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Preučevanje glasbe na Slovenskem nekoč in danes

The Study of Music in the Slovenian Territories in the Past and Today

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Predgovor

Univerza v Ljubljani, najstarejša slovenska univerza, je v letu 2019 obeležila stoletnico ustanovitve. V njenem okviru je leta 1962 na Filozofski fakulteti z delom pričel Oddelek za muzikologijo, ki je v slovenskem prostoru ob univerzitetnem študiju muzikologije zagotovil tudi nujne pogoje za znanstveno preučevanje glasbe znotraj humanistične fakultete.

Čeprav moremo dokumentiranim premislekom o glasbi, ki so v jedru prav vsakega muzikološkega dela, na Slovenskem slediti daleč v preteklost, segajo prvi tehtnejši poskusi znanstvene obravnave glasboslovnih tem v desetletja pred prvo svetovno vojno. Od takrat dalje, posebno pa z ustanovitvijo Oddelka za muzikologijo na Filozofski fakulteti in zatem Muzikološkega inštituta pri Znanstvenoraziskovalnem centru SAZU (pobude od leta 1972, formalno ustanovljen 1980), je slovenska muzikologija stopala po poti sodobne humanistične vede. Če so bile v ospredju zanimanja slovenskih muzikologov sprva pretežno zgodovinske teme, povezane z glasbeno preteklostjo slovenskega prostora, so se z institucionalizacijo enakovredno širila in poglobljala tudi sistematično-muzikološka področja. S širitvijo raziskovalnih interesov in z razvojem stroke se je vseskozi nujno spreminjala in dopolnjevala tudi njena metodologija.

Častitljiva obletnica ustanovitve ljubljanske Univerze in znotraj nje Filozofske fakultete je ponudila priložnost za samorefleksijo, za pregled preteklega in aktualnega dela slovenskih muzikologov ter za premislek o izzivih, ki jih pred preučevalce glasbene preteklosti in sedanjosti prinaša prihodnost. O vsem tem in še o mnogih drugih temah so v oktobru 2019 spregovorili udeleženci priložnostnega muzikološkega simpozija *Preučevanje glasbe na Slovenskem nekoč in danes*. Izbor razširjenih in predelanih simpozijских prispevkov je v obliki znanstvenih člankov objavljen v pričujoči številki *Muzikološkega zbornika*.

Avtorji prvih treh prispevkov razpravljajo o metodoloških izhodiščih, paradigmah in idejnih ozadih preučevanja (slovenske) glasbene preteklosti in predstavijo nekatere pretekle in aktualne dosežke slovenske muzikologije. Članek Aleša Nagodeta tako ponudi kritičen pogled na nacionalistično uokvirjeno slovensko glasbeno historiografijo in razmislek o nujnosti odmika od tovrstne obravnave zgodovine (slovenske) glasbe. Izhajajoč iz osebne izkušnje raziskovanja salzburške zgodovine glasbe Thomas Hochradner v svojem prispevku razpravlja o pomenu regionalnega glasbenega zgodovinopisja, medtem ko Matjaž Barbo ob pregledu tematskih izhodišč, idejnih okvirjev in dosežkov slovenskih muzikologov predstavi pot slovenske muzikologije od v

glasbeno zgodovino usmerjene vede do tematsko razpršenih in vseobsegajočih pogledov na glasbo.

Sledijo prispevki, ki obravnavajo lokalne in tematsko specifične glasbenozgodovinske raziskave. V prispevku Anje Ivec je prikazano stanje raziskav glasbene zgodovine Maribora, Jana Erjavec ob vzorčnem primeru katalogizacije zbirke muzikalij pri sv. Danijelu v Celju predstavi projekt RISM v Sloveniji, članek Jurija Dobravca pa prinaša poglobljen prikaz raziskav orgel na Slovenskem. V sledečih dveh prispevkih so orisane nekatere raziskave slovenskih etnomuzikologov, povezanih z delovanjem Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta ZRC SAZU: v članku Draga Kuneja izvemo, kako si je inštitut ob pobudah Franceta Marolta že kmalu po ustanovitvi prizadeval za profesionalno in sistematično preučevanje in zvočno registriranje slovenske ljudske glasbene dediščine, medtem ko Teja Turk oriše inštitutske raziskave instrumentalne ljudske glasbe. Zadnja dva prispevka prinašata dve izmed številnih raziskovalnih tem, ki jih ta čas obravnavajo slovenski muzikologi: razprava Katarine Šter se v okviru raziskav liturgičnega enoglasja meniških redov poglobi v kartuzijansko predelavo frančiškanskega teoretskega koralnega traktata *Musices Choralis Medulla* s konca 17. stoletja, Nejc Sukljan pa v svojem prispevku ugotavlja, kako se v traktatu *Istituzioni harmoniche* Gioseffa Zarlina prevzema antična glasbena teorija in v njenem okviru predvsem matematični in fizikalni premisleki.

Tako zasnovana tematska številka *Muzikološkega zbornika* ponuja vpogled v pretekle dosežke in aktualne izzive muzikološke stroke na Slovenskem. Z namenom in željo, da bi bili le-ti vidni in razpoznavni tudi v širšem mednarodnem okviru, so vsi prispevki pripravljeni v angleškem jeziku.

Nejc Sukljan,
urednik

Foreword

The University of Ljubljana, the oldest university in Slovenia, celebrated its centenary in 2019. It was within the framework of this university that the Department of Musicology began its work at the Faculty of Arts in 1962. In addition to university study of musicology in Slovenia, the Department also provided the necessary conditions for the scientific study of music within a humanities faculty.

Although documented reflections on music, which form the core of all musicological work, can be traced far into the past in Slovenia, the first meaningful attempts at a scientific treatment of musicological topics date back to the decades prior to the First World War. Since that time, especially with the establishment of the Department of Musicology at the Faculty of Arts and then the Institute of Musicology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (initiatives since 1972, formally established in 1980), Slovenian musicology has followed the path of a modern humanities discipline. While the interest of Slovenian musicologists was initially mainly focused on historical topics related to the musical past of the Slovenian region, institutionalisation enabled systematic musicological fields to expand and deepen on an equal basis. The expansion of research interests and the development of the profession also brought the need to constantly change and supplement its methodology.

The venerable anniversary of the founding of the University of Ljubljana, and within it the Faculty of Arts, provided an opportunity for self-reflection, for an overview of the past and current work of Slovenian musicologists, and for reflection on the challenges that the future brings to researching the musical past and present. These and many other topics were addressed by participants at the commemorative musicological symposium *The Study of Music in the Slovenian Territories in the Past and Today*, held in October 2019. A selection of expanded and revised symposium papers is published in the form of scientific papers in the present issue of the *Musicological Annual*.

The authors of the first three papers discuss the methodological starting points, paradigms and conceptual backgrounds of researching the (Slovenian) musical past, and present some past and recent achievements of Slovenian musicology. Thus, Aleš Nagode's article offers a critical examination of the nationalist-framed Slovenian music historiography and reflection on the necessity of moving away from such a treatment of the history of (Slovenian) music. Drawing from his personal experience of researching the history of music in Salzburg, Thomas Hochradner discusses the importance of regional music

historiography in his paper, while Matjaž Barbo, with a survey of the thematic starting points, conceptual frameworks and achievements of Slovenian musicologists, presents the path of Slovenian musicology from a music history-oriented science to topically diverse and all-encompassing views on music.

There follow articles dealing with local and thematically specific music history research: the article by Anja Ivec reveals the state of research into the musical history of Maribor; based on the exemplary example of cataloguing a collection of musical material at the Church of St Daniel in Celje, Jana Erjavec presents the RISM project in Slovenia; and Jurij Dobravec's article provides an in-depth presentation of organ research in Slovenia. This is followed by two articles that outline some of the research by Slovenian ethnomusicologists associated with the work of the Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU: in Drago Kunej's article, we learn how, soon after its establishment, the Institute endeavoured to undertake a professional and systematic study of sound recordings of the Slovenian folk music heritage, based on initiatives of France Marolt; while Teja Turk outlines the Institute's research on instrumental folk music. The last two papers present two of the many research topics currently discussed by Slovenian musicologists: as part of research into the liturgical chant of monastic orders, the article by Katarina Šter delves into a Carthusian adaptation of the Franciscan theoretical chant treatise *Musices Choralis Medulla* from the end of the seventeenth century; and Nejc Sukljan determines how Gioseffo Zarlino's treatise *Istitutioni harmoniche* adopts ancient music theory, especially reflections on mathematics and physics.

Thus, the present thematic issue of the *Musicological Annual* offers an insight into the past achievements and current challenges of the musicological profession in Slovenia. In order to make these issues recognisable in a wider international space, all of the papers have been prepared in English.

Nejc Sukljan,
editor



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Researching Music in Slovenia: One Hundred Years Later

Aleš Nagode

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ABSTRACT

The article observes distortions of the historiographical narrative about the musical culture of Slovenia in the past, caused by specific circumstances of the formation of the Slovenian nation and the dominance of nationalism. It also outlines the strategies applied by Slovenian musicology since the second half of the twentieth century to escape the grip of nationalistic ideology.

Keywords: history, musicology, Slovenia, nationalism, methodology

IZVLEČEK

Članek opazuje sledove popačitve historiografskega pogleda na glasbeno kulturo današnje Slovenije, ki je bila posledica specifičnih okoliščin izoblikovanja slovenskega naroda in prevlade nacionalistične paradigme. Predstavi tudi strategije in poti, s katerimi je slovenska muzikologija od druge polovice 20. stoletja iskala odmik od nacionalističnega ideološkega okvirja.

Ključne besede: zgodovina, muzikologija, Slovenija, nacionalno gibanje, metodologija

When I was invited to prepare a paper on the challenges of Slovenian musicology one hundred years after the founding of the University of Ljubljana, I was first concerned about the occasion on which we were dealing with this topic. On anniversaries, it is right to look back at the path we have walked and the achievements we have made. However, such commemorative events often turn into (self-)promotional bragging, the purpose of which is far from the search for truth. In it, the positive bias, which – as psychology teaches us – is necessary for survival, usually escapes the reins at an unbridled gallop. Therefore, the first decision was that the paper should not become a kind of festive Facebook selfie. It must try to find a balance between consolidating awareness of the historical significance of achievements and a critique of the errors and deviations on the journey that our profession has undertaken over the last century.

The next dilemma was the one that – unfortunately – still largely determines life and work in Slovenia: the world or home. Should I focus my attention on global musicology, that is, on the challenges of Slovenian musicology in the modern, rapidly changing globalised world, of which we are increasingly a part and which, of course, concerns us, too? Or should I concentrate on the local setting and its specific professional problems, conditioned by the unusual geographical, social, economic and cultural conditions in which the Slovenian nation has developed and lives today? I decided on introspection, which will try to answer the question as to why, in modern Slovenia, we still have to ask ourselves about two musicologies: domestic musicology and global musicology.

The last dilemma that arose was whether I should deal with the past, present or future. Should I list the basic knowledge of the ups and downs of Slovenian musicology in the past decades? Should I try to outline its condition and hardships in the present? Or should I perhaps draw a visionary plan for its development in the future? The solution was clear. As a confident historian, I will try to talk about the present and the future by dealing with the past. I will try to remember where we come from, what we can use as a valuable endowment, as well as what we must discard as a dead weight that hinders us on the way to a fuller understanding of the Slovenian part of world music culture. I will try to assess what we can be proud of and what we should be ashamed of. I will try to think about how to proceed in order to give the taxpayers who pay us every month the best of what they do not even know they need.

* * *

In 1919, less than a year after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the annexation of the territory of Carniola, Southern Styria and Prekmurje to the new Yugoslav state, the first university with Slovenian as the language of instruction was founded in Ljubljana. This event does not seem to have any special significance for the development of Slovenian musicology.

The new university had no faculty, department or chair dedicated to any of the branches of music research. One might therefore think that in observing the development of Slovenian musicology, it would be more appropriate to emphasise the year 1920, when the music school of the Music Society (Glasbenamatica) was elevated to the Conservatory, thus becoming the starting point of tertiary music education in Slovenia.¹ Or perhaps the year 1939, when the Conservatory was transformed into the first academy of music in today's Slovenian territory.² Music theory and music history were taught at both institutions, so this was also the beginning of higher education lectures in musicology.³ At the Faculty of Arts of the new university, art historians Josip Mantuani and Stanko Vurnik pointed out the need to establish a department dedicated to researching the history of music, music theory and music aesthetics. However, the efforts went no further than the additional C study direction, which came to life for a short time only in the war year of 1942.⁴

In its beginnings, Slovenian musicology was largely divided between two poles, to which the institutional position also corresponded. On the one hand, there was the science of composition, that is, the theory of music, which observed music primarily from the point of view of the composer and was placed in the academic environment with several subjects at the Academy of Music. On the other hand, there was musical aesthetics, which was the science of reflection and evaluation from the point of view of the listener and had its focus at the Faculty of Arts. Music history was a kind of mediator between the two (since everything we can know is already a thing of the past). In observation of the music of the past, the results were rarely obtained in Slovenia by scientific methods and presented in relevant scientific publications. Efforts to treat the history of music scientifically were most often viewed as nit-picking of a few foreign-educated musicologists. In the scope outlined by Guido Adler in *Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft* (1885), musicology did not exist in Slovenia until the end of World War II.

The relationship between the two lines of music research was often determined by the education of researchers. If we compare the education and work of the first Slovenian musicologists of the twentieth century, we get surprising results. Despite the severe shortage of educated musicologists, both of the figures who gained doctorates in musicology in Vienna, who were – or at least could have been – in a position to know and implement the science of music in its entirety, devoted themselves primarily to practical musical activity. Josip Čerin

1 Cvetko Budkovič, *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem II* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 1995), 16–17.

2 Budkovič, *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva*, 103–106.

3 Matjaž Barbo, *Slovenska muzikologija: Kratek prelet po zgodovini* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2019), 76.

4 Barbo, *Slovenska muzikologija*, 81–82.

worked mainly as a conductor, while Anton Dolinar was a choirmaster and publicist.⁵ After studying composition with Alois Hába and musicology with Zdeněk Nejedlý in Prague, the almost perfectly educated Radoslav Hrovatin devoted himself mainly to the research of Slovenian folk music.⁶

Most of the original musicological research was thus contributed by experts who had an education in another humanities profession. Joseph Mantuani was a lawyer, art historian and archaeologist. He performed the most important part of his musicological work in his early Viennese period, mainly by publishing the collected works of Jacobus Gallus in the collection *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*.⁷ Stanko Vurnik was also an art historian. In addition to his scientific and professional work in this field, he focused mainly on the aesthetics of music and music criticism. Although his writings attracted a great deal of attention from his contemporaries, he left few traces in Slovenian musicology.⁸ Davorin Beranič, who was a classical philologist, dealt mainly with musical ethnography, as did his professional colleague Marko Bajuk. The Italianist Stanko Škerlj and the Germanist Dušan Ludvik also touched on musical history topics with their research of Italian and German theatre in Ljubljana.⁹

More or less prominent composers and practical musicians also researched the musical past. Outstanding among them were lawyer and trained musician Vilko Ukmar, priest and cathedral *regens chori* Stanko Premrl, who collected a wealth of information about Slovenian church music and its creators,¹⁰ and composer Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, who wrote several important theoretical and biographical works. Composer Slavko Osterc briefly touched on music history with his scripts for lectures at the conservatory.¹¹ France Marolt was a musical practitioner with an unsystematic musical education, who rose to become a leading Slovenian ethnomusicologist in the middle of the century.

Until the end of World War II, the scientific pursuit of music history consisted primarily of gathering information about the musical past. It took place rather unsystematically and often with more will than professional skills. The texts that emerged were rarely based on research and appropriate critical appraisal of primary sources. Possible syntheses and tertiary literature (e.g.,

5 Ibid., 37–69.

6 Ibid., 72.

7 Edo Škulj, ed., *Mantuanijev zbornik* (Ljubljana: Družina, 1994).

8 Bojana Rogelj Škafar, "Dr. Stanko Vurnik (1898–1932): Ob stoletnici rojstva," *Etnolog* 8 (1998): 441–461.

9 Stanko Škerlj, *Italijansko gledališče v Ljubljani v preteklih stoletjih* (Ljubljana, 1973); Dušan Ludvik, *Nemško gledališče v Ljubljani do leta 1790* (Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, 1957), <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-6Q523U2O>.

10 Edo Škulj, "Premrlova glasbena bibliografija," in *Premrlov zbornik* (Ljubljana: Družina, 1996), 229–272.

11 Slavko Osterc, tipkopis, [S. l.]: [s. a.], [1933].

articles in the *Slovenian Biographical Lexicon*¹²) were mostly based on newspaper articles, obituaries, oral tradition, personal inquiries, etc. Among them are exceptions, which are still indispensable today for the observation of certain areas and personalities. These include Škerjanc's monographs on Emil Adamič, Gojmir Krek and Jurij Mihevec,¹³ Škerlj's works on Italian theatre, etc. These rare cases, however, did not have much impact on the general level of writing about music. The journalism and music publishing of the time reflect the weak musicological education of authors and editors, especially concerning older historical periods. A good example is an edition of the Music Society (Glasbena matica) publishing house from 1930 that presents two motets by Jacobus Gallus and is entitled: *Two Madrigals*.¹⁴ The profession had no institutional support, with the exception of the establishment of the Folklore Institute in 1934, which emerged from the efforts of the Music Society.

After the Second World War, the development of Slovenian musicology was determined by Dragotin Cvetko.¹⁵ Although he, too, began his academic career in another field – he was an expert in music pedagogy – his life work reveals a strong focus on establishing musicology in Slovenia as an integral part of the humanities. He began with the establishment of a scientific department at the Academy of Music in Ljubljana (1945), and by the end of the 1950s he had written a monumental synthetic review of the musical history of the Slovenian territory, which was unprecedented in Slovenian cultural history. At an astonishing pace, he published a series of monographs on individual historical periods of Slovenian music history, important composers and institutions. Last but not least, he began to present Slovenian musicology on a global level at scientific meetings and with articles in high-profile foreign journals, proceedings and other scientific publications.¹⁶

Cvetko also began to nurture a new generation of excellent young musicologists, who in the following decades carried out his ambitious plan for the institutional consolidation of the profession. One step in this process was the relocation of the Department of Musicology to the Faculty of Arts of the

12 *Slovenski biografski leksikon* (Ljubljana, 1925–1991).

13 Lucijan M. Škerjanc, *Življenje in delo slovenskega skladatelja* (Ljubljana, 1937); Škerjanc, *Gregor Gojmir Krek kot skladatelj* (Ljubljana, 1943); Škerjanc, *Jurij Mihevec: slovenski skladatelj in pianist* (Ljubljana, 1957).

14 *Dva madrigala* (Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, 1930), <http://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-VF2Z4PCJ>.

15 Matjaž Barbo, "Cvetko, Dragotin (1911–1993)," *Slovenska biografija* (Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2013), accessed 26 November 2020, <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi1021310/#novi-slovenski-biografski-leksikon>. Originally published in *Novi Slovenski biografski leksikon: Spletna izd.*, ed. Barbara Šterbenc Svetina et al. (Ljubljana, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 2013–).

16 Jože Sivec, "Bibliografija znanstvenega in publicističnega opusa akademika Dragotina Cvetka," *Muzikološki zbornik* 27 (1991), 5–34, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.27.1.5-34>.

University of Ljubljana, thus finally realising the plan of Josip Mantuani from the first years of the existence of this institution. The move opened up opportunities for doctoral studies in musicology, which had not been possible at the Academy of Music, as well as facilitating interdisciplinary connections with other disciplines at the Faculty of Arts. The new Department of Musicology made an important contribution to strengthening the staffing of this science and its integration into the wider music culture. Its graduates and doctoral students continued their scientific and professional work as pedagogues in tertiary (Academy of Music in Ljubljana, Faculty of Education in Ljubljana and Maribor) and secondary general and professional education, as administrators of special music libraries and collections of cultural heritage related to music, as editors of radio and television programmes of RTV Ljubljana, as heads and employees of programme departments of cultural institutions dealing with performing music, as consultants and clerks for music in state and local administrative and governmental bodies, as well as elsewhere. In 1980, the Institute of Musicology was established within the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. It focuses exclusively on research into the history of music in Slovenia, thus opening up opportunities for more extensive and time-consuming research.

The new institutional and staffing basis yielded obvious results. One by one, scientific texts filled the large gaps in our knowledge of the development of music culture in Slovenia. This knowledge was also appropriately represented in major world and Yugoslav lexicographic and bibliographic projects, such as *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the encyclopaedia *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, the *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM), the *Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale* (RILM), etc. The first Slovenian music monument collection, *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae*, began to be published, and the compilation of a Slovenian music terminology dictionary was initiated.

The work continued until the beginning of the 1990s, which brought an important landmark in the development of Slovenian musicology. On the one hand, the turning point was caused by the political, economic and cultural upheaval of the time, which completely changed the circumstances of life, research and cultural activities in Slovenia. The explosive events coincided with a change of generations in Slovenian musicology, which took place in the mid-1990s. However, the new situation highlighted the key weaknesses of Slovenian musicology.

At the end of the twentieth century, Slovenian musicology was confronted with the legacy of its formation and development in the past century and a half. As was the case elsewhere in Europe, it was an expression of scientific interest in musical works of art, fuelled by the fascination of the upper social classes with music, often referred to as *Kunstreligion*. For many decades, their

interest was limited to the great monuments of music, which were elevated to the canon of the greatest achievements of human creativity.

On the other hand, the direction of musicology was influenced by the nationalist ideology that had grown out of the revolutionary movements of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and had anchored itself in the consciousness of Europeans of all classes to such an extent that its assumptions became a kind of self-evident fact. This ideology also determined observation of the art of music throughout Europe. However, although the nationalist bias was certainly present, scientific interest was still focused exclusively on important works of art; nationalism merely exaggerated the importance of those who belonged to the observer's own national tradition. The dominant social groups of major European countries were able to hijack the identity and traditional symbolic toolbox of premodern political formations and apply them to the new nation states. The music of the French court thus smoothly became French national music, and the musical culture of the multiethnic aristocracy of the Habsburg monarchy became the basis for the tourist-promotional product "Musikland Österreich".

In Slovenia, this process unfolded differently. The attempts of Slovenian-speaking Austrians in the middle of the nineteenth century to form a comparable symbolic and cultural-cohesive toolbox of the new nation on the basis of actual historical symbols and cultural elements failed repeatedly. They wanted to unite the parts of the historical lands lying on the southern edge of Austria, but each of these regions had its own historical identity, and they were connected only by the fact that part of their population used Slavic dialects for communication in everyday life. When Slovenian scholars – under political pressure and out of personal enthusiasm – frantically searched for traces of authentic Slovenian national culture, they came across traits that did not differ in any way from the culture of the German- or Italian-speaking inhabitants of the same lands.

On the other hand, the territory of the new nation, so optimistically delineated by Peter Kosler on his map of 1852 (unpublished until 1861), was only the fringe of a larger historical political unit known as Austria (*Erbländer*) and having its centre in Vienna. In this way, the cultural hinterland was cut off not only from its metropolitan centre, but also from most of the provincial centres (Graz, Klagenfurt, Trieste) that had been a source of higher culture and education for centuries. Any attempt to shape national culture under these assumptions was destined to end in a completely distorted cultural stratigraphy.

The main task of Slovenian music journalism and music historiography was to fill the gap between the historical reality and the nationalist reality. In their beginnings in the nineteenth century, they established the ideal of "Slovenian national music", which promoted almost exclusively vocal music with lyrics in Slovenian, music that was popular in character and mostly totally lacking any

aesthetic value. Stylistic analysis quickly shows that this music does not differ significantly from music of similar functional musical genres (church music, choral music, dance music) in other parts of Austria. The same applies to the art music of Slovenian composers of that period, who differ from similar creations in the wider Middle-European area only in the language of the text used (e.g., solo songs) or by relying on well-known melodies of local “Slovenian national music”. All attempts to give music of more demanding genres (e.g., instrumental or theatre music) a more pronounced “Slovenian” musical character typically ended with the introduction of harmonic progressions and rhythmic patterns taken from other “Slavic” musical cultures. Despite the fact that compositions containing these musical elements would have sounded very exotic to the average Slovenian listener, their authors were nonetheless celebrated as creators of authentic “Slovenian national music”.

From the very beginning, the research of music in Slovenia took place in the grip of this hopeless cultural and political task, which few researchers managed to escape. In the intensified political and ideological upheavals that engulfed the territory of today’s Slovenia in the twentieth century, there was even less room for ideologically unencumbered music research. In the strained interethnic relations of the last years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to doubt nationalist ideology was no less than national treason. The Great War was followed by a deepening of the nationalist rampage, which was reflected differently in different parts of “Slovenia”, located between three states. In the Yugoslav and Italian parts, attempts were made to annihilate the cultural heritage of the Austrian past. This included cultural genocide: in the Yugoslav part on the German-speaking population, in the Italian part on the German- and Slovenian-speaking population. Something similar happened to the Slovenian-speaking population in the Austrian part. Attempts at Yugoslav unitarism were hampered only by the firm nationalist stance of the Slovenian right-wing party, who dominated Slovenian politics.

During this time, a nationalistically biased “interpretation model” was formed in Slovenian musicology. Most twentieth-century Slovenian musicological literature is based on this model, and due to a certain epistemological inertia, it still occasionally influences contemporary musicological literature on the history of Slovenian music. It is essentially based on the *Blut und Boden* ideology, which was widely established in Central Europe. The “Slovenianness” of Slovenian music is supposed to derive from the ancestral (*Blut*) and cultural (*Boden*) connection of its creators with the Slovenian nation. This connection is so mystical, deep and innate that it does not allow or require more detailed rational justification. Due to its unfoundedness, it is impossible to refute. At the same time, it opens up a wide field for the completely arbitrary inclusion of historical figures, institutions, creations and events in the historical narrative.

The consequences for the history of music in Slovenia are profound. As a rule, outlines of “Slovenian” music history include periods in which the object that defines them – i.e., “Slovenianness” or the Slovenian nation – did not even exist. They tacitly ignore the fact that other population groups with their own identities existed in this territory during the periods under consideration, e.g., the Carantans, Carniolans, Styrians, etc., later forming the provincial identities of the historical lands.

Another important tool of nationalist historiography is the distinctly arbitrary selection of the individuals, ensembles and institutions of musical life in the observed territory that deserve inclusion in the historical narrative about “Slovenian music”. Thus, on the one hand, the central figures of Slovenian music include many immigrant musicians who only superficially integrated into Slovenian culture (e.g., Gašper Mašek, Anton Foerster), while, on the other hand, those who did not join the Slovenian nationalist movement (e.g., Hans Gerstner) are selectively excluded. Among those born in Slovenia, some who never learned to write Slovenian properly due to their secondary education in German are acceptable (e.g., Risto Savin), while others are not for this very reason (e.g., Hugo Wolf). Some are expelled from the national canon (e.g., Franc Pollini) due to their efforts to succeed in major music centres abroad, while others are not (e.g., Josip Ipavec). The situation is similar with institutions. The *Academia philharmonicorum* is an important milestone in the history of Slovenian music, but the *Philharmonische Gesellschaft* is not, despite the fact that the members of both institutions used Slovenian to the same extent as the enthusiastic supporters of the Slovenian nationalistic movement who visited the events of the *Narodna čitalnica* (Slovenian National Reading Room) in Ljubljana. The latter was characterised in 1870 by the satirical newspaper *Brencelj* (Horsefly) as: “Reading Room. A meeting place of uncivility, boors, upstarts and Slovenian nationalistic zealots. On top of that, a place where German is especially spoken.”¹⁷

The self-evident nature of nationalist optics did not change even after World War II. In the humanities, the Soviet model of ethnographic orientation prevailed for some time, providing an excellent basis for the development of cultural-historical sciences, including musicology. The declared adherence to historical materialism did not obscure the prevalence of nationalism, which gained further institutional support in academies of science and arts and in the ranks of Slovenian intellectuals of all political orientations.

The first step away from nationalistic music historiography was made by Dragotin Cvetko. In his works, his narrative is still anachronistically limited by the borders of the modern Slovenian state, and the musicians and institutions mentioned are divided into the categories “Slovenian”, “German” and “Italian”,

17 Jakob Alešovec, *Brencelj v koledarjevi obleki* (Ljubljana, 1870), 66.

which were non-existent in their time. The story of “Slovenian music” is still in the centre of his interest, but it is nevertheless supplemented with information about many hitherto overlooked musicians and institutions. Musicologists from the ranks of Cvetko’s students, such as Jože Sivec, Andrej Rijavec, Janez Höfler and Jurij Snoj, applied the same methodology in their studies of special topics or narrower historical reviews.

The nationalist historiography of the twentieth century is the greatest burden that Slovenian musicology has been trying to cast aside over the last two decades. Attention has increasingly shifted to exploring those musicians and institutions that remained on the fringes of interest in the twentieth century. New insights have been contributed by many researchers, such as Metoda Kokole, Matjaž Barbo, Leon Stefanija, Gregor Pompe, Jernej Weiss, Maruša Zupančič, Katarina Šter and many others. In the coming years, musicology will have to continue this effort to observe the musical past of the territory of today’s Slovenia as objectively and comprehensively as possible. In so doing, it will have to build on the groundbreaking achievements of other humanities, especially historiography. It will have to start observing historical phenomena in *their own* historical context. This will necessarily require expanding the perspective to political-economic-information hubs beyond national borders and a different acceptance of the diglottic character of this territory over the past centuries. Musicology will have to write new music histories with colleagues from neighbouring countries, e.g., individual Austrian historical lands, Venetian Istria, individual dioceses, religious provinces, Austrian military music, etc.

The history of music of the Slovenian national movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be only one segment – and perhaps not the most important and influential segment – in this spectrum. In so doing, we will have to be aware of the specific position of the territory of today’s Slovenia in individual time periods, its connection with respective political-economic-information centres, the coexistence of intertwined linguistic communities and identities, etc. Only in this way will we be able to put the shallow politically motivated utilitarian historiography of the past behind us, and slowly achieve a deeper understanding of the musical culture in this part of Europe. A territory located at one of the crossroads of Europe, devoid of big centres, but not very far from the sources of knowledge and markets for human skill and ingenuity. Only in this way will we be able to find out how it became, as Kurt Blaukopf said, “Provinz mit Niveau”.¹⁸

18 Kurt Blaukopf, *Gustav Mahler oder Der Zeitgenosse der Zukunft* (München, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1973), 54.

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POVZETEK

Raziskovanje glasbe na Slovenskem – sto let pozneje

Pred sto leti je bila v Ljubljani ustanovljena univerza, s čimer je bil storjen ključen korak k dokončanju večdesetletnih prizadevanj za vzpostavitev stratigrafsko celovite nacionalne kulture na ozemlju slovensko govoreče Avstrije. Čeprav na novi ustanovi ni bilo katedre za raziskovanje glasbe in je ta veja znanosti še vedno ostajala brez institucionalne podlage za svoj razvoj, je prav ta, najzgodnejši čas oblikovanja slovenske humanistike postavil temelje, na katerih se je muzikologija začela razvijati desetletja zatem.

Vse do danes je bila zaznamovana s številnimi notranjimi in zunanji vzgibi, ki so onemogočali uravnotežen in avtonomen razvoj. V času med obema vojnoma je bil ključen

nacionalizem, ki je bil skupen tako klerikalnemu kot liberalnemu političnemu taboru in ki je prinesel predvsem protiavtstrijsko in protinemško usmerjeno nacionalizacijo glasbene zgodovine. Njegovo delo je v času po drugi svetovni vojni nadaljeval nacionalno-socialistični diskurz, ki se je lepo prilegal nenavadni kulturni stratigrafiji slovenskega ozemlja v preteklih stoletjih in grozil, da bo izrinil v ozadje zanimanje za glasbeno kulturo preteklih družbenih elit.

Cepprav se je začela slovenska muzikologija že v sedemdesetih letih izvijati iz primeža nacionalistične ideologije, je še vedno zaznamovana z dediščino prejšnjega stoletja. Obračun z njo je naloga, s katero se ukvarja zadnji dve desetletji in jo bo morala dokončati v prihodnosti. Pri tem se bo morala opreti na ideje in metodološke rešitve, ki so jih razvile druge humanistične znanosti. Hkrati pa mora biti pozorna na znamenja časov. Ti včasih grozijo s ponavljanjem starih napak, včasih pa prinašajo nove ideološke aksiome, ki bodo zastirali objektivni pogled na glasbeno kulturo Slovenije v preteklosti.

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O AVTORJU

ALEŠ NAGODE (ales.nagode@ff.uni-lj.si) je diplomiral, magistriral in doktoriral iz muzikologije na oddelku za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. Po kratkem delovanju v Slovenskem komornem zboru je leta 1993 postal mladi raziskovalec na Muzikološkem inštitutu Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti. Od 1995 deluje kot asistent in docent na Oddelku za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. Pri raziskovalnem delu se posveča predvsem zgodovini glasbe na Slovenskem v predzgodovini in antiki, cerkveni glasbi na Slovenskem v drugi polovici 18. in 19. st. ter vprašanjem odmeva etnogeneze Slovencev v glasbenem življenju poznega 18. in 19. st. na Slovenskem.



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Still on the Map? Considering Regional Historiography of Music

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ABSTRACT

The paper aims to re-evaluate regionality as a key concept in musicology. After a short introduction to the topic, a case study on Salzburg is presented, followed by critical remarks on relevant literature and a summary that attempts to redefine the significance of regional and local developments within the discipline.

Keywords: music historiography, regionality as a key concept, Salzburg as a case study

IZVLEČEK

Prispevek želi ponovno ovrednotiti regionalnost kot ključni koncept v muzikologiji. Po kratkem uvodu v temo razprave bosta študiji primera o Salzburgu sledila kritičen komentar relevantne literature in povzetek, ki skuša na novo definirati pomen regionalnih in lokalnih razvojev znotraj discipline.

Ključne besede: glasbeno zgodovinoisje, regionalnost kot ključni koncept, Salzburg kot študija primera

In the time of the Internet, it has undoubtedly become nearly superfluous to deal with music history as a bundle of knowledge to be unfolded in academic lectures and writings. Everything can be looked up rapidly, although often without reliability, and the store of information is simultaneously accompanied by a process of continuous specialisation, making more and more niches accessible. Due to the network of facts and data, however, the overview gets lost, a diagnosis that particularly concerns the occupation with national and regional historiography of music.¹ Furthermore, this field of research has to master a past casually influenced by patriotic and nationalistic tendencies, resulting in a temporary loss of neutrality. Consequently, how will it be possible for music historiography to prove its worth and preserve its approach devoted to geographic unities against the background of the current trends and strategies at which musicology aims, such as gender research, cultural studies, studies in musical interpretation or postcolonial studies? Some options will be suggested to at least object to what Bernhard Janz, a colleague researching the music history of Franconia (which is, more or less, the northern part of Bavaria), clothes in words by pointing out that at no time has it been advisable in musicology to gain a profile with a study dealing with regional topics; such endeavours instead turn out to be obstructive to a career. Although your ideas may sometimes be brilliant and even groundbreaking, as Janz continues, you will never stand in the first row with explanations of composers, works, genres that have always been alien to distinguished experts.²

According to Janz, the field of research has, to date, been less an interest of universities than a private matter of masters and mistresses at secondary schools, clergymen and retired university teachers.³ As far as new strategies for musicology as an academic discipline are concerned, in times of opening up new fields of research and aiming at global importance, it is difficult to soften such conclusions. One could argue that there is still a need for information to be provided to the organisers of local and regional festivals, to be supplied for a recording label's activities, and to satisfy the common interest of people living in a certain space and time. Advances in the creation of a European

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- 1 Please bear in mind that neither sociographic nor aesthetic views will be discussed in this paper, although they will be touched upon within the argumentation.
 - 2 Bernhard Janz, "Kirchenmusik am Würzburger Hof um 1800," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 92 (2008), 69, shortened translation by the author; original text: "Zu keiner Zeit war es für angehende Musikwissenschaftler ratsam, sich mit einer Arbeit aus dem Bereich der Regionalforschung profilieren zu wollen: Die musikwissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit Komponisten, Werken und speziellen Gattungsausprägungen, die selbst gestandenen Fachvertreter weitgehend fremd sind, hat sich seit jeher eher als karrierehemmend erwiesen, so brillant und wegweisend manche der entsprechenden Studien im Einzelfall auch sein mochten."
 - 3 Ibid.; original text: "Die musikwissenschaftliche Regionalforschung ist dementsprechend bis heute oft weniger ein Forschungsgegenstand der Hochschulen und Universitätsinstitute, als vielmehr das Privatvergnügen pensionierter und passivierter Studienräte, Geistlicher und Hochschullehrer."

community have brought about a process of re-regionality and have provoked a longing for a federation of smaller units, hopefully apart from nationality, all the more engaged in phenomena within closer limited borders. One such phenomenon is music history in all of its aspects. This is what regionality stands for in the present paper; the geographical scope is flexible, comprising small cells as well as large unities. In these circumstances, I will raise three problems: firstly, whether we should be looking for heroes; secondly, whether it is time to welcome a regionally bound music history; and finally, how this branch could still be settled within the contemporary tendencies in our discipline.

1 Local heroes vanishing?

Nowadays, in a modern community, local heroes have lost a lot of their significance. The Styrian birth of Johann Joseph Fux, for example, was once a very special companion to all of his biographers. A farmer's son who made his way as a musician to the highest rank possible at the Viennese imperial court – this made his fellow countrymen very proud. The same approach was repeated among Austrian musicologists, who honoured Fux as a patriarch, a progenitor and a predecessor of the Classical era, all appreciations based on pure hermeneutic thought and missing evaluative proof. Consequently, Fux was finally liberated from his Styrian origin and continued as a Baroque composer to be seen only within the artistic and social conditions of his time. Equally, approaches (to his life and work) were removed from any patriotic historiography, giving way to an approach that assessed his career, compositions and theoretical achievements without preconditions. However, at the same time and to a high degree, the main features of Fux's reception faded. Although plenty of studies were published and numerous further insights were won, the hero in Fux was lost.

What happened to Fux will never occur with Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, for a long time established as one of the most attractive, famous and widespread of the well-known composers. Mozart could preserve the image of a hero, but never as a Salzburgian composer, nor as an Austrian or German composer. In fact, his fame is based on the world's appreciation, and literature on his life and works, even when called *Salzburger Mozart-Lexikon*,⁴ is eventually guided along this comprehensive understanding. So, in this case the hero is alive, but must be allocated beyond regional boundaries. With respect to regionality, we are confronted with another type of loss.

If one were to examine Slovenian music history, trying to grasp its heroes – perhaps Gallus or Dolar, or even the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana – they will all perhaps share the problem mentioned here: they tend to outshine

4 Gerhard Ammerer and Rudolph Angermüller, eds., *Salzburger Mozart-Lexikon* (Bad Honnef: Bock, 2005).

longstanding developments and, moreover, they claim predominance in evaluative standards. Yet, the quintessence of the personifications of Fux and Mozart is that regional music history will always be obliged to have heroes – if necessary, to create them – otherwise an adequate estimation of work and writings within this field will not come about. As soon as the heroes have vanished, all efforts on restricted topics may vanish as well, and research will be in danger of being regarded as the product of harmlessness.

2 Time to say welcome?

The question therefore arises: Is it time to welcome regional music historiography and all of its characteristics? I am going to vote yes, and my attitude shall be exemplified with personal experience. In 2011, the Arbeitsschwerpunkt Salzburger Musikgeschichte was founded – which can perhaps be best translated as the Centre for Salzburg Music History – initially as a joint venture programme of the musicology institutes of the Salzburg University and the Mozarteum University Salzburg. The reason for this initiative was a decline in the occupation with music issues specific to Salzburg due to the retirement of certain colleagues at the Salzburg University. However, the cooperation did not last long; it soon turned out that the new generation of researchers there directed all of their interest towards current affairs in internationally relevant topics, which shall in no way be devalued.



Figure 1: Visual presentation of the Arbeitsschwerpunkt Salzburger Musikgeschichte at the University Mozarteum Salzburg.

Fortunately, the Arbeitsschwerpunkt was taken over by the University Mozarteum, and today four associates, one of them in student assistance, work together in a small sub-department of our Department of Musicology. Admittedly, we were favoured with a very good starting position, as Salzburg has always been, in its past and in present times, full of highlights in music; one needs only think of Mozart and the Salzburg Festival, but also of Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber, the origins of *Silent Night*, and so on. In reality, however, the situation is not nearly as favourable as one might imagine, because Mozart research is essentially covered by the Stiftung Mozarteum, an institution that should not be confused with the Mozarteum University, although they were bound to each other until 1922. Furthermore, the Salzburg Festival, as a highly esteemed organisation, maintains its own business with regard to studies as well as programme booklet contributions, and its uncontested rank “opposes” cooperation with the tiny working capacity we can offer. Nonetheless, even in this case, the guidelines of the Arbeitsschwerpunkt did, of course, include potential teamwork, expressed in a letter of interest and as a lure for occasional sponsorship.

Retrospectively, the tactics did work. We looked for possibilities of integrating colleagues working at the Stiftung Mozarteum without crossing the main fields of their research. Fortunately, we have always encountered a charming and willing atmosphere. Now, after eight years of existence, the Arbeitsschwerpunkt can be seen as an established part of Salzburg’s musical map. Most of the projects once reflected upon have been realised. We have started a series of publications, mainly containing the results of our conferences, which has amounted to six volumes so far⁵ and includes a profound history of the Mozarteum University edited by Julia Hinterberger, which is certainly important in terms of the stabilisation of our institution.

It is no secret that in times of a lively jubilee culture, we have made use of any opportunity to participate in the respective celebrations. Two conferences were included in the programme of 200 Years of Salzburg as a Part of Austria in 2016, while another conference was held contextualising the reception of *Silent Night* when the origin of the carol had its 200th jubilee in 2018. One of my colleagues, Sarah Haslinger, has just published a guide presenting locations of musical interest across the city of Salzburg and in the nearby surroundings, which is based on several tours that have been offered to the broader public by the Arbeitsschwerpunkt over the past six years.⁶ As a small team, we do, of course, have to remain very, very busy in order to achieve our objectives, but we

5 *Veröffentlichungen des Arbeitsschwerpunktes Salzburger Musikgeschichte* (Wien: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag), six volumes since 2011.

6 Sarah Haslinger (co-operation: Johanna Jastrinsky), *Auf den Spuren der Salzburger Musikgeschichte: Museen, Archive & Bibliotheken, Sehenswürdigkeiten, Veranstaltungsorte und Spaziergänge in Salzburg* (Salzburg: Universität Mozarteum Salzburg, 2019).

have always been eager to take our chances as long as some money was available to recruit. Hopefully the fountains will also bubble in the future.

Salzburgs Hymnen von 1816 bis heute

Do, 9. Juni & Fr, 10. Juni 2016
Universität Mozarteum Salzburg
Kleines Studio, Mirabellplatz 1

Symposium
Referenten: Sarah Hallinger, Julia Hutterberger, Thomas Hochbauer, Andrea Lindmayr-Bland, Karl Mülle, Michael Neureither, Silvia Pardi-Schneider, Matthias Röss, Stefan Schmidt, Daniela Sedivy, Peter Trachten, Carolei Strohriegel, Katharina Strohriegel, Gerhard Walzschütz

Do, 14.00 – 18.00 Uhr
Fr, 9.00 – 13.00 Uhr

Do, 18.30 Uhr
„Unsere Hymnen“ – Präsentation eines Schulprojektes im Rahmen von Superar
Aufführen: Kinder der Klassen 20 und 21 der Volkshochschule Lehen 2 unter der Leitung von Elisabeth Maier, Moderation: Ulrike Machinger

Fr, 14.30 Uhr
Führungen
wahlweise zum Salzburgs Glockengeläut oder zum „Salzburger Stief“
Treffpunkt: Führung zum Glockengeläut: 14.30 Uhr, Panorama-Museum, Führung und Eintritt gratis.
Treffpunkt: Führung zum „Salzburger Stief“: 14.30 Uhr, Bergstation der Festungsbahn, Führung und Eintritt gratis, Fahrt mit der Festungsbahn ist zu lokalen Annehmlichkeiten zu den Führungen während des Symposiums

Fr, 18.00 Uhr
Konzert
Mitschneider (Orgelorgel und Geigenspiel) (Walter Andreas EB) der Universität Mozarteum, Bären-Gesellschaft des Musikums Salzburg unter der Leitung von Josef Steinhilber, Bekannte-Chor Salzburg unter der Leitung von Gernot Sockalek-Waiblinger, „Der Pöschl“ Chor der GfM des Universität Mozarteum unter der Leitung von Rosemarie Pfalzinger (ein Projekt mit Asylantenheimen)

Eintritt frei!

2016 musikum
ART F (S) M SUPERAR

Eine Kopie des Arbeitsschwerpunktes Salzburgs Musikgeschichte am Department für Musikwissenschaft, gefördert durch Salzburg 2016 und das Musikum Salzburg.

Figure 2: Poster of the conference “Salzburgs Hymnen von 1816 bis heute”, organised by the Arbeitsschwerpunkt Salzburger Musikgeschichte in 2016.

What is Salzburg’s regional music like? One example I gave (*Nanei-Ländler* played by the Tobi Reiser Ensemble, recorded in 1966) reminded my Slovenian colleagues of their own traditional music. Style, therefore, does not suffice to describe its regionality. However, this style has certainly been determined for the so-called *Saitenmusi* in Salzburg and its surroundings (music with zither, dulcimer, harp, guitar and double bass), with Tobi Reiser as a leading figure. Reiser founded the famous Salzburger Adventsingens as early as in 1946, and really was innovative insofar as he took a traditional basis but realised new components within it, such as the grouping of this formation. What should be noticed, therefore, is the essential additional role of identity that made the reference to Salzburg a concrete one.

A second example also represented a certain stylistic sphere. Listening to the final movement of Mozart’s *Symphony No. 28 in C Major K. 200*, recorded by Camerata academica under conductor Bernhard Paumgartner in 1961, offered a specific Salzburg Mozart style, “remarkable for coarseness and noise”, as Charles Burney once noted in his diary. Paumgartner obviously avoids a pure aesthetic interpretation (as was common in the 1960s) and might be seen as a forerunner of historically informed performance practice. Again, when

traditions meet innovation, together with secondary parameters, a special feature of regionality can be set off. Yet, regionality is not bound to something made anew, a goal that can seldom be reached. Covering can also encourage a particular local or regional display. As a third example, I presented Teddy Palmer (in real life Friedhelm Ulrich), the man who initiated a German wave of pop songs incorporating rock'n'roll in Salzburg, which came after World War II, during the time of occupation.⁷

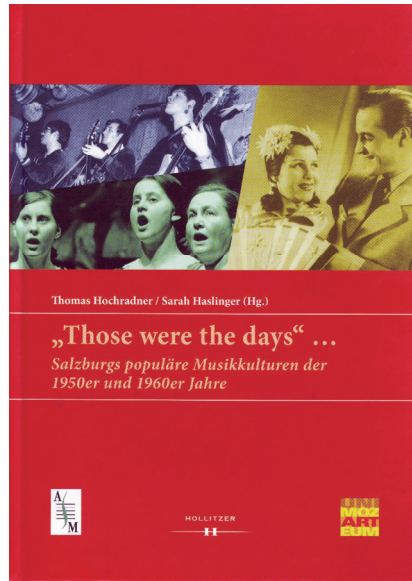


Figure 3: Cover of the volume *‘Those were the days’... Salzburgs populäre Musikkulturen der 1950er und 1960er Jahre*, released in 2017.

Discovering sources, collecting data, and listing and assessing characteristics will always be a precious contribution to the musical map and will further musicological insights. To be of broader interest, however, a topic in regionality needs to have specific features, or should at least be linked to general developments. Authors should not just cook their own soup, as we say in German. On the other hand, the multifaceted scope is more than just charming: it is a challenge in which the Arbeitsschwerpunkt feels continuously involved. In any case, our activities would not have achieved such acceptance without diversified topical dispersion. We have concentrated neither on well-established composers nor on classical music, but have deliberately included popular music and traditional music. Thus, field work, partly based on special contracts, led

7 From 1945 to 1955, the US troops had their headquarters in Salzburg.

to a project called “Those were the days”, aimed at exploring the music of the 1950s and 1960s in Salzburg in all its manifestations. The volume that finally resulted from a conference on the topic was presented at a special event attended by about 120 people, who were, of course, mainly attracted by Les Marquis, a successful band of the late 1960s. Such success can create obligations, and it may overtax: we are no longer able to fulfil all of the ideas and expectations presented to us.

3 Island in a turnabout?

To have influential partners is one of the promising components; another is how to be present in social life and in what we call the scientific community. Being so often pushed into triviality, the way of publishing seems to be one of the most important stabilising factors for regional topics in music. Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel once started a series called *Studien zur Landes- und Sozialgeschichte der Musik*,⁸ collecting contributions on social and topographic themes with Emil Katzbichler, a henceforth appreciated publishing house. However, the purpose suffered seriously from the fact that it was, and always remained, Riedel's personal series. Consequently, it did not go beyond certain horizons, and we at the Arbeitsschwerpunkt are certainly in danger of meeting the same fate.

With reference to my considerations, unprejudiced observers may get the impression that far too much thought is devoted to regionality and its output, as modern concepts in music do not even bother to take such issues into consideration. Even a superficial review of several relevant books makes this clear, and manifold further examples could be added. *Historische Musikwissenschaft. Grundlagen und Perspektiven*, a volume edited in 2013 by Michele Calella and Nikolaus Urbanek,⁹ presents a panorama of basics, methods, challenges and perspectives, but none of them is devoted to concrete fields of research. In other words, the favoured contemporary approach to musicology and its networks seems to be a theoretical one, even holding back longstanding domains such as biography and analysis, and certainly avoiding any discussion of regional subjects. However, we must be aware that such a disregard is not just a matter of prevailing taste.

When compared with *Musikwissenschaft: Ein Grundkurs*, edited by Herbert Bruhn and Helmut Rösing as early as in 1998,¹⁰ some significant changes can be noticed: then, in the context of basics, application fields were mainly

8 Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, ed., *Studien zur Landes- und Sozialgeschichte der Musik*, 10. vols. (Munich and Salzburg: Emil Katzbichler, 1977–1994).

9 Michele Calella and Nikolaus Urbanek, eds., *Historische Musikwissenschaft: Grundlagen und Perspektiven* (Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2013).

10 Herbert Bruhn and Helmut Rösing, eds., *Musikwissenschaft: Ein Grundkurs* (Reinbek b. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1998).

dealt with, not methods and discourses. Again, however, any contributions to the significance of regionality – even hints at it – are missing, apparently in favour of globalisation; intercultural exchange of music is discussed, and the final parts of the book drift towards world music, describing the discovery of Turkish, Chinese, Indian, Latin American and African music. This orientation is announced as a very new one in the blurb: thus, modern popular styles and traditional music from all over the world were well esteemed. The restriction to historical research in classical music, familiar to conventional musicology, is broken up.¹¹

Is research on regionally, topographically bound phenomena therefore like living on an island resisting several turnabouts in our discipline? With regard to musicology in the English-speaking world, this impression is affirmed. A survey of key concepts in musicology, offered by David Beard and Kenneth Gloag in their book of the same title, second edition 2016, summarises 96 concepts, but does not name regionality, while “landscape”, which may be perceived as its synonym, is mainly understood as an intersection of cross connections:

*Landscape. Through the work of social geographers [...] landscape has been developed in conjunction with ideas about preservation, **identity** and nation (see **nationalism**) to indicate the extent to which a particular **place** or location may shape or be shaped by cultural as well as economic considerations. From this perspective, the reflexive link between music and landscape may be understood in terms of the role landscape has played, at various points of history, in the construction of a nation's identity. [...] Moreover, a focus on music and landscape may rehabilitate music that is otherwise perceived as peripheral to the canon [...] Citing street names and describing other geographical features of urban landscapes, such as street corners, parks and bridges, is a component in claiming identity and **authenticity** in music [...] The conception that music can in some way reflect the landscape in which it is conceived appears to be strong in the minds of artists and composers, and the work of social geographers points to the need for musicologists to investigate further how and why such associations are constructed [...]*¹²

The entry of “place” coincides with this attitude, albeit at least conceding a stronger historical depth: “A topic of discourse through the centuries, the concept of place has received increasing critical and theoretical attention in the humanities and social sciences since the mid-1980s [...]”¹³

This concept of place must be distinguished from location, which is just one option for place: “Place is also highly relevant to considerations of **identity, gender, ethnicity, race** and **subjectivity**, all of which have a discursive,

11 Ibid., blurb; original text: “So finden auch modern populäre Stile und die Volksmusik der ganzen Welt die ihnen gebührende Anerkennung. Die Einengung der traditionellen Musikwissenschaft auf historische Forschung in der Kunstmusik ist dadurch aufgebrochen.”

12 David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, eds., *Key concepts in musicology*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2016), 147–148.

13 Ibid., 191.

reflexive relationship with place.”¹⁴ Apparently, criteria belonging to ideals and changes in knowledge, mentality and consciousness have been reduced to mere accompaniments of “place”. Instead, in my opinion, these criteria serve as dominant pillars of every concept and must be considered invaluable. It is because of this that a network in musicological research is secured, which is precisely what the insight into Beard and Gloag’s collection of key concepts elucidates.



Figure 4: “Moving is like a cross-examination”, photo, Ireland 2010; © Thomas Hochradner.

Janka Petöczová indicates a difference between “Regional Musicology” and “Musical Topography” that has often been overlooked:

*Regional musicology is a superior category; it includes a complex music-historical, ethno-musicological, music-sociological etc. research of music and musical life in clearly defined geographic, economic, administrative, cultural and artistic regions of a various size, which are carriers of music-cultural correlations. Musical topography is a subordinate category; it involves methodological work method to reveal the music-cultural relationships on the region in the bond of various smaller demographical units (churches, monasteries, bourgeois residences, aristocratic residences, town, conurbation, union of towns).*¹⁵

Joining the system of the distinction made by Beard and Gloag, as well as by Petöczová, I would rather claim a more important position for regional-ity, as for identity, gender, ethnicity, etc. Given that various research concepts

14 Ibid., 192.

15 Janka Petöczová, “Hudobnoregionalistický výskum na Slovensku z aspektu historickej muzikológie,” *Vedský Časopis o Kultúre Regiónov na Slovensku* 2 (2018): 1; quoted from the abstract.

obviously exist in which local and regional topics can be settled, the task is to work out and underline their significance, to make it clear that regionality as a scope can be followed in the same way as one of the pillars just mentioned. Just like biography and analysis (among others), regionality can be zoomed and dimmed, but it should not be completely dissolved, getting lost in its components, erroneously reduced to the study of sources and the mere collection of information. To be a matter of interest, a process of incorporation has to be initiated, aimed at connection, comparison or subordination to more extensive concepts. With regard to Slovenia, in respect to my limited information, one could think about the rich iconography on the musical instruments in Slovenian churches, the density of compositional vessels in the early twentieth century, the interesting concept of the Festival on Early Music in Radovljica, which Matjaž Barbo has brought to my attention;¹⁶ for these realities, it will always be easy to find a broader context. Moreover, all territorially bound developments can also be reflected from interregional and transregional points of view, and that is what we will have to strengthen in order to gain acknowledgement for a kind of research that is in fact as up-to-date, promising and challenging as others.

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16 Matjaž Barbo, "New Wine in Old Wineskins, or: New Music on Old Instruments," in *Barockmusik: Diskurs zu einem Interpretationsprofil*, ed. Thomas Hochradner, *Klang–reden, Schriften zur Musikalischen Interpretations- und Rezeptionsgeschichte 10* (Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach Verlag, 2013), 239–253.

POVZETEK

Še vedno tu? Premislek o regionalnem glasbenem zgodovinopisju

V dobi interneta je preučevanje zgodovine glasbe v obliki znanj, podanih v okviru akademskih predavanj in spisov, postalo odveč; vse gradivo lahko hitro najdemo in množica informacij si podaja roko s procesom nenehne specializacije, s čimer postaja dostopnih vedno več ozko usmerjenih raziskovalnih tem. Na račun mreže dejstev in podatkov se širši pogled izgubi, kar vpliva tudi na ukvarjanje z nacionalnim in regionalnim glasbenim zgodovinopisjem. Poleg tega je potrebno na tem raziskovalnem področju obvladovati preteklost, na katero so vsakodnevno vplivale domoljubne in nacionalistične tendence, kar ima za posledico začasno izgubo nevtralnosti. Kako bo torej ob aktualnih trendih in strategijah v muzikologiji (kot so na primer študije spolov, kulturološke študije, študije glasbene interpretacije ali postkolonialne študije) glasbenemu zgodovinopisju uspelo ohraniti svoj pomen in v geografska območja usmerjen pristop?

Po besedah Bernharda Janza je področje raziskovanja še zmeraj bolj ali manj zasebna zadeva ravnateljev in ravnateljic srednjih šol, duhovnikov in upokojenih univerzitetnih učiteljev, ne pa nekaj, kar bi zanimalo univerze. V nasprotju s tem si sam prizadevam »regionalnost« predstaviti kot enega najbolj cvetočih področij raziskovanja v muzikologiji. Slednje potrjuje pogled na junaštvo v glasbeni zgodovini, ki je bilo že od prvega pojava v 19. stoletju vedno znova povezano s posebnim regionalnim razumevanjem občudovanega lika. Katerokoli muzikološko delo bo ta pojav moralo upoštevati. Kratek povzetek dejavnosti raziskovalne platforme na Univerzi za glasbo in dramske umetnosti Mozarteum v Salzburgu *Arbeitschwerpunkt Salzburger Musikgeschichte* nudi grobo predstavo, kako se lotiti regionalnosti kot muzikološkega koncepta.

Poleg tega je prikazano tudi, da je treba vsako samorazumevanje regionalnih lastnosti obravnavati v kontekstu z drugimi, tako da pride do prekrivanja, kar lahko vodi do razdorov in nesporazumov, vsekakor pa do podobnosti, ki lahko sprva presenetijo. V zadnjem delu so premisleki o regionalnosti v glasbi obravnavani z vidika iskanja njenega pomena v teoretskih delih o muzikologiji. Čeprav izid potrjuje, da ima bolj postransko vlogo, bo regionalnost v glasbi kljub temu v prihodnje plodno raziskovalno področje, predvsem med iskanjem osi za transnacionalen dialog.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

THOMAS HOCHRADNER (thomas.hochradner@moz.ac.at), a specialist in historical musicology, has been the Director of the Department of Musicology at the University Mozarteum Salzburg since October 2014. At the same time, he heads a research group on Salzburg's history of music and serves as a member of the local Institute for the Reception and Interpretation of Music. His lectures and publications deal with topics on music history from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, mainly concerning musical philology, Baroque music, church music, history of music reception, Salzburg's music history and Austrian traditional music. He was Conference Chair of the 16th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music (University Mozarteum Salzburg, 9–13 July 2014) and is a member of the Advisory Editorial Boards of the periodicals *Anuario musical* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Barcelona), *Musico logical Annual* (University of Ljubljana) and *TheMA* (Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, Wien).

O AVTORJU

THOMAS HOCHRADNER (thomas.hochradner@moz.ac.at), strokovnjak za historično muzikologijo, je od oktobra 2014 vodja Oddelka za muzikologijo na Univerzi Mozarteum v Salzburgu. Poleg tega je vodja raziskovalne skupine o salzburški glasbeni zgodovini in član tamkajšnjega Inštituta za recepcijo in interpretacijo glasbe. V svojih predavanjih in objavah se ukvarja z zgodovino glasbe od 17. do 20. stoletja, predvsem z glasbeno filologijo, baročno in cerkveno glasbo, zgodovino glasbene recepcije, salzburško glasbeno zgodovino in avstrijsko tradicionalno glasbo. Bil je vodja 16. Bienalne mednarodne konference o baročni glasbi (Univerza Mozarteum Salzburg, 9.–13. julij 2014) in je član mednarodnih uredniških svetov zbornika *Anuario musical* (Španski nacionalni raziskovalni svet/Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Barcelona), *Muzikološkega zbornika* (Univerza v Ljubljani) in znanstvene revije *TheMA* (založba Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, Dunaj).



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UDK 781:001.891(497.4)"20"

Contemporary Musicology and the Study of Musical Practices in Slovenia

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ABSTRACT

Musicology in Slovenia is gradually evolving from a historiographical discipline into a system of intersecting research in the fields of reception history, institutional history, structural and genre analysis, acoustics, critical reflection, semiological analysis, hermeneutical reflection and epistemology. The discontinuities and inhomogeneities we perceive today can even be understood as one of the modes of contemporary musicology.

Keywords: musicology, contemporary musicology, Slovenian musicology

IZVLEČEK

Muzikologija na Slovenskem se iz zgodovinske discipline postopoma razvija v sistem navzkrižnih raziskav s področja recepcijske zgodovine, zgodovine institucij, strukturne in zvrstne analize, akustike, kritiške refleksije, semiološke analize, hermenevtske refleksije in epistemologije. Diskontinuiteto in nehomogenosti, ki jih zaznamo danes, lahko razumemo celo kot enega od modusov sodobne muzikologije.

Ključne besede: muzikologija, sodobna muzikologija, slovenska muzikologija

On the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the *Academia philharmonicorum* in 1902, Viktor Steska published a commemorative article in the journal *Dom in svet* (*Home and World*).¹ He concluded with the comment that the Philharmonic Society would shortly publish a historical overview of its “many years of activity”, which he announces with a genial designation:

*This year, the ‘Acad. Philoharm.’ celebrates its bicentenary and gains the honour of being the oldest music society in the Austrian lands. It will shortly publish an interesting report on its many years of operation. I say ‘interesting report’ because it should arouse many memories, happy and sad, from bygone years, and fill our imaginations with an inexpressible charm.*²

Steska thus indicated the meaning and importance of musical historiography as he understood it himself: to arouse memories and fill the imagination with an inexpressible charm. With this, he largely indirectly also defined the primary importance of musicological work.

The “interesting report” of the Philharmonic Society to which Steska refers is, of course, most likely a chronicle based on Keesbacher’s legacy that was edited and published by Emil Bock in the same year (1902).³

In the introduction, Bock modestly apologises for the fact that, in his opinion, the publication is not a genuine “history”, but rather a commemorative anthology that is intended to speak of the most important events in the operation of the society:

*Instead of the ‘History’, the management is now submitting this Festschrift to the honoured members of the Philharmonic Society and their friends with a concise overview of the most important events in our Society from its beginnings to the end of 1901.*⁴

According to Bock, his record lacks the abundant research work that would be required in order for it to become a “complete, gapless history”. However, his predecessors had not realised this ideal, either. Keesbacher, too, was severe and critical towards his own work. In the title of his first publication – a chronicle of the first decades of operation of the Philharmonic Society, which is today a priceless document for the contemporary Slovenian music historian – he gives the work the similarly modest label “historical sketch” (*eine geschichtliche Skizze*).⁵

1 Viktor Steska, “Academia Philo-Harmonicorum v Ljubljani: Ob dvestoletnici (1702–1902),” *Dom in svet* 15, no. 4 (1902): 234–237, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-21X3C5PZ>.

2 Steska, “Accademia Philo-Harmonicorum,” 237.

3 Emil Bock, *Die Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach: 1702–1902* (Ljubljana: Direktion der Philharmonischen Gesellschaft, 1902).

4 “An Stelle der ‘Geschichte’ unterbreitet nun die Direktion den geehrten Mitgliedern der philharmonischen Gesellschaft und deren Freunden vorliegende Festschrift mit einem gedrängten Überblick über die wichtigsten Ereignisse unserer Gesellschaft von deren Anfänge bis zum Ende des Jahres 1901.” Bock, *Die Philharmonische Gesellschaft*, 4.

5 Friedrich Keesbacher, *Die Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach seit dem Jahre ihrer Gründung 1702 bis zu ihrer letzten Umgestaltung 1862: Eine geschichtliche Skizze* (Ljubljana, 1862).

It is not without hesitation that I am handing this work over to the friends of the Philharmonic Society. On the one hand this work is quite alien to my previous literary activity, on the other hand the interest in it can only be a very limited one, like the framework within which the history of a musical society can of course only move. [...] What can most excuse the incompleteness of the little work is the difficulty in finding the necessary sources and evidence.⁶

It is as if Keesbacher were speaking about the current situation, as within Slovenian music historiography we can still conclude that our primary task is largely to seek out, identify and systematise primary sources. It is true that we also look for ways to interpret these sources, not least through meta interpretation in terms of the critical postmodern scepticism towards big stories or, as the present article is intended, by seeking traces of the development of Slovenian musicology and its true place within the contemporary humanities.

Keesbacher's observation that the number of readers interested in musicological writing is (increasingly) limited has not lost its relevance, either. By way of illustration, we can observe the decline in the borrowing of works by selected musicologists in recent years, as indicated in the figure below.⁷

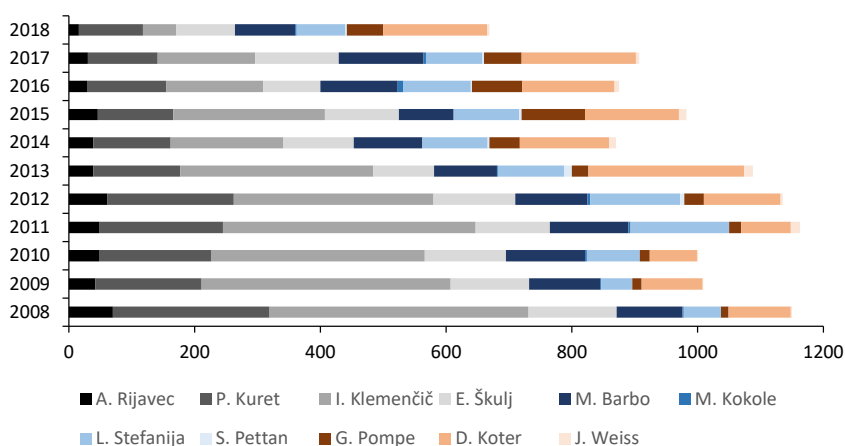


Figure 1: The decline in the borrowing of monographs by musicology authors in Slovenian libraries over the last ten years.

6 "Nicht Ohne Zagen übergebe ich diese Schrift den Freunden der philharmonischen Gesellschaft. Einestheils ist diese Arbeit meiner bisherigen literarischen Thätigkeit ganz fremdartig, anderntheils kann das Interesse für dieselbe nur ein sehr beschränktes sein, wie der Rahmen, innerhalb dessen sich die Geschichte einer Musikgesellschaft selbstverständlich nur bewegen kann. [...] Was die Unvollständigkeit des Werkchens am meisten entschuldigen möge, ist die Schwierigkeit der Auffindung der nöthigen Quellen und Belege." Keesbacher, *Die Philharmonische Gesellschaft*, 3.

7 The author is grateful to Renata Zadaravec Pešec from the Institute of Information Science (IZUM) for kindly providing the data included in the table from the COBISS system.

More than decade after Keesbacher (1877), Peter Radics also speaks of the “historical development” of music in Carniola in the work *Frau Musica in Krain* (*Lady Music in Carniola*).⁸ His ambition is certainly greater, as he does not confine himself to an individual music institution. Moreover, he seeks broader social connections and speaks about more prominent figures, even going beyond their activities in Carniola. In the title, he presents the institutional, social, cultural and concert life associated with music as a “cultural-historical sketch”. His intention is “to sketch a picture of the historical development of the musical essence in Carniola, especially in the capital, ‘white Ljubljana’, as it is called in our folk song”.⁹

It is interesting that Keesbacher also deals with “national Slovenian composers” (*national-slovenische Componisten*)¹⁰ in one of the chapters. Although thus seeking to have a broad view, the title indirectly reveals a polarisation whose political connotation had a special significance and evidently also influenced musical historiography: “national Slovenian composers” are something different from all other composers. Thus, even seemingly unburdened historical surveys are always defined by a particular ideational/ideological role and reception. It is therefore difficult to speak simply of the unburdened “arousing of memory and imagination” that Steska unrealistically longs for.

Although Dragotin Cvetko’s endeavours were also marked by a striving for objective, ideologically unburdened historiography, in 1977 he maintained a similar distinction (albeit with an inverted sign), as is evident, for instance, in the designation of Radics and Keesbacher as authors who had only indirectly contributed to Slovenian music historiography. Despite the indisputable value of both sources for gaining a knowledge the musical past in Slovenia, Cvetko treats them with a certain scepticism:

*To the extent that they existed, Slovenian musicological discussions in the inter-war period unfolded in three directions. Most of these discussions were in the field of music historiography, whose initial beginnings, along with certain results, were evident as early as towards the end of the nineteenth century and at the very beginning of the twentieth century. In this regard, one should recall writers such as Fran Rakuša, Anton Trstenjak, Viktor Steska and Davorin Beranič, as well as Peter Radics and Friedrich Keesbacher, who contributed at least indirectly to Slovenian musical historiography.*¹¹

Cvetko’s starting point should undoubtedly also be understood in the context of affirming musicology as a science that only gradually shrank its space,

8 Peter Radics, *Frau Musica in Krain: Kulturgeschichtliche Skizze* (Ljubljana, 1877).

9 Radics, *Frau Musica*, 5.

10 Ibid., 43.

11 Dragotin Cvetko, “Današnje stanje slovenske muzikologije,” *Muzikološki zbornik* 13 (1977): 5–6, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.13.1.5-13>.

largely through emphasising its importance for the formation and consolidation of national identity. The fact that it is a case of conceiving musicology in a broad sense is also indicated by the title of the article “Današnje stanje slovenske muzikologije” (“The Current State of Slovenian Musicology”). The emphasised national character of the discipline understandably favoured the historical approach over the other approaches. In the continuation of the article, Cvetko therefore explicitly emphasises that the “most important issue” of the direction of development of musicology after the Second World War indicated the need for an orientation towards historiography:

[...] most important was the question of where, to which field, Slovenian musicology would go first at a moment when music scholarship in the international space had already broadly determined itself and developed a number of independent disciplines within its framework. It chose [actually, Cvetko himself chose] the historical direction, that is, the history of music, which is still the central discipline elsewhere, and is now buoyed by new insights into the systematics of researching and dealing with thematic material. This was given priority. More than general history, Slovenian musicology was interested in the history of Slovenian music, in order to make it ‘accessible to cognition on domestic soil’, and to become an ‘integral part of the history of world music’, which had not happened to date, because it simply had not yet existed.¹²

The developmental tasks of musicology are therefore evident above all in the need to create a historical outlook, in the function of both national validation and the gradual integration of Slovenian music into the broader, global cultural context. Cvetko also applied these principles in designing the curriculum of the university musicology course. In so doing, he specifically modified Adler’s polarisation, as can be clearly understood from the anthology published on the occasion of the university’s 50th anniversary.¹³ He refers to the history of music as “the leading discipline in musicology”,¹⁴ also in relation to musical practice, labelling all other non-historical sub-disciplines as “auxiliary musicology disciplines”:

Candidates for musicology must bring this knowledge [practical music knowledge] with them in part, and in part acquire it at the faculty, which does not significantly burden their main, musicology studies. It is the latter to which central concern is devoted, with an emphasis on the history of music, with measured consideration given to the auxiliary musicology disciplines.¹⁵

12 Cvetko, “Današnje stanje,” 8; Cvetko also referred to the Introduction to the first issue of the *Muzikološki zbornik*. Dragotin Cvetko, “Uvodna beseda,” *Muzikološki zbornik* 1 (1965): 5–7.

13 Dragotin Cvetko, “Muzikologija,” in *Petdeset let slovenske univerze v Ljubljani: 1919–1969*, ed. Roman Modic (Ljubljana: Univerza v Ljubljani, 1969), 279–282.

14 Cvetko, “Muzikologija,” 279.

15 Ibid., 281.

In the 1980s, a similar conception was held by Jože Sivec,¹⁶ who speaks about the place of historiography within musicology. Outlining the beginnings of the Department of Musicology, he writes: “The department immediately focused primarily on music history, which was, and still is, the strongest of the musicology professions in the world.”¹⁷ In an article that speaks about the endeavours of Slovenian musicology, paradigmatically entitled “Razvoj in dosežki glasbenega zgodovinopisja na Slovenskem” (“The Development and Achievements of Music Historiography in Slovenia”), Sivec relies on Cvetko’s paradigm of emphasising national importance in justifying musicology as it developed in the period after 1945: “The realisation emerged that the place of musicology, and thus also of music history [...], is among the national sciences.”¹⁸ In the defence of national interests, however, it should be emphasised that, unlike Cvetko, Sivec also unequivocally includes Keesbacher and Radics in his survey.

Cvetko’s position evolved gradually, and we can discern it indirectly from his article on the place and importance of the national university,¹⁹ published as early as during the interwar period (1936).

*Science works not only in a global sense, but also performs specific tasks for particular territories. Our own science will itself most successfully solve specifically Slovenian scientific questions: the development of the Slovenian language, Slovenian literature and history, Slovenian pedagogy, Slovenian art, Slovenian law, etc., along with all of the aspects necessary for the proper interpretation. Every university owns this right, knowing that it has a duty to preserve the nation’s culture, to hand it down to future generations, thus enriching them.*²⁰

The main task of the university and of science in general is to “maintain and develop culture”:

*It does not matter which profession one pursues: worker, craftsmen, farmer, clerk ... As I have emphasised earlier, the academic profession is fundamentally a leadership role. In his treatise ‘Die Ethik der Berufsberatung’, Dunkmann emphasises that the core professions are those whose role is to maintain and develop culture, that is, the academic professions. The latter should introduce education into all of the levels in which they are engaged. The proper execution of the profession influences the growth of the personal value of the individual, while at the same time having a beneficial effect on raising the level of culture.*²¹

16 Jože Sivec, “Razvoj in dosežki glasbenega zgodovinopisja na Slovenskem,” *Muzikološki zbornik* 17, no. 2 (1981): 145–181, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.17.2.145-181>.

17 Sivec, “Razvoj in dosežki,” 150.

18 Ibid., 150.

19 Dragotin Cvetko, “Kulturni pomen sodobne in posebej slovenske univerze,” *Sodobnost* 4, no. 10 (1936): 470–475.

20 Cvetko, “Kulturni pomen,” 474.

21 Ibid., 473–474.

Cvetko's understanding of musicology inside the system of contemporary sciences within the framework of the (national) university grew in its reliance on the modern systematisation of science, as developed in particular within the art history and literary history schools. One of the first theorists to write about the system of musicology was Stanko Vurnik. Vurnik's ideas, which he developed from a parallel with fine art theory, are indirectly presented by France Stele in a review of Vurnik's *Uvod v glasbo* (*Introduction to Music*). Stele believes that Vurnik transferred the system from Cankar's *Uvod v razumevanje likovne umetnosti* (*Introduction to the Understanding of the Fine Arts*) to musicological analysis, affectionately referring to it as "musical cognitive": "He wanted to use it [Cankar's system] for musical cognitive purposes, while, at the same time, he attempted to test whether the basic findings that Cankar determined for all areas of the fine arts are also valid for other fields, especially music."²²

It seems that Cvetko was particularly influenced by Vurnik's commitment to historiography, to which he gave priority over any other "conceptual speculation", as he puts it. Vurnik elaborated his position particularly clearly and sharply in his polemic with Josip Vidmar.²³ In dealing with art, he wants to be "completely determinably concrete", as he genially says, emphasising the "huge difference between conceptual-speculative and concrete-historical knowledge of art".²⁴

"It is unfortunate that, in Slovenia, art history needs to be – defended! On the bright side, it is only those who are unfamiliar with art history that excoriate it!"²⁵ One can understand this as a reference to Vidmar.

*It must be an awful truth, albeit old, for speculators that art is not an invisible allegorical figure floating somewhere in the air as an object of metaphysics; rather, it is all contained in the artworks created so far. No science, no cognition that seeks to take art as its object, can ignore this concrete object and gain an understanding in thin air; thus the only specialised science of art is art history and its ancillary branches, the only scientific art cognition is art history, the only scientific system is that which is taken from the body of the object and corresponds to it uniquely.*²⁶

Vurnik even labelled the unhistorical treatment of art as a "disease of philosophical abstraction and speculation" that attacked "that sick child of former modernism, the philosophy of art, but ran amuck worst of all in journalistic criticism, where, unfortunately, it was the most fruitful way for uneducated speculators to gain a reputation".²⁷

22 France Stele, "Stanko Vurnik: Uvod v glasbo; I. Sistematični del," *Dom in svet* 42, no. 5 (1929): 157.

23 Stanko Vurnik, "Polemika k poglavju o pojmovno-spekulativnem in historičnem spoznavanju umetnosti," *Dom in svet* 40, no. 8 (1927): 278–281.

24 Vurnik, "Polemika k poglavju," 278.

25 Ibid., 280.

26 Ibid., 281.

27 Ibid., 278.

He thus sharply rejects the phenomenological deconstruction of art. When the latter removes from art “one after another, its temporal, local, etc. attachment”, it gains, according to Vurnik, “non-temporality, by which that [...] ‘art-work’ has automatically ceased to be an object of art history.”²⁸

*Palpable proof of how, with the aid of this overly scientific system, it is possible to banish the object of this science from the world! Really, if you have to correct and operate on living art in order to make your system correspond to it, then that was not art; God forbid such an art system, in our case ‘conceptual abstract speculation’.*²⁹

Nonetheless, after the transfer of the musicology (history) department from the Academy of Music to the Faculty of Arts, Cvetko began to engage in a wider sphere of musicological research, as well. In this sense, a division was formed into systematic and (predominant) historiographic study areas within the Department of Musicology, with the latter in particular indicating its orientation with its work subsequent to the founding of the Musicological Institute at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. In this regard, we can (self-)critically affirm Bujić’s caveat that “the monuments of Slovenian musical art (*Monumenta artis musicae sloveniae*) were gradually becoming a worthy monument to musicological endeavour”.³⁰

Musicology thus outwardly identified itself above all as a “retrospective discipline”,³¹ which, in its conception of the work, assumes its own perspective through which the meaning of the text is established and gradually radicalised in the search for the genuine “original”, in the sense of the “Urtext” and its most faithful reproduction. As Nicholas Cook succinctly puts it: “Musicology has traditionally been a retrospective discipline, [...] turning time back so as to arrive at the Urtext.”³²

This retrospective outlook reached its apex in the advocacy of “historically informed musical practice”. In Slovenia, the beginning of this kind of endeavour is represented by the musical-practical revival of numerous early works under the leadership of Mirko Cuderman. These ideas were deepened by Klemen Ramovš and Tjaša Krajnc, as well as by Domen Marinčič and Tomaž Sevšek. The issue of historical analysis and the revival of early music is also addressed by Klemen Grabnar and Katarina Šter, while Jurij Snoj and Tone Potočnik are engaged in the area of Gregorian chant.

28 Ibid., 279.

29 Ibid., 279.

30 Bojan Bujić, “A Hundred or so Years of Musicology: What have we Learned?” in *Glazba prijelaza: Svečani zbornik za Evu Sedak/Music of Transition: Essays in Honour of Eva Sedak*, eds. Nikša Gligo, Dalibor Davidović, and Nada Bezić (Zagreb: ArTresor/HRT, Zagreb, 2009), 61.

31 Nicholas Cook, “We are All (Ethno)musicologists Now,” in *The New (Ethno)musicologies*, ed. Henry Stobart (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2008), 58.

32 Cook, “We All (Ethno)musicologists,” 58.

It is in fact retrospective historicism, with its focus on the concept of the work, that emphasised the importance of the ontological and cognitive consideration necessary for understanding, interpreting and evaluating the work. It is precisely the emphasised concept of the work that required a deepening of systematic musicological research, a more demarcated system of musicological subdisciplines, and a more complexly woven network of interdisciplinary research. Thus, in Slovenia, too, the view of new fields and procedures of the musicological study of music strengthened, from music aesthetics and psychology, to sociology and anthropology, acoustics and theory, ethnomusicology and folkloristics. The circle of these studies and reflections in Slovenia was undoubtedly significantly bolstered by the arrival of Marija Bergamo at the Department of Musicology – of course, on Cvetko's invitation. Some of the early works of Janez Höfler and Primož Kuret were focused on musical iconography, as well. Later, Darja Koter also devoted herself to this, although her research work dealt primarily with the study of instrument making in Slovenia.

A number of researchers made a significant contribution to the expansion of the fields of musicology. Of interest is acoustic research (from Miroslav Adlešič, to Bruno Ravnika and Drago Kunej), as well as ethnomusicological discussions (from Zmaga Kumer, to Julijan Strajnar and a number of younger researchers, such as Svanibor Pettan, Urša Šivic, Mojca Kovačič, Simona Moličnik, and others).

The musical-analytical focus on structure and its complex networks offered, among other things, a refuge from politicisation and the associated (ideological and any other functional) use of music for non-musical purposes, which was especially pronounced during the Third Reich and the socialist dictatorship. It is therefore no wonder that it received its strongest reverberation in Slovenia in the modernist reaction, especially from the 1960s onwards. The search for composers was accompanied by a wealth of music-analytical work, as was announced by the in-depth contributions of Andrej Rijavec, Marija Bergamo, Borut Loparnik and Zoran Krstulović, and later in the analysis of Žebre's music by Karmen Salmič Kovačič, as well as in the extensive work by Leon Stefanija, Gregor Pompe, Larisa Vrhunc, and others. The treatment of the music-theoretical writing of Radovan Škrjanc and Nejc Sukljan can also be included in this circle.

Bohlman points out, however, that "the most hegemonic form of politicisation of music" is the historical ability of musicology, which has shown "a remarkable capacity to imagine music into an object that [has] nothing to do with political and moral crises".³³ In the cause-and-effect change of emphasis within musicology, it seems self-evident, as well as substantively paradoxical, that with greater emphasis on musical works the conditional expansion of the

33 Philip V. Bohlman, "Musicology as a Political Act," *Journal of Musicology* 11 (1993): 206.

view of musicological study by the conditions and contexts of philosophical, social and, consequently, reception and meta-interpretive domains, resulted in a shift away from the previously dominant concept of the musical work and the system of science that had developed on its basis.³⁴ The turn “beyond text”, as can be observed in numerous contemporary musicological utterances, conceptual reflections and, not least, research orientations, goes “beyond the assumption that the score and its apparent embodiment of composers’ intentionality can be taken as tantamount to musical experience”.³⁵

The turning point in Slovenian musicology was indicated by the aforementioned expansion of research to the fields of music sociology and aesthetics by Marija Bergamo, and not least in the writings of Andrej Rijavec and Jože Sivec, many of whose articles establish an analysis of institutional and genre conditions (opera, musical theatre, city pipers, etc.) for the design of music, rather than focusing on the musical work and its creator. Their efforts were continued in numerous articles by younger musicologists, from Simona Moličnik, to Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, Urška Šramel Vučina, Alenka Bagarič, and so on.

The turnaround, also referred to as an “ontological transformation”, has affected both the object itself and the research relations. As Born puts it: “an orientation apparent in diverse interdisciplinary practices in each of the fields that we studied towards effecting ontological transformation in both the objects and the relations of research.”³⁶ In a provisional sense, this can already be perceived in Cvetko’s endeavours to transform the image of the autonomy of Slovenian musical culture. This kind of “regional epistemology” is typical of modern science, which is characterised by the dispersion of specialisations and the development of new territories, disciplines and branches of knowledge.³⁷ Within musicology, in addition to the many new fields of the so-called “new musicology”, this is especially evident in the keen interest in the issues of reception and interpretation history, which have required a turn towards understanding the hermeneutic context. In the postmodernist manner, this has erased the formerly prevalent paradigms of big national stories, on whose ruins, not least in Slovenia in recent decades, have grown the fragmented story of individual narratives.

Metoda Kokole forms her highly systematic and in-depth contribution in the critical position of historical musicology, while Jernej Weiss’s research is also focused on broad historiographical fields, in a certain sense complementing the work of Maruša Zupančič.

34 Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

35 Georgina Born, “For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity: Beyond the Practice Turn,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135, no. 2 (2010): 218.

36 Born, “For a Relational Musicology,” 212.

37 Ibid., 209.

Although seemingly faithful to traditional historical research, Radovan Škrjanc's work, both in his analysis of the work of Jakob Frančišek Zupan and his analysis of church music, shows a marked turn in the direction of critical analysis of traditional procedures, replacing the usual treatment of the sequence of events by seeking a more convincing Foucauldian model of historical structures.

Aleš Nagode's thorough deconstruction of the concepts of Slovenian music historiography is undoubtedly crucial for the image of musicological research today. Although committed to an extraordinary breadth of exploration of Slovenia's musical past, his work is characterised by a consistent critical distance, on which he builds more solid phenomenological starting points.

A similar criticalness marks the work of Katarina Bogunović Hočevar, in her meta-analysis of established stylistic definitions, and not least in her discussion of Cvetko's musicological legacy. It is in this sense that one should also understand the critical review of early symphonic creativity in Slovenia by Vesna Venišnik.

Important in terms of developing fresh and new approaches is the work of Jurij Snoj, who even introduces the traits of semiotic analysis to the study of Gregorian chant. This is complemented by Gregor Pompe, in whose work we find a marked reflection on the semiotic-semantic nature of music. Of particular value is the cooperation between Snoj and Pompe, which has produced an excellent common result in the analysis of the history of music notation in Slovenia. In this regard, it is significant that Pompe, with his choice of research topics, clearly indicates a shift from the narrowly oriented "regional epistemology" of national history writing towards the field of broadly comparable music analysis.

On the other hand, semiological analysis is combined with hermeneutically critical ideas and epistemology in the work of Leon Stefanija, who builds upon the meta-analysis of analytical procedures by reflecting on analytical methodologies, even within seemingly traditional biography (Rojko).

As early as in the 1970s, on marking the bicentenary of Beethoven's birth, Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht challenged the "old humanist concept" of the traditional futility of the humanities, as espoused by Loos.³⁸ Eggebrecht contrasts this with a sociology-oriented musicology that "reflects its purpose from the definition and needs of modern society in terms of progress and [...] seeks points (such as at school) where it can be socially useful in a practical way".³⁹

38 Helmut Loos, *E-Musik - Kunstreligion der Moderne: Beethoven und andere Götter* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2017), 98.

39 "[...]hnen Zweck aus der Definition und den Notwendigkeiten der gegenwärtigen Gesellschaft unter dem Aspekt des Fortschritts [reflektiert] und [...] die Punkte (z. B. in der Schule) [sucht], wo sie gesellschaftlich praktisch werden kann." Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, "Konzeptionen," in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Bonn 1970*, eds. Carl Dahlhaus, Hans-Joachim Marx, Magda Marx-Weber, and Günther Massenkeil (Kassel: Bärenreiter, [1971]), 650.

The dilemma of the seeming futility of the humanities seems to have caused discomfort and resistance in science itself, leading to demands for more explicit applicability, as is strongly represented by Svanibor Pettan within the concept of “applied ethnomusicology”. The focus on musical practices and their diversity within ethnomusicological studies has also influenced the idea of musics, used in the plural. This is joined by a demand to extend the conceptual boundaries of contemporary musicology to the field of popular music, as well.⁴⁰

Nicholas Cook provocatively asserts that “we are now all ethnomusicologists”,⁴¹ prompting Born to label him as a “marriage broker”.⁴² According to Cook, by shifting its focus from meaning to the empirical study of performance and practice, musicology has become distinctly more ethnomusicological, while, conversely, ethnomusicology has become more musicological, as it deals with, for example, outstanding musicians, music events, and so on. Gary Tomlinson, too, believes that “musicology needs to embrace the fact of its position within a more general ethnomusicology.”⁴³

When David Beard and Kenneth Gloag⁴⁴ seek to define the musicological currents of recent decades, proceeding from a typical postmodernist turn they simply refer to “musicology before and after Kerman”, thus adopting Joseph Kerman as a useful contemporary myth: “a ‘before Kerman/after Kerman paradigm’ may be a myth, yet, ‘as myths go, this is quite a helpful one’.”⁴⁵

In so doing, they point out that,

For some, musicology after Kerman may be marked by a sense of loss, a nostalgia for musicology past, while, for others, the current state of the discipline is better for the critical reflection inspired by Kerman. It also provides a reference point, a moment against which departures can be measured.

*It is possible, therefore, that musicology becomes more critical and less positivistic, more concerned with interpretations and less with facts [...]. It has also become more interdisciplinary as the boundaries between different types of music are partially erased and the search for new critical models pushes way beyond the limits of a traditional musicology.*⁴⁶

It is therefore worth posing the question as to whether we can talk about some kind of new musicology “after Kerman” in Slovenia, as well. Can we, in

40 John Covach, “Popular music, Unpopular Musicology,” in *Rethinking Music*, eds. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 452–470.

41 Cook, “We All (Ethno)musicologists,” 65.

42 Born, “For a Relational Musicology,” 215.

43 Gary Tomlinson, “Musicology, Anthropology, History,” in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, eds. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (London: Routledge, 2003), 216.

44 David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, *Musicology: The Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

45 Beard and Gloag, *Musicology*, viii.

46 Ibid., xii–xiii.

Slovenia, also detect a sense of loss and a certain nostalgia for past musicology, or has musicology now opened up to new critical reflection that enriches musicology? Has musicology in Slovenia become more critical and less positivistic? Is it more concerned with interpretation and less with facts? Has it evolved towards an interdisciplinary search for new critical models that place it beyond the boundaries of traditional musicology?

A review of the musicology projects approved in recent decades reveals a trend towards emphasising increasingly specific issues and interdisciplinary connections at the expense of traditional archival work and historical periodisation. Notwithstanding the fact that this does, of course, partly reflect the orientation of contemporary research funding policy, it nevertheless indicates a broader epistemological change in direction.

A historical shift of direction does not, however, always necessarily mean a change towards something better and more complete, as the application of an evolutionary model of the development of science might otherwise attempt to convince us. In my opinion, the planned publication of a new history of Slovenian music paradigmatically highlights the dilemmas of Slovenian musicology today. The need to write a comprehensive history of Slovenian music undoubtedly indicates a distinct shortcoming in the collection and processing of certain basic facts that we can observe in the study of Slovenian music. On the one hand, there is therefore a clear need for a factual, historicist view that renounces broader interdisciplinary and critical premises. On the other hand, we can also observe an emphasised interpretation and reception history, a (re)-interpretation of the history of institutions, and discussion of genre definitions, acoustic facts, theoretical implications, social relations, critical reflection, and so on. This can, however, also bring with it fragmentation and disintegration, with individual sub-disciplines increasingly rarely engaging in dialogue, thus further enhancing feelings of insecurity, self-doubt and perhaps even distrust. As Cook and Everist put it: "the history of musicology and music theory in our generation is one of loss of confidence: we no longer know what we know."⁴⁷

Could the words "we no longer know what we know" also indicate the state of contemporary musicology in Slovenia? Georgina Born's proposal to establish contemporary musicology as "relational musicology"⁴⁸ poses a dilemma for Slovenian musicology (as well). On the one hand, this proposition grows from traditional humanist roots, but, at the same time, it is faced with questions of defining science on the edge of an awareness of the multicoloured nature of contemporary music theories and practices. The discontinuities, voids and inhomogeneities that can be perceived in Slovenian musicology are not merely a consequence of the discrepancy between musical experience and musical

47 Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, eds., *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999): v.

48 Born, "For a Relational Musicology," 205–243.

discourse, or the result of some propaedeutic lack of thought, but rather one of today's musicological modes, torn between basic ontological questions, caught in the referential contexts of different musical systems.

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POVZETEK

Sodobna muzikologija in preučevanje glasbenih praks na Slovenskem

Muzikologija na Slovenskem se je porojevala iz glasbenega zgodovinskega, ki ga je v njegovi zgodnejši fazi V. Steska označil z besedami »zbujati spomine in napolniti domišljijo z nedopovedljivim čarom«. Počasi je prek Keesbacherja in Radicsa začelo razgrinjati kompleksnejše družbene povezave in predstavljati tudi širšo institucionalno, družabno, kulturno in koncertno življenje. Pri tem je pisanje pogosto vodilo poudarjeno ideološko zaznamovano izhodišče, ki ga je še pri D. Cvetku mogoče razumeti v kontekstu potrjevanja muzikologije kot vede, ki si je svoj prostor krčila tudi prek utrjevanja nacionalne identitete. Razvojne naloge muzikologije pa hkrati kažejo tudi prizadevanje po postopnem vključevanju slovenske glasbe v širši, globalni kulturni kontekst, kot to izpostavlja J. Sivec, ko govori o mestu zgodovinskega znotraj muzikologije.

Cvetkovo razumevanje muzikologije znotraj sistema sodobnih znanosti je raslo v naslonu na sistematizacijo, kot se je razvijala zlasti z I. Cankarjem in S. Vurnikom znotraj umetnostnozgodovinske in literarnozgodovinske šole. Ob bok temu se je začel odpirati tudi širši krog muzikoloških raziskav. Historicizem je namreč z osredotočenjem na koncept dela izpostavil pomen ontološkega in spoznavnega premisleka, nujnega za razumevanje, interpretiranje in vrednotenje dela. S tem je v ospredje stopil sistem sistematičnomuzikoloških poddisciplin ter mreža interdisciplinarnih raziskav, od glasbene estetike, do psihologije, sociologije, antropologije, akustike, teorije, etnomuzikologije idr.

Glasbeno-analitično osredotočanje v strukturo in njene kompleksne mreže je med drugim obljubljalo zatočišče pred politizacijo glasbe. Svoj odmev je dobilo v modernistični reakciji od šestdesetih let naprej. Iskanja ustvarjalcev je spremljalo bogato glasbeno-analitično delo A. Rijavca, M. Bergamo, B. Loparnika, Z. Krstulovića, K. Salmič Kovačič, L. Stefanije, G. Pompeta, L. Vrhunc, R. Škrjanc, N. Sukljana idr.

Poznejši obrat »izza teksta« se je v slovenski muzikologiji nakazoval s širitvijo raziskav na področja glasbene sociologije in estetike pri M. Bergamo, A. Rijavcu in J. Sivicu. Svoje nadaljevanje so tovrstni poskusi doživljali v številnih prispevkih mlajših muzikologov, S. Moličnik, N. Cigoj Krstulović, U. Šramel Vučina, A. Bagarič idr. V kritični poziciji historične muzikologije oblikuje svoj prispevek M. Kokole, J. Weiss in M. Zupančič. V smislu razvijanja novih pristopov izstopa delo J. Snoja, G. Pompeta in L. Stefanije.

Načrtovana izdaja nove zgodovine slovenske glasbe opozarja na dileme slovenske muzikologije danes. Na eni strani gre za manko pri zbiranju in obdelavi temeljnih virov, ki terjajo izdelan historičistični pogled. Na drugi strani pa lahko opazimo osredotočanje na recepcijsko zgodovino, (re)interpretiranje zgodovine institucij, pretresanje zvrstnih opredelitev, akustičnih dejstev, teoretskih implikacij, socialnih odnosov, kritiške refleksije ipd. To s sabo prinaša fragmentiranje in drobljenje, ki ovira intenzivnejši dialog in povečuje občutek negotovosti

in nesamozavesti. Tako bi morda z besedami »Ne vemo več, kaj sploh vemo,« označili lahko stanje sodobne muzikologije pri nas. Diskontinuiteta, praznine, nehomogenosti, ki jih lahko zaznavamo v slovenski muzikologiji, tako niso nujno le posledica razkoraka med glasbeno izkušnjo in njenim diskurzom ali rezultat neke propedevtske nedomišljenosti, temveč eden od današnjih muzikoloških modusov, razpetih med temeljna ontološka vprašanja, ujeta v kontekste različnih referenčnih sistemov.

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In Search of Maribor's Musical Legacy: Status and Perspectives

Anja Ivec

Maribor Conservatory of Music and Ballet

ABSTRACT

The article presents an overview of the literature on Maribor's music history from the thirteenth century to the present day and highlights the problem of the organised archive material of various institutions. An analysis of current achievements reveals gaps in our knowledge of the sections of Maribor's music history discussed to date and suggests areas for further research.

Keywords: history of music in Maribor, music-historical material, music archives, musical historiography, state of research

IZVLEČEK

Glavni namen prispevka je ugotavljanje stanja raziskanosti glasbene zgodovine Maribora od prvih ohranjenih rokopisov iz 13. stoletja do današnjih dni. Predstavljena so ključna hranišča glasbenega gradiva v Mariboru, pri čemer je izpostavljena problematika razmer (ne)ustrezno urejenega arhivskega gradiva različnih institucij. Zgoščen pregled literature razkriva vrzeli v vednosti doslej obravnavanih odsekih mariborske glasbene zgodovine, saj se na tem področju raziskovanje odvija predvsem stihijsko in manj sistematično, ter (lahko) predstavlja iztočnice za nadaljnje raziskovalno delo.

Ključne besede: glasbena dediščina v Mariboru, glasbeni arhivi, stanje raziskav

The tradition of collecting and preserving music-historical material in the Maribor area is much older than the institutions that are today the key repositories of such material. The first preserved musical impulses in Maribor can be traced back to the early thirteenth century. Several fragments of parish liturgical manuscripts within liturgical books have been preserved since that time.¹ This material is important not only for our knowledge of the musical history of Maribor, but also for our knowledge of musical development in the wider area of Slovenia, as it directly represents one of the earliest musical monuments and testifies to the musical activity and literacy in the area.

The first regularly recorded cultural pulse of the city located by the Drava River can be traced back to the 1820s, but it was in the mid-nineteenth century that archival activity in Maribor gained the necessary foundation, when the seat of the Diocese of Lavant was relocated from St Andrä im Lavanttal to Maribor. Within the Diocese of Lavant, a diocesan museum was established in 1896,² which sought to preserve the documentation of diocesan provenance. Poorly equipped, it was more like the repository of a dilapidated church building than a museum collection.³ Previously, archival material with museums was leaked to the nearby Provincial Archive of Styria in Graz (Universalmuseum Joanneum) or elsewhere, e.g., to Klagenfurt or Vienna. The ongoing leakage of valuables outside the region and the desire to strengthen and preserve Germanism provided the impetus for the creation of the Maribor Museum Society (Museumverein Marburg), which in 1903 grew into the first public museum in Maribor.

A key role in the founding of the Maribor Museum Society (1902) was played by a renowned researcher, the Graz archaeologist and professor Franc Ferik (1844–1925), who had already established the museum in Ptuj (1896).⁴ The activities of the association were financially supported by the city authorities and partly funded by a contribution from the provincial committee.⁵ A variety of archival materials related directly to Maribor and its surroundings flowed into the society's fonds. Besides natural, archaeological and cultural collections, the museum also kept valuables of famous residents of Maribor, e.g., items from composer Hugo Wolf (1860–1903) and opera and concert singer

- 1 See Jurij Snoj, *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem 1: Glasba na Slovenskem do konca 16. stoletja* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2012), 74–75.
- 2 Miroslav Novak, "Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor 1903–1933–2003," in *Hraniti in ohraniti: 1903–1933–2003*, eds. Miroslav Novak et al. (Maribor: Pokrajinski arhiv, 2003), 22.
- 3 Bruno Hartman, *Kultura v Mariboru: gibanja, zvrsti, osebnosti* (Maribor: Obzorja, 2001), 225.
- 4 Maja Godina Golija, "Muzejsko društvo in ustanovitev mestnega muzeja v Mariboru," *Studia Historica Slovenica: Humanities and Social Studies Review* 4, nos. 2–3 (2004): 405–419.
- 5 Extensive archaeological excavations were conducted under the auspices of the Museum Society on the slopes of Pohorje and Hajdina near Ptuj. These projects were financially supported by the Provincial Committee.

Amalia Joachim, née Schneeweiss (1839–1899).⁶ However, the amateurish attitude of the Museum Society was evident in shortcomings in the inventory of the museum items and the absence of their scientific value.⁷ During the First World War, the society almost completely ceased to exist. Today, the museum items of the Museum Society are an important part of the collection of the Regional Archives Maribor (Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor).

Maribor's musical heritage is today stored in the archives and specialised units of libraries or in music collections where material is collected for the purpose of preserving regional musical activity. The volume of scientific, professional and musical material varies from one repository to another. Libraries collect, store and lend scientific and professional literature on music, printed music, sound and audiovisual recordings and other material⁸ related to music. The archives are, however, primarily concerned with the acquisition of the legacies of musicians and performers, as well as the archives of music societies and music schools.

From the perspective of musical heritage, the following repositories are important: the Archdiocesan Archives of Maribor (Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor), the Musical Archive of the St John the Baptist Cathedral of Maribor (Glasbeni arhiv starejših muzikalij Stolne župnije sv. Janeza Krstnika Maribor), the Regional Archives Maribor, the Archive of the Slovene National Theatre Maribor (Arhiv SNG Maribor), the Music and Film Collection of the University of Maribor Library (Glasbena in filmska zbirka Univerzitetne knjižnice Maribor), and the Library of the Maribor Conservatory of Music and Ballet (Knjižnica Konservatorija za glasbo in balet Maribor).

1 Repositories of music material in Maribor

1.1 Archdiocesan Archives of Maribor

One of the three Slovenian diocesan archives is the Archdiocesan Archive of Maribor, which covers the dioceses of Celje, Maribor and Murska Sobota. The oldest material dates back to 1228, when the Lavantian Diocese was established with its seat in St Andrä im Lavanttal in present-day Austrian Carinthia. The establishment was initiated by the Archbishop of Salzburg Eberhard II (1200–1246). With the relocation of the diocesan seat and the transformation of the diocesan borders in 1859, the archive and library were transferred from St Andrä to Maribor. Being aware of its importance and value, the

6 Manica Špendal, "Tuje glasbene osebnosti, ki so zaznamovale glasbeno kulturo Maribora," in *Maribor in Mariborčani*, ed. Maja Godina Golija (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2015), 95–96.

7 Gabrijel Majcen, *Kratka zgodovina Maribora* (Maribor: Tiskarna sv. Cirila, 1926), 96.

8 The local studies collection, which includes the legacies of composers and other musical artists from Maribor and its surroundings, has a special status.

Ordinariate took care of the preservation and orderliness of the material. After the Second World War, the archive material was dispersed to several locations. Part of it was moved to the Regional Archives Maribor in 1947, and since 1965 the remaining part of the diocesan archives has been deposited there for better storage. In 1994, this archive became an independent organisational unit within the Archdiocesan Ordinariate. Diocesan material was then retrieved from the Regional Archives Maribor. Since 2006, it has been officially called the Archdiocesan Archives of Maribor.

1.1.1 Archival material from the field of music

The archive contains material of ecclesiastical provenance for the whole of Maribor, including the suffragan dioceses in Celje and Murska Sobota. The material is roughly divided into archival material of the main department and material of the historical department, where musical archival material is stored within special collections. The archive contains nine units of musical material of the cathedral choir of the St John the Baptist Cathedral of Maribor as well as Renaissance prints from the sixteenth century,⁹ which are of provenance from the old Lavantine Cathedral from St Andrä in Carinthia.¹⁰ Special collections include personal legacies, dominated by legacies of priests and bishops.

1.2 Music Archive of the St John the Baptist Cathedral of Maribor

When the Lavantine Diocese was transferred to Maribor, the town parish church was elevated to a cathedral. Most of the music material came to Maribor with Bishop Anton Martin Slomšek (1800–1862). Prior to the transfer of the seat, the Maribor parish owned 28 units of the material extant today, donated by various individuals.¹¹

The Maribor Cathedral Parish keeps an extensive collection of manuscripts and prints. Today, it comprises 257 units of manuscripts and prints that were acquired either by purchase or were transcribed in the nineteenth century.¹² The collection is made up of sacred works intended for the performance of various devotions, dating mainly from the second half of the eighteenth century and

9 Collections of music prints by various Renaissance composers (H. Isaac, J. des Prés, J. Mouton, P. Verdelot, A. Willaert, C. de Morales, N. Gombert, V. Ruffo, J. Clemens non Papa, P. de Monte, O. di Lasso, J. Gallus).

10 See Melanija Markovič, "Glasbeni arhiv starejših muzikalij v Stolni župniji sv. Janeza Krstnika v Mariboru" (Bachelor's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2016).

11 Markovič, "Glasbeni arhiv starejših muzikalij," 53.

12 Consistent separation of musical material into prints and manuscripts is somewhat problematic, as prints in some units are associated with manuscripts. Some prints have handwritten corrections. Some of the compositions that were originally purchased in printed form also have some handwritten parts.

the nineteenth century. The range of composers of the preserved musical work is quite large, totalling about 90, including the leading artists who worked in the region of Austria and Germany.

The music archive has been the subject of research several times to date. The material created before 1800 was included in the catalogue *Glasbeni rokopisi in tiski na Slovenskem do leta 1800* (*Music Manuscripts and Printed Music in Slovenia before 1800*)¹³ by Janez Höfler and Ivan Klemenčič. Unfortunately, music material created after 1800 was omitted from their research. The first complete inventory of the material was made by Ivan Klemenčič and Tomaž Faganel for the inventory at the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU.¹⁴ Students Janez Ferencek,¹⁵ Lucija Fortek¹⁶ and Melanija Markovič¹⁷ undertook the inventory of all of the music material as part of their bachelor's theses. In addition, with the cooperation of the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU in Ljubljana, Melanija Markovič systematically arranged the inventory in accordance with the guidelines of the RISM project. This establishes a starting point for further research, in which it would make sense to explore hitherto unknown composers, identify some of the transcribers of the musical material, and deepen our knowledge of the repertoire of the church choir before and after the transfer of the diocesan seat.

1.3 Regional Archives Maribor

In parallel with the activities of the German-oriented Museum Society, the Historical Society for Slovenian Styria (est. 1903) operated in Maribor. Maribor intellectuals of Slovenian origin set several goals, the most important of which was the establishment of Slovenian scientific activity in Maribor. The library was founded at the inaugural regional assembly and the publication of its scientific journal¹⁸ began one year later (1904). Finally, in 1909, the National Museum was opened. Since the society did not have the status of a public institution, it could only collect material of private provenance, especially the legacy of Styrian cultural workers. The central personality of Maribor intellectuals was Franc Kovačič, who in 1920 combined the fonds of the National

13 Janez Höfler and Ivan Klemenčič, *Glasbeni rokopisi in tiski na Slovenskem do leta 1800* (Ljubljana: Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, 1967), 41–42, 77, 87, 90–91, 105.

14 Ivan Klemenčič and Tomaž Faganel, *Popis notnega gradiva stolne cerkve v Mariboru, izbor starejšega gradiva do okoli l. 1850*, manuscript catalogue, Muzikološki inštitut ZRC SAZU, 21 November 1989. A copy of this inventory is stored in Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Glasbena in filmska zbirka.

15 Janez Ferencek, "Arhiv stolnega pevskega zbora v Mariboru (1750–1900)" (Bachelor's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 1986).

16 Lucija Fortek, "Organisti v mariborski stolni cerkvi od začetka 19. stoletja do leta 1979" (Bachelor's thesis, University of Maribor, 2008).

17 Markovič, "Glasbeni arhiv starejših muzikalij."

18 Hartman, *Kultura v Mariboru*, 223.

Museum of the Historical Society with the collections of the Museum Society, and in 1924 also integrated the items of the abolished diocesan museum.¹⁹

The idea of establishing a public scientific archive, which had been simmering since the beginning of the twentieth century, was realised in 1933 as the Archive in Maribor. In the period since the idea of collecting material was first mooted, appeals were made to individuals or corporations to bequeath historical and cultural documents. A new system of classification of the collected material was established by Franc Kovačič. The work of the Banovina Archives was interrupted by the Nazi occupation and in 1941 it ceased to function as an independent institution, as the German authorities attached it to the Maribor Museum. In 1952, it became independent again. At the beginning of the 1960s, the working conditions in the archives improved mainly with professionally trained staff, and in 1963 the Maribor Archives received its current title with its statute: The Regional Archives Maribor.²⁰

1.3.1 *Archival material related to the musical life of Maribor*

The archival material of the Regional Archives Maribor is divided into ten groups, with the segment for the study of the cultural life of Maribor and its surroundings being classified mainly into the fourth and seventh groups.

The fourth group consists of fonds and collections of archival material in the field of education, culture and science. In 2010, for example, the material of the fonds of the former Secondary Music and Ballet School Maribor (today the Maribor Conservatory of Music and Ballet) for the period from 1945 to 2000 was accepted into the archive depots.

The seventh group includes archival fonds in the field of cultural life. Here we find records and other material (including music) of many cultural and educational societies, artistic societies and individual music personalities (e.g., the legacies of Hugo Wolf, Anton Martin Slomšek) and performers.

In the collection of parchment charters (i.e., until 1850), only the musical monument *Gradual*²¹ with German adiastematic neumes is preserved. The manuscript is on a parchment charter dating back to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which is attached to a stick.

1.4 Archives of the Slovene National Theatre Maribor

It should be noted that in 1945 the archive of the Slovene National Theatre Maribor burnt down completely²² and all of its archival material was destroyed

19 Ibid., 225.

20 Novak, "Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor 1903–1933–2003," 25.

21 Regional Archives Maribor, Department for Archival Documents Created Before 1850, SI PAM/1803_00001.

22 Matej Svetel, "Oris zgodovine mariborske opere," in *V vrtincu nasprotij: od leta 1919 do leta 2003*, ed. Branka Nikl Klampfer (Maribor: Slovensko narodno gledališče, 2003), 37.

in the fire. Until 2002, the archival material was stored in a temporary warehouse where, among other issues, a lack of qualified staff resulted in the unprofessional treatment of the material. The situation is gradually improving, as in recent years it has been possible to arrange appropriate premises and organise staff, who have started listing or digitising the archival material. Until 2007, the fonds of the Drama and of the Opera and Ballet were separate. The Drama archive is now fully edited, but the collections of the Opera and Ballet are still awaiting full consideration, due to a great deal of missing material.²³

Free access to the archives of the Slovene National Theatre Maribor is not permitted. It is entered only by employees or, exceptionally and by prior arrangement, foreign clients, but with controlled and limited access to the material. A variety of material is kept in the archive: photographs, theatre programmes and flyers, texts of drama performances, music material, posters and recordings (digitised), all of which is explicitly linked to performances of the Drama, the Opera and Ballet and, from 2002, to the concerts of the Symphonic Cycle. Since 2002, personal files have been kept for regularly engaged drama actors and, after 2007, for opera and ballet soloists, as well.²⁴

1.5 University Library Maribor

The University Library Maribor takes care of material that represents part of Maribor's cultural history. It stores, collects and processes its content within the Unit for Local History and the Special Collection Department. In addition to information from newspapers and literature, users can access manuscripts, small prints (postcards, photographs, posters, maps and other information material) and musical materials. In the unit's reading room, users can also view rare and valuable material.

1.5.1 Music and Film Collection

Part of the Unit for Local History and the Special Collection Department is the Music and Film Collection. This specialised unit combines collections of two types of non-book material and acquires and stores works of art, documentary material and the entire legacy of composers and other music and film artists.

The original and basic fonds of the collection was the material of the Historical Society for Slovenian Styria (1903). The foundations of the collection were laid in 1947, when the music materials began to be separated from the rest of the library collection, and from 1957 a separate inventory book was kept. Although the music collection has been managed more independently

23 Sandra Požun, archivist of Slovene National Theatre Maribor, telephone conversation, 30 September 2019.

24 Požun, telephone conversation, 2 October 2019.

since the end of the 1970s, it did not gain its premises and a special administrator in the form of a professional librarian until 1993. In 1995, it was given its current title: The Music and Film Collection. An important acquisition was the opening of a music reading room in 2014, where there is also some freely available non-book material with appropriate technical equipment that enables playback of audiovisual and audio material on all media. The room is also equipped with a digital piano.

1.5.2 Library material

The most extensive part of the University Library Maribor collection is the music press, which is both the first and the oldest part of its collection. The collection acquires and keeps obligatory copies of Slovenian music prints and the production of audio and video recordings. It stores a resource of newer and older sheet music, manuscripts, recordings and videos on various media, such as gramophone records, audio cassettes, CDs, videocassettes, DVDs and Blu-ray discs.

Among the more prominent legacies is that of composer Emerik Beran (1868–1940), who was the best educated of the Maribor Czechs and most prominently marked the Maribor musical milieu at the turn of the twentieth century. Jernej Weiss has dealt in depth with the crossroads of Slovenian and Czech culture and conducted detailed research into Beran's life and work.²⁵ An in-depth study by author Tina Bohak on opera singer Miloš Brišnik (1906–1990)²⁶ is based on documents and other written sources preserved in the archives of the Music and Film Collection of the University Library Maribor, and the Maribor Conservatory of Music and Ballet Library. The legacies of opera singer Dragica Sadnik (1919–2005)²⁷ and ballet dancer, choreographer and educator Iko Otrin (1931–2011)²⁸ are also kept as a part of the Music and Film Collection. Among the legacies are the director's books of opera director Franjo Potočnik (1927–1997), part of the music and most of the book legacy of choral conductor Branko Rajšter (1930–1989), and the entire collection of composer Zlatan Vauda (1923–2010), which, however, was considered just in a short extent.²⁹

25 Jernej Weiss, "Emerik Beran in njegov glasbeni opus" (Bachelor's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2004); Weiss, *Emerik Beran (1868–1940): samotni svetovljan* (Maribor: Litera, 2008).

26 Tina Bohak, "Miloš Brišnik – pozabljen mariborski pevski pedagog," *Glasbenopedagoški zbornik Akademije za glasbo v Ljubljani* 24 (2016): 29–43.

27 Karmen Salmič Kovačič, collection curator of the Music and Film Collection, personal conversation, 25 September 2019.

28 Ibid.

29 Darja Koter, *Slovenska glasba 1918–1991* (Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2012), 434; Franc Križnar, "Glasbene migracije: stičišče evropske glasbene raznolikosti na DVD-ju RTS KOP (Srbija); Križnar, "Skladatelj, dirigent in pedagog Zlatan Vauda," *Glasba v šoli in vrtcu* 20, no. 3 (2017): 55–56.

1.6 Maribor Conservatory of Music and Ballet Library

The beginnings of today's Maribor Conservatory Library dates back to the time after the Second World War, when the Maribor State Music School was founded in Maribor in 1945. On behalf of the state, the renowned cellist and music educator Oton Bajde began collecting instruments and musical material in Maribor.³⁰ At the time, the government seized materials from the private houses of individuals, which were gradually edited into a comprehensive and systematically arranged music archive by Roman Klasinc.³¹

Today, the library collection includes a music archive, a collection of musical instruments for loan, and professional literature on music and dance. The fonds is complemented by school publications: chronicles, recordings and photo albums of all gala concerts and ceremonial ballet productions. The inclusion of the library in the COBISS information system at the end of 2018 marked a new chapter in its history, bringing standardised processing.

2 An overview of publications on music history topics in Maribor

Due to its extensive scope, it is sensible to present and limit the current content of music-historical scripts linked to the Maribor region as a list of inventories without value determination. A review of the existing literature shows a relatively large number of partial studies of a scientific and professional nature, but a lack of rounded, comprehensive research. Authors seem to approach different topics more on the basis of individual choice, personal motivation or interests, and less often on the basis of needs and opportunities.

The first testimonies from professional musicians about musical life in Maribor are provided by Hinko Druzovič's articles in *Novi akordi*.³² In the journal's so-called seasonal reports, Druzovič presents the activities, repertoire and concerts of the choir of the Slavic Reading Room (Slovanska čitalnica) with the singing school, the Music Society (Glasbena matica) and other current events (school music events of the teachers' education institution called Učiteljišče). In the trilogy *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*,³³ Dragotin Cvetko discusses important milestones in music history with the development of musical creativity and reproduction and its various organisational forms, but focuses mainly on Ljubljana and its surroundings and reveals only fragments of the cultural pulse of Maribor. The chapters in the two monographs *Slovenska*

30 Izkaznica Mestnega odbora [OF Card of the City Committee of the Liberation Front], stored in the Regional Archives Maribor, SI_PAM/1906.

31 Vasja Strlé, "Štirideset let kulturnega poslanstva," in *Srednja glasbena in baletna šola Maribor 1945–1985* (Maribor: Srednja glasbena in baletna šola, 1985), 8.

32 Hinko Druzovič, "Koncerti – Maribor, Sezonsko poročilo za 1910/1911," *Novi akordi* 10, nos. 4–5 (1911): 54–55.

33 Dragotin Cvetko, *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: DZS, 1958–1960).

*glasba: 1848–1918*³⁴ and *Slovenska glasba: 1918–1991*³⁵ by Darja Koter provide a more comprehensive picture of Maribor's musical activity. This historiographical view of the overall musical development of Slovenian music in a broad conceptual sense significantly fills some gaps in our knowledge of Maribor's musical events,³⁶ which is especially important for the last decades of the twentieth century.³⁷ During her undergraduate study, Manica Špendal focused on researching Maribor's music history. Špendal's studies represent basic research, which, despite the timeline, has not lost its relevance and can be a useful starting point for further research. Her music-historical discussions analytically deal with individual segments of musical development and events and shed light on Maribor's cultural image.³⁸ The most complete image of recreation and creativity is the monograph *Iz mariborske glasbene zgodovine*,³⁹ which deals with the period from the end of the eighteenth century to the second half of the twentieth century. In this monograph, Špendal presented some key personalities who are important for music in Maribor, as well as the development and activity of various institutions, focusing mainly on theatre and musical performances. She also discusses the Music Society and other societies in her work.

An important section on musical life in Maribor is undoubtedly complemented by research of musical instruments, as well as their makers. The emergence and development of instrument making is evidenced by relatively rare research (M. Špendal,⁴⁰ A. Leskovec⁴¹). An important contribution in this regard can be found in Darja Koter's *Glasbilarstvo na Slovenskem*.⁴² According to Koter, the first organist in Maribor can be dated back to the early sixteenth century (Matej from Maribor), followed by the "Maribor circle" (S and J. Otonič(er), J. Salb, L. Ebner, A. Kafka, D. Raktelj, M. Krainz, A. Hallecker and J. Brandl). It seems that the legacy of organ builders has received slightly more attention in terms of research and preservation (L. Šaban,⁴³ M. Bizjak,⁴⁴ E. Škulj⁴⁵ and J. Dobravec) compared to that of other craftsmen involved in in-

34 Darja Koter, *Slovenska glasba 1848–1918* (Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2012).

35 Koter, *Slovenska glasba 1918–1991*.

36 Ibid., 252–253, 265–267.

37 Ibid., 344–345, 352–354.

38 Manica Špendal, "Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru," *Kronika* 31, nos. 2–3 (1983): 183–196.

39 Manica Špendal, *Iz mariborske glasbene zgodovine* (Maribor: Obzorja, 2000).

40 Manica Špendal, "Razvoj glasbenega življenja v Mariboru," in *Maribor skozi stoletja*, eds. Jože Curk et al. (Maribor: Obzorja, 1991), 643–661.

41 Antoša Leskovec, "Razvoj gospodarstva v Mariboru 1752–1941," in *Maribor skozi stoletja*, 331.

42 Darja Koter, *Glasbilarstvo na Slovenskem* (Maribor: Obzorja, 2001).

43 Ladislav Šaban, "Orgulje slovenskih graditelja u Hrvatskoj," *Muzikološki zbornik* 15 (1979): 13–41, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.15.1.13-41>.

44 Milko Bizjak and Edo Škulj, *Orgle na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: DZS, 1985).

45 Edo Škulj, "Zgodovina orglarstva na Slovenskem," *Knjižica Cerkvenega glasbenika* 10 (1992): 3–12; Edo Škulj and Jurij Dobravec, *Orgle Slovenije* (Radovljica: Društvo Jarina Bohinj, 2018).

strument making in Maribor. The making of woodwind instruments also came to life in Maribor for a short time in the mid-nineteenth century, as Matias Poje had a shop and worked in Maribor.⁴⁶ It is worth mentioning that the most prominent piano maker was Josip (Josef) Brandl (1865–1938), who came to Maribor from Bavaria. He appeared to be a piano tuner as well as a superb organ builder.⁴⁷ Information about other craftsmen, such as makers of brass instruments, percussion and stringed instruments, has not been so thoroughly recorded for this region.⁴⁸

There are currently no in-depth publications that attempt to comprehensively unfold Maribor's music history. The authors of individual partial discussions, including Špendal,⁴⁹ have tried to fill this gap to a limited extent. In recent years, Špendal's research has been upgraded with new studies by various authors. These shed light on a limited but time-rich insight into the cultural pulse of Maribor from the second half of the eighteenth century,⁵⁰ the nineteenth century until 1861 (K. Kraševac,⁵¹ H. Družovič⁵²), the first half of the twentieth century until the First World War (B. Hartman),⁵³ and the interwar period (D. Potočnik).⁵⁴

Various authors, among whom Špendal⁵⁵ is foremost quantitatively, have focused mainly on the topic of the history of theatre in Maribor, where opera and drama intertwined and developed in parallel. Maribor has known many key milestones, but theatrical events have been more or less active since 1785, when the first theatre hall opened.⁵⁶ Existing professional monographs,⁵⁷

46 Koter, *Glasbilarstvo na Slovenskem*, 158–159.

47 Darja Koter, "Izdelovalci glasbil na Slovenskem," *Muzikološki zbornik* 39, nos. 1–2 (2003): 123–154, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.39.1.123-152>.

48 See Koter, *Glasbilarstvo na Slovenskem*.

49 Špendal, "Razvoj glasbenega življenja v Mariboru," 643–661.

50 Antoša Leskovec, "Politični in kulturni razvoj Maribora," in *Maribor skozi stoletja*, 195–227.

51 Katarina Kraševac, "Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru v 19. stoletju do ustanovitve slovanske čitalnice leta 1861" (Bachelor's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2004).

52 Hinko Družovič, "Zgodovina slovenskega petja v Mariboru," *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 19, no. 2 (1924): 80–100.

53 Bruno Hartman, "Razmerje med nemško in slovensko kulturo v Mariboru do prve svetovne vojne," in *Od Maribora do Trsta: 1850–1914; Zbornik referatov; Mednarodni simpozij Slovenska mesta od srede 19. stoletja do prve svetovne vojne, Univerza v Mariboru, 8.–10. maja 1997*, eds. Darko Friš and Franc Rozman (Maribor: Pedagoška fakulteta, 1998), 193–202.

54 Dragan Potočnik, "Kulturni utrip v Mariboru med svetovnima vojnama," *Edinost in dialog* 73, nos. 1–2 (2018): 61–78.

55 Špendal has remained closely connected with the Maribor Theatre almost all her life. She has devoted her research to a wide range of activities of this institute and has also published several scientific and professional articles on the topic of the Maribor Opera. In 2012, she was awarded the honorary title of Ambassador of the Slovene National Theatre in Maribor.

56 Vili Ravnjak, "Mariborsko gledališko dogajanje do leta 1918," in *V vrtincu nasprotij*, 18.

57 Marko Košir, *Mariborske operne zvezde* (Maribor: Pro-Andy, 2013).

discussions⁵⁸ and articles⁵⁹ offer us an insight into the development of theatre in Maribor, analyse the situation and evaluate musical performances,⁶⁰ and shed light on the work and life of its creators.⁶¹ The latest book on theatre in Maribor⁶² is very welcome. It outlines the centuries-long dynamics of artistic development with significant turning points and key personalities, as well as the prehistory of Maribor's theatrical creation from the second half of the eighteenth century.⁶³

There is also a more extensive body of literature that outlines the musical image of social life in Maribor. The largest share of researchers' interest has been in the Music Society as the central Slovenian music institution in the interwar period. Its complex image, work, concert activity and influences on the cultural life of the people of Maribor have been complemented by studies by Manja Flisar Šauperl,⁶⁴ Manica Špendal⁶⁵ and Dragan Potočnik.⁶⁶

Insight into the history of music through various cultural societies and social activities in Maribor gains additional depth in the discussions of historians Bruno

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- 58 Manica Špendal, *Glasbene predstave na odru Mariborskega gledališča od 1785 do 1861* (Master's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 1971); Špendal, "Iz mariborske opere," *Dialogi* 1, no. 3 (1965): 127–128; Špendal, "Iz mariborske opere," *Dialogi* 1, no. 10, 568; Špendal, "Mariborska opera od leta 1928 do 1941," *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 57, no. 2 (1986): 227–244.
- 59 Danilo Gorinšek, "Mariborska Opera med obema vojnama," *Dokumenti Slovenskega gledališkega in filmskega muzeja* 16, nos. 34–35 (1980): 29–54; Manica Špendal, "Začetki slovenskega opernega udejstvovanja v Mariboru," *Kronika* 54, nos. 1–2 (1983): 191–200; "Slovenske novitete v repertoarju mariborske operne hiše po osvoboditvi," in *Gledališki list Opera in balet, sezona 1985–86* (Maribor: Slovensko narodno gledališče, 1986), 16–19; Matej Svetel, "Pogled na operno sezono ljubljanske in mariborske opere 1996/97," in *Slovenski gledališki letopis, sezona 1996/1997* (Ljubljana: Slovenski gledališki muzej), 15–18; Svetel, "Mariborska opera od leta 1945 do danes," in *Gledališki list: Giuseppe Verdi: Ernani; Opera in balet, sezona 2000/2001*, 44–66.
- 60 Manica Špendal, "Glasbene predstave v mariborskem gledališču," in *Maribor skozi stoletja*, 663–676.
- 61 Marko Košir, *Jakov Cipci: umetniško življenje* (Maribor: Pro-Andy, 2010).
- 62 *Sto let Slovenskega narodnega gledališča v Mariboru: drama, opera, balet (1919–2019)*, ed. Vili Ravnjak (Maribor: Slovensko narodno gledališče, Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, 2019).
- 63 Jerneja Ferlež, "Gledališče v Mariboru pred letom 1919," in *Sto let Slovenskega narodnega gledališča v Mariboru*, 22.
- 64 Manja Flisar Šauperl, "Delovanje mariborske Glasbene matice: 1919–1948" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ljubljana, 2008); Flisar Šauperl, "Glasbena matica Maribor z vidika glasbenega izobraževanja," *Glasbenopedagoški zbornik Akademije za glasbo v Ljubljani* 25 (2016): 75–102.
- 65 Manica Špendal, "Glasbena matica in njen pomen za razvoj slovenske glasbe v Mariboru," in *SKUD Jože Hermanko do Glasbene matice v Mariboru (1919–1993): Kronika*, ed. Smiljan Pušenjak (Maribor: Glasbena matica, 1993), 5–6.
- 66 Dragan Potočnik, "Glasbena matica Maribor: glasbeno življenje v Mariboru pred prvo svetovno vojno," *Studia Historica Slovenica* 1, no. 2 (2001): 383–413.

Hartman,⁶⁷ Dragan Potočnik⁶⁸ and others.⁶⁹ Although they bring a wide range of historical facts, the reproductive-interpretive musical side remains unfulfilled.

Music education in Maribor is discussed in two monographs by Cvetko Budkovič,⁷⁰ where he systematically and comprehensively deals with the historical and developmental path of individual schools in Slovenia from the beginning of the nineteenth century to 1946. Budkovič's work is complemented and continued by a monograph by Manja Flisar Šauperl,⁷¹ in which the author chronologically presents the development of today's Maribor Conservatory as the largest and central music education institution in Maribor.

The last thematic cycle includes literature on creativity, especially on the life and work of individual prominent composers or performers in Maribor: on the musical work of Valentin Lechner (1777–1849),⁷² a church musician from Maribor; on the life and musical activity of Anton Martin Slomšek (1800–1862);⁷³ on the life and work of Hugo Wolf (1860–1903);⁷⁴ on the composer and teacher Emerik Beran (1868–1940),⁷⁵ who made a profound mark on the Maribor musical milieu; and on the founder of Maribor's Music Society, Oskar Dev (1868–1932).⁷⁶ Maribor has also been marked by the work of Slovenians

- 67 Bruno Hartman, "Slovensko delavsko bralno in pevsko društvo v Mariboru in njegova Knjižnica," *Kronika* 31, nos. 2–3 (1983): 192–196; Hartman, "Mariborsko filharmonično društvo," *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 78, nos. 2–3 (2007): 79–120; Hartman, *100 let Narodnega doma v Mariboru* (Maribor: Kulturno-prireditveni center Narodni dom, 1998).
- 68 Dragan Potočnik, "Kulturne dejavnosti v Mariboru (1918–1941) in njihov pomen za mesto in širše območje" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Maribor, 1998); Potočnik, "Pevska društva v Mariboru 1918–1941," *Historical Review* 53, no. 1 (1999): 81–99; Potočnik, "Kulturna in prosvetna društva v Mariboru v obdobju med svetovnim vojnama," *Zgodovinski časopis* 54, no. 4 (2000): 611–632; Potočnik, "Primorski Slovenci v Mariboru 1918–1941," *Annales. Series historia et sociologia* 21, no. 1 (2011): 55–70.
- 69 Jure Maček and Manica Špendal, "Mariborsko moško pevsko društvo," in *Nemci in Maribor: stoletje preobratov, 1846–1946*, 176–181; Kraševac, *Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru v 19. stoletju do ustanovitve slovenske čitalnice leta 1861*.
- 70 Cvetko Budkovič, *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem I: od začetka 19. stoletja do nastanka konservatorija* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 1992); Budkovič, *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem II: od nastanka konservatorija do Akademije za glasbo (1919–1946)* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 1995).
- 71 Manja Flisar Šauperl, "Razvoj Srednje glasbene in baletne šole Maribor" (Master's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2002); Šauperl, *Sledi glasbe in plesa: šestdeset let Srednje glasbene in baletne šole Maribor* (Maribor: Srednja glasbena in baletna šola, 2006).
- 72 Manica Špendal, "Iz glasbenega dela Valentina Lechnerja," *Muzikološki zbornik* 25 (1989): 161–165, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.25.1.161-165>; Špendal, "Tuje glasbene osebnosti," 89–100.
- 73 Jernej Weiss, "Slomšek in glasbeno življenje v Mariboru," in *Slomšek in glasbena vzgoja mladih*, ed. Joško Kert (Prevalje: Kulturno društvo Mohorjan, 2007), 33–41; Štefan Alojzij Ferenčak, *Glasbena dejavnost Antona Martina Slomška* (Celje: Celjska Mohorjeva družba, 2009).
- 74 Modesta Wolf Strahser, *Spomini na otroštvo* (Ravne na Koroškem: Voranc, 1994).
- 75 Weiss, *Emerik Beran in njegov glasbeni opus*; Weiss, *Emerik Beran (1868–1940): samotni svetovljan*.
- 76 Franc Križnar, "Skladatelj, zbiralec, prireditelj, urednik in izdajatelj ljudskih pesmi in zborovodja Oskar Dev (1868–1932): ob 150-letnici rojstva," in *Koledar Mohorjeve družbe v Celovcu*, ed. Cvetka Rezar (Celje and Ljubljana: Celjska Mohorjeva družba, 2018), 141–145.

from Trieste: Viktor Parma (1858–1924),⁷⁷ Vasilij Mirk (1884–1962)⁷⁸ and Ubald Vrabec (1905–1992).⁷⁹ Two anthologies have been published that shed light on the personality and, above all, the work of two musical giants of Maribor: the first is dedicated to the pianist and music teacher Roman Klasinc (1907–1990),⁸⁰ and the second to choirmaster and music teacher Branko Rajšter (1930–1989).⁸¹ Among the most comprehensively discussed personalities is the composer and conductor Demetrij Žebre (1912–1970).⁸²

A central role in concert activity in Maribor has been played by Concert Management (Koncertna poslovalnica). Since its establishment in 1946, it has been a mediator of musical art and the driving force in the wider area of the northeast region. During its existence, a number of resounding concerts of a solo, chamber and orchestral character have taken place in Maribor, mainly thanks to the versatile and influential Ferdo Filipič, who ran the institution for 32 years. In 1950, it was joined by the important concert activity of the

- 77 Paolo Petronio, *Viktor Parma: oče slovenske opere* (Trst: Mladika, 2002); Darja Freljih, "Viktor Parma - raziskovalna izhodišča," *Muzikološki zbornik* 29 (1993): 39–58, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.29.1.39-58>; Manica Špendal, "Viktor Parma, oče slovenske opere," *Casopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 73, nos. 2–3 (2002): 325–327; Igor Grdina, "Viktor Parma (1856–1924)," in *Pomembne slovenske osebnosti 20. stoletja*, ed. Mateja Matjašič Friš (Maribor: Zgodovinsko društvo dr. Franca Kovačiča v Mariboru, 2010), 64; Grdina, "Viktor Parma," *Med domom in svetom* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2011): 179–210; Gregor Pompe, "Zlatorog Viktorja Parme - med opero in glasbeno dramo," *Muzikološki zbornik* 45, no. 1 (2009): 29–44, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.45.1.29-44>.
- 78 Manja Flisar Šauperl, "Mirk v Mariboru," in *Mirkov zbornik*, ed. Edo Škulj (Ljubljana: Družina, 2003), 69–86.
- 79 Manja Flisar Šauperl, "Ubald Vrabec v Mariboru," *Glasba v šoli in vrtcu* 20, nos. 1–2 (2017): 4–12.
- 80 Karmen Salmič Kovačič, ed., *Dr. Roman Klasinc: 1907–1990: ob obletnici rojstva* (Maribor: Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, 2007); Salmič Kovačič, "Klasinc, dr. Roman: pianist in glasbeni pedagog," in *Leksikon mariborske družbe in kulture: po letu 1945*, 1st ed., ed. Peter Simonič (Maribor: Obzorja, 2012).
- 81 Karmen Salmič Kovačič, ed., *Spomini na Rajštra: Branko Rajšter (1930–1989) v očeh sodobnikov* (Maribor: Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, RTV Slovenija, Radio Slovenija, 2004); Salmič Kovačič, "Rajšter, mag. Branko: dirigent in glasbeni pedagog," in *Leksikon mariborske družbe in kulture: po letu 1945*, 1st ed., ed. Peter Simonič (Maribor: Obzorja, 2012).
- 82 Karmen Salmič Kovačič, "Strukturna funkcija tekture v Žebretovi skladbi Svobodi naproti" *Muzikološki zbornik* 38 (2002): 55–67; Salmič Kovačič, Orkestralni opus Demetrija Žebreta (Master's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2006); Salmič Kovačič, "Melodične in harmonske tonske strukture v orkestralnih skladbah Demetrija Žebreta," *Muzikološki zbornik* 43, no. 1 (2007): 167–73; Salmič Kovačič, "Svita za mali orkester (1932) Demetrija Žebreta med 'stariimi' in 'novimi' strukturnimi idiomii," *Muzikološki zbornik* 43, no. 2 (2007): 105–113; Salmič Kovačič, "Svobodi naproti Demetrija Žebreta v presečišču socialističnega realizma in zmerne modernizma," *Muzikološki zbornik* 50, no. 1 (2014): 39–47; Salmič Kovačič, "Demetrij Žebre in sodobne slogovne tendence slovenske glasbe" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ljubljana, 2016); Salmič Kovačič, *Glasba za orkester Demetrija Žebreta* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2017); Salmič Kovačič, "O polislogovnosti klasicističnega modernizma po razkritju 'adornovske zmote' – na primerih iz opusa Demetrija Žebreta," in *Nova glasba v 'novi' Evropi med obema svetovnima vojnama*, ed. Jernej Weiss (Koper: Založba Univerze na Primorskem, 2018), 217–237.

local opera orchestra, the Maribor Philharmonic (Mariborska filharmonija). However, the orchestra ceased its activities after 15 years. A society of the same name was founded in 1993,⁸³ but the Maribor Philharmonic Orchestra “fell silent” for a second time in November 2004.

On the initiative of Sergej Vrišer and pianist and harpsichordist Janko Šetinc, the branch organised Večeri baročne glasbe (Evenings of Baroque Music) in 1964, which in 1968 grew into Festival baročne glasbe (Baroque Festival).⁸⁴ Under the leadership of Šetinc, the Baroque music ensemble *Collegium musicum* was established, in which prominent Slovenian instrumentalists (I. Ozim, I. Grafenauer, G. Košuta, M. Mlejn, B. Rogelja and others)⁸⁵ regularly participated. The Baroque Festival was renamed Glasbeni september (Musical September) in 1994. Along with successful leaders, many prominent musicians, conductors, musicologists and others from the world of music took part in its organisation or assisted in other ways.

Only the most resounding contributions have been highlighted here. These are certainly complemented by seminars, bachelor's and master's theses, and doctoral dissertations by musicology students at the Ljubljana Faculty of Arts, students at the Ljubljana Academy of Music and students of music pedagogy at the Faculty of Education in Maribor. It should be emphasised that the present article bypasses a large part of sacred music activities in Maribor, such as the education of organists and sacred musical creativity and production. This exclusion seems reasonable, as the field of sacred music activities is quite extensive and its inclusion would consequently go beyond the scope and purpose of the present paper.

A cursory review of the existing literature reveals a lack of research that would comprehensively illuminate the musical life of Maribor and fill gaps in the behaviour and knowledge of its local music history. Perhaps the most striking of these is the absence of research on music production and its aesthetic judgment. It would also be worth researching newspapers in which articles about individual music events appear to find out what the music reception, taste and aesthetics of people were like. Furthermore, it would shed light on the interpretive heritage from the point of view of the qualified performers of musical Maribor.⁸⁶

83 In 2004, the coproduction contract between SNG Maribor and Narodni dom Maribor for the Maribor Philharmonic project expired. In 2005, the Slovene National Theatre Maribor introduced its own cycle of symphonic concerts under the name the Slovene National Theatre Maribor Symphony Orchestra.

84 Brigita Pavlič, ed., *60 let Koncertne poslovalnice Maribor* (Maribor: Narodni dom, 2006).

85 Koter, *Slovenska glasba 1918–1991*, 344.

86 From the records of Karol Pahor (1896–1974) in the 1930s, we learn about musical events in Maribor. His articles were published in the magazines *Večernik* and *Obzorja*, and he was considered a thorough and honest critic. See: Darja Koter, “Slogovni pluralizem v delih Karola Pahorja,” *Muzikološki zbornik* 54, no. 2 (2018): 209–221, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.54.2.209-221>.

3 How should one proceed?

For a view of future research, it is first necessary to critically shake up the past and highlight the issue.

In 1999, the Rules on the Material Protection of Archival Material (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 59/99) were adopted, which determine the methods of protecting archival and documentary material.⁸⁷ Despite the legislation, there are still many irregularities, especially in the protection of materials. Irresponsible conduct and even inadmissible destruction⁸⁸ of archival material in the past has proven to be the most pressing issue. Such behaviour has made it impossible to undertake further research and make a comprehensive assessment of a certain historical period. The main reason for the destruction of material is related to the fundamental problem of archival activity: space constraints. Archives are therefore forced to store material in unsuitable places, where they are exposed to inappropriate climatic conditions (e.g., humid and cold rooms in winter, with inappropriate electric wiring and risk of fire), and to relocate the material several times, resulting in multiple interventions.

From the user's point of view, a particular challenge is the dispersion of the material, with music being a specific case. In the archival profession, the principle of provenance and the original arrangement is espoused, which can easily result in researchers overlooking a musical work, or a piece of sheet music or print. In library collections, the material is sorted according to the type, so it ends up in different collections. For example, concert lists – which provide important information about composers, their lives and work, as well as about performers, institutions and more – are kept in libraries in the Ephemera Collection instead of in music collections. Libraries also house problematic legacies, whose material is divided into different units within the library. Moreover, there is still no clear line between archival and library material (e.g., the legacy of composers).

Not all of the material that territorially and politically belongs to Maribor is kept in Maribor. Important archival material can also be found in archives outside the Republic of Slovenia – the Austrian State Archives (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv) in Vienna, the Styrian Provincial Archives (Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv) in Graz, and the Carinthian State Archives (Kärntner Landesarchiv) in Klagenfurt – as these cities were important administrative, cultural, economic and political centres of Slovenians in Styria and Carinthia until the First World War. After the Second World War, the material flowed into the

87 Suzana Čeh and Zdenka Semlič Rajh, "Arhivsko gradivo s področja uprave v pristojnosti Pokrajinskega arhiva Maribor," in *Hraniti in ohraniti*, 82.

88 Many sound recordings on tape from the archives of Radio Maribor ended up in the rubbish, which today means that it is difficult to research the performance level of recent history.

archives of the former Yugoslav federation in Belgrade: the Archives of Yugoslavia (Arhiv Jugoslavije), the Archives of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs (Diplomatski arhiv Ministarstva spoljnih poslova) and the Archives of the War History Institute (Arhiv Vojnoistorijskog instituta). In addition to the Vatican Secret Archives (Archivio Segreto Vaticano), the Diocesan archives of Graz-Seckau (Diözesanarchiv Graz), Klagenfurt (Archiv der Diözese Gurk), Trieste (Archivio di Stato di Trieste) and Szombathely (Szombathelyi Püspöki Levéltár) keep important documents on the church history of the Maribor region. The following are also important for the earlier period: the diocesan archives in Udine (Archivio storico dell'Arcidiocesi di Udine), the archives of the Archdiocese of Salzburg (Konsistorialarchiv Salzburg), and the archives in Munich (Archives des Erzbistums München und Freising and the Staatsarchiv München), who had large landholdings on the territory of Slovenia.⁸⁹

There is no uniform standardisation in the treatment of material by individual archives and libraries. The repositories store their materials in various electronic records, so the archives have their own programme. Although the libraries are included in the COBISS information system, the processing of specific material in the field of music (music, manuscripts) is time consuming and slow. Libraries also face the problem of "untreated" material, which therefore remains inaccessible to users. Another problem is the lack of professionally qualified staff, which hinders the effective development of music archives and libraries. Among other issues, it would be useful to consider the possibilities of professional librarian training in dealing with music material.

This issue could (at least partially) be solved within projects that would include the systematic study of music history topics of the northeast region, and by incentives from existing institutions engaged in scientific research to more actively delve into the material of areas outside the central Slovenian region (Ljubljana). Studies to date have proven that these regions are also an important segment in the development of Slovenian music history, as well as the general cultural history.

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89 Vladimir Kološa, "Skupna arhivska dediščina v luči zgodovinskega nasledstva Republike Slovenije," *Arhivi* 22, nos. 1–2 (1999): 60–67.

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POVZETEK

Raziskovanje mariborske glasbene zgodovine: stanje in perspektiva

Vsi segmenti glasbenega življenja v drugem največjem mestu Slovenije, v Mariboru, so v primerjavi z Ljubljano na splošno manj raziskani. Ključna hranišča glasbene dediščine Maribora predstavljajo arhivi in posebne specializirane enote knjižnic oziroma glasbenih zbirk (Nadškofjski arhiv Maribor, Glasbeni arhiv Stolne župnije Sv. Janeza Krstnika Maribor,

Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor, arhiv Slovenskega narodnega gledališča Maribor, Glasbena in filmska zbirka Univerzitetne knjižnice Maribor in arhiv Konservatorija za glasbo in balet Maribor), kjer zbirajo gradivo z namenom ohranjanja domače glasbene dejavnosti. Obseg znanstvenega, strokovnega in notnega gradiva je po posameznih hraniščih različen. Zgoščen pregled pomembnejših objav raziskovalcev mariborske glasbene zgodovine, razkriva vrzeli v vednosti ter poznavanju doslej obravnavanih odsekih mariborske glasbene zgodovine. Dokaj skromno je obravnavana tematika o glasbeni produkciji in njeni estetski presoji, kakor tudi glasbena recepcija, okus in estetika ljudi ter interpretacijska dediščina z vidika usposobljenosti in moči posameznih pomembnih interpretov glasbenega Maribora. Prerez obravnavanih glasbenozgodovinskih vsebin kaže na relativno veliko število parcialnih študij znanstvene in strokovne narave, po drugi plati pa pomanjkanje zaokroženih celovitih raziskav. Zdi se, da so se avtorji lotevali obravnave različnih tematik bolj na podlagi individualne izbire, osebne motivacije ali interesov, redkeje pa glede na potrebe in priložnosti. Tovrstno problematiko ter pereče razmere (ne)ustrezno urejenega arhivskega gradiva različnih institucij bi (vsaj delno) lahko rešili v okviru projektov, ki bi vključevali sistematično preučevanje glasbenozgodovinskih tem severovzhodne regije ter s spodbudami obstoječih ustanov, ki se ukvarjajo z znanstveno-raziskovalnim delom, da se bolj dejavno poglobijo v gradivo sredin izven osrednje slovenske regije oziroma Ljubljane. Že dosedanje študije so dokazale, da so tudi te sredine pomemben segment v razvoju slovenske glasbene in splošne kulturne zgodovine.

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O AVTORICI

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RISM and Inventorying Early Music Manuscripts in Slovenia

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ABSTRACT

Since its inception, the project Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) has played a major role in the creation of an inventory of preserved early music heritage in Slovenia. This article presents the background and the current state of cooperation between Slovenian musicology and the RISM project, focusing on the latest additions to the online catalogue from the music collection of the Church of St Daniel in Celje.

Keywords: music manuscripts, music catalogues, RISM, Slovenian musicology, Church of St Daniel in Celje

IZVLEČEK

Vse od ustanovitve igra RISM pomembno vlogo pri popisovanju starejših glasbenih virov ohranjenih v Sloveniji. V prispevku je predstavljen razvoj ter trenutno stanje sodelovanja slovenske muzikološke stroke s projektom RISM s posebnim ozirom na glasbeno zbirko cerkve sv. Danijela v Celju, ki predstavlja najnovejši doprinos slovenske skupine za RISM k spletnemu katalogu.

Ključne besede: glasbeni rokopisi, glasbeni katalogi, RISM, slovenska muzikologija, cerkev sv. Danijela v Celju

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The preservation and interpretation of (national) musical heritage is one of the main tasks of musicology. The possibility of a successful study of primary sources is based on thorough and extensive archive research and organisation.

More extensive archival research on the heritage preserved on the territory of the present-day Republic of Slovenia and on the relevant sources outside its present borders began in the 1950s, when Slovenian musicology began to cooperate with the newly founded Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM). Since then, cooperation between Slovenia and RISM has gradually increased, culminating in the establishment of a national group for RISM at the Institute of Musicology of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) in 1993. The members of the Slovenian RISM group at the institute have continued the cataloguing of the preserved heritage using the most modern computer systems provided by RISM and have supplemented the traditionally compiled data with additional content.

Despite the many advantages that cooperation has brought, there are still specific problems that the Slovenian musicologists involved in the creation of the national register are facing. The aim of this article is to present the role that RISM has played in the preservation of Slovenian cultural heritage, the current state of cooperation, and certain problems that Slovenian musicologists still face when carrying out archival research, with special reference to the information recently added to the RISM online catalogue.

The Répertoire International des Sources musicales (The International Inventory of Musical Sources) is an international project for the global documentation of preserved musical sources (music manuscripts, printed music, writings on music and libretti) founded in 1952 by the International Musicological Society (IMS) and the International Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Documentation Centres (IAML). In 1967, Dragotin Cvetko was entrusted with the organisation of the quinquennial Congress of the International Musicological Society in Ljubljana. A series of lectures, round tables and meetings took place throughout the Slovenian capital from 3 to 8 September. The programme was accompanied by musical performances and four exhibitions, one of which was dedicated to preserved music manuscripts and prints dating from before 1800, which were exhibited at the National and University Library in Ljubljana (NUK).¹ A bilingual catalogue of the exhibited manuscripts and prints was published together with other collections from 17 different archives and libraries. In the foreword to this catalogue Dragotin Cvetko commented that

the material for a musical history of Slovenia has suffered considerable damage during the centuries. For various reasons it has been in part destroyed or dispersed. Despite all this a considerable quantity has been preserved as is evidenced by researchers up to the present

1 Dragotin Cvetko, ed., *Report of the Tenth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Ljubljana 1967* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 495.

day. Only in the last twenty years, however, have these been systematic and to achieve a complete picture much time and enthusiastic investigation will be needed.²

Although the study of primary music sources preserved on the Slovenian territory dates back at least to the second half of the nineteenth century, the cited paragraph from the aforementioned foreword to the 1967 catalogue confirms that archiving efforts in the field of Slovenian musicology were intensified in the 1950s. This was a direct result of collaboration between Ludvik Zepič, the first head of the Music Collection at NUK, and François Lesure, the director of the first Central Secretariat of RISM in Paris.³ Slovenia, then part of Yugoslavia, participated early on in this international, now global project and was included in its first two bibliographical publications in the series B/I-II or bibliographies of the printed collections from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century *Recueils imprimés*, with B/I published in 1960 and B/II in 1964.⁴ Zepič's collaboration with RISM was based primarily on the collection and cataloguing of printed music for the B series and from 1971 also individual prints before 1800 (A/I series), opera libretti and theoretical treatises up to 1800 *Écrits imprimés concernant la musique* of the series B/VI (*Printed Writings about Music*).⁵

The interest shifted partly to manuscripts of early music before 1850 after Ivan Klemenčič was appointed head of Music Collection at NUK in 1967. The same year, one of the exhibitions accompanying the Congress of the International Musicological Society showed some of the most important manuscripts and prints of early music from the Slovenian territory known at the time. The bilingual catalogue *Music Manuscripts and Printed Music in Slovenia before 1800* by Janez Höfler and Ivan Klemenčič (containing objects from NUK, supplemented by several other collections of owning institutions from all over the country) was the first publication of its kind in Slovenia and remained the central reference literature for domestic and foreign researchers for a long time.⁶

- 2 Dragotin Cvetko, foreword to *Glasbeni rokopisi in tiski na Slovenskem do leta 1800: katalog* (Ljubljana: Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, 1967), 4.
- 3 Ivan Klemenčič, "RISM v Sloveniji," *Muzikološki zbornik* 38 (2002): 107, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.38.1.105-112>.
- 4 RISM is divided into three main series – A, B and C – with further subdivisions. A/I indexes individually issued printed music before 1800 and A/II music manuscripts, mainly between 1600 and 1850. B indexes bibliographies organised by specific topics (for example printed anthologies, polyphonic music, music theory, etc.). C is the *Directory of Music Research Libraries*. The divisions between series have, however, been blurred by the RISM online catalogue, but some of the series have yet to be included in the online environment. See <http://www.rism.info/publications.html>.
- 5 François Lesure, *Recueils imprimés: XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Munich; Duisburg: G. Henle, 1960); *Recueils imprimés: XVIIIe siècle* (Munich; Duisburg: G. Henle, 1964); Lesure, *Écrits imprimés concernant la musique*, 2 vols (Munich; Duisburg: G. Henle, 1971).
- 6 The catalogue includes music manuscripts from eight archives and libraries, all of which have music manuscript collections entered in the RISM online catalogue. Janez Höfler and Ivan Klemenčič, *Glasbeni rokopisi in tiski na Slovenskem do leta 1800: katalog* (Ljubljana: Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, 1967).

In 1975, it was supplemented with additional information on manuscripts and printed items from seven Slovenian archives and libraries, including NUK.⁷

Almost a decade after the formal establishment of the Department of Musicology at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana in 1962, the idea of another musicological institution dedicated exclusively to research was born and officially realised in the autumn of 1980. Although the headquarters of RISM in Slovenia was located in the NUK Music Collection, the researchers of the newly founded Institute of Musicology, now part of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, made it one of their main goals to devote time and effort to collecting and preserving knowledge about early Slovenian musical heritage.

In 1987, Ivan Klemenčič emigrated from NUK to the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU. By the beginning of the 1990s, researchers at the institute had already collected information on about 1,300 units of music manuscripts and prints from seven different archives and libraries on the Slovenian territory, and compiled the General Register of Earlier Music Sources (1600–1850) Preserved in the Republic of Slovenia.⁸ The inventory was structured in the form of a traditional card catalogue, which, in addition to essential information on the material, contains at least one music incipit for music manuscripts (encoded main melodies of a certain representative voice or instrument of a work).⁹

In 1993, the RISM National Committee for Slovenia was established and Slovenia started to participate in the RISM A/II series (Music Manuscripts after 1600).¹⁰ With the introduction of the computer programme PIKaDo (Pflege und Informationsverarbeitung kategorisierter Dokumente)¹¹ developed by RISM Germany, the cataloguing methodology for music manuscripts shifted from a traditional to a computer-based procedure.¹² The decision to abandon the in-house development of a computer programme for the cataloguing of music manuscripts (and prints) at the institute was made due to

7 The typescript *Music Manuscripts in Slovenia before 1800: Supplement for RISM* (Ljubljana, 1975) is archived at the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU. Klemenčič, "RISM v Sloveniji," 108.

8 Darja Frelih, "Katalogiziranje glasbenih virov za RISM v Sloveniji," *Muzikološki zbornik* 38 (2002): 113, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.38.1.113-118>; Klemenčič, "RISM v Sloveniji," 109.

9 The size of a traditional catalogue slip, usually A5 format, dictates the amount of data it is possible to record. Since these slips were small in size, only essential, brief information could be included: siglum of the holding institution, the manuscript signature, name of the composer, diplomatic title (written exactly as it appears on the source), scoring summary (with number of parts and scores) and possible title page, information regarding the creation of the unit (manuscript or print), date of creation (or at least a wider defined period), copyist or former owner, size of material and one incipit. The card catalogue is still kept at the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU.

10 It is the most comprehensive guide available to music manuscripts created after 1600, containing sources from collections from more than 35 countries around the world.

11 In English *Maintenance and Information Processing of Categorical Documents*. Frelih, "Katalogiziranje glasbenih virov," 114.

12 See: <http://www.rism.info/en/organisation/project-history.html>.

compatibility problems with the incipits, resulting from later attempts to convert the data and compare them with data from the collections of other countries contained in the RISM database. The installation of the RISM programme was more appropriate in this respect.¹³ The first results of participation in the computerised cataloguing of the A/II series were published in 1995 in the form of a CD-ROM (these were issued annually).¹⁴ The Slovenian cataloguers contributed 165 units from six archives.¹⁵

In 2002, Ivan Klemenčič and Darja Frelih participated in the international congress *Scientific and Technological Challenges of Musicological Source Research at International Level*, which was organised on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of RISM. They presented the current status of the project in Slovenia. At that time, the Slovenian collection consisted of about 1,000 units or 1,400 works, 900 of which were included in the 2001 edition of the RISM CD-ROM.¹⁶

In June 2010, the RISM online catalogue was published for free for the first time, followed by a new cataloguing programme, Kallisto, for the holdings of music manuscripts in 2011, and by 2012 the RISM group at the Institute of Musicology had increased the number of entries in the RISM A/II database to about 2,900. New entries were added from the Ljubljana Cathedral, the Franciscan Monastery in Novo mesto and the Novo mesto chapter, and for the first time music collections, mainly from the Slovenian coastal area, were thoroughly arranged and catalogued: collections from the Episcopal Archives in Koper, the Koper Cathedral, the Provincial Archives in Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library in Koper, the Parish Archives in Piran, the Minorite Monastery in Piran, and the Church of St Mauro in Izola.¹⁷ Among the most recent collections catalogued with Kallisto are the collections of the St John the Baptist Cathedral of Maribor, which was catalogued by Melanija Markovič in 2016.¹⁸

13 The development of a separate computer program for cataloguing manuscripts and prints was originally planned, and in 1991 cataloguing guidelines were even drawn up. Klemenčič, "RISM v Sloveniji," 109.

14 Before the CD-ROM, RISM data were published in the form of a microfiche, which could only contain a limited amount of data. See article "10 Years of the RISM Online Catalogue" for more information. Available at http://www.rism.info/en/home/newsdetails/select/rism_online_catalog/article/2/10-years-of-the-rism-online-catalog.html.

15 Klemenčič, "RISM v Sloveniji," 110.

16 Both Klemenčič and Frelih adapted their contributions into articles published in the first issue of volume 38 of the *Muzikološki zbornik* in 2002. See Klemenčič, "RISM v Sloveniji"; Frelih, "Katalogiziranje glasbenih virov".

17 Klemen Grabnar and Metoda Kokole, "RISM in Slovenia in the Past Decade: Newly Catalogued Music Collections, Especially Early 17th-Century Choirbooks" (paper presented at the *RISM international conference Music Documentation in Libraries, Scholarship, and Practice*, Mainz, Germany, June 2012, 1–2).

18 Melanija Markovič, "Glasbeni arhiv starejših muzikalij v Stolni župniji sv. Janeza Krstnika v Mariboru" (Bachelor's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2016).

In 2016, Kallisto was replaced by a new cataloguing programme called Muscat, and the cataloguing process shifted to an online environment. Muscat is an open source, web-based, platform-independent programme developed by RISM UK, RISM Switzerland and the RISM Central Editorial Office. It is multilingual, with interfaces in English, German, French and Italian, and translations into Spanish and Portuguese are in preparation.¹⁹

My own collaboration with the Slovenian RISM group at the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU, which was part of the work on my master's thesis, was stimulated by the particularities of certain Slovenian repositories that house collections of early music manuscripts. Since many of them have neither their own financial means nor qualified staff to systematically arrange, inventory and properly store their material, the Institute of Musicology serves as a medium by providing them with the necessary tools and manpower to perform these tasks properly. RISM has been an extremely important part of this process in Slovenia since its foundation. Not only does it provide support in the form of technical and professional guidelines and a comprehensive platform for maintaining a freely accessible, comprehensive electronic register of all of the musical and non-musical elements of each composition, but the globally standardised cataloguing process also enables comparative analysis with the entire worldwide register. However, accelerated development and the ever-increasing number and complexity of the templates make cataloguing not only more accessible and user-friendly, but also increasingly costly and time consuming. The RISM working group for Slovenia is composed of the staff of the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU, who have their own individual projects and responsibilities. Very rarely is the work supported by state and municipal grants. Current funding does not allow for the employment of a person specifically designated for archive research and cataloguing.²⁰ However, the work is sporadically carried out by young researchers, who use RISM as a tool in their master's and doctoral theses under the supervision of researchers at the institute. This not only relieves the burden of the researchers, but also gives the students an opportunity to gain experience in handling archive material and RISM.

My own contribution to the RISM online database is a collection of music manuscripts from the Abbey and Parish Church of St Daniel in Celje (SI-Co).²¹ The collection first received attention in 1981, when its first organiser, cataloguer and analyst became Danilo Pokorn.²² He prepared the catalogue in the traditional card form, which is still kept by the Institute of Musicology

19 See <http://www.rism.info/community/muscat.html>.

20 The only staff member of this kind was Darja Frelih between 1998 and 2010.

21 See Jana Erjavec, "Glasbeni arhiv starejših rokopisov v cerkvi Sv. Danijela v Celju," *De musica disserenda* 16, no. 2 (2020): 71–82.

22 Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, *Letopis: 1981* (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1982), 227.

ZRC SAZU, and in 1989 he presented his first results in the article “The Music Collection in the Abbot Church of St Daniel’s, Celje”.²³ The repertoire of the collection, which otherwise includes both music manuscripts and prints from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is quite a rich selection of works by various composers, from world-famous figures to rather unknown local representatives. It is mainly of a religious nature, but a considerable part is derived from contemporary theatrical musical genres. Many of these works are so-called *contrafacta* – they have been rededicated through textual adaptation for performance in a religious context. These phenomena are increasingly being discovered by certain European researchers as particularly common in all periods of the past, but have not yet aroused much interest in the contemporary Slovenian geographical area.²⁴ The initial results of a statistical analysis of data extracted from the material (names of possible copyists, dedicatees and former owners, old shelf marks, stamps and other notes on bindings, covers, parts and scores, etc.) revealed some surprising facts about the origin and function of some of the compositions (such as the aforementioned *contrafacta*).²⁵ An uncomplicated, comprehensive and easily accessible catalogue of this collection will support future research efforts in the precise and thorough study of the material, thus enabling us to further develop our general understanding of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music, both in the Slovenian and the wider European context.

The collection was first included in the RISM online catalogue in 2016. As the inventory compiled by Danilo Pokorn proved to be incomplete and contained a considerable number of errors due to certain limitations of the previous methodology, the Slovenian RISM group decided that it would be best to repeat both the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the collection under the new and improved research conditions.

The location and type of archives and libraries that house early music collections more or less determine the working conditions. Most of them are located outside the capital and are therefore accessible by car from the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU. Fieldwork and travel expenses are funded by the regular inventory programme or by a specific project, and in most cases

23 Danilo Pokorn, “Glasbena zbirka opatijske cerkve sv. Danijela v Celju,” *Muzikološki zbornik* 25, no. 1 (1989): 107–120, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.25.1.107-120>.

24 For more information on existing research, see, e.g., Tomasz Jeż, “*Contrafacta* of Operatic Arias among the Dominicans of Baroque Silesia,” *De musica disserenda* 11, nos. 1–2 (2015): 147–162; Milada Jonášová, “Kontrafakturen in der Böhmisches Kirchenmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts,” *Musicalogica Brunensia* 49, no. 2 (2014): 107–126; Marina Tofetti and Gabrielle Taschetti, eds., *Contrafacta: Modes of Music Re-textualization in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2020); Undine Wagner, “Vom Drama per Musica zur kirchenmusikalischen Praxis – Geistliche Kontrafakturen italienischer Opernarien in mährischen Klöstern und Kirchen,” *Musicalogica Brunensia* 49, no. 2 (2014): 139–167; etc.

25 Erjavec, “Glasbeni arhiv starejših rokopisov,” 73–79.

access to the collections depends on the curator's opening hours or availability. Whenever possible, the cataloguers borrow the materials and bring them to the Institute of Musicology, provided that an agreement is reached with the person responsible for the collection. Consideration should also be given to the limited space in the available vehicle, usually a passenger car that can only hold a certain amount of material.

The logistics of the work process must meet these conditions. The work must be divided into several phases of the visit to the host institutions. Although there is an increasing number of tools that can be used to carry out at least part of the work on site, such as so-called scanning tents, portable LED light tracing boards or pads and other special equipment that can be combined with laptops, tablets or smartphones, in many places there are other constraints that directly affect the use of such devices (old buildings with a limited number of power sockets, isolated locations with poor internet connections, etc.). Whenever possible, the best and most frequently chosen option is to borrow the materials and bring them to Ljubljana. This was our first step in working with the collection from Celje. The working conditions at the institute also allow for an unimpeded, uninterrupted, regular and continuous workflow.

Most of the material from SI-Co had already been organised by Danilo Pokorn and had been preserved in this state until our own examination. The second step was digitalisation. During this process, the materials were scanned and the scans were stored at the home institution and at the Institute of Musicology ZRC SAZU. This not only allows the researchers to access the documents at any time, but also reduces the need for constant intervention in the physical material, which significantly reduces its decay. Ideally, these documents would be published online, especially since RISM offers the possibility to link digital resources with RISM records. This would allow other participants to contribute their knowledge and share their observations on the recorded metadata compared to the freely available digitised material.

The third step was to extract all possible information from the physical objects and enter it as metadata into the online RISM database. This was done using extensive guidelines from RISM and its latest cataloguing platform, Muscat, which has a wide range of available templates for different types of sources. This is one of the key features that sets Muscat apart from its predecessors. In addition to capturing music manuscripts, cataloguers can also capture printed music editions, handwritten or printed libretti, handwritten or printed treatises and even compound volumes (e.g., bound music manuscripts and prints).²⁶

26 Muscat includes various RISM series (A/I, A/II, B/I), which are in one single database for the first time, having previously been managed in separate locations. See <http://www.rism.info/community/muscat.html>.

The importance of a detailed and easily accessible register of all of the preserved musical sources of a certain time and space cannot be overestimated when it comes to correctly classifying unknown musical works, which is still one of the main problems of musicology today and was one of the main reasons for examining the collection from Celje more closely.²⁷ The possibility of comparing the music incipits entered into the world census via RISM makes it possible to identify them in a previously unimaginable way. As Klaus Keil and Jennifer A. Ward noted:

*This is especially important for researchers working with manuscripts from time periods in which sources experienced broad geographical distribution and transmission and were frequently recorded anonymously. An incipit can identify a piece when its transmitted author or title cannot.*²⁸

This enabled me to identify even the least known authors, which would have been practically unimaginable in the days of Danilo Pokorn. The discussion-like feature in Muscat, which allows users to provide feedback and comments, is also very useful in this context.

Together with 275 entries from the Church of St Daniel, approximately 5,200 music manuscript entries have so far been included in the RISM online catalogue. These form the collections of music manuscripts from 14 of 36 locations in Slovenia, which have been included in the online directory of the RISM library sigla.

Despite the presence of RISM in Slovenia (and the Slovenian presence in RISM), which is approaching its 70th anniversary, Slovenian musicology still faces many challenges in the field of archive research and preservation. There are still unstudied collections, and moreover, the results of “completed” research must be constantly reviewed, either due to the limited methods in the past or because of the constantly improving modern research conditions. In summary, to return to the words of Dragotin Cvetko, “to achieve a complete picture much time and enthusiastic investigation will be needed”.

27 One of the greatest challenges faced when working with music manuscripts is to establish or verify the attribution of preserved works. This concerns not only the vast quantity of anonymous copies, but also sources that bear the alleged author's signature. Considerable caution is needed even in relation to the latter, since, as we know, instances where one and the same work is ascribed to different composers in different sources are rather more the rule than the exception. Some contemporary scholars have miscalculated in this respect, be it only in overinterpreting certain facts, such as mistaking the name of the scribe on the title page of a work for the name of the composer. As a consequence, their publications occasionally bring added confusion to the complex problem of attribution. Maciej Jochymczyk and Maksymilian Kapelański, “The Masses of Francesco Perneckher in the Collection of the Pauline Monastery at Jasna Góra (Częstochowa): Problems of Attribution and Source Studies,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 66, no. 2 (2019): 164.

28 Klaus Keil and Jennifer A. Ward, “Applications of RISM data in digital libraries and digital musicology,” *International Journal on Digital Libraries* 20, no. 1 (2019): 4.

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POVZETEK

RISM in popisovanje starejših glasbenih rokopisov v Sloveniji

Slovenija sodeluje v projektu RISM (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales) že skoraj sedem desetletij. Med 50. in 60. leti prejšnjega stoletja, ko je bil sedež RISM-a v Sloveniji Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica v Ljubljani, se je stroka osredotočala predvsem na starejše glasbene tiske, teoretična dela ter operne librete, nakar je pozornost preusmerila predvsem v popis glasbenih rokopisov. Muzikološki inštitut Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, ki je bil ustanovljen leta 1980, je vse od začetka sestavljal lasten listkovni katalog starejših glasbenih virov iz obdobja med 1600 in 1850, ki so se ohranili na tleh današnje Republike Slovenije. S selitvijo sedeža RISM-a v Slovenijo iz Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice na Muzikološki inštitut leta 1987 se je Slovenija pridružila popisovanju glasbenih rokopisov v sklopu RISM-ove serije A/II. Leta 1993 bil ustanovljen področni odbor RISM za Republiko Slovenijo, ki je od centralne redakcije prevzel računalniški program za popisovanje glasbenih rokopisov, za kar se je odločil zaradi mednarodne kompatibilnosti podatkov.

Na arhivske raziskave starejše glasbene zapuščine v Sloveniji poleg RISM-a vpliva še mnogo drugih dejavnikov, s katerimi se slovenska muzikološka stroka spopada še danes: omejena finančna podpora, pomanjkanje časa ter kvalificirane delovne sile, ter oddaljenost večine hranišč. Kljub temu so člani RISM-ove skupine s pomočjo najnovejše tehnologije in smernic doslej uspeli popisati ok. 5200 glasbenih rokopisov iz približno polovice arhivov in knjižnic po Sloveniji.

Najnovejši prispevek slovenske delovne skupine v spletni katalog RISM je glasbeno-rokopisna zbirka cerkve sv. Danijela v Celju. Zbirko, odkrito leta 1980, je prvi uredil, popisal ter preučil Danilo Pokorn. Zavoljo napak, ki so se med katalogizacijo pripetile predvsem zaradi pomanjkljivosti metodologije v preteklosti, se je slovenska skupina za RISM odločila, da je potrebna ponovna obravnava v skladu s sodobnimi, izpopolnjenimi raziskovalnimi pogoji. Zbirka, ki sega v 18. in 19. stoletje, je bila prva, ki je bila popisana s pomočjo najnovejšega RISM-ovega programa za popisovanje, imenovanega Muscat. Gre za spletni program, neodvisen od operacijskega sistema, ki ponuja tudi izčrpna navodila za izpolnjevanje ter masko za vse vrste virov (predhodni programi so bili namenjeni le popisovanju glasbenih rokopisov). Ponuja vrsto novih možnosti, vključno s posebno možnostjo izmenjave mnenj med prijavljenimi uporabniki. Doslej so bili v spletni katalog RISM vključeni metapodatki o 275 bibliografskih enotah iz zbirke cerkve sv. Danijela v Celju.

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Research on Slovenian Organs from the Beginning of the Twentieth Century to the Monograph *Orgle Slovenije* in 2018

Jurij Dobravec

Independent researcher

ABSTRACT

The paper analyses the development of the structure and content of pipe organ catalogues that have appeared in Slovenian organology since the beginning of twentieth century. Of seventy catalogues describing multiple organs, particular attention is devoted to ten, especially the inventories of the Maribor (1911) and Ljubljana (1918) Dioceses, and the monograph *Orgle Slovenije* (2018).

Keywords: pipe organ, organography, catalogue, database, research history

IZVLEČEK

Članek obravnava razvoj strukture in vsebine katalogov orgel, ki se v slovenski organologiji pojavljajo od začetka 20. stoletja. Izmed sedemdesetih, v katerih je opisanih več orgel, je posebna pozornost namenjena desetim, posebej pa so izpostavljeni popisi Mariborske (1911) in Ljubljanske (1918) škofije ter delo *Orgle Slovenije* (2018).

Ključne besede: orgle, organografija, katalog, podatkovna zbirka, zgodovina raziskav

1 Introduction

In 2002, Kerala J. Snyder mobilised his colleagues at GOArt – Göteborg Organ Art Center of the University of Gothenburg, Sweden – and published an influential work on the European pipe organ tradition, entitled *The Organ as a Mirror of Its Time*.¹ Following this, many other studies summarised the organ as an instrument integrated into Western Christianity and its various cultural landscapes, standing today as a reflection of contemporary trends in design, engineering, acoustics and music. Above all, music personifies the spirit of composers and performers.

Along with describing the organ's millennial development and the standards often prescribed to musicians by Church authorities, organology considers individual instruments as unique and tightly intertwined with the characteristics of the room in which they are installed. The uniqueness, dimensions, complexity and immanent sound diversity of organs initiate many questions uncommon in the research of other, movable musical instruments.

The majority of investigations into the organ, and consequently related research papers, fit into one of three categories:

1. analyses of individual instruments,
2. overviews of organ workshops or style schools,
3. surveys of selected organ landscapes over time.

The result of most research generally comprises two core parts: analysis and synthesis, sometimes accompanied by application. Table 1 shows the typical elements of organ research. There may be some overlap between categories, primarily due to the individualised ordering of the organs, the specific characteristics of the interior, or the wishes of a sponsoring patron.

The present paper introduces the third category of research, focusing on organ landscape catalogues and statistics derived from previously surveyed data. The word statistics in this text does not apply to inferential statistical analyses in the mathematical sense, but rather to the syntheses that authors have shown as a result of their surveys, mostly counting and cataloguing. The list of the catalogues presented is limited to those that do not operate with statistical samples, but incorporate the entire population of instruments in the selected stylistic area or workshop.

Through comparisons, the results will show:

- the extent to which the authors implemented various metadata summary lists, maps and similar research methods;

1 Kerala J. Snyder, ed., *The Organ as a Mirror of Its Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

- how the methods of data treatment were changed and upgraded throughout the century;
- the deficiencies of existing databases, representing risks of which future users should be aware;
- the advantages of the existing catalogues for future research.

The paper consequently opens up the possibility of comparing Slovenian landscape organology with the situation abroad.

Table 1: Elements of organ research

	analysis	synthesis	application
1 (instrument)	technical, acoustic, artistic	(depends on the purpose)	(historically) informed performance, restoration, renovation, reconstruction
2 (organ workshop)	sequence of opuses, development and its orientations, typology	interrelations, style dependence, relations to composers and performers	style authenticity, performance possibilities
3 (landscape)	time- and place-oriented catalogue with descriptions of separate elements (technical, acoustic, artistic, etc.)	statistics, style dependence, integration into the cultural and social environment	social planning, performance practice through time, presentation and museums, comparative evaluation, heritage preservation and protection

2 Pipe organ catalogues and databases

Where they exist, pipe organ catalogues represent an appreciated induction for the detailed study of organ landscapes. From their substance, users can obtain a general overview of the area or workshop, distil the particularities, gain a sense of biases and possibilities, and specify the goals of their own research. The introductions to the catalogues, which outline the sociohistorical circumstances, reveal a broader insight into the subject to scholars, raising more complex questions and initiating comparisons. With the inclusion of photographs, many catalogues not only attract a lay audience, thereby promoting the complex phenomenon of the organ, but also serve art historians and others for comparisons of design and style.

Regarding the catalogues available in bookshops, the researcher should pay special attention to popular books of organs. Although sometimes appearing

exhaustive, they often only gather the representative instruments of a particular area. For example, the otherwise splendid seminal book *Orgle na Slovenskem* (*Pipe Organs in Slovenia*),² could mislead the user into believing that it speaks of all of the organs in the country, whereas the authors only selected a “representative” tenth part of the existing organs of the time. In similar works known around the world, the word “representative” typically reveals the authors’ preference.

Here we define a catalogue as an inventory expanded with selected details, short descriptions and supplements, and sometimes also photographic, video and audio recordings. By definition, the inventory lists all existent (or accessible) objects. As an upgrade, the usefulness of the catalogue depends on the survey methods and the aim. Above all, it depends on the number of details, with their quality demonstrating the author’s efforts. Performers usually expect details such as the number of manuals and the keyboard compass, the location of the console including its orientation in the room, a concise description, and the disposition of the stops with their sonic characteristics.

In the 1970s, pipe organ data started their migration to computers,³ and in the last two decades, all cataloguing has taken place digitally. Computer-based systems make expanded data easily available; for example, audio and video recordings, links to the web content and background sources. Computer software enables interconnections, comprehensive analyses and innovative solutions for the presentation and promotion of organs, especially on the internet. The hierarchical structure of a database with well-established metadata description⁴ can simplify the working process and allow scientists to focus onto specific goals, modern methods and syntheses with practical applications.

3 Catalogues listing Slovenian organs

The surprising number of catalogues with Slovenian organs indicates the high level of enthusiasm of scholars and other researchers. The appended table lists seventy such catalogues. With a few exceptions, those selected for treatment in the present paper contain descriptions of ten or more organs. Besides those listed, we know of a dozen or so smaller reports about fewer organs within an individual parish or municipality, made by smaller workshops or used by the same organisation.

As a rule, the listed catalogues deal with instruments made, for instance, by a particular organ workshop for the churches of a Catholic diocese or

2 Milko Bizjak and Edo Škulj, *Orgle na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1985). English translation as *Pipe Organs in Slovenia* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1987).

3 Uwe Pape, “Orgeldatenbank,” *Ars Organi* 34 (1986): 22–29.

4 Jurij Dobravec, “Presečni arhiv in zbirka podatkov o slovenskih orglah ARSORS,” *Arhivi* 39, no. 2 (2016): 263–275.

deanery, or within a selected administrative district. Most of the catalogues meet the aforementioned criteria. A series of books by Edo Škulj describing the opuses of organ building workshops include instruments installed abroad by Slovenian masters. We have intentionally appended a few shorter catalogues of organs made by builders who are members of what are now the Slovenian minorities in Austria in Italy, or organs bought for or by parishes of Slovenian diaspora worldwide.

We consider all of the listed contributions as valuable in shedding light on Slovenian organ history. However, some of them represent added value for their volume and methods, as well as for their clear influence on national organology and their possible importance for the professional audience. Short descriptions follow.

3.1 *Orgle v cerkvah Lavantinske škofije* (Organs of the Diocese of Lavant) (1911)

The See of the Diocese of Lavant in Maribor, which now spans across Northeastern Slovenia, initiated an extensive inventory of works of art at the beginning of the twentieth century, in which the churches of the subordinate parishes were explored. As reported by Podstenšek,⁵ an organ survey commenced in 1909, resulting in a report published in 1911. There are two statistics appended to the catalogue: an index of organ builders (pp. 76–77) and a short register of historical instruments (pp. 77–78). Unfortunately, we do not know further details about the methods, organisation and participants of the project.

3.2 *Statistika orgelj v ljubljanski škofiji* (Statistics of Organs in the Diocese of Ljubljana) (1918–1920; 1923)

After the Maribor precedent, Stanko Premrl, *regens chori* of the Ljubljana cathedral, prominent composer and author of the Slovenian national anthem, initiated a similar project for the Ljubljana Diocese covering the then Carniola province, which is today central Slovenia. After calls published in the professional bulletin for church musicians, *Cerkveni glasbenik*, and the Official Gazette of the diocese,⁶ participants from parishes reported the details of their organs and organists. Again, the variability of the extant letters shows that reporters loosely followed otherwise clear instructions. From the collected letters, Premrl composed a spreadsheet preserved in his legacy.⁷ *Cerkveni glasbenik* published the results in five parts during the First World War.

5 Matej Podstenšek, "Ob 100-letnici knjižice *Orgle v cerkvah Lavantinske škofije*," *Cerkveni glasbenik* 104, no. 6 (2011): 11.

6 *Ljubljanski škofijski list* 103 (1913): 128.

7 Edo Škulj, "Stoletnica Premrlove Statistike o orglah v ljubljanski škofiji," *Cerkveni glasbenik* 110, no. 4 (2017): 16.

The concise writing reveals that in addition to the table, Premrl must have used a catalogue with arranged details for each organ. The final part of the article, published in 1923 with comprehensive statistics and details, demonstrates his professional approach and indicates the background of a pool of data not preserved in the hand-written field reports or his table. Premrl's scientific paper also includes a report on the projects of Slovenian organ builders between 1891 and 1916. The frequent references to both catalogues in the later organological literature demonstrates their importance.

3.3 First War Requisition Lists of the Austro-Hungarian Lands (archive for Carniola, Styria and Littoral, 1917)

The War Requirement Acts of the Austro-Hungarian authorities in the First World War directed the dispossession of goods and their supply for military needs. The requisition of non-ferrous metals, including organ pipes, commenced in 1917 based on previously prepared lists of organs and their characteristics.⁸ In addition to information about the amounts of alloy, the survey required data on historical value, possibly enabling some instruments to be exempt from this war devastation. Notwithstanding the unfortunate story for the instruments and their listeners, the well-structured general list and some particularities of artificial value today serve as a reliable reference for organology research.

3.4 *Orgle Ljubljanske nadškofije, osnovni podatki in dispozicije* (Pipe Organs in the Diocese of Ljubljana with their Key Characteristics and Dispositions) (1987)

In 1985, musicologist Dr Edo Škulj, who later served as a university professor and honourable canon of the Ljubljana Diocese, initiated the first systematic field survey of organs in a broad region of Slovenia: the country's central region, which coincides with the Ljubljana Diocese. One by one, he visited parishes and investigated instruments, particularly their sonic characters expressed in the stop dispositions. Of special value is the fact that he also listed the churches without an organ, which enabled future research to be more concentrated. The onset of the era of the personal computer and the migration of surveyed data to machines enabled the author basic digital statistics, such as simplified sorting of instruments by builders, size and year of installation. Škulj summarised the catalogue with a critical scientific review, while the database served for his later activities, particularly for his 20 books and more than 600 professional articles on Slovenian organs.

8 Jurij Dobravec, "Usoda slovenskih orgel v prvi svetovni vojni," *Arhivi* 41 (2017): 418.

3.5 Card Catalogue in the INDOK Information Centre of the Ministry of Culture

Unknown author(s), most likely working between 1985 and 1987, prepared a catalogue of organs with fundamental information typewritten on A6-format library catalogue cards. The 910 locations in this poorly documented but rather well-structured database encompass 897 existing instruments and 23 records of removed instruments. The majority of the data refers to the aforementioned Lavant and Premrl surveys, as well as the popular book *Orgle na Slovenskem*. No metadata, statistics or summary is known. The institute Ars organi Sloveniae voluntarily digitised the cards in 2013.

3.6 Organs by the Deaneries of the Maribor Diocese (1993)

Marjan Rola first became enthusiastic about organs as a theology student. His thorough research of organs in the Maribor Deanery is summarised in his graduation thesis of 1989.⁹ Soon after, following Škulj's standards implemented in the nearby Ljubljana Diocese, Rola investigated churches with organs in the Maribor Diocese (the Diocese of Lavant) between 1990 and 1994, publishing the findings as a series of articles in the journal *Cerkveni glasbenik*. The catalogue comprises certain typical data on organs, including disposition, as well as some photographs. Organology considers his portrayals of organs as being of particular historical importance, as many instruments in the area were replaced in the decades after his investigation.

3.7 Stop Dispositions of Organs in the Koper Diocese (after 1995)

Vladimir Pirih, head of the Commission for Church Music in the Koper Diocese, prepared an inventory of organs, which primarily served the internal needs of Church authorities and his own research. As well as disposition, year of installation and builder, Pirih also noted manual and pedal compasses.

3.8 The ARSORS Database System by the Institute Ars organi Sloveniae (since 2005)

Jarina Bohinj is a non-profit organisation recognised by the Ministry of Culture as an organisation in the public interest in culture. The association reorganised its structure in 2005 by establishing the institute Ars organi Sloveniae. Its goal is to research and promote the pipe organ. In the same year, the institute initiated a database with the acronym ARSORS, structured in a three-level system. The bottom level is a digital archive of all of the available information on Slovenian organs. Approximately 24,000 documents and references

9 Marijan Rola, "Orgle v mariborski dekaniji" (Bachelor's thesis, Ljubljana Faculty of Theology, Maribor department, 1989).

were inspected in various archives and digitised for the institute's internal usage. An associated image library gathered over 50,000 photographs, hundreds of which are of historical value, while the sound archive holds recordings of nearly 300 organs.

On the second level, a relational database in MS-Access represents the core analytical tool, comprising 65 parameters concerning each instrument. As of 2020, this part holds 2,900 records of various data on existing and past organs installed in Slovenia or made by Slovenian masters. The easily accessible data and sources in digital storage enable the comprehensive examinations necessary for management and heritage planning. In addition to extensive investigations, the dynamic data system also allows greater efficiency in the decision-making process. The top level of the system is publicly accessible on the institute's website as an interactive data table and a map with state-of-the-art organisation.

3.9 Organs and Organ Music in Slovenian Cultural History until the Cecilian Movement (2015)

This doctoral dissertation by Katarina Trček explores the history of organ building in Slovenia in the period from the first half of the fifteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century. Based on a list of organs published on the ARSORS website,¹⁰ the author expanded the previously available data with newly prepared brief descriptions of 772 historical organs, of which over 300 are still extant. She examined a number of these instruments during her field investigations. Despite using the methods of making tables known from Premrl and Škulj, the lists of instruments at the beginning of the separate chapters do not serve as statistics, but rather as kind of indexes. The Geography Institute of the Slovenian Academy of Science and Art prepared a map for the public presentation of the thesis; however, this map does not seem to be available publicly. Other summary chapters show the dynamics of organ building activities by decades, as well as the timeline of builders and the intensity of their productivity.

3.10 Orgle Slovenije (*Pipe Organs of Slovenia*) (2018)

In 2018, when European citizens were celebrating the year of cultural heritage, the institute Ars organi Sloveniae contributed a monumental national milestone, a comprehensive presentation of all existing organs in Slovenia. Authors Edo Škulj and Jurij Dobravec realised the idea in two ways: firstly in the form of a conventional book, and secondly as supplements on the internet that develop our ideas into the future. The project not only summarises current

10 Katarina Trček Marušič, "Orgle in orgelska glasba v slovenski kulturni zgodovini do nastopa cecilijanstva" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ljubljana, 2015), 14.

knowledge, but also bridges gaps, thus acting as a source for comparative investigations at the national and international level. After a historical overview, the core part of the book follows, in which we present an inventory of 1,094 instruments. The authors compiled the entire list of existing organs within the state borders, only omitting images and owners' personal data for some instruments installed in private residences.

Each publicly accessible site with an organ installed is presented with a short text and a graphic portrayal, as well as data such as the name of the builder, the year of installation, the historical importance and recent usage of the instrument, the size of the console, and the stop list. The national organ database ARSORS served as a principal source. The main images, taken over a three-year period, offer the observer a direct impression of organs rarely experienced. In the text description, we summarise interesting facts about the location and its history, and about the organ builder and the organ itself. In addition to being precise and supported with technical facts re-examined on site during the field survey, we use popular language in this part to address the lay public and younger readers.

What is innovative about this project is the linking of the book with internet content (Figure 1), which is made accessible either through a QR code or a URL address (Figure 1: 1, 2, 7, 8), both indicated in the book beside each

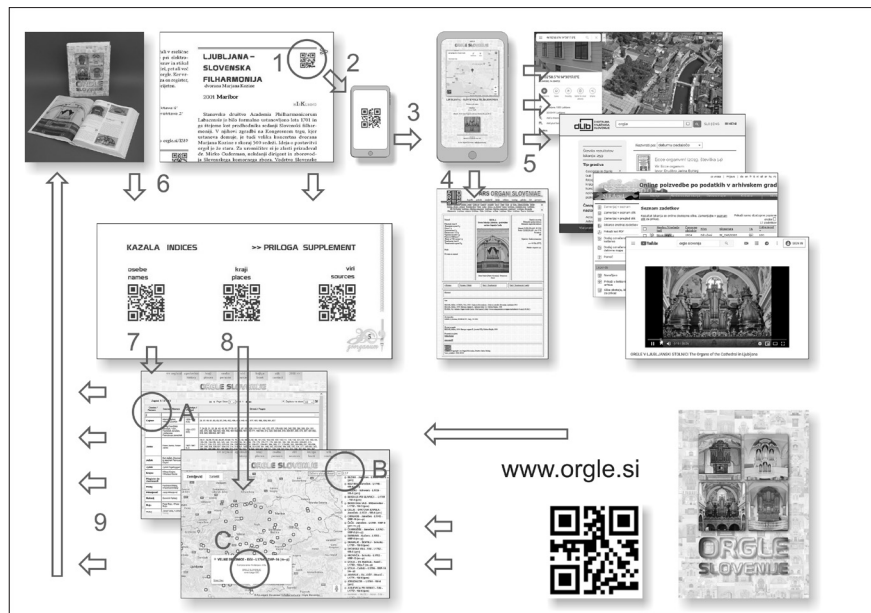


Figure 1: Interconnections between the printed book *Orgle Slovenije* (*Pipe Organs of Slovenia*) (2018) and the website www.orgle.si. See explanation in paragraphs 3.10 and 4.1.

instrument. The idea was not just to prolong the short life of the paper, but to upgrade the printed facts with content not suitable for a book, such as sound examples, links to scientific sources, multimedia, and so on (Figure 1: 4, 5). Moreover, we recognise the internet as an interactive communication tool to stimulate the networking of existing knowledge, as well as to raise awareness by involving our audience in the debate about organs and their importance as heritage, art and music.

4 Results, discussion and application

Every catalogue or database has its own structure and holds specific elements, which depend on the scope and aim of the survey. What makes the results most reliable, however, is the quality of the data. When we speak of data collected for social sciences, we hardly ever expect homogeneity or prior standards. In research, in order to achieve a trustworthy summary, we should therefore at least tend towards the best structure possible.

In the study of the organ as a mechanical and acoustic instrument, one cannot, of course, speak of social science data in a strict sense. In an overview of the organ landscape and its characteristics, however, the broader social context is unavoidable. It provides reasons for historical development and interconnectedness, and even for particular technical solutions or trends of development or regression.

Most of the seventy catalogues discussed here share typical elements, such as location, description and particularities. Other elements, such as tables, charts, photos and multimedia, have generally emerged along with new methods and technical capabilities. In the following sections, we shall discuss the accuracy, and particularly the development and advantages, of separate core elements of the listed catalogues.

4.1 Location

In the opening of this paper, we introduced three overlapping categories of organological investigation: a particular instrument, a workshop and an organ landscape. To some extent, the principal elements in all three are the location(s) and the room of installation. These elements differentiate organ investigations from the study of other musical instruments.

Geography and topography create a specific background for the discussed landscape catalogues. As is evident from the titles of books and articles, the majority of works associate the organs with the administrative division of the Catholic Church. The prevailing ownership is therefore the primary reason for such a structure. Moreover, it explains the heritage of the official interconnections between civil, educational and ecclesiastic administration in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as is especially notable in surveys prior

to the First World War. As one can see in the title of his treatise *Gradivo za statistiko orgelj v ljubljanski škofiji oz. na Kranjskem* (Material for Organ Statistics in the Ljubljana Diocese or in Carniola), Premrl intertwined the civil and ecclesiastic denomination. Both dioceses' surveys served as an internal inventory, as did, to some extent, the surveys by Škulj and Rola, both ordinate as priests. For the researcher today, a topographical approach demands a thorough acquaintance with the Church administrative hierarchy, the dualism of civil and parish names, and the historical topography, including translations of names into German or Italian by the contemporaneous civil or military governments. More recent problems arise regarding changed place names. For example, Nova cerkev was changed to Strmec during the communist regime but has now reverted to the original, while Šentvid was changed to Podnanos but has retained the new name.

The dynamics of place names, and sometimes their instability, is also reflected in the indexes. For example, the INDOK catalogue and the printed indexes of the recently published *Pipe Organs of Slovenia* were faced with the problem of where to file Sv. Jurij, Jurij, Sveti Jurij, Št. Jurij, Šentjurij, which are all slightly distinct name forms of the same village and parish near Grosuplje.

A geographic map first appeared as the most reliable solution for visualising spatial data in 1985. The editors pointed to hundreds of organs within the simple borders of the country in the book *Orgle na Slovenskem*. However, many later publications have overlooked this intuitive tool. On the other hand, the ARSORS database initially proceeded from locations. The concurrent development of digital geography, particularly GIS software and relational database systems, allowed its authors to implement a comprehensive network of data, including the precise geolocation. Interactive web-based maps (Figure 1: B, C), with their diverse visualisation capabilities, are useful for simplifying research and increasing the attractiveness of education. Up-to-date versions are now available as an integral part of *Orgle Slovenije* on the website www.orgle.si.

4.2 Technical data

The table or spreadsheet has been the most common form of technical data presentation over the last century. Many advantages arise from using tables, even printed ones. For example, one can recognise patterns of similarities or exceptions between listed items. Moreover, one can imagine at least the simple grouping and categorising of data in other ways than printed.

In contrast to others, Premrl formed a table for his own personal use and later internal upgrading only. While this table resulted in a brilliant research treatise by the Ljubljana Diocese expert, Austrian war officers used similar tables as the ultimate tool to requisition the parts of organs valuable for military purposes. The Lavant (Maribor) survey has survived in the text version only.

Soon after the emergence of computers, the manipulation of data migrated to the digital environment. In the catalogues and research papers examined, however, the authors barely used the advantages offered by commercial or open-source spreadsheet software, such as summarising, criteria selection, developing charts and many other applications available since the 1980s. Only in *Orgle Slovenije* have the authors installed the spreadsheets on the web, making their sorting and filtering capabilities publicly available.

In the considered catalogues, authors present data in two ways: first, as an introduction to further detailed catalogue records; second and more often, as an index that substitutes a summary. Summaries have sometimes omitted critical comments, which may offer the creator's insight and help the reader to concentrate on his or her own planned research.

Stop lists (dispositions) represent a special group of technical data. From them, one can recognise the main acoustical characteristics, the size, the historical style, sometimes the authorship, the likely original state and more. In the examined material, these data are missing only in the requisition lists, and even there some survey records should exist, at least for the Diocese of Lavant. After studying and gaining experience in organology in Italy and Germany, Edo Škulj and prominent ex-Yugoslavia musicologist Ladislav Šaban fixed the standards for disposition layout. The typical layout is separated by keyboards, and starts listing the stops with the principal chorus, continuing with the concert stops such as flutes and strings and ending with reeds. Few papers written after the 1980s deviate from this scheme. However, what the artist would certainly miss is information about accessories and playing aids, which are particularly prevalent in organs of the late nineteenth century. Again, details on couplers, divisions, presets and similar devices came to light in 2018.

Data managers and advanced users would recognise the problems associated with inserting longer stop dispositions into a printed table of organ lists. Printed media avoided such couplings, while the computer-based MS-Access within the ARSORS system executed a relational database in 2005. This structured hierarchy serves for criteria sorting, filtering, preparation of multi-level pivot tables, mathematical statistics and more.

On surveying the technical data, one must not avoid the significance of the value zero; for example, the list of organs in a particular area must reveal which churches do not hold an organ. Such information differs profoundly from scientific ignorance. A scientist should consider this problem for the many instruments of high historical value that were transferred to affiliated churches and chapels in the past but are used less and less for religious services today.

4.3 General description

Traditionally, papers have bound their catalogues to a historical context. Although authors place the historical overview as the introduction to the treatise,

in most instances it actually represents the time-oriented conclusion of the catalogue.

The examples from most organ catalogues around the world, including the *Lavant Survey* and Premrl's *Statistika*, represent models for the textual parts of descriptions. In some of the catalogues discussed, the organ description repeats technical data as a free text. If not efficiently commented, such wording fails to bring any significant value to science. Similarly, information on the social events connected with the organs in question mostly burdens organologists and only adds possible value for lay readers. Some of the catalogues, such as Škulj's survey in 1987 and Pirih's survey a decade later, omit description altogether. For Škulj and certain other musicologists and historians, however, description served them well for their subsequently published scientific articles.

4.4 Graphics

Scattered graphic portrayals of organs appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. Later, Franc Kimovec, an organ expert of the Ljubljana Diocese, enthusiastically photographed organs designed by the prominent Modern Style architect Ivan Vurnik and constructed by the Janko workshop. Newspapers rarely published organs before the First World War.

In 1935, Rafko Fabiani was the first to systematically insert photographs in his catalogue of organs in Ljubljana. Musicologists and enthusiasts had to wait half a century for the next publication of graphics, probably due to the political regime repressing all kinds of religiously oriented research. Professional photographers enhanced the descriptions and data of the book *Orgle na Slovenskem*, as of Bach's year of 1985, with outstanding facade photos, but few details. Edo Škulj and Milko Bizjak, the authors of the book's texts, later occasionally inserted graphics along with their articles. In contrast, Marjan Rola took photos with many details of scientific value during his field survey in the 1990s. Recently, Katarina Trček has collected her own photographic material to support the results of her dissertation.

Surprisingly, art historians and heritage officers have mostly neglected organs when describing the interiors of religious buildings or analysing the value of wooden structures installed. Only in 2015 did Boštjan Roškar and Tatjana Štefanič from the Ptuj Museum publish a systematic catalogue of facades made by Jan Francišek Janeček,¹¹ a highly acknowledged late-Baroque master of Czech origin, active in Slovenia and Croatia. In 2017, the German professional journal *Acta organologica* presented the results of outstanding Modern Style facades in Slovenia.¹²

11 Tatjana Štefanič and Boštjan Roškar, "Tipologija ohranjenih ohišij glasbil Janeza Franciška Janečka na območju Slovenije," in *Celjski baročni orglarski mojster Janez Francišek Janeček*, ed. Tatjana Štefanič (Ptuj: Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj - Ormož, 2016), 109–196.

12 Jurij Dobravec "Orgelprospekte im 'Modern Style' in Slowenien," *Acta Organologica* 35 (2017): 223–267.

4.5 Audio and multimedia

Many older recordings exist in the archives of radio and TV houses, but video and audio recording for organological research commenced after 2000. Other catalogues with multimedia presentations emerged only with the onset of the digital era, along with digital desktop publishing and progress in computer capacities. As mentioned above, organologists began dealing with maps in the 1970s. Again, only computer technology and the internet made interactive online maps easily and freely available for researchers and enthusiasts. For example, a sequence of maps joined into a one-minute video offers a visual representation of the historical spread of organs at www.orgle.si. Backed by reliable data, this kind of timeline presentation goes beyond mere curiosity and becomes a genuine scientific tool. Systematically taken photographs are similarly served. In this regard, *Orgle Slovenije* surpassed the catalogues by including the images of instruments from throughout Slovenia, without exception. In this way, the national organ landscape not only gained a basis for future research in architecture, design and art history, but also the ability to compare the authorship and stylistic assessments of organs.

5 Conclusions

In his *Lexicon of Organs and their Builders*,¹³ Edo Škulj begins his overview of Slovenian organography with Frančišek Ksaver Križman. In 1780, this prominent Baroque master of Slovenian origin critically analysed the organs in the Ljubljana cathedral and proposed his own ideas for the future. Historians consider his papers *Crisi* and *Sistema* as the dawn of Slovenian organology. As Škulj reports, in subsequent centuries, many authors followed Križman and contributed their knowledge to this social-science discipline and to the country, which synergised the organ building style of Central Europe and Venice.¹⁴ *Cerkveni glasbenik* played an extraordinary role in this regard, not just as a professional journal of Slovenian church musicians, but also as the oldest national periodical in the field.

Škulj refers to ARSORS as the latest chapter of the Slovenian organographic story.¹⁵ Indeed, its comprehensive complex of information offers scientists a range of possibilities for advanced analyses, comparisons, syntheses and applications. The book *Orgle Slovenije*, in conjunction with the website www.orgle.si, represents the first encyclopaedic offspring available to professionals, performers and enthusiasts. Its network of digital and printed information not only reflects the Slovenian organ landscape today, but also embodies its social, technical, spiritual and musical tradition.

13 Edo Škulj, "Organografija na Slovenskem," in *Leksikon orgel in orglarjev* (Župnija Škocjan pri Turjaku, 2013), 154–160.

14 Edo Škulj, "Tri sinteze Križmanovih orgel," *Muzikološki zbornik* 51, no. 1 (2015): 81–95.

15 Škulj, "Organografija na Slovenskem," 160.

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Appendix

Catalogues of Slovenian organs listing more than ten instruments, with some exceptions. (¹number of places listed, including instruments made by Slovenian masters abroad; ²SLO – Slovenia, Š – area of the separate diocese, O – organ building workshop, R – region, district or municipality, Z – extraterritorial places with organs by Slovenian masters, Č – catalogue limited to style or period, excp. – exception with less than ten organs; * applied working title).

author(s)	year	no. of places ¹	area ²	title
anon.	1911	300	Š	<i>Orgle v cerkvah Lavantinske škofije</i> . Maribor, 1911.
Kos, Avguštin	1914	5	excp.	"Popis cerkvenih orgel v cerkvah mestne župnije krške." <i>Cerkveni glasbenik</i> 37 (1914): 119–122. (the first local catalogue)
anon.	1917	466	Š	<i>*Seznam orgel za odvozem piščali – škofija Ljubljana</i> . Arhiv Slovenije, AS1100.

author(s)	year	no. of places ¹	area ²	title
anon.	1917	422	Š	<i>*Seznam orgel za odvzem piščali – Lavantinska škofija.</i> Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor.
anon.	1917	55	Š	<i>*Seznam orgel za odvzem piščali – škofija Gorica.</i> Arhiv Slovenije, AS55.
Premrl, Stanko	1923	422	Š	“Nekoliko statistike o orgljah v ljubljanski škofiji.” <i>Cerkveni glasbenik</i> 41 (1918): 12–16, 25–28, 55–58, 70–74; 42 (1919): 6–10, 21–25, 33–38; 43 (1920): 54–56; “Nekoliko podrobnih zanimivosti o orgljah v ljubljanski škofiji.” <i>Cerkveni glasbenik</i> 46 (1923): 7–10.
Fabiani, Rafko	1935	22	R	“Orgle v ljubljanskih cerkvah, zgodovinsko-statistična studija.” <i>Kronika slovenskih mest</i> 2/2 (1935): 163–170; 2/3: 210–214; 2/4: 270–274.
Lavrič, Anton	1937	6	excp.	“Orgle v župniji Škocijan pri Mokronogu na Dolenjskem.” <i>Cerkveni glasbenik</i> 60 (1937): 157–60.
Rebolj, Zofija	1944	29	R	“Ljubljanske orgle, njih zgodovina in sedanje stanje.” Bachelor's thesis, Ljubljana, 1944.
Eberstaller, Oskar	1955	96	Z	<i>Orgeln und Orgelbauer in Österreich.</i> (Manuskript 1929) Graz-Köln 1955.
Radole, Giuseppe	1969	19	Z	<i>L'Arte organaria in Istria.</i> Bologna, 1969.
Paroni, Igino and Barbina, Onorio	1973	12	Z	<i>Arte organaria in Friuli.</i> Udine, 1973.
Caruana, Iris	1973	9	Z	<i>L'Arte degli organi nel Friuli Venezia Giulia – Gorizia.</i> Bologna, 1973.
Radole, Giuseppe	1975	19	Z	<i>L'Arte organaria a Trieste.</i> Bologna, 1975.
Kilian, Szigeti	1978	3	R	<i>Régi magyar orgonák, Szombathely.</i> Budapest, 1978.
Šaban, Ladislav	1980	153	Z	Orgulje slovenskih graditelja u Hrvatskoj. <i>Rad JAZU</i> 385 (1980): 5–84.
Bizjak, Milko & Škulj, Edo	1985	100	SLO	<i>Orgle na Slovenskem.</i> DZS Ljubljana, 1985. English and German version in 1987. (selected instruments)
Benedikt, Wolfgang	1985	9	Z	“Die Orgeln der Bezirke Klagenfurt – Land und Feldkirchen.” Dissertation, Philosophische Fakultät, Univ. Wien 1985.
Trebuch, Bernhard	1986	14	Z	“Orgeln und Orgelbau im Bezirk St. Veit/Glan (Kärnten).” Dissertation, Geisteswissenschaftliche Fakultät, Univ. Wien 1986.

author(s)	year	no. of places ¹	area ²	title
Škulj, Edo	1987	356	Š	<i>Orgle v Ljubljanski nadškofiji</i> . Knjižnica Cerkevne glasbenika. Zbirka 5, Knjižna zbirka zv. 3.
anon.	1989	897	SLO	Ministry of Culture, INDOK Information Center.
Rola, Marijan	1990	34	R	"Orgle v mariborski dekaniji." <i>Cerkveni glasbenik</i> 83 (1990): 41–45; 67–73.
Jedrlnič, Alda and Komel, Zdenka	1990	10	O	"Ivan Kacin (1884–1953) – orglar in Paul J. Šifler (r. 1911) – skladatelj, organist." Bachelor's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 1990.
Špendov, Vendelin	1992	4	Z	"Orgle v slovenskih cerkvah v ZDA." <i>Cerkveni glasbenik</i> 85 (1992): 23–25. (Slovenian diaspora in the U.S.A.)
Rola, Marijan	1993	356	R	<i>*orgle po dekanijah Mariborske škofije</i> (manuscript)
Škulj, Edo	1994	29	R	<i>Orgle v Ljubljani</i> . Mohorjeva Celje, 1994.
Pirih, Vladimir	1995	109	Š	<i>*dispozicije orgel v Koprski škofiji</i> (manuscript)
Škulj, Edo	1999	50	O	<i>Ob desetletnici Škofjske orglarske delavnice</i> . Maribor, 1999.
Škulj, Edo	1999	26	R	"Orgle v dekaniji Škofja Loka." <i>Loški razgledi</i> 45 (1998): 73–128; 46 (1999): 285–336.
Pisar, Valerija	1999	24	R	"Orgle na slovenskem Koroškem." Bachelor's thesis. University of Maribor, 1999.
Škrabl, Anton	2000	90	O	<i>Zvoki in harmonija</i> . Orglarstvo Škrabl, Brestovec, 2000.
Novak, Peter	2000	28	R	"Orgle v dekaniji Radovljica." Bachelor's thesis, University of Maribor, 2000.
Malavašič, Primož	2000	17	R	"Orgle v dekaniji Vrhnika." Bachelor's thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2000.
Škulj, Edo	2000	17	R	"Orgle v dekaniji Kamnik." <i>Kamniški zbornik</i> 15 (2000): 86–106.
Korošec, Josip et al.	2000	7	Č	<i>Kulturne poti 2000 – Baročne orgle</i> . Ministrstvo za kulturo, Uprava R. Slovenije za kulturno dediščino. (heritage view)
Škulj, Edo	2001	225	O	<i>Jenkova orglarska delavnica</i> . Ljubljana, 2001.
Sevšek (de Costa), Barbara	2002	20	O	"Alois Hörbiger und sein Einfluss auf die slowenische Orgellandschaft." Bachelor's thesis, The University of Music and Performing Arts Graz, 2002.
Rožanc, Suzana	2003	34	R	"Orgle v dekaniji Šmarje pri Jelšah." Bachelor's thesis, University of Maribor, 2003.
Škulj, Edo	2004	66	O	<i>Goršičeva orglarska delavnica</i> . Ljubljana, 2004.

author(s)	year	no. of places ¹	area ²	title
Fendre, Petra	2004	29	R	“Orgle v dekanijah Celje in Žalec.” Bachelor’s thesis, University of Maribor, 2004.
Lipuš, Špela	2004	28	R	“Orgle v dekaniji Gornji Grad.” Bachelor’s thesis, University of Maribor, 2004.
Švigelj, Ana	2004	16	R	“Orgle v dekaniji Cerknica.” Bachelor’s thesis, University of Maribor, 2004.
Đerković, Magda	2005	49	O	“Brandlova orglarska delavnica.” Bachelor’s thesis, University of Maribor, 2005.
Semler, Mateja	2007	39	R	“Orgle v Prekmurju.” Bachelor’s thesis, University of Maribor, 2007.
Škulj, Edo	2007	39	O	<i>Milavčeva orglarska delavnica</i> . Ljubljana, 2007.
Emeršič (Oblonšek), Cecilija	2007	32	R	“Orgle v dekanijah Ptuj in Zavrč.” Bachelor’s thesis, University of Maribor, 2007.
Majcen, Jana	2007	23	R	“Orgle v dekanijah Nova Cerkev in Slovenske Konjice.” Bachelor’s thesis, University of Maribor, 2007.
Kirbiš, Aleksandra	2007	16	R	“Orgle v dekaniji Dravsko polje.” Bachelor’s thesis, University of Maribor, 2007.
Škulj, Edo	2009	125	O	<i>Zupanova orglarska delavnica</i> . Škocjan, 2009.
Škulj, Edo	2009	46	O	<i>Naraksova orglarska delavnica</i> . Škocjan, 2009.
Škulj, Edo	2009	38	O	<i>Mayerjeva orglarska delavnica</i> (Mayer, Mauracher, Rieger). Škocjan, 2009.
Jezernik, Anja	2009	35	R	“Orgle v dekanijah Braslovče in Šaleška dolina.” Bachelor’s thesis, University of Maribor, 2009.
Škulj, Edo	2010	245	O	<i>Škrablova orglarska delavnica</i> . Orglarstvo Škrabl, Brestovec 2010.
Allmer, Gottfried et al.	2010	30	O	<i>Alois Hörbiger (1810–1876), der Orgelbauer von Tirol</i> . Wildschönau Bergbaumuseum z’ Bach, 2010.
Škulj, Edo	2010	20	O	<i>Križmanova orglarska delavnica</i> . Ljubljana, 2010.
Škulj, Edo	2011	101	O	<i>Rumplova orglarska delavnica</i> (Rumpel, Mandlin, Pevec, Papa, Račič). Škocjan, 2011.
Škulj, Edo	2012	136	O	<i>Baročne orglarske delavnice</i> (Faller, Wallenstein, Pauhaus, Steinoffer, Göbl, Eißl, Kučera, Janeček, Scholtz, Martl, Otonič). Škocjan, 2012.
Škulj, Edo	2012	76	O	<i>Goriške orglarske delavnice</i> (Kacin, Valiček, Bencz, Kucler, Zitzman in Ježek). Škocjan, 2012.
Isenberg, Gabriel	until 2012	35	Z	www.orgelsammlung.de (website)
Cej, Uroš	2012	32	O	“Orglarska delavnica Ivana Kacina in njegovi sodobniki med obema vojnoma.” Bachelor’s thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2012.

author(s)	year	no. of places ¹	area ²	title
Heinz, Otmar	2012	12	Č	<i>Frühbarocke Orgeln in der Steiermark</i> . Wien; Münster; Lit, cop. 2012.
Škulj, Edo	2013	46	O	<i>Malahovskega orglarska delavnica</i> . Škocjan, 2013.
Škulj, Edo	2013	40	O	<i>Beneška orglarske delavnice</i> (Collona, Carloni, Nakić, Callido, Bossi, Marlini, de Corte, Tonoli, Zanin, Pugina, Mascioni, Aletti). Škocjan, 2013.
Škulj, Edo	2014	74	O	<i>Ob 25-letnici Orglarske delavnice Maribor</i> . Maribor, 2014.
Ambrožič, Matjaž	2014	16	R	<i>Orgle v cerkvah Občine Lukovica</i> . Zbornik Občine Lukovica II: 100–111.
Trček Marušič, Katarina	2015	477	SLO	“Orgle in orgelska glasba v slovenski kulturni zgodovini do nastopa cecilijanstva.” Doctoral dissertation, University of Ljubljana, 2015.
Škulj, Edo	2015	149	O	<i>Brandlova orglarska delavnica</i> . Škocjan, 2015.
Škulj, Edo	2015	23	O	<i>Rojčeva orglarska delavnica</i> . Škocjan, 2015.
Štefanič, Tatjana et al.	2016	33	O	<i>Celjski baročni orglarski mojster Janez Francišek Janeček</i> . Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj – Ormož, 2016.
Dobravec, Jurij	2017	28	Č	“Orgelprospekte im ‘Modern Style’ in Slowenien.” <i>Acta Organologica</i> 35 (2017): 223–267.
Škulj, Edo and Dobravec, Jurij	2018	1094	SLO	<i>Orgle Slovenije</i> . Jarina Bohinj, 2018.
Dobravec, Jurij, and Mikelj, Kristina	current	2900	SLO +Z	ARSORS – Ars organi Sloveniae (database); Jarina Bohinj Association
Feinig, Andrej, and Dobravec, Jurij	current	270	SLO +Z	Orgle slovenskih izdelovalcev na Koroškem; Jarina Bohinj Association

POVZETEK

Raziskave slovenskih orgel od začetka 20. stoletja do monografije *Orgle Slovenije* leta 2018

Sistemični regionalni ali tematski popisi orgel na Slovenskem segajo v začetek 20. stoletja. V Lavantinski (Mariborski) škofiji je skupina strokovnjakov popis orgel pripravila leta 1911. V Ljubljanski škofiji je podatke zbral in nekaj let kasneje predstavil Stanko Premrl. Oba zapisa poleg uvodnih razlag vsebujeta glavni del v obliki kataloga vseh popisanih orgel z nekaj osnovnimi podatki. Pri obeh ‘statistikah’ je na osnovi kataloga bil pripravljen zbirni prikaz v obliki vezanega besedila, deloma tudi vrednotenje. Sistematično delo se je v večjem

obsegu nadaljevalo v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja, ko je izšla knjiga *Orgle na Slovenskem* z izborom 100 'najpomembnejših' orgel. Popise je od leta 1987 naprej izvajal predvsem Edo Škulj. Poleg lastnega dela so po isti metodi popisovali njegovi študenti in študentke ter nekateri drugi sodelavci. Pri statističnih pregledih se je uveljavil tabelarični prikaz z različnimi razporeditvami podatkov, npr. po času izdelave, številki opusa ali lokaciji. Štajersko je popisal Marjan Rola. Leta 2005 so v Društvu Jarina Bohinj vzpostavili podatkovno zbirko *Ars organi Sloveniae*, od leta 2018 pa so podatki o vseh obstoječih orglah v Sloveniji zbrani v monografiji *Orgle Slovenije*.

Podatkovna osnova monografiji *Orgle Slovenije* je podatkovni sistem *Ars organi Sloveniae*. Ta vsebuje podatke o vseh znanih orglah, ki so doslej stale v Sloveniji in so jih izdelali slovenski orglarji po svetu. Strukturirana podatkovna zbirka je organizirana na treh ravneh: [1] na spletu dostopni seznam in karte, [2] interna relacijska podatkovna baza za trenutno 2900 orgel, in [3] skladišče virov, kjer je trenutno shranjenih okrog 16.000 različnih dokumentov in več kot 54.000 fotografij. V podatkovnem sistemu se za vsake orgle vodi 65 parametrov, kar omogoča različne analize, statistične obdelave in grafične prikaze. Vsak dosedanj popis vsebuje statistični pregled. Ti temeljijo na različnih strukturah osnovnih podatkov in se medsebojno razlikujejo po obliki, uporabnosti in sporočilnosti. V preglednem prispevku je prikazano, kako so se v nekaj več kot 100 letih metode dela dopolnjevale in kako so različne strukture podatkov omogočale različne prikaze ter različno uporabo za organološko raziskovalno delo.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

JURIJ DOBRAVEC (jurij.dobravec@jarina.org, www.jurij.dobravec.si) graduated from the University of Ljubljana in biology in 1993. During his university studies, he attended the Ljubljana Organists School for four years, studying music history and organology in the class of Professor Edo Škulj. Later, in parallel with managing the Science and Research Department at the Triglav National Park administration, he did voluntary work as a choir conductor and church organist, and in 2005 he established a national organ database managed by the non-governmental institute *Ars organi Sloveniae*. In 2018, in co-authorship with Dr Škulj, this comprehensive data system was summarised in an innovative complex in the printed book *Pipe Organs of Slovenia* and the website www.orgle.si. In addition to other activities, Dobravec contributed the Slovenian entry for the international *Organ Dictionary*, published in 2015 in 23 languages, while his articles on the organ and the results of musicology research have appeared in professional publications such as *Acta organologica*, *Cerkveni glasbenik*, *Arhivi*, *Informazione organistica*, *Varstvo spomenikov*, *Ars Organi*, *ISO journal*, *Ecce organum!* and others.

O AVTORJU

JURIJ DOBRAVEC (jurij.dobravec@jarina.org, www.jurij.dobravec.si) je leta 1993 diplomiral iz biologije na Univerzi v Ljubljani. med študijem je obiskoval ljubljansko Orglarsko šolo, kjer je zgodovino glasbe in organografijo poslušal pri prof. Edu Škulju. Vzporedno s službo v javnem zavodu Triglavski narodni park, kjer je vodil Znanstveno raziskovalni oddelek, je prostovoljno delal kot zborovodja in cerkveni organist. Leta 2005 je zasnoval nacionalno zbirko podatkov o orglah ARSORS in neprofitni inštitut *Ars organi Sloveniae* v okviru Društva Jarina Bohinj. Leta 2018 je v soavtorstvu z Edom Škuljem svoje znanje in sposobnosti združil v inovativno publikacijo tiskane knjige *Orgle Slovenije* in spletne strani *www.orgle.si*.

orgle.si. Poleg aktivnosti na svojem primarnem biološkem področju, je Dobravec prispeval slovenski prevod v mednarodni 23-jezični *Orgelski slovar*, ki je 2015 izšel v Belgiji, poglavje znanstvene monografije o celjskem orglarju J. F. Janečku. Njegovi članki s področja orgel, glasbe in muzikologije, skupaj 160, so bili objavljeni v domačih in mednarodno priznanih znanstvenih in strokovnih revijah *Acta organologica*, *Cerkveni glasbenik*, *Arhivi*, *Informazione organistica*, *Varstvo spomenikov*, *Ars Organi* in *ISO journal*. Od 2015 ureja orglam posvečeno slovensko revijo *Ecce organum!*



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France Marolt's Endeavours to Sound Document Folk Music

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents France Marolt's endeavours spanning many years to acquire the recording devices that he planned to use for documenting folk music in the field, as well as for his research work and various forms of educational and cultural activities. The main focus is on researching the circumstances in which sound recordings on gramophone records were made in collaboration with Radio Ljubljana, and on the first sound collection of the Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU, which consisted of these records. The records have a special documentary value and, combined with archival documents, convey Marolt's view of folk music.

Keywords: phonograph, gramophone records, Institute of Ethnomusicology, Radio Ljubljana, sound collection

IZVLEČEK

Članek predstavi dolgoletna prizadevanja Franceta Marolta za pridobitev snemalnih naprav, s katerimi je želel dokumentirati ljudsko glasbo na terenu in jih uporabljati pri raziskovalnem delu in različnih oblikah izobraževalnega in kulturnega delovanja. Pri tem se osredotoča na raziskavo okoliščin, v katerih so v sodelovanju z Radio Ljubljana nastali zvočni posnetki na gramofonskih ploščah, prvi zvočni zbirki Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta ZRC SAZU; te plošče imajo posebno dokumentarno vrednost in skupaj z arhivsko dokumentacijo razkrivajo Maroltov pogled na ljudsko glasbo.

Ključne besede: fonograf, gramofonske plošče, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, Radio Ljubljana, zvočna zbirka

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1 Introduction

Throughout his career, France Marolt (1891–1951), whose work spanned various fields, disciplines and interests, was always strongly connected with Slovenian music and folk culture research. During the inter-war period, he was best known as the founder, conductor and choirmaster of the Academic Choir, i.e., the University of Ljubljana's student choir, which impressed the audience with its arrangements of Slovenian folk songs. At the time, Marolt's male-voice Academic Choir was considered one of the best choirs in Slovenia and was able to perform even more challenging musical works.¹ Today, Marolt's name is synonymous with the folk dance ensemble that was founded by him in 1948 and is still active as one of the most renowned folk dance ensembles in Slovenia. The ensemble was later renamed the France Marolt Academic Folk Dance Ensemble in his honour.

Marolt's research work was crucial for the development of Slovenian ethnomusicology: he broke new ground in this field, laying the foundations for professional work and scholarly writing.² The establishment of the Folklore Institute (the present-day Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU) by the Music Society (Glasbena matica) in 1934 and the preparation of the institute's work plan and research guidelines make him the pioneer of institution-based folk music research in Slovenia.³

In his artistic and research work, Marolt soon became aware of the great importance of sound documentation of ethnomusicological material. When he founded the Folklore Institute, he was already planning to purchase a recording device. Later, he was constantly on the lookout for information on what was available in terms of the necessary technology and the most suitable device for his scientific work. As a lecturer at the Academy of Music, he emphasised the importance of using sound and film recording for ethnographic work and always strived to pass his practical knowledge on to the students. During the course of his collaboration with Radio Ljubljana, for which he prepared a series of radio lectures on Slovenian folk songs, his first sound recordings were made on gramophone records.

1 Cf. Andrej Misson, "Nekaj misli o slovenskem zborovskem skladanju med obema svetovnima vojnama," in *Studia musicologica Labacensia: Nova glasba v "novi" Evropi med obema svetovnima vojnama*, ed. Jernej Weiss (Koper: Založba Univerze na Primorskem, Festival Ljubljana, 2018), 248.

2 Cf. Matjaž Barbo, *Slovenska muzikologija: Kratek prelet po zgodovini* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2019), 72–73; Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, "Prizadevanja Glasbene matice za ohranitev in oživitve etničnega repertoarja ter ustanovitve Instituta za raziskovanje slovenske glasbene folklore leta 1934," *Traditiones* 43, no. 2 (2014): 230, <https://doi.org/10.3986/TradITIO2014430211>.

3 On the centenary of France Marolt's birth, his ethnomusicological research work was presented and evaluated in: Zmaga Kumer, "France Marolt (1891–1951): Ob stoletnici rojstva slovenskega etnomuzikologa," *Traditiones* 20 (1991): 9–28, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-BDE0OZFP>.

Marolt's research and artistic work has been the subject of numerous discussions and reviews, and is relatively well known in professional circles. His activities related to sound recording documentation, however, have been researched to a lesser extent and thus not as much information is available about them. The aim of the paper is to present and shed light on Marolt's endeavours spanning many years to acquire the recording devices that he planned to use for recording and documenting folk music in the field, as well as for his research work, lectures and other forms of educational and cultural activities. The paper focuses on the circumstances in which sound recordings on gramophone records were made and on the first sound collection assembled by the Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU, which consisted of these records. The records have an extraordinary documentary value as they were made with a special direct cut technology, not intended for mass production or to be sold, and have been preserved only in the form of the original single-copy sound carriers. For the most part, the study is based on various reports, documents and other archival sources, as well as the preserved gramophone records.

2 From phonographs to gramophones and sound film

France Marolt was planning to use sound recording in his field research and collection of folk music material as early as 1934, when the Institute for the Research of Slovenian Musical Folklore⁴ (soon after renamed the Folklore Institute of the Music Society and the present-day Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU) was established. In the charter (agreement) describing the institute's organisation, aims and work⁵ – considered to be “the institute's founding document”⁶ – sound documentation of folk material was planned as an important part of the institute's field research. In order to achieve the institute's

4 On the initiative of Karel Mahkota, the administrative head and executive secretary of the Music Society, the following resolution was passed at the 6th meeting of the Society's committee: “The Music Society is to establish [...] an independent department called the Institute for the Research of Slovenian Musical Folklore. This institute will be a joint institution of the Music Society and the Philharmonic Society, which, by agreement, will also cover all related expenses. The person in charge of the institute will be Mr Fran Marolt, appointed with a special contract.” (NUK, Glasbena zbirka, arhiv Glasbene matice v Ljubljani 1872–1945, zapisniki odborovih sej od 14. 6. 1921 do 24. 1. 1936, zapisnik 6. odboro ve seje, 31. 8. 1934, 42).

5 Before the institute was established, Mahkota had several talks with Marolt to discuss its activities, which resulted in a charter describing the institute's organisation (the founders and the institute in relation to the Music Society as a special section of the Society), aims and work, as well as the duties and rights of the head of the institute. The charter lists the most important responsibilities of the institute itself and its head. Marolt was supposed to start working and take up the post of the institute's head on 15 October 1934, which is considered the start of the institute's work (cf. Krstulović, “Prizadevanja Glasbene matice,” 225).

6 Zmaga Kumer, *Ob 50-letnici ustanovitve Folklornega inštituta* (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje, 1984), 1; Kumer, “Ustanovitev in razvoj do jeseni leta 1999,” in *65 let Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta ZRC SAZU: 1934–1999*, ed. Marko Terseglav (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2000), 11.

main objective, which was “to compile the most comprehensive collection of Slovenian musical folklore, i.e., to collect all of the existing song-related materials that were available in written form [...] and continuously add new ones”, the charter listed the institute’s work tasks in detail, in particular “documenting and phonographing folklore material”.⁷ Zmaga Kumer, later one of the institute’s researchers and a colleague of Marolt, believed that “the author of the agreement was undoubtedly Marolt himself, as revealed by the text’s content and writing style”. In claiming this, she referred mainly to the ambitious ethnomusicological work and research-related plans and called Marolt “the institute’s conceptual founder”.⁸

Marolt based the work plan of the newly established institute on his vast knowledge of the state of “Slovenian musical ethnography”, as revealed in a letter dated 14 December 1935,⁹ sent by Marolt to the Croatian researcher Josip Široki,¹⁰ in which he mentions sound recordings, among other things. This particular letter is a lengthy reply to a letter Široki had sent to Marolt on 24 October 1935,¹¹ asking him for information on Slovenian institutions, collections, bibliography and researchers related to folk music research. Široki specifically mentions a possible “collection of phonograms [...], preferably a number of gramophone records, and recorded and written melodies”, as well as a collection of “sound films with melodies (songs, dances) for scientific purposes”. In the first few pages of his reply, Marolt presents a “brief history of Slovenian ethnographic work to date”, also mentioning the first sound recording documentation of Slovenian researchers and the need to continue

7 NUK, Glasbena zbirka, arhiv Glasbene matice v Ljubljani 1872–1945, zapisniki odborovih sej od 14. 6. 1921 do 24. 1. 1936, zapisnik 7. odboro ve seje, 14. 9. 1934, 50–51.

8 Kumer, “Ustanovitev in razvoj do jeseni leta 1999,” 12.

9 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 18/10, 1935.

10 Dr Josip Široki (1882–1963) was a Croatian folklore researcher and collector (musical instruments, objects of daily life and art, drawings of traditional bridges and mills, etc.). He studied philosophy and music in Vienna, combining this with studies in philology (Slavic and German) and pedagogy. He completed his studies in Vienna with a doctorate in musicology and philosophy, and is considered the first Croatian doctor of musicology. Although he was active in many scientific disciplines and authored a number of works of great value for the knowledge of Croatian cultural heritage, he is not particularly well known among researchers. His best-preserved work is the sound collection in the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, where he made more than 120 recordings before World War II. Although he did not use conventional research methods – he made recordings of his own performances (singing, playing musical instruments) – the recordings are valuable documents that connect the folk material with Široki’s wealth of musical and linguistic knowledge in a special way. He was considered an eccentric and bohemian person. At the end of his life, he was lonely and he died almost forgotten (cf. Svanibor Pettan, “Josip Široki – prvi hrvatski doktor muzikologije,” *Od-Do* 4, no. 35 (1982): 4–6; Vera Tiefenthaler, “Josip Široki: singer and transcriber at the same time: An analysis of his aims, methods, and findings,” *Traditiones* 34, no. 1 (2005): 91–99, <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2005340107>).

11 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 17/1(2), 1935.

such documentation when collecting folk songs in the field. Years before that, Marolt had in fact already helped Stanko Vurnik, curator at the Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana, by organising the song collection of the Committee for the Collection of Slovenian Folk Songs (Odbor za nabiranje slovenskih narodnih pesmi, OSNP), which had been taken over by the museum from the Music Society in 1927.¹² According to Marolt, even back then it turned out that "in some folklore districts", which were "researched either insufficiently or not at all", it was necessary to continue documenting folk songs and to "add new materials to the previously collected ones". In his letter to Josip Široki, Marolt wrote: "for this reason I pointed out to Dr Vurnik that we had to get the defective phonograph from the Music Society and have it repaired, and that it was time to start the long-overdue collection of materials. However, thanks to the director of the Ethnographic Museum, Dr Niko Zupanič, this never happened [...]". Here Marolt is referring to the phonograph used by Juro Adlešič in Bela Krajina in 1914 to make sound recordings at the request of the OSNP Committee.¹³ He also mentions that "18 songs on cylinders", phonographed by Juro Adlešič, were in the possession of the Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana. He points out that they were "not yet able to afford sound film recordings of tunes and dances for scientific purposes", although they already planned to do so for the "staged reconstruction of three rituals from Gailtal in the original form" and adds that they "were unable to reproduce them in sound film as this was too costly".

France Marolt's plan was not only to use sound documentation in his future research work, he wanted to start making recordings as soon as the institute commenced its work. Thus, the oldest document in the archival correspondence of the Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU is a letter sent to the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin regarding the purchase of a recording device: a phonograph and cylinders.¹⁴ The letter is signed by Marolt and dated 4 September 1934, that is, before the institute officially commenced its work. The letter also includes an order for recording equipment (a phonograph accompanied by 100 recording cylinders). The ordered equipment was supposed to be delivered as soon as possible and payment would be made immediately after the invoice had been issued. The letter left the choice of the "brand" to the supplier, adding that they should choose the "best possible" device, which must be intended for "scientific use". A request for detailed instructions for use and

12 Drago Kunej, "Fonografski posnetki slovenskih ljudskih pesmi iz Bele krajine v SEM: Rezultat lastnih snemanj ali pridobljeno gradivo OSNP?" *Etnolog* 19 (2009): 225–235, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-4XVJMEM1>.

13 See also Drago Kunej, "We have plenty of words written down, we need melodies!: The purchase of the first recording device for ethnomusicological research in Slovenia," *Traditiones* 34, no. 1 (2005): 125–140, <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2005340110>.

14 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 1/1(1), 1934.

a list of brochures was also included. Marolt probably based this on the past experience of Slovenian researchers with recording by means of the Edison phonograph and familiarity with the OSNP Committee's recorded material, which was at the time kept at the Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana.¹⁵

Soon after, Marolt received a reply to his letter from Marius Schneider, the head of the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin.¹⁶ Before the actual delivery, Schneider wanted to verify that they really wanted the sort of phonograph specified in the letter. By way of explanation, he pointed out that the kind of phonographs Marolt wanted to order were technically outdated. Due to the hand-cranked design, the only place they were still used was in places with no electricity. Where electricity was available, the Phonogramm-Archiv used modern devices that recorded on cylinders or discs, so-called parlographs manufactured by Lindström and Telefunken. Schneider also added the prices, with modern devices being approximately ten times more expensive than simple phonographs. In conclusion, he noted that he was happy to help with the purchase of the recording device, but added that they were welcome to contact the aforementioned manufacturers directly and provided the necessary contact details.

The institute's archival documentation contains no further correspondence with the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv. Contrary to the original plan, Marolt evidently decided against buying a simple Edison phonograph. It is possible that Schneider's explanation prompted him to consider a more state-of-the-art and high-quality recording device. Archival documents reveal that Marolt wanted to get more information on the advancements in recording technology for research work so that he could make a more informed purchase decision.

In 1934, Marolt was presented with a comprehensive picture of recording technology in France by Drago Šijanec,¹⁷ who was studying in Paris at the time. It appears that soon after starting work at the institute, Marolt asked

15 For more see Kunej, "Fonografski posnetki."

16 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 2/1(1), 1934.

17 Drago Mario Šijanec (1907–1986) was a Slovenian conductor, violist and composer. He studied composition, conducting and viola in Prague, where he also received education in music recording. Between 1932 and 1935, he continued his studies in Paris, as he had won a three-year scholarship from the Paris Phonetic Institute. He researched and recorded the folk dance music of the Lusatians for the institute. During the period 1935–1945, he was the conductor of the Ljubljana Radio Orchestra. After World War II, the Slovenian authorities accused him of violating cultural silence, so he lost his job at Radio Ljubljana and was also prevented from doing any other music-related work. Consequently, he moved to Italy, where he served as a violist in the Turin Opera Orchestra. In 1947, he decided to leave for Argentina, where he built a successful career as a conductor and conductor-teacher. Cf. Dragotin Cvetko, "Šijanec, Drago Mario (1907–1986)," in *Slovenska biografija* (Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstveno-raziskovalni center SAZU, 2013), accessed 24 June 2020, <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi648279/#slovenski-biografski-leksikon>.

Šijanec for help with the purchase of a recording device, probably also mentioning the specific recording device he was planning to buy and asking Šijanec for his opinion. However, this document has not been preserved and the only hint as to what was written in Marolt's request is a preserved letter from Drago Šijanec dated 18 December 1934.¹⁸ In this letter, Šijanec apologises to Marolt for taking so long to reply, explaining that he "did not want to send a hasty reply, so he could find out as much as possible first". In the introduction, he writes that he has consulted "several of his sources about the phonograph", adding that even in Paris they were familiar with the "best German device (Neumann)", which he believes to be the one Marolt is planning to buy. After a brief description of this device, he verifies Marolt's intentions: "Is this the one you were thinking of buying?". This suggests that Marolt had written to Šijanec with a rather clear intention of purchasing a specific recording device.

Later in the same letter, Šijanec provides specific information on recording devices and the experience of their use, which he received from the director of the Sorbonne Phonetic Institute. The latter was thoroughly familiar with the Neumann device in question, and with the state of recording technology around the world in general, as a result of which Šijanec "valued his opinion". According to him, small recording devices were quite widespread and were constantly improving, but they were intended primarily for amateurs: "They are not sensitive enough for scientific work", as "the reproductions are not clear and the records can be used only 7–10 times" (i.e., played back). The Phonetic Institute had "two large Pathé devices, which occupied the whole room", and in terms of "portable devices, the institute used a device invented by Dr Brettmann, who was the leading authority in this field at the time". His device "turned out to be much better than the best German (Neumann) one, [...] which was outdated and could only produce wax discs". Brettmann's latest device was the size of a gramophone ("Kofferformat"), was "electrically powered and had a microphone". Moreover, "it could produce aluminium or wax discs, and responded to the finest voices". In his letter, Šijanec also provides the prices of individual devices, adding that "it would be difficult to get one that was both good and inexpensive". Almost all of the devices he listed were sound-recording devices that used discs as sound carriers, i.e., different versions of gramophones, although he also uses the term phonograph to refer to them whenever he wants to emphasise that they could also be used for recording as opposed to just playback.

A large amount of information about the research guidelines in the early period of the institute's work and the intention to use recording technology for material documentation is revealed by the minutes of the institute's first few

18 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 3/2(1), 1934.

meetings. At the second meeting on 22 December 1934, the topic of sound recording was already on the agenda. This is confirmed by a short handwritten document entitled Meeting Agenda dated 18 December 1934,¹⁹ in which agenda items Nos 4 and 6 are “the phonograph” and “phonographic material”, respectively. The minutes of this particular meeting²⁰ reveal that the Minority Institute intended to buy a recording device, which would also be at the Folklore Institute’s disposal for its ethnographic work. For the purposes of future recording needs, the Folklore Institute decided to buy fifty discs. It was also decided that “as soon as the device was available” Marolt would travel to Klagenfurt, where he would record a 100-year-old woman and her daughter, who “knew some of the most interesting Carinthian folk songs”. However, it appears that the institute never managed to borrow the recording device and the trip to Klagenfurt never eventuated, as no recordings or trip reports have been found. Nor is there any information about the purchase of discs or any recordings made on them.

Marolt’s original intention to purchase a simple Edison phonograph to make recordings on wax cylinders thus soon changed. He instead decided to purchase a more modern sound-recording device that used gramophone records (discs). Ever since the institute was established, he also had an ambitious plan to buy a device for recording sound film, as he wanted to ensure the “restoration of Slovenian musical-folkloristic assets with the help of sound film”.²¹ This is evidenced, among other things, by some archival documents with offers of specific models of devices, as well as by the fact that the need to purchase such a device was expressed in the institute’s various work plans.²² However, the Music Society committee soon informed Marolt that the purchase of a device for recording sound film would not be possible, as this was not financially viable.²³

Despite clear intentions and the wish to purchase a recording device for research work (it is clear from some of the letters that the institute was very close to actually ordering one), it was not until much later that the institute obtained its own equipment. This was due in part to the institute’s difficult financial situation and the “inadequacy” of cheaper recording devices, as well as the very limited research work undertaken during World War II. Another likely reason was the beginning of Marolt’s collaboration with the Ljubljana Radio

19 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. dps. 8/7, 1934.

20 NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Glasbena matica Ljubljana, mapa Glasbena matica/Folklorini inštitut, *zapisnik II. seje odseka inštituta za raziskovanje glasbenega folklorja*, 22. 12. 1934.

21 Kumer, “Ustanovitev in razvoj do jeseni leta 1999,” 12.

22 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. dps. 10/1, 1935; ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. dps. 12/a, b, 1935.

23 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. dps. 13/1, 1935.

Broadcasting Station, which owned its own recording devices. Marolt was able to make his first folk music recordings by using this equipment.

3 Recording as part of lectures and collaboration with the Ljubljana Radio Broadcasting Station

Research work – which is what prompted Marolt to attempt to acquire a recording device and compile a collection of Slovenian folk music heritage during the first few years of the institute's work, in addition to organising and cataloguing the collected material, collecting literature on folk music heritage and preparing critical studies – was a large part of Marolt's work, but it was not his only focus. He also devoted a lot of his time to various presentations and lectures, by means of which he tried to arouse more widespread interest in folk music heritage. His aim was to attract collaborators for "folkloristic work", "to make people – especially teachers, the clergy and students – interested in this sort of work",²⁴ and, similarly to a collection campaign organised by the OSNP Committee, to revive the collecting of materials among people.²⁵

In his lectures, Marolt often used slide presentations with photographic examples as well as musical demonstrations with instrumental and vocal arrangements performed on the piano and by a small group of singers. He repeatedly mentioned that his lectures aroused a great deal of interest, but they were also connected to his beginnings in sound recording and documentation.

The first sound recordings that Marolt participated in were made during lectures at the Ljubljana Radio Broadcasting Station. He had been invited to prepare the first radio lecture as early as January 1936: on a postal card dated 10 January 1936, Marolt was invited to prepare a lecture "according to what had been discussed". The lecture was scheduled to be aired on Monday, 3 February 1936 "as part of the cultural chronicle at 18:40 and would last 20 minutes".²⁶ On the next postal card, dated 28 January 1936, Marolt was once

24 NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Glasbena matica Ljubljana, mapa Glasbena matica/Folklorini inštitut, *Glasbena Matica v Ljubljani predlaga Akademiji znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani, da prevzame Folklorini inštitut Glasbene Matice*, 22. 5. 1939.

25 Marolt gave various public "ethnographic" lectures: in the winter semester of 1935/36, he lectured for conservatory students, as well as in the Gailtal Valley/Ziljska dolina (1935) and in the Bela Krajina region (1936), with the aim of arousing the interest of local people in folk heritage. He also made teachers aware of the importance of folk songs for "national education" and inspired them to collect songs (Domžale 1937, Ljubljana 1940). He prepared a series of radio lectures for Radio Ljubljana (1936–1937) and lectured to the general public on "modern views and newer principles of ethnographic science", as well as on the music and characteristics of Slovenian folk dances (1937). Moreover, he planned a two-week ethnomusicology course (1938) (cf. NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Glasbena matica Ljubljana, mapa Glasbena matica/Folklorini inštitut, *Glasbena Matica v Ljubljani predlaga Akademiji znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani, da prevzame Folklorini inštitut Glasbene Matice*, 22. 5. 1939).

26 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 20/1, 1936.

again informed that his lecture “On Our Musical Folklore” was scheduled for Monday, 3 February 1936, at 18:40. France Koblar,²⁷ the then head of the Radio’s administration and programme, who signed the card, added a handwritten note, emphasising that “the matter was most urgent” and that Marolt “should reply, so they would know whether or not he was going to do it”.²⁸

Marolt probably did not give the lecture, as there is no mention of it in the 1935/1936 Work Report.²⁹ Moreover, he pointed out in the 1936/1937 Work Plan section that during this period, Radio Ljubljana wanted to air a series of 12 to 16 ethnographic lectures, for which he would need “a small chamber choir”. The fact that the lectures actually started in the autumn of 1936 is further confirmed by a letter dated 9 October 1936,³⁰ in which Radio Ljubljana informed Marolt that the first lecture “on Slovenian folk songs” would be aired on “Monday, 19 October 1936, at 18:40 and would last until 19:00”. The lectures were scheduled for every other Monday at the same time.

Marolt did give a series of lectures in the autumn and winter of 1936, as evidenced by the 1936 Work Report,³¹ in which he mentioned that he had “prepared and edited cultural and political lectures entitled ‘Slovenian Folk Songs’ for Radio Ljubljana”. By February 1937, he had presented ten lectures from this series, featuring an ad hoc Music Society octet, a Music Society youth choir, and the Sloga orchestra. According to Marolt’s report, the lectures lasted half an hour each and were broadcast every other Monday between 18 October 1936 and 22 February 1937. In terms of the content, the lectures covered various topics, such as “tree worship rituals”, “the remnants of these rituals among Slovenians” and “related customs (Childermas rituals, Christian Easter customs)”.³²

27 France Koblar (1889–1975) was a Slovenian literary historian, theatre critic, editor and translator, as well as a longstanding grammar school teacher (1919–1946). Between 1929 and 1932, he worked at Radio Ljubljana as a drama and culture editor, and between 1935 and 1941 he was the head of the administration and the radio programme. During the period 1937–1945, he was the president of the Slovene Writers’ Association; between 1945 and his retirement in 1970, he lectured as a full professor of the history of drama at the newly established Academy of Performing Arts; and during the period 1952–1956, he was also the university’s chancellor. In 1964, he was elected a full member of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SAZU). From 1972 to 1975, he was also the director of the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology ZRC SAZU. He was a committee member, vice-president and president of the Slovenian Society (Slovenska matica) (1966–1975) (cf. Wikipedia, s. v. “France Koblar,” last modified 19 January 2019, accessed 19 June 2020, https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/France_Koblar).

28 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 22/1, 1936.

29 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. dps. 42/4, 1936.

30 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. dps. 45/1, 1936.

31 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. dps. 55/2, 1937.

32 Ibid.

In the spring of 1937, Marolt continued with his lectures, and also planned to give a few more during the summer: "every other Monday as scheduled". At first, Radio Ljubljana confirmed this,³³ but in a letter dated 2 July 1937,³⁴ they informed him that the summer was not a particularly suitable time for a series of such lectures, so they would suspend them briefly, before continuing in the "winter season".

The lectures were not, however, resumed in the autumn of 1937. Marolt reported that he had suspended them due to his heavy workload, and also because he had not yet collected and prepared the material for future lectures. In a report dated 21 January 1938,³⁵ he noted that his lectures had by then covered all of the topics apart from "Midsummer's Day customs and songs", and that he would have "the scientific material on Midsummer's Day and wedding customs prepared" by the autumn of 1938 and could thus "continue with his radio lectures". However, no further lectures eventuated at this time either, as there is no mention of any lectures in the subsequent annual reports. The fact that he gave no more lectures is further confirmed by a letter dated 22 May 1939,³⁶ in which Marolt describes in detail the work of the Folklore Institute.³⁷ In this letter, he also mentions that he has given a total of 15 lectures "on the planned topics regarding our folk songs" at the invitation of Radio Ljubljana. The lectures were part of the Cultural Chronicle and were broadcast "between 3 February 1935³⁸ and 24 May 1937". He points out once again that he used musical examples performed on the piano for "analytical" illustrations, and that the "Sloga orchestra, a small mixed choir, a Music Society youth choir and an Academic Choir octet was also part of the lectures".

Some performances of the folk songs featured in Marolt's radio lectures were recorded by Radio Ljubljana on gramophone records. It was agreed that the institute would receive a copy of each record. Recording probably commenced in November 1936, shortly after the start of the radio lectures. A preserved letter dated 24 November 1936,³⁹ sent to Marolt by the head

33 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 60/1, 1937.

34 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 66/1, 1937.

35 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. dps. 72/4, 1938.

36 NUK, mapa Glasbena matica/Folklorni inštitut, 22. 5. 1939.

37 Due to the Folklore Institute's staffing, financial and spatial requirements, in May 1939, Music Society proposed that the institute be taken over by the newly established Academy of Sciences and Arts. Marolt was asked to prepare a detailed report on the institute's previous work and plans for the future.

38 This is most likely a mistake, as according to other archival documents, the first radio lecture had originally been planned for 3 February 1936, but was in actual fact probably aired on 19 October 1936.

39 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 48/1, 1936.

of the Radio Ljubljana programme, France Koblar, informs Marolt that the Radio received a letter from the Music Society on 18 November 1936 with a request for a copy of the records with the songs broadcast as part of Marolt's radio lecture on 16 November 1936. Koblar also points out that an agreement has been reached between the Music Society and the lecturer, "that folk songs would be recorded once, provided that the Folklore Institute received a record with each recording for its archives". He asks Marolt for his opinion and consent regarding the copies, suggesting that in future, records should be recorded in advance. Therefore, Marolt was to select some musical examples for the lectures, so they could record several examples during a single recording session.⁴⁰

Marolt agreed to the copies and noted in the institute's work plan (dated 21 December 1936)⁴¹ for the following year that his radio lectures "had already produced many positive results". Among other things, listeners had sent him a number of old songbooks with folk songs, and various researchers had contacted Radio Ljubljana regarding folk songs.⁴² The recordings on gramophone records also attracted a lot of interest and proved of considerable value to other researchers, as well. For instance, in February 1937,⁴³ Božo Škerlj⁴⁴ asked Marolt for permission to make copies of records with the recordings of songs and dances from Bela Krajina that had been part of Marolt's radio lectures. Škerlj asked Marolt to make the copies as a favour, as he was preparing a lecture and needed the recordings in question. According to him, Marolt's recorded examples were certainly the most representative of all existing recordings.

40 The recording sessions announced in advance, for which Marolt proposed songs and performers, are further confirmed by a letter dated 23 April 1937. As the choirmaster of the Academic Choir, Marolt was informed that the management of Radio Ljubljana had not agreed to the choir's fee for "recording the Carinthian Rej dance and that the recording would thus not take place" (ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 61/1, 1937).

41 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 50/5, 1936.

42 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 55/1, 1937.

43 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 59/1, 1937.

44 Božo Škerlj (1904–1961) was an anthropologist who obtained his doctorate in Prague, continued his further education abroad, and lectured on physical anthropology at the University of Ljubljana. He was the leading Slovenian anthropologist and one of the world's most prominent figures in this field, as confirmed by his extensive bibliography. He contributed greatly to the advancement of Slovenian anthropology. He established the Department of Anthropology and connected anthropology with a number of other related scientific disciplines that are concerned with the study of human beings (cf. Zmagoslav Bufon, "Škerlj, Božo (1904–1961)," *Slovenska biografija* (Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2013), accessed 22 June 2020, <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi654107/#slovenski-biografski-leksikon>).

Marolt also reported that in 1936, one of his Radio Ljubljana associates, "Prof. Osana, Electrical Engineer,⁴⁵ managed to construct high-quality and durable electrically reinforced phonograph discs, which were the only documentary material for critical research".⁴⁶ In collaboration with Prof. Osana, Marolt planned to "document all of the available folkloristic musicological material". The institute was to receive a copy of the recordings made as part of Marolt's radio lectures for free, while other recordings were available "for 50 to 60 dinars per double-sided record".⁴⁷

Marolt also gave practical demonstrations of working with recording devices and sound recordings as part of his ethnomusicological course, with the aim of training future collaborators for "collection campaigns of Slovenian musical folklore". A one-week ethnomusicological course under the auspices of the Folklore Institute was organised "for musically qualified teachers" between 1 and 6 July 1940.⁴⁸ The course included lectures by France Marolt and various guest lecturers in the morning, while in the afternoon the focus was "on nothing but practical work (linguistic experiments, practical notation of live cases while recording on electro-phonograph discs)".⁴⁹ Marolt reported that "the first time he recorded by means of an electro-phonograph, he used a device belonging to the Academy of Music, a Telefunken-Tonfolien-Schneid-und Wiedergabegerät ELA A 107/1, which proved to be quite good".⁵⁰ Although it was not possible to electrically reinforce the recordings, it was possible to make "high-quality copies equivalent to the original". In a letter sent to Božidar Širola,⁵¹ in which Marolt reports about the course, he also lists the price of the

45 Marij Osana (1880–1958), a Slovenian electrical engineer, was the pioneer of education and research work in the field of telecommunications in Slovenia. He is considered the "father of radio in Slovenia", and was also the first technical head of Radio Ljubljana. During the period 1922–1932, he introduced and organised a radiotelegraph and radiotelephone network for the stations in Belgrade, Ljubljana, Skopje and Zagreb. From 1923 to 1957, he lectured at the Technical Faculty in Ljubljana and was also repeatedly elected its dean. During the period 1928–1930, he was in charge of the establishment of a high-frequency laboratory at the University of Ljubljana's Electrical Engineering Institute. In 1932, he planned and managed the construction of a broadcast transmitter for the Ljubljana radio station in Domžale with a transmitting power of 5 kW (cf. Wikipedia, s. v. "Marij Osana," last modified 9 June 2017, accessed 22 June 2020, https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marij_Osana).

46 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, Zn. dps. 50/5, 1936.

47 Ibid.

48 Originally, the first such two-week ethnomusicological course was to take place in March 1938 in Ljubljana with the aim of training numerous organists, choirmasters and other people involved in folk music collection. Despite extensive preparations, however, the course was cancelled, as it did not receive the necessary financial support (NUK, mapa Glasbena matica/Folklorni inštitut, 22. 5. 1939).

49 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, znanstvena korespondenca, Zn. dps. 104/1, 1940.

50 Ibid.

51 Božidar Širola (1889–1956) was a Croatian composer, musicologist and ethnomusicologist. He graduated in mathematics and physics in Zagreb and then started teaching at a grammar school.

equipment and the records, adding that “leaflets with plenty of information could be delivered [from] the Ljubljana radio”. It appears that in addition to the device belonging to the Academy of Music, which Marolt borrowed for the course, another such device was owned by Radio Ljubljana. No recordings from the course have been preserved, and in later documents Marolt never mentioned this device being used for any recordings of folk music.

All of the above suggests that the recording of gramophone records as part of Marolt’s Radio Ljubljana lectures and the agreement to make copies of records for the Folklore Institute laid the foundations for a collection of gramophone records: the institute’s first sound collection, which was created at a later time.

4 The Gramophone Record Collection of the Folklore Institute

As early as 1936 and 1937, it was agreed after some discussion that copies were to be made of the sound recordings from the gramophone records used by Marolt for his Radio Ljubljana lectures, and that the Folklore Institute would get copies of the records. It nevertheless took several more years for the institute to actually acquire its own collection of gramophone records.

Thus, there is no mention of the gramophone record collection in any of the Folklore Institute’s Work Reports for the business years 1936/37,⁵² 1937/38,⁵³ or 1938/39.⁵⁴ Nor is the collection mentioned in an in-depth report about the institute’s work over a five-year period that was prepared by Marolt on 22 May 1939⁵⁵ as a proposal to the Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana to take over the institute, although these reports did detail the collected material.⁵⁶ In a report dated 29 December 1939,⁵⁷ in which Marolt noted that he and his

At the same time, he was tutored by composer Ivan Zajc, before continuing his studies at the University of Vienna, where he obtained a musicology doctorate in 1921. In Zagreb, he worked as a high school teacher, curator and director of the Ethnographic Museum, as well as serving as dean of the Academy of Music. He is best known as a composer of various musical works, a musicologist and an ethnomusicologist who authored numerous papers on Croatian folk music (cf. “Širola, Božidar,” in *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2020, accessed 24 June 2020, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=59596>).

52 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, Urd. dps. 72/4, 1938.

53 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. dps. 81/2, 1939.

54 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. dps. 111/1, 1940.

55 NUK, mapa Glasbena matica/Folklorni inštitut, 22. 5. 1939.

56 In the conclusion of the report from 1939, specifically in the section entitled “Conditions for Successful Work of the Institute”, it is emphasised that the Institute needed an extraordinary grant for the purchase of “necessary equipment/a phonograph and a camera”. In relation to this, Marolt believed that “recordings on Radio Ljubljana’s electrically reinforced phonograph discs” would be a better option. In the submitted budget, he specified the cost of “a phonograph and camera with accessories” and “a phonograph cylinders/discs”.

57 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. dps. 112/1, 1939.

assistant had “compiled a comprehensive inventory of the Folklore Institute”, he similarly made no mention of any gramophone records or sound materials of any other kind. Nor were any gramophone records or sound materials mentioned by Croatian ethnomusicologist and director of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, Božidar Širola, who had visited the Folklore Institute at the invitation of the Music Society and prepared a detailed report on the institute's work and achievements,⁵⁸ in particular the collected material, the cataloguing system and the library.

There is very little data or preserved documentation about the work of the institute – which was taken over from the Music Society by the Drava banovina administration in Ljubljana on 1 September 1940 and was renamed the Institute of Ethnomusicology, operating as a special division within the Department of Education – during the occupation (1941–1945). The work of the institute during this period can, however, be briefly summarised through Marolt's words from later reports: following the occupation in April 1941, the institute's collection-related work ceased and the focus shifted to organising, classifying and transcribing the material, in particular the collection of Slovenian folk songs with melodies kept by the Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana. There are no preserved documents from this period mentioning any sort of sound material.

After the liberation in May 1945, work at the institute gained fresh momentum, as revealed by many preserved archival documents. During the first few months, the institute was part of the newly established Ministry of Education along with other divisions of the former Department of Education, before joining the Academy of Music as the Institute of Ethnomusicology in early 1946. A new collection, i.e., a collection of gramophone records, is already mentioned in the first post-war reports.

In a document entitled Report, Plans and Proposals dated 24 May 1945,⁵⁹ i.e., immediately after the liberation, Marolt reported in detail to the National Government of Slovenia (Narodna vlada Slovenije, NVS) about the material kept by the institute, mentioning “50 phonograph discs” for the first time. In a short letter dated 30 July 1945,⁶⁰ sent by Marolt to the Ministry of Education to report some statistical data with regard to the institute's work, he mentions, among other things, a collection of “50 double-sided phonograph

58 Božidar Širola visited the Folklore Institute in February 1940 and prepared a 17-page report about the visit, giving some concrete suggestions regarding the institute's work and his opinion on how it should be reorganised (NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Glasbena matica Ljubljana, mapa Glasbena matica/Folklorni inštitut, *Izveštaj o pregledu Folklornog instituta Glasbene Matice u Ljubljani*, 25. 2. 1940).

59 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. koresp. 64/2-45-esc.

60 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. koresp. 73/45-esc.

discs". Moreover, in a report on the institute's work and future plans in January 1946,⁶¹ Marolt lists "59 double-sided Gewaert⁶² Gevaphon /30 phonograph discs", which include "118 original recordings of typical examples of sound folklore". A more specific date of exactly when the institute acquired the records has not been found, but it appears that this was during the war. It is not, however, evident that these were the recordings made during Marolt's Radio Ljubljana lectures. The only document that gives a more exact period of when the gramophone recordings were acquired is the institute's work report for the period "from 9 May to 31 December 1945",⁶³ which states that during this period the institute obtained "23 gramophone recordings of folk songs and rituals". Since this is the number of recordings and not the number of discs, only a rough estimate can be made of how many double-sided gramophone records there were: assuming there was one recording on each side of the record, 11–12 new records were probably acquired. The total number of records listed in May 1945 (50) and an estimate of the ones obtained by the end of that year (11–12) would thus roughly correspond to the number 59, which was specified at the beginning of 1946.

Marolt planned to resume field recording immediately after the liberation. His "plans for the near future" in early 1946⁶⁴ included "sound recording and photography of the instrumental groups Kociper and Tratnik" (from the region of Prekmurje) and "the instrumental group Zubalič" (from Istria). Since it was not possible for the sound documentation to be done by the institute itself, as it did not yet have its own recording device, the plan was to undertake the recording "in cooperation with the NVS Phonosection". However, none of the planned recording sessions took place, as no recordings of the aforementioned performers have been preserved at the institute, and Marolt makes no mention of these field recordings or any recorded material in later reports.

In 1946, Marolt was involved in the preparation of new recordings for gramophone records. In a monthly report for January 1946,⁶⁵ he noted that "for the purposes of Carinthian political propaganda, the institute took over the organisation and preparation of the means that would serve the purposes of the propaganda", including "phonograph discs, sheet music and ethnographical

61 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. koresp. 4/46.

62 The name of the company is often misspelled in the preserved documents; the correct company name is Gevaer.

63 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. koresp. 64/46-exc.

64 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, Urd. koresp. 4/46.

65 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. koresp. 7/46.

albums". The April 1946 report⁶⁶ explained in more detail that in addition to arrangements of some partisan and folk songs (8,000 copies), the institute had also prepared "eight additional double-sided phonograph discs". It is not clear from the preserved documents whether copies of the records in question were included in the institute's collection.

During this period, Marolt also planned the purchase of a large number of records for future sound documentation. Thus, a preliminary estimate of costs for 1947⁶⁷ stated that the institute was planning to purchase 50 Gevaert Gevaphon phonograph discs for "documentary folkloristic cases" and specified the cost of recording based on an estimate by the "SNOS Phonosection". It was also emphasised that the purchase of "an electric rotor with an amplifier for phonoreproduction of the institute's phonograph discs" was imperative, as phonograph discs were "the key testament to our sound folklore" and "the purchase of this device was therefore one of the institute's most important equipment-related matters and needed to be made as soon as possible". The "electric rotor" referred to an electrically powered gramophone, and Radio Ljubljana already owned one of these at that time. In the end, the institute did not buy a record reproduction device and it is most likely that the purchase and recording of gramophone records in cooperation with the aforementioned "SNOS Phonosection" did not take place either, as there are no preserved reports of any newly recorded material.

In 1947, Marolt again started working more closely with Radio Ljubljana. For a while, he was even in their employ as a music editor – a part-time job involving five hours per day – and later for some time also as the choirmaster of the radio's choir. As part of his new job, he became familiar with radio recording equipment, and was involved in the preparation of Slovenian folk songs for radio stations in Moscow, Belgrade and Prague. He often came across various previously recorded gramophone records with Slovenian folk songs. Among other things, he was asked to review the gramophone records with Slovenian songs that were included in the Jugoton record company's 1947 sales catalogue. He reviewed the recordings and recommend purchasing some of them, preferably several copies: "I suggest buying multiple copies as they have documentary value, and are likely to be sold out, and also, single copies will get scuffed very quickly."⁶⁸ Among the reviewed records were five records with ten recordings of Carinthian folk songs from Rosental performed by the Brnica sextet, which Jugoton still had in stock but no longer featured in the

66 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna in uradna korespondenca, Urd. koresp. 22/46.

67 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna korespondenca, Strok. k. 63/46.

68 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna korespondenca, Strok. k. 12/48.

sales catalogue. One possible reason for this might be that the records still had the Elektroton⁶⁹ label. Marolt had the following to say about the records: "These Elektroton records are a recording of original folk songs performed by authentic folk singers. Diction, singing and performance are good, the phonoreproduction is satisfactory".⁷⁰ He added that the records dated back to the pre-war period, but were well preserved.

The preserved documents do not include any information about the institute obtaining any gramophone records from Radio Ljubljana while Marolt was employed at the radio. However, some of the preserved records in the institute's gramophone collection are undoubtedly related to this period. For instance, the present-day collection includes all five records by the Brnica sextet with the Elektroton label, which Marolt suggested Radio Ljubljana should buy in 1948.

5 The number of records in the collection

Data about the number of gramophone records included in the institute's collection varies considerably in different periods and documents. At the first mention of the institute's gramophone record collection in the spring of 1945, 50 records were mentioned, and in the end-of-year report 59. All of the records supposedly had the "Gevaert Gevaphon" label. An inventory of archival material dated 8 January 1947,⁷¹ made to assess the insurance value of the material, lists 63 record without mentioning the label, which is usually omitted from later documents as well. Despite some concrete plans for future recordings mentioned in archival reports and documents from this period, no detailed data or documents about such recordings have been preserved, which suggests they did not take place. Nor are there any clear reports or data indicating that the institute acquired any new sound material during that time or when this was supposed to happen.

The next available data about the number of records is found two years later, in a report on the state of the institute's library (8 May 1950).⁷² According to this report, a special library collection contained no fewer than 83 double-sided records, which is the maximum number of records in this collection

69 Elektroton was the only gramophone record company in Slovenia in the interwar period. It was actually a craft workshop with a single hand-operated record press for pressing gramophone records of mostly foreign matrices. The company had its own shop on the ground floor of the famous Nebotičnik building in Ljubljana. In 1938, it relocated to Zagreb, where it continued its operation under the same name. After the war, in 1947, it was nationalised and renamed Jugoton (for more about the beginnings of the gramophone industry in Slovenia, see Drago Kunej, "Slovenski posnetki na gramofonskih ploščah z 78 o/min," *Traditiones* 43, no. 2 (2014): 11–29, <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2014430201>).

70 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, Strok. k. 12/48.

71 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna korespondenca ad2/1–47.

72 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna korespondenca 16/50.

mentioned in any preserved documents. This is most likely the number of all of the records in the collection and not just the records with Slovenian music.

Later documents mainly list Slovenian sound material, so the number of records is smaller. In 1952, after Marolt's death, the record collection was first mentioned in more detail in response to a letter from Natko Devčić,⁷³ who was collecting data for the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) to be used in an "international catalogue of gramophone records with authentic musical folklore". On 29 May 1952, the Institute of Ethnomusicology replied⁷⁴ to Devčić, explaining that its "collection of folkloristic material contained 18 gramophone records with recordings of authentic musical folklore". The letter also mentions "22 gramophone records with recordings of folk songs and rituals, mostly arrangements by folklorists Marolt and Tomc", explaining that the recorded material was mostly from the regions of Koroška (Carinthia), Štajerska (Styria) and Dolenjska (Lower Carniola). The report thus lists a total of 40 gramophone records, which is a selection of "authentic recordings". No other details about the selected recordings are provided. An extensive and detailed Report on Work in the Field of Folklore in Slovenia,⁷⁵ published later that year, lists a sound collection of "58 phonograph discs with typical Slovenian songs" as one of the institute's archival collections; however, the collection is not presented in detail.

The most detailed list of gramophone records from this period is provided on two forms⁷⁶ that were filled out by the institute in 1953 at the specific request of the International Folk Music Council (IFMC), which had not received the data that was supposed to be passed on to them by Natko Devčić the previous year. In an accompanying letter, the institute explains that this time only "authentic examples" of folk music recorded on 23 records are included on the forms. The letter is accompanied by a detailed inventory of all of the records including the title of the recording and the type of the record (label) and its code number. This time, an even shorter list of seven records is added covering recordings of folk song arrangements by Marolt, Švikaršič and Kernjak that are considered "equivalent arrangements", that is, arrangements equivalent to "authentic" recordings. For the first time, the list includes more detailed data for 30 records with Slovenian folk music that are part of the institute's record collection; as before, this is a selection of "authentic recordings". Only 30 "authentic" recordings in total are listed this time, as opposed to 40 the year before.

73 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna korespondenca 13/52.

74 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna korespondenca 13/1-52.

75 The report was prepared in August 1952 for the purposes of a planned publication on musical folklore in Yugoslavia, which had been initiated by the Yugoslav Musical Folklore Committee, established on 1 July 1952 in Belgrade as part of the Yugoslav National Commission for UNESCO (ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna korespondenca 20/9-52).

76 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna korespondenca, Strok. k. 31/4-53.

Today, this collection includes 69 double-sided gramophone records, of which 55 feature Slovenian material, while the remaining 14 records contain foreign musical material, mostly arrangements of Russian and Ukrainian folk songs. Of the 30 records listed in 1953, almost all (except two) are preserved in the collection. In addition to this, the present-day collection includes a few records with duplicated songs, which are also recorded on discs with a different label. Therefore, the number of records with Slovenian songs is now higher than in 1953, when the records with duplicated songs were not included in the list. This suggests that in terms of the number of records, the collection has probably not changed much, although over time this could happen due to damage, destruction or loss.

6 The labels and type of records

While the oldest documents reveal that all of the records are identical and have the “Gevaert Gevaphon”⁷⁷ label, later reports no longer mention the types of records or labels. It is, however, evident from various other preserved documents that most of the records were recorded at Radio Ljubljana. In one of his later letters, Marolt specified a recording device he had used for test recordings in one of his ethnomusicological courses, namely the “Telefunken-Tonfolien-Schneid-und Wiedergabegerät ELA A 107/1”, one of which was owned by Radio Ljubljana at the time.⁷⁸

The preserved records that are part of the collection confirm the archival documents’ statements according to which they were recorded by means of so-called direct cut recording technology (sound carriers are often called instantaneous discs,⁷⁹ German: Tonfolien), which was widely used from the

77 The Belgian company Gevaert & Co was founded by Lieven Gevaert (1868–1935) in 1894. Although the company specialised in photographic material, it also produced records (under the Gevaphone label) and needles for gramophones. In 1964, Gevaert merged with Agfa to become Agfa Gevaert.

78 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, Zn. dps. 104/1, 1940.

79 The most widespread type of instantaneous disc is laminated: the lacquer or “acetate” disc. A lacquer coating consisting mainly of cellulose nitrate and usually plasticised with castor oil or camphor carries the information. The substrate that supports the information layer of the discs is generally made of metal (e.g., aluminium or zinc), but sometimes also of glass, cardboard or paper. Lacquer or “acetate” discs are highly sensitive and unstable. Even when these discs are playable they are at grave risk of suddenly cracking or crazing without warning. The reason for this is the steadily increasing stress between the lacquer coating and the supporting base plate. This stress is generated by shrinkage of the lacquer coating. Lacquer discs should therefore be given the highest priority in the sound archive preservation programme (see also IASA Technical Committee, *The Safeguarding of the Audiovisual Heritage: Ethics, Principles and Preservation Strategy*, eds. Will Prentice and Lars Gaustad, Version 4, 2017 (Standards, Recommended Practices and Strategies, IASA-TC 03), International Association of Sound and Audiovisual Archives; IASA Technical Committee, *Guidelines on the Production and Preservation of Digital Audio Objects*, ed. Kevin Bradley, Second edition 2009, (Standards, Recommended Practices and Strategies, IASA-TC 04), International Association of Sound and Audiovisual Archives).

1930s to the late 1950s for recording and broadcasting purposes. The discs were used to record and replay signals without the need for galvanoplastic processing and pressing. Their surfaces are soft enough to permit the cutting of the groove, but hard enough to permit a number of replays. Most of these discs are unique recordings. If not recognisable by their distinct appearance, almost all instantaneous discs can be identified by their handwritten or typed labels.

Instantaneous discs were produced in very small quantities using elementary cutting machines. They were widely used for a range of purposes, especially at radio stations, before magnetic tape recorders became common. Around 1940, disc recorders designed for amateur use began appearing on the market, but their sales were limited due to high prices. World War II subsequently brought their production to a halt. After the war, the popularity of such recorders greatly increased. In the 1950s, direct cut recording technology was replaced by magnetic tape recording.

Today, the collection of gramophone records at the Institute of Ethnomusicology consists of mostly instantaneous discs: out of a total of 55 records with recordings featuring Slovenian material, only the aforementioned five records by the Brnica sextet are non-instantaneous discs (shellac records with the Elektroton label), which were also intended for general sale. The two most common instantaneous disc labels are Gevaphone (23 records) and Dea (18 records), while eight others have the Radio Ljubljana label and another one the Binsa label.

7 Marolt's endeavours to purchase a magnetic tape recorder

The quantity of preserved documents related to gramophone records or sound documentation from 1948 and 1949 is rather limited. During this period, Marolt was active in various fields, including work related to the newly established folk dance ensemble, as well as "folklore lectures" at the Academy of Music. In the latter, he always emphasised the important role sound and film recording played in ethnographic work, aiming to provide his students with the necessary knowledge as part of practical work. However, he was constantly plagued by financial difficulties and inadequate technical equipment, as revealed by various work reports. To make matters worse, he suffered a partial stroke in June 1949, which kept him bedridden for almost a year.

However, even while ill and not yet fully recovered from the stroke, Marolt worked occasionally. For instance, in a letter sent to the Ministry of Science and Culture on 9 January 1950, a magnetic tape recorder was first mentioned as a sound recording and reproducing device that was part of the necessary equipment the institute was planning to buy to equip a lecture hall for its "cultural and educational work". In the spring of 1950, Marolt recovered completely,

and in a letter dated 27 April 1950⁸⁰ he mentions a specific tape recorder he wanted in addition to all of the other devices he was planning to buy “for the scientific research of musical and dance folklore and lectures”, namely “a magnetic tape recorder for speech and music – BRUSH SOUND MIRROR TAPE RECORDER, BK-403 model with a wire and a reproducer”. The tape recorder was supposed to arrive from “overseas”; however, it is not entirely clear whether the recorder in question was a tape recorder or a wire recorder, the latter being more widespread at the time (from 1946 onwards such devices were also intended for home use). In any case, Marolt’s intention to buy a recording device based on the principle of magnetic sound recording – as opposed to a sound recording device that used records – was expressed very clearly.

Just one month later, Marolt mentioned another magnetic tape recorder model that the institute could get with the help of “Dr Foerster from Switzerland”, i.e., “a Revere Magnetofon” priced at 1200 francs. Quite a lot of documentation has been preserved regarding the purchase of this particular piece of equipment. Marolt strongly demanded the purchase of this much-needed equipment, asking for the necessary funds:

*For the third year in a row, the Institute of Ethnomusicology has been planning the purchase of the equipment it so desperately needs for scientific purposes. [...] In the world of science, the use of this sort of equipment has long been standard practice. Without this auxiliary device [...], it will be impossible to critically collect folklore-related material using the methods of dialectical materialism in the future.*⁸¹

Marolt also pointed out that “in terms of its quality, the device needs to correspond to the latest scientific achievements; as far as that is concerned, such a device is unattainable in the socialist as well as in the private sectors of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia”.⁸² Despite the fact that a specific model had already been selected and a quote obtained, and notwithstanding Marolt’s compelling arguments and urgent appeals, the purchase fell through. It took a few more years for the institute to actually obtain the recording device, which was too late for Marolt, who died of a heart attack on 6 April 1951.

8 Conclusion

Throughout his research career, from the time the institute was established in 1934 until his death in 1951, Marolt made a great deal of effort to acquire a recording device to be owned by the Institute of Ethnomusicology. He was constantly on the lookout for the most suitable recording device for “scientific work” and for information about advancements in recording technology. First,

80 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna korespondenca 30/50.

81 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, arhivsko gradivo, strokovna korespondenca 13/1-50.

82 Ibid.

he wanted to take up sound recording work where the Committee for the Collection of Slovenian Folk Songs (OSNP) had left off due to World War I, and to undertake sound documentation work using a simple Edison phonograph. He was well acquainted with the OSNP Committee's work and material, as he had helped organise it while assisting Stanko Vurnik, an associate of the Ethnographic Museum, who was, according to Marolt, "the only scientific ethnographer in Slovenia who was also musically educated" and whose "untimely death thwarted his ambitious plans".⁸³ Marolt had the following to say about the work at the newly established institute: "I actually started where the late Dr Stanko Vurnik had stopped".⁸⁴

Marolt soon realised, however, that modern and higher-quality recording devices recorded sound on gramophone records or even sound film and were quite expensive. Due to a constant lack of funds, he was unable to acquire any such devices for the institute. The preserved documents thus show that the earliest sound recordings on gramophone records were made in collaboration with Radio Ljubljana, for which he prepared a series of educational radio lectures in 1936/37. During his further cooperation with Radio Ljubljana after World War II, Marolt often worked with gramophone records; however, none of the preserved documents specifically mention that any gramophone records were obtained by the institute from the radio in that period. Towards the end of his life, he focused his efforts on purchasing a magnetic tape recorder, a new sound recording technology that was just coming onto the market, but to no avail. Thus, the recordings on gramophone records remain the only sound documents in the creation of which Marolt was involved.

The agreement according to which a copy of the recorded samples on gramophone records from lectures presented in 1936/1937 was to be given to the institute could thus be considered the foundation of the institute's gramophone record collection. However, it took a few more years for the institute to acquire such a collection and no documents have been preserved to explain in more detail how and when individual records actually came into the institute's possession. Moreover, the records are not dated, which is a common problem with older gramophone records.⁸⁵ It therefore comes as somewhat of a surprise in the reports after the end of World War II that in the spring of 1945, i.e., immediately following the liberation, the institute already had a collection of 50 gramophone records (59 at the end of the year), and even more so that all of the records had a Gevaphone label. In fact, today, the collection contains only 23 Gevaphone records, which suggests that most of the 59 records were later either destroyed or lost, as they are no longer part

83 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, Zn. dps. 18/10, 1935.

84 Ibid.

85 See also Drago Kunej, "Medkodamiskritazvočnadediščina Slovencev," *Glasnik Slovenskega etnološkega društva* 54, no. 1–2 (2014): 22–28, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-XOJUD3US>.

of the collection. On the other hand, a comparison of the 1953 inventory listing 30 records in the collection shows that almost all of the listed records have been preserved to this day. Due to the lack of more detailed data on selected examples that Marolt included in his lectures, it has not been possible to make a more reliable comparison with the material preserved on the records and to conclude how many records with possible recordings of pre-war lectures have been preserved.

The collection of preserved records represents a special type of instantaneous disc that was made by means of direct cut recording technology. These are unique recordings that exist in a single copy – as pointed out in an institute letter as early as 1953⁸⁶ – which gives them special documentary value. The recordings feature various performances of folk songs, often arranged by France Marolt and performed by “his” Academic choir under his artistic direction, which gives the recordings even greater documentary value.

Archival documents and the recordings preserved on gramophone records not only reveal Marolt’s efforts to acquire a recording device and his plans for it to be used for research, educational and artistic purposes, but also serve to illustrate his views on folk music. Marolt’s aim was to research, understand and get to the roots of folk music, as well as to “restore” it and present it in its “real” and “authentic” form, the way he had envisioned and created it. The preserved recordings on unique gramophone records thus provide resounding proof of how he viewed folk music and its “authenticity”. As a matter of fact, most likely not only how he viewed it, but how other experts in the field viewed it at the time, as well. Thus, according to the institute’s researchers who followed in Marolt’s footsteps after his death, “authentic” recordings of folk music on gramophone records also include the recordings of various folk song arrangements (e.g., by Marolt, Švikaršič, Tomc, Kernjak). The researchers believe that “typical Slovenian characteristics” have been preserved in these arrangements, which makes them almost equivalent to authentic recordings.⁸⁷ However, they also believe that the “real authentic” recordings are mainly “restored” and arranged musical examples and songs performed by the singers of “Marolt’s” choir and presented as staged and “directed” reconstructions of various customs and habits, such as the Štehanje tournament, the Rej dance under a linden tree (*Rej pod lipo*), the Gailtal wedding (*Ziljska ohcet*) and the Visoči rej dance.

86 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, Strok. k. 31/4-53.

87 ZRC SAZU, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, 13/1-52.

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POVZETEK

Prizadevanja Franceta Marolta za zvočno dokumentiranje ljudske glasbe

France Marolt (1891–1951) je bil v svoji vsestranski dejavnosti vseskozi močno povezan s slovensko glasbo in preučevanjem ljudske kulture. Njegovo raziskovalno in umetniško delo je bilo že večkrat obravnavano in ovrednoteno ter je v strokovnih krogih razmeroma dobro poznano. Namen članka je predstaviti in osvetliti njegova prizadevanja za pridobitev snemalnih naprav, s katerimi je želel zapisovati in dokumentirati ljudsko glasbo na terenu in jih uporabljati tako pri svojem raziskovalnem delu, kakor tudi pri predavanjih in drugih oblikah izobraževalnega in kulturnega delovanja. Raziskava se pri tem opira predvsem na preučevanje različnih poročil, dopisov in drugih arhivskih virov ter na ohranjene gramofonske plošče.

Marolt se je pri svojem umetniškem in raziskovalnem delu že zgodaj zavedal velikega pomena zvočnega dokumentiranja glasbenonarodopisnega gradiva. V vsem času svojega profesionalnega raziskovalnega dela si je prizadeval pridobiti lastno snemalno napravo za Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut; od ustanovitve inštituta leta 1934 do svoje smrti leta 1951. Pri tem je vseskozi iskal najprimernejšo snemalno napravo za »znanstveno delo« in zbiral podatke o razvoju snemalne tehnologije. Najprej je želel z zvočnimi snemanji nadaljevati tam, kjer je zaradi 1. sv. vojne končal Odbor za nabiranje slovenskih narodnih pesmi in zvočno dokumentirati s preprostim Edisonovim fonografom, kmalu pa je spoznal, da sodobne in kakovostne snemalne naprave zapisujejo na gramofonske plošče ali celo na zvočni film in magnetofonski trak in so precej drage. Zaradi stalnega pomanjkanja finančnih sredstev za inštitut takšnih naprav ni mogel zagotoviti, zato ohranjena dokumentacija kaže, da so njegovi prvi in edini zvočni posnetki nastali na gramofonskih ploščah in v sodelovanju z Radiem Ljubljana, za katerega je v letih 1936/37 pripravil serijo izobraževalnih oddaj. Dogovor, da kopijo posnetih primerov na gramofonskih ploščah s predavanj v letih 1936/1937 dobi tudi inštitut, bi lahko imeli za temelj inštitutske zbirke gramofonskih plošč. Vendar inštitut zbirke gramofonskih plošč še nekaj let ni imel, prav tako ni ohranjene dokumentacije, ki bi podrobneje pojasnila, kdaj in kako so posamezne plošče prišle na inštitut. Plošče tudi niso datirane, kar je sicer splošna težava pri starejših gramofonskih ploščah. Šele v poročilih po končani 2. sv. vojni se nenadoma začne pojavljati podatek, da ima inštitut zbirko gramofonskih plošč. Spomladi leta 1945, torej takoj po osvoboditvi, je obsegala zbirka 50 plošč, konec leta pa že 59; poznejša poročila navajajo še višje številk (do največ 83). Kljub nekaterim konkretnim načrtom za nadaljnja snemanja, ki se omenjajo v arhivskih poročilih in dokumentih iz tega obdobja, ni podrobnejših podatkov, da bi se le-ta resnično izvedla. Tako ni ohranjene arhivske

dokumentacije, ki bi pojasnila, kdaj in kako so posnetki nastali ter kdaj jih je inštitut vključil v svojo gramofonsko zbirko.

Danes šteje zbirka 69 obojestranskih gramofonskih plošč; od tega je na 55 ploščah posneto slovensko gradivo, na ostalih 14 ploščah pa tuje, predvsem priredbe ruskih in ukrajinskih ljudskih pesmi. V veliki večini so v zbirki plošče posebne vrste, ki so bile izdelane s postopkom neposrednega rezanja (snemanja). Gre za unikatne plošče, ki pogosto obstajajo le v enem izvodu, kar daje posnetkom posebno dokumentarno vrednost. Na njih so posnete različne izvedbe ljudskih pesmi, pogosto v priredbi Franceta Marolta in v izvedbi »Maroltovega« Akademskega pevskega zbora pod njegovim umetniškim vodstvom. Tako ohranjeni posnetki in arhivska dokumentacija ne razkrivajo le Maroltovih prizadevanj za pridobitev snemalne naprave in načrtovanje njene uporabe za raziskovalno, izobraževalno in umetniško delo, temveč tudi njegov pogled na ljudsko glasbo in razumevanje »avtentične« podobe ljudske pesmi v njegovem času.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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O AVTORJU

DRAGO KUNEJ (drago.kunej@zrc-sazu.si), višji znanstveni sodelavec na Glasbenonarodopisnem inštitutu Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, je vodja inštitutskega Zvočnega arhiva, na Akademiji za glasbo in Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani pa predavatelj za področje etnomuzikologije in glasbene akustike. Preučuje tehnične in metodološke postopke zvočnega snemanja za raziskovalne namene in se ukvarja s problematiko zaščite, restavriranja, presnemavanja, digitaliziranja in arhiviranja zvočnega gradiva. Raziskuje zgodovino zvočnih snemanj in prve etnomuzikološke zvočne posnetke (s poudarkom na slovenskem gradivu), uporabnost zvočnih dokumentov za etnomuzikološke raziskave, ljudska glasbila, delovanje folklornih skupin in glasbo izseljencev.



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The Dynamics of Research of Instrumental Traditional Music at the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Past and Present

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ABSTRACT

The article presents the research of instrumental traditional music in the Slovenian space carried out by associates of the ZRC SAZU Institute of Ethnomusicology. It examines the audio resources available for the research of instrumental traditional music practices, as well as the orientations that have had an impact on the interpretation of the collected and analysed material.

Keywords: instrumental traditional music, ZRC SAZU Institute of Ethnomusicology, field recordings, 78 rpm gramophone records, research of instrumental traditional music

IZVLEČEK

V prispevku so predstavljene raziskave instrumentalne ljudske glasbe v slovenskem prostoru, ki so jih doslej opravili sodelavci Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta ZRC SAZU, in razpoložljivi zvočni viri, ki so na voljo za raziskovanje instrumentalnih ljudskoglasbenih praks. Prikazane so usmeritve raziskovalcev, ki so vplivale na interpretacije zbranega in že analiziranega gradiva.

Ključne besede: instrumentalna ljudska glasba, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU, terenski posnetki, gramofonske plošče z 78 o/min, raziskave instrumentalne ljudske glasbe

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1 Introduction

The function of instrumental traditional music is (and was) in many cases to accompany traditional dance. It is (and was) played in the context of entertaining events, such as merriments and weddings. Traditional instruments can also be part of ritual events, but this role is less visible in instrumental traditional music research. The research of traditional music and dance in Slovenia was formalised in 1934, when the Music Society (Glasbena matica) established the Folklore Institute, today known as the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU).¹ This institute is the only institution in Slovenia that deals with systematically collecting and researching traditional music, and is in this respect comparable to similar institutions that deal with traditional music elsewhere in Europe. The Institute of Ethnomusicology also serves as the framework of this article, which aims to present past and present research of instrumental traditional music practices. The article presents a part of my ongoing research into representations of instrumental traditional music practices from the first half of the twentieth century. Although my research also refers to the work of scholars who are not part of the Institute of Ethnomusicology, I have decided for the purposes of the present article to focus specifically on the work of the Institute based on the years of fieldwork done by the Institute's associates, which has resulted in a rich audio archive that serves as the primary resource of not only my own research, but also that of others. The purpose of the article is to present the history of the research of instrumental traditional music and the foundations of research today, i.e., research done in the field of instrumental traditional music and the collected and archived material. At the same time, I would like to draw attention to some ideological orientations of researchers that have had an impact on the ways of collecting, archiving and presenting the collected material, as well as on the research that has been done in this field, or that has been omitted.

2 Sources for the research of instrumental traditional music practices available at the Institute of Ethnomusicology

The most reliable sources for the research of instrumental traditional music are audio and video materials obtained in the field, as well as photographic material (e.g., photographs of musicians or traditional instruments). The sound archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology holds numerous recordings on tape and other (digital) audio carriers that have superseded tape (cassettes, DAT, hard drives), and as such is of paramount importance for the ethnomusicological

1 Hereinafter, I will refer to the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts as the Institute of Ethnomusicology.

analyses of past and present traditional music practices.

2.1 Tape recordings from the field

The first field recordings of instrumental traditional music obtained for the Institute of Ethnomusicology date back to 1955, and the first tape recorder was used for recording in White Carniola (Bela krajina) between 27 and 31 January 1955. In addition to vocal music, researchers also made the first recordings of instrumental traditional music: 16 recordings of a tamburitza ensemble (*tamburaški zbor*), one recording of a double whistle (*dvojnica*) and one of a whistle (*piščal*). All of the recordings feature instruments, but only as an accompaniment to singing. In December 1955, the first recording of purely instrumental music, i.e., without vocals, was made in Bogojina (Prekmurje Region), comprising ten dance tunes played on the diatonic accordion (*diatonična harmonika*). In 1993, the tape recorder was replaced by more contemporary recording devices: first there was the digital audio tape or DAT, while digital recorders with internal or external discs were introduced in 2007. However, the tape recordings are the key audio documents for my research; I found that 400 of these recordings include instrumental music, revealing the soundscape of traditional music practices from the first half of the twentieth century.²

2.2 78 rpm gramophone records

It is only in the last decade that 78 rpm gramophone records have been considered as a source of research in ethnomusicology. The records were made before the First World War and in the interwar period, and are considered to be the oldest audio documents of instrumental traditional music practices. These gramophone records also include arrangements of traditional music, but as they were made for commercial purposes, they have only recently been recognised as a relevant audio resource for the research of traditional music. A project called Sound Material from Gramophone Records as a Source of Ethnomusicology and Folklore Research (No. L6-2113) resulted in a vast fund of recordings of Slovenian music obtained by the Institute of Ethnomusicology. These recordings, including approximately 600 recordings of instrumental music, constitute the Digital Collection of Gramophone Records at the Institute. The collection has been the key source of several research projects, the results of which are collected mainly in a thematic edition of *Traditiones* 43, no. 2 (2014), and in the monograph *Glasba z obeh strani (Music from Both Sides)* by Rebeka and Drago Kunej, which focuses on the case of the Hoyer Trio, a

2 For more about tape recordings of instrumental music, see Teja Turk, "Odsevi etnomuzikoloških usmeritev v posnetkih instrumentalne glasbe na magnetofonskih trakovih," *Glasnik Slovenskega etnološkega društva* 60, no. 2 (2020): 58–69.

harbinger of polka music in America.

3 Research directions and the beginnings of instrumental traditional music research

No significant research was done on instrumental traditional music prior to the founding of the Institute of Ethnomusicology, although Zmaga Kumer does mention research on the “harmonica made of reed” (*orglice iz trstike*) by Davorin Beranič, which remained unfinished after Beranič’s death in 1923 and is now presumably lost.³

The founder and the first director of the Institute, France Marolt, defined a programme plan that involved “the creation of a collection of Slovenian music folklore that is as comprehensive as possible, which means collecting all of the available records of traditional songs⁴ [...] and making sure that they are updated”, “organising and cataloguing the collected material [...] carrying out musicological research and making a critical book edition” and “collecting scientific publications that refer to Slovenian musical folklore”.⁵ This was the guide for further research, which resulted in a still growing collection of recordings of and data about traditional music and dance, published research, and an established typology of traditional music and dance.

France Marolt’s most important contribution to the research of traditional music was the founding and management of the Folklore Institute, which represents the (formal) foundation of Slovenian musical folkloristics.⁶ His notes, which were published posthumously by the Institute of Ethnomusicology as *Slovenske narodoslovne študije* (*Slovenian Ethnography Studies*), include notes on instrumental traditional music. The latter were published in 1954 in the third notebook (*Gibno-zvočni obraz Slovencev/The Movement-Sound Expression of Slovenians*) and the fourth notebook (*Slovenski glasbeni folklore/Slovenian Musical Folklore*). Marolt saw different values in “music (*muska*) that was produced by traditional musicians and ‘music for fun’ (*muska za špas*), which can be made by anyone”.⁷ He also differentiated between “primitive instruments” – i.e., “all sound-making objects, either homemade or handicraft objects that

3 Zmaga Kumer, *Ljudska glasbila in godci na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1983), 11.

4 Such diction in the programme can be understood as an indicator of the selective view of musical folklore, and may have influenced the fact that less attention was devoted to instrumental music by scholars.

5 An excerpt from the Folklore Institute charter as quoted in Zmaga Kumer’s “France Marolt (1891–1951): Ob stoletnici rojstva slovenskega etnomuzikologa,” *Traditiones* 20 (1991): 14, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-BDE0OZFP>.

6 Marolt’s importance went beyond the research of music and dance traditions: he more or less defined the image of what we call Slovenian music and dance traditions by organising folklore events, as well as serving as an editor at Radio Ljubljana.

7 France Marolt, *Slovenske narodoslovne študije, notebook 3: Gibno-zvočni obraz Slovencev* (Ljubljana: Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, 1954), 17.

our people need during their work and relaxation, for their everyday tasks and celebrations mostly for their aural enjoyment, but they are not used to *make music* – and “classical instruments” – i.e., instruments that are played by traditional musicians.⁸

Marolt did not live to see the advent of field recording undertaken by the Institute’s associates (the Institute procured its first tape recorder in 1954, three years after Marolt’s death). He did, however, define several guidelines that researchers should follow when working in the field. In the fourth book of *Slovenske narodoslovne študije* he wrote:

In the area of instruments, researchers should be mainly interested in the following items:

1. *our primitive sound-making objects, their making and usage;*
2. *classical instruments in our musical folklore, their provenance and usage;*
3. *the farmer as traditional musician, his performances and repertoire;*
4. *style and form of Slovenian instrumental folklore;*
5. *Slovenian rural dances.*⁹

Despite Zmaga Kumer’s statement that ever since its establishment, the Institute of Ethnomusicology “has been constantly interested in instruments and musicians throughout the entire field research”,¹⁰ considering the amount of audio material and past research, instrumental traditional music cannot be compared to traditional vocal music and to the amount of research and documentation associated with it. The first large project collecting song traditions, The Folk Song in Austria (Das Volkslied in Österreich), took place during the years between 1906 and 1913 and also comprised music collected in some of today’s Slovenian provinces. The collected music was exclusively vocal, as music with text was considered a “representative form of a nation’s music.”¹¹

Later, as well, ethnomusicologists preferred to focus on vocal music rather than instrumental traditional music due to their (personal and professional) interests.¹² The aim of the collection and archiving of national traditional music was to “collect as many examples of antique, mostly rural vocal music,

8 Ibid.

9 France Marolt, *Slovenske narodoslovne študije, notebook 4: Slovenski glasbeni folklor* (Ljubljana: Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, 1954), 16.

10 Kumer, *Ljudska glasbila in godci na Slovenskem*, 11.

11 Lorenc Antoni, “Mbi disa dukuri dhe mënyra të kënduarit të këngëve popullore të përfshira në blejt I–VI të ‘Folklorit muzikor shqiptar’,” *Gjurmime albanologjike* 5 (1975): 119–143, quoted in Alma Bejtullahu, “Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji: Nacionalna identiteta, eksotika, past stroke,” *Traditiones* 45, no. 2 (2016): 168, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-1Z29DFP0>.

12 In-depth research on instrumental traditional music requires appropriate education and skills for melodic transcription, which could be one of the reasons for the smaller quantity of research. However, the number of researchers personally interested in instrumental traditional music has always been less than those interested in vocal traditional music.

most often found within the researcher's own national or ethnic territory so as to be able to define one or more national styles."¹³ Due to these research orientations,¹⁴ instrumental traditional music has remained "the least researched chapter in Slovenian folkloristics [...] that even our own researchers of Slovenian traditional culture have failed to take fully into account",¹⁵ as Zmaga Kumer noted in 1957.¹⁶

The associates of the Institute of Ethnomusicology therefore decided to compensate for the insufficient knowledge of instrumental traditional music practices, and in 1958 published two questionnaires in *Glasnik Slovenskega etnološkega društva* (*Bulletin of the Slovenian Ethnological Society*) on instruments and traditional music making. The feedback to the first questionnaire on simple and childhood instruments was good, while the questionnaire on traditional music and musicians received fewer responses. Nevertheless, the answers received were a great help in the search for traditional musicians, whom researchers later visited and recorded based on the information from the questionnaires.¹⁷

4 Instrumental music in the research of the associates of the Institute of Ethnomusicology

As in the case of the research of traditional vocal music and dance, the research done so far on instrumental traditional music practices has been mostly limited to the Slovenian space, i.e., to the territory of the modern-day Republic of Slovenia, along with the regions in neighbouring countries inhabited by a Slovenian minority, which researchers have considered as relevant areas for the research of Slovenian folk creativity. Due to the tendency to research Slovenian music, other ethnic minorities in Slovenia were not (or were rarely) recorded or included in the past research done by the Institute's associates. Zmaga Kumer, Julijan Strajnar, Igor Cvetko, Maša Komavec, Drago Kunej, Mojca Kovačič and myself are among the researchers of the Institute of Ethnomusicology who have dealt with instrumental traditional music practices from different standpoints. I would first like to highlight the work of Zmaga Kumer and Igor Cvetko, who were the first to research this specific area of traditional music

13 Svanibor Pettan, "K drugi godbi Roberta Leydija," foreword to *Druha godba: Etnomuzikologija*, by Roberto Leydi (Ljubljana: ŠKUC in Filozofska fakulteta, 1995), 315.

14 The research orientations mentioned were established in the first half of twentieth century, but influenced the research in the second half of twentieth century, as well.

15 Zmaga Kumer, "Paberki o slovenskih ljudskih glasbilih," *Glasnik Slovenskega etnološkega društva* 1, no. 4 (1957): 24.

16 This claim is inconsistent with a later statement by Zmaga Kumer in 1983 (mentioned above), in which she stated that the Institute's associates had been constantly interested in instrumental music since its establishment (Kumer, *Ljudska glasbila in godci na Slovenskem*, 11).

17 For further information on research orientations, see also Turk, "Odsevi etnomuzikoloških usmeritev".

practices as a whole.

Zmaga Kumer dedicated the majority of her research opus to traditional song. As mentioned above, she was nonetheless aware of the gaping hole in the research of instrumental music, and she tackled this area as well, starting with the articles “Godčevski in plesni motivi na panjskih končnicah”¹⁸ (“Traditional Instrumental Music and Dance Motives on Beehive Panels”) and “Primitivna instrumentalna glasba in ples v slovenski narodni pesmi”¹⁹ (“Primitive Instrumental Music and Dance in Slovenian Traditional Song”). In both cases, she focused on two (indirect) sources – images from beehive panels and traditional music – that originate in the time when there were no audio recordings.²⁰ The lack of audio material meant that the only available source for the research of instruments was fine art presentations and people’s testimonies, despite being the result of unverified personal interpretations. The work by Zmaga Kumer that contributed most to the research of instrumental traditional music is the monograph *Ljudska glasbila in godci na Slovenskem* (*Traditional Music Instruments and Traditional Musicians in Slovenia*).²¹ The monograph is still considered to be the only fundamental, comprehensive and encyclopaedic work on traditional instruments in Slovenia as understood by researchers of that time. Zmaga Kumer was very consistent in the use of the word *glasbilo* (a Slovenian synonym for musical instrument) instead of *instrument* (instrument), which according to her has a rather broader meaning, not necessarily connected to music.²² Moreover, she does not hierarchically differentiate musical instruments as did France Marolt, who classified them into primitive and traditional groups. Kumer accepts any instrument as a traditional instrument, i.e., any object that can be purposefully used to create sounds that are considered music, and that “traditional musicians use to play tunes from folk traditions on such occasions that fit into their framework, and objects that traditional usage values as musical instruments”.²³ The monograph systematically classifies instruments according to the Hornbostel-Sachs classification system: it includes data on sources and the extent of usage in space (Slovenia and Europe) and time, as well as noting the dialectal names of instruments, their structure and

18 Zmaga Kumer, “Godčevski in plesni motivi na panjskih končnicah,” *Slovenski etnograf* 10 (1957): 157–166, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-YOBXHMQQ>.

19 Zmaga Kumer, “Primitivna instrumentalna glasba in ples v slovenski narodni pesmi,” in *Rad kongresa folklorista Jugoslavije*, eds. Vinko Žganec, Zoran Palčok and Cvjetko Rihtman (Zagreb: Savez Udruženja Folklorista Jugoslavije, 1958), 79–90.

20 The recordings on the 78 rpm gramophone records, which are considered the oldest audio documents of instrumental traditional music, were neither available nor known to the researchers in the post-war period.

21 It was first published in 1972 as *Slovenska ljudska glasbila in godci*, while an updated edition entitled *Ljudska glasbila in godci na Slovenskem* was issued in 1983.

22 Kumer, *Ljudska glasbila in godci na Slovenskem*, 8.

23 Ibid.

their way of playing.

Igor Cvetko's research largely focused on children's sound toys and simple musical instruments. Prior to his work, this field of research had been treated in the same way as the instrumental traditional music practices of adults, disregarding the differing laws of the child's world, which Cvetko takes into account in his work. He uses two expressions to denote instruments, the traditional *glasbilo* (in the sense of a traditional musical instrument) and *zvočilo* (a sound-making object), giving the latter a broader meaning that includes sound toys, a whip, bells, etc. According to Cvetko's definition, the category of children's musical instruments includes objects found in nature (e.g., a stone, a leaf), instruments made by children or by adults for children, and industrially made instruments, e.g., the mouth organ (*ustna harmonika*). He highlights children's play as the most natural childhood activity, which is the key framework for the usage of children's instruments and sound toys.²⁴ According to the archaeological findings and their comparison with modern-day children's musical instruments "children's experience and expressive worlds have not changed since prehistoric times",²⁵ so musical instruments for children and sound toys have also changed little in their form and type (e.g., rattle, whistles, percussion), although noticeable changes can be found in the materials. Cvetko classified musical instruments for children and sound toys found in Slovenia according to their origin and applied the Hornbostel-Sachs classification system.

In addition to researching children's musical instruments, Igor Cvetko also undertook in-depth research on the case of wooden horns in Slovenia from historical and modern day perspectives.²⁶ In 2007, he mounted an exhibition called *Zvoki Slovenije (Sounds of Slovenia)* at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum,²⁷ which presented the timeline of instrumental music in Slovenia from prehistoric findings to the revival of traditional music, and also included the connections that traditional music has developed with the mass media and popular culture, thus opening up an important field of questioning the boundaries between traditional and popular music.

While these two studies provide an overview of the field as a whole, the article continues with a look at case studies of individual musical instruments: the violin played in the Resia Valley (*cítira*), panpipes (*trstenke*) and the diatonic

24 Igor Cvetko, "Otroška glasbila in zvočne igrače kot del glasbene (zvočne) tradicije otrok na Slovenskem," in *Med godci in glasbili: Razgledi*, ed. Igor Cvetko (Ljubljana: Slovenski etnografski muzej: ZRC SAZU, ISN, Sekcija za glasbeno narodopisje, 1991), 54.

25 Cvetko, "Otroška glasbila in zvočne igrače," 64.

26 Igor Cvetko, "O lesenih rogovih in rogistih na Slovenskem," *Etnolog* 12, no. 1 (2001): 285–300, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-8N95Y98W>.

27 Igor Cvetko, *Zvoki Slovenije: Od ljudskih godcev do avsenikov; exhibition* (Ljubljana: Slovenski etnografski muzej, 2007).

accordion.

The research of the *čítira*²⁸ is based on findings obtained in the field in the Resia Valley in Italy.²⁹ Its author, Julijan Strajnar, is an ethnomusicologist and an academically trained violinist. It was his interest in the violin that spurred him to research instrumental music, while his expertise and knowledge of the violin allowed him to analyse the *čítira* in detail. The expressions he uses for instruments in the sphere of traditional music are *glasbilo*, *glasbilo-instrument*, *ljudsko glasbilo*, *ljudski instrument*³⁰ or *godčevski sestav* (group of traditional musicians) for a music group. He defined several methodological guidelines that ethnomusicologists should follow in their research: besides looking at melody and rhythm, “they should also be interested in, for example, embouchure, fingers position, bowing technique, the use of vibrato, etc. [...] These details help us observe and better understand the style of a specific traditional musician, the style of a place or a region, the development of a melody, etc.”³¹ Strajnar applied this methodology thoroughly in his research of the *čítira*: he studied its acoustic characteristics, compared parts of the instrument with parts of the concert violin, paid special attention to the technique and the style of playing, and included all of the details in his music transcriptions. He analysed Resian melodies from different perspectives: tempo, melody, harmony and metre. By analysing not only the instrument and its use but also the repertoire and connections to Resian dance, Strajnar carried out some of the most comprehensive research of a specific area and produced one of the few studies that include all of the elements that we have mentioned and that are closely connected in practice.

The associates of the Institute of Ethnomusicology first became interested in **panpipes**³² when they received answers to the questionnaire on traditional musical instruments published in the Bulletin of Slovenian Ethnological

28 *Čítira* is a Resian colloquial expression for the fiddle. Although their instruments are made in factories or by craftsmen, Resians always modify them: they lower the bridge, move the sound post and tune the instrument to at least minor third higher than the usual violin tuning. See Julijan Strajnar, *Citira: La musica strumentale in Val di Resia/Citira: Instrumentalna glasba v Reziji* (Udine/Videm: Edizioni Pizzicato; Trieste/Trst: Založništvo tržaškega tiska, 1988), 21–24.

29 Resia is a border area in Italy, which is considered to be a Slovenian ethnic area, as Resians speak (or spoke) an old Slovenian dialect.

30 Both expressions, *ljudsko glasbilo* and *ljudski instrument*, have the same meaning: a traditional instrument.

31 Julijan Strajnar, “Raziskovanje glasbil in instrumentalne glasbe: Principi in metode dela,” in *Zbornik radova in čast akademika Cvjetka Rihtmana*, ed. Borivoj Čović (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1986), 141.

32 The panpipes known in the Slovenian space are symmetrical in shape with the longest tube in the middle. The number of tubes can vary, but must always be an odd number due to the symmetry of their layout. Before the twentieth century, panpipes were quite widespread in the Slovenian space. They were preserved for the longest time in central Styria, where they retained their regional recognition.

Society in 1958, which included information on this instrument from the Styria and Carinthia regions. Drago Kunej, whose knowledge of panpipes stems from both ethnomusicological research and his own practice, researched the story of Franc Laporšek, possibly the last traditional musician who played panpipes and who also had an important role in the revival of this instrument. Franc Laporšek's performance on panpipes was first recorded by the Institute's associates in 1969. He was subsequently invited to numerous folkloristic events³³ and interest in the instrument began to grow,³⁴ which encouraged him to take the making of panpipes more seriously. As "the last folk musician to play panpipes",³⁵ Laporšek appeared at numerous concerts as well as on radio and television. In addition, ethnomusicologists and performers alike became interested in making the instruments. Among them, particular mention should be made of Mira Omerzel, Matija Terlep, the Kurja Koža Trio (their repertoire was based on panpipes that they had learned to play with Laporšek) and Tomaž Rauch. In this way, the music practice of playing on panpipes has been preserved, although, as Kunej points out, their function has shifted from a traditional musical instrument to "a presentation of past tradition on stage and in the education process".³⁶

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the **diatonic accordion** rapidly gained popularity and became a ubiquitous instrument in the area of traditional music, as well. It was used by traditional musicians as well as by performers of popular music genres similar to traditional music, such as pop-folk music (*narodnozabavna glasba*) and polka music (in America). Accordion players were also popular radio guests in the 1930s, the early years of radio broadcasting. The field recordings of the Institute of Ethnomusicology reveal that the accordion is present in most traditional instrumental groups, and by 1990 it had appeared as a solo instrument on approximately 200³⁷ recording tapes, which demonstrates how popular it was among traditional musicians.

Among the research on the accordion done by the Institute's associates, the work of Maša Komavec and Mojca Kovačič deserves particular mention. The new generation of ethnomusicologists, including Komavec and Kovačič, approach the research of musical instruments differently than the post-war generation. As well as viewing traditional music from the folkloristic perspective, they also look at it from the anthropological and sociological standpoints, among others. Instead of analysing the musical instrument itself (which has

33 Drago Kunej, "Jaz nisem muzikant, jaz sem ljudski godec": Vloga Franca Laporška pri revitalizaciji trstenk," *Traditiones* 45, no. 2 (2016): 89–90, <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2016450206>.

34 Ibid., 91.

35 Ibid., 89.

36 Ibid., 97.

37 This corresponds to approximately half of all of the tapes that document instrumental music. I gather that the total number of accordion recordings is around 2,000.

already been done, for example, by Zmaga Kumer)³⁸ both researchers focus on the role of the accordion in society. Maša Komavec's research was among the first to include the influence of pop-folk music on the popularisation of the accordion. It led to changes in the repertoire, the structure of music groups and the attitude towards the instrument itself. The accordion has thus become the instrument with which people most often identify, although its aesthetic value is often a source of disagreement.

The functional role and repertoire of accordion music has become strongly linked to popular music (mainly the pop-folk genre), resulting in it becoming less valued artistically and aesthetically in intellectual circles as well as by scholars.³⁹ Still, it cannot be denied that the accordion plays an important role in the national identification process, and pop-folk music events are still very well attended today: the audience likes this genre a great deal and identifies with it.⁴⁰

Mojca Kovačič deals with this topic in her article "V deželi harmonike – nacionalizacija harmonike v slovenskem kontekstu"⁴¹ ("In the Land of the Accordion – The Nationalisation of the Accordion in the Slovenian Context"), highlighting the phenomenon of the nationalisation⁴² of the accordion in the context of pop-folk, polka and other popular music genres. Folklorists and ethnomusicologists used to view the latter as a digression from traditional music with regard to its value and aesthetics, so these genres were of little interest to them. The two researchers have broadened the scope of popular music genres; furthermore, a substantial shift has occurred in the understanding of traditional music practice, which "at this point does not only refer to the institutional understanding of the traditional based on music traditions, but also to music practices that are a part of the life of the wider population."⁴³

Relevant research has also been done by researchers of traditional music practices outside the Institute's framework. Particular mention should be made of Radoslav Hrovatin (drone zither (*bordunske citre*), jew's harp (*drumlica*), a children's sound toy made of reed called *nunalca*), Milan Trampuš,

38 Kumer, *Ljudska glasbila in godci na Slovenskem*, 89–94.

39 The use of other types of accordion (e.g., the piano accordion and the chromatic button accordion, the bandoneon) in some genres that have spread across Slovenia in the last few years (e.g., the tango, the concert accordion in classical music) is aesthetically more acceptable and more valued artistically in intellectual circles, while the diatonic accordion is linked to pop-folk music, which is not highly valued among intellectuals and musicologists.

40 See Mojca Kovačič, "V deželi harmonike – nacionalizacija harmonike v slovenskem kontekstu," in *Venček domačih: Predmeti, Slovincem sveti*, ed. Jernej Mlekuž (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2015).

41 Ibid.

42 Kovačič also researched bell chiming (*pritrkavanje*) in the context of nationalising this instrumental practice, which is connected not to dance music, but to ritual music practice. See Mojca Kovačič, *Pa se sliš ... Pritrkavanje v slovenskem in evropskem prostoru* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2012).

43 Kovačič, "V deželi harmonike," 87.

Mira Omerzel (zither (*citre*), diatonic dulcimer (*diatonični oprekelj*) and cymbal (*cimbale*)), Dario Marušić (instruments from Istria), Nina Volk (diatonic accordion, diatonic dulcimer), Romeo Volk (diatonic dulcimer, traditional instrumental music groups in the Ilirska Bistrica area), Drago Hasl (a type of whistle called *žvegla*), Emil Zonta (*triestina* accordion), Tomaž Rauch (panpipes, clay bass (*lončeni bas*), mouth organ), and Bruno Ravnikaar (music acoustics and analysis of musical instruments). Most of these researchers have not only researched the instruments, but are (or were) also active performers of traditional music. Their extensive research contributes significantly to the study of traditional music practices. The studies of musical instruments are detailed and as such represent a good foundation for further research in the area of instrumental music.

The research I am currently conducting is based on the connections between instrumental traditional music and cultural identities of Slovenians from the first half of the twentieth century. It will contribute significantly to the research of instrumental traditional music done so far, i.e., the research done from ethnographic and anthropological standpoints. My work focuses on musical instruments and instrumental music groups that are recognised by musicians, researchers or the mass media as local, regional or of national importance (e.g., tamburitza ensemble, wind bands, diatonic accordion, panpipes). One of the aims of the research is to learn how specific instruments or instrumental music groups are connected to the cultural identities of Slovenians. We can assume that various factors have affected geographically recognisable musical instruments. One of them is the music repertoire that has been audio documented mostly by the Institute of Ethnomusicology and has been consequently included in the concert repertoire of musicians today.

In addition, an analysis will be carried out of the changes in instrumental traditional music brought about by the development of mass media and pop-folk music. The first half of the twentieth century gave rise to new technologies and mass media – the research highlights gramophone records and the radio – while new genres of popular music developed on the foundation of traditional music, e.g., polka and pop-folk music. These genres were widely popular among the people and as such had a considerable impact on the public image of traditional music; with their editorial policies, the media were able to stimulate the growth of certain music genres or music groups, while performers contributed to the repertoire of instrumental music with their own choices, whether they performed on stage or on the radio, or were recorded either by field researchers or for publishing on 78 rpm gramophone records. A survey of the tape recordings from the audio archives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology and of the 78 rpm gramophone records from the Digital Collection of Gramophone Records has shown that certain instruments and instrumental music groups stand out. The (diatonic) accordion is distinctly prevalent among

the musical instruments that were recorded on gramophone records in America; the instrument had a symbolic value for Slovenian immigrants, who were connected to their homeland. The accordion is also prevalent, although to a lesser extent, on field recordings of the Institute of Ethnomusicology's sound archive. These recordings also show that apart from the apparently numerous recordings of the accordion, recordings of some instrumental music groups are tied to specific places or regions (for example the tamburitza ensemble in White Carniola, the Prekmurje band in the Prekmurje region, the violin (*čitira*) and three-stringed bass or violoncello (*bunkula*) in the Resia Valley).

5 Conclusion

The research of instrumental traditional music carried out by the Institute of Ethnomusicology is not abundant in terms of the number of studies, as researchers used to focus mostly on the research of vocal traditional music due to the recognisability of language as an identifier of nationality. Nevertheless, the foundations for further research of instrumental traditional music and its social role were laid, especially with the detailed overview of the existing musical instruments in traditional usage in Slovenia in Zmaga Kumer's anthology.⁴⁴ Early (i.e., post-war) research concentrated mainly on an overview of past and existing traditions in order to preserve our knowledge of instrumental traditional music practices. The research of musical instruments at the time favoured the analysis of an instrument, its mechanical functioning and structure, dialectal names and the circumstances in which an instrument was (or instruments were) played. The musicians' repertoire was less of interest; it was often tied to dance and so was mostly in the domain of ethnochoreological research.⁴⁵

Later ethnomusicological research has been more broadly based and more interdisciplinary. Its purpose is to show the role of a musical instrument and instrumental traditional music in society and to observe changes as they occur through time as the result of social changes. Instrumental traditional music is seen as a living process. It is not a static, socially isolated phenomenon; on the contrary, it is a constituent part of society.⁴⁶ In the past, researchers used to have a rather negative attitude towards the mass media and pop-folk music genres, believing that these not only change but also devalue folk traditions. Therefore, mass media and pop-folk music were understood as a deviation from traditional music and the traditional music field of research. Today, research has changed its outlook: mass media and pop-folk music genres are seen as factors that have an

44 Kumer, *Ljudska glasbila in godci na Slovenskem*.

45 Research of traditional instrumental music and dance was rarely intertwined. Studies that connect both are, e.g., Strajnar, *Čitira* and Marjeta Tekavec, *Vplivi godčevstva na oblikovanje slovenskega plesnega izročila* (Ljubljana: University of Ljubljana, 1999).

46 This is also true of contemporary research of traditional vocal music and dance.

important connection with traditional music and the influence on performative practices goes both ways. At the same time, the understanding of the traditional has expanded beyond the past frameworks. Researchers take into account contemporary music practices as well as urban music practices and sound studies⁴⁷ (in the past, the emphasis was on the rural environment) and groups of people who are considered marginal and have so far been neglected (e.g., immigrants, refugees, ethnic minorities).⁴⁸ Including these aspects into research creates a comprehensive soundscape of time or space and reveals individual practices from the past that used to be omitted due to the selection of music materials.

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47 See, e.g., Mojca Kovačič, "Kako naj zveni mesto: Religijski in ulični zvoki Ljubljane med izkustvom in zakonodajo," *Etnolog* 28 (2018): 123–140, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-EMA8SA3N>.

48 See *Muzikološki zbornik* 55, no. 2 (2019).

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POVZETEK

Dinamika raziskav inštrumentalnih ljudskoglasbenih praks v okviru Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta ZRC SAZU

V prispevku je predstavljena zgodovina raziskovanja inštrumentalne ljudske glasbe in teme-
lji, ki so bili postavljeni za raziskovanje te tematike v današnjem času; v to so vključene tako
opravljene raziskave na področju inštrumentalne ljudske glasbe kot tudi zbrano in arhivirano
gradivo. Raziskave ljudske glasbene in plesne tradicije na Slovenskem so dobile institucionalne
temelje z letom 1934, ko je Glasbena matica ustanovila Folklorni inštitut – današnji Glasbeno-
narodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU. Ta predstavlja tudi okvir pričujočega prispevka, saj so sode-
lavci omenjenega inštituta z zbiranjem in snemanjem gradiva na terenu poskrbeli za nastanek
bogatega zvočnega arhiva. Zvočni arhiv je najpomembnejša zbirka zvočnih dokumentov tudi
za današnje raziskave. Za mojo raziskavo so relevantni predvsem terenski posnetki na ma-
gnetofonskih trakovih in gramofonske plošče z 78 o/min, na katerih se med drugimi zvrstmi
nahajajo tudi priredbe ljudske glasbe. Prvi terenski posnetki inštrumentalnih ljudskoglasbenih
praks so nastali leta 1955, omenjene gramofonske plošče pa so nastale v času pred prvo svetovno
vojno in med obema vojnama. Iz tega časa drugih zvočnih virov nimamo, zato te plošče lahko
štejemo za najstarejše zvočne zapise inštrumentalnih ljudskoglasbenih praks. Namen prispev-
ka je obenem opozoriti na nekatere idejne usmeritve raziskovalcev, ki so pomembno vplivale
na zbiranje, arhiviranje in javno predstavljanje zbranega gradiva in raziskav, ki so bile oziroma
niso bile na tem področju opravljene. Opazna je razlika tako med številom raziskav kot teren-
skimi posnetki inštrumentalne in vokalne ljudske glasbe; slednjih je bistveno več. Med širše
zastavljenimi raziskavami izpostavljam raziskavo ljudskih glasbil Zmage Kumer in raziskavo
otroških glasbil Igorja Cvetka. Bolj specializirane raziskave posameznih glasbil so opravili Julijan
Strajnar na primeru violine *cittire*, Drago Kunej na primeru trstenk, Maša Komavec in Mojca
Kovačič na področju diatonične harmonike. Moja raziskava se osredotoča na povezave med
inštrumentalnimi ljudskoglasbenimi praksami in kulturnimi identifikacijami med Slovenci v
prvi polovici 20. stoletja. To je obdobje novih množičnih medijev in popularnoglasbenih žanrov,
ki so bili povezani z ljudsko glasbo. Na podlagi analize doslej malo raziskanih virov želim ugo-
toviti, katera glasbila in inštrumentalne zasedbe so v Slovencih vzbudile kulturne identifikacije,
pri čemer upošteva tako vlogo raziskovalcev in godcev kot množičnih medijev v tem procesu.

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ljudskoglasbenimi praksami in kulturnimi identitetami Slovencev v prvi polovici 20. stoletja.



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A Chant Treatise in the Service of Two Monastic Traditions of the Modern Era: The Case of the *Musices Choralis Medulla*

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ABSTRACT

The present study discusses a chant theory treatise preserved in the Carthusian compilation manuscript (CZ-Pu I F 17) and based on the Franciscan Hermann Mott's *Musices Choralis Medulla* (1670). It sheds new light on the background of the Carthusian arrangement and its connection to the Franciscan original by comparing both versions and trying to discover why the Franciscan treatise was chosen as an exemplar, who the author of the Carthusian treatise was, when and where the Carthusian version was written and used, and finally, through a study of its context and the information given in its manuscript source, how it could be transmitted and what it meant for the Carthusian order.

Keywords: Carthusians, Franciscans, plainchant, music theory, Hermann Mott

IZVLEČEK

Pričujoča razprava preučuje traktat o koralni teoriji, ki se je ohranil v kompilativnem kartuzijanskem rokopisu (CZ-Pu I F 17) in je nastal po predlogi dela *Musices Choralis Medulla* frančiškana Hermann Motta iz leta 1670. S primerjavo obeh različic članek osvetli okoliščine nastanka kartuzijanske predelave in njen odnos do frančiškanskega izvirnika, ob tem pa poskuša ugotoviti, zakaj je bil za predlogo izbran ravno frančiškanski traktat, kdo je bil avtor kartuzijanske predelave, kdaj in kje je ta nastala in bila v rabi. S preučevanjem konteksta

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rokopisa in s podatki, ki jih lahko dobimo iz celotnega ohranjenega rokopisa, pa poskuša ugotoviti še, kako se je kartuzijanski traktat razširil, in določiti njegov pomen v okviru kartuzijanskega reda.

Ključne besede: kartuzijani, frančiškani, koral, glasbena teorija, Hermann Mott

“Usus te plura docebit.”
(*Musica Choralis Franciscana*, 1726, p. 117)

1 Introduction

In the centuries prior to the institutionalisation of various music studies at conservatoires, music schools and, later, universities, music studies in the Slovenian lands, as elsewhere, were primarily connected to the people learning and “using” different kinds of music in their everyday lives. These studies dealt with music on both the practical and theoretical levels, but always had to consider its performance adapted to certain individuals and groups of audiences or users. Many studies have been done, for example, on tailor-made or re-tailored arias for singers in the eighteenth century. Similarly, music theory (treatises) could also be tailored to the needs of its users up to a certain point. This is particularly evident in the case of a small (but not unimportant) seventeenth-century treatise entitled *Musices Choralis Medulla*. This treatise proves to be an interesting example of adapting and (re)arranging theoretical musical material not only from one edition to the next, but also within the Franciscan monastic tradition, as well as from one monastic tradition to another, from the Franciscans to the Carthusians.

The original *Musices Choralis Medulla* (henceforth also referred to as the *Medulla* or the Franciscan *Medulla*) was written by the Franciscan Hermann Mott and was first published in Cologne in 1670. During research on a short Carthusian music treatise written at the end of an extensive non-musical manuscript, which is today preserved in the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague (Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, Ms. I F 17, RISM CZ-Pu I F 17),¹ it was discovered that Mott’s work served as an exemplar for a late-seventeenth-century Carthusian adaptation and its later copy (further referred to as the Carthusian “*Medulla*” or the “*Medulla*”).

The present article aims to address various questions regarding the origin of the Carthusian version, its *raison d’être*, its meaning and influence within the Carthusian province *Alemania Superior*, and its relationship to the Franciscan original. By comparing the two versions – the printed Franciscan version and

1 I would like to thank Mr Joseph Bernaer, who kindly lent me his copy of the treatise for preliminary studies.

the manuscript Carthusian version – it aims to gain an insight into the theoretical as well as the practical musical needs of both monastic orders at the end of the seventeenth century, and to understand the extent to which they viewed themselves as having special (different) chant traditions even when referring to the “same” source.

2 *Musices Choralis Medulla* by Hermann Mott

The original *Musices Choralis Medulla* by the Franciscan (of the Recollect branch)² Hermann Mott (1624–1704)³ was finished in 1669 and published in 1670 in Cologne. Its author was a renowned theologian and author of spiritual works (not primarily a musician) who lived in an environment strongly marked by the Reformation and led many theological disputes with Lutheran theologians.⁴ However, he was also a *magister novitiorum* of the Cologne Franciscan province, and for a number of years was the guardian of the Franciscan monastery of St Wolfgang in Kreuznach. Leading and teaching represented a major part of his duties and experiences, as is evident in the authoritative and pedagogical writing of the *Medulla*.

The title *Musices Choralis Medulla* (meaning “the essence of plainchant” or “the essence of chant”) promises something of an anthological quality. This could be ascribed to the fact that the term was not completely unknown in the musical world.⁵ However, a more probable and general explanation of “medulla” in this context would be that it tries to be a concise, short and useful tool

2 Some basic information on the Franciscans, their various branches and history of music can be found in Mary Berry, “Franciscan Friars,” in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 13 October 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.10113>. More extensive reading with more information can be found in Hans Schmidt (after Heinrich Hüsch), “Franziskaner,” in *MGG Online*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken (Kassel, 2016–ff.), accessed 10 May 2020, <https://www-mgg-online-com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/mgg/stable/12065>.

3 Some basic information on Hermann Mott can be found on *Wikipedia*, s. v. “Franziskanerkloster St. Wolfgang in Kreuznach,” last modified 31 July 2020, accessed 31 August 2020, https://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Franziskanerkloster_St._Wolfgang_in_Kreuznach&oldid=202371749.

4 His most famous work, in addition to some theological disputations with other authors, was the treatise *Manus Religiosorum (A Hand of the Religious)* from 1669. Ibid.

5 The title “Medulla” was used for various handbooks, including some music handbooks, where it referred to an anthology. Such was *Medulla Musice* by Thomas Robinson from 1603, of which no copy has survived. It probably contained his intabulations and arrangements of the *Medulla Musice* attributed to Byrd and Ferrabosco, an anthology of canons on the plainsong *Miserere*. Diana Poulton, revised by Robert Spencer, “Thomas Robinson,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed 1 September 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23600>; Thurston Dart, “A Hand-List of English Instrumental Music Printed before 1681,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 8 (1955): 17.

Another such example was *Medulla Musicae*, an instrumental anthology for viola da gamba by R. M. Philomusicus (presumably Richard Meares III), published by Cluer in London in 1727. Peter Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 132.

enabling monks to learn and understand the basics of chant, as well as to apply them. The complete title of the work – *Musices Choralis Medulla; sive Totius Cantus Gregoriani succinta ac fundamentalis Traditio; una cum Tonis Communibus, Hymnis, Antiphonis lectione mensali &c. ad usum FF. Minorum Recollectorum Ordinis Seraphici Patris S. Francisci* – thus presents the contents of the book well. It contains a short theoretical introduction on plainchant and an edition of the Franciscan chant, with selected chants and sung *formulae*.

There were further editions of Mott's Franciscan *Medulla*, among others in the years 1683 (Cologne), 1704 (Cologne) and 1714 (again in the North Rhine region, but this time in Paderborn).⁶ In 1726 – twelve years after Mott's death – a new, corrected and updated version of the *Medulla* appeared. Here, the title *Medulla* was retained only for the first part of the three-part book, now called *Musica Choralis Franciscana tripliciter divisa in Medullam Cantus Gregoriani, sive ejusdem Principia Generalia; in Cantorale Tonorum Communium, in provincia Ff. Min. Recoll. Coloniensi Usitatorum; et in Processionale Romanum et Ordinis*.⁷ In comparison to the theoretical part of Mott's *Medulla*, the new version retained his division of the basic theory into five chapters, adding one at the end (on psalm tones, their intonations and *differentiae*; this was previously a section on chant in Mott's *Medulla*). However, the contents of the chapters of 1726 were written anew and differ from the *Medulla* of 1670 in their presentation of the topic. The choice of the title of the first part, as well as the general division, nevertheless prove that the "original" compendium itself was widely known and had been considered a successful tool in the chant education of the Franciscan order for more than half a century.⁸

In its first edition as well as in later editions, Mott's *Musices Choralis Medulla* was widely disseminated within the Franciscan order (not only within the *Recollecti* branch or within the lands by the Rhine), as can be seen, for example, from the exemplar of the 1683 edition preserved in the Library of the

6 According to Jean-Marc Warszawski, the majority of the preserved exemplars known in 2008 came from Germany, and then from Italy, France, Norway and the United States. (To date, the number of known preserved volumes is probably substantially greater than the eleven given by Warszawski.) Jean-Marc Warszawski, "Mott Hermann, 1624–1704," last modified 16 December 2014, accessed 15 September 2020, https://www.musicologie.org/Biographies/m/mott_hermann.html.

7 *Musica Choralis Franciscana* [...] (Cologne: Caspar Drimborn, 1726). The *minister provincialis* Gerardus Sechten from Cologne introduced the new edition with the following words and a new title, which gave it a more Franciscan-orientated meaning from the very beginning: "Alias editum, renovare, mendis expurgare, defectus supplere, & accuratiorem notam, meioiremquem character, pro novo typo, sub Titulo: MUSICA CHORALIS FRANCISCANA." These words can still be found in later editions, such as in the edition from 1746.

8 Later editions of Mott's work are not the only proof that the book had been in existence for a long time. In one scanned *Medulla* from 1670, available online, the signature of the owner appears at the end. The signature itself is not very clear, but it can be discerned that the owner of the scanned book was a member of the Franciscan Order (*Recollecti*) and that the inscription was made as late as 1725.

Franciscan Monastery in Ljubljana (see Figure 1).⁹ However, despite its decidedly Franciscan origin, history and even contents, it was also known outside the Franciscan order.

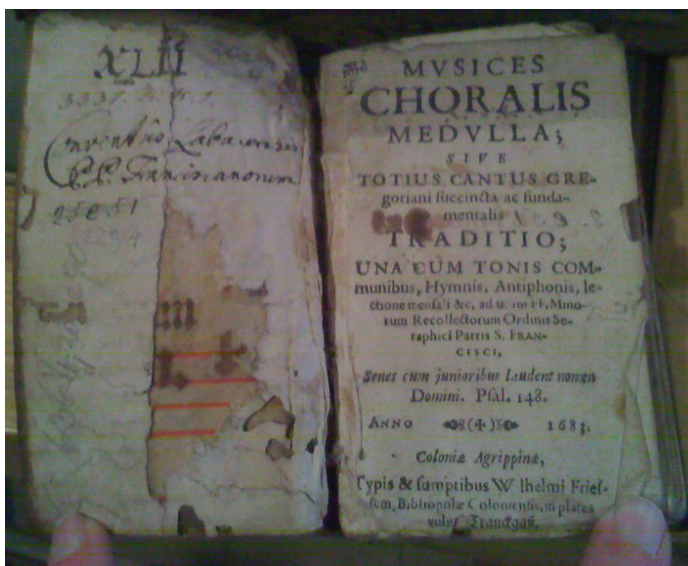


Figure 1: The exemplar of the Franciscan 1683 *Medulla* from the Franciscan Library in Ljubljana, shelf-mark 25 e 51, title page.

3 Contents of the Franciscan *Musices Choralis Medulla*

Strictly speaking, *Musices Choralis Medulla* refers only to the first part (160 pages) of the complete book. The second part is a processional beginning with new page numbering and containing a further 88 pages. Most of the book contains notation, but there are also parts consisting only of written texts.

The first part begins with a short theoretical treatise. (Its contents are explained further below in comparison with the Carthusian version. Since it is the only part used in both traditions, this part represents my primary research interest. To understand the treatise in its context, however, the content of other parts is given in Table 1 below.) The theory treatise in the *Medulla* is followed by selected Franciscan chants and useful chant *formulae* sung in the Mass and the Office. It is systematic as well, since the incipits are given in such a way that one can find the melody according to its mode and liturgical function.

A large part of the next book contains hymns and processional chants,

9 The print bears a handwritten inscription about the Ljubljana Franciscan Convent ownership. It is mentioned in Metoda Kokole, "Glasbenoteoretični in pedagoški priročniki iz 'dolgega' 18. stoletja na Slovenskem," *Muzikološki zbornik* 47, no. 1 (2011): 62.

many of which are intended for Franciscan saints, but there are also some songs for the Virgin Mary. The second part of the print is dedicated specifically to the use of the Recollect branch, with selected sequences sung in the Order. The Carthusians had no use for these chants in their liturgy, as they were very specifically intended for Franciscan use.¹⁰

Two chapters or parts of the *Musices Choralis Medulla* are of special interest for learning more about the desired performance practice in this order, as they contain some rules for performance of chant and chant *formulae*. Here, the Franciscan *Medulla* again becomes a learner's compendium. These are the chapters "Modus legendi ad mensam" and "De psalmodia rite ordinanda". In the first one, the monk is instructed to read and recite with a full and sounding voice, as well as with proper understanding of the text: the accents should be right, the manner of pronouncing monosyllabic words and numbers should be correct, and the content of the sentence should be given with proper melody turns and intonations. Some notated *formulae* are also given in this part. The other part, "De psalmodia rite ordinanda", contains ten rules ("ten commandments") for singing chant. There follows an in-depth description of good and bad habits when singing it.¹¹ It can be seen that the Franciscans at that time favoured equalistic performance of chant. This had already been mentioned in the prologue of the initial theory treatise, and was taken over by the Carthusians in their "Medulla".

Table 1: Contents of the 1670 *Musices Choralis Medulla*

Contents	Page
I. Part one: <i>Musices Choralis Medulla</i>	
Initial dedications and forewords (by Hermann Mott and the provincial minister F. Bonaventura Reul)	
Theoretical treatise (prologue and five short chapters)	1
<i>Toni communes</i> (tones of psalms and canticles, melodies of the hymn <i>Te lucis</i> and the canticle <i>Nunc dimittis</i> , as well as sung <i>formulae</i> for various parts of the Mass and the Office)	16

10 The Carthusian tradition differed greatly from the Franciscan traditions in this regard. The Carthusians had fewer saints' feasts than other traditions in general; furthermore, they had very few hymns, they had no processions (with very few exceptions), and they did not have sequences in their liturgy. Their main tradition was based mostly on chant with biblical texts. For the main characteristics of the Carthusians and their liturgical tradition, see Amand Degand, "Chartreux (Liturgie des)," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 3, pt. 1, eds. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1948), cols. 1045–1071; Hansjakob Becker, *Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers: Untersuchungen zu Urform und Herkunft des Antiphonars der Kartause* (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1971); Thomas Op de Coul, "Carthusians," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 5 September 2020, <https://doi-org.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05035>.

11 Hermann Mott, *Musices Choralis Medulla* (Cologne: Wilhelm Friess, 1670), 101–102.

Contents	Page
Notated hymns for the Franciscan processions and music for other selected feasts	37
<i>Modus legendi ad mensam</i> (rules for readings at the table and for general readings, including notated <i>formulae</i>)	75
<i>De psalmodia rite ordinanda</i> (ten rules for chant performance)	100
Appendix (texts of the hymns sung in solemn processions and other items)	123
<i>Litaniae Lauretanae de Beata Virgine</i> (texts)	152
Index “rerum, tonorum, hymnorum, antiphonarum, responsoriorum”	157
II. Part two: Processional “ac normam Missalis ac Ritualis” [...] in usum FF. Minorum Recollectorum	
Processional with music for selected feasts	161 = 1*
Selected sequences	49
<i>In Jubilaeo Patrum et Fratrum</i>	61
<i>Exequiarum Ordo juxta Rituale Romanum</i>	64
Index of contents (“Series eorum quae in haec Processionali continentur”)	86

* New page numbering.

4 The Carthusian Manuscript I F 17 from the National Library of Prague

The Carthusian arrangement of the theory treatise from the beginning of the Franciscan *Musices Choralis Medulla* is also entitled “Musices Choralis Medulla” and forms the concluding part of a Carthusian manuscript preserved in the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague under the shelf-mark I F 17. The complete manuscript has a rather small format, containing 153 paper folios (306 pages) and measuring 20 x 16 cm.¹² Its handwriting as well as some other indications – such as dates of copying of individual parts – show that it was finished in the early eighteenth century.¹³ It was probably intended for the Valdice Charterhouse, which was the owner of the majority of the Carthusian manuscripts preserved in the National Library in Prague today: out of twenty-five Carthusian manuscripts, seventeen come from Valdice.¹⁴ However, some indications written in the margins of the manuscript show that it was also used in the Brno Charterhouse.

12 Václav Ploček, *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur*, vol. 1 (Prague: Academia, 1973), 75.

13 Josef Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C. R. Bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, Pars prior: Codices 1–1665, catalogue entry “249, I. F. 17.,” (Prague: František Rívnáček, 1905), 100.

14 The catalogue of this library written by Josef Truhlář lists a total of twenty-four or twenty-five Carthusian manuscripts. Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum*, xii.

Table 2: Contents of the manuscript I F 17¹⁵

Folios (pages)	Contents
[2 unnumbered folios]	One folio contains a poem entitled <i>Provisio pro extrema sacra unctione</i> , while two images (representing St Stanislaus Kostka in his last hour and the Last Judgement) are pasted on the other folio
1–43 (1–86)	Ecclesiastical calendar from Valdice
46–122 (91–244)	<i>Directorium lecturae</i> in the Carthusian refectory
125–136 (249–272)	Compendium on the duties of a sacristan by Albert Hoeffter, collected in Gaming
[an unnumbered folio between pp. 266–267]	A smaller folio with the customs of the Brno Charterhouse for the feast of All Souls
138–143 (277–286)	A manual for a “perfect vicar” for the monks of Gaming by Arnold Mittentaler and Johannes Baptista Schmall
144–145 (287–290)	Five annotations on Hebrew nouns and verbs and their Latin pronunciation
[unnumbered]	A smaller folio with the title <i>Lapis Lydius</i> , intended for a draft of spiritual exercises by Innocent Le Masson
146–153 (291–305)	<i>Musices Choralis Medulla</i> from Seitz [Žižce]
[several unnumbered folios]	Empty unnumbered folios

As can be seen from Table 2, the manuscript does not contain any music-related content apart from the “Medulla”. As a whole, it seems to be a general Carthusian handbook with a liturgical and practical orientation. There is a liturgical calendar of the Carthusian order, with a general introduction on how the annual seasons are divided and calculated (fols. 1–43); longer and detailed instructions on readings in the refectory (fols. 46–122); and instructions for a sacristan for major feasts (fols. 125–136), with an insertion of the “Consuetudo Cartusiae Brunensis in Com[memorationibus] fidelium defunctorum” (this whole chapter also has numerous other annotations on the customs of the Brno Charterhouse on major feasts). There follows a description of an “ideal” Carthusian vicar (fols. 138–143), given in the form of alphabetically arranged terms to the monks of Gaming by the visitators of the *Alemania Inferior* Carthusian province, Arnold Mittentaler and Johannes Baptista Schmall in 1677; five annotations on the pronunciation of Hebrew words and their Latin pronunciation (fols. 144–145); and the chant treatise “Musices Choralis Medulla” (fols. 146–153), followed by some empty pages.¹⁶ Immediately be-

15 Apart from selected chapters, I did not have an opportunity to examine the complete manuscript, but only the beginning parts of the individual items. The list of contents is given mostly after Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum*, 100. I would like to thank Jan Vojtišek from the National Library of Prague for providing some additional information that is not included in the catalogue, such as information on the folio with the customs of the Brno Charterhouse for the feast of All Souls.

16 Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum*, 100; Latin quotations and the information on the dates and provenance of the texts are also taken from this entry. See also Ploček, *Catalogus codicum*, 75.

fore the treatise, there is an unnumbered folio containing a short inscription announcing spiritual exercises by the General Prior of the Order Innocent le Masson (1627–1703; General Prior from 1675), but the intended content itself is missing.¹⁷ It seems that the book as a whole was meant to be a *vademecum* for a Carthusian monk in charge of some important liturgical duty in the monastery, and was conceived as a collective manuscript with this purpose from the very beginning.¹⁸

The manuscript was put together from various sources derived from different charterhouses of the Upper German Province and most probably intended for the Valdice Charterhouse, as can be seen from the inscription before the calendar: “*Calendarium ecclesiasticum pro cartusia Waldicensi compositum cum directorio*”. There were, however, strong connections to Brno: one of the unnumbered folios contains customs of the Brno Charterhouse for the feast of All Souls and there are other annotations on Brno customs in the chapter on the sacristan; furthermore, the scribe states that he copied the “*Medulla*” treatise in Brno. The chapter on the duties of the sacristan, in particular, seems to be an indicator that the manuscript might have been in use in Brno as well, at least for a while.

The other charterhouses, mentioned because they are presumably the source of the original texts, were Gaming and Žižice. In Gaming, the original “*Directorium officii sacristae*” was written in 1698 by Albert Hoefster and was later revised by B. Widerholt; the other Gaming manuscript used as an exemplar of the I F 17 was the “*Idea perfecti vicarii eiusque Alphabetum aureum*” from 1677. The chant treatise “*Medulla*” states that it was copied in Brno on the feast of St Andrew (30 November) in 1727, from a booklet that was arranged for the Carthusians in the Seitz (Žižice) Charterhouse in 1699: “*accomodata et concinnata in Cartusia Seitzensi Anno 1699*”. It is only thanks to the meticulous scribe who added this information that we can connect this

17 According to Truhlář, the inscription goes: “*Lapis Lydius exercitii spiritualis R. P. Innocentii Le Masson Generalis Ordinis Carthusiensis.*” Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum*, 100.

The “*lapis Lydius*” refers to the touchstone, a stone that had the power to discern gold from other metals; in the spiritual world, it could discern truth from falsity, as can be seen in some theological treatises contemporary to the Carthusian “*Medulla*”. Thus it was, for example, referred to as “*Lydius lapis quo verum a falso in hac materiali discernitur*”, as was the case with Vittorius Hollandiae, *Integra theologia moralis* (Venice: Joannes La Noù & Socios, 1710), 82.

Similarly to “*Medulla*”, the title “*Lapis Lydius*” could also denote something quintessential about a certain topic. Thus, in 1665, Tommaso da Vezzano tried to explain the fundamental truths of Christianity as well as the main characteristics of his branch of the Franciscans (*Ordo Minimorum*) in a book entitled *Lapis Lydius* (Genoa: Peter Joannes Calenzani).

18 The book seems to be the work of a single copyist, as was also confirmed by Jan Vojtíšek, who has examined the complete manuscript and informed me about his opinion in correspondence dated 24 September 2020. According to Mr Vojtíšek, the manuscript binding confirms this, as well: it was bound at the time when its contents were copied.

part of the manuscript to the Slovenian lands and to the Žiče Charterhouse.¹⁹ The scribe repeats the same statement at the end of the treatise, although with slightly less certainty: in this case, it says that the booklet was transmitted to the Carthusians of Brno from the Žiče Charterhouse, where it had also “probably been put together”:

*Descripsi hunc libellum in Cartusia Sanctissimae Trinitatis prope Brunam, nobis ex Cartusia Seitzensi transmissum, et ibidem probabiliter etiam compositum. A. 1727. Finivi in festo S. Andreae Apostoli.*²⁰

Since the scribe of the manuscript was very conscientious and defined the specific provenance of each treatise, there is a high level of certainty that at the end of the seventeenth century the “Medulla” treatise was in Žiče, and that this treatise (or a copy) was sent to Brno to be copied for Brno and/or another charterhouse. It is possible that the Carthusian “Medulla” came to Žiče from elsewhere – most likely from within the *Alemania Superior* Carthusian province, since the other texts in the compilation also originate from this province – but on the basis of what we know about the monks living in the monastery at the time (see below), and about their connections with the Franciscans (see below) as well as with the Moravian and Bohemian charterhouses,²¹ we may assume that the Žiče provenance of the arrangement is very probable. In any case, the treatise must have been known and in practical use in Žiče in such a way that it could also be transmitted to other

19 There are other “written” connections to this charterhouse. Five manuscripts from Truhlář’s catalogue mentioned above (*Catalogus codicum*) contain *ex libris* inscriptions of the charterhouses in Žiče (Seitz) and Jurklošter (Geirach) from the territory of today’s Slovenia. These manuscripts all have liturgical content (most of them also contain liturgical music) and were written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They seem to have arrived at the National Library via the Valdice Charterhouse. With regard to their contents, as well as their time and place of origin, these manuscripts may be considered as a unified group, which probably came to Valdice from Žiče, the main house of the Upper German Carthusian Province (*Provincia Alemaniae Superioris*), as a liturgical “first aid” kit at the time of the foundation of the Valdice Charterhouse in 1627, when the books were no longer needed in the Žiče Charterhouse. This group of manuscripts also testifies to strong liturgical and other international connections between the houses of the Carthusian order. The probable background of the Jurklošter and Žiče manuscripts preserved in the National Library in Prague is discussed in Katarina Šter, “The ‘Prague Group’ of Music Manuscripts from the charterhouses in Žiče (Seitz) and Jurklošter (Geirach),” in *Sammeln, Kopieren, Verbreiten: Zur Buchkultur der Kartäuser gestern und heute*, *Analecta cartusiana* 337, eds. Sylvain Excoffon and Coralie Zermatten (Centre européen de recherche sur les congregations et les ordres religieux: Saint-Étienne, 2018), 499–522.

More on the history of the charterhouses in Žiče and Jurklošter in Jože Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter* (Maribor: Obzorja, 1991), which includes an extensive summary in English on pages 582–602.

20 “Musices Choralis Medulla,” National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague, Ms. I F 17, p. 305.

21 Šter, “The ‘Prague Group’ of Music Manuscripts”; Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurklošter*.

monasteries of the province from there. The Žiće Charterhouse was the main house of the province, so this hypothesis would also be in line with its role within the province.

Some questions about the manuscript arise in regard to the information provided by the scribe. The manuscript seems to stress a tight bond between the charterhouses of Valdice and Brno. It seems that it was primarily intended for Valdice, but one cannot be sure. Why was the “Medulla” part of the manuscript copied in Brno? Were other parts – written in the same handwriting – also copied there?²² Or was the scribe/copyist himself from Valdice and came to Brno with the purpose of copying the “Medulla” treatise, among other things? Was there only one copy of the treatise/compilation, or was this version copied several times, perhaps for different monasteries? The answers to many of these questions probably concern the organisation of the exchange of knowledge within the province, especially between individual charterhouses.

5 The Carthusian “Musices Choralis Medulla” in the Manuscript I F 17

The Carthusian “Medulla” treatise, written on fifteen pages at the end of the manuscript, contains basic plainchant theory illustrated with musical examples. The first Carthusian “Medulla”, which presumably originated in the Žiće Charterhouse, is lost today, but fortunately the copy from Brno is preserved in the manuscript I F 17. This copy does not mention any connection with the Franciscans or the Franciscan origin of the treatise. This was probably already the case in the original exemplar (the Brno copyist was meticulous and attentive, so he would have copied this information, as well). Alternatively, this information may have been omitted during the process of copying because it was not deemed necessary or because the copyist assumed that the Franciscan *Medulla* was so well known that it did not require special mention.

It is not possible to define where and when the Žiće Carthusians came into contact with the Franciscan *Medulla*. This could have happened in the German countries, as some monks came to Žiće from German regions, or even on the territory of today’s Slovenia, in contact with the Franciscans of these regions, who possessed at least one *Medulla* volume (the one mentioned above, which also bears many signs of use), and probably had more than one. The Franciscan treatise was possibly also known elsewhere in these regions, for example in the Franciscan monastery of Novo mesto, where there must have been some kind of exchange with the Carthusians, perhaps even on the musical level: even today, the library of the Franciscan Monastery in Novo mesto keeps two

22 To my knowledge, only the “Medulla” states explicitly that it was copied in Brno.

Carthusian graduals from the fifteenth century.²³ From 1649, the connections between the two orders on the territory of today's Slovenia became closer under Johannes Serpentinus, the prior of the Žiče Charterhouse, who established a special brotherly bond of prayer and spiritual connection with the Franciscan order.²⁴ It seems that from the late 1640s, the Carthusians in the Slovenian lands were very much in touch with the mendicant orders: spiritual community with the Franciscans was closely preceded by the Carthusian connection with the Capuchins (the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin) in 1646.²⁵ On the other hand, there were also economic connections: from a yearly calculation of the income and costs of the Žiče Charterhouse in 1715, it is evident that the Carthusians were selling wine to the Franciscans, as well as wine and wheat to the Capuchins.²⁶ Perhaps exchange of knowledge in the form of books and treatises was also included in this exchange of spiritual and worldly goods. A particularly advantageous time for such exchange may have been the period under the Žiče prior Hugh (Hugo) Scornos (1663–1679), who acquired many new books, including various treatises, for the library of Žiče.²⁷

According to the copyist from Brno, the first Carthusian “*Medulla*” was written in 1699. In order to compare the versions of the two traditions, one must therefore refer to one of the Franciscan editions published before 1699: to the edition from 1670 or 1683.²⁸ Unfortunately, I have not had an opportunity to examine the 1683 version, but since Mott's 1670 *Medulla* is very close to the Carthusian arrangement, it was most probably the version serving as exemplar for the arrangement. (If, however, the “*Medulla*” was arranged on the basis of the 1683 version, then this later *Medulla* edition could not differ much from the 1670 edition, since even the 1714 edition is almost the same as the 1670 edition.) The theoretical part in the Franciscan version of 1670 (fifteen pages of the text and the frontispiece) is comparable in detail with the Carthusian arrangement, as can be seen further below.

In musicology, the Carthusian “*Musices Choralis Medulla*” was not a completely unknown treatise. It was mentioned in an influential dissertation by

23 More information on these two manuscripts and possible connections between the Carthusians and the Franciscans in their history can be found in Katarina Šter, “Koralni rokopisi slovenskih kartuzij,” in *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem*, vol. 1, ed. Jurij Snoj (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2012), 194–198.

24 In the Middle Ages, the Carthusians had already formed such bonds for all four “Slovenian” charterhouses as well as with another contemplative order, the Benedictines of St Lambert in Upper Styria. Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurkloster*, 392, also footnote 179 on the mention of the connection with the Franciscans in the Ms. 640 from the Zgodovinski arhiv Celje, fol. 221v.

25 Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurkloster*, 392.

26 Ibid., 420.

27 Ibid., 481.

28 The editions after 1699 will be left aside at this point. The version of 1714, apart from being too late to serve as an exemplar for the 1699 arrangement, has a slightly changed title, while keeping the same text and musical examples.

Johann Baptist Klein,²⁹ but it seems that he was unaware of its non-Carthusian origin. He considered it as one of the witnesses of the equalistic chant practice, supporting his claim by quoting:

*Musica igitur choralis est, quae introductis una vel pluribus vocibus aequam, simplicem et uniformem in suis notis servat mensuram absque incremento prolationis vel cuius notulae eiusdem ferme sunt valoris.*³⁰

Klein did not know that the part on the equality of the notes was taken literally from the Franciscan *Medulla*.³¹ Due to this part – despite admitting that the contents of the “Medulla” are very basic – he regarded it as a forerunner of the famous nineteenth-century treatise *Méthode de plain-chant selon le rite et les usages Cartusiens*,³² which claimed that equalistic performance was characteristic of Carthusian chant.³³ As such, he believed it to be a guide on the performance practice of the Carthusians of the time. On the basis of Klein, the “Medulla” was later mentioned as one of the important sources of Carthusian music theory in the article “Kartäuser”.³⁴

6 The *Medulla* treatise in two monastic traditions

The 1727 Carthusian “Medulla” is very clearly structured and beautifully written out in sepia colour (Figure 2), with music examples in square notation written in a staff of four red lines, and with the F-clef and C-clef. This means that the original Žižce “Medulla” from 1699 must have been clearly and well structured, too, with different types of letters for the main title, the chapter titles and the subtitles, and with some decoration. All of this, however, originates in the layout of the Franciscan version (Figure 3).

29 Johann Baptist Klein, “Der Choralgesang der Kartäuser in Theorie und Praxis unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Kartausen,” vol. 2 (Doctoral dissertation, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, 1910), 35 and 51.

30 “Musices Choralis Medulla,” p. 291.

31 Mott, *Musices Choralis Medulla*, 1670, 1 (“Prologus”).

32 *Méthode de plain-chant selon le rite et les usages Cartusiens* (Avignon: Aubanel Frères, 1868), 49; Klein, “Der Choralgesang der Kartäuser,” 35.

33 The *Méthode* does not mention “Musices Choralis Medulla” among its sources. It does, however, mention two other handwritten treatises used in the French charterhouses and mentioned below.

34 Martin Czernin, “Kartäuser,” in *Österreichisches Musiklexikon Online*, accessed 18 September 2019, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/mlP/muk_K/Kartaeuser.xml.

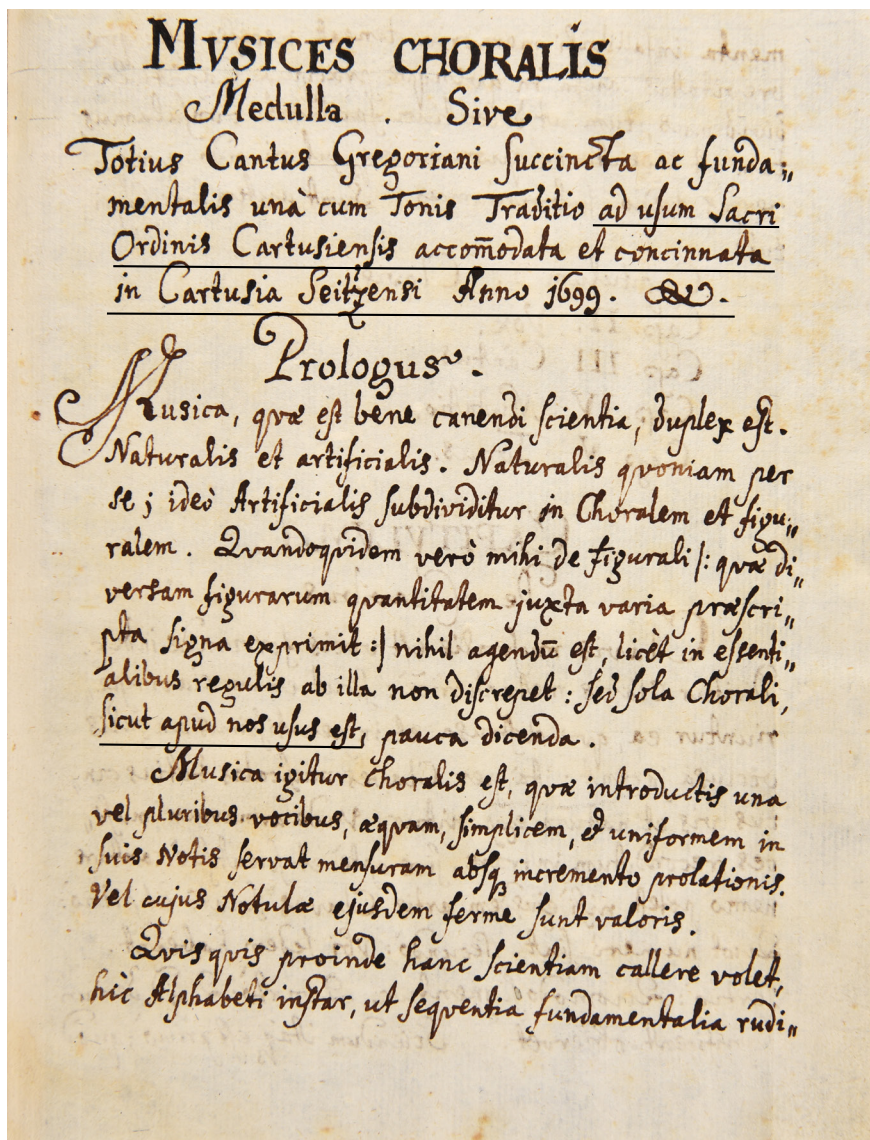


Figure 2: The beginning of the Carthusian “Medulla” from the manuscript I F 17 of the National Library in Prague, p. 291. The text providing information on the origin of the text in Žiče (Seitz) is underlined by the author.

At the beginning, the Carthusian “Medulla” does not differ from the Franciscan source. They both divide the contents into a prologue and five main chapters, as listed in Table 3.



Figure 3: The frontispiece of the Franciscan *Medulla* of 1670 by Hermann Mott.

Table 3: Contents of the treatise versions

Franciscan <i>Medulla</i>	Carthusian “Medulla”
<i>Imprimatur</i> and other introductory texts in the Franciscan version	Remarks on the contents and provenance of the text in the Carthusian version
Prologue	Prologue
Chapter I: “Clavis”	Chapter I: “Clavis”
Chapter II: “Vox”	Chapter II: “Vox”
Chapter III: “Cantus”	Chapter III: “Cantus”
Chapter IV: “Mutatio”	Chapter IV: “Mutatio”
Chapter V: “Tonus”	Chapter V: “Tonus”

The prologue discusses the division of music into “natural” and “artificial”, with the latter being further divided into *musica choralis* and *figuralis*. Plainchant music – *musica choralis* – is characterised by the relatively equalistic way of performance, as can be seen in the words “aequam, simplicem, et uniformem in suis notis servat mensuram absque incremento prolationis. Vel cujus notulae ejusdem ferme sunt valoris.” This part is identical in both versions, and it seems that it was the customary way of performing plainchant in both orders at the time.

Chapter I (“Clavis”) discusses the musical staff, the use of two clefs by the Carthusians, and the names of the notes. Chapter II (“Vox”) discusses solmisation syllables and their connection to notes. Chapter III (“Cantus”) is dedicated to the hexachords and their placement within the musical staff. Chapter IV (“Mutatio”) presents basic rules for mutations between hexachords.

Finally, Chapter V (“Tonus”) presents psalm tones and the system of the eight church modes.

The differences between the text versions initially seem mostly formal (such as grammar forms), but there are more and more differences in the contents. The **formal differences**, which do not influence the intended meaning of the words, are as follows:

- a) Different forms of verbs in some places (first person plural in the Carthusian version *vs.* second person singular in the Franciscan version). In this way, the desired anonymity of the author of the Carthusian order is highlighted.
- b) The Carthusian version avoids active forms of verbs, preferring passive forms (“*pauca dicenda*” instead of “*dicimus pauca*”; “*vis et natura exponitur*” instead of “*vim et naturam exponimus*”). This detail again seems to be in accordance with the desire for anonymity and uniformity within the order, as well as to avoid the desire to stress the authority of the writer.
- c) The Carthusian version uses different word orders in some places.

One specific kind of difference between the *Medulla* versions could be described as **technical**. These differences come close to the formal differences mentioned above, but they are more related to the contents than purely formal differences such as grammar versions. When the Franciscan *Medulla* discusses the musical staff, it describes a staff consisting of four or five lines, while the Carthusian author stresses the fact that the Carthusian order exclusively uses a musical staff of four lines. Another such issue is the form of a *custos*: the *custodes* in the Carthusian version are taken from their liturgical books and not from the Franciscan exemplar, because even signs such as these were obviously regarded as a part of the Carthusian tradition. A comparison of these details between the two traditions is very valuable, as it enables a rare insight into how much the Carthusians identified with their own tradition: not only the texts and melodies of their liturgical books formed an integral part of this tradition, but even the graphic forms and the norms with which these were written.

Although the treatise is short and discusses only the basics of the chant, no detail escapes the careful Carthusian arranger. Thus, we find some **differences in the contents** between the versions, as well as some **additional explanations**. The desire for clarity leads the Carthusian author to specify eight rules for solmisation, while the Franciscan version only has six; it seems that solmisation and mutation between hexachords was a matter of special concern for the Carthusians. The Carthusian way of singing chant (their chant practice) is stressed in several places in the Carthusian version. The Carthusian author is interested exclusively in chant, and even then only in the versions characteristic of the Carthusian chant books of the time. In the Carthusian “*Medulla*”, we thus find

short additional excursions on Carthusian musical practice and on details about singing chants, such as hints on singing “b-molle” or the performance practice of the long responsories. It is possible, however, that these descriptions were not a general rule for all Carthusian houses, but rather a description of the musical practice of a monastery within a specific time frame, because the habits regarding the singing of B-flats changed through various periods and between regions, even between individual Carthusian houses.³⁵

Last but not least, there are also differences in the **musical examples**. For various reasons, some of the Carthusian musical examples are different from the Franciscan version. The Franciscan version covers intervals up to the tenth (Figure 4), while the Carthusian version discusses musical intervals up to the octave, as only these intervals are used in chant (Figure 5). Furthermore, in explaining musical examples, the Carthusian author adds parts of the texts or punctuation to ensure greater clarity of the text (Figure 6).

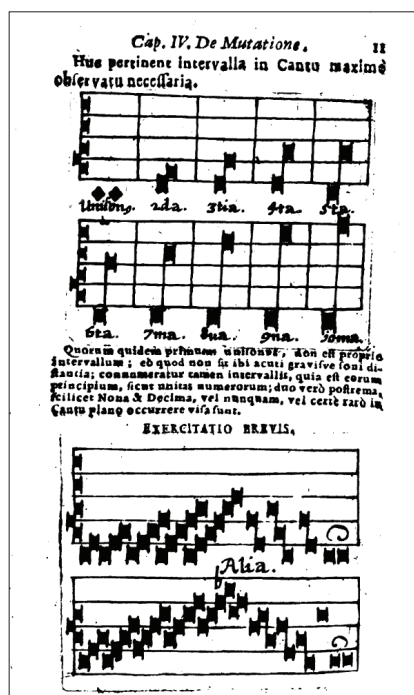


Figure 4: Melodic intervals from the Franciscan *Medulla* by Hermann Mott, p. 11.

35 Written Carthusian musical sources often do not provide an exact picture of the musical reality, since B-flats might be sung regardless of the written melody in the liturgical books. For the use of B-flats in individual charterhouses, see Augustine Devaux, Introduction à une édition critique de l'antiphonaire cartusien, typewriting (Séguinac: 2000), 15–16; Benoit Lambres, “Le chant des chartreux,” *Revue belge de Musicologie/Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 24, no. 1 (1970): 29–30. See also Klein, “Der Choralgesang der Kartäuser,” 43.

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fa, mi, la, fa, la, la, sol, fa. re, ut, re, ut, ut, mi, fa, sol, sol.

Huc pertinent intervalla in cantu maxime necessaria.

mi, lo, ng. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.

Quorum quidem primū unisonus non est proprie inter-
vallum, eo quod non sit acuti gravisve soni distantia, con-
numerat, tamen intervallis, quia est eorū principium.

REGULA V.
In cantu duro signatā in systemate clavi  tribus mu-
tamus clavis, scilicet A. E. D. In A. et D. sumimus re.
ascendendo. In A. et D. sumimus la. descendendo.

REGULA VI.
In cantu duro signatā in systemate clavi , iisdem
mutamus clavis, quibus in cantu duro signata clavi . Lo-
cumodi advertendū, hanc cantus duri speciem melodiæ
vociq; lenitate partim imitari consuevisse cantu b. mollē:
non quod quis fictā reflexāq; voce similem conetur expri-
mere harmoniam, sed quod naturali variāq; claviū

Figure 5: Melodic intervals from the Carthusian "Medulla" from CZ-Pu I F 17, p. 300.

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musicales claves sint septem, nempe septem primæ litteræ Alphabeti A.B.C.D.E.F.G. Secundo, quod sedes suas habent in Systemate musico quatuor linearum equaliter distantium, et tria spatia continentium: licet et illa duo spatia primam et ultimam lineam excedentia non im-
merito valeant adjungi in hunc modum, in omnibus
libris nostris choralibus usitatum.

Spatium excedens.

j	x	1 *	* Systema.
x	z	2 *	
z	3	3 *	
4	x		

Spatium excedens.

Tertio ex his 2. clavibus duas haberi signatas, scilicet C. et F. sic distas, quod à principio crejusq;
 Systematis expresse signentur, alijs in suis lineis spa-
 tijsq; nihilominus latitantibus: et quidem clavis C.
 hoc signo □. clavis autem F. tali □ exprimitur.
 Ab his scilicet C. et F. non autem ab alijs occultis,
 numerare incipimus sursum et deorsum per totum
 Systema. Sursum ordine recto alphabetico. Deorsum
 vero ordine retrogrado. Quorum dictarum claviū quod
nos unam, non ambas simul, in systemate poni gra-
vis est, ut in sequentibus patebit.

Figure 6: Textual additions and further clarifications in the Carthusian "Medulla", from CZ-Pu I F 17, p. 293. Differences with the Franciscan *Medulla* are underlined by the author.

7 Authorship of the Carthusian “Medulla”

The Carthusian monk who prepared the arrangement of the Franciscan treatise must have been an educated musician, sufficiently accomplished in music theory to systematically and logically provide additional explanations and some content that was not included in the Franciscan *Medulla*. Moreover, he must have had significant practical experience of the Carthusian chant, as his “Medulla” constantly refers to the Carthusian musical practice and liturgy. The booklet might have been copied and arranged on his own initiative, but with the permission of the prior of the monastery. However, it seems much more likely that it was copied not only with permission, but with a special order from the prior. The strictly centralised Carthusian order took great care of its own liturgy and liturgical music, so such an undertaking could not be the result of an individual project or the idea of a particular monk.

For the time given as the date of the original arrangement (1699), there is some information on the monks living and working in the place of provenance – if the author of the Carthusian “Medulla” was indeed a monk from the Žiče Charterhouse – so it is possible to attempt to form a few hypotheses about the author(s).³⁶ Ms. 640 from Zgodovinski arhiv Celje informs us that there was a musically educated monk named Ignatius Conrad,³⁷ who was known for copying two antiphoners in 1715, one for the Žiče Charterhouse and the other for the Bistra (Freudnitz) Charterhouse.³⁸ In this source, which also contains the “book of the professed monks of Žiče”, he is characterised with the following words:

Fr. Ignatius Conrad, Dörkerichensis, dioecesis Trevirensis, 2. Juli 1699.³⁹ Obiit in hac domo 13. Januarii 1717. Scripsit duo antiphonaria, unum ad huc restat, ex quo adm. Rev. d. Prior matutinale persolvit officium, alterum datum est d. Priori, Freidnicensi Andreae Buecher 1718.⁴⁰

36 Carthusian writings were ideally anonymous, although this changed through the ages.

37 Zgodovinski arhiv Celje (Historical Archives Celje), Ms. 640, Inv. Nr. 2 [also Universitätsbibliothek Graz, Ms. *olim* 640] contains a liturgical calendar, a book of anniversaries and *matricula* of the Žiče Charterhouse. It is one of the manuscripts returned to Slovenia in the process of restitution. In 1977, this manuscript was transferred from Graz to Arhiv Republike Slovenije (Slovenian State Archives) in Ljubljana. It was then transferred to Celje in the 1980s, with a group of manuscripts connected to the Styrian charterhouses in Žiče and Jurkloster. It is an important source for Mlinarič's monograph *Kartuziji Žiče and Jurkloster*. The *matricula* from this source were studied in detail and presented in Maria Mairold, “Die Seitzer Kartäuser von 1603 bis zur Aufhebung des Ordens 1782,” *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 81 (1990). Here Conrad was described as “Dörkerichensis, dioec. Trevirensis”, which could be Limburg an der Lahn (Spreitzhofer marks the place with a question mark). See the register of the homelands of the monks by Karl Spreitzhofer in Mairold, *ibid.*, 230.

38 One of them is preserved in the National and University Library (Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica) in Ljubljana as Ms. 1 and is also available online in dLib, The Digital Library of Slovenia (Digitalna knjižnica Slovenije).

39 This is the date of Conrad's solemn vows – profession.

40 The transcription is quoted after Mairold, “Die Seitzer Kartäuser,” 220.

Conrad became a professed monk in Žiče in 1699, under the new prior Caspar Ubitz, but had probably lived there before that. He may have been noticed for his musical talent and possible previous education. He might even have been a scribe of the psalter copied in 1698, Ms. 96 from the University Library of Graz.⁴¹ In any case, it is rare to find a remark on the copying/musical activities of the monks, so the aforementioned two antiphoners must have been seen as a major achievement (made by hand even in the time of printed versions). Conrad's Ms. 1 from the National and University Library of Ljubljana is certainly evidence of careful and beautiful writing and execution (even the colourful decoration of the initials may have been his). The person who was commissioned to undertake such large-scale work connected with the chant of the Order may have previously been entrusted with other major musical tasks.

In the Carthusian order, however, nothing on this level happened without an order (or permission) from a prior. "Medulla" must have been written on the order of the capable Caspar Ubitz (Ubigs, Ubiz, Ubix), who entered the Žiče monastery in 1690 and was as such a "native" profess of the house. He also served as a vicar before becoming the prior of Žiče in October 1698 (he died in 1730).⁴² It is very possible that he wanted to enhance and "reform" liturgical life in the monastery after the previous prior Johannes Baptista Schüller (Schiller) was forced to resign due to the large debts with which he burdened his monastery.⁴³ Ubitz was known and respected for his striving for excellent religious life. He worked hard for his monastery and was seen as a "good shepherd", a norm of a good prior, as well as a living example for his brethren:

*Vixit hic Casparus religiosissime de die et nocte fratribus suis in choro omnibus norma boni pastoris factus nec non valde strenue laboravit pro domo Seizensi, de qua optime meritus, tandem ad coronam vitae vocatus pro mercede laborum.*⁴⁴

Nonetheless, his time in the Žiče Charterhouse was not easy. Just as he was trying to reduce the damage caused by his predecessor's large debts, the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century brought new financial obligations, including large taxes for the charterhouses in the Slovenian territory. These were taken for the defence against Turkish armies and for the War of the Spanish Succession with France (from 1701).⁴⁵ Due to the debts, the Duke ordered that only six to eight monks should reside in the

41 The information is provided in Anton Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz, I: Verzeichnis der Handschriften im deutschen Reich II* (Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz, 1942), 54. Unfortunately, I was not able to examine the manuscript myself because of the current restoration works in the library.

42 Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurkloster*, 407.

43 Ibid., 407 and 414.

44 Mairold, "Die Seitzer Kartäuser," 219.

45 Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiče in Jurkloster*, 366–367 and 422.

Žiće Charterhouse, which was the number prescribed as the smallest group of monks to perform the Divine Office by the Carthusian General Chapter.⁴⁶ However, Ubitz and the subsequent priors did not obey this order, instead accepting more new monks into the Žiće Charterhouse (under Ubitz, twelve candidates made solemn vows, including eight monks-priests and four lay brothers).⁴⁷

Ubitz took energetically to renewing life in the monastery, but the chroniclers of the Order also credited him for taking care of monastic life within the whole province of *Alemaniam Superior*.⁴⁸ Ubitz was also a visitor of the province⁴⁹ known to have travelled as far as the furthest house of the Order in the east, in Poland.⁵⁰ He also provided priors for other charterhouses, as can be seen, for example, in the words “in qua visitatione domibus Polonicis providit de novis prioribus”.⁵¹ Moreover, he had contacts with Bohemian and Moravian charterhouses.⁵² The Carthusian “Medulla” from Brno was probably connected with his visitations, since this work included educational tasks, as well.

From 1679, the provincial visitors became more influential with regard to the novices’ knowledge about monastic life, the liturgy and chant, as they also supervised the examinations of novices.⁵³ The visitors of the provinces had strict orders in this regard and supervised the priors in choosing new monastic candidates; those who did not act in accordance with the rules were announced to the General Chapter or to the General Prior.⁵⁴ This new order was confirmed several times in the eighteenth century. One of the preserved visitations, most probably from Ubitz’s time and certainly typical of his mindset, warns the monks to perform the Office regularly and as prescribed by the Order. Caspar Ubitz may in fact have been the author of the “Medulla” himself: as can be seen even in the Ms. I F 17, visitors of the province prepared instructions on the duties of a vicar for the monks of Gaming, so why would something similar not exist for musical needs, as well? Many important issues and needs of individual communities were made clear in the course of

46 General chapters in the years 1594, 1595 and 1597 declared that only larger Carthusian houses that adhered strictly to the Carthusian rules were allowed to accept novices, who then went to other houses. The communities in individual houses should consist of at least eight monks capable of performing liturgical duties. Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiće in Jurkloster*, 347.

47 Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiće in Jurkloster*, 423.

48 Ibid., 414.

49 As can be seen from the visitation reports from 1656, when a large visitation of the Upper and Lower German Provinces was undertaken by two visitors, such visitations could take up to seven months to finish. Usually about a week was spent in every individual charterhouse, while the rest of the time was taken by travelling. Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiće in Jurkloster*, 360–361.

50 Mairold, “Die Seitzer Kartäuser,” 209.

51 Ibid., 219.

52 Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiće in Jurkloster*, 415.

53 Ibid., 347.

54 Ibid., 348.

visitations, one of the three major “tools” of the Carthusian Order for ensuring its famous constancy and stability.

Although there are other possible authors of the “Medulla” arrangement, they seem to be less probable candidates for the task than Conrad.⁵⁵ With the exception of Ignatius Conrad, the aforementioned book of the professed monks of Žiće does not specify a monk for doing any kind of musical work in the monastery, which makes them less probable candidates for arrangers of the Carthusian version. On the other hand, the source does not say which monks may have already been absent from Žiće in 1699, in the time of the supposed preparation of the “Medulla”. Moreover, with the Carthusian’s proverbial love for anonymity, they did not want to specify the author in any case.

8 The importance and meaning of the Carthusian “Medulla”

Whoever he was, the Carthusian author of the “Medulla” strived for great clarity as well as adherence to the Carthusian tradition, even extending to the formal images of the Order’s liturgical books. Why, then, was it precisely the Franciscan *Medulla* that was chosen as a starting point? This seems to be connected with its concision and brevity, as well as with the practical intention of the treatise, which is characteristic of the Carthusian version, as well, perhaps even more than of the original *Medulla*. A chant compendium such as “Medulla” could serve the purpose of educating (new) monks in the field of basic chant theory, while enabling them to gain practical experience of chant singing in their everyday life in the choir.

Since this is only a very basic plainchant theory treatise, the Carthusian “Medulla” is different from most of the other music treatises known in the Order at the time. “Medulla” is not, however, the only example of musical

55 One option would be Florianus Van der Linden, who entered the monastery a few years after the future prior Caspar Ubitz and lived until 1723. He was a sacristan and thus had an important role in the monastery, which could also mean that he was able to prepare the Carthusian version of the treatise. Moreover, he came from Jülich near Cologne, the “birthplace” of the Franciscan *Medulla*. Among other monks in the monastery at the time who could be considered possible authors of the Carthusian *Medulla* one should mention Alexius Liechtenberger, who was sent from the Žiće Charterhouse in the 1680s to assist with liturgical duties in the choir elsewhere (“pro subsidio chori”), so he would have had an idea of what kind of knowledge was needed for singing chant, as well. According to the important functions that they had in Žiće, there are some other names of the possible “Medulla” authors, such as Placidus Dolinar; Hugo Zieglmiller, who came from a family of clerks and therefore may have been a skilled copyist himself; Joachimus Schargai, who was a procurator; Barnabas Roth, who was a vicar until his death in 1702; Melchior Anwald, who was a vicar before his death in 1712; Balthasar Unterstolz, “homo pietate et prudentia et scientia eximius”, who was a vicar in Freudnitz (Bistra) and in Žiće, and even attended the General Chapter in 1720; Maximilianus Fuchs; Fernandus Jezl, who also served as a procurator in Freudnitz and as a vicar in Žiće; and Josephus Guffus. The list of other possible “Medulla” authors is given after the information in Mairold, “Die Seitzer Kartäuser,” 217, 219, 220 and 230 (Spreitzhofer’s register), and in Mlinarič, *Kartuziji Žiće in Jurkloster*, 365.

thought in Žiče. Another excerpt on music from the second half of the seventeenth century, from the time after 1659, is preserved from the same monastery. The manuscript Ms. 1351 from the University Library of Graz contains writings from General Chapters. At the very beginning, on the folios 3r–5r (five pages in total) one finds “Modus religiose cantandi ex mente R[everendissimi] P[at]ri Brunonis, Generalis ordinis n[ost]ri”. This short text contains an explanation of the eighteenth chapter of the Carthusian *Statuta*, the part dealing with liturgical singing. It may have been meant to be continued, as the following pages up to fol. 8 are left empty. This source is intended for someone who is already an experienced chant singer in the choir: it gives detailed and specific instructions on performing individual chants of the Carthusian liturgy, and it is definitely not intended for someone completely new to plainchant music theory.

It seems, then, that the “Medulla” could have been written for wider use within the *Alemaniam Superior* province, not only for the monastery in Žiče. To date, we have no information as to whether it was used and accepted more widely. It seems that the ways of learning chant were strongly connected to individual provinces, and that the so-called German provinces differed significantly from the French, Spanish or Italian provinces.

The “Medulla” was probably not known in the French provinces, as we have information about two other Carthusian chant treatises mentioned as sources of the *Méthode de Plain-Chant selon le rite et les usages cartusiens* from 1868. In addition to some other contemporary sources and the chapter on Carthusian chant from *De vita Cartusiana* by Peter Sutor,⁵⁶ the *Méthode* mentions one “Traité du chant selon l’usage des Chartreux, ou Directoire du chœur, divisé en deux parties” from 1700, which was compiled on the authorisation of the General Prior (probably in the Bourbon-les-Gaillon Charterhouse), as well as a treatise entitled “Forma psallendi ex statutorum nostrorum collectio excerpta et diffusius explicata” and written in 1740 in the Great Charterhouse (Grande Chartreuse).⁵⁷ The first treatise was written just one year after the Carthusian arrangement of the Franciscan *Medulla*, but it does not seem to be related to it in any way.⁵⁸ In any case, both treatises known in the Great Charterhouse would have seemed outdated and with little connection to the practice in 1868. The *Méthode* considers itself to be very modern and different from earlier compendiums: it makes a strict division between new learning and the ways of the “ancients” (“les Anciens”), which belong to the period before the nineteenth century, and thus to the time of the “Medulla”.

56 Peter Sutor, *De vita Cartusiana libri duo* (Coloniae Agrippinae [Cologne]: Bernard Gualther, 1609).

57 *Méthode de Plain-Chant*, 14.

58 I have not yet had an opportunity to see either of these treatises, but a part of the title of the first one – “Directoire du chœur” – indicates another direction of possible influences.

There is another example of the Carthusian music theory treatise from the end of the seventeenth century in the manuscript E.52, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale di Bologna, fols. 5r–28v.⁵⁹ After that, there follows another, almost non-Carthusian repertoire.⁶⁰ In any case, this treatise, too, fails to show any connection to the “Medulla” treatise.

9 Conclusions

The Carthusian “Musices Choralis Medulla” from the Ms. I F 17 from the National Library of Prague, an arrangement of the *Musices Choralis Medulla* by the Franciscan Hermann Mott, was most probably written in the Žižce Charterhouse with the intention of providing an elementary theoretical basis for understanding and singing liturgical chant. Although it follows the Franciscan exemplar very closely, the Carthusian version does have some peculiarities, such as additional explanations of music theory or excursions on the Carthusian use and versions of chant. It tries to be very clear and systematic and is highly practical in its aim, as it contains many examples. The treatise was probably intended for Carthusian novices, who usually had no previous contact with the Carthusian chant outside the monastery. The Order therefore took care to ensure that they were educated both in chant theory as well as in the particularities of the Carthusian chant. The source itself, however, was most probably used by monk teaching novices, since the compilation also contains information on the other major liturgical duties of the Carthusians.

With regard to the authorship of the “Medulla”, there are several possibilities among the monks who were living and working in the Žižce Charterhouse at the time. Among the most probable names are the renowned copyist of music manuscripts Ignatius Conrad and the capable prior Caspar Ubitz, who took special care about the regularity of the liturgical life in his own monastery and elsewhere, as he also served as the visitor of the province.

It is only due to the conscientious copyist in the Brno Charterhouse that we have been able to connect a short treatise with the distant Žižce Charterhouse. This is yet another proof of the close connections of the charterhouses within the Carthusian province *Alemaniam Superiorem*, as well as being another reminder that today’s state, language and nationality borders are not an indicator of the dissemination of musical knowledge and practice in the past.

Finally, the Carthusian treatise itself is a curious and at the same time precious testimonial of the musical connections between two monastic orders. Even more: it shows that even a solitary order of the Carthusians that was

59 Antonio Lovato, “Teoria e prassi del canto certosino: Il manoscritto E.52 del Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale di Bologna,” in *Sine musica nulla disciplina: Studi in onore di Giulio Cattin*, ed. Franco Bernabei and Antonio Lovato (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2006), 241–246.

60 Ibid., 246.

always very careful about introducing new practices and jealously guarded its own tradition was on the lookout for new and “modern” practical chant pedagogy when applicable. With careful reception and rearrangement of the work of others, but without blindly imitating them, many communities of the Carthusians could learn and subsequently spread the newly arranged knowledge within the Order.

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POVZETEK

Koralni traktat dveh meniških tradicij v novem veku: primer učbenika *Musices Choralis Medulla*

Musices Choralis Medulla (slov. *Bistvo koralne glasbe*) je koralni priročnik, ki ga je napisal frančiškan Hermann Mott. Priročnik vsebuje strnjeno teorijo gregorijanskega koral, dodani pa so mu še različni spevi, ki jih je uporabljal frančiškanski red. Prvič je v tisku izšel leta 1670 v Kölnu, nato pa v več kasnejših ponatisih in z manjšimi spremembami in dopolnitvami, kar priča o njegovi razširjenosti in uporabnosti.

Prepis oz. predelava priročnika se nahaja tudi v rokopisu z različnimi besedili, ki je nastal v kartuziji v Brnu in ga pod signaturo I F 17 hrani Narodna knjižnica v Pragi. Po besedah kopista je nastal na podlagi besedila, ki ga je ok. leta 1699 za rabo v kartuzijanskem redu najverjetneje priredil kartuzijan iz Žič. Primerjava med tiskanim frančiškanskim priročnikom in kartuzijanskim rokopisom pokaže, da se je žički avtor vestno držal izvirnika, po drugi strani pa je nekatere teoretske odlomke in celo glasbene primere priredil v skladu s kartuzijansko koralno prakso, medtem ko dela s koralnimi spevi ni prevzel, saj so imeli tu kartuzijani lastno tradicijo.

Žička priredba frančiškanskega traktata je morda delo kartuzijana Ignatiusa Conrada, ki je bil znan tudi kot kopist glasbenih rokopisov, vsekakor pa je v njej mogoče zaznati tudi vpliv sposobnega priorja Casparja Ubitza, ki je bil tudi redovni vizitator. Najverjetneje je bila napisana za redovne novice, ki so se na ta način lahko seznanili z osnovno teorijo koralne glasbe, medtem ko so praktične izkušnje le-te pridobivali v okviru korne liturgije. Celotni rokopis, znotraj katerega se je predelava priročnika ohranila, je bil tako najverjetneje napisan za nekoga, ki je novice poučeval, saj vsebuje tudi napotke za opravljanje drugih pomembnih služb v okviru kartuzijanskega reda.

Kartuzijanska priredba traktata je še en dokaz o tesnih glasbenih povezavah kartuzijanskih samostanov znotraj posameznih kartuzijanskih provinc, po drugi strani pa je nenavadna, a dragocena priča povezovanja med dvema povsem različnima redovoma: frančiškanskim in kartuzijanskim. Kartuzijanski red, ki je bil vedno zelo previden pri uvajanju novosti, je obenem vendarle spremljal novo in "moderno" pedagoško prakso učenja koral in jo, ko je bilo to primerno, kdaj tudi posvojil, ne da bi druge pri tem slepo posnemal ali se odpovedal svoji lastni tradiciji.

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O AVTORICI

KATARINA ŠTER (katarina.ster@zrc-sazu.si) je znanstvena sodelavka na Muzikološkem inštitutu ZRC SAZU in izvajalka stare glasbe. Pri svojem delu se posveča predvsem liturgični monodiji srednjeveških monastičnih tradicij, koralu poznejših obdobj in različnih kontekstih, razmerju med besedilom in glasbo v vokalni glasbi ter glasbeni izvajalski praksi. Na mednarodnih konferencah je predstavila številne referate, objavila pa je tudi monografijo na temo kartuzijanskega koral in več člankov, ki so izšli v različnih muzikoloških in drugih revijah. Njeno delo je v zadnjem času potekalo v okviru več domačih nacionalnih projektov ter na Scholi Cantorum v Baslu (s Štipendijo švicarske vlade za odličnost in štipendijo Švicarskega nacionalnega sklada za kratke študijske obiske). Trenutno je vodja projekta Stare tradicije v novih oblačilih: glasbene in besedilne predelave v izvajalski praksi liturgične glasbe, ki ga financira ARRS.



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Renaissance Music between Science and Art: The Case of Gioseffo Zarlino

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the role of ancient music theory in Gioseffo Zarlino's *Istitutioni harmoniche* and, within its framework, in particular with mathematical and physical considerations and their relevance to audible music. An outline of the treatise is followed by a presentation of Zarlino's justification of music as *scienza* and *arte*. Finally, two case studies are presented on joining ancient theory with contemporary musical practice: the division of the interval and the system of the *senario*.

Keywords: Gioseffo Zarlino, music theory, Renaissance, Antiquity, *senario*

IZVLEČEK

Prispevek obravnava vlogo antične glasbene teorije v traktatu *Istitutioni harmoniche* Gioseffa Zarlina. V tem okviru so posebej izpostavljeni Zarlinovi matematični in fizikalni premisleki in njihov pomen za razpravo o dejanski, zveneči glasbi. Po orisu zasnove *Istitutioni* in predstavitvi Zarlinovega utemeljevanja glasbe kot *scienze* in *arte* sta podana konkretna primera povezovanja antične teorije s sodobno glasbeno prakso: delitev intervala in sistem *senario*.

Ključne besede: Gioseffo Zarlino, glasbena teorija, renesansa, antika, *senario*

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Renaissance writers on music based their treatises largely on the ideas of ancient music theorists and philosophers.¹ Like other scholars of the Renaissance, they took antiquity as their model: in ancient writings, they could read about what music was like in antiquity and what effects it had, and they sought ways to achieve this perfection in contemporary compositions, as well.

As is well known, in antiquity and the Middle Ages, music was regarded as one of the mathematical sciences, a *quadrivial* discipline, that is, one that studies relationships between quantities. The positioning of music among the quadrivial disciplines was perhaps most clearly defined by Boethius:

*Now of these types, arithmetic considers that multitude which exists of itself as an integral whole; the measures of musical modulation understand that multitude which exists in relation to some other; geometry offers the notion of stable magnitude; the skill of astronomical discipline explains the science of moveable magnitude. If a searcher is lacking knowledge of these four sciences, he is not able to find the true; without this kind of thought, nothing of truth is rightly known. [...] This, therefore, is the quadrivium [= four roads] by which we bring a superior mind from knowledge offered by the senses to the more certain things of the intellect.*²

Many ancient and medieval treatises on music therefore focused primarily on the construction of the tonal system and the study of its acoustic properties, as well as on the treatment of individual intervals expressed by mathematical ratios.

In view of their desire to revive ancient music, Renaissance music theorists seem to focus, in one way or another, precisely on an attempt to combine ancient music theory with the musical practice of the time. The fusion of ancient theory and contemporary practice is also one of the main postulates of the famous treatise *Istitutioni harmoniche*, published in 1558 by Gioseffo Zarlino (ca. 1517–1590), who is considered by many to be the central and most influential Italian music theorist of the sixteenth century. The aim of the present paper is to determine the role of ancient music theory in the *Istitutioni* and, within its framework, in particular mathematical and physical considerations and their relevance to audible music: What are mathematics and physics in the *Istitutioni harmoniche*? How and for what purpose does Zarlino use them?³

1 The adoption of ancient music theory by Renaissance theorists has been discussed by many authors, but for a general overview of the topic one should still consult Palisca's fundamental book: Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

2 Michael Masi, *Boethian Number Theory: A Translation of the De Institutione Arithmetica* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 72–73. Underlined emphasis added by Nejc Sukljan.

3 Although in rather different contexts and with other aims, this topic has already been discussed (at least partially) by several other authors, among whom the following should be mentioned: Daniel Pickering Walter, *Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute London, 1978), Benito V. Rivera, "Theory Ruled by Practice: Zarlino's Reversal of the Classical System of Proportions," *Indiana Theory Review* 16 (1995): 145–170, and Robert W. Wienpahl, "Zarlino, the Senario, and Tonality," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 12, no. 1 (1959): 27–41.

1 *Istitutioni harmoniche*: Sources, motivations, outline

The life story of Zarlino is quite interesting and still topical. If we are to believe Bernardino Baldi, who in 1595 wrote Zarlino's first biography, Zarlino's parents fled to Chioggia (a small town in the Venetian lagoon where the theorist was born) from Alexandria, near Milan.⁴ Zarlino was therefore a child of newcomers, war refugees, yet later managed to obtain one of the most prestigious musical positions in Europe: in mid 1565, he was appointed *maestro di cappella* at St Mark's Basilica in Venice. The fact that he lived and worked in the very centre of the famous *Serenissima* – he moved to the city in 1541 – was decisive for him. It was here that he was able to master his compositional skills with Adrian Willaert; it was here that, as a member of the *Accademia Veneziana*, he could discuss many scientific and other topics with Venetian and other scholars; and – perhaps most importantly – it was here that he had at his disposal the vast corpus of ancient writings on music that the famous Cardinal Bessarion had previously donated to the city together with other manuscripts from his library. Besides Boethius' *Fundamentals of Music*, which was already widely known in the Middle Ages and was his main source, Zarlino was thus able to read the works of Claudius Ptolemy, Quintilian, Aristoxenus, Plutarch, Euclid and many others; he was also well acquainted with the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. Thus, as a humanist scholar, Zarlino remained true to the Renaissance paradigm of adopting the ancient canons, and he discussed them extensively in the *Istitutioni*.

Zarlino explains why he decided to write the *Istitutioni* in its dedication and preface. Setting out from a broadly conceived human struggle for universal knowledge, in the humanistic spirit he immediately establishes a connection with the ancient philosophers: the ancient scholars agreed that the causes of things are important.⁵ Therefore, man explores the origins of all being in the hope of understanding the ultimate mysteries of nature; by acquiring a knowledge of things, he strides towards perfection. Zarlino began writing the *Istitutioni* precisely because, in his opinion, music – in contrast to other sciences and arts (*le scienze e le arti*) – had not yet been fully represented: he wanted to see if he, who had studied music since his youth, could succeed in bringing both music theory (*teorica o contemplativa*) and practice (*prattica*) to perfection. To

4 Bernardino Baldi, *Le vite de' matematici Italiani* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1998), 543.

5 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, ed. Silvia Urbani (Treviso: Diastema, 2011), 3–4. Here, Zarlino obviously relies on Aristotle's concept of the principle, as presented by the philosopher at the beginning of the Book 1 of *Physics*: "[...] we think we know a thing only when we have grasped its first causes and principles and have traced it back to its elements." (Aristotle, *Physics I*, trans. Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 184a, 9.) In fact, Aristotle's natural-scientific or physical considerations are one of the cornerstones on which the *Istitutioni* is built; the need to understand their causes in order to fully understand things and their nature is a kind of fundamental idea, a postulate to which Zarlino often returns.

achieve this, it is necessary to know the causes of music, which in the *Istitutioni* are closely linked to the firm mathematical and physical postulates on which the tonal system, from which all music comes to be, is built.

Zarlino's discussion in the *Istitutioni* closely follows the structure of the treatise, which is in turn modelled on various considerations in Aristotle's *Physics*. Here, in Chapter 7 of Book 1,⁶ the philosopher discusses the three principles of coming to be: the underlying thing (matter), privation and form, the last two being opposite (first, there is the underlying thing (matter), which takes shape when a thing comes to be). It is precisely to these principles that Zarlino refers when he explains that the *Istitutioni* is divided roughly into two parts, theoretical (contemplative) and practical.⁷ However, since all things, whether natural or artificial, are made of matter and form, each of the two parts is treated appropriately in both respects and, consequently, divided into a further two parts, so that there are four in all.⁸ Since matter can only be known by its form, the first part will initially present numbers and ratios that form consonances. In the second part, the tones that are their matter are discussed.⁹ The structure of the second part of the treatise is based on the same principles, albeit somewhat differently justified and reversed. Zarlino states that musical practice is nothing other than the realisation of music and its purpose through compositions that are artificial, since they are composed through the art called counterpoint or composition. Compositions, too, have both matter and form: when a composer wants to write something, he first chooses the matter and then creates a suitable form for it. This is why the third part discusses the consonances and intervals that are the matter of compositions, while the fourth part deals with their form: the way music should accompany words is explained.¹⁰

6 Aristotle, *Physics I*, 189b–191a, 24–28.

7 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 10. Among other things, Zarlino's understanding of music theory and practice is evident from the presented division. For him, music theory refers exclusively to speculative considerations on music, while the theory of counterpoint (which is now generally understood as a theoretical discipline) is seen as musical practice. Such a definition is derived from the final results of both: the theory of counterpoint, in its implementation, leads to a certain product, to an actual composition, which is why it is defined as musical practice. On the other hand, there is no tangible product in speculation: such considerations only define and describe music and, above all, examine the tonal space in which it evolves.

8 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 11–12.

9 That numbers and ratios are forms of consonances means that consonances exist (appear) as numbers and the ratios between them. Furthermore, consonances are a natural thing, and in the case of the latter, according to Aristotle, matter (or the underlying thing) can only be known by its form: through that which already exists, which has already come to be as a result of the process of coming to be. The matter of consonances, which we can approach only through form, are thus tones.

10 Actually, the third and fourth parts of the treatise are much more broadly conceived. At the beginning of the third part, individual intervals are indeed presented, but by far the largest part of the discussion is then devoted to the presentation of the theory of counterpoint. However, if we borrow Aristotle's categories presented above, this is neither the matter nor the form of compositions.

2 Music as *scienza* and *arte*

It is clear from the outline of the *Istitutioni* that the aim of the first half of the treatise (the first two parts) is a speculative representation of the tonal system in which the actual practical music evolves. The latter is then discussed in the second half of the treatise (the last two parts). Such an arrangement of content reflects Zarlino's fundamental postulate that it is necessary to combine the theoretical (speculative) principles of musical science with practical musical activity:

And even if speculation in itself does not seem to require practical implementation, a speculative scholar would not be able to effectuate any of the new things he has discovered without the help of an artist or an instrument. Therefore, even if such speculation were justified, it would not bear fruit, since it would not achieve its ultimate goal, which can only be achieved through the use of natural or artificial instruments. On the other hand, without the help of reason the artist would never achieve a perfect performance. Consequently, in music (if we imagine it in its perfection) these two fields are so closely connected that, for the reasons mentioned above, they cannot be separated.¹¹

The fact that speculative music without its practical component is of little value and imperfect can also be observed in many theorists who were not familiar with musical practice. Zarlino notes: they said a lot of nonsense and made many mistakes. Similarly, those who only deal with practical music and refuse to learn about any causes (*ragione*) have written many stupidities in their compositions.¹²

In Zarlino's opinion (which is fundamental to understanding the entire *Istitutioni* and is a kind of a cornerstone on which the treatise is built), music therefore consists of two components, scientific (speculative or contemplative music) and artistic (practical music); it is *scienza* and *arte*. However, although these two components are inseparable and cannot function properly without each other, it seems that Zarlino puts science first, which is also ontologically

Rather, its realisation is the actual process of coming to be, the moment when given matter (intervals and chords) acquires its form (tones and text arranged in a composition). Similarly, the discussion of the setting of text to music is only a small part of the fourth book of the *Istitutioni*, the main part of which is devoted to the treatment of ancient and modern modes. However, these are – if we judge them according to Zarlino's criteria – more matter (which the composer chooses before starting to compose) than form.

11 "E quantunque la speculazione da per sé non abbia dibisogno dell'opera, tuttavia non può lo speculativo produr cosa alcuna in atto ch'abbia ritrovato nuovamente, senza l'aiuto dell'artefice overo dell'istrumento; percióché tale speculazione, se ben ella non fusse vana, parrebbe nondimeno senza frutto, quando non si riducesse all'ultimo suo fine che consiste nell'essercizio de' naturali e artificiali istrumenti, col mezo dei quali ella viene a conseguirlo, come ancora l'artefice senza l'aiuto della ragione mai potrebbe condurre l'opera sua a perfezione alcuna. E perciò nella musica (considerandola nella sua perfezione) queste due parti sono tanto insieme congiunte che per l'assegnate ragioni non si possono separare l'una dall'altra." Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 56.

12 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 139.

justified: without their implementation in actual, audible music, speculative considerations may not achieve their final goal and are an end in themselves, but they can still exist, since speculation in itself does not require any practical activity. On the other hand, it is clear that the existence of practical music is not possible without a firm theoretical basis (as a part of which the tonal system is primarily contemplated). Consequently, any musical activity necessarily results from speculative considerations, which in Zarlino's musical thought are based precisely on the ancient theoretical tradition. In the *Istituzioni*, music is primarily defined as an exact scientific discipline (*scienza*) that can be accurately described and its causes determined through scientific observation. Nevertheless, it is only completed through the art (*arte*) of counterpoint, which is its inseparable and necessary component.

According to Zarlino, music as *scienza* emerged at its earliest beginnings.¹³ Even before the biblical flood, it was invented by Jubal, a descendant of Cain, using the sound of hammers. It was then lost in the flood, but was reinvented by Mercury, who was the first to observe the paths of the stars, the harmony of song, and the numerical ratios. The ratios in music were then studied by Pythagoras, and his successors developed a perfect and exact science (*perfetta e certa scienza*). Like Aristotle in natural science (*filosofia naturale*), they established fixed rules, with each successive generation correcting the mistakes of the previous one. In this way, musical science became so exact that it was affirmed as mathematical science and thus gained access to the highest level of truth (*primo grado di verità*). A thought is then borrowed from Boethius' *Fundamentals of Arithmetic*: mathematics is nothing other than the ability to recognise the truth (*capacità di verità*) about being, which by its very nature is unchangeable. Its accuracy is so great that mathematicians can use numbers to describe celestial movements, different positions of the planets, lunar and solar eclipses, and many other things unambiguously and without the slightest disagreement between them.¹⁴

Music is particularly close to the other quadrivial disciplines: arithmetic, astronomy and geometry. Indeed, the subject of music is sounding number (*numero sonoro*),¹⁵ which can be experienced (heard) with the help of sounding bodies (*corpi sonori*), which is why musical science is subordinate to both arithmetic and geometry.¹⁶ According to the adopted views of Aristotle, mu-

13 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 14–18.

14 Ibid., 17–18.

15 The concept of sounding number is further discussed and explained below.

16 Zarlino explains that there are two kinds of sciences: (1) basic (*principali*) and superior (*subalternanti*) and (2) secondary (*non principali*) and subordinate (*subalterne*). The first are those whose principles (*principii*) are approached through both reason (*lume naturale*) and sensory perception; these include arithmetic and geometry, to which sensory perception is also important, but only to a certain extent. Secondary and subordinate sciences are those which, in addition to their own principles, are characterised by several principles of the superior sciences: the subordinate sciences

sic is also subordinate to the natural sciences (*scienza naturale*) in addition to mathematics; not in terms of numbers, but in terms of sound, which originates in nature and from which every song (*modulatione*), every consonance (*consonanza*), every harmony and melody is born.¹⁷ Musical science is therefore partly natural-scientific and partly mathematical; it lies between the two fields: through natural science, the matter of consonances (tones) is approached, while their form (ratios) is examined by mathematics. However, since form is more excellent (*più nobile*) than matter, music is considered more mathematical than natural science, Zarlino concludes.¹⁸

Another important postulate of Zarlino is connected with the subordination of music to natural science; namely, the principle of *imitation of nature*, to which the theorist often refers. In accordance with the contemporary humanistic views derived from the considerations of the ancient philosophers, Zarlino is convinced that the perfect order of nature must be the model for everything. Music, too, must follow its example, both in the construction of the tonal system and the assessment of consonances, as well as in composing and considering the aesthetic value of compositions.¹⁹

Closely linked to Zarlino's positioning of music as a scientific and artistic discipline is his view of the relationship between the senses and reason.²⁰ In general, Zarlino places reason before the senses, which cannot be fully trusted.

take their subject from the superior sciences but add an accident (*accidente*) to it, for otherwise there would be no difference between them. Zarlino cites the example of perspective, which, in addition to its own principles, refers to several other principles specific to geometry: perspective takes a line in itself as its subject and adds visual representation (*visualità*) to it as an accident; this way, its subject becomes a visually represented line. Similarly, music, which shares number with arithmetic and body with geometry, adds sound to both as an accident. Thus, music is subordinate to both, since it not only has its own principles, but also takes them from arithmetic and geometry; it is only through the latter that we can truly know it (Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 76–78). In this case, the term *accident* denotes a certain nonessential quality of a being. In the example used by Zarlino, line is the being, while its visual representation is the property that makes it the subject of perspective. However, the line itself would still exist even if it were not represented visually. This means that visual representation is not its essential property on which its existence depends.

17 The term *natural science* primarily refers to the physical examination of nature. Aristotle hints at this connection with music in Chapter 2 of the second book of *Physics*, from which Zarlino apparently borrows: "One can conceive of odd and even, and straight and curved, in isolation from change, and similarly number and line and shape; but this is impossible in the case of flesh and bone and man, which are defined like a snub nose rather than a curved thing. Further clarification comes from the branches of mathematics which are closest to natural science (such as optics, harmonics, and astronomy), since they are in a sense the converse of geometry: where geometry studies naturally occurring lines, but not as they occur in nature, optics studies mathematical lines, but as they occur in nature rather than as purely mathematical entities." For more details, see Aristotle, *Physics II*, 194a, 36–37.

18 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 78.

19 See, for example, Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 416.

20 Here, Zarlino almost literally quotes the content of Chapter 9 of Book 1 of Boethius' treatise (Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, trans. Calvin M. Bower, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 16–17).

The use of the senses alone makes it impossible to achieve the precision required by scientific study; only reason can make definite and infallible judgments in this regard. That this is true can easily be verified: if we want to divide a random thing (e.g., a line) into two equal parts only with the help of the senses, we will never be able to do it perfectly; even if we succeed by chance, there is no way that the senses could confirm this. Similarly, if we took 50 grains from a large pile, our eyes would not be able to see the change, because the amount taken away would be too small and therefore hardly perceptible to the senses. The same thing happens with sound: although the ear cannot err in judging consonances and dissonances, it cannot judge how far an interval is from another or how much one interval exceeds another. On the other hand, reason does not rest until it has carefully examined all of the differences. Although musical science begins from the senses, Zarlino sums up, since through them we examine all things, we cannot rely entirely on their judgment; we must therefore combine them with reason, for only in this way will our judgment be exact and precise.²¹

With the definition and conceptualisation of music as musical science, Zarlino largely joins the vast majority of ancient theorists led by Ptolemy and Boethius,²² while also adopting many of the ideas of the ancient phi-

21 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 722–723. Despite such clearly expressed distrust of the senses, the reality in the *Istituzioni* is somewhat different. In many places, especially when it comes to contrapuntal rules, Zarlino defends and substantiates the represented views precisely by aesthetic criteria based on auditory perception: things are set as they are just because they sound good and are so pleasing to our ear.

22 Ptolemy presents his grounds for the discussion on music or, as he puts it, harmonics (*harmonic science*) mostly in Chapters 1 and 2 of Book 1 of *Harmonics*. He first explains that harmonics deal with “the distinctions related to high and low pitch in sounds”, which is then physically defined as “modification of air that has been struck”. Hearing and reason are then named as criteria for judging harmony (*harmonia*), but not in the same way: “Rather, hearing is concerned with the matter and the modification, reason with the form and the cause, since it is in general characteristic of the senses to discover what is approximate and to adopt from elsewhere what is accurate, and of reason to adopt from elsewhere what is approximate, and to discover what is accurate. [...] The apprehensions of senses are determined and bounded by those of reason.” However, even if the senses need the help of reason to be able to know things as they truly are, they are also important: in sound perception, the correct method is the one in which the ears will not only witness, but will also agree with the result. The aim of harmonics, then, “must be to preserve in all respects the rational postulates of the *kanon* [audible music], as never in any way conflicting with the perceptions that correspond to most people’s estimation”. In this sense, Ptolemy combines both Pythagorean and Aristoxenian traditions in his theoretical considerations, being critical of both: “The Pythagoreans did not follow the impressions of hearing even in those things where it is necessary for everyone to do so” whereas “the Aristoxenians [...] gave most weight to things grasped by perception, and misused reason as if it were incidental to the route, contrary both to reason itself and to the perceptual evidence”. These are thus two different concepts, two approaches to music theoretical principles, which Ptolemy tries to combine as much as possible in his music theoretical thinking. At the centre, however, is reason, which alone enables the discovery of the true truth of things. (For a detailed account see Andrew Barker, *Greek Musical Writings II: Harmonic and Acoustic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 276–279).

losophers (especially Aristotelian and Pythagorean-Platonist ideas). At the same time, however, Zarlino clearly distances himself from the tradition of ancient musical thought: he acknowledges the fact that theoretical, speculative considerations are first and foremost a necessary basis for actual music, for musical practice, which is also their ultimate goal: we speculate about music in order to achieve a better end product, which is actual, audible music, a product of artistic intention and action. Zarlino's discourse on music in the *Istituzioni* is to be understood in light of what has just been said: it is a guided path that leads from theoretical, speculative considerations to the study of actual, audible music.

With the establishment of music as *scienza* and *arte* in the *Istituzioni*, the division of musicians and, finally, the definition of the perfect musician (*musicò perfetto*) are closely connected. Speculative and practical music are inseparable, claims Zarlino, but if we had to separate them, one who deals with speculation would be called a *musician* (*musicò*), and one who deals with practice would be called something else: one who composes is called a composer and one who sings is a singer (*cantor*), while a player (*sonatore*) plays an instrument. This way of naming practitioners is even clearer for those who make music with their hands, as they are named after their instrument: organist by organ, citternist by cittern, lyricist by lyre, etc.²³

A musician is a person who is an expert in music (*nella musica è perito*) and can judge it not only in terms of sound but also rationally. A practitioner (composer, singer or player), on the other hand, is one who masters the musician's findings through many years of practice and puts them into practice with his voice or an artificial instrument. In fact, no composer has learned to compose through reason or science, but through long practice (*uso*). The same is true of instrumentalists: the speed of the hands or tongue, or other movements, should only be attributed to long practice, not to science.²⁴

Man was born for much more excellent things than singing and playing the lyre or other instruments with which only his hearing is satisfied, Zarlino continues to believe.²⁵ In this way, man neglects his nature, as he does not make

Boethius presents his starting points for the study of music mainly at the beginning of Book 1 (Chapters 1 and 9) and at the beginning of Book 2 (Chapters 2 and 3) of *Fundamentals of Music*. Here, music is firmly positioned as one of the mathematical sciences of the quadrivium, which is approached by both hearing and reason, but as in the case of Ptolemy, the latter is undoubtedly of greater importance. This is then confirmed in more detail in Chapter 2 of Book 5, where Ptolemy's definitions of harmony are adopted almost literally ("harmonics is the faculty that weighs differences between high and low sounds"), and "sense and reason are, as it were, particular instruments for the faculty of harmonics". For a detailed account see Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 163.

23 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 56–57.

24 Ibid., 57.

25 Ibid., 32–34.

much effort to properly nourish his intellect, which always wants to know and learn new things. Therefore, one should not learn the art of music alone – that would be madness. Even more: if man were to be active only in practice, it would be a sin, for it would lead him to drowsiness and laziness and make his spirit weak and effeminate. However, most contemporary musicians only engage in practical music, which has a bad effect on their character and makes them coarse and rude. They can only become virtuous (*virtuosi*) by studying speculative music.

It is clear, according to Zarlino, that without a solid theoretical system on which it is based and from which it is born, practical music cannot exist. This system can only be approached rationally, but it is really accessible only to those who know both the speculative and the practical parts of music, since without its audible realisation, the system is meaningless. Hence, both theorist and practical musician must go hand in hand, and it is best if they are united in one person – then this is the perfect musician (*musico perfetto*).²⁶

3 From ancient music theory to contemporary musical practice: The cases of the division of the interval and the system of the *senario*

Perhaps the clearest example of Zarlino's attempt to join the postulates of ancient music theory, based on exact mathematical principles, with contemporary musical reality in the *Istitutioni* is his construction of the tonal system. Let us therefore consider two case studies: the division of the interval and the system of the *senario*.

26 What a perfect musician needs to know is explained in more detail at the end of the *Istitutioni* (Zarlino, *Istitutioni armoniche*, 718–721): if you want to achieve perfection in music, you must know many things, says Zarlino; if only one thing is missing, perfection cannot be achieved. Since the science of music is subordinate to arithmetic, the perfect musician must first be well versed in this discipline, especially in the use of numbers and ratios: he must know at least as much about numbers as merchants do (*numeri mercanteschi*). Furthermore, the ratios between tones cannot be represented in any other way than through sounding bodies, so a perfect musician must be well trained in geometry: he must at least master the division of a line with a compass (*compasso*) and understand what a point, a line (curved and straight), a surface, a body and other similar things are. In addition, a perfect musician must master at least the average playing of the monochord and harpsichord: the harpsichord is the most perfect and tuning stable of all instruments, and with the help of a monochord, he will be able to prove and validate his research on sounding numbers and implement things he finds new every day. Knowledge of both instruments also requires that one can tune them perfectly and that one has perfect hearing (*l'udito perfetto*): only in this way will a perfect musician be able to make perfect judgments without making a mistake when researching the differences between the intervals. Furthermore, a perfect musician must be well trained in the art of singing (*arte del cantare*) and counterpoint (*arte del contrapunto*) or composition: this way, he will be able to realise everything musical because the creation of musical things is the way to their ultimate goal and perfection. It will also be extremely useful for a perfect musician to master some other disciplines, especially grammar (because with the help of grammar, one can learn of long and short syllables and understand writers who write about music) and dialectics (because with the help of dialectics, one can argue); rhetoric (because with it, one can express thoughts in an orderly way) and natural science are also important.

3.1 The division of the interval

The *musical interval* is the smallest unit of the tonal system as defined by Zarlino; in the *Istitutioni*, an interval is defined as the distance between two different tones: lower and higher.²⁷ Mathematically speaking, these distances are expressed by numerical ratios,²⁸ but not by any ratios, only by *unequal ratios of comparison of the larger with the smaller, which are closer to simplicity*, explains Zarlino.²⁹ Since intervals are expressed by numerical ratios, they are inevitably subject to all of their laws, including the arithmetic operations between them.³⁰ The latter are used in the *Istitutioni* mainly in the discussion about the division of the interval. Indeed, Zarlino believes that smaller intervals come from larger ones,³¹ so it is important to show how to divide them.

Since intervals are divided the same way as ratios, their division can generally be irrational (a musical scholar does not deal with this) or rational, and the latter can be arithmetic, geometric or harmonic.³² Actually, the division of a given interval determines the arithmetic, harmonic or geometric mean of the ratio by which the divided interval is expressed; all three means are summarised in the table below.

Table 1: Arithmetic, geometric and harmonic means

division (mean)	differences between terms	ratios between terms	mathematical formula of the mean	example
arithmetic	equal	different	$m = \frac{x + y}{2}$	4:3:2
geometric	different	equal	$m = \sqrt{xy}$	4:2:1
harmonic	different	different	$m = \frac{2xy}{x + y}$	15:12:10

The determined mean of the ratio of a given musical interval is in fact a new tone placed between the two existing ones, thus dividing the initial interval

27 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 185.

28 In considering and defining the interval, Zarlino is somewhat inconsistent: if an interval is a distance (and as such necessarily a quantity), it cannot be expressed by a ratio (which is necessarily a comparison of two quantities – Zarlino, too, defines it as such). Strictly speaking, the musical interval, which in modern music theory is usually also defined as the distance between two tones, is mathematically and physically actually a comparison (ratio) of their frequencies.

29 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 81–83, 300–305.

30 The basic arithmetic operations with ratios are addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, finding the lowest terms, and determining the means. For a detailed presentation of these operations, see Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 96–102, 104–108, 110–112 in 120–121.

31 In the *Istitutioni*, Zarlino argues that intervals originate from the division of the octave into smaller parts. Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 295–297 and 313–316.

32 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 207.

into two smaller ones. Divisions with all three means are shown in the examples below:

(1) Let us divide the octave with the arithmetic mean. Its ratio of 2:1 must first be doubled ($= 4:2$),³³ and then the middle term 3 is determined so that the initial ratio of the octave will be divided arithmetically: 4:3:2. We get the interval of the fourth (4:3) between the determined middle and the lower tones, while between the middle and upper tones, we get the interval of the fifth (3:2).



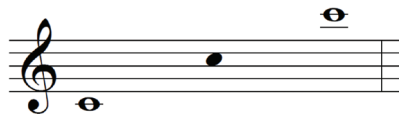
Example 1: Arithmetic division of the octave.

(2) Let us divide the octave with the harmonic mean. We take the ratio of 6:3 ($= 2:1$)³⁴ and determine the middle term 4 so that the initial ratio of the octave will be divided harmonically: 6:4:3. In this case, between the lower two tones we get the interval of the fifth (6:4 = 3:2) and between the higher two tones the interval of the fourth (4:3).



Example 2: Harmonic division of the octave.

(3) Let us divide the double octave³⁵ with the geometric mean. We take the ratio of 4:1 and determine the middle term 2, so that the initial ratio of the double octave will be divided geometrically: 4:2:1. Both obtained intervals are of the same ratio, differing only in terms of pitch.



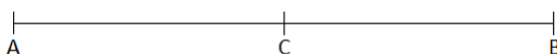
Example 3: Geometric division of the double octave.

33 The arithmetic mean of terms 2 and 1 ($= \frac{3}{2}$) cannot be written with an integer, which causes Zarlino to double the ratio of the octave.

34 The harmonic mean of terms 2 and 1 ($= \frac{4}{3}$) cannot be written with an integer, which causes Zarlino to triple the ratio of the octave.

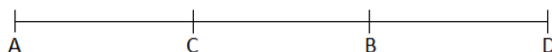
35 The geometric mean of the ratio of the octave (2:1) is $\sqrt{2}$, which is not a rational number. Zarlino therefore takes the ratio of the double octave (4:1) for his example of division by geometric mean.

However, the arithmetic procedures described for dividing an interval with the arithmetic, harmonic and geometric mean prove to be somewhat inadequate in Zarlino's further discussion, since these means do not allow each interval to be divided into two equal parts (e.g., the interval of the octave in the ratio 2:1 or the interval of the major second in the ratio 9:8).³⁶ Where it is not possible to divide a given interval into two equal parts following the arithmetic procedures because the result would be irrational, a geometric procedure must be applied: just as we can find a third line segment to the two given ones, which will be their mean, we can also find a third tone to the two given ones.³⁷ So let us divide the ratio of the octave (2:1) in half. We take the line segment AB halved by point C so that AB:CB will be in the chosen ratio of 2:1.



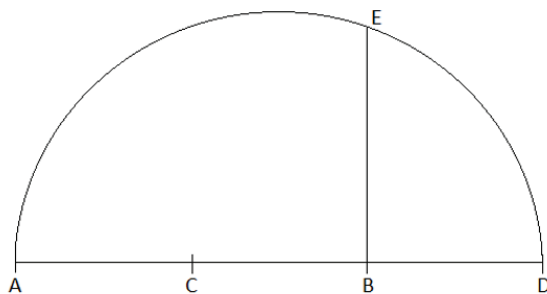
Example 4: Division of the line segment AB in half.

We then extend the line segment AB from point B to point D so that $BD = CB$.



Example 5: Extension of the line segment AB to point D; $BD = CB$.

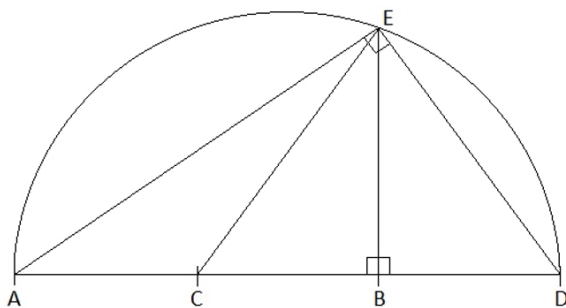
Next, we draw a semicircle to the line segment AD and then a perpendicular line from point B to point E. The resulting line segment BE is the length we are looking for.



Example 6: Semicircle to the line segment AD and the result – the line segment BE.

- 36 A given interval can be divided into two equal intervals only by geometric mean, which divides any ratio into two equal ratios. However, the geometric mean is not always a rational number, and irrational numbers are not acceptable to music scholars.
- 37 Zarlino summarises the following procedure after Book 6 of Euclid's *Elements*, especially Propositions 8 and 13 (see Euclid, *Euclid's Elements*, trans. David E. Joyce, 1998, accessed 2 August 2020, <https://mathcs.clarku.edu/~djoyce/java/elements/>). In this case, the line segments must be taken as taut strings of a determined length.

Zarlino's procedure can be verified through geometric rules of similar triangles.³⁸ First, we have to connect the points A and E, and E and D to obtain the triangle AED. At the same time, we get the triangles ABE and EBD. Then, we connect the points C and E to get the triangle BCE. All four triangles are right-angled³⁹ and similar.⁴⁰



Example 7: Similar triangles AED, ABE, EBD and BCD.

We must show that $AB:BE = BE:CB$ is true. The triangles AED and ABE are similar, as they coincide in two angles: they have one common angle ($\angle EAB = \angle EAD$), and the angles $\angle ABE$ and $\angle AED$ are right angles. Consequently, the angles $\angle ADE$ and $\angle AEB$ are equal. The triangles AED and EBD are also similar since they also coincide in two angles: they have one common angle ($\angle BDE = \angle ADE$), and the angles $\angle EBD$ and $\angle AED$ are right angles. Consequently, the angles $\angle BED$ and $\angle EAD$ are equal. Furthermore, we can find that the triangles CBE and EBD are also similar, as they coincide in two sides ($CB = BD$, side BE is common) and the angle between them ($\angle CBE = \angle BED$). Since all four triangles are similar, the triangles ABE and CBE are also similar. Therefore, according to the rule that the ratios of the corresponding sides (sides at the same angle) are the same, it is true that $AB:BE = BE:CB$.

Although Zarlino, at the beginning of the discussion on the division of the larger intervals into smaller ones, claims that a musician only deals with rational divisions, the manner of dividing an arbitrary ratio (interval) into two

38 Zarlino does not offer a proof in the *Istitutioni*, merely stating that the procedure is in accordance with Euclid's rules (Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 209).

39 The triangle AED is right-angled according to the Thales theorem, which states that the central angle (in this case $\angle ABD$) is twice as large as the inscribed angle ($\angle AEB$). Since the angle $\angle ABD$ is 180° , $\angle AED$ must be 90° . Euclid discusses this problem in Proposition 31 of Book 3 of *Elements* (see Euclid, *Elements*).

40 Two triangles are similar when they match: (1) in two angles (and consequently in the third); (2) in two ratios of the corresponding sides (which are by the same angle in both triangles); (3) in the ratio of two sides and the angle against the longer, and (4) in the ratio of two sides and the angle between them.

equal parts as depicted is actually nothing other than a geometric representation of irrational geometric division. In this way, the tone in the ratio 9:8 could also be divided into two equal parts; thus, in the *Istitutioni*, the door to equal temperament based on auditory perception opens widely.

3.2 Senario

After he explains how the intervals are to be divided arithmetically (with the help of means) and how any interval can be divided into two equal parts by geometric procedure, Zarlino continues with the presentation of the features of the intervals, with particular emphasis on consonances and dissonances.

The question of consonances and dissonances was one of the central questions discussed by Renaissance music theorists in their treatises. In discussing it, they departed significantly from their ancient predecessors, approaching contemporary musical practice. As is well known, according to the ancient Pythagorean system, only the intervals whose ratios could be expressed by the first four numbers were consonant: double octave (4:1), octave with fifth (3:1), octave (2:1), fifth (3:2) and fourth (4:3). Since all other intervals were considered dissonant, when reading the ancient writings on music, Renaissance theorists faced a difficult dilemma: on the one hand, there were mathematically clear, strict and rigid "Pythagorean" definitions, and on the other hand, there was the musical reality of their time, musical practice in which ear-pleasing thirds and sixths had also been in use as consonances for quite some time. These were impossible to describe with the Pythagorean system of the first four numbers, since they occur in the known ratios of 5:4 (major third), 6:5 (minor third), 5:3 (major sixth) and 8:5 (minor sixth). Their justification thus became a significant problem that many music theorists of the time addressed.

Zarlino also engaged in the difficult justification of thirds and sixths as consonances. In the *Istitutioni*, he first defined consonance and dissonance:⁴¹ consonance is defined as the arrangement of low and high tones, reduced to a single ratio, which reaches the ear sweet and homogenous and can affect the senses (*ha posanza di mutare il senso*); such intervals are the unison, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth and the octave, as well as their conjunctions with the octave. To their opposite is dissonance, which reaches the ear sharp, rough and without any grace; it arises because its tones, given the disproportion between them, do not want to unite but strive to remain separate. Dissonant intervals are the second and the seventh, as well as their conjunctions with the octave.

Zarlino then continues with a discussion of consonances, which he divides in different ways. Like intervals in general, consonances can be simple or composed,⁴²

41 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 179–180, 185.

42 Ibid., 69–70.

with the latter further divided into three types: (1) composed of parts of the octave⁴³ but smaller than the octave, (2) composed of an octave and one of its parts, and (3) composed of two or more octaves. The first group includes the major sixth in the ratio 5:3 (composed of a fourth and a major third and smaller than the octave) and the minor sixth in the ratio 8:5 (composed of a fourth and a minor third and smaller than the octave). The second group includes the octave with the fifth (3:1), and the third group a double octave (4:1). Actually, only the consonances of the second and third groups are composed, Zarlino adds, whereas the consonances of the first group are incompletely composed: since they are smaller than the octave, they are almost simple and basic. In fact, in the sequence of musical consonances, almost the same order can be observed as in the sequence of numbers up to 10. Once we get to this number, we no longer add any new ones, but only duplicate those already used. Just as the number 10 is followed by the number 11, then 12, etc., the consonances following the octave and the fifth are posed almost to infinity: first there is a fourth, then major and minor thirds, then a fourth again, and so on. If necessary, the sequence could continue indefinitely this way, but music does not reach infinity, as infinity cannot be known.⁴⁴

In the *Istitutioni*, consonances are further divided into perfect and imperfect.⁴⁵ This division is closely connected with contemporary musical practice, especially with the rules of constructing chords and voice leading in counterpoint. Zarlino classifies the unison, the fourth, the fifth and the octave as perfect consonances, while the third and the sixth are imperfect. Relying on the authority of the ancient Pythagoreans, he further explains that perfect consonances were most likely named as such because the terms of their ratios are contained in parts of the number four (*numero quaternario*) in multiple and superparticular genera.⁴⁶ Subsequently, however, he also justifies them with auditory-aesthetic criteria: these consonances please the ear in such a way that it does not wish for anything else.

On the other hand, imperfect consonances are named this way because the

43 This refers to the intervals smaller than the octave into which the latter is divided according to Zarlino's belief that all intervals originate from the octave.

44 Zarlino speaks about the sequence of numbers between the ratios of simple consonances: 1:2 (octave) :3 (fifth) :4 (fourth) :5 (major third) :6 (minor third) :8 (3:4, fourth) :10 (4:5, major third), etc. In fact, the sequence is not quite the same as in numbers up to 10 since the numbers 7 and 9 are missing. If we arrange these ratios in a series of intervals, however, they relate to each other so that the upper tone of the previous interval is the lower tone of the following one: C – c – g – c¹ – e¹ – g¹ – c² – e³ – g³ etc.

45 Zarlino, *Istitutioni armoniche*, 322–325.

46 Two numbers (whether larger to smaller or vice versa) can be compared in five different ways, Zarlino maintains. Consequently, he speaks of five different genera of ratios, which are divided into simple (multiple, superparticular, superpartient) and compound (multiple superparticular and multiple superpartient). See Zarlino, *Istitutioni armoniche*, 81–82, 87–90. The definitions of genera of ratios are most likely taken from Boethius, who discusses them in Chapter 4 of Book 1 and Chapter 4 of Book 2 (see Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 12–14 and 54–55).

terms of their ratios occur after the number four (6, 5, 4). In the first place, these are major and minor thirds, which combined with the fourth form major and minor sixths, which are in the superpartient ratio, and this, according to the Pythagoreans, cannot produce consonances. Unlike perfect consonances, imperfect ones cannot completely satisfy our hearing on their own. This only occurs when they are combined with other intervals in such a way that the highest and lowest tones of the chord form either a perfect consonance or one of the composed imperfect consonances (*imperfette replicate*, i.e., an imperfect consonance with an octave).

Finally, consonances are also divided into complete (*piene*) and pleasant (*vaghe*).⁴⁷ It is explained that contemporary musicians use both terms with the adjectives (*particella*) *more* or *less*. More complete are consonances that have a greater ability to fill the ear with different sounds. In this sense, the fifth is more complete than the octave, for its tones fill the ear more with different sound than the tones of the octave, which are of the same sound (*equisonanti*) and are therefore similar. If we leave the octave aside, however, the rule is as follows: consonances that are closer to their origin (in a greater ratio) and are more perfect than the others are also more complete. On the other hand, consonances in smaller ratios are more pleasing. This is especially true when consonances are placed in the right places. Those whose ratios are closer to double are attracted to lower pitches (*amano la parte grave*), whereas those that are more pleasant and whose ratios are more distant from the double are attracted to higher ones.⁴⁸

Consonances are also considered to be more pleasant if they are further away from simplicity (*semplicità*). The latter does not please the ear the most, as the senses prefer composed rather than simple things. In this sense, hearing has a similar attitude to tones as sight has to colours. The latter originate in white and black, but sight is more enthusiastic about those colours that are distant from white and black. Just as sight rejoices more in the composition of colours, hearing rejoices more in the composition of tones.⁴⁹

In addition to consonant intervals, the musician also deals with dissonant ones, the sound of which does not please the ear, causing the tune (*cantilena*) to be sharp and without any grace. In singing, however, it is not possible to proceed from one consonance to another without the help of dissonances, thus making their use necessary, albeit subject to certain rules. Of these intervals, only those serving diatonic tonal motions,⁵⁰ that is, those smaller than a third

47 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 325–326.

48 Thus, the chord would be best constructed if the larger intervals (e.g., fifth) are placed in the lower voices of the composition and the smaller intervals (e.g., third) in the higher ones.

49 This is clearly in contrast to Zarlino's initial definition of perfect and imperfect consonances, where he said that the former pleased the ear in such a way that it did not wish for anything else.

50 In this case, the consecutive intervals in the melody are meant: e.g., from the (consonant) fourth

and larger than a minor semitone, are necessary; there are three such dissonances: major tone, minor tone and major semitone. In instrumental music, in addition to these, a minor semitone and a comma are sometimes used.⁵¹

Although Zarlino proposes auditory-aesthetic criteria and practical experience in his definitions and divisions of consonance and dissonance, he is not satisfied with this. In this case, too, he remains true to his initial belief that the judgment of the senses cannot be fully trusted. The consonance of thirds and sixths must therefore also be confirmed rationally, which means that it must be based on solid mathematical foundations. The *Istitutioni* thus brings forth a new mathematical system of consonances, different from the Pythagorean system of the first four numbers and based on the number six (*numero senario*).

Before Zarlino rejects the Pythagorean system, he presents it and tries to explain why the Pythagoreans did not consider thirds and sixths as consonances.⁵² He is convinced that the main reason was the fact that Pythagoras, who studied the mysteries of nature and the causes of being, was an advocate of simple and pure things. He rejected imperfect consonances precisely because he believed that they could not be fully understood (*di esse non si potesse aver ferma ragione*). On the other hand, he allowed those consonances that were based on simple numbers and whose nature was purest. Consequently, he approved only of consonances whose ratios can be found among the parts of the number four (*numero quaternario*) and that are in the multiple or superparticular genera. From these – unlike major and minor thirds, from which intervals in the superpartient genus can be composed – no non-consonant intervals can originate.⁵³

Zarlino subsequently tries to guess why it was precisely the number four that was so significant to the Pythagoreans. Three possible explanations are given: (1) the Pythagoreans may have valued the number four, which they considered perfect, because it reflects the perfection of the soul (it is obvious that Pythagoras did not realise the existence of harmony beyond this number); (2) some think that Pythagoras' prohibition of exceeding the number four in compositions (*cantilene*) actually refers to the vocal range, which would mean that the composition should not exceed a double octave (4:1), for every good voice can only encompass such a range; and (3) the Pythagoreans did not consider the imperfect consonances as consonant because they did not know them as they truly are, as their tonal system would not allow them to do so, resulting in their hearing imperfect consonances as dissonant.⁵⁴

to the (consonant) fifth one cannot proceed otherwise than through the (dissonant) major tone.

51 Zarlino, *Istitutioni armoniche*, 340–342.

52 Ibid., 130–133.

53 This statement of Zarlino is not strictly true: from the octave and the fourth, an eleventh can be formed in a ratio of 8:3, which is multiple superpartient. Unlike Zarlino, the Pythagoreans did not consider this interval as consonant since it is not in the multiple or superparticular ratio.

54 Zarlino does not explain the third reason in the *Istitutioni*, only mentioning that it exists, that in

The Pythagoreans were therefore mistaken: the *quaternario* system they established is clearly flawed, as it does not presuppose imperfect consonances. Instead of the number four, it is therefore necessary to consider the number six, which is the first *perfect number* (*numero perfetto*).⁵⁵ Its importance is reflected in many things, argues Zarlino.⁵⁶ Although God never needed time in his deeds, the prophet Moses chose the number six in describing the creation of the world to illustrate the majesty of the Creator's work. Indeed, many things, both natural and artificial, consist of the number six. It manifests itself in the order of the heavens, among other things in the twelve zodiac signs, six of which are always above our hemisphere, while the other six are below. The number six is also reflected in the order on Earth. There are six substantial qualities of the elements: sharpness (*acuità*) and dullness (*ottusità*), rarity (*rarietà*) and density (*densità*), motion (*moto*) and stillness (*quiete*). There are six natural qualities without which nothing exists: size (*grandezza*), colour (*colore*), shape (*forma*), distance (*intervallo*), state (*stato*) and motion (*moto*). There are six types of motion: generation (*generatione*), corruption (*corrutione*), increase (*accrescimento*), decrease (*diminutione*), alteration (*alteratione*) and movement (*mutatione di luogo*). There are six different positions (*differenze dei siti over positioni*): up, down, front, behind, right, left. The number six outlines the tetrahedron and the cube,⁵⁷ and there are six stages of human life: infancy (*infanzia*), boyhood (*pueritia*), adolescence (*adolescentia*), youth (*giovenezza*), old age (*vecchiezza*) and decrepitude (*decrepità*). Actually, the number six is not only perfect, but also reflects virtue.

Finally, the number six is also important in music: there are six relations between the tones, in which every musical harmony is contained.⁵⁸ There are six consonances: five simple and basic consonances (octave, fifth, fourth, major third, minor third) and the unison.⁵⁹ There are also six species of ancient

his opinion it is the most probable, and that he discussed it in *Dimostrazioni harmoniche*; the topic is actually discussed at the beginning of this treatise (Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le Dimostrazioni harmoniche* (Venezia, 1589), 4). A deficient tonal system, which did not allow the Pythagoreans to truly know the imperfect consonances, refers to an actual acoustic or tuning system in which the music of their time was supposed to have evolved. In it, thirds and sixths were clearly in such ratios that (in Zarlino's opinion) they were dissonant.

55 In the *Istituzioni*, Zarlino defines perfect numbers as those numbers that are the sum of their parts (*parti*). (Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 61.) By this he means the sum of all divisors of such a number, but without the number itself ($1 + 2 + 3 = 6$). Besides being the sum of its parts, according to Zarlino, number six is also a *circular number* (*numero circolare*), since we can also obtain it if its parts (divisors) are multiplied ($1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 = 6$). (Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 65.)

56 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 62–65.

57 A tetrahedron has six edges, and a cube has six faces.

58 The division of intervals into unison, equison, consonant, melodic, dissonant and nonmelodic, as presented by Boethius in the *Fundamentals of Music* (and summarised after Ptolemy), is meant. See Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 170–171.

59 This statement by Zarlino is not in accordance with his discussion of consonances and dissonances: there are no sixths among the listed intervals, which he otherwise places among consonances.

harmonies (Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixolydian or Locrian, Aeolian and Iastian or Ionian) and of authentic and plagal modern modes.

Since the number six is so important, it is not surprising that it is also the most important harmonic or sounding number.⁶⁰ Whichever of its parts we take (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6), their ratio will form one of the consonances, either simple (octave 2:1, fifth 3:2, fourth 4:3, major and minor thirds 5:4 and 6:5, respectively) or composed (major sixth 5:3, composed of a fourth and a major third).⁶¹ Furthermore, the ratios of the largest consonances (fifth and octave) can be divided in such a way that the ratios of the other intervals within the *senario* are obtained, and the terms by which these intervals are divided form the ratio of the major sixth.⁶²

Zarlino thus placed all consonances among the parts of the number six except for the minor sixth in the ratio 8:5, because the number 8 is obviously not found among the first six numbers. He therefore justified the placement of the minor sixth among (composed) consonances in three ways:⁶³ (1) in addition to the number six, the number eight is also important since it is the first cube; (2) the minor sixth is composed of two intervals contained in the *senario*;⁶⁴ and (3) the harmonic mean (*mezano termine harmonico*), which divides the minor sixth into the intervals of which it is composed, is exactly the number six.⁶⁵ In this way, says Zarlino, all of the simple consonances can be found between the parts of the *senario*, and all of the composed consonances can be derived from them. Both simple and composed consonances are the origin of every good and perfect harmony: if we stretched strings in the presented ratios and strummed all of them at the same time, we would not hear any discordance in the produced tones, but such a harmony would arise that the ear would accept it with the greatest pleasure.

Finally, Zarlino explains, the ratios of dissonances can potentially be formed from the parts of the number six. If we multiply these numbers each with each other and by themselves, we can also obtain the ratios of major and minor

On the other hand, the list includes the unison, which he otherwise says is not even an interval.

60 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 66–68.

61 $\frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{5}{4} = \frac{20}{12} = \frac{5}{3} = 5:3$

62 The following is meant. The ratio of the octave 2:1 is first doubled to the ratio 4:2. Between these terms, 3 can be placed, thus forming the consonances of the fifth (3:2) and the fourth (4:3). Similarly, the fifth in the ratio 3:2 can be divided; again, its ratio is first doubled to 6:4. If we insert 5 between these terms, we get the consonances of the major third (5:4) and the minor third (6:5). The terms placed in the middle of the two original ratios (5 and 3), however, form the ratio of the major sixth (5:3).

63 Zarlino, *Istituzioni armoniche*, 70.

64 It is composed of the fourth and the minor third: $\frac{4}{3} \cdot \frac{6}{5} = \frac{24}{15} = \frac{8}{5} = 8:5$.

65 If the ratio 8:5 is divided by the number 6 (8:6:5), the ratios 8:6 (= 4:3) and 6:5 are formed. However, the number 6 is not the exact harmonic mean of the numbers 8 and 5. If we tried to determine the harmonic mean of 8 and 5 (following the examples presented above), the result would be approximately 6.15, and we would get the ratio of 8:6.15:5.

tones and major and minor semitones.⁶⁶ The terms of all ratios obtained this way are the *sounding numbers* (*numeri sonori*),⁶⁷ as illustrated below.

1		12	
	octave (2:1)		major third (15:12 = 5:4)
2		15	
	fifth (3:2)		major semitone (16:15)
3		16	
	fourth (4:3)		major tone (18:16 = 9:8)
4		18	
	major third (5:4)		minor tone (20:18 = 10:9)
5		20	
	minor third (6:5)		minor third (24:20 = 6:5)
6		24	
	fourth (8:6 = 4:3)		minor semitone (25:24)
8		25	
	major tone (9:8)		minor third (30:25 = 6:5)
9		30	
	minor tone (10:9)		minor third (36:30 = 6:5)
10		36	
	minor third (12:10 = 6:5)		
12			

Example 8: Zarlino's sounding numbers.⁶⁸

The justification of consonances by the system of the first six numbers completes Zarlino's belief that theory and practice must necessarily be connected: if he were satisfied only with auditory-aesthetic criteria, he would not remain true to the fundamental concepts on which the whole content of the *Istitutioni* is based. With regard to the ancient theoretical tradition, one could say that Zarlino in this case combined Pythagorean-Platonist rational considerations with Aristoxenus' views based on auditory experience. In so doing, however, reason seems to be of somewhat greater importance: thirds and sixths are essentially consonant only because of the firm mathematical grounds on which

66 $(3^2):(2 \cdot 4) = 9:8$; $(2 \cdot 5):(3^2) = 10:9$; $(4^2):(3 \cdot 5) = 16:15$; $(5^2):(6 \cdot 4) = 25:24$. In addition, the ratios of minor (9:5) and major (15:8) sevenths are also to be found among the numbers obtained.

67 The concept of *sounding number* is another fundamental idea presented by Zarlino in the *Istitutioni*. It represents one of the most direct connections between Zarlino's theoretical and practical considerations, as the voices in counterpoint can only move in intervals (both consonant and dissonant) whose ratios can be formed by the sounding numbers. This means that dissonances such as minor and major semitones and minor and major sevenths can also be used in composition (although with limitations). However, the augmented fourth or *tritone* (45:32) and the diminished fifth or *semidiapente* (64:45) are strictly forbidden, as the terms of their ratios are not found among the sounding numbers. See Zarlino, *Istitutioni armoniche*, 418.

68 In addition to the listed intervals, it is also possible to derive the minor sixth (8:5), the major sixth (5:3), the minor seventh (9:5) and the major seventh (15:8) from the given series of numbers.

their consonance is based, and it is precisely because their ratios have certain properties (they can be found within the perfect number six) that they sound agreeable. On the other hand, Zarlino tries to justify them by an exact mathematical system precisely because they sound agreeable: he tries to construct a system that would reflect contemporary musical practice. If these intervals were not used in practice, and if they did not please the ear, there would be no need to seek a system to justify their consonance.

4 Conclusion

In view of everything presented above, it is clear that the ancient music theory tradition and, within it, the mathematical and physical considerations in the *Istitutioni* can be seen primarily as a model and means to achieve a particular goal; namely, the construction of a tonal system within which contemporary music evolves. According to Zarlino, the art of counterpoint (that is, practical music) is not only possible within this system, it depends on it. Since the main aim of the *Istitutioni* is the recognition and affirmation of contemporary music, Zarlino adopts the ancient theorems selectively and primarily deals with those that are, at least to some extent, important for the discussion of contemporary compositional practice. As a result, the connections between ancient ideas and the music of Zarlino's time are sometimes loose and in some cases do not even stand up to critical examination.

The question, then, is: Why does Zarlino substantiate contemporary musical practice in this way at all? Why does he find it necessary to look for a system within which thirds and sixths function as consonances, if we simply hear them as consonant and use them in this way because they sound good? It seems that, for Zarlino, their justification merely with auditory-aesthetic criteria would be too much of a turn from the humanistic paradigm. This is perhaps most clearly evident in his thought that even the music of ignorant people who do not know music theory can be delightful, but it cannot be good. Only music that makes a person better and morally virtuous can be good, and only reason-based music is capable of this. In these concepts, Zarlino remained true to ancient music theorists and philosophers, and even if he adapted their theorems to contemporary music, the following is very clear in the *Istitutioni*: behind all music – and especially good music – there is a solid, rational and mathematically based system; it just has to be found.

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POVZETEK

Renesančna glasba med znanostjo in umetnostjo: primer Gioseffa Zarlina

Eden temeljnih postulatov v znamenitem traktatu *Istitutioni harmoniche*, ki ga je leta 1558 izdal Gioseffo Zarlino (ok. 1517–1590), po mnenju mnogih osrednji in najvplivnejši italijanski glasbeni teoretik 16. stoletja, je povezovanje antične glasbene teorije z glasbeno prakso časa. Kot je dobro znano, so v antiki in v srednjem veku glasbo obravnavali kot matematično znanost, eno od disciplin *kvadrivija*, in sicer tisto, ki se ukvarja z razmerji med količinami. Namen prispevka je zato ugotoviti, kakšno vlogo imajo v *Istitutioni* antična glasbena teorija in v njenem okviru predvsem matematični in fizikalni premisleki in njihove povezave z zvenco glasbo.

Zarlino se na antične teoretike in filozofe naveže že pri zasnovi svojega traktata, ki je oblikovan v skladu z nekaterimi premisleki iz Aristotelove *Fizike*, še bolj pa jih prevzema v opredelitvi glasbe, ki jo utemeljuje kot eksaktno matematično disciplino. A spekulativne premisleke o glasbi je po njegovem mnenju vendarle nujno združevati s praktičnim glasbenim ustvarjanjem, saj spekulativna glasba brez praktične uresničitve ne doseže svojega končnega cilja in je zato le malo vredna in nepopolna. Glasba je po Zarlinovem prepričanju potemtakem sestavljena iz dveh komponent, znanstvene (spekulativna oz. kontemplativna glasba) in umetniške (praktična glasba), je *scienza in arte*. Čeprav sta neločljivi in druga brez druge ne

moreta, se vendarle zdi, da Zarlino na prvo mesto postavlja *scienzo*. Z opredeljevanjem glasbe kot znanstvene in umetniške discipline je tesno povezan tudi Zarlino pogled na razmerje med čuti in razumom: v splošnem je razum postavljen pred čute, na katere se ni mogoče dokončno zanesti; dokončne in nezmotljive sodbe more podati le razum.

Morda najjasnejši primer Zarlinovega povezovanja na eksaktnih matematičnih temeljih postavljenih antičnih glasbenoteoretskih postulatov s sodobno glasbeno danostjo je njegova razprava o tonskem sistemu. Zato sta v prispevku predstavljena dva konkretna primera iz utemeljevanja tonskega sistema v *Istitutioni*, pri katerih je Zarlino izhajajoč iz antičnih premislekov iskal način, kako bi jih povezal z glasbo svojega časa: delitev intervala in sistem *senario*.

Antična glasbenoteoretska tradicija in znotraj nje obravnava matematičnih in fizikalnih premislekov se v *Istitutioni* torej kažejo predvsem kot model in sredstvo za doseganje ozkega cilja, namreč izgradnjo tonskega sistema, znotraj katerega poteka glasba časa in le znotraj katerega je po Zarlinovem prepričanju možen in od njega tudi odvisen nauk o kontrapunktu (praktična glasba). Ker je v ospredju *Istitutioni* utemeljevanje sodobne glasbe, Zarlino antične glasbene teoreme prevzema selektivno in obravnava predvsem tiste, ki so in kolikor so pomembni za kasnejšo razpravo o kompozicijski praksi časa. Kljub temu je Zarlino antičnim glasbenim teoretikom in filozofom ostajal zvest in tudi če je njihove zamisli prilagodil sodobni glasbi, je v *Istitutioni* zelo jasno naslednje: v ozadju vsake, posebno pa dobre glasbe je trden, racionalen in na matematičnih temeljih utemeljen sistem, le najti ga je potrebno.

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NEJC SUKLJAN (nejc.sukljan@ff.uni-lj.si) studied musicology and history at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. As an Erasmus student, he also studied in Regensburg, Germany. He graduated with honours in September 2009, and for his thesis in musicology, *Vincenzo Galilei's Musical-Theoretical and Musical-Aesthetical Thought*, he received the faculty's Prešeren Prize. His research focuses on early music history and music theory. In April 2017, he completed his PhD studies with the thesis *Gioseffo Zarlino's Istitutioni Harmoniche and Ancient Music Theory*. Since February 2010, he has been a teaching assistant and since June 2019, an assistant professor of musicology at the Department of Musicology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. From 2008 to 2012, he was the secretary of the Slovenian Musicological Society, and he was re-elected to this position in March 2017. From 2011 to 2015, he conducted the Koper Wind Orchestra.

O AVTORJU

NEJC SUKLJAN (nejc.sukljan@ff.uni-lj.si) je po maturi na Gimnaziji Koper študiral muzikologijo in zgodovino na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Del študijskih obveznosti je v okviru izmenjave Erasmus opravil v Regensburgu v Nemčiji. Študij je z odliko zaključil septembra 2009 in za muzikološko diplomsko nalogo *Glasbeno-teoretska in glasbeno-estetska misel Vincenza Galileija* prejel študentsko Prešernovo nagrado. Raziskovalno se ukvarja z zgodovino starejše glasbe in teorije glasbe; aprila 2017 je doktoriral s temo *Istitutioni Harmoniche Gioseffà Zarlina in antična glasbena teorija*. Od februarja 2010 je kot asistent zaposlen na Oddelku za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, kjer je bil junija 2019 izvoljen v docenta za muzikologijo. V letih 2008–2012 je bil tajnik Slovenskega muzikološkega društva in to funkcijo ponovno opravlja od marca 2017.