1908 KPU, 241 mf dolce
8 U - cti - vo vás pro-sím, u - cti - vo vás____ pro-sím

What is especially notable in these vocal-line revisions is the number of apparently melodically-determined examples of poor Czech stress patterns corrected by Janáček himself that occur (like the three presented here) in Acts 2 and 3 of *Jenůfa*. These Acts were composed well after Janáček's first established forays into the issue of speech melodies (1897), and might reasonably be expected to embody more fully the lessons he claimed to have learnt from this study. Such examples call into legitimate question not only the claims made in the original programme note to *Jenůfa* to 'truthful expression' founded on the use of speech melodies (see APPENDIX I), but also the whole notion of speech melodies as being applicable directly to Janáček's operatic works.³⁸

(b) Word and phrase repetition

One of the specific criticisms that Karel Kovařovic used to justify his continued refusal to accept *Jenůfa* for performance in Prague was the number of repetitions in the vocal lines: 'contrary to all real-life speech, [Janáček] makes the singers repeat individual passages of text countless times.'³⁹ This had first become an issue during

³⁸ The 'speech-melody myth', as it relates to Janáček's own compositions, has been explored (and to some extent exploded) in Tyrrell 1970, and also in Wingfield 1992b and (most recently) *JYL*, i, 477–89.

³⁹ Gustav Schmoranz in a letter to Josef Peška outlining Kovařovic's reservations, 29 September 1915, JA viii, 44–5; Eng. trans. in *JODA*, JP62.

the controversy surrounding Josef Charvát's review-article in *Jeviště* (see Chapter 1, §1.3). The particular problem raised at that time centred on the numerous repetitions of Stařenka Buryjovka's words in the Act 1 ensemble 'Každý párek'. Janáček, in collaboration with Hrazdira, had begun to address the problem in the 1906 cuts to both this section and the immediately preceding ensemble, 'A vy, muzikanti' (see §3.2); these abridgements were then taken further in his 1907/8 cuts (see above, §3.3.1). There remained, however, many more localised examples of the repetition of 'individual passages of text' throughout the opera. A few instances had been removed early on in the revision process (such as Ex. 3.7) as well as in 1906. But, although many repetitions even made it past the eagle-eyed Kovařovic (Exx. 3.34 and 3.36 both still feature in the 1916 version of *Jenůfa*), by far the greatest number were addressed during the revisions and subsequent proof-corrections that resulted in KPU. They include both small-scale repetitions of words and short phrases of text, and longer phrase repetitions. In Ex. 3.5 (§3.1), for instance, not only was the immediate repetition, 'to je mi, to je mi podivné', removed by 1907, but the repeat of the entire four-bar phrase was cut. Sometimes, even when the larger-scale phrase repetition was retained, the shorter verbal ones were modified (in Ex. 3.37, at the same time as a correction of the declamation; both changes were made at proof stage):

Ex. 3.37

ŠTEVA

1904 I/v/27 *p* To ty mně, Je - nůf - ka! To ty mně, Je - nůf - ka!

KPU, 51 *p* To ty mně, Je - nůf - ka? To ty mně?—

1904 To ty mně, Je - nůf - ka! To ty mně, Je - nůf - ka!

1908 To ty mně, __ Je - nůf - ka? To ty mně?__

In Ex. 3.38, the repetition of the final phrase of text was removed by 1907 (1904 version shown in small notes), before the much later rewriting by Janáček of the following section (fig. 44).

Ex. 3.38

II/iii/196 ŠTEVA

by-la na vás po-dob-na, prud-ká a ža-lost-ná, prud-ká a ža-lost-ná. A

In some cases, one type of repetition was exchanged for another. At the Mayor's entrance in Act 3 Scene 2 (Ex. 3.39; cf. CHAPTER 2, Fig. 2.8), the original threefold sequential repetitions of 'dej' and 'polekala', both motivically determined by the bassoon-, cello- and bass-led orchestral accompaniment, were replaced in 1908 by a more fractured, less motivically strait-jacketed form of repetition (cf. also III/ii/27–30):

Ex. 3.39

III/ii/4 RYCHTÁŘ

1904 Dej Bůh štěs - tí, dej, __, dej, __, dej! __

1908 Což jste se nás po - le - ka - la?

1904 Co jste se nás po - le - ka - la, po - le - ka - la, po - le - ka - la?

1908 Nás po - le - ka - la?

Although numerous instances of small-scale and phrase repetition were removed or modified by Janáček in these revisions, enough examples nevertheless remained that this highly distinctive feature continued to be a part of his musical style as it matured.

(c) Changes to ‘motivic’ vocal lines

The 1904 version of *Jenůfa* contains many examples (including a number of those given above) where the voice line not only matches the orchestral accompaniment but seems dictated by it, rather than by any attempt at an idiomatic — let alone ‘realistic’ — style of vocal writing. In Ex. 3.40 (the beginning of Jenůfa’s Act 2 lament for her baby), Janáček reduced this dependency in the 1908 version both by delaying the voice entry until the second bar and by altering the vocal rhythm:

Ex. 3.40

II/vii/95

The musical score for Ex. 3.40 is presented in three systems. The top system shows the vocal line for the 1904 version, starting with a vocal entry in the first bar. The middle system shows the vocal line for the 1908 version, which delays the vocal entry until the second bar. The bottom system shows the piano accompaniment, which is common to both versions. The score is in G minor (three flats) and 2/4 time. The lyrics are 'Tož už mi u - mřel,'. The 1904 version has a vocal entry in the first bar, while the 1908 version delays the entry until the second bar. The piano accompaniment is shown below the vocal staves.

Following the discovery of the baby’s body in Act 3, the Kostelnička’s desperate plea to her stepdaughter as the latter runs off with the shepherd boy Jano and others to find out what has happened, ‘Neodbíhaj, o neodbíhaj!’ [Don’t run away, oh don’t run away!], originally followed the scalar ascent and descent of the

harp and violin lines. In the 1908 version, the exact doubling is removed in the alteration to the first bar:

Ex. 3.41

III/viii/6 KOST.

1904

KPU, 247

1908

Arpa Viol.

Cl. Fg.

20.

(d) Vocal range

The above example also highlights another feature of the 1908 revisions: the modification of a number of instances of high-lying voice parts. In some instances — perhaps most spectacularly the long cut to Laca’s ‘Chci, Jenůfka’ in Act 2 Scene 8 — this may have been motivated at least in part out of a consideration (admittedly uncharacteristic of Janáček) for the singers. Earlier in the same scene Laca’s vocally extravagant greeting, ‘Jenůfka! Potěš tě Panbůh, Jenůfka!’ [Jenůfa! God comfort you, Jenůfa!], is likewise sustained at a demandingly high tessitura in 1904 (Ex. 3.42a).

The 1908 version (Ex. 3.42b), whilst retaining the initial, expressively powerful three-note vocal gesture (now brought forward by one bar), replaces the dogged ardour of the 1904 continuation with music that is both tenderer and less unforgiving for the voice; and the changes to the orchestral accompaniment are also typical of the sorts of textural transformation already described above.

Ex. 3.42a1904
II/viii/11

Laca

8

f *cresc.* Je-nůf-ka!

Cl. Tr. *f*

Ob. Cor.

Vle. *f*

Tbn. Timp. *f*

Cor. *f*

Fg. *f*

Vlc. Cb. *ff*

8 Po-těš tě Pán - bůh, Je-nůf - ka!

dim.

f *f* *f* *f*

Ex. 3.42b

1908

Laca

8

f *cresc.* Je - nůf - ka! *mf* *tr.* Po-těš tě Pán - bůh, Je-nůf-ka!

Ob. Cl. *f*

Cor. Tr. *f*

Viol. *f*

Cl. *f*

Cor. *f*

Tbn. Timp. *f*

Archi *mf*

Vlc. Cb. *f*

This example also demonstrates how Janáček's revisions also often introduced an element of registral contrast which, as well as providing practical relief for the voice, also created greater melodic (and expressive) differentiation. In the pair of examples below, both from Act 3, the melodic highpoints created by the revisions are the more effective as a result. The second one in particular (Ex. 3.44) both better captures the

agitation of the moment (Jano telling the wedding party of the baby's discovery) and adds emphasis to the word 'naříkají' [the people are *wailing* about it].

Ex. 3.43

JENŮFA 12

III/ii/46 *f*

1904 Ma-mič-ko, však dá Pán-bůh, že se ješ - tě u - zdra-ví - te!

mf

1908 Ma-mič-ko, však dá Pán-bůh, že se ješ - tě u - zdra-ví - te!

Ex. 3.44

JANO

III/vii/16

1904 Li - dé nad tím na - ři - ka - jí, nad tím na - ři - ka - jí.

1908 Li - dé nad tím na - ři - ka - jí, nad tím na - ři - ka - jí.

Taken as a whole, Janáček's 1907/8 revisions to *Jenůfa* are the most thoroughgoing, extensive, and the most consequential in both musical and dramatic terms, in the opera's lengthy genesis. Unlike those made before the première, and unlike those made by Janáček after the 1908 publication of KPU — all of which tended to concentrate rather more on Act 1 and much less on Act 3 — they are spread fairly evenly throughout the opera. This, together with their wide-ranging nature, suggests the fundamental nature of the overhaul to which Janáček subjected the score at this time. Although he did not neglect purely practical matters in these revisions,⁴⁰ the changes went much further than addressing mere practical problems. They testify not only to a reappraisal of what one might term the 'horizontal' dimension — the bar-to-bar, temporal ebb and flow of both the music and the drama itself — but also of the

⁴⁰ See CHAPTER 2, Ex. 2.4.

‘vertical’ dimensions: the harmonic language, textures, spacing, and the sense of musical and dramatic light and shade, all of which, together with the pacing, create the unmistakable ‘feel’ of a work.

3.4 Revisions made after 1908

None of the post-1908 revisions made either by Janáček or subsequently by Kovařovic come anywhere near the radicalness, in nature or extent, of those made by the composer himself in 1907/8. On 24 January 1911 — just one week before the first Brno revival of *Jenůfa* since October 1906 (and thus the first since the publication of the KPU vocal score) — Jan Kunc wrote to Janáček offering to meet to make ‘some suggestions for correcting the mistakes in declamation, quite a few of which remain even in the corrected vocal score.’⁴¹ Kunc’s suggestions (in line with Janáček’s own changes to the voice parts in his 1907/8 revisions) were probably then incorporated into the series of five performances at the Brno National Theatre between 31 January and 21 April that year (see APPENDIX III for a list of performances).

However, the rewriting of two passages for Števa in Act 2 Scene 3 (at figures 44 and 47), which Tyrrell has suggested also took place at this time, probably did not occur until much later.⁴² There is no sign of the revised version of either of these passages in the pair of Brno clarinet parts copied in 1913/14.⁴³ Much more likely is that these revisions were made by Janáček (and then copied into ŠFS for him by

⁴¹ Kunc to Janáček, BmJA, A 349; see *JYL* i, 767. The phrase ‘corrected vocal score’ appears simply to refer to KPU, which had been ‘corrected’ at proof stage by Janáček, rather than to the errata sheet (ER) which seems to have been published in connection with the Prague production of May 1916, and which contains a list of cuts and some changes, but no corrections to ‘mistakes in declamation’.

⁴² Tyrrell 1996, xii / Tyrrell 2000, vii.

⁴³ See CHAPTER 2, §2.1, OPx.

Václav Sedláček)⁴⁴ some time shortly before December 1915, when Kovařovic started making his changes to the score.⁴⁵ The revised versions of these passages, together with details of cuts comprising both late, pre-Kovařovic ones by Janáček and early ones by Kovařovic himself, appear on the errata sheet (ER) that was issued around the time of the Prague performances in May 1916.⁴⁶ Most of the ER cuts are decidedly small-scale when compared with Janáček's 1907/8 ones, usually consisting of the removal of one-, two- or three-bar repetitions, some purely orchestral, others vocal. In his work on UE 1996, Tyrrell was able to distinguish between those ER cuts (the vast majority) made by Kovařovic, and the rather smaller number made by Janáček.⁴⁷ However the two big changes set in musical notation on ER — the two passages from Števa's Act 2 Scene 3 solo, which effectively remove the last traces of *duvaj* figuration discussed above — are Janáček's own.⁴⁸ As with Janáček's pre-1907 changes, the ER cuts are concentrated largely in Act 1 — notably the excision of the nine-bar orchestral introduction to Scene 5 (fig. 54) — with considerably fewer in Act 2, and just four bars cut from Act 3.

The majority of Kovařovic's changes, however, came after the printing of ER. Like Janáček's 1907/8 changes, they range throughout the opera, and are evident on

⁴⁴ See CHAPTER 2, §2.1, ŠFS, especially Fig. 2.3.

⁴⁵ It is perhaps to these two passages, among other things, that Janáček was referring when he wrote to Marie Calma-Veselá on 12 November 1915: 'I have looked through the score of *Jenůfa* again and tidied it up.' *JODA*, JP 70. For more details on the sequence of Kovařovic's changes, see Tyrrell 1996, x / Tyrrell 2000, v–vi.

⁴⁶ See CHAPTER 2, §2.1, ER, and fn. 41 above.

⁴⁷ Editions of the *Jenůfa* vocal score published from 1934 onwards by Hudební matice in Prague (based on the original KPU plates and originally edited by Vladimír Helfert) have indicated these ER cuts along with others made later by Kovařovic, but take a more simplified view, with all the ER changes assumed to be by Janáček. Tyrrell's less tidy but more nuanced view is based on his study of the Brno parts (OPx) as well as ŠFS.

⁴⁸ See §3.3.3.

most pages of the score; unlike Janáček's they are for the most part a combination of practical changes concerning dynamic markings (necessary for performing an opera such as *Jenůfa* in a larger metropolitan theatre) and cosmetic ones concerning finer details of phrasing and orchestral retouching: the sort of changes that were customary for conductors of the period to make. Even Kovařovic's most celebrated alteration — the 'canonic' reworking of the horn parts in the opera's closing orchestral tutti — is little more than a realisation (albeit a highly effective one) of an idea already latent in Janáček's ending.

3.5 Summary of revision trends

It should be clear from the foregoing that, despite some significant areas of overlap in the revisions to *Jenůfa* as they went through their various stages, there were several distinct phases to its gradual emergence and socialisation, between its initial composition and its eventual acceptance in Prague in 1916. The first phase, represented in the revisions finished by Janáček in October 1903, was essentially one of rationalisation, with notational recasting, clarification and metrical reordering to the fore: all important aspects for conveying the composer's initial vision of the work to its performers. Already, however, some significant changes to the musical substance (notably the Act 1 finale) and even to declamation (as evident in the Kostelnička's Act 1 aria) are evident.

The next phase, in the summer of 1906, can be seen as a direct response to the experience of the first run of performances which, no doubt both because and in spite of evident local shortcomings, will have highlighted both practical and expressive issues. At this stage, for what was in the event only a very brief revival, that most tried and tested weapon in the arsenal of operatic revision was brought into play: the cut. Yet,

straightforward as the changes were at this stage, they will nevertheless have had a significant impact not only on the dramatic flow, but also on its musical style, with set-pieces like the Kostelnička's Act 1 aria, the Act 1 concertato ensembles and Laca's Act 2 finale solo the main casualties.

Very different considerations were clearly in mind by the next stage in the revision process, when the prospect of publication prompted what was clearly a thorough reappraisal by Janáček — with the experience of two series of performances behind him — of the opera's soundworld and musical dramaturgy. The many alterations to pacing, texture, musical language, vocal writing and declamation amount to a distillation of the work's expressive essence, and constitute between them surely one of the most significant moments in securing the opera's eventual wider acceptance.

Following the publication of the KPU vocal score in 1908, Janáček appears to have continued tinkering, although only at the finer details and prompted by new performances in 1911. That the opera had by now already reached what he must have regarded as more or less its definitive form is evident in the fact that, with the prospect of acceptance by Prague becoming increasingly realistic, his own changes in 1915 were — compared with what had gone before — extremely limited.

The final stage of the protracted revision process that led to *Jenůfa*'s wider acceptance came with Kovařovic's extensive retouchings,⁴⁹ both practical and cosmetic in nature. As much as the Prague performances themselves, these retouchings have often been credited with securing the opera's greater popularity, and they are certainly emblematic of the transition from a provincial to a metropolitan opera house. Yet the precise nature and extent of Janáček's own changes to the work, as revealed by the

⁴⁹ Not considered here are the consequences (in many ways even more significant to the opera's wider acceptance) of Max Brod's German translation in introducing the work initially to Vienna, and even more importantly to the opera houses of Germany.

establishment of the 1904 score, puts Kovařovic's retouchings into some perspective. Whilst it is true that the latter resulted in an at least superficial transformation of *Jenůfa*'s soundworld, and impinged on the score just as extensively (if not as deeply), it is also clear that the essential and substantial spade work had already been done by the composer himself.

Perhaps one of the most telling distinctions between Janáček's own revisions and those by Kovařovic is the manner in which they were carried out in Štross's full score. Kovařovic's for the most part appear like corrections, in neat red ink. Janáček's, by contrast, were made in bold black ink and — not inappropriately, given the opera's story — with a knife.

3.6 The 1904 *Jenůfa* in context: some preliminary observations

Intimately connected with the trajectory traced by the revision process, and yet at the same time in certain respects distinct from it, *Jenůfa* is in many other senses a transitional work.⁵⁰ This is something that has long been recognised, both within the context of Janáček's own output and as seen against the background of the wider development of twentieth-century opera. As far back as 1924, Adolf Weissmann, reviewing the opera's Berlin première for the *Musical Times*, noted that '[Janáček] tries to get rid of the Aria, without at the same time denying it. So we notice a transitional art more typical of the race to which Janacek [*sic*] belongs than most

⁵⁰ The quality of being 'transitional' may, of course, take many specific forms. The argument here is that *Jenůfa* may indeed be understood as embodying this quality in more ways than one, and that the revision process, as interpreted here, is an integral part of this. But it should be noted that this does not result necessarily from the mere fact of its having been subject to such detailed and far-reaching revision. Hypothetically, it would have been possible for the opera to have been revised many times over without embodying any significant stylistically transitional qualities; equally, it might well have embodied such qualities without ever having been revised at all.

music produced in his country.’⁵¹ Weissmann’s review is couched in the prejudices of its time, according to which the smaller countries of central Europe were regarded as being on the artistic, cultural and political periphery. What is nevertheless a basically positive review appears to regard *Jenůfa* as a transitional work primarily in relation to the wider mainstream — and of course, by implication, more ‘central’ — artistic trends both within ‘his country’ and beyond. Weissmann’s phrase ‘the race to which Janacek belongs’ helps to locate this perception of the composer and his work, in a historical sense, within the Czech speaking lands themselves, as well as within the ‘distant’ cultural area of east-central Europe and, more generally, the wider European tradition.⁵² In particular, the distinction between mainstream and periphery within the Czech-speaking lands themselves is one that is borne out by Janáček’s own well-documented attitude towards the Prague musical establishment, and by the controversy and debate that continued to dog his music both during his lifetime and beyond.

Three decades after *Jenůfa*’s Berlin première, on the occasion of the opera’s first British production in December 1956, the critic Peter Heyworth observed that ‘there is something decidedly transitional about “Jenufa”’, especially when compared with Janáček’s later, mature operas.⁵³ This location of *Jenůfa* as a transitional work within Janáček’s own *oeuvre* would not perhaps have been so immediately obvious to

⁵¹ Adolf Weissmann: ‘Musical Notes from Abroad: Germany: “Jenusa” [*sic*] at the Berlin Staatsoper’, *Musical Times*, lxxv (1924), 460. Weissmann’s thumbnail review gives a good idea of attitudes towards Janáček at the time, particularly outside Czechoslovakia: ‘He knows nothing of the world, nothing of commercialism in music, but devotes himself exclusively to the idea of creating a musical *genre* which, growing from folk-music, reflects at the same time all that is or was modern in the art. It is not, however, a pure reflex of other moderns, but a real synthesis of popular song and modern methods.’

⁵² On T.W. Adorno’s perception of Janáček as a ‘peripheral’ but nevertheless legitimate composer, see Taruskin 2005, 421–2.

⁵³ [review], *The Observer*, 16 December 1956.

London audiences at the time,⁵⁴ But Heyworth's comparisons, with *Káťa Kabanová*, *Příhody lišky Bystroušky* [The cunning little vixen] (I/9) and *Z mrtvého domu*, were typically well-informed. They unfavourably highlight the lack of 'concision and directness' in *Jenůfa*, focusing particularly on the 'Každý párek' ensemble in Act 1 and the commotion at the end of the same Act following the slashing of Jenůfa's cheek: '[...] a wiser Janacek would have brought down the curtain [immediately] after Laca has slashed Jenůfa's face. We know very well what has happened and why, so that there is no need for Grandmother Buryja *et al.* to run in and sing "Oh, what has happened?"'"⁵⁵ Such passages are, Heyworth concludes, 'precisely the sort of operatic superfluity that Janacek learned later to dispense with.'

The version of *Jenůfa* performed at Covent Garden in 1956 was, of course, the by then 'standard' Kovařovic version of 1916 (as published by Universal Edition in 1917–18). Heyworth's criticisms are, however, pertinent to the opera in any of its versions, for, despite its now near-universal popularity, *Jenůfa* is hardly Janáček's most representative opera. (How one talks about representative works at all in so concentratedly varied and idiosyncratic an *oeuvre* is another question entirely.) Whilst it certainly demonstrates a markedly more developed musico-dramatic sense than its apprenticeship predecessors, *Šárka* and *Počátek románu*, in many respects *Jenůfa* anticipates — rather than fully embodies — the more radical language, both musical and dramatic, of Janáček's operatic maturity, or even of its immediate

⁵⁴ Of the composer's other operas, only *Káťa Kabanová* had already been heard there (first produced at Covent Garden in April 1951), and Janáček's music in general was then still a largely unknown quantity for British music lovers.

⁵⁵ Heyworth's strictures are not limited to the earlier-composed Act 1. His observation that 'Almost the whole of the second Act of "Jenufa" and the latter half of the third are as gripping and moving as anything Janacek ever wrote' is followed by the qualification: 'But for the rest the opera is too diffuse and too laboriously plastered with local colour *à la* Smetana to make the overall impact of "Katya."'

successors, the ‘experimental’⁵⁶ works *Osud* and *The Excursions of Mr Brouček*. And if Heyworth had instead heard the 1904 version of the opera, he would surely have had even more cause to note ‘operatic superfluities’.

Jenůfa’s transitional qualities can be seen as springing from more than just its place within the relative confines of Janáček’s operatic output, however. His work on the opera — both its original, long drawn-out composition and the subsequent, equally protracted series of revisions — coincided with several upheavals and shifts in his own life and outlook: from distinctly part-time to rather more full-time composer, from folk music collector to gatherer of speech melodies, from provincial to more cosmopolitan aspirations.⁵⁷ But this was also a time at which Janáček was developing his own distinctive musical language in other genres, in works such as the choral-orchestral cantata *Amarus* (III/6; 1896, revised 1901 and 1906) and the cycle of piano miniatures *Po zarostlém chodníčku* [On the overgrown path] (VIII/17; 1900, 1908 and 1911). *Jenůfa* can be seen as a similar (though ultimately even more consequential) development in the genre which Janáček was eventually to make most decisively his own, his struggles with both it and its two very different operatic successors emblematic of his battle to achieve musical individuality and musico-dramatic mastery.

⁵⁶ Tyrrell’s term: *CO*, 250.

⁵⁷ Janáček took early retirement from his main job at the Brno Teachers’ Institute in November 1903, soon after he had handed *Jenůfa* over to the Brno National Theatre (see *JODA*, OS6, and *JYL*, i, 563 and 567). His work on speech melodies can be dated to the summer of 1897, during the hiatus in composition between Acts 1 and 2 of *Jenůfa* (*JYL*, i, 479; see also Wingfield 1992b, 291–2). Immediately after handing over the score of *Jenůfa* to the Brno theatre in October 1903, Janáček declared to Camilla Urválková that the libretto for his next opera (i.e. what was to become *Osud*) should be ‘modern’ (*JODA*, OS6 and OS 7), and *Osud* itself can be viewed as reflecting elements of the Czech turn-of-the-century Decadence movement (see Chew 2003, 116–26).

Jenůfa can also be viewed as part of a much wider transitional phase, straddling as it does two centuries in more than just the obvious chronological sense, a period of great turbulence and change in operatic, musical and cultural history. This is most evident in the debts it clearly owes to late nineteenth-century literary Naturalism (in the shape of Preissová's play) and to the *verismo* movement which was at the time Naturalism's most high-profile (and certainly most popular) operatic counterpart. Both of these movements can themselves be seen as transitional: Naturalism as a post-Darwinian, anti-Romantic form of cultural (initially literary) positivism, *verismo* (more culturally specific to Italian literature and opera, particularly the Italian *giovane scuola*, of the 1890s) as a short-lived but significant and widely popular operatic sub-genre. Both, too, can be seen as pre-modernist in their rejection of late Romantic values, particularly through their aspirations to an objective view of the world. At the same time — partly because of this affected objectivity, which soon began to assume restrictive conventions of its own — they nevertheless lacked the more radical and defamiliarising qualities of modernism itself, which alone were able to bring about the kinds of long-term expressive renewal foreseen, but not fully achieved, by these precursors. Taken together, these cultural and artistic tendencies offer potentially fruitful and productive contexts against which to view Janáček's revisions to *Jenůfa*.

Perhaps most obvious is the shift in emphasis away from a musically ostentatious folksiness and towards a greater declamatory realism and freedom for the voices.⁵⁸ Janáček may well have felt that the opera's specifically Moravian nature

⁵⁸ This shift anticipates by more than half a century a trend in productions (internationally, if not in the Czech lands) away from faithfully folksy productions (of the sort which Janáček himself envisaged) towards rather freer, less naturalistic (in the colloquial and often pejorative sense) portrayals of the opera's locale. In a memorable phrase used by John Tyrrell at a *Jenůfa* symposium in Nottingham (March 2000), the opera only truly caught on internationally 'when *Jenůfa* got out of her boots'.

was a genuine obstacle to its wider performance, as is suggested by an exchange of letters between him and Kovařovic in February and March of 1904.⁵⁹ But just as much of a concern may have been the fuller integration of the folk-inspired passages within the opera's gradually developing soundworld. This was, after all, an issue being addressed by other artists of the time, most notably in the work of the Slovak architect Dušan Samuel Jurkovič (1868–1947), whose combination of art nouveau (and specifically Arts and Crafts) influence with elements of folk design would have been well familiar to Janáček from buildings at Pustevny na Radhošti and in Luhačovice spa.⁶⁰ If the folk element in the *Jenůfa* of 1904 was perhaps overstated (more reminiscent, one might suggest, of some of Jurkovič's elaborate interiors than of the more structurally forthright exteriors), the bold claims made in the original programme for a realism based on the principles of speech-melody may equally seem — in the light of the evidence in the musical sources — to be a statement more of aspiration than of achievement.

The revisions to *Jenůfa*, and particularly those that created the 1908 version, also demonstrate clear shifts in Janáček's emerging operatic and musical style, away from inherited (and already outmoded) set numbers, towards a greater flexibility and

⁵⁹ JA vii, 17–19; Eng. trans. *JODA*, JP35 and JP37.

⁶⁰ Janáček was a regular visitor to Pustevny na Radhošti (in Valašsko, to the south of Janáček's birthplace and holiday home in Hukvaldy) during the late 1890s (see, for example, *JYL* i, 457). This was just the time at which Jurkovič's contributions to the folk-style 'hermitage' on the Radhošť saddle were being built. When Jurkovič moved to Brno in 1899, Janáček would have had even more opportunity to encounter not just Jurkovič's work but also his ideas, not least through the Club of the Friends of Art, which in 1900 published the architect's monograph on the Pustevny buildings (Jurkovič 1900). In Luhačovice spa, Jurkovič's Janův dům (now known as the Jurkovičův dům) dates from 1902, i.e. during the later stages of the initial composition of *Jenůfa*, and shortly before Janáček's first stay there (see Chapter 1, §1.2). Janáček and Jurkovič subsequently collaborated on a project photographing 'song environment' in Valašská Bystřice (*JYL* i, 828). For a recent, lavishly illustrated study of Jurkovič's work at Radhošť and in Luhačovice, see Zatloukal 2003, 469–89.

(particularly in textural terms) clarity and focus. Yet the 1904 version itself reveals some unexpected anticipations of Janáček's later style, anticipations which, not yet fully developed, were suppressed in the composer's own revisions. This is most notable in the case of the Kostelnička's 'Už od té chvíle', discussed above. But even her Act 1 aria, a narrative monologue whose excision enhanced both the opera's dramatic flow and its Naturalist qualities, can be seen to contain the seeds of Janáček's last opera, which is built not around a conventional dramatic narrative, but rather on a succession of just such monologues.

The 1904 version of *Jenůfa* offers us the prospect of being able to see, and indeed hear — more clearly than has been possible until now — many details of the opera's revision history that had, through the passage of time and the very thoroughness of the revisions themselves, become obscured. As well as serving as a *terminus post et ante quem* for specific details and indeed whole passages of the musical text, it also enables a more finely honed appraisal of the changes made at various stages in the work's twenty-three-year evolution (1893–1916). Details that were once hard to pin down to any particular date can now be assigned chronologically with much greater certainty, even though our understanding of some of the finer points – most notably the precise development of the detail in the vocal lines – will always be to some extent necessarily approximate.

Yet, beyond the greater clarity given to the various readings that emerge from the manuscript sources themselves, a larger picture also emerges. For *Jenůfa* was composed and revised during a crucial period in Janáček's life, and in his musical and specifically operatic development, breaking away from the narrow confines of the dominant Czech subgenres and nineteenth-century conventions, and moving towards an operatic vision at once more powerful and more relevant to the aesthetic, cultural

and social preoccupations of the early twentieth century. The 1904 version helps to fill a real gap in our knowledge of Janáček's musico-dramatic development at this formative time, a gap that exists between his apprenticeship operas on the one hand, and the later versions of *Jenůfa* together with its two 'experimental' operatic successors, on the other. In so doing, it reveals more clearly not only the range and extent — and at times the sheer scale — of the revisions themselves, but also just how far Janáček had already travelled between the established Czech 'village comedy' type of *Počátek románu* and the earliest versions of *Jenůfa*, notwithstanding their shared provenance (both authorial and geographic). For just as striking as the many changes to the opera — from whichever perspective they are viewed — are the numerous passages that Janáček essentially (that is, with no more than relatively minor alterations) 'got right first time': the powerful solo scenes for the Kostelnička and Jenůfa in Act 2, the chilling close of the same Act, and the gloriously affirmative final scene of the work.

Against this background, the greater clarity brought to our understanding of the wider revision process serves in turn as a window onto Janáček's creative workshop, illuminating both his developing vision of the opera itself and also many of the precise technical means by which this vision was achieved even as it changed, with different considerations coming to the fore at the various stages in the process, as he confronted different problems of structure and expression, and of how to find the most appropriate and effective notational form, at different junctures. Furthermore, the changes which the 1904 version of *Jenůfa* helps us to bring more sharply into focus highlight not simply Janáček's own musical emergence as a fully integrated compositional voice of astonishing force and originality, but also his response to and knowledge of the wider operatic repertoire, and the expressive possibilities which the

genre might offer in his own quest to ‘compose the truth’.⁶¹ Beginning to learn the lessons from his studies of speech melodies, he was able to address many of the issues highlighted by early criticisms of the work, and in so doing began to develop a distinctive and ultimately radical approach not just to declamation but also to his musical language in general.

Richard Taruskin has suggested that Janáček might justly be described as ‘the oldest twentieth-century composer’,⁶² a neat way of observing that, though born in the middle of the nineteenth century, musically he became unmistakably a creature and — even more importantly from our point of view — a creator of the twentieth. That the transition was not made without the expense of considerable effort and application on Janáček’s part is everywhere evident in the revisions he made to *Jenůfa*, many of which can be seen in a new and also more nuanced light by means of the availability of the 1904 version. And the fact that the transitional route taken by the score of *Jenůfa* comes at this particular historical juncture allows it to stand not just as an illuminating operatic subject in its own right, but also as an emblem for the transformational course of Janáček’s own development, and for that of early twentieth opera in general.

⁶¹ See *JYL* i, 383 and *JYL* ii, 43.

⁶² Taruskin 2005, 421.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Programme note from the première of *Jenůfa*: transcription and translation

O významu „Její pastorkyně“

Dílo, jež stělesňuje se dnes na naší scéně, má neobyčejný význam nejen pro hudbu dramatickou vůbec, ale pro speciálně moravskou zvláště. Pro prvou užitím prosy a principy, na nichž vytvořeno, pro druhou tím, že je to prvé dílo, které vědomě chce býti moravským na tomto poli. — Prosy poprvé užil v opeře francouzský skladatel Alfred Bruneau r. 1897. Karel Stecker píše o tom ve svých dějinách: „Jeho opery stávají se v dějinách zjevy stěžejnými, jsouce prvními a dojista zajímavými pokusy komposice operní na text prosou psaný.“

Totéž nutno nyní o práci Janáčkově, který první z českých skladatelů tak učinil, a to ne po příkladě Francouzů, nýbrž ze své vlastní iniciativy, přiveden na tuto dráhu principem pravdy v zachyceném nápěvku mluvy. Francouzští skladatelé předešli ho jen provedením, neboť roku 1897 partitura „Její pastorkyně“ byla již opisována čisto.

Princip, na němž „Pastorkyňa“ tvořena, je tento: Janáček poznal, že v nápěvných motivcích mluvy leží nejpravdivější výraz duše. Proto na místě obvyklých arií užil těchto nápěvků. Tím dosáhl pravdivého výrazu tam, kde jistě je jednou z nejdůležitějších věcí.

Snahou po pravdivém výrazu nejen v náladě, ale i situaci, veden byl, že sáhl i k realistickému znázorňování okolí, zejména ve sborech. V charakteristice odchýlil se od obvyklých příznačných motivů; jeho orchestr charakterisuje náladu celé scény.

Motivky mluvy a vhodně užitý způsob lidové hudby vtiskují dílu jeho pečeť národního ducha.

On the significance of *Jenůfa*

The work which is played on our stage today has an unusual significance not only for theatre music in general but specifically for Moravian music. For the former in its use of a prose text and the principles on which it was composed, for the latter because it is the first work in this field which consciously attempts to be Moravian. — Prose was first used in opera by the French composer Alfred Bruneau in 1897. Karel Stecker writes of this in his history; ‘His operas are becoming key works in history, being the first, and certainly interesting, experiments in operatic composition to a prose text.’

One must now say the same of the work of Janáček, who was the first to do this among Czech composers, not at all after the example of the French, but on his own initiative, drawn to this direction by the principle of truth in recorded speech melody. The French composers anticipated him only in performance, since in 1897 the score of *Jenůfa* already existed in fair copy.

The principle on which *Jenůfa* was written is the following: Janáček recognized that the truest expression of the soul lies in melodic motifs of speech. Thus instead of the usual arias he used these [speech] melodies. In so doing he achieved a truthful expression in places where this is surely one of the most important things.

Driven by the attempt at truthful expression, not just in mood but also in situation, he has employed a realistic expression of the locality, especially in the choruses. In characterization he has deviated from the usual leitmotifs; his orchestra characterizes the mood of the whole scene.

The speech motifs and the appropriately used style of folk music have stamped his work with the nation’s spiritual seal.

Translation: John Tyrrell, *JODA*, JP28

APPENDIX II

Letter from Cyril Metoděj Hrazdira to Janáček, 11 July 1906 (BmJA, B 83):

transcription and translation

Velectěný pane řiditeli!

Jelikož jsem od řed. Frýdy nedostal žádných zpráv, domníval jsem se správně, že Vám asi dopsal již pozdě. Ostatně bude dosti času, když partitury dostane v srpnu.

Prozatím mi stačí kl. výtah. Oddal jsem se znova studiu „Pastorkyně“ a doufám, že se mi podaří dílo ještě lépe provést než minule. Zajistil jsem si již pro Brno třetího flautistu. Myslím take, že by bylo s prospěchem pro dramatický spád některá místa poněkud zkrátiti. Týká se to hlavně obou ensemblů: „A vy muzikanti jděte dom ...“ a „Každý párek si musí svoje trápení přestát ..“ Dá se to provést velmi snadně, mám už to vypracováno, nebudeli Vám je k nahlédnutí. Také některé orch. mezihry jsou trochu dlouhé a zdržují rychlejší postup, např. I. jedn. výst. 7. „Srdce mi úzkostí v těle se třese, že by mamička aj lidé mohli poznat moji vinu“. Za prvou větou za slovem „třese“ jest čtyřtaktová mezihra, stačily by dva takty k vůli modulaci, aby věta, tvořící celek, nebyla příliš roztrhnutá — a pod. — Za slovy Jenůfky: „Abychom se mohli sebrat“ jest 13 taktů mezihry do 4/8 taktu na slovu „Bez toho bude od mamičky“ — upravil jsem na 10 taktů. To jsou ovšem návrhy mé a žádám o Váš názor v té věci —

V sobotu po Vašem odjezdu byl zde p. Zeman z Velké, sešel jsem se s ním ve „Slavii“. Ze Slezska mám už zprávy určité. Rozhodl jsem se pro Frýdecko, kamž pojedu společně s učitelem Mojžíškem; možna take že zabrousíme až do Pruska. Buďte tedy tak laskav a pošlete mi tu částku z toho velkého disposičního fondu. — Po obdržení vydám se hned na cestu. — Adresa na opisovače not jest:

H. Svozil, člen orchestra Nár. divadla

t.c.

v Těšeticích

u Olomouce. —

V dokonalé úctě oddaný

C.M. Hrazdira

Brno, 11/VII. 1906.

Esteemed director!

Since I have not had any news from dir[ector] Frýda, I correctly assumed that he was probably late in writing to you. But there will be plenty of time if I get the [full] score in August. Meanwhile I can make do with the vocal score. I have devoted myself to studying *Jenůfa* again and hope that I will succeed in perform the work even better than before. I have already secured a third flautist for Brno. I also think that it would be in the interests of the dramatic pacing for some places to be slightly cut. This concerns mainly the two ensembles: ‘A vy muzikanti jděte dom ...’ and ‘Každý párek si musí svoje trápení přestát ...’ It can be carried out very easily, I have already worked it out; if it does not go against your ideas, I would write out these passages and send them to you to look at. Also some orchestral interludes are a little too long and hold up the speed of the action, for instance Act 1 Scene 7, ‘Srdce mi úzkostí v těle se třese, že by mamička aj lidé mohli poznat moji vinu’. After the first sentence [phrase?] after the word ‘třese’ there is a four-bar interlude; two bars would be enough for the modulation so that the overall phrase is not too broken up. — etc. — After Jenůfa’s words: ‘Abychom se mohli sebrat’ there is a 13-bar interlude up to the 4/8 passage at the words ‘Bez toho bude od mamičky’ — I have adjusted this to 10 bars. These are of course only my suggestions, and I ask for your views on this matter.

On Saturday following your departure Mr Zeman from Velká was here, and I met with him at the 'Slavia' [café]. I already have definite news from Silesia. I have decided to go to the Frýdek district in the company of the teacher Mojžíšek; perhaps we will wander as far as Prussia. So be so kind as to send me that portion from the big discretionary fund. — After receiving it I will immediately set out on our journey. — The address of the music copyist is:

H.[ynek] Svozil, member of the National Theatre orchestra

at present

at Těšetice

near Olomouc. —

In perfect respect, your devoted

C.M. Hrazdira

Brno, 11 July 1906

| Place | Date* | Year | vn 1 | va | vc | db | fl 2 | ob 1 | ob 2 | cl 1 | cl 2 | fg 1 | hn 1 | hn 2 | hn 3/4 | tpt 1 | tpt 2 | trbn 1 | trbn 2 | trbn 3/4 | trnp | dp |
|------------------|--------|------|------|----|----|----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|----------|------|----|
| Bmo | 21.I | 1904 | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 28.I | | | | ✓ | | | — | | | | | | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 31.I | | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 2.II | | | | ✓ | | | — | | | | | | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 23.II | | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 28.II | | | | ✓ | | | — | | | | | | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 15.III | | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 3.IV | | | | — | | | ✓ | | | | | ✓ | — | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 15.IV | | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | | | ✓ | — | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| České Budějovice | 11.V | | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | | | ✓ | — | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| Písek | 30.V | | | | — | | | ✓ | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| Bmo | 7.XII | | | | — | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 7.II | 1905 | | | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| Moravská Ostrava | 25.IX | 1906 | | ✓ | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| Bmo | 6.X | | | ✓ | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 9.X | | | ✓ | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 1.I | 1911 | | | | | | (✓) | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | — | |
| | 24.I | | | | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 31.I | | | | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | 6.II | | | | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | — | |
| | 13.II | | | | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | — | |
| | 14.III | | | | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | — | |
| | 21.III | | | | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | — | |
| | 22.III | | | | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | — | |
| | 21.IV | | | | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | — | |
| | 25.III | 1913 | | | | | | — | | | | | — | ✓ | | | | | | | — | |

APPENDIX III: Lifespan of OP parts (1904–13)

italicised date = doubtful; ✓ = date in part; (✓) = date in part doubtful; — = continued use; — = possible continued use

*dates are of performances, except where indicated as doubtful

APPENDIX IV

1906 cuts in ŠVS, ŠFS and OP string parts

Cuts (a)–(c) were cut from the second performance of *Jenůfa* (28 January 1904) because of the indisposition of the Jenůfa, Maria Kabeláčová, but subsequently reinstated.

Cuts (1)–(16) were all made by September/October 1906, many of them as a result of C.M. Hrazdira's suggestions to Janáček (see APPENDIX II). Cuts (16a) and (16b) are, respectively, a shorter and longer version of a cut to the Laca solo and Laca/Jenůfa duet which begins 'Chci, Jenůfka, chci, Jenůfka'.

Cuts (i)–(v) (all shown here in *italics*) were indicated in pencil in SVS, apparently made by Hrazdira, but were not adopted by Janáček or incorporated into the other performance material.

Square brackets indicate that the cut is not indicated in the source in question.

(✓) = cut made in OP string parts but later rubbed out.

| Act/sc/bar | No. of bars | ŠVS (fol/sys/bar) | ŠFS (fol/bar) | OP strings | Cut no./date/comments |
|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|--|
| I/v/210–18 | 9 | 35r/II/2–35r/IV | 95v–96v/3 | ✓ | (1) Kostelnička's entrance; 'reminiscence' theme ?1904/06 Originally suggested as a 10-bar cut, to 35v/I/1; later (1907) extended to 10 bars |
| I/v/236–310 | 75 | 36r/III–40r/1 | 99v–111r | ✓ | (2) Kostelnička's narration ('Aji on byl zlatohřivý') ?1904/06 |
| I/v/369–71 | 3 | 44v/III | 121v | ✓ | (3) 'A vy, muzikanti' 1906: suggested by Hrazdira |
| I/v/387–94 | 8 | 46r–46v/1 | 124v–125v | ✓ | (4) 'A vy, muzikanti' continued 1906: suggested by Hrazdira |
| I/v/399–400 | 2 | 47r/II | [127r] | ✓ | (5) 'A vy, muzikanti' continued 1906: suggested by Hrazdira The cut markings in ŠVS were later (1907/8) rubbed out to adapt this passage to a longer cut |
| I/v/405–7 | 3 | 48r/I–II/1 | 128v–129r/1 | ✓ | (6) 'A vy, muzikanti' continued 1906: suggested by Hrazdira |
| I/v/461–74 | 14 | 51v–52r | 135r/3–136v | ✓ | (a) (7) 'Každý párek si musí' ?1904: cut at second performance (28 January)? subsequently reinstated 1906: later suggested by Hrazdira → Němcová 1984, 27 |
| I/v/484–95 | 12 | 53v/2–55v/1 | [138r/2–140r/1] | (✓) | (b) 'Každý párek si musí' continued 1904: cut at second performance (28 January 1904), subsequently reinstated (cut markings rubbed out) → Němcová 1984, 27 |
| I/v/491–2 | 2 | 54r/I–2 | [138v/1–2] | | (i) 'Každý párek si musí' continued ?1906: suggested by Hrazdira? |

| Act/sc/bar | No. of bars | ŠVS (fol/sys/bar) | ŠFS (fol/bar) | OP strings | Cut no./date/comments |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------------------|------------------------|------------|--|
| <i>I/vi/23–4</i> | 2 | <i>57r/I/3–4</i> | <i>[143r/1–2]</i> | | <i>(ii) Jenůfa and Števa: orchestral bars ?1906: suggested by Hrazdira?</i> |
| <i>I/vi/31–2</i> | 2 | <i>57r/II/5–6</i> | <i>143v/4–5</i> | ✓ | (8) Jenůfa and Števa: orchestral bars 1906: suggested by Hrazdira |
| <i>I/vi/56–7</i> | 2 | <i>57v/III/1–2</i> | <i>146r/5–6</i> | ✓ | (9) Jenůfa and Števa: orchestral bars 1906: suggested by Hrazdira? |
| <i>I/vi/87–9</i> | 3 | <i>58r/IV/5–7</i> | <i>149r/1–3</i> | ✓ | (10) Jenůfa and Števa: orchestral interlude before Andante, ‘Beztoho bude’ 1906: suggested by Hrazdira |
| <i>I/vi/124–5</i> | 2 | <i>59v/II/1–2</i> | <i>153r/2–3</i> | ✓ | (11) Orchestral interlude before Števa: ‘Neškleb se!’ 1906: suggested by Hrazdira? Similar appearance to cuts (9)–(11) |
| <i>I/vi/178–81</i> | 4 | <i>61r/I/5–II/3</i> | <i>[158v/2–5]</i> | | <i>(iii) Jenůfa: ‘smrt bych si musela urobiť’ ?1906: suggested by Hrazdira</i> |
| <i>I/vi/214–15</i> | 2 | <i>62r/I/1–2</i> | <i>[162r/3–4]</i> | | <i>(iv) Jenůfa and Števa; orchestral interlude (Presto) ?1906: suggested by Hrazdira?</i> |
| <i>II/vi/124–7</i> | 4 | <i>52v/III/5–53r/I/2</i> | <i>= 123r/2–5*</i> | ✓ | (12) Orchestral introduction to Jenůfa’s prayer (‘Zdrávas královno’) ?1906 *In SFS the first rather than the second of two identical four-bar phrases is cut |
| <i>II/vi/128–210</i> | 83 | <i>[53r/I/3–55v/II/1]</i> | <i>[123v/5–131r/1]</i> | (✓) | (c) Jenůfa’s prayer (cut to the beginning of the following scene) 1904: cut at the second performance (28 January) owing to the disposition of the Jenůfa (Marie Kabeláčová); subsequently reinstated In the 1904 string parts (OP) this cut starts a bar later and is only 82 bars long, but it is clear from other parts that 83 bars were omitted in all. Although clearly marked in (and later rubbed out from) OP, the cut is not indicated in ŠVS, ŠFS or LB → Němcová 1984, 27 |
| <i>II/vi/137</i> | 1 | <i>53r/II/6</i> | <i>124v/3</i> | ✓ | (13) Jenůfa’s prayer: orchestral bar |
| <i>II/vii/59–62</i> | 4 | <i>59r/II/2–5</i> | <i>139v/2–5</i> | ✓ | (14) Jenůfa and Kostelnička: Jenůfa, ‘Tož umřel’ ?1904/1906 Neat pencil marking in SVS means this could be a Hrazdira suggestion, but the notation of the cut in OP matches (1) and (2) , so this could date from earlier |
| <i>II/vii/93–4</i> | 2 | <i>60r/II/6–7</i> | <i>142r/6–7</i> | ✓ | (15) Jenůfa and Kostelnička: orchestral bars in Jenůfa’s reflective monologue ?1904/1906 See (16) |
| <i>II/vii/154–8</i> | 5 | <i>61v/I/3–III/1</i> | <i>[147r/3–148r/3]</i> | | <i>(v) Jenůfa and Kostelnička ?1906: suggested by Hrazdira?</i> |

| Act/sc/bar | No. of bars | ŠVS (fol/sys/bar) | ŠFS (fol/bar) | OP strings | Cut no./date/comments |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------|------------|--|
| II/viii/187–94 | 8 | 71r/III/3–71v/I | 168v/3–169r/4 | ✓ | (16a) Jenůfa/Laca duet ?1904 The original short version of the cut to this duet, also marked in the orchestral parts (OP) Later extended back to: |
| II/viii/157–94 | 38 | 70r/II/4–71v/I | 166r/3–169r/4 | ✓ | (16b) Laca solo ('Chci, Jenůfka') and Jenůfa/Laca duet by 1906 This longer version of the cut is also marked in the orchestral parts (OP) In 1907, the cut was extended back a further 16 bars to make a cut of 54 bars in all, excising almost all of the duetting → Štědroň, 94 |

APPENDIX V

Concordance of rehearsal figures

The present edition uses a modified version of the rehearsal figures used by UE 1969, UE 1996 and UE 2000 (see CHAPTERS 1 and 2). The following table lists these figures in the left-hand column. In order to facilitate comparison and orientation between this edition and three of the most important earlier sources for *Jenůfa*, these are listed against the equivalent figures used in ŠFS, KPU and UE 1917 (columns 2–4).

There are no rehearsal figures in ŠVS, hence its absence here: they were added to the vocal score at KPU proof stage. For ŠFS, only the original set of rehearsal figures is given, as they apply to the 1904 version of the score; later sequences of rehearsal numbers and letters added to ŠFS, replacing the original rehearsal figures, have been omitted.

The original scene designations in ŠFS, KPU and UE 1917 are also given

31 → **1** = 31 bars before fig. 1

100 → 9 = 9 bars after fig. 100

Act 1

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | 31 → 1 | 31 → 1 | 31 → 1 |
| 2 | 21 → 1 | 21 → 1 | 21 → 1 |
| 3 | 11 → 1 | 11 → 1 | 11 → 1 |
| 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 6 | 28 → 3 | 28 → 3 | 28 → 3 |
| 7 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 8 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 9 | 5 | 5 | 5 |

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| 10 | 21 → 6 | 21 → 6 | 14 → 6 |
| 11 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| 12 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| 13 | 10 → 8 | 10 → 8 | 10 → 8 |
| 14 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 15 | 8 → 9 | 8 → 9 | 8 → 9 |
| 16 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| 17 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 18 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| 19 | 4 → 12 | 4 → 12 | 4 → 12 |
| 20 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| 21 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| 22 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| 23 | 15 | 15 | 13 |
| 24 | 6 → 16 | 6 → 16 | 6 → 16 |
| 25 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| 26 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| 27 | 18 | 18 | 18 |
| 28 | 19 | 19 | 19 |
| 29 | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| 30 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| 31 Výstup 2 | 22 Výstup. 2. | 22 Výstup II. | 22 2. Szene |
| 32 | 13 → 23 | 13 → 23 | 13 → 23 |
| 33 | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| 34 | 21 → 24 | 21 → 24 | 21 → 24 |
| 35 | 8 → 24 | 8 → 24 | 8 → 24 |
| 36 | 24 | 24 | 24 |
| 37 | 12 → 25 | 12 → 25 | 12 → 25 |
| 38 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| 39 | 15 → 26 | 15 → 26 | 15 → 26 |
| 40 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| 41 | 27 | 27 | 27 |
| 42 | 4 → 28 | 4 → 28 | 4 → 28 |
| 43 | 28 | 28 | 28 |
| 44 | 29 | 29 | 29 |
| 45 | 7 → 30 | 7 → 30 | 7 → 30 |
| 46 Výstup 3 | 30 III a IV. Výstup. | 30 Výstup III. a IV. | 30 3. Szene |
| 47 | 12 → 31 | 12 → 31 | 12 → 31 |
| 48 Výstup 4 | 31 Výstup. V. | 31 Výstup V. | 31 4. Szene |
| 49 | 13 → 32 | 13 → 32 | 13 → 32 |
| 50 | 32 | 32 | 32 |

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 51 | 12 → 33 | 12 → 33 | 12 → 33 |
| 52 | 33 | 33 | 33 |
| 53 | 9 → 34 | 9 → 34 | 34 |
| 54 Výstup 5 | 34 [Výstup 6] | 34 Výstup VI. | — |
| 54a | 35 | 35 | — |
| 9 → 54b | | | 35 5. Szene |
| 54b | 36 | 36 | 36 |
| 55 | 37 | 37 | 37 |
| 56 | 11 → 38 | 11 → 38 | 37½ |
| 57 | 38 | 38 | 38 |
| 58 | 39 (1 ^a volta) | 39 (1 ^a volta) | 39 |
| 59 | 20 → 40 (1 ^a volta) | 20 → 40 (1 ^a volta) | 82 → 40 |
| 58a | 39 (2 ^a volta) | 39 (2 ^a volta) | 66 → 40 |
| 59a | 20 → 40 (2 ^a volta) | 20 → 40 (2 ^a volta) | 50 → 40 |
| 58b | 39 (3 ^a volta) | 39 (3 ^a volta) | 34 → 40 |
| 59b | 20 → 40 (3 ^a volta) | 20 → 40 (3 ^a volta) | 18 → 40 |
| 60 | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| 61 | 41 | 41 | 41 |
| 62 | 8 → 42 | 8 → 42 | 8 → 42 |
| 63 | 42 | 42 | 42 |
| 63a | 9 → 43 | — | — |
| 64 | 43 | 43 | 43 |
| 65 | 44 | 44 | 44 |
| 66 | 11 → 45 | — | — |
| 67 | 45 | — | — |
| 68 | 13 → 46 | — | — |
| 69 | 46 | — | — |
| 70 | 47 | — | — |
| 71 | 48 | — | — |
| 72 | 49 | — | — |
| 2 → 73 | 50 | — | — |
| 73 | 4 → 51 | — | — |
| 1 → 74 | 51 | 45 | 45 |
| 74 | 9 → 52 | 9 → 46 | 9 → 46 |
| 74a | 52 | 46 | 46 |
| 75 | 10 → 53 | 10 → 47 | 10 → 47 |
| 76 | 53 | 47 | 47 |
| 77 | 54 | 48 | 48 |
| 2 → 78 | 55 | 49 | — |
| 78 | 7 → 56 | 7 → 50 | 49 |
| 79 | 56 | 50 | 50 |

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 80 | 57 | 51 | 51 |
| 80a | 6 → 59 | — | — |
| 80b | 59 | — | — |
| 81 | 60 | 53 | 52 |
| 81a | 10 → 61 | — | — |
| 82 | 61 | 54 | 53 |
| 83 | 62 | 55 | 54 |
| 84 | 63 | 56 | 55 |
| 84a | 6 → 64 | 13 → 57 | 13 → 56 |
| 84b | 64 | — | — |
| 85 | 65 | 57 | 56 |
| 86 | 16 → 66 | 16 → 58 | 57 |
| 87 Výstup 6 | 66 Výstup. 7. | 58 Výstup VII. | 58 6. Szene |
| 88 | 38 → 67 | 28 → 59 | 26 → 59 |
| 89 | 14 → 67 | 10 → 59 | 10 → 59 |
| 90 | 67 | 59 | 59 |
| 91 | 68 | 1 → 60 | 1 → 60 |
| 92 | 69 | 61 | 61 |
| 93 | 21 → 70 | 17 → 62 | 17 → 62 |
| 94 | 11 → 70 | 9 → 62 | 9 → 62 |
| 95 | 70 | 62 | 62 |
| 96 | 71 | 63 | 63 |
| 97 | 72 | 64 | 64 |
| 98 | 4 → 73 | — | — |
| 8 → 99 | 73 | 65 | 65 |
| 99 | 74 | 66 | 66 |
| 99a | 75 | 67 | 67 |
| 99b | 76 | — | — |
| 100 | 77 | 68 | 68 |
| 101 | 78 | 69 | 69 |
| 102 | 79 | 70 | 70 |
| 103 | 80 | 71 | 71 |
| 104 Výstup 7 | 81 Výstup. 8. | 72 Výstup VIII. | 72 7. Szene |
| 104a | 82 | 73 | 73 |
| 1 → 105 | 83 | 74 | |
| 105 | 7 → 84 | 7 → 75 | 74 |
| 106 | 84 | 75 | 75 |
| 107 | 9 → 85 | 9 → 76 | 9 → 76 |
| 108 | 85 | 76 | 76 |
| 109 | 86 | 77 | 77 |
| 110 | 87 | 78 | 78 |

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 111 | 10 → 88 | 8 → 79 | 8 → 79 |
| 112 | 88 | 79 | 79 |
| 113 | 89 | 80 | 80 |
| 114 | 90 | 81 | 81 |
| 115 | 91 | 82 | 82 |
| 116 | 23 → 92 | 25 → 83 | 21 → 83 |
| 117 | 16 → 92 | 17 → 83 | 13 → 83 |
| 117a | 8 → 92 | 5 → 83 | — |
| 117b | 92 | 83 | 83 |
| 118 | 9 → 93 | 3 → 84 | 3 → 84 |
| 118a | 93 | — | — |
| 118b | 94 | 84 | 84 |
| 118c | 20 → 95 | — | — |
| 119 | 95 | 85 | 85 |
| 120 | 5 → 96 | 5 → 86 | 5 → 86 |
| 120a | 96 | 86 | 86 |
| 121 | 97 | 87 | 87 |
| 122 | 98 | 88 | 88 |
| 122a | 99 | 11 → 89 | 11 → 89 |
| 122b | 100 | — | — |
| 123 | 100 → 5 | 89 | 89 |
| 124 | 100 → 9 | 89 → 4 | 89 → 4 |

Act 2

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 8 → 2 | 7 → 2 | 8 → 2 1. Szene |
| 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 4a | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| 7a | 8 | 4 → 8 | 4 → 8 |
| 8 | 9 | 8 | 8 |
| 9 | 10 | 9 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 10 | 10 |
| 11 | 12 | 11 | 11 |
| 11a | 13 | — | — |
| 11b | 14 | — | — |
| 12 | 15 | 12 | 12 |
| 13 | 16 | 13 | 13 |

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| 14 | 17 | 14 | 14 |
| 15 | 18 | 15 | 15 |
| 16 | 19 | 16 | 16 |
| 17 | 16 → 20 | 16 → 17 | 16 → 17 |
| 18 Výstup 2 | 20 Výstup. 2. | 17 Výstup II. | 17 2. Szene |
| 19 | 21 | 18 | 18 |
| 20 | 22 | 19 | 19 |
| 21 | 8 → 23 | 15 → 20 | 15 → 20 |
| 22 | 2 → 23 | 10 → 20 | 10 → 20 |
| 8 → 23 | 23 | 8 → 20 | 8 → 20 |
| 23 | 24 | 20 | 20 |
| 24 Výstup 3 | 25 3. Výstup (4) | 21 Výstup III. (IV.) | 21 3. Szene |
| 25 | 26 | 22 | 22 |
| 26 | 27 | 23 | 23 |
| 27 | 28 | 24 | 24 |
| 28 | 29 | 25 | 25 |
| 29 | 6 → 30 | 6 → 26 | 6 → 26 |
| 1 → 30 | 30 | 26 | 26 |
| 30 | 5 → 31 | 5 → 27 | 5 → 27 |
| 31 | 31 | 27 | 27 |
| 2 → 32 | 32 | 28 | 28 |
| 32 | 10 → 33 | 6 → 29 | 6 → 29 |
| 33 | 33 | 29 | 29 |
| 34 | 34 | 30 | 30 |
| 35 | 35 | 31 | 31 |
| 36 | 36 | 32 | 32 |
| 37 | 37 | 33 | 33 |
| 38 | 38 | 34 | 34 |
| 39 | 39 | 35 | 35 |
| 40 | 17 → 40 | 16 → 36 | 16 → 36 |
| 1 → 41 | 1 → 40 | 36 | 36 |
| 41 | 40 | 13 → 37 | 13 → 37 |
| 42 | 41 | 37 | 37 |
| 43 | 42 | 38 | 38 |
| 44 | 43 | 39 | 39 |
| 45 | 44 | 40 | 40 |
| 46 | 13 → 45 | 41 | 41 |
| 47 | 45 | 42 | 42 |
| 48 | 46 | 43 | 43 |
| 49 | 47 | 44 | 44 |
| 50 | 26 → 48 | 45 | 45 |

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| 51 | 12 → 48 | 13 → 46 | 13 → 46 |
| 51a Výstup 4 | 48 Výstup 4. (5.) | — | — |
| 52 | 49 | 46 Výstup IV. (V.) | 46 4. Szene |
| 53 | 50 | 47 | 47 |
| 54 | 51 | 48 | 48 |
| 55 | 52 | 49 | 49 |
| 55a | 53 | — | — |
| 56 | 54 | — | — |
| 6 → 57 | 6 → 55 | 50 | 50 |
| 57 | 55 | 51 | 51 |
| 58 | 56 | 52 | 52 |
| 59 | 57 | 53 | 53 |
| 60 | 58 | 54 | 54 |
| 61 | 4 → 59 | 4 → 55 | 4 → 55 |
| 62 | 59 | 55 | 55 |
| 63 | 10 → 60 | 14 → 56 | 14 → 56 |
| 63a | 60 | — | — |
| 64 Výstup 5 | 61 Výstup 5. (6.) | 56 Výstup V. (VI.) | 56 5. Szene |
| 65 | 62 | 57 | 57 |
| 66 | 63 | 58 | 58 |
| 67 | 5 → 64 | 5 → 59 | 5 → 59 |
| 68 | 64 | 59 | 59 |
| 69 | 4 → 65 | 4 → 60 | 4 → 60 |
| 70 | 65 | 60 | 60 |
| 71 | 7 → 66 | 7 → 61 | 7 → 61 |
| 72 Výstup 6 | 66 Výstup 6. (7.) | 61 Výstup VI. (VII.) | 61 6. Szene |
| 73 | 6 → 67 | 6 → 62 | 6 → 62 |
| 74 | 67 | 62 | 62 |
| 75 | 68 | 63 | 63 |
| 76 | 69 | 64 | 64 |
| 77 | 6 → 70 | 5 → 65 | 6 → 65 |
| 1 → 78 | 1 → 70 | 65 | 1 → 65 |
| 78 | 70 | 8 → 66 | 65 |
| 79 | 71 | 66 | 66 |
| 80 | 72 | 67 | 67 |
| 81 | 73 | 68 | 68 |
| 82 | 74 | 69 | 69 |
| 83 | 4 → 75 | 4 → 70 | 4 → 70 |
| 84 | 75 | 70 | 70 |
| 1 → 85 | 76 | 71 | 71 |
| 85 | 19 → 77 | 19 → 72 | 18 → 72 |

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| 86 | 8 → 77 | 8 → 72 | 7 → 72 |
| 87 | 77 | 72 | 72 |
| 88 | 78 | — | — |
| 88a | 1 → 79 | 1 → 73 | 73 |
| 89 | 80 | 74 | 74 |
| 90 | 81 | 75 | 75 |
| 91 | 82 | 76 | 76 |
| 92 | 8 → 83 | 8 → 77 | 8 → 77 |
| 93 | 83 | 77 | 77 |
| 94 | 9 → 84 | 7 → 78 | 7 → 78 |
| 95 Výstup 7 | 84 Výstup 7 (8). | 78 Výstup VII. (VIII.) | 78 7. Szene |
| 96 | 85 | 79 | 79 |
| 97 | 86 | 80 | 80 |
| 98 | 87 | 81 | 81 |
| 99 | 88 | 82 | 82 |
| 100 | 89 | 83 | 83 |
| 101 | 15 → 90 | 12 → 84 | 12 → 84 |
| 102 | 90 | 84 | 84 |
| 103 | 91 | 85 | 85 |
| 104 | 92 | 86 | 86 |
| 105 | 1 → 93 | 1 → 87 | 1 → 87 |
| 21 → 106 | 93 | 87 | 87 |
| 1 → 106 | 1 → 94 | 88 | 88 |
| 106 | 94 | 9 → 89 | 9 → 89 |
| 107 | 95 | 89 | 89 |
| 107a Výstup 8 | 96 Výstup 8. (9) | — | — |
| 1 → 108 | 1 → 97 | 90 Výstup VIII. (IX.) | 90 8. Szene |
| 108 | 97 | 8 → 91 | 8 → 91 |
| 1 → 109 | 1 → 98 | 91 | 1 → 91 |
| 109 | 98 | 28 → 92 | 91 |
| 110 | 99 | 92 | 92 |
| 111 | 100 | 93 | 93 |
| 112 | 101 | 94 | 94 |
| 113 | 12 → 102 | 12 → 95 | 12 → 95 |
| 113a | 102 | — | — |
| 114 | 103 | 95 | 95 |
| 115 | 104 | 96 | 96 |
| 116 | 105 | 97 | 97 |
| 116a | 106 | — | — |
| 116b | 107 | — | — |
| 116c | 108 | — | — |

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 117 | 109 | 98 | 98 |
| 118 | 110 | 99 | 99 |
| 119 | 111 | 100 | 100 |
| 120 | 112 | 101 | 101 |
| 121 | 8 → 113 | 8 → 102 | 8 → 102 |
| 122 | 113 | 102 | 102 |
| 123 | 3 → 114 | 9 → 103 | 9 → 103 |
| 6 → 124 | 114 | 6 → 103 | 6 → 103 |
| 124 | 115 | 103 | 103 |
| 125 | 116 | 104 | 104 |
| 126 | 117 | 105 | 105 |

Act 3

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 1 | — | — |
| 1a | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 20 → 3 | 20 → 2 | 1 → 2 |
| 3 | 3 | 2 | 8 → 3 |
| 4 | 1 → 4 | 3 | 3 |
| 5 | 12 → 5 | 4 | 4 |
| 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 7 | 6 → 6 | 6 → 6 | 6 → 6 |
| 8 Výstup 2 | 6 Výstup. 2. | 6 Výstup II. | 6 2. Szene |
| 9 | 16 → 7 | 31 → 8 * | — |
| 10 | 7 | 15 → 8 * | 7 |
| 11 | 5 → 8 | 5 → 8 | 5 → 8 |
| 1 → 12 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 12 | 7 → 9 | 7 → 9 | 7 → 9 |
| 13 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| 14 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 15 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| 16 | 12 | 2 → 12 | 12 |
| 17 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| 18 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| 19 Výstup 3 | 15 Výstup. 3. | 15 Výstup III. | 15 3. Szene |
| 20 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| 21 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| 22 | 18 | 18 | 18 |
| 23 | 19 | 19 | 19 |

* KPU contains no fig. 7, which should be 15 → **8** (i.e. KPU, 212, bar 1)

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 24 | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| 25 | 5 → 21 | 5 → 21 | 5 → 21 |
| 26 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| 27 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| 28 | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| 3 → 29 Výstup 4 | 24 Výstup. 4. | 24 Výstup IV. | 24 4. Szene |
| 29 | 14 → 25 | 14 → 25 | 12 → 25 |
| 2 → 30 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| 30 | 16 → 26 | 16 → 26 | 16 → 26 |
| 31 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| 32 | 2 → 27 | 10 → 28 [†] | 2 → 27 |
| 8 → 33 | 27 | 8 → 28 [†] | 27 |
| 33 | 28 | 28 | 28 |
| 33a | 29 | — | — |
| 34 | 30 | 29 | 29 |
| 34a | 31 | 30 | 30 |
| 35 | 32 | 31 | 31 |
| 36 Výstup 5 | 33 Výstup. 5. | 32 Výstup V. | 32 5. Szene |
| 37 Výstup 6 | 34 Výstup. 6. | 33 Výstup VI. | 33 6. Szene |
| 37a | 35 | 23 → 34 | 23 → 34 |
| 38 | 36 | 34 | 34 |
| 39 | 37 (1 ^a volta) | 35 (1 ^a volta) | 35 |
| 39a | 37 (2 ^a volta) | 35 (2 ^a volta) | 42 → 36 |
| 39b | 37 (3 ^a volta) | 35 (3 ^a volta) | 23 → 36 |
| 40 | 38 | 36 | 36 |
| 41 | 12 → 39 | 12 → 37 | 12 → 37 |
| 42 | 39 | 37 | 37 |
| 43 | 40 | 38 | 38 |
| 44 | 7 → 41 | 7 → 39 | 7 → 39 |
| 45 Výstup 7 | 41 Výstup. 7. | 39 Výstup VII. | 39 7. Szene |
| 46 | 42 | 40 | 40 |
| 47 Výstup 8 | 43 Výstup. 8. | 41 Výstup VIII. | 41 8. Szene |
| 48 | 44 | 42 | 42 |
| 49 | 12 → 45 | 12 → 43 | 12 → 43 |
| 50 Výstup 9 | 45 Výstup. 9. | 43 Výstup IX. | 43 9. Szene |
| 51 | 46 | 44 | 44 |
| 52 | 5 → 47 | 5 → 45 | 5 → 45 |
| 53 Výstup 10 | 47 Výstup. 10. | 45 Výstup X. | 45 10. Szene |
| 54 | 48 | 46 | 46 |
| 55 | 49 | 47 | 47 |

[†] KPU contains no fig. 27, which should be 8 → **28** (i.e. KPU, 229, bar 6)

| Reh. fig. | ŠFS | KPU | UE 1917 |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 56 | 50 | 48 | 48 |
| 57 | 51 | 49 | 49 |
| 58 | 8 → 52 | 8 → 50 | 8 → 50 |
| 59 | 3 → 52 | 3 → 50 | 3 → 50 |
| 60 | 52 | 50 | 50 |
| 61 | 5 → 53 | 5 → 51 | 5 → 51 |
| 62 | 53 | 51 | 51 |
| 62a | 54 | 52 | — |
| 63 | 55 | 53 | 1 → 52 |
| 64 | 56 | 54 | 53 |
| 65 | 4 → 57 | 4 → 55 | 54 |
| 65a | 57 | — | — |
| 66 Výstup 11 | 58 Výstup. 11. | 55 Výstup XI. | 55 11. Szene |
| 67 | 4 → 59 | 3 → 56 | 3 → 56 |
| 68 | 59 | 56 | 56 |
| 69 | 4 → 60 | 4 → 57 | 4 → 57 |
| 70 | 60 | 57 | 57 |
| 71 | 6 → 61 | 6 → 58 | 6 → 58 |
| 72 | 61 | 58 | 58 |
| 73 | 62 | 59 | 59 |
| 74 | 63 | 60 | 60 |
| 75 Výstup 12 | 64 Výstup. 12. | 61 Výstup XII. | 61 12. Szene |
| 76 | 65 | 62 | 62 |
| 77 | 2 → 66 | 2 → 63 | 2 → 63 |
| 78 | 66 | 63 | 63 |
| 79 | 1 → 67 | 1 → 64 | 1 → 64 |
| 8 → 80 | 67 | 64 | 64 |
| 80 | 68 | 65 | 65 |
| 81 | 10 → 69 | 10 → 66 | 10 → 66 |
| 82 | 69 | 66 | 66 |
| 83 | 69 → 7 | 66 → 7 | 66 → 7 |

APPENDIX VI

Janáček, *Jenůfa* and the straw fiddle

One of the most distinctive aspects of *Jenůfa*'s sound-world is the striking use (in more than the literal sense) of the xylophone in Act 1. It features nowhere else in the opera, but reappears at nodal points throughout the Act. Moreover, as Janáček's annotations to the instrument's line in the full score make clear, it is specifically associated with the location of the action, which is set at a mill: 'Late afternoon. A lonely mill in the mountains. On the right, in front of the dwelling house, an extended roof supported by wooden posts. Some bushes, some felled timber, in the background a stream.'¹ Although no mill-wheel as such is specified in this description, most naturalistic productions of the opera do indeed include one, and often take the xylophone's musical cue to have the wheel visibly moving while the instrument plays.

Given the xylophone's prominence at crucial moments throughout Act 1, it is surprising to discover that, in Janáček's original, pre-première conception of the opera, the instrument appears to have played a somewhat lesser role. This is only partly explained by the fact that it was Janáček's removal of the self-standing orchestral introduction (*Úvod*) which effectively threw the aural spotlight onto the xylophone, making it the very first sound the audience hears.² A close examination of the two surviving manuscript scores (ŠFS and ŠVS) shows that several of the xylophone's appearances during Act 1 were added by Janáček himself after the original copying, probably in his October 1903 revisions to the opera (see CHAPTER 1,

¹ 'Podvečer. Osamělý, pohorský mlýn. Vpravo před domovním stavením sňhka z dřevěných sloupů. Strážka, křoviny, několik pokácených dřev, vzadu strouha.' Gabriela Preissová, *Její pastorkyňa*, Act 1, opening.

² The *Úvod* was never used as an introduction to the opera in Janáček's lifetime; see CHAPTER 1, §1.2.

§1.2). TABLE A6.1, which lists all the passages played by the instrument, identifies those added by 1903, as well as Janáček's later, post-première alterations. With the exception of the nine bars preceding Jano's entry (Scene 1, bars 295–303), all the indications for the xylophone to be placed 'na jevišti, ve mlýně' [onstage, by the mill] are additions by Janáček to ŠFS.

TABLE A6.1: Alterations to xylophone in ŠFS before and after première

| Scene | bars | pitch | date | comments |
|-------|---------|------------|--------------------------|--|
| i | 1–24 | <i>cb'</i> | original | 4s changed to 6s ?1907/8 (4s remain in ŠVS and KPU) |
| | 52–54 | <i>cb'</i> | added by Oct 1903 | 'na jevišti, ve mlýně'; always in ŠVS; 4s changed to 6s by 1907 (ŠVS) |
| | 295–303 | <i>ab</i> | original | 'na jevišti, ve mlýně'; 4s changed to 6s ?1907/8 |
| | 336–43 | <i>b♭</i> | original | 4s changed to 6s ?1907/8 |
| | 375–6 | <i>ab</i> | original | 'Solo'; 4s |
| | 377–8 | <i>ab</i> | added by Oct 1903 | 4s; continuation of previous 2 bars: omitted in error? |
| ii | 17–21 | <i>cb'</i> | added by Oct 1903 | 4s changed to 6s by 1907 (ŠVS); ŠVS and KPU: <i>ab</i> |
| | 54–61 | <i>g</i> | added by Oct 1903 | 'na jevišti, ve mlýně'; always in ŠVS; 4s changed to 6s ?1907/8 (but NB always 12s in ŠVS) |
| v | 500–6 | <i>cb'</i> | added by Oct 1903 | semiquavers (in 2/4) |
| vi | 1–5 | <i>cb'</i> | added by Oct 1903 | 'na jevišti, ve mlýně'; semiquavers (in 3/4); changed to quavers by 1907 (ŠVS) |
| | 262–3 | <i>cb'</i> | added by Oct 1903 | 'solo', 'na jevišti, ve mlýně'; quavers (in 6/4) |
| vii | 1–25 | <i>cb'</i> | original | quadruplet crotchets in 3/4; changed to 6 quavers by October 1903 |
| | 160–8 | <i>cb'</i> | added by Oct 1903 | 1907: 4 bars added to beginning (= bars 156–9 in present edition) and pitch altered to <i>b♭</i> |

Two of the additions to ŠFS appear always to have been present in ŠVS (i/52–4; ii/54–61), and thus may either have been oversights, or else reflect aspects of the destroyed autograph score(s). The two bars of *ab*s added at the end of Scene 1, just before the entry of the mill foreman (i/377–8, a continuation of the previous two bars), may likewise simply be the correction of an oversight. Otherwise, those passages originally absent in both ŠFS and ŠVS are indicated above in bold type in the 'date' column. Most notable is the fact that three crucial appearances by the instrument

seem to be post-copying additions (i.e. originally in neither ŠFS nor ŠVS): the 12 bars bridging the transition between Scenes 5 and 6 (the orchestral postlude to the ‘Každý párek’ ensemble leading to Jenůfa’s recitative, ‘Števo, Števo, já vím’); the two bars preceding Scene 7 (vi/262–3, originally a general pause); and the nine bars at fig. 118 (vii/160–8) when Laca ponders the damage his knife could do to Jenůfa’s cheeks (‘Tenhle křivák by ti je mohl pokazit!’). It is precisely in these three passages that Janáček appears to tap into the tension accumulated by the xylophone’s ‘background’ presence through the course of the Act, and ratchets it up, notch by notch, to arrive at the expressive level of the highly-charged closing pages. And it is here, too, that the xylophone most obviously departs from being merely a musical, quasi-naturalistic representation of the mill (heard, for instance, when Jano runs on from the mill, and again when the mill foreman makes his entrance) to take on a more ominous, fateful hue.

That Janáček himself thought of the xylophone chiefly in association with the mill is clear not only from his stage-direction annotations to ŠFS but also from subsequent correspondence and other documents. Although the first production, which was staged with makeshift rather than custom-built sets, is unlikely to have included an actual mill, later stagings in Janáček’s lifetime certainly featured prominent mills and mill-wheels. The fact that the 1904 première was, as it were, on Janáček’s doorstep means that it is relatively less well documented than later ‘away’ productions. Nevertheless, Janáček’s correspondence at the time with Camilla Urválková (see CHAPTER 1) is probably a fair indication that, on the opera’s first airing, he was more occupied with musical concerns and shortcomings than with questions of staging. Subsequent productions in Prague, Vienna and then internationally were in a different class musically, and Janáček was therefore able to

direct his attentions more towards aspects of the production itself. Indeed, it was as he gained in self-confidence as a result of this wider acceptance of his work that he seems to have felt able to address questions of staging and production, and he no doubt also developed a greater awareness and feel for such matters away from the provincial limitations of his adopted home town.

On 12 May 1916, a fortnight before the opera's Prague première, Janáček wrote from rehearsals in Prague to his wife Zdenka, at home in Brno: 'The clatter of the mill [i.e. the xylophone] will be on stage — [coming] from the mill.'³ In the immediate wake of the Prague production's triumph, an emboldened Janáček took it upon himself to address what he perceived as shortcomings in the staging itself. After consulting the Moravian painter Alois Kalvoda (1875–1934), Janáček wrote on 3 June 1916 to the National Theatre's administrative director, Gustav Schmoranz, requesting 'a stylistically faithful, true stage design' for Act 1. After criticising the stone bridge as 'downright unthinkable' (i.e. unthinkable for rural Slovácko, where *Jenůfa* is set) he turned his attention to the mill:

Also the mill, the view of it and into it with all the artificial plumbing of the overshot mechanism⁴ — this in no way resembles the truth with its [i.e. the Prague production's] simple, bare, gigantic wheel stuck on the side of a cottage. Perhaps Mr Kalvoda would be ready [to sketch a mill from life] by the autumn.⁵

³ JODA, JP99.

⁴ 'horní vody'.

⁵ JA vii, 31. Schmoranz's response, as noted down by him on Janáček's letter, was dismissive: 'The devil take this "mistr" Kalvoda from us. An overshot mill! How is that possible on stage? Where would the water go?', *ibid.*

Janáček attempted to pursue the matter further that August, but although Kalvoda produced for him a series of colour sketches of old mills in the Javorník–Suchov valley, the composer’s proposals were tactfully but firmly scotched by Schmoranz.⁶

Subsequently, mill-wheels continued to feature prominently in set designs,⁷ and further evidence exists of Janáček’s association of the xylophone with the mill itself. On 22 March 1924, five days after the opera’s Berlin première under Erich Kleiber, he wrote in a letter of thanks to Kleiber:

If I may ask you for something, it is: the introduction to the first act, just a little quicker to give it an appearance of restlessness. And place the xylophone on the stage near the mill where its icy tone will be damped. That is all.⁸

Gabriela Preissová’s still later (1941) reminiscences state that ‘[Janáček] studied the cries of young men at their folk dancing, he went off to the mill where he listened to and noted down the noises of the turning and rumble of the mill wheel.’⁹ Whilst Preissová’s recollections might in other respects ‘need to be treated with caution’ on account of their late date,¹⁰ Act 1 of *Jenůfa* was indeed written against the background of the culmination of Janáček’s transcription and collection of folk rituals, as well as

⁶ JA vii, 39–40; see also Vogel 1963, 370 (394 in the Eng. trans.).

⁷ These included the set designs by Hans Fühlinger for the 1918 Hofoper production in Vienna; see illustration in Alena Němcová (ed.), *Svět Janáčkových oper* (Brno: Moravské Zemské museum, Nadace Leoše Janáčka a Město Brno, 1998), 38, which also shows a more radically stylised design (still including mill-wheel) by Friedrich Kalbfuss for a 1925 production at the Hessisches Landestheater, Darmstadt. Fühlinger’s Vienna designs were subsequently adapted for the opera’s US première at the Metropolitan Opera, New York, in December 1924 (*JaWo*, 17).

⁸ Štědroň 1955, 178.

⁹ *JODA*, JP3.

¹⁰ *JODA*, 43.

his earliest notations of speech melodies (1897 onwards).¹¹ And the idea of the composer actually noting down the noise of the mill-wheel, which might otherwise seem fanciful, is lent at least some credence by the composer's own words in his unpublished 1924 sketch on naturalism (XV/340): 'The "wailing wind" plays the piccolo. The clatter of the mill — the xylophone.'¹²

However, just as the mill-wheel itself can take on broader, symbolic resonances in the context of the unfolding action (as a 'wheel of fate'), so too the xylophone has wider significance than its immediately apparent naturalistic association with the mill, a significance bound up with the history of the instrument itself. To appreciate this, one needs to consider the type of instrument that Janáček was probably writing for. In his introduction to UE 1996, Tyrrell looks into the terminology of some of Janáček's percussion instruments, notably the 'lyra' (a lyre-shaped portable glockenspiel used in military bands) and the 'zvonky' (a Czech term meaning 'little bells').¹³ His comments on the xylophone, however, are restricted to noting its association with the mill-wheel, which 'perhaps explains the exceptionally low tessitura'.¹⁴ But, at just the time that *Jenůfa* was being composed and first performed, the xylophone itself was going through an important stage in its organological development. The 'modern' orchestral xylophone, with its keyboard-style layout of wooden bars, emerged only in the late 1880s in the United States, where

¹¹ See *JYL*, 339–54 and 477–89.

¹² '„Meluzina“ hraje picolou. „Klepot mlýna“ – xylofon.', *LD I/1*², 173; English translation in Beckerman 2003, 295.

¹³ Tyrrell 1996, xvii–xviii. These terms are explored in greater detail in *JaWo*, xx–xxii; for their interpretation in the context of the present reconstruction of the 1904 *Jenůfa*, see CHAPTER 2, §2.4.

¹⁴ Tyrrell 1996, xviii.

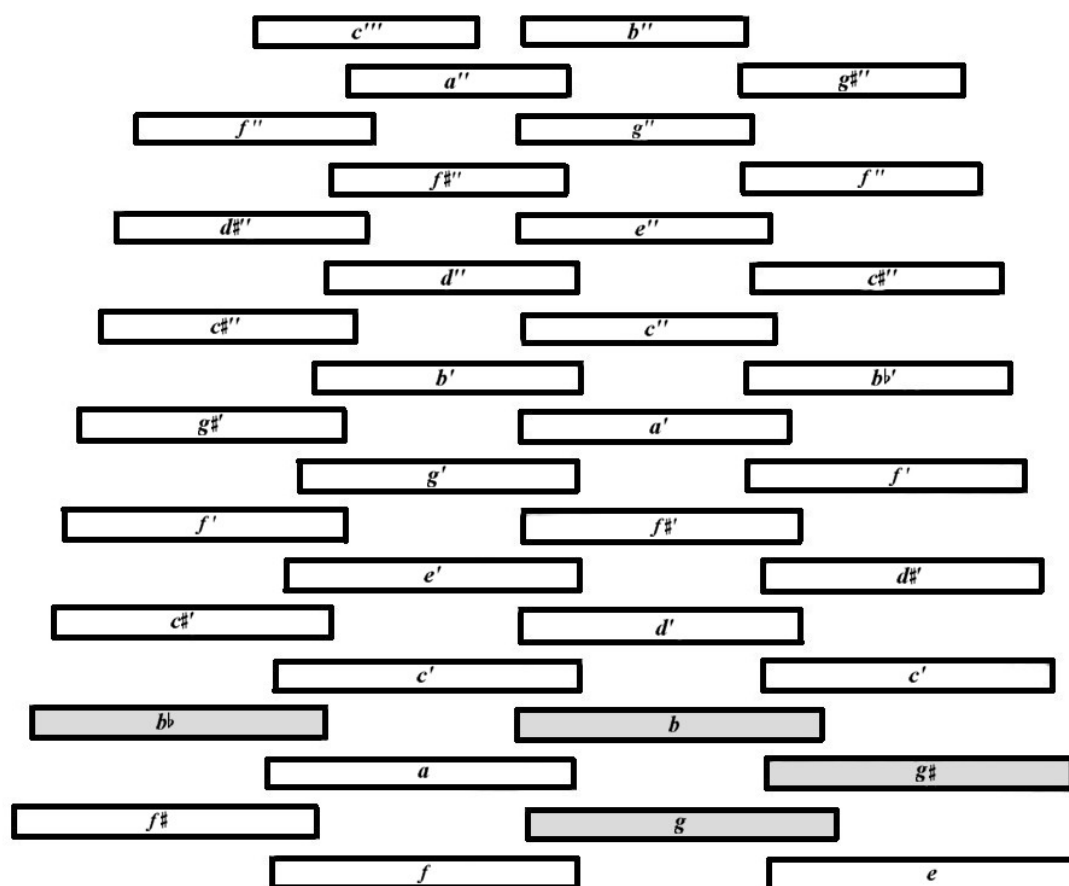


Fig. A6.1 Diagrammatic representation of the four-row, 36-note xylophone. The pitches are those notated (sounding an octave higher). The shaded pitches are the ones used (with some enharmonic re-notation) in Act 1 of *Jenůfa*.¹⁵

its manufacture was pioneered by John C. Deagan.¹⁶ Its widespread adoption was only gradual, however, and most European orchestras of Janáček's time would have used a far older type of instrument, the 'four-row' xylophone (see Fig. A6.1). Like its younger sister, this was a chromatic instrument, but its wooden bars were arranged laterally in front of the player (in a manner similar to the cimbalom) in four

¹⁵ Based on illustration at <<http://www.pas.org/Museum/Tour/0502.cfm>> (website of the Percussive Arts Society; accessed 1 February 2007).

¹⁶ See Mike Wheeler, 'J.C. Deagan percussion instruments', *Percussive Notes*, xxxi/2 (1992), 60–64; also http://www.malletshop.com/Quarterly/January_Quarterly_2004.pdf (including [Shannon Wood], 'A look back: Deagan history part 1'). Apart from his innovations in the field of percussion instruments, John C. Deagan (1852–1932) was also responsible for the recognition of $a' = 440$ as standard pitch; see Edmund A. Bowles, 'Deagan', *NG2*, vii, 88.

interlocking rows, with the lowest notes nearest the player, and resting on ropes made of straw. This latter feature gave rise to the distinctive German term for the instrument, *Strohfiedel* [straw fiddle], sometimes also known as the *Holz-und-Stroh*. Lacking the resonators of the modern xylophone, the bars and ropes were arranged on a flat surface and struck with a pair of spoon-shaped mallets (again like the cimbalom) made of wood or horn, giving a much harder, dryer sound than the modern instrument.¹⁷ The wooden bars were so arranged that the two central rows corresponded approximately to the ‘white’ or natural pitches, with the outer rows containing mainly the ‘black’ accidentals, and with some pitches duplicated so as to facilitate the playing of faster passages, as shown in the diagrammatic representation above.

As well as being laid out on ropes of straw, the bars were strung loosely together, so that the entire instrument could be rolled up for carrying. The range was variable, at most $2^{2/3}$ octaves, and notational convention dictated that the written pitches (a) sounded an octave higher (b):

Ex. A6.1



At the turn of the century, there appears to have been a mini-boom of works including a part for the xylophone: in addition to *Jenůfa*, the instrument features in Mahler’s Sixth Symphony and Puccini’s *Madama Butterfly* (both 1904), Strauss’s *Salome* (1905), Debussy’s *Ibéria* (1909) and Stravinsky’s *L’Oiseau de feu* (1910). However, this boom owed less to the appearance of the modern ‘Deagan’ xylophone (most European orchestras, and certainly central and eastern European orchestras, continued

¹⁷ Holland 1978, 169–70.

to use the four-row instrument well into the twentieth century)¹⁸ than it did to the instrument's growing popularity during the nineteenth century. This trend can largely be credited to Michał Józef Guzikow (1806–1837), a Polish Jew who had the distinction of being the first acknowledged xylophone virtuoso, touring Europe and impressing the likes of Mendelssohn, Chopin and Liszt.¹⁹ He not only raised the instrument's profile within the world of art music, but reinforced a perception of it as a typically Slavic instrument.²⁰ In one of the chief Czech reference books of the early twentieth century, *Otto's Encyclopedia*, the xylophone (listed as *Slamozvuk*, literally 'straw noise') is described as

a musical instrument of the Russians, Cossacks, Tartars and Poles, also particularly the Carpathian and Ural highlanders, and lastly favoured by Tyrolean singers and called by them *Strohfiedel*, also *Holzharmonika*, *Gige-lyra*, *hölzernes Gelächter*. It is made of 16–20 tuned sticks of fir wood, semi-cylindrical in shape [i.e. convex], resting on straw ropes or on long wooden rods wound with rope, the notes are produced by two wooden beaters.²¹

Although this description seems to be of the even older one-row diatonic xylophone (which pre-dated Guzikow and was described, as the author of *Otto's* entry points out, by Agricola), the instrument's Slavic roots, attested to in other sources of the time, may well have appealed to Janáček's wider pan-Slavic sentiments, notwithstanding

¹⁸ In Russian orchestras the four-row xylophone was in use until the later twentieth century; see Baines 1992, 384.

¹⁹ Irena Poniatowska, 'Guzikow, Michał Józef', *NG2*, vii, 608–9; James Blades/James Holland, 'Xylophone, §2: Europe', *NG2*, xxvii, 619.

²⁰ This was undoubtedly emphasised by his appearance in folk costume at his concerts; see *AmZ* no. 36 (September 1835).

²¹ *OSN* xxiii (1905), 334.



Fig. A6.2 Hans Holbein the Younger, 'Das Altweyb' (1538)

the fact that *Jenůfa*'s brand of Slavism is specifically Moravian.²²

Another aspect of the xylophone of which Janáček will certainly have been aware is its use as a symbol of death. This association is evident as far back as the first half of the sixteenth century, when Hans Holbein the Younger's series of woodcuts of the Dance of Death included one picture ('Das Altweyb') showing a skeleton dancing in front of an elderly woman whilst playing a one-row xylophone (see illustration above).²³ Janáček would hardly have needed to consult the history books to have been aware of this link, however, for on 30 March 1884 he had

²² By the time *Pazdírek's dictionary of music* appeared in 1929, the authentically Czech-sounding but misleading term *slamozvuk* had been jettisoned in favour of the term *xylofon* and the description is of the four-row concert xylophone popularised by Guzikow, with 36 wooden bars; Pazdírek characterises its tone as 'hollow and harsh' ('dutý a ostrý') and gives the variable range as '(g) c¹ až g³ (c⁴)', i.e. (g) c' to g''' (c'''), a full 3½ octaves; *PHSN* i, 429. It was Guzikow who extended the instrument's range to 3½ octaves; see James Blades/James Holland, 'Xylophone, §2: Europe', *NG2*, xxvii, 619.

²³ Published in book form as *Les simulachres et historiees faces de la mort* (Lyon: M. et G. Trechsel, 1538).

conducted a programme of choral and orchestral works with the Brno Beseda which included one of the most celebrated musical representations of the Dance of Death, Camille Saint-Saëns's symphonic poem *Danse macabre*, op. 40 (1874). This orchestral showpiece is mentioned several times in Janáček's later writings,²⁴ and although he seems to have been most taken with the solo violin's depiction of the cockerel, the skeletal tones of Saint-Saëns's xylophone must surely have informed the background to his choice of the instrument in *Jenůfa* — the first time he used it in one of his own works.

In addition to these wider representational and associative dimensions, Janáček's use of the xylophone in *Jenůfa* presents a practical problem: what sort of sound did he want, or expect, and what sort of sound would he have got? As mentioned above, Tyrrell notes the 'exceptionally low tessitura' — so low, in fact, that all the pitches employed can be written, as they are in ŠFS and the present edition, in the bass clef. The register used by Janáček is by no means unique (Ravel used the bass clef for the xylophone in his orchestration of Musorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*), but his writing for the instrument in his later operas tends to favour the more normal treble register.²⁵ However, its fleeting, four-bar appearance towards the end of Act 2 of *Káťa Kabanová* bears some similarity to the writing in *Jenůfa*, with the same repeated *cb*'s of *Jenůfa*'s opening resolving to *bb* as Varvara remarks to Kudrjáš 'If only we could make out what time it is!':

²⁴ *Dřevo* [Wood], XV/234; *Kohoutek* [The cockerel], XV/243; [Naturalismus], XV/340; [Formace hudební], XV/363.

²⁵ The xylophone is used in all Janáček's subsequent operas, from *Osud* to *Z mrtvého domu*. Its only other appearance in his works is in *Ballada blanická* [The ballad of Blaník], VI/16.

Ex. A6.2

28 Meno mosso

Xil. *p*

VARVARA *mf*

Kdy-by - chom vě - dě - li, ko - lik je ho - din?

Viol. Fl. *pp*

Archi *pp*

Cor. *pp*

Fg. Arpa Cb. *pp*

The subsequent exchange between Kudrjáš and Varvara makes it clear that this is meant to be an aural representation of the nightwatchman beating out the hour.²⁶

In *Jenůfa*, the consistent use of this (notated) tenor register as a xylophonic ‘drone’ raises the question of whether, as is usually assumed in his use of the instrument, Janáček intended the notes to sound an octave higher according to convention, or whether they were to sound as written. The latter would have been unlikely in practice, both because the actual sounding range of the instrument precluded it and because the manner of reproduction — on a flat surface, without the resonators of the modern instrument, and played with the hard sticks customary of the period — would in any case have tended to emphasise the upper partials. And Janáček’s request to Kleiber, quoted above, that the instrument be placed ‘on the stage near the mill where

²⁶ Another instance of a repeated xylophone monotone comes in the second moon scene of *Výlety páně Broučkovy* (as well as in the original Epilogue to the self-standing Moon excursion, I/6), where it seems to be associated with the mechanical act of chopping meat for sausages. Elsewhere in *Brouček*, the xylophone appears to represent the clinking of glasses at the Vikárka inn. Other representational writing for the instrument includes knocks at the door in both Act 3 of *Věc Makropulos* and the pantomime scene in Act 2 of *Z mrtvého domu*.

its icy tone will be damped' suggests both, on the one hand, that this was the case and, on the other, that the composer wanted to mute this aspect of its sound. If the latter observation is correct, the possibility that Janáček may have had in mind a sound closer to written pitch cannot be ruled out. The fact that two passages (I/i/293–302 and I/vii/1–12) are doubled at written pitch by the violas might be taken to support this view, but is inconclusive in itself, for octave doubling is not uncommon in xylophone writing, with the instrument's bright high range 'colouring' the lower instrument with which it is paired. More persuasive, however, is the fact that all the xylophone's passages in the piano vocal score (ŠVS) are written at the same octave as in the full score (ŠFS).²⁷ This provides some justification for the solution (unavailable to Janáček himself) adopted by Charles Mackerras in his two recordings of *Jenůfa*, of using a marimba, with its increased lower range and employing softer sticks, to obtain a sound which corresponds to the written pitch — a sound which may arguably be closer to what Janáček may have had in mind for this first use of the xylophone in any of his works.²⁸

Whatever the possible answers to these questions, Janáček's use of the xylophone in *Jenůfa* helps to create an unmistakable sound-world. For a comparably bold use of an instrument with clear extra-musical associations to open an extended work, one has to look to the sleigh bells that launch Mahler's Fourth Symphony, composed in 1899–1900 and premièred in 1901.²⁹ The xylophone plays a similar kind

²⁷ This argument is strengthened by the fact that the same pitches remain in KPU which, in Tyrrell's words, 'carries particular authority, especially since it was subjected to more rigorous proofreading [...] than was the case in [Janáček's] later works.' Tyrrell 1996, xiii and Tyrrell 2000, vii.

²⁸ Mackerras's two recordings are on Decca 414 483-2 (Söderström, Randová, Wiener Philharmoniker, et al.) and Chandos CHAN 3106(2) (in English: Vaughan, Barstow, Welsh National Opera, et al.).

²⁹ Given Janáček's well-documented dislike of Viennese operetta, it seems unlikely (notwithstanding his brief time spent as a student in the Habsburg capital and his wife's family connections there) that he was familiar with Johann Strauss the younger's *Moulinet-Polka*, op.57 (1858), which opens with a woodblock depicting the turning of the 'little mill' of the title.

of role in *Jenůfa*, yet one which goes beyond what Mahler could reasonably have intended for his sleigh bells — chiefly in that the scenic and dramatic dimension of the operatic work serves to endow it with an expressive power and a tension out of all proportion to its timbre as such. Indeed, in its combination of naturalistic representation, regional association and symbolism, together with the more ominous underlying layers of reference, the instrument can in many ways be taken as a metaphor for the opera as a whole. Moreover, its wider resonances include a twenty-first-century one that Janáček himself could not possibly have foreseen: a marimba *cb'* is the sound used by Windows XP as its 'Default Beep' (filename: Windows XP Ding.wav).

APPENDIX VII

Bar counts for the different versions of *Jenůfa*

Bar counts for 1904 and 1906 are from the present edition; those for 1908 and 1916 are from KPU and UE 1917 respectively. Repeated sections (as used in KPU for the strophic ‘folksongs’ in Acts 1 and 3) are counted out in full. Bar count figures for the 1906 version are given only where they differ from 1904. The ‘Comments’ column identifies the scene by means of listing the main characters. No attempt has been made at a comprehensive itemising of cut passages (outside the scope of the present study); instead, some of the main cut passages are identified.

For a complete list of cuts made to *Jenůfa* by autumn 1906, see APPENDIX IV. Post-1908 cuts (Janáček’s and Kovařovic’s) are indicated in the Hudební matice edition of the vocal score (1934), edited by Vladimír Helfert, and reprinted in 1942, 1948 and 1955 (the latter published by SNKLHU): this was originally based on the plates of the longer KPU edition; see *JaWo*, 16.

| Act | Sc | 1904 | 1906 | 1908 | 1916 | Comments |
|--------------|-----|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---|
| I | i | 378 | | 363 | 351 | Stařenka, Laca, Jenůfa (later + Jano) 1908 and 1916: cuts (varying in length from 1 to 4 bars) to Laca’s aria ‘Vy, stařenko’ |
| | ii | 184 | | 180 | 177 | + Stárek (later, briefly, Kostelnička) |
| | iii | 18 | | 18 | 18 | approach of recruits |
| | iv | 61 | | 61 | 60 | entrance of Števa and recruits |
| | v | 506 | 380 | 375 | 351 | Jenůfa, Števa, et al. 1906: Kostelnička’s interruption and aria ‘Aji on byl zlatohřivý’; ‘A vy, muzikanti’; ‘Každý párek si musí’; see APPENDIX IV 1916: 9-bar orchestral opening of this scene cut by Kovařovic (I/v/1–9) |
| | vi | 263 | 254 | 223 | 213 | Jenůfa and Števa 1906 and 1908: several purely orchestral bars cut by LJ, including (by 1908) the <i>Presto</i> at fig. 99b (I/vi/211–18); also by 1908 the last 4 bars of Števa’s ‘A to za moji lásku k tobě’ (I/vi/160–3) and 7 bars from Jenůfa’s ‘Ale včil na ně hledět nemáš’ (I/vi/175–81) |
| | vii | 285 | | 211 | 197 | Jenůfa and Laca 1908: extensive reworking of ending (fig. 117b onwards), including cuts and re-barring |
| Total | | 1695 | 1560 | 1431 | 1367 | |

| Act | Sc | 1904 | 1906 | 1908 | 1916 | Comments |
|--------------|------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---|
| II | i | 271 | | 236 | 229 | Jenůfa and Kostelnička cut by 1908: II/i/112–19 and II/i/167–94 LJ after 1908: 8 bars of orchestral cuts (II/i/54–7 and II/i/79–82) |
| | ii | 51 | | 49 | 48 | Kostelnička |
| | iii | 281 | | 272 | 269 | Kostelnička and Števa |
| | iv | 105 | | 83 | 83 | Kostelnička and Laca cut by 1908: outer sections of Laca's entrance 'aria' (II/iv/1–8 and II/iv/36–43) |
| | v | 56 | | 56 | 55 | Kostelnička: 'Co chvíli' |
| | vi | 210 | 205 | 196 | 193 | Jenůfa 1906 and 1908: cuts to 'Zdravas královno' |
| | vii | 185 | 179 | 168 | 166 | Jenůfa and Kostelnička 1906: 6 bars cut from Jenůfa's 'Tož umřel' 1908: further cuts including II/vii/176–82 |
| | viii | 301 | 255 | 211 | 207 | + Laca 1908: II/vii/184–viii/9, II/viii/16–18, 8 bars from Jenůfa's 'Děkuji ti, Laco', Kostelnička's outburst 'Ach, ona neví, neví' (II/viii/100–12) 1906 and 1908: extensive cuts to the solo/duet/trio 'Chci, Jenůfka, chci, Jenůfka' (II/viii/141–94 and 209–13) |
| Total | | 1460 | 1403 | 1271 | 1250 | |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|------|------------|--|------------|------------|--|
| III | i | 136 | | 111 | 109 | Kostelnička, Jenůfa, Laca, Stařenka, Pastuchyňa 1908: 26 bars cut from orchestral prelude (III/i/23–34 and 75–88) |
| | ii | 112 | | 105 | 95 | + Rychtář and Rychtářka 1908: III/ii/59 and 65–69 |
| | iii | 74 | | 73 | 72 | Jenůfa and Laca |
| | iv | 128 | | 120 | 114 | + Števa and Karolka 1908: Jenůfa's 'O, já jsem také dříve myslela' cut (III/iv/86–96) |
| | v | 21 | | 17 | 17 | + Rychtář, Kostelnička and others 1908: III/vi/17–21 |
| | vi | 164 | | 151 | 151 | + Barena and village girls 1908: III/vi/3–12 |
| | vii | 17 | | 17 | 17 | + Jano |
| | viii | 27 | | 27 | 27 | Kostelnička, Stařenka, Števa |
| | ix | 26 | | 26 | 26 | + Karolka, Jenůfa and Laca |
| | x | 84 | | 76 | 72 | + Rychtář and others 1908: III/x/78–84 |
| | xi | 53 | | 50 | 50 | - Rychtářka, Karolka, Števa, Stařenka and Pastuchyňa 1908: III/xi/4–5 and 9 |
| | xii | 72 | | 69 | 68 | Jenůfa and Laca 1908: final 2 bars of opera cut |
| Total | | 914 | | 842 | 818 | |

APPENDIX VIIIa

ŠVS I 72v–73r: transcription of original version (= FS1.1)

Faulenzer are written out; tuplet indications (including missing ones) as in ŠVS

The musical score is presented in three systems. Each system includes staves for Jen., Laca, and piano accompaniment. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat), and the time signature is 8/8.

System 1:

- Jen.:** Five measures of whole rests.
- Laca:** First measure: whole rest. Second measure: quarter note C4, marked *sf*. Third measure: whole rest. Fourth measure: quarter note D4. Fifth measure: quarter note E4.
- Lyrics:** Co Co máš pro - ti
- Piano:** Treble and bass staves. Treble: quarter notes C4, D4, E4, F4, G4, A4, B4, C5. Bass: half notes C3, F2, B1, E2, A2, D3, F3, C4. Marked *sf* at the beginning and end of the system.

System 2:

- Jen.:** First measure: whole rest. Second measure: eighth notes G4, A4, B4, marked *ff* and a triplet '3'. Third measure: eighth notes C5, B4, A4, marked with a triplet '3'. Fourth measure: whole rest. Fifth measure: eighth notes G4, F4, E4, marked with a triplet '3'.
- Lyrics:** Je - žíš Ma - ry - ja, Ma-
- Laca:** First measure: quarter note C4, marked *sf*. Second measure: whole rest. Third measure: whole rest. Fourth measure: whole rest. Fifth measure: whole rest.
- Lyrics:** mně?
- Piano:** Treble: quarter notes C4, D4, E4, F4, G4, A4, B4, C5. Bass: half notes C3, F2, B1, E2, A2, D3, F3, C4. Marked *sf* at the beginning of the system.

System 3:

- Jen.:** First measure: eighth notes G4, A4, B4, marked with a triplet '3'. Second measure: whole rest. Third measure: whole rest. Fourth measure: whole rest.
- Lyrics:** ry - ja.
- Laca:** Four measures of whole rests.
- Piano:** Treble: quarter notes C4, D4, E4, F4, G4, A4, B4, C5. Bass: half notes C3, F2, B1, E2, A2, D3, F3, C4. Marked with triplet '3' in the first measure of the system.

ŠFS I 72v (original)

Jen. *Ma - ry - ja* *tys* *mi* *pro - bo - dl* *li - co!*

Laca

ff

Jen. *Pro - bo - dl*

Laca

Jen. *li - co!*

Laca

sf

ŠFS I 73r (original)

APPENDIX VIIIb

ŠVS I 72v–73r: transcription of revised version (cut by October 1903) (= FS1.2)

Faulenzer are written out; tuplet indications as in ŠVS

Jen.

Laca

Co máš pro - ti

Je - žíš Ma - ry - ja, Ma-

mně?

ry - ja.

ŠFS I 72v (second version)

Jen. *ry - ja* *tys mi pro - bo - dl* *lí - co!*

Laca

ff *Red.*

Jen. *Pro - bo - dl*

Laca

Jen. *lí - co!*

Laca

ff *tr#* *3*

ŠFS I 73r (second version)

APPENDIX IX

ŠFS I 197v–200v: transcription (cut by October 1903)

Faulenzer are written out; small notes indicate passages partly or wholly illegible

Moderato

1

Fl. 

Ob. 

Cl.
(in Sib) 

Fg. 

Cor.
(in Fa) 

Tr.
(in Fa) 

Tbn.
e
Tb. 

Timp. 

Stař. 
Sa - mou ža - lost, sa - mou ža - lost, sa - mou ža - lost,

Bar. 
Za - plat' pán Bůh!

Moderato

Viol. I 

Viol. II 

Vle. 

Vlc. 

Cb. 

ŠFS I 197v

4

Fl. 

Ob. 

Cl.
(in Sib) 

Fg. 

Cor.
(in Fa) 

Tr.
(in Fa) 

Tbn.
e
Tb. 

Timp. 

Stař. 
vy - vá - di - te, vy - vá - di - te chlap - ci! Sa - mou ža - lost

Viol. I 

Viol. II 

Vle. 

Vlc. 

Cb. 

ŠFS I 198r

ŠFS I 198v

8

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.
(in Sib)

Fg.

Cor.
(in Fa)

Tr.
(in Fa)

Tbn.
e
Tb.

Timp.

Stař.

Viol. I

Viol. II

Vle.

Vlc.

Cb.

za ro-zum! Co je to za ro-zum, za ro-zum

ŠFS I 199r

ŠFS I 199v

14

Fl.

Ob.

Cl.
(in Sib)

Fg.

Cor.
(in Fa)

Tr.
(in Fa)

Tbn.
c
Tb.

Timp.

Stař.

Stk.

Viol. I

Viol. II

Vle.

Vlc.

Cb.

Co je to za ro-zum, co je to za ro-zum!

(vyjde)

Stařen-ko!

ŠFS I 200r

17

Fl. *sf* 3 *p* 3 3 3

Ob. *sf* 3

Cl. (in Sib) *p* 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3

Fg. *p* 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3

Cor. (in Fa) *sf* 3

Tr. (in Fa) *sf* 3

Tbn. e Tb.

Timp. *fp*

Stař.

Stk. Pojď - te k Je - nů - řě, o - na mů - že z to - ho zam - dlít.

Viol. I *ff* 3 *p*

Viol. II *ff* 3 *p*

Vle. *ff* 3 *p*

Vlc. *sf* 3

Cb. *sf* 3

ŠFS I 200v

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- ČMM* *Časopis Moravského musea / muzea v Brně: vědy společenské*
- CO* John Tyrrell: *Czech opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)
- HM* Hudební matice / Hudební matice Umělecké besedy
- HTD* Leoš Janáček: *Hudebně teoretické dílo*, ed. Zdeněk Blažek
- i *Spisy, studie a dokumenty* (Prague: Supraphon, 1968)
- ii *Studie, Úplná nauka o harmonii* (Prague: Supraphon, 1974)
- JA* Janáčkův archiv, first series, general eds Vladimír Helfert (JA i) and Jan Racek (JA ii–ix)
- i *Korespondence Leoše Janáčka s Artušem Rektorysem*, ed. Artuš Rektorys (Prague: HMUB, 1934)
- vi *Korespondence Leoše Janáčka s Gabrielou Horvátovou*, ed. Artuš Rektorys (Prague: HM, 1950)
- vii *Korespondence Leoše Janáčka s Karlem Kovařovičem a ředitelstvím Národního divadla*, ed. Artuš Rektorys (Prague: HM, 1950)
- viii *Korespondence Leoše Janáčka s Marií Calmou a MUDr Františkem Veselým*, ed. Jan Racek and Artuš Rektorys (Prague: Orbis, 1951)
- JaWo* Nigel Simeone, John Tyrrell and Alena Němcová: *Janáček's works: A catalogue of the music and writings of Leoš Janáček* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)

| | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>JODA</i> | John Tyrrell: <i>Janáček's operas: A documentary account</i> (London: Faber and Faber, 1992) |
| | References to specific documents use the letter codes given to each opera based on the Czech title: |
| | PR <i>Počátek románu</i> (<i>The Beginning of a Romance</i>) |
| | JP <i>Její pastorkyňa</i> (<i>Jenůfa</i>) |
| | OS <i>Osud</i> (<i>Fate</i>) |
| <i>JYL</i> | John Tyrrell: <i>Janáček: Years of a life</i> |
| | i (1854–1914): <i>The lonely blackbird</i> (London: Faber and Faber, 2006) |
| | ii (1914–1928): <i>Tsar of the forests</i> (London: Faber and Faber, 2007) |
| <i>LD</i> | Leoš Janáček: <i>Literární dílo (1875–1928)</i> |
| | I/1 ⁻¹ <i>Fejetony, studie, kritiky, recenze, glosy, přednášky, proslovy, sylaby a skici</i> , ed. Theodora Straková and Eva Drlíková (Brno: Editio Janáček, 2003) |
| | I/1 ⁻² <i>Články, studie, koncepty, sylaby, zlomky, neúplné skici, excerptce, membra disjecta, autorizované opisy</i> , ed. Theodora Straková and Eva Drlíková (Brno: Editio Janáček, 2003) |
| <i>NG2</i> | <i>The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians</i> , ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, second edition (London: Macmillan, 2001) |
| <i>OM</i> | <i>Opus musicum</i> (Brno) |
| <i>OSN</i> | <i>Ottův slovník naučný</i> , 28 vols. (Prague: J. Otto, 1888–1909) |
| <i>PHSN i</i> | <i>Pazdírkův hudební slovník naučný, i Část věcná</i> , ed. Gr. Černušák (Brno: Ol. Pazdírek, 1929) |
| <i>SNKLHU</i> | Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění (Prague) |
| <i>SPFF</i> | <i>Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university / univerzity</i> |
| <i>UEW</i> | Universal Edition, Wien |
| <i>ZGJ</i> | Bohumír Štědroň: <i>Zur Genesis von Leoš Janáčeks Oper Jenůfa</i> (Brno: Universita J.E. Purkyně, 1968, 2/1971) [incl. extensive bibliography]; extracts in Eng. in <i>SPFF</i> , H3 (1968), 43–74; H5 (1970), 91–104 |
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