

1 Introduction

Celebrated and recognized in her time, the name of Julie Reisserová (Figure 1) gradually faded after World War II, and the political changes that followed in Eastern Europe. The main triggering factor probably occurred in South America.

On May 25, 1946, a Pan American World Airways plane landed at Santos Dumont airport, Rio de Janeiro. On board, the new Czech ambassador Jan Reisser and his legation were about to set foot in Brazil.¹ Yet, what Reisser – appointed to replace Vladimír Noseck, who because of his democratic opinions had become suspect and had been summoned to Prague a month earlier – and his second wife, the soprano Marie Bodlákova-Reisserová, could not imagine was that they were going to spend the rest of their life there.² With the coup d'état of February 21–25, 1948, by which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia took control of the government, and the mysterious death of the Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, Reisser was placed under the strict supervision of a member of the party. His position becoming untenable, he announced on March 18, 1949, that he could no longer serve the new regime in his country, and then resigned and asked the Brazilian government to grant him and Marie Bodlákova-Reisserová asylum.³ As a result, he became persona non grata, and the music of his *first* spouse, Julie Reisserová (who passed away eleven years earlier), was banned from public performance in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The personal papers and archives of the Reissers, which remained in their Prague home,⁴ were very likely seized – as were the belongings and properties of their friend Anna Klecandová-Martenová and her family – or even (partly?) destroyed, thereby depriving us of invaluable documentation. None of Julie Reisserová's personal papers, letters, and manuscripts have been located to date, with the notable exception of the autograph score of the *Pastorale maritimo*, and the signed copies of the three *Esquisses* and *Březen* deposited at the Conservatory of Nancy (France).⁵

¹ *Tribuna Popular* (May 26, 1946), 8; *O Jornal* (May 26, 1946), 3; *Le Devoir* (May 3, 1946), 9; see Figure 3. The Reissers had already been in Montreal since October 1945, where Jan was head of the legation of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization.

² Reisser's mother-in-law (also named Marie Bodlákova) accompanied them and died in Rio in 1946; *O Jornal* (November 12, 1946), 2; *Rudé právo* (February 2, 1947), 6.

³ *Correio da manhã* (March 18, 1949), 2; *Der Bund* (March 18, 1949), 2; *De Volksgazet* (March 18, 1949), 6; *Die Tat* (March 19, 1949), 2; *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (March 18, 1949), 2; *Oberländer Tagblatt* (March 18, 1949), 2; *O Jornal* (March 18, 1949), 9; *The Civil & Military Gazette* (March 19, 1949), 1; *Telegraf, Baltimore MD* (April 1, 1949), 4. Reisser's career ended officially on February 28, 1949.

⁴ From autumn 1938, Jan Reisser and his second wife lived at 102 Primátorská Street (Prague 8). Unless otherwise stated, information about Reisser is drawn from the Archives of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Personal files 1945–1992, Box 816, “Reisser, Jan, JURDr.”

⁵ Some unfindable autographs are mentioned in *Hudební věda*, 4th year (1967), 509.



Figure 1 Julie Reisserová at the Czech Embassy in Copenhagen.

Photography by Holger Damgaard.

Image courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, The Black Diamond; call-number: Billedsamlingen Udenlandske portrætter. Reisserová, Julie 8vo.

If her premature death put a natural end to her career, Julie Reisserová was silenced a second time by political decisions. Since then, this silence has continued despite a rather detailed obituary jointly written right after her death in 1938 by Josefa Hrdinová and Jiřina Vacková,⁶ and the foundation shortly before Christmas 1939 of “The Circle of Friends of Julie Reisserová” (“Kruh přátel Julie Reisserové”). The aim of the latter was to publish and disseminate the musical and poetic works of the artist,⁷ the sources of which still remain difficult to access and are practically absent from public libraries.

⁶ Josefa Hrdinová, “Julie Reisserová: Osobnost a život,” *Kulturní letáky. Musea a studijního ústavu odborných škol pro ženská povolání v Praze* (Prague: Ústav pro učebné pomůcky odborných a průmyslových škol, [1941]), [1]–[2]; Jiřina Vacková “Hudební tvorba Julie Reisserové,” in *Kulturní letáky. Musea a studijního ústavu odborných škol pro ženská povolání v Praze* (Prague: Ústav pro učebné pomůcky odborných a průmyslových škol, [1941]), [2]–[4].

⁷ *Národní listy* (January 13, 1940), 3. It is not known how long this circle lasted. See also *Ženská rada*, 16th year, nos. 5–6 (May 31, 1940), 91–92.

The Circle organized concerts around the date of the composer's death, but no scores were printed, not only because of World War II but also because of the passing of Hrdinová, its founder, in 1949.

To celebrate the tenth anniversary of Reisserová's demise (1948), Vacková published the most inestimable source available: *Julie Reisserová: Osobnost a dílo* (*Julie Reisserová: Personality and Work*).⁸ As her foreword dated November 1945 indicates, Jan Reisser not only shared information verbally with her but also lent her a large quantity of documents, most of which no longer exist: newspaper clippings, interviews, program notes, photographs, and more importantly his own unpublished memoirs (*Léta s Julkou*), as well as the manuscripts of Julie's collection of poetry (*In margine vitae*) and scores. She also collected Hrdinová's childhood memories of the composer. Vacková likely began writing her book in 1946, since she refers to the fact that Reisser was then ambassador to Brazil. Yet, this book – the biographical part of which is laconic and based largely on oral testimonies – turns out to be mainly hagiographical, provides virtually no reference to original materials, does not discuss the reception of Reisserová's scores, and offers a rather subjective and descriptive approach to the music. Years later, Vacková gave a controversial lecture on the composer in Prague on March 22, 1957.⁹ In 1993, she also released a brief article in *Lidové noviny*, in which she lamented that the fiftieth anniversary of Reisserová's decease had gone unnoticed – in spite of the well-informed entry printed in *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí* (1965)¹⁰ and her name printed in the *Hudební kalendář a adresář na rok* of 1962¹¹ – and that the artist had paid unfairly for her husband's political convictions.¹²

Although Czech newspapers scarcely alluded to Reisserová after 1948, she was not entirely forgotten by musicologists and lexicographers. Gracian Černušák considered her as the “first Czech woman composer of importance” in his entry printed in the 1954 edition of the *Grove Dictionary of Music and*

⁸ Jiřina Vacková, *Julie Reisserová: Osobnost a dílo* (Prague: A. J. Boháč, 1948). In addition, a concert was broadcast on the radio, and two articles were respectively published in *Náš rozhlas* (February 22, 1948), 3 and 14 (concert), and in *Svobodné noviny* (February 29, 1948), 5.

⁹ *Literární noviny* (March 16, 1957), 10. According to Vladimír Hloch, some of Vacková's clumsy statements “did her [Reisserová] more harm than good” (“že jí víc ublížila, než prospěla”); Vladimír Hloch's diary, March 22, 1957 (“Důsledky večera Julie Reisserové”), Czech Museum of Music, NM-ČMH č. př. S 27/2000/348. See also Barbora Vacková, “Composers, Women, Mothers, Comrades: The Social Position and Professional Experience of Women Composers in Socialist Czechoslovakia (1948–1989),” unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Huddersfield (2023), 163–164. Hloch was the companion of the prolific composer Sláva Vorlová.

¹⁰ “Reisserová, Julie,” in Gracian Černušák, Bohumír Štědroň, and Zdenko Nováček (eds.), *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí*, 2 vols. (Prague: Státní hudební nakladatelství, 1963–1965), vol. 2, 413.

¹¹ *Hudební kalendář a adresář na rok* (Prague: SNKLHU, 1962), 23, 32.

¹² Jiřina Vacková, “Ó, božské umění, děkuji ti!”, *Lidové noviny* (October 9, 1993), vii.

Musicians,¹³ whereas Zdeněk Výborný declared in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* that she “made a great contribution to Czech music” and its dissemination in Western Europe.¹⁴ Her name was also mentioned in passing in a Brazilian article by Marina Moura Peixoto published in September 1957.¹⁵ But Reisserová has since disappeared from all successive printed editions of these two great dictionaries, and she is hardly quoted in recent reference works.¹⁶

Her name has also been often neglected in most feminist circles since February 26, 1946. On that day, the poet and librettist Vladimír Hloch-Roklan opened the Musical Evening at the Women’s Club in Prague – a club founded by Františka Plamínková – with a lecture on Czech women composers, in which he did not fail to cite the three artists born in 1888, Blažena Rylek-Staňková, Hana Králíková-Slavkovská, and Julie Reisserová, whom he stated was the first Czech woman to have written for orchestra.¹⁷

During the 1930s, the press was unanimous in placing Reisserová, “a figure of international scope,”¹⁸ “in the front rank of modern women composers,”¹⁹ and in recognizing that “she [was] the only woman musician in her country who [had] also earned a well-deserved reputation abroad.”²⁰ Today, her name sometimes appears in scholarly writings, particularly in connection with Roussel, for whom she played a key role in the premiere of his comic opera *Le Testament de la tante Caroline* in 1936. No in-depth study of her activity as composer and

¹³ Gracian Černušák, “Reisserová, Julie,” in George Grove, Eric Blom, and Denis Stevens (eds.), *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 10 vols. (London: MacMillan, St. Martin’s Press, 1954), vol. 7, 118. See also *Baker’s Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, 5th ed., rev. Nicolas Slonimsky (New York: G. Schirmer, 1958), 1326.

¹⁴ Zdeněk Výborný, “Reisserová, Julie,” in Friedrich Blume (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 17 vols. (Cassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–1986), vol. 11 (1963), col. 208: “. . . machte sich um die tschech. Musik verdient.”

¹⁵ Marina Moura Peixoto, “A mulher na composição musical (II),” *Diário de notícias: Suplemento Literário* (September 29, 1957), 6.

¹⁶ See in particular, Krešimir Kovačević, Ivona Ajanović-Malinar, and Koraljka Kos (eds.), *Muzička enciklopedija*, 3 vols. (Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod, 1971–1977), vol. 3, 185; Anna Šerých, “Reisserová [née Kühnlová], Julie,” in Julie Anne Sadie and Rhian Samuel (eds.), *The Norton/Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1994), 386–387; Christel Nies (ed.), *Entdeckt und aufgeführt. Komponistinnen und ihr Werk IV* (Cassel: Cassel University Press, 2010), 235.

¹⁷ Vladimír Hloch, “Die Entwicklung des weiblichen Tonschaffens in der ČSR” (typescript), Czech Museum of Music, NM-ČMH č. př. 27/2000/348, 13; a handwritten Czech version (“České zeny-skladatelky”) is available under the same call number.

¹⁸ Paul Stefan, “Viennese Festival Weeks begin auspiciously,” *Musical America* (July 1937), 22.

¹⁹ *Holbæk amts venstreblad* (February 28, 1938), 4: “. . . stillede hende i forste Række blandt Nutidens kvindelige Komponister.”

²⁰ Gisela Urban, “Komponistin und Diplomatenfrau: Julie Reißerova in Wien,” *Neues Wiener Journal* (April 20, 1937), 7: “Ist sie doch die einzige musikschaaffende Frau ihres Landes, die sich auch im Ausland einen wohlverdienten Ruf erworben hat.” See also *Narod* (October 23, 1931), 3; *Večer* (April 25, 1934), 1.

feminist has been undertaken since that of Vacková, with the exception of my articles and edition of her scores, and Miriam Blümlová's chapter on Czech women composers of the twentieth century.²¹ This Element intends to draw up a new biographical sketch of the artist using the many primary sources (such as clippings) neglected by Vacková, the documents reproduced by her but no longer available, as well as recently discovered archives. It also aims to assess Reisserová's views on the status of women composers during the interwar period. To fill in the gaps that remain in the narrative of her life and career, hypotheses are occasionally necessary. The other sections deal with the reception of her six surviving scores, and examine briefly their musical style. This study is complemented by the English translation of the text of the lecture she gave in Vienna in 1937, a catalog of her musical works, and the list of the concerts in which her music was programmed.

2 Biographical Sketch

Little is known about the life of Julie Reisserová, “a hope of Czech music,”²² for the reasons mentioned in the Introduction. All sources agree that she was a very gifted, intelligent, witty, and likeable person who socialized easily and shone in society, and seems to have enjoyed a rather pleasant and easy existence.

2.1 Origins, Childhood, and Musical Education

Julie Emilie Aloisie Marie Kühnlová [Kühnelová] was born at 14/296 Konviktská Street, in the old Prague parish of Saint Gilles, on October 9, 1888, and was baptized nine days later on October 18.²³ Her father, the official Vojtěch [Adalbert] Kühnl [Kühnel] (1859–1905), was an important figure in the cultural life of the city. Son of the shoemaker Eduard Kühnl [Kühnel] and Magdalena Hölzer, Vojtěch joined the Měšťanská Beseda (“Townpeople’s Society”) when he was sixteen. The Měšťanská Beseda was founded in Prague in 1845 and consisted of bourgeois, businessmen, civil servants, and intellectuals with a national consciousness. This society was accessible to all classes in the city and to educated people from other states for social entertainment and education.

²¹ See Select Bibliography, and Miriam Blümlová, “Women Composers in the Czech Lands during the 20th Century,” in Elfriede Reissig and Leon Stefanija (eds.), *Composing Women: “Femininity” and Views on Cultures, Gender and Music of Southeastern Europe since 1918* (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2022), 325–340.

²² P. Stf., “Julie Reisserová gestorben,” *Die Stunde* (March 3, 1938), [3]: “eine Hoffnung der tschechischen Musik.”

²³ Birth register, Kostel sv. Jilji (Church of Saint-Gilles), Prague City Archives, JIL N21 [1886–1893], fol. 113v–114r (116v–117r). See also police records, National Archives of the Czech Republic, Police Directorate I, conscription (1850–1914), box 263, fol. 618r. The old building on Konviktská Street no longer exists.

During the 1850s, this type of association emerged in various cities as a reaction of the Czech-speaking population to the activities of similar cultural associations of German-speaking fellow citizens. Vojtěch Kühnl became a member of the Entertainment Committee in 1876, and eventually served as its chairman for ten years, before resigning in early 1890. He also served on its Administrative Committee from 1880. Then in 1901, he was appointed deputy mayor by a special vote of the members. His directorship of the Entertainment Committee was very successful and increased the society's membership.²⁴

Julie's mother, Marie Majdalena Neander (born in 1862), came from an old and wealthy family of Prague merchants, who owned the house "U mouřenína" at the corner of Mostecká (5/282) and Lazenská Streets in Malá Strana. She was the daughter of Antonín Neander and of Emilie Kleinberg who was related to several noble families. While Vojtěch Kühnl was an optimistic and cheerful man with a warm nature, an excellent musician, and lover of music, Marie Majdalena was a gentle and peaceful woman who loved classical literature and who played the piano superbly.

Vojtěch Karel Antonín, Julie's older brother, was born on April 30, 1886. He married Barbara Bendová on April 10, 1918, in Prague, and died in Potštejn (district of Rychnov nad Kněžnou) on February 9, 1942.²⁵ He worked as an engineer, but distinguished himself above all for having translated the libretto of Wagner's *Siegfried* into Czech for the first series of performances of the opera at the Brno National Theater in April and June 1931.²⁶

Coming from a Catholic family of high social rank, the two children benefited from a thorough intellectual and musical education. Vojtěch studied piano with Karel Slavkovský, a pupil of Smetana and a friend of Dvořák, who had founded a piano school in the early 1870s. Vojtěch was assiduous in practicing his instrument, and frequently asked his more gifted sister to play the piano with him. During their school years, both organized concerts at home that were attended by their cousins, classmates, and students. During these youthful events Julie took up the habit of improvising freely at the piano, which prompted her parents to send her to the Dvořákeum. The Dvořákeum was a private musical institution established in Prague around 1904–1906 by the organist and conductor Eduard Tregler and Antonín Herman. It was there that she received her first music lessons with Václav Talich (five years her senior),

²⁴ *Národní listy* (July 7, 1905), 3 (obituary of Vojtěch Kühnl); František v. Schwarz, *Památník Besedy Měšťanské v Praze na oslavu padesátileté činnosti spolku 1845–6–1895–6* (Prague: Měšťanské Besedy v Praze, 1896), 107, 141, and 152.

²⁵ Birth register, Kostel sv. Jiljí (Church of Saint-Gilles), Prague City Archives, JIL N20 [1880–1886], fol. 288v–289r (290v–291r).

²⁶ Richard Wagner, *Siegfried*, translated by Vojtěch Kühnel (Prague: B. M. Klika, 1931).

between 1906 and 1908, that is, between the return of Talich from Tbilisi and his stay in Ljubljana. (We do not know the content of these lessons.) It is, however, very likely that young Julie was introduced to the basics of music at a much earlier age, as it is hard to believe that she practiced the keyboard at an early stage without a minimum of instruction: Was she taught by Slavkovský at the same time as her brother? Then, she studied piano with Adolf Mikeš at his own school founded in 1903, and prepared for the state examination under his guidance. From about 1914 she trained as a dramatic soprano with the tenor Richard Figar (Fikar, alias Hofer) at the singing school he had opened in Prague in 1908. Because Figar had held the title roles of Tannhäuser, Lohengrin, and that of Walther von Stolzing (*The Master Singers of Nuremberg*) in particular, she focused chiefly on Wagnerian characters, but she had to abandon the idea to become an opera singer due to vocal overexertion. This made her decide to pursue her deepest dream: to become a composer. Josef Bohuslav Foerster accepted her as a private composition student in 1919. He taught her harmony, counterpoint, and musical forms. In his memoirs, he acknowledges that Julie Kühnlová was one of his best and most diligent pupils: her music evidenced originality, intelligence, and immense sensitivity.²⁷ Foerster's lessons lasted until Julie's marriage in 1921. In the end, Julie never attended the Prague Conservatory, but took only private lessons to master the arcana of music.²⁸

Almost nothing is known about her general instruction. At nine years old, she is said to have been lively and very gifted. She enjoyed learning in a playful way, and only what interested her. Her grades were excellent.²⁹ It can be surmised that she was first educated privately or in one of the city's institutions for young women. Then, as a teenager, she attended high school. Shortly after her father's death, she studied languages at Charles University, which enabled her to eventually teach English and French, and to be financially independent. Around 1911,³⁰ she frequented the Hudební klub (Music Club) which was firmly linked to Charles University. This circle of intellectuals, active from 1911 to 1927, was founded by the musicologist and Smetana scholar Zdeněk Nejedlý, who would later become the first Minister of Culture and Education of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and his university students and listeners. One purpose of the Club was to promote Smetana's Czech identity as opposed to the Lisztian and Wagnerian image, constructed by members of the Umělecká Beseda ("Artistic Society") founded in January 1863 by Bedřich Smetana,

²⁷ Foerster's memoirs quoted from Vacková, *Julie Reisserová*, 8–9.

²⁸ The name of Julie Kühnlová never appears in the archives of the Prague Conservatory.

²⁹ Hrdinová, "Julie Reisserová," [1].

³⁰ In 1909 according to Vacková, *Julie Reisserová*, 7. This date is obviously incorrect, as the Club had not yet been founded at that time.

Foerster, and Josef Mánes, among several leading artists, to give Czech culture an European dimension that was lacking at the time.³¹ Another was to attend scholarly lectures, to see dramatic performances, and to discuss contemporary music, mainly that of Wagner and Mahler. The Club proved to be of the utmost importance in Julie's life. There, she met – among others – the scholar Vladimír Helfert, the composer and conductor Karel Boleslav Jirák, and above all, Jan Reisser, three years her junior and a student of Nejedlý at Charles University.

Jan Václav Reisser was born in the parish of the Church of the Holy Spirit (Staré Město) on September 12, 1891, and was baptized twelve days later on September 24.³² His father, Jan Reisser [II], was employed by the Czech Post Office in Prague, first as secretary, and then from January 1902 as chief commissioner assigned to the Inspection Service.³³ His grandfather, Jan Reisser [I], was guard inspector at the Prague penitentiary.³⁴ His mother, Anna, née Hedviková, was the daughter of the master of mines Jan Hedvik. Like Julie, he benefited from the music lessons of Mikeš and Figar, as well as from Bohumila Rosenkrancová and Albín Ším. While studying law at Charles University, he participated in the creation of the Music Club to which he contributed several articles on Smetana. He subsequently wrote a handful of papers on various composers (notably Ravel and Roussel), and essays on opera, such as the polemical pamphlet *The Singing Culture of Our Theater*.³⁵ He even collected some of Smetana's writings in a book published in 1920.³⁶ He earned his doctorate in law from Charles University in November 1915, and entered the diplomatic service four years later in December 1919.

2.2 A Life Abroad

Julie Kühnlová married Jan Reisser on December 15, 1921.³⁷ Shortly afterward, the couple moved to Geneva for a few months, where Jan Reisser had been appointed on October 4, 1921, as secretary of the Czechoslovak Embassy to the

³¹ Kelly St. Pierre, "Smetana's 'Vyšehrad' and Mythologies of Czechness in Scholarship," *19th-Century Music*, 37 (Fall 2013), 110–111; Benjamin Curtis, *Music Makes the Nation: Nationalist Composers and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Amherst NY: Cambria Press, 2008), 64; Petr Čornej, *Historici, historiografie a dějepis: Studie, črty, eseje* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2016), "Hudební klub v Praze (1911–1927)," 266–319 (on Julie Kühnlová, see 289, 298).

³² Birth register, Kostel sv. Ducha (Church of the Holy Spirit), Prague City Archives, DUCH N14 [1887–1892], fol. 319v–320r. He was born at 22/866 Dušní Street.

³³ *Katolické listy*, 332 (December 3, 1898), 4; *Katolické listy*, 358 (December 31, 1901), 4.

³⁴ *Čech*, vol. 21, no. 219 (1889), 1.

³⁵ "Reisser, Jan," in Černušák *et al.* (eds.), *Československý hudební*, vol. 2, 413; Jan Reisser, *Pěvecká kultura našeho divadla* (Prague: B. Koči, 1918).

³⁶ Jan Reisser (ed.), *Bedřich Smetana: Články a referáty, 1862–1865* (Prague: Česká grafická unie, 1920).

³⁷ No trace of this marriage has been found in the Prague parish registers.

League of Nations, and to Bern on March 30, 1922, where he held the position of counselor to the Czechoslovak legation.³⁸ During their stay in Switzerland between 1921 and 1929, Reisserová was able to perfect her musical training. Thus, in 1923–1924, she deepened her harmonic knowledge and Germanic instrumentation by analyzing neoromantic scores – such as those by Ludwig Thuille – under the guidance of Ernst Hohlfeld, a former pupil of Hans Pfitzner and then the Kapellmeister of the Bern Stadttheater.³⁹ She once stated that while in Bern she had the opportunity to conduct a choir and an orchestra:⁴⁰ Did Hohlfeld give her additional training in this art? According to the obituary published in the Swiss newspaper *Der Bund*, she also benefited from the lessons of an obscure Bernese music pedagogue named Spenzer, but no other source corroborates this information.⁴¹ In any case, it was at Bern that she overcame – at thirty-five-years old – her doubts about her abilities to compose seriously, and penned three of the four songs of the cycle *Březen*, the orchestral piece *La Bise*, and *Allégresse* that was to become the third movement of the *Esquisses* for piano. It was also from 1927 onward that her music began to be performed in public, and her fame to grow all over Europe. How she managed to gain access to the stage is unknown; perhaps Jan Reisser and his acquaintances at the embassy played a role in this.⁴² He and his wife were indeed often invited to official dinners, such as the one given by Jean Hennessy, French ambassador in Bern, on December 22, 1927.⁴³

By the turn of 1924–1925, Reisserová went to Paris to seek advice from Albert Roussel. While she received her first musical education through family connections, she may have discovered Roussel's music in December 1920 when his First Symphony was played by the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra directed by Václav Talich, and ten months later at a concert under the auspices of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Aristide Briand, in which the orchestra gave *Le Festin de l'araignée* conducted by René-Emmanuel Baton.⁴⁴ She submitted

³⁸ *Národní politika* (March 14, 1922), 5. Jan Reisser had been named consul on February 12, 1921; see *Národní politika* (February 19, 1921), 6. See also Jindřich Dejmek, František Kolář (eds.), *Dokumenty československé zahraniční politika: Československá zahraniční politika a vznik Malé dohody, 1920–1921*, 2 vols. (Prague: Karolinum, 2004), vol. 2, 575.

³⁹ Hohlfeld may also have helped her to have Smetana's *The Bartered Bride* staged at the Bern Stadttheater in 1923; see *Večer* (April 25, 1934), 1.

⁴⁰ Vilém Závada, "Skladatelka Julie Reisserová o sobě," *Rozpravy Aventina*, vol. 7, no. 6 (5 October 1931), 44; Josefa Hrdinová, "Julie Reisserová," *Škola a rodina*, 5th year, year 1931–1932 (December 1931), 49; *Neues Wiener Journal* (April 20, 1937), 7.

⁴¹ W. R. B., "Julia Reisserová," *Der Bund* (March 17, 1938), 3.

⁴² Reisser was indeed accused of having been mainly concerned by costly social events during his stay in Geneva. See Miroslav Brejcha, "Československý Diplomat JUDr. Robert Flieder," unpublished PhD dissertation, Charles University (2006), 39.

⁴³ *Le Gaulois* (December 28, 1927), 2.

⁴⁴ Aleš Březina, "Albert Roussel a jeho česká přátelství," *Harmonie* (August 2017), 4.