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Pavel Sýkora

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»*Amico, hai vinto: io ti perdon.*«
Agonal Elements in the Depiction
of War in Monteverdi's Eighth Book
of Madrigals

Agonalni elementi v opisu vojne v
Monteverdijevi osmi zbirki madrigalov

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

V osmi zbirki madrigalov Monteverdi predstavi nov slog, ki ga poimenuje *genere concitato*. Navdih za nekatere od teh kompozicij je dobil v vojni. V opisu boja trčita dve nasprotujoči si načeli: agonalen spopad in agresivno vodenje vojne.

In the eighth book of madrigals, Monteverdi introduced a new style which he calls *genere concitato*. Some of these compositions are inspired by war. In the depiction of fighting, two opposing principles collide: agonal combat and aggressive conduct of war.

In 1638, the eighth book of madrigals by Claudio Monteverdi was published in Venice under the title *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi (Warlike and Amorous Madrigals)*. Monteverdi included in it a number of earlier compositions: for example, *Ballo delle Ingrate* was premiered in 1608 in Mantua, *Combattimento di Tancredi et Clorinda* in 1624 in Venice, the madrigal *Armato il cor d'adamantina fede* appears as early as in the cycle *Scherzi musicali* (ed. 1632), and *Lamento della ninfa* may have been written in the early 1630s. The resulting mixture of styles thus appears at a time when the traditional structure of the 16th century Renaissance madrigal as a polyphonic vocal composition is on the decline, especially in Monteverdi's work, and is being replaced by a recitative

form with the thorough-bass. However, this is also the epoch of the Thirty Years' War, the first ever pan-European war conflict. Monteverdi cannot have been unaware of the repercussions of the events constituting this war. Are they reflected in the cycle where the word 'war' (*guerra*) appears not only in the title, but also in the texts of numerous madrigals?

In a way, war connotations are invited by the dedication itself. Monteverdi dedicated the eighth book of madrigals, published in 1638, to the Austrian royal family, namely to Emperor Ferdinand III who was considered an eminent commander and brave warrior, having achieved a number of important military successes. In 1634, he succeeded Wallenstein as commander-in-chief of the imperial army.

Given the salutation 'o *gran Fernando*', madrigals *Ogni amante è guerrier* and *Altri canti d'Amor* may have been intended as a homage to the sovereign. Interestingly, in the poem *Ogni amante è guerrier*, Monteverdi employed his invention called *genere concitato* in the passage containing the sovereign's name: '*carco di spoglie, o gran Fernando Ernesto, / t'inchineranno alla tua invitta spada*'.

It must be noted, however, that individual compositions of the cycle were already in existence during the lifetime of Ferdinand II, who also instigated their printing. (Ferdinand III was crowned in 1636; at that time his father was seriously ill and died the following year.) And Ferdinand II was a true opposite of his son. Not particularly excelling on the battlefield, he was much more inclined to the world of the arts. Thus the dedication seems to be a matter of social obligation rather than a close relationship with the acceding monarch.¹

Of greater interest is the way in which not only Monteverdi, but also the authors of the poems set to music in the eighth book of madrigals, notably Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), relate to the war events. An episode from Tasso's epic, *Gerusalemme Liberata* (*The Liberation of Jerusalem*), served Monteverdi as the literary source for *Il Combattimento di Tancredi et Clorinda* (*The Combat of Tancred and Clorinda*, 1624), later included as the conclusion of the eighth book of madrigals.

Obviously, both Tasso and Monteverdi must have been aware of the tensions of their time. Leaving aside the Thirty-Years' War, which broke out much later after the creation of *The Liberation of Jerusalem* (published in 1580), Europe, a self-assured continent up to that time, had been threatened, predominantly by Turks, since the 15th century. It was this Turkish threat that inspired Tasso's epic about a crusade, which in its subject-matter heralds – or even opens – the era of Baroque poetry: in the words of Václav Černý, 'the idea of defending Christian Europe against Islam was one of Baroque epic poetry's greatest sources of inspiration'.²

The events of that period, culminating in the 1590s with increasing conflicts on the Hungarian border, made their mark also on Tasso: the Turks nearly dragged his sister

¹ Cf. Denis Arnold, "Monteverdi and the Art of War," *The Musical Times* cviii (1967): 412-414; Geoffrey Chew, "The Platonic Agenda of Monteverdi's *Seconda Pratica*: A Case Study from the Eighth Book of Madrigals," *Music Analysis* xii, no. 2 (1993): 147-168; Steve Saunders, "New Light on the Genesis of Monteverdi's Eighth Book of Madrigals," *Music & Letters* lxxvii, no. 2 (1996): 183-193.

² Václav Černý, ed., *Kéž hoří popel můj: Z poezie evropského baroka* [*May My Ashes Be Ablaze with Fire: From the European Baroque Poetry*] (Praha: Mladá fronta, 1967), 281.

away into slavery. Monteverdi encountered a war conflict as early as 1595, shortly after he had come to Mantua when he was visiting the strongholds against the Turks on the Danube with the Mantuan military corps who were in the service of Emperor Rudolph II. Vincenzo I Gonzaga, his employee, hoped to get the position of commander-in-chief on the Hungarian front.

The Gallant Combat

These external circumstances having been examined, the analyses will now focus on Monteverdi's concept of war in terms of structure. Is it a realistic depiction of the horrors of war?

Monteverdi's seventh and eighth books of madrigals start to include a warlike theme. The traditional amorous content typical of the previous stage in the development of the madrigal receives here its counterpart: there emerges a symbiosis of these two primarily irreconcilable modes of expression. Except *Il Ballo delle Ingrate* (*The Dance of the Ungrateful Women*, premiered in 1608), individual parts of the cycle were composed during the Thirty Years' War. The question is whether the compositions were written under the influence of the historical context and the first pan-European war conflict, i.e. whether they reflect the real atmosphere of that time.

One of the favourite – and often overused – words in mannerist poetry, whose texts dominate the eighth book of madrigals, is the word 'blood'. Blood is often connected with dying and death, one of the main features of war.

A lot of blood is spilt during *Combattimento di Tancredi et Clorinda* written at the very beginning of the Thirty Years' War (1624). Monteverdi sets a scene from Canto XII of *Gerusalemme Liberata*, stanzas 52-62, 64-68. This passage deals with the combat of the Christian knight Tancred with an unknown opponent from the enemy's camp. Tancred does not know that the opponent is a Saracene girl with whom he had earlier fallen in love, and therefore spared her life.

The blood motive is among the basic topoi of Tasso's poem and the composer does not remain neutral to it either. At the end of the longest battle scene (bars 133-202),³ the composer, who until now respected the formal structure of the literary source as if he wanted to outdo in effects the poet himself, interrupts the scene not only half-way through the stanza, but directly in the middle of the verse. The impulse for this is the word blood (*'molto sangue'*, bar 202):

³ Monteverdi, Claudio. *Madrigali Guerrieri e Amorosi: Libro VIII (Venezia, 1638)*. Vol. I, *Madrigali guerrieri* Edited by Andrea Bornstein, Vol. 8.1, *Claudio Monteverdi, Madrigali, Opera completa*. Bologna: Ut Orpheus edizioni, 2007.

Example 1: *Combattimento di Tancredi et Clorinda*, bar 202.

Actually, too much blood is shed in the whole *Combattimento*. Consequently, the blood becomes one of the form-generating motives. Its effect is intensified through its connection with a beautiful woman, as it is Clorinda who bleeds ever more profusely. At the end, the outpour of blood is compared to a hot river: '*caldo fiume*' (*Liberata* XII, 64, 7; bars 333-334).

And it is this motive of a beautiful bleeding woman that points to the style of Renaissance troubadour poetry or Petrarchian poetry with its typical love-death contrast rather than to the realistic depiction of the events of that period. The love-death contrast is heightened at the close of the set scene. In the mortal combat, Tancred fatally wounds his opponent, and after taking off the combatant's helmet, he finds out that it is a beautiful girl, Clorinda.

The troubadour contrast of love and death is prominent in the title of the cycle – *Warlike and Amorous Madrigals*. This contrast, however, is not entirely symmetrical. While amorous madrigals appear as independent compositions in which the individual degrees of amorous excitement are rendered in a wide range of musical means, in the warlike madrigals the love-death opposition is encountered and expressed – in accordance with the text – by the contrast of lyrical and aggressive music within one composition.

An example of the symbiosis of the war and love themes is the madrigal *Ogni amante è guerrier*, composed on Rinuccini's adaptation of Ovid (*Amores*, I, 9). The poem abounds in collocations such as '*amoroso guerrier*'; statements that '*nel suo gran regno / ha ben Amor la sua milizia anch'egli*', with the love and war finally merging together:

*Riedi ch'al nostr'ardir, ch'al nostro canto
ch'ora d'armi e d'Amor confuso suona
scorger ben puote omai ch'Amor e Marte
è quasi in cor gentil cortese affetto.*

In the second verse of the passage quoted, the harmony of contrasts is created formally as well, with the help of a mannerist figure (Curtius' classification),⁴ *annominatio*; here, two similarly sounding words of opposite meaning are juxtaposed: '*d'armi e d'amor*'.

The powerful effect of poems set to music is often produced by the fact that battle scenes and military terminology contain hidden erotic meanings. For example, in *Combattimento*, erotic insinuations creep into the text at first imperceptibly and then ever more artfully. First, only a firm embrace is mentioned: '*D'or in or più si mesce, e più ristretta*' ('At last, thus tangled in their fierce debate', *Liberata* XII, 56, 5; bars 172-173), '*Tre volte il cavalier la donna stringe*' ('Three times the warrior has embraced the maid', 57, 1; bars 181-185). These insinuations are subtly intensified, seemingly paradoxically: Clorinda's body is bleeding ever more copiously: '*Vede Tancredi in maggior copia il sangue / del suo nemico e sè non tanto offeso*' ('Now Tancred sees his enemy has shed / more blood than he, himself not hurt as much', 58, 5-6; bars 231-234). Hence, the erotic tinges heart-wrenchingly graduate with her approaching end. The beauty of the maid's body is thrown into relief by her inevitable death.

The realism of the war apocalypse also clashes with the combat scene being set into a glorious dawn. The rest of the two knights between fierce combats (Clorinda is already bleeding profusely) includes the following contrasting verses clearly derived from the favourite troubadour form of *alba*, about two lovers parting at dawn:

Già de l'ultima stella il raggio langue The last stars fade behind them. Up ahead
su'l primo albor ch'è in oriente acceso. the east already glows at dawn's first touch.⁵
(*Liberata* XII, 58, 3-4)

A moment earlier, Testa had set the combat in the depths of night ('*Notte, che nel profondo oscuro seno...*', 54; bars 88-133). Monteverdi reinforces these lines with the longest, in fact the one and only, *arioso* in the whole work.

Testa's passage, a kind of epic intermezzo, is also out of tune with the depiction of war fury. His panegyric and bombastic rhetoric, however, inherently evokes typical circumstances peculiar to the state of war throughout human history. It contains plenty of high-flown expressions ('*gloria*', '*fosco*') and collocations: '*profondo oscuro seno*' ('the deep dark fold'), '*fatto sì grande*' ('an event so magnificent'), '*pieno teatro*' ('the full theatre'), '*viva la fama lor*' ('let their fame live') etc. The exaggerated mannerist rhetoric is also reflected in music. Monteverdi highlights the elaborate words with rich ornamentation, so that the whole achieves an almost unnatural effect. The exaggerated ornamentation on the word '*alta*' in the collocation '*Valta memoria*' (bars 130-133) sounds downright pompous:

⁴ Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern: A. Francke AG Verlag, 1948), 280.

⁵ Tasso, Torquato. *The Liberation of Jerusalem (Gerusalemme Liberata)*. Translated by Max Wickert. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Example 2: *Combattimento*, bars 129–132.

To sum up, in terms of the above-mentioned characteristics Monteverdi does not strive to depict war horrors. On the contrary, the combat is conceived in the traditional Renaissance spirit as a knightly play, a contest. With regard to the period events of the Thirty Years' War, the gallant account of an idealized fight, with the ancestry of the courtly troubadour poetry much in evidence here, can appear quite anachronistic – unless it is intended as a parody, that is.

Homo Ludens

The Monteverdian 'war play' will now be examined in the light of the famous book by Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (published in 1938). As its subtitle, *A Study on the Play-Element in Culture*,⁶ suggests, Huizinga searches for elements of play in individual human acts, including combat.

He distinguishes an 'agonal' way of combat from 'modern war'. The agonal fight is based on the principle of play and is conducted according to given rules. Into this category falls, for example, the knightly mode of combat – a gallant fight with elements of a noble play and valour. In modern times, however, war rises above this age-old fight. It breaks the rules of play and is based on the friend-enemy principle.⁷ However, Huizinga's text implies that the term modern war cannot be understood in terms of time alone. In archaic times, too, the agonal element was breached when, for example, the will to prevail led to the degradation of the ideals of honest fight.

Taking into consideration some of the principles cited by Huizinga as examples, reveals that the eighth book of madrigals contains both agonal elements and modern war features. Those present in *Combattimento di Tancredi et Clorinda* will now be examined closely.

For Huizinga, one of the typical characteristics of the agonal principle of combat is the display of courteousness towards the enemy, or the mutual exchange of civilities.⁸ During the rest between fights, Tancred indeed addresses his adversary in a long, respectful monologue (*Liberata* XII, 60; bars 263–283). He courteously, even nobly, asks his opponent about his origin:

⁶ *Homo ludens: Proeve eener bepaling van het spel-element der cultuur*: Haarlem, 1938.

⁷ Johan Huizinga, *Homo ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955), 209.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 98.

'Nostra sventura è ben che qui s'impieghi tanto valor, dove silenzio il copra.

Ma poi che sorte rea vien che ci nieghi e lode e testimon degni de l'opra, pregoti, se fra l'armi han loco i prieghi, che 'l tuo nome e 'l tuo stato a me tu scopra, acciò ch'io sappia, o vinto o vincitore, chi la mia morte o la mia vita onore.'

'Unhappy is the chance, indeed, that where silence conceals it such great prowess reigns. But since our ill luck must make us despair of praise or witness worthy of our pains, I pray (if one who fights may pray), declare your name, degree, your titles and domains, that (win or lose) it may be known to me who gives me honour in death or victory.'

He respects his opponent and his speech is rather long, given the circumstances. Its strongly rhetorical character could be a proof of Huizinga's tenet about satirical features found in these courteous dialogues.

The polite structure is, however, interrupted by Clorinda's fierce (*'feroce'*) answer (61, 1-4; bars 285-291). Tancred immediately abandons his role of a courteous opponent, mortally offends his rival and both knights fight for the last time. This asymmetric structure is expressed also with quickening the time-flow of the music. In his polite monologue, Tancred sings 8 verses in 45 seconds⁹ (bars 263-283), whereas only about 12 seconds are needed for Clorinda's fierce answer (bars 285-291). As the musical space is now less than half of the former, i.e. three and a half verses (61, 1-4), the conclusion is that Clorinda speaks approximately twice as quickly. Tancred's following hot-tempered reaction (61, 6-8; bars 294-298) adjusts to this tempo – 3 verses in 9 seconds.

Example 3: *Combattimento*, bars 285–298.

⁹ According to Monteverdi, Claudio. *Ottavo libro dei Madrigali: Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda, Il Ballo delle Ingrate*. (Concerto Italiano / Rinaldo Alessandrini), Paris, Opus 111, CD (Paris 1998).

Tancred's aggressivity is in keeping with Huizinga's view that the agonal principle was broken as early as in archaic times. Drunk with victory, he continues tormenting his opponent in the context tinged with the above-mentioned eroticism: '*Spinge egli il ferro nel belsen di punta*' (64, 3; bars 324-325). In the following passage (65, 1-2; bars 341-343), the eroticism gradates to unbearability. The knight still holds (*'preme'*) the impaled virgin (*'trafitta vergine'*). This holding strikingly evokes embracing. The courteous knight becomes a barbarian. Thus, in a limited space, it can be clearly observed the transition from the gallant combat to the modern style of warfare.

According to Huizinga, the fight also adheres to the rules when the stronger contender is disadvantaged (for example when he has to stand in a hollow). *Combattimento* clearly contradicts this thesis. For most of the combat, Tancred is an equal contender, even having an advantage at the beginning: he chases his weaker opponent on horseback, which is underlined with sound-painting – employing *concitato*. Tancred, of course, does not know that the other combatant is a woman, but the composer reveals this before the fight begins: '*Tancredi, che Clorinda un uomo stima*' ('Tancred, believing Clorinda is a man', 52, 1; bars 2-5).

A remarkable attribute pertaining to the agonal combat, and one which could also be applied on *Combattimento*, is masking. According to Huizinga, a disguised or masked man plays a different being or even is a different being. As a result, the fight play acquires elements of mystery. It should be noted in this connection that the mask-helmet does inspire the greatest effect in the work. Tancred still does not know who the mysterious stranger is. He asks him in vain to reveal his identity (60, 5-8). At the end of the scene, after the 'mask' is taken off, he is horrified to learn that he has killed the beautiful girl he loved.

The moment of this shocking revelation is musically treated with the most intensive affect. When Tancred takes off his opponent's helmet, the horrific discovery first renders him speechless: '*e restò senza / e voce e moto*' ('then was he bereft of speech and movement', 67, 7-8; bars 412-415). Here, the composer uses the principle of a kind of interrupted speech. Then follows the cry: '*Ahi vista! ahì conoscenza!*' (bars 417-420) in contrasting dynamics, forte-piano:

Example 4: *Combattimento*, bars 411–420.

Genere Concitato

In *Combattimento di Tancredi et Clorinda*, Monteverdi for the first time introduced a new way of expressing combat and impassioned speech, called *genere concitato*.¹⁰ And he further employed it in the eighth book of madrigals.

Genere concitato (an agitated style) emerges as a contrast to the *molle* and *temperato* styles, used by the composer to express mildness, sorrow, pleading and death. In *Combattimento*, *concitato* appears mainly in the three battle scenes. In the eighth book of madrigals the importance of *concitato* is then reinforced in relation to the words concerning war, such as *guerra*, *guerriera*, *battaglie*, *bombeggiare* etc.

The contrast between the fight and rest is expressed in the contrast between two basic metrical patterns deriving from the theories of philosophers of antiquity, Plato in particular. In order to express dramatic tension, Monteverdi uses the so-called pyrrhic tremolo, while for the scenes of rest, but also of dying, he employs the spondaic metre. Monteverdi transforms Plato's theories. In *The Laws* (*Nóμοι*), Plato distinguishes two types of metre: quick pyrrhic for lively warlike dances – it is a stylized adaptation of Doric warlike dances – and slow spondaic for rest. For Monteverdi, the pyrrhic metre is a specific type of a precise tremolo which he realizes as 16 semiquavers within one bar.

In connection with Plato's assumptions regarding *concitato*, a thought arises whether Monteverdi's musical transformation has the characteristics of the agonal or the aggressive conduct of war. Obniska believes that the very substance of *genere concitato* itself clashes with the troubadour concept of fight. The main problem lies in the dominance of rhythm over other expressive musical means: in the eighth book of madrigals *concitato* is used to express various kinds of movement. Far removed from the dancing grace of knightly tournaments, these sounds of war are in themselves chaotic and brutal,¹¹ as exemplified in the longest battle scene in *Combattimento* (bars 133-202) where Monteverdi uses all the resources of *concitato* and combines them artfully in as quick a sequence as possible. This aggressivity contrasts with the calm scenes which in the eighth book of madrigals are associated with words *amore*, *morte* etc. The contrast is achieved also by alternating forte for *concitato*, and piano for the *molle* and *temperato* styles.

According to Huizinga, the spirit and mood of a true play is one of cheerful enthusiasm, not a hysterical agitation. And this hysteria is an inextricable ingredient of Monteverdi's *genere concitato*. He used this means for the first time in his *favola in musica L'Orfeo* (1607) in connection with the '*furor le Furie*' figure. At the close of Act IV, Orfeus is returning with Eurydice from the underworld. Frightened by a sudden noise, just before he turns round, losing her forever, he sings:

<i>Ma che odo, ohimé lasso?</i>	But what do I hear? Woe is me!
<i>S'arman forse a'miei danni</i>	Perhaps the enamoured Furies
<i>con tal furor le Furie innamorate</i>	are taking up arms with such frenzy against me
<i>per rapirmi il mio ben?</i>	to snatch my treasure from me?!

¹⁰ Preface to the eighth book of madrigals. Monteverdi, Claudio. *Madrigali Guerrieri e Amorosi: Libro VIII (Venezia, 1638)*. Vol. I, *Madrigali guerrieri*. Edited by Andrea Bornstein, Vol. 8.1, *Claudio Monteverdi, Madrigali, Opera completa*. Bologna: Ut Orpheus edizioni, 2007.

¹¹ Ewa Obniska, *Claudio Monteverdi: Życie i twórczość* [*Claudio Monteverdi: Life and Work*] (Gdańsk: Stella Maris, 1993), 326 f.

Incidentally, the word *furire* and its derivatives (*furor*, *furibondo*) appear quite frequently in the eighth book of madrigals. Its meaning (aggression, ferocity, anger) is largely in accordance with the substance of *concitato* as the agitated style.

In *Combattimento*, scenes of agitated fighting, and dialogues in which the two fighters attack and offend each other, alternate with scenes of rest required by the need to relax after such an exhausting fight. At the beginning of the work, Tancred chases the girl as a hunted game. Clorinda hears the clattering of his arms ('*in guisa avien, che d'armi suone*'; bars 18-37). Then follows an agitated dialogue of telling military brusqueness (bars 40-48). After that, the opponents, maximally tensed up, await the other's move before charging towards each other through the sound of *concitato* tremolo (bars 58-72). After another fight, Tancred quite politely asks his opponent about his origin. But Clorinda's answer is ferocious, '*feroce*'; Tancred mortally offends her (bars 263-298) and they fight for the last time. In the text of this last combat (bars 299-316), the clangour of arms mixes with ferocity and hatred.

A Knight or a Barbarian?

The substance of *genere concitato*, therefore, removes Monteverdi's concept of fight from the world of courtly knightly tournaments and brings it closer to the aggressive conduct of war when the enemy presents an obstacle and must be destroyed. The preceding analysis leads to a conclusion that in Monteverdi's depiction of war, two opposing principles collide. On the one hand, we find ourselves in the realm of phantasy and fairy-tale, in the sphere of troubadour lyrical poetry, knightly virtues and courtly love. On the other hand, this world is violently disrupted by the realism of genuine fight with its aggressivity and ideological hatred towards the opponent.

This concept of fight is in keeping with Monteverdi's epoch, i.e. the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, when the old world which had been building its immutable order for centuries, collapses and a modern world full of insecurities is born in which traditional values lose their meaning. And in *Combattimento* especially, both the knightly and modern wars are featured.

The question as to which world will prevail can be answered only by the work of art itself. According to Huizinga, '*true play knows no propaganda*'.¹² Considering the ideological substance of *Combattimento* and especially of Tasso's literary source, both works can be totally excluded from the agonal context. Their ideological basis is the clash of Christian and Islamic worlds and there is no doubt on which side the truth lies. However, both artists let a kind of charm of the unexpected slip into this sphere of Jesuit period propaganda. Instead of celebrating Christian ideals, they depict, with great imagination, a man's inner world, full of sensual passions and desires.

And from this point of view, the paradoxical wish of the mortally wounded opponent, who a moment before hated his ideological enemy, becomes logical: '*Amico, hai vinto: io ti perdon.*' - 'Friend, you have won. I pardon you.'

¹² Huizinga, *Homo ludens: A Study...*, 211.

365 Clorinda sola in quattro viole

VI.I *arcata sola* *f* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

VI.II *arcata sola* *f* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

Vla *arcata sola* *f* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

Vc *arcata sola* *f* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

Cl. A - mi - co, hai vin - to: io ti per - don,

Cb

Bc b

Example 5: *Combattimento*, bars 365–370.

POVZETEK

V sedmi in osmi zbirki madrigalov začne Monteverdi vključevati vojne teme. V osmo zbirko (objavljeno leta 1638 v Benetkah) vključi tudi svoje zgodnje skladbe, npr. *Combattimento di Tancredi et Clorinda*, ki je premiero doživela leta 1624. To delo je bilo napisano na začetku tridesetletne vojne. Vprašanje je, ali odseva resnično atmosfero takratnega časa. Analiza pripelje do zaključka, da v Monteverdijevem opisu vojne srečamo dve nasprotujoči si načeli. Na eni strani se pojavi okolje trubadurske

lirične poezije s prikazovanjem dvorne ljubezni in spoštovanja do sovražnikov. Po mnenju Johana Huizinge (*Homo ludens*) so ti elementi značilni za agonalni način bojevanja. Na drugi strani pa je to viteško obliko spopadanja razbije realizem sodobne vojne s svojo agresivnostjo, histerijo in sovraštvom do nasprotnikov. To so značilnosti sloga *genere concitato* (jezni slog). V delu *Combattimento di Tancredi et Clorinda* je Monteverdi prvič uporabil te elemente za izražanje spopada in prekinjenega govora, z njihovo uporabo pa je nadaljeval v osmi zbirki madrigalov.

UDK 781.91Galilei
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Galilei in vprašanje o uglastitvi

Galilei and the Tuning Question

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Prispevek obravnava vprašanje o uglastitvi, kot se izpostavlja v traktatu *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* Vincenza Galileija, enega osrednjih italijanskih teoretikov 16. stoletja. Predstavljeni so njegov poskus določitve glasbenoakustičnega sistema časa, kritika slednjega in hkrati poskus postavitve novega sistema, ki ga Galilei predstavi ob primeru uglastitve lutnje.

The article discusses the tuning question as exposed in Vincenzo Galilei's treatise *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*, the author being one of the main 16th century Italian music theorists. His first attempt to determine the musical acoustic system of his time is presented, along with Galilei's critical approach and his attempt to set a new system, which he presents in the case of lute tuning.

»Strozzi. Pomembno se mi zdi, gospod Giovanni, da izmed vseh odličnih mož – ne naključnih, temveč glasbenih učenjakov –, ki so od Guida iz Arezza dalje pisali o glasbi, ne poznam nobenega, ki bi določil, v kateri vrsti diatoničnega genusa skladamo in pojemo danes, ne da bi pri tem naletel na tisoč ovir in nasprotij. Kljub temu menim, da je izmed pomembnejših stvari ravno ta [določitev diatoničnega genusa] najpomembnejša in da bi jo nujno bilo treba poznati. Ne morem si kaj, da ne bi zardel, ko pomislim, kako malo o teh stvareh vedo današnji praktiki, ki se z njimi srečujejo vsak dan. [...] Zelo si želim, da bi z Vašo pomočjo tudi meni uspelo odpraviti to pomanjkljivost.

Bardi. Vedno Vam uspe izpostaviti nadvse bistroumna in nikakor vsakdanja vprašanja. Vsakomur, ki posluša, je takoj lahko jasno, kako zelo razumni ste. Da bi odgovorili na vprašanje, ki ste mi ga postavili, je najprej treba razrešiti mnoge zapletene nejasnosti, kar pa mi – z namenom, da bi Vas zadovoljil – nikakor ne bo zoprno.«¹

¹ Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica et moderna* (Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1934), 2.

Tako je Vincenzo Galilei, eden osrednjih italijanskih glasbenih teoretikov 16. stoletja, začel svoj znameniti *Pogovor o stari in sodobni glasbi* (*Dialogo della musica antica et moderna*), v katerem skozi razpravo Giovannija Bardija in Piera Strozziija, dveh vidnih članov florentinske *Camerate*, predstavi svojo misel o glasbi.² Že v začetnih vrsticah Galilei izpostavi prav vprašanje o uglasitvi, saj pravi, da se mu zdi najbolj pomembno ugotoviti vrsto diatoničnega genusa (*spezie Diatoniche*), v katerem je potekala glasba njegovega časa. Namen razprave o uglasitvi je na eni strani poiskati sistem, ki je bil v rabi v njegovem času, na drugi strani pa izpostavitev morebitnih slabosti ter hkrati predstavitev predlogov za izboljšave.

O vprašanju o uglasitvi

Nikakor ne preseneča, da je Galilei vprašanju o uglasitvi namenil toliko pozornosti in da je o njem začel razpravljati že na samem začetku svojega traktata. Postavljanje glasbenoakustičnega sistema, znotraj katerega se odvija glasba – kar vprašanje o uglasitvi v svojem bistvu pravzaprav je –, je eno izmed najstarejših vprašanj; številni glasbeni teoretiki so odgovore nanj poskušali podati že od antike dalje. Z njim naj bi se ukvarjal že Pitagora, znameniti grški filozof iz 6. stoletja pr. Kr., ki je po pripovedi znane in v srednjem veku precej razširjene legende idejo za postavitve sistema dobil ob poslušanju udarcev kovaških kladiv po nakovalu. Ko je slišal, kako udarci različnih kladiv proizvajajo različni zven, je učeni mož hitro razumel, da gre vzrok temu pojavu iskati v njihovih masah. Zato jih je stehal in ugotovil, da so v razmerju 6 : 8 : 9 : 12. Razmerja je nato prenesel v glasbo in iz njih izpeljal osnovne glasbene intervale: 1 : 2 (oktava), 2 : 3 (kvinta), 3 : 4 (kvarta) in 9 : 8 (velika sekunda).³ Poleg tega je ugotovil, da lahko razmerja popolnih konsonanc izrazi s prvimi štirimi števili (1, 2, 3, 4), ki so imela za Pitagorejce poseben pomen, saj so jih imeli za mistični izvor vsega v vesolju in so med drugim simbolizirala

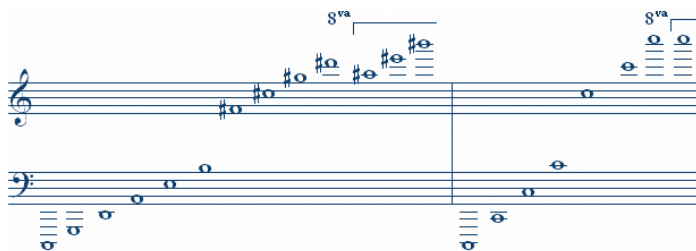
² *Dialogo della musica antica et moderna* je izšel v Firencah leta 1581 – v času, ko je bil Galilei že nekaj let aktiven član tamkajšnje *Camerate*. Zato ne preseneča dejstvo, da sta glavna protagonisti knjige prav vidna člana tega krožka. Prvi, Giovanni Bardi (1524–1612), ugleden firenški meščan, širokogrudni mecen in pobudnik združenja, nastopa v vlogi »učitelja« in razlagalca (Galileijeve misli). Drugi, Piero Strozzi (ok. 1550–po 1609), amaterski skladatelj, ima vlogo znanja željnega »učenca«, sogovornika in poslušalca. *Dialogo* na prvi pogled nadaljuje tradicijo srednjeveških traktatov o glasbi, za katere bi lahko rekli, da so bili nekakšne vseobsegajoče obravnave glasbene discipline, ki so vsebovale vprašanja, povezana s tonskim sistemom, ritmom, besedilom, zapisovanjem glasbe, zvrstmi kompozicij ipd. Vsa ta vprašanja odpira tudi Galilei, pri čemer bi samo vsebino lahko razdelili na štiri dele. Prvi, ki obsega začetni dve poglavji, je posvečen teoriji glasbe. Tu se najprej obravnava vprašanje o uglasitvi v najširšem smislu, nato pa še tonski sistemi, tako antični kot sodasni. Drugi del prinaša ostro kritiko sočasne skladateljske in izvajalske prakse ter stanja na glasbenem področju nasploh in poglede na to, kakšen bi moral biti glasbeni stavek in zakaj. Tretji del je nekakšen zgodovinski oris antične grške glasbene prakse, zadnji del obsega peto poglavje, ki ga je avtor naslovil *Antični in sodobni instrumenti ter instrumentalna praksa*. Ob vsebini, ki v veliki meri spominja na srednjeveške glasbene traktate, pa ima *Dialogo* še eno dimenzijo, s katero se od njih precej razlikuje: očitno je, da je rdeča nit traktata kritika sodasnih razmer, še več, zdi se, da je Galilei glavnino očitkov usmeril na svojega nekdanjega učitelja Gioseffa Zarlina. Tako gre *Dialogo* razumeti predvsem kot odziv na razmere na glasbenem področju v drugi polovici 16. stoletja, ki jih avtor niti najmanj ne odobrava. Za potrebe pričujočega članka smo uporabili dve izdaji Galileijevega dela. Prva je faksimile, ki ga je leta 1934 izdala *Reale Accademia D'Italia* (pripravil ga je Fabio Fano, ki je priskrbel tudi spremno besedo), druga pa je angleški kritični prevod *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music* iz leta 2003, ki ga je pripravil Claude V. Palisca. Na katero izmed obeh izdaj se sklicujejo vsebinske navedave, je razvidno iz opomb.

³ Zvočno sliko naštetih intervalov lahko praktično preizkusimo tako, da napnemo dve enaki struni, ki sta uglaseni v unisono. Nato eno izmed strun razdelimo na toliko delov, kot jih predstavlja večje število v razmerju ter jo nato prekinemo na številu delov, ki ustreza manjšemu številu v razmerju intervala. Ko nato zaigramo na obe struni skupaj – na nerazdeljeno in razdeljeno – bo zazvenel zeleni interval.

tudi običajnim ljudem neslišno harmonijo sfer. Iz njih je Pitagora izpeljal razmerja 1 : 4 (dvojna oktava), 1 : 3 (oktava in kvinta), 1 : 2 (oktava), 2 : 3 (kvinta) in 4 : 3 (kvarta). Gre za intervale, ki so zajeti v prvih štirih alikvotnih tonih.⁴

Pitagora sicer velja za precej skrivnostnega moža, saj je iz njegovega časa ohranjenih le malo poročil o njem in njegovem delu. Zato marsikdaj ni čisto jasno, katere izmed pitagorejskih naukov je dejansko postavil on sam in katere so razvili šele njegovi nasledniki. Ne glede na to, ali je avtor res Pitagora ali pa si je zgornja razmerja zamislil kateri izmed njegovih učencev, je dejstvo, da je pitagorejski sistem postal in ostal temelj glasbenoakustičnega razmišljanja še dolgo po koncu antike in da so vse pomembnejše novosti, ki so se dogajale na tem področju, tako ali drugače izhajale iz njega. To še posebno velja za čas od visokega srednjega veka dalje, ko je hkrati z razvojem večglasja vprašanje o uglastitvi v glasbenoteoretskih spisih postalo še posebno aktualno, saj avtorji pospešeno iščejo sistem, v katerega bi lahko umestili številne novosti, do katerih je prišlo v glasbi časa. Vprašanje, ki se ob tem zastavlja samo po sebi, je, zakaj je bilo treba nove sisteme sploh iskati in zakaj ravno v tem času. V čem se torej kažejo »težave« pitagorejskega sistema?

V nasprotju z enakomerno uglastitvijo, ki smo je danes najbrž najbolj vajeni in ki temelji na absolutni matematični delitvi,⁵ temelji pitagorejski sistem na že omenjenih razmerjih. To v praksi pomeni, da so iste vrste intervali v vsaki od omenjenih uglastitev (z izjemo oktave) različno veliki. Če npr. sistem pitagorejske uglastitve postavimo na podlagi kvint v razmerju 3 : 2, nas bo to kmalu pripeljalo do velikih razlik znotraj njega samega. To lahko jasno pokažemo na spodnjem primeru, ko na eni strani postavljamo kvinte in na drugi oktave, vse dokler na obeh straneh ne pridemo do tona, ki bi se v enakomerni uglastitvi slišal kot unisono.



Notni primer 1: Razlika med postavitvijo dvanajstih kvint v razmerju 3 : 2 in sedmih oktav (pitagorejska koma).

Kvinte smo torej postavili v vrstnem redu $C_1 - G_1 - D - A - e - h - fis^1 - cis^2 - gis^2 - dis^3 - ais^3 - eis^4 - his^4$,⁶ oktave pa v vrstnem redu $C_1 - C - c - c^1 - c^2 - c^3 - c^4 - c^5$. V

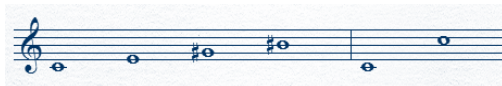
⁴ Za osnovni oris pitagorejskega pogleda na glasbo glej André Barbera, »Pythagoras,« *Grove music online*, datum izpisa 30. 3. 2012, www.grovemusic.com.

⁵ Absolutno matematično delitev morda najbolje predstavlja znana Ellisova delitev poltona na 100 centov, kar pomeni, da oktava obsega 1200 centov. Podrobneje glej Clive Greated, »Cent,« *Grove music online*, datum izpisa 30. 3. 2012, www.grovemusic.com.

⁶ Tu imamo pravzaprav razložen kvintni krog, ki pa v pitagorejskem sistemu ni sklenjen, tako kot se riše danes, temveč gre za neskončno nadaljevanje, tako da bi lahko govorili o *kvintni spirali*. Če niz preoblikujemo tako, da tone zložimo po kromatičnem zaporedju, ne glede na njihovo višino, potem dobimo $c - cis - d - dis - e - eis (f) - fis - g - gis - a - ais - h (- his)$: dobili smo torej vseh dvanajst tonov kromatične lestvice.

enakomerni uglasitvi sta his^4 in c^5 pravzaprav isti ton, saj je vsak polton velik natančno 100 centov, medtem ko v pitagorejski uglasitvi ravno zaradi utemeljitve sistema na razmerjih nista enaka. Slednje se da enostavno pokazati tudi računsko. Pitagorejska kvinta v razmerju 3 : 2 je namreč »velika« 701,9 centa, oktava pa obsega 1200 centov. Imamo torej 12 kvint, kar je skupaj $12 \times 701,9 = 8422,8$ centa. Na drugi strani imamo 7 oktav, kar skupaj zneso $7 \times 1200 = 8400,00$ centov. Razlika med obema tonoma je 22,8 centa in rečemo ji *pitagorejska koma*.⁷

Predstavljamo si lahko, da v času enoglasne glasbe prikazana razlika v sistemu ni povzročala večjih težav, saj si toni intervalov pri izvajanju niso sledili drugače kot zaporedno. S pojavom večglasja in z razvojem instrumentov, pri katerih intonacije med igranjem ni možno prilagajati (predvsem instrumenti s tipkami), pa je težava postala očitna. A razlika, do katere pridemo pri postavljanju kvint v razmerju 3 : 2 in oktav, ni tako težavna, saj je sorazmerno majhna. Podobno ni tako težavno ob oktave postavljati kvart v razmerju 4 : 3, saj gre le za obraten proces kot pri kvintah. Bistveno več težav so imeli glasbeni teoretiki, ko je bilo treba v sistem uvrstiti veliko terco, izraženo z naslednjim najbolj enostavnim razmerjem (5 : 4), pri čemer je treba poudariti, da so se terce v praksi vse pogosteje uporabljale. Do kakšne razlike torej pridemo, če jih postavimo ob oktave? Tu do enharmonskega tona pridemo že pri postavitvi treh terc (c - e - gis - his), ki skupaj obsegajo 1158,85 centa, kar je za skoraj četrt tona (41,15 centov) manj od oktave v razmerju 2 : 1, ki obsega 1200 centov.



Notni primer 2: Razlika med postavitvijo treh terc v razmerju 5 : 4 in oktave.

Takratni glasbeniki so gotovo imeli nemalo težav, če so instrumente s tipkami poskušali uglasiti z intervali v takšnih razmerjih, kot so bila prikazana zgoraj. Tako si lažje predstavljamo tudi vse napore glasbenih teoretikov, da bi našli sistem, v katerem bi se lahko vsi intervali uporabljali enakovredno. Ob tem se je treba vsaj za trenutek odmakniti od enakomerne uglasitve, na katero smo danes tako navajeni, in se postaviti v miselni in slušni svet njihovega časa. Dejstvo je namreč, da so takratni avtorji za akustično in intonančno čiste pojmovali intervale, ki so jih dala zgoraj predstavljena razmerja. To pomeni, da jim je vsaka temperacija sistema – čeprav načrtovana z namenom izpopolnitve in lažje praktične uporabe – hkrati mogla pomeniti tudi oddaljitev od popolnosti. Zdi se, da temperacija kvint ni tako težavna, saj bi bilo treba vsako od dvanajstih kvint »skrčiti« le za nekaj manj kot 2 centa (1/12 kome), pa bi se že točno ujele z vrednostjo sedmih oktav. Na drugi strani je bistveno večjo (za približno 1/5 tona) razliko pri tercah nedvomno težje odpraviti in številne zagate teoretikov pri snovanju sistemov, v katere bi se s čim manjšimi glasbenoakustičnimi spremembami dalo vključiti kar največ različnih intervalov, se zdijo popolnoma razumljive.

⁷ Dve frekvenci kateregakoli intervala lahko v cente pretvorimo po matematični formuli $c = 3986 \times \log(f_2/f_1)$. Podrobneje glej Bruno Ravninar, *Osnove glasbene akustike in informatike* (Ljubljana: DZS, 1999), 26.

Izmed vseh poskusov postavitve sistema velja za ilustracijo izpostaviti predvsem dva, ki sta med glasbeniki doživela največji odmev in ki sta se tudi v praksi največ uporabljala.⁸ Ross Duffin, avtor knjige *How Equal Temperament Ruined Harmony (and Why You Should Care)*, pravi, da je bila najbolj običajna uglasitev v renesansi t. i. *quarter-comma meantone*.⁹ Gre za eno od variant sistema, ki ga Bruno Ravnikar v *Osnovah glasbene akustike in informatike* označuje z izrazom *srednjetonska lestvica*.¹⁰ Takšna uglasitev se je osredotočila predvsem na razmerje med kvintami in tercami in je za doseganje akustično čistih terc predvidevala precej zmanjšane kvinte: če želimo doseči akustično čiste velike terce, mora biti vsaka izmed štirih zaporednih kvint (s katerimi se sklene krog, če ob njih postavimo sedem terc) zmanjšana za eno četrtno kome, od koder pride tudi izraz *quarter-comma meantone* (*četrtkomska srednjetonska lestvica*). Ob tem se zdi potrebno opozoriti, da je naslednja, peta kvinta nujno precej večja od akustično čiste kvinte (za dobrega četr tona), zaradi česar so ji takratni glasbeniki rekli tudi *volčja kvinta*.¹¹ Duffin še navaja, da je velika terca v tem sistemu razdeljena na dva enaka cela tona, od koder naj bi izviral tudi termin *mean* (srednji).¹²



Notni primer 3: Sedem terc postavljenih ob štiri kvinte, z dodano (občrtano) »volčjo kvinto«.

Poleg *srednjetonske lestvice* Duffin izpostavi še t. i. *just intonation*, ki jo Ravnikar v *Osnovah glasbene akustike in informatike* obravnava kot *lestvico čiste uglasitve*.¹³ Za razliko od prejšnjega zahteva ta sistem izključno uporabo akustično čistih intervalov, v izvornih razmerjih. To poenostavljeno pomeni, da se lahko uporabljajo samo kvinte v razmerju 3 : 2, sistem zato ne sme biti temperiran in je možen le v vokalni glasbi oz. pri instrumentih, ki lahko intonacijo prilagajajo sproti, med izvedbo. Za to uglasitev je značilno, da ima dva različna cela tona (v razmerjih 9 : 8 in 10 : 9).¹⁴

Tetrakord kot izhodišče Galilejeve razprave o uglasitvi

Jasno je, da nobeden izmed prikazanih sistemov ni idealen v pogledu možnosti čim bolj enakovredne uporabe intervalov. Zato so, kot rečeno, mnogi teoretiki 15. in

⁸ Za podrobnejši pregled posameznih avtorjev in njihovih rešitev pri postavljanju sistema uglasitve glej Mark Lindley, »Temperaments,« *Grove music online*, datum izpisa 30. 3. 2012, www.grovemusic.com; za pregledno predstavitev nekaterih najpogostejših postavitvev sistemov pa prva tri poglavja v Duffinovi knjigi *How Equal Temperament Ruined Harmony (and Why You Should Care)*.

⁹ Ross W. Duffin, *How Equal Temperament Ruined Harmony (and Why You Should Care)* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), 32.

¹⁰ Ravnikar, *Osnove glasbene akustike in informatike*, 39.

¹¹ Duffin, *How Equal Temperament Ruined Harmony*, 34.

¹² Prav tam.

¹³ Glej Ravnikar, *Osnove glasbene akustike in informatike*, 38.

¹⁴ Podrobneje glej Duffin, *How Equal Temperament Ruined Harmony*, 32–33 in Mark Lindley, »Just Intonation,« *Grove music online*, datum izpisa 30. mar. 2012, www.grovemusic.com.

16. stoletja poskušali postaviti svoj sistem, ki bi omogočal kar najširše možnosti uporabe. Med njimi je bil tudi Vincenzo Galilei, ki je najprej želel ugotoviti, v kateri uglastitvi oz. – kot pravi sam – vrsti diatoničnega genusa (*spezie Diatoniche*) je potekala glasba njegovega časa. Pri tem se očitno naveže na antično grško glasbeno teorijo, zato velja v nadaljevanju v grobih obrisih predstaviti oba omenjena pojma.

Nekakšna osnovna gradbena enota, iz katere so stari Grki v glasbeni teoriji zgradili svoj sistem, je tetrakord. Ta je seveda sestavljen iz štirih tonov, pri čemer prvi in zadnji vedno oklepata interval čiste kvarte. Ostala dva, »notranja tona«, sta lahko postavljena zelo različno in tako so tudi intervali znotraj tetrakorda lahko zelo različni. Na osnovi tega je pomemben grški mislec in glasbeni teoretik Aristoksen ločil tri različne genuse (rodove) tetrakordov: enharmoničnega, kromatičnega in diatoničnega. Intonacija je bila torej ustvarjena ravno na podlagi dveh notranjih tonov v tetrakordu, ki sta bila »premična«, pri čemer bi lahko samo besedo *intonacija* razumeli tudi dobesedno – enostavno kot prenos uglastitve strun v teorijo. Vsak izmed genusov tetrakorda je imel še vrsto različnih podvariant in ravno te so mišljene z Galileijevim izrazom *spezie*. Govorimo torej lahko o nekakšnih različnih vrstah znotraj posameznega rodu (genusa). *Spezie Diatoniche* bi potemtakem bile različne vrste diatoničnega genusa.

Prve genuse naj bi po Galileijevem mnenju napravil Arhitas,¹⁵ kasneje pa naj bi bili pomembni avtorji še Aristoksen,¹⁶ Eratosten,¹⁷ Didim,¹⁸ Ptolemaj¹⁹ in Boetij.²⁰ Vrste genusov tetrakorda so torej različni avtorji različno določili, nadaljuje Galilei, a predvsem zato, ker je to ustrezalo njihovim različnim teoretičnim ciljem, kar pomeni, da vse izmed teh vrst genusov niso bile tudi dejansko v uporabi. Vseh vrst genusov omenjenih avtorjev je bilo po Galileijevih navedbah 25, od tega 9 diatoničnih, 9 kromatičnih in 7 enharmoničnih. Razporeditve tonov v tetrakordih omenjenih genusov so nato tudi precej podrobno teoretično prikazane.²¹

Genusi tetrakorda naj bi bili sestavljeni tako, da naj bi bilo za diatoničnega značilno zaporedje polton – celi ton – celi ton, za kromatičnega zaporedje polton – polton – mala terca in za enharmonični genus zaporedje četrtrton – četrtrton – velika terca.²² Poenostavljeno to torej pomeni, da je genus tetrakorda odvisen predvsem od razmerij intervalov znotraj oklepajočih tonov tetrakorda. Poleg tega so spodnji intervali vedno manjši od zgornjih. Poenostavljeni sodobni približki vseh različnih tetrakordov, ki jih navaja Galilei, postavljeni v petčrtni notacijski sistem, ki ga stari Grki seveda niso poznali, bi bili po tem opisu torej videti takole:

¹⁵ Matematik, glasbeni teoretik in izumitelj iz prve polovice 4. stoletja pr. Kr. Domneva se, da je bil prvi, ki je določil discipline kvardivija (aritmetika, astronomija, geometrija in glasba). Navezoval se je na pitagorejsko teorijo. Podrobneje glej Barbera, »Archytas of Tarentum,« *Grove music online*, datum izpisa 30. 3. 2012, www.grovemusic.com.

¹⁶ Aristoksen (rojen med 375 in 360 pr. Kr.) je bil filozof in glasbeni teoretik iz Tarenta, sicer Aristotelov učenec (*Antika* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1998), 54). V svoji razpravi ga Galilei pogosto omenja.

¹⁷ Eratosten je živel v času od ok. 285/80 do ok. 194 pr. Kr. Bil je prodoren učenjak, vodja knjižnice v Aleksandriji, ker je bil tako vsestranski, pa so ga imenovali tudi »vseved«. Podrobneje glej *Antika*, 155.

¹⁸ Aleksandrijski grški učenjak, ki se je ukvarjal z različnimi področji, a nobeno njegovo delo ni ohranjeno v celoti. Živel je od ok. 65 pr. Kr. do ok. 10 n. š. Podrobneje glej *Antika*, 123.

¹⁹ Grški astronom, matematik in geograf, rojen okrog leta 100 v Egiptu (*Antika*, 460). Ptolemaj je posebno pomemben tudi za glasbeno teorijo in tudi nanj se, tako kot na Aristoksena, Galilei večkrat sklicuje.

²⁰ Boetij je živel na prehodu iz 5. v 6. stoletje (umrl je leta 524). Bil je filozof in teološki pisec ter tudi konzul oz. vodja civilne uprave v Italiji (*Antika*, 82).

²¹ Podrobneje glej Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica et moderna*, 107–111.

²² Podrobneje glej »Tetrachord,« *Grove music online*, datum izpisa 30. mar. 2012, www.grovemusic.com.



Notni primer 4: Trije genusi tetrakorda v antični glasbeni teoriji.

Ob vseh različnih vrstah vsakega izmed genusov tetrakorda si že na prvi pogled težko predstavljamo, da so bila omenjena teoretična razmišljanja kot celota glasbeno-teoretskih znanj tesno povezana z glasbeno prakso. Ravno nasprotno se zdi, da so bila od nje precej odmaknjena. Težko si je predstavljati, da bi stari Grki v praksi dejansko razločevali med vsemi različicami genusov, saj so razlike med posameznimi uglasitvami tetrakordov dostikrat tako majhne, da so za uho praktično nezaznavne. Tako si gre prikazano teoretično razpravljanje predstavljati v okviru znanega pitagorejskega pogleda na glasbo, ki vsebuje enaka razmerja in lastnosti, ki jih najdemo tako v naravi okrog nas kot tudi v vesolju. Na to opozarja tudi zgoraj omenjena Galileijeva trditev, da se vse izmed vrst genusov v praksi niso uporabljale in da so nekatere služile njihovim izumiteljem za doseganje različnih ciljev v teoretičnem razmišljanju.

Na mestu se zdi tudi mnenje Thomasa Mathiesena, da gre različne genuse jemati bolj v smislu nekih okvirnih omejitev. Poslušalci naj bi tako prepoznali tip genusa v smislu tonskega spola (kot npr. mi danes prepoznamo dur in mol), točne vrednosti intervalov pa so bile od skladbe do skladbe lahko različne. Zato, da bi poslušalec prepoznal neki genus, ni bilo nujno potrebno določiti vsake note in intervala posebej, temveč je bila dovolj že postavitve nekaterih relativnih velikosti intervala ter uporaba tipičnih vzorcev zaporedja intervalov.²³

Razprava o intervalih

V nasprotju s to nedoločljivostjo je želel Galilei točno določiti, katera iz množice različnih uglasitev se je uporabljala v njegovem času. Zato da bi ugotovili, v kateri vrsti diatoničnega genusa (*spezie Diatoniche*) se je komponiralo in pelo v njegovem času, je treba najprej preučiti vsakega izmed intervalov tega genusa, je prepričan. Prva vrsta uglasitve, o kateri želi razpravljati, je – kot sam pravi – tista, okrog katere naj bi se poenotili vsi sočasni glasbeniki in ki naj bi jo še posebno zagovarjal Gioseffo Zarlino, Ptolemajeva sintonična diatonična uglasitev (*Syntono incitato di Tolomeo*). V nadaljevanju sledi predstavitve intervalov in njihovih razmerij znotraj omenjene uglasitve.²⁴ Ta so naslednja:

Koma	81 : 80
Mali polton (limma)	25 : 24
Veliki polton	16 : 15
Mali celi ton	10 : 9

²³ Thomas Mathiesen, »Greece. I. Ancient. 6. Music theory. (c) Genera,« *Grove music online*, www.grovemusic.com, pregledano 30. mar. 2012.

²⁴ Tej predstavitvi Galilei posveti velik del prvega poglavja. Glej Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica et moderna*, 11–74.

Veliki celi ton	9 : 8
Mala terca	6 : 5
Velika terca	5 : 4
Kvarta (diatessaron)	4 : 3
Tritonus	45 : 32
Semidiapente	64 : 45
Kvinta (diapente)	3 : 2
Mala seksta	8 : 5
Velika seksta	5 : 3
Mala septima	9 : 5
Velika septima	15 : 8
Oktava (diapason)	2 : 1

Sledi še predstavitev »teoretične poti« do posameznih intervalov, namreč, kako s seštevanjem (množenjem razmerij) in odštevanjem (deljenjem razmerij) matematično izračunamo vsakega izmed njih. Zdi se, da je takšna podrobna predstavitev potrebna tudi zato, da je Galilei tam, kjer je le mogel, opozoril na razhajanja med tem, kar kažejo teoretični izračuni, in med tem, kar zagovarja veliko sočasnih glasbenikov, predvsem skladateljev. S tem se vedno znova vrača tudi k osnovnemu vprašanju, ki si ga zastavi na začetku razpravljanja o intervalih, k vprašanju o intonaciji, ki se uporablja v njegovem času. Sam skuša s svojo razpravo intervale prikazati na teoretični, »matematični« način, pri čemer se v veliki meri navezuje predvsem na tradicijo antične grške glasbene teorije. Na drugi strani je njegova teorija očitno v vsaj delnem razkoraku z dejansko glasbeno prakso časa, za katero se zdi, da se je opirala bolj na tisto, kar zaznava človeško uho, in ne toliko na teoretične, matematične izračune.

Sistem sintonične diatonične uglasitve

Morda se ravnokar omenjeno Galilejevo seštevanje in odštevanje intervalov na prvi pogled zdi nekoliko nesmiselno in brez trdne podlage, a v ozadju je v resnici trden sistem. Naj zato v nadaljevanju zgoraj predstavljena razmerja posameznih intervalov poskušamo povezati v sistem in nekoliko jasneje, tudi grafično, prikazati, od kod pravzaprav izvirajo vse različice istih intervalov. Pri tem se oprimo na Ptolemajevo sintonično diatonično uglasitev, ki naj bi bila (po Galilejevih navedbah) tista, ki jo je Zarlino označil za uglasitev svojega časa in ki jo podrobneje obravnava tudi Galilei sam.

Ptolemajeva sintonična diatonična uglasitev temelji na Ptolemajevi sintonični diatonični uglasitvi tetrakorda, za katero so značilna naslednja razmerja:²⁵

²⁵ V prvem stolpcu sheme so navedeni toni, na katerih je postavljen tetrakord, števila v drugem stolpcu pomenijo (imaginarno) število delov, na katere je razdeljena struna, tretji stolpec prinaša razmerja med dvema strunami, v četrtem stolpcu pa lahko opazujemo, kakšna je razlika med številoma delov, na katere sta razdeljeni struni.

E	36	_____	} 4 deli strune razlike
		10 : 9	
D	40	_____	} 5 delov strune razlike
		9 : 8	
C	45	_____	} 3 deli strune razlike
		16 : 15	
h	48	_____	

Če skušamo na osnovi pravkar omenjenega tetrakorda zgraditi sistem, potem bi njegove temelje predstavljalo spodnje zaporedje celih in poltonov.

Ptolemajev sintonični diatonični tetrakord

veliki mali veliki veliki mali veliki veliki
 celi ton celi ton polton celi ton celi ton celi ton polton
 (9 : 8) (10 : 9) (16 : 15) (9 : 8) (10 : 9) (9 : 8) (16 : 15)

Notni primer 5: Razmerja med toni na osnovi Ptolemajevega sintoničnega diatoničnega tetrakorda.²⁶

Iz pravkar postavljenega temeljnega zaporedja, v katerem so predstavljene različice intervala sekunde, lahko s seštevanjem intervalov (množenem razmerij) pridemo tudi do različic drugih intervalov, ki naj jih predstavimo v nadaljevanju.

TERCE

velika terca (5 : 4) mala terca (6 : 5) velika terca (5 : 4) mala terca (6 : 5)

semiditon (32 : 27) velika terca (5 : 4) mala terca (6 : 5)

Notni primer 6: Razmerja terc v Ptolemajevi sintonični diatonični uglasitvi.

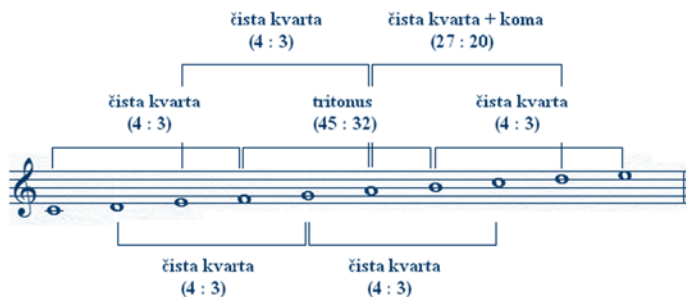
V Ptolemajevi sintonični diatonični uglasitvi torej obstajajo tri vrste terc. Razmerja malih in velikih terc so bila navedena že zgoraj, nova pa je vrsta terce, ki jo najdemo med d in f. Gre za t. i. *semiditon*, ki zgoraj ni bil posebej predstavljen. Interval je v razmerju 32 : 27 (oz. za lažjo primerjavo 6 : 5,0625) in je za komo manjši od male ter-

²⁶ Povzeto po Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, ur. in prev. Claude V. Palisca (New Heaven: Yale university press, 2003), 21.

ce, kar lahko enostavno preverimo tudi računsko, tako da ju seštejemo (zmnožimo njuna razmerja):

$$\frac{32}{27} \cdot \frac{81}{80} = \frac{6}{5} = 6:5$$

KVARTE

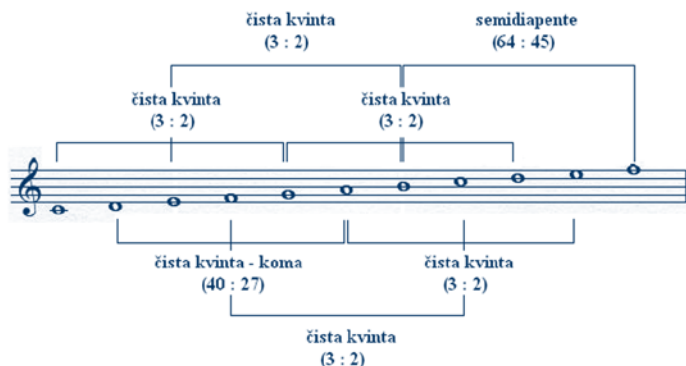


Notni primer 7: Razmerja kvart v Ptolemajevi sintonični diatonični uglasitvi.

Tudi kvarte so v Ptolemajevi sintonični diatonični uglasitvi tri; dve – čista kvarta in tritonus – sta bili navedeni že zgoraj, nov je interval v razmerju 27 : 20 (oz. 4 : 2,963). V Galileijevem traktatu nima posebnega imena, po velikosti je za koma višji od čiste kvarte:

$$\frac{4}{3} \cdot \frac{81}{80} = \frac{27}{20} = 27:20$$

KVINTE

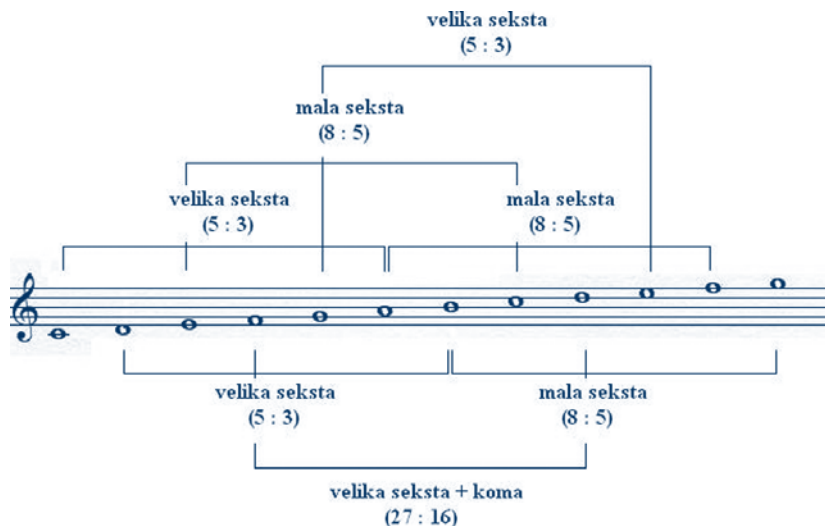


Notni primer 8: Razmerja kvint v Ptolemajevi sintonični diatonični uglasitvi.

Izmed treh kvint smo zgoraj že obravnavali čisto kvinto in semidiapente, nov je interval v razmerju 40 : 27 (oz. 3 : 2,025). Gre za interval, ki je za komo manjši od čiste kvinte, ravno tako kot interval v razmerju 27 : 20 tudi ta nima posebnega imena:

$$\frac{40}{27} \cdot \frac{81}{80} = \frac{3}{2} = 3:2$$

SEKSTE

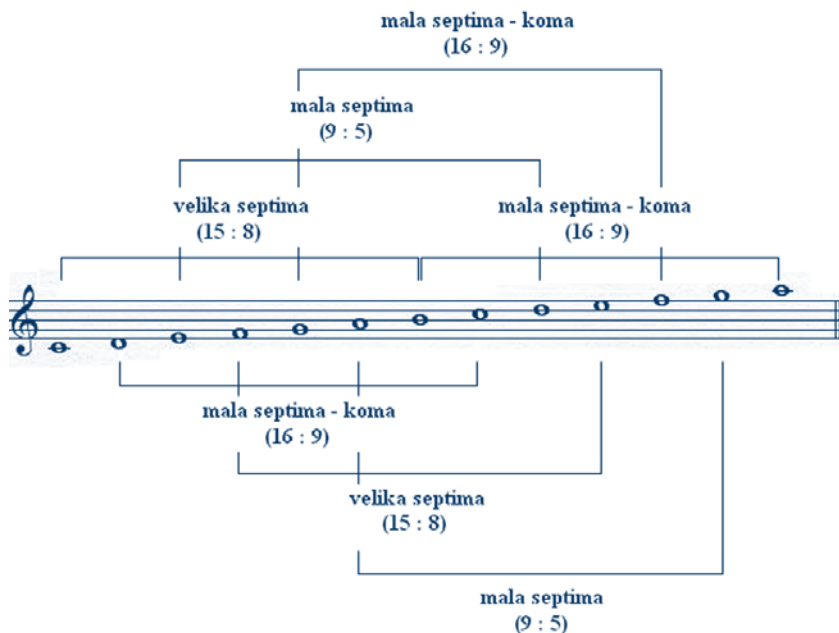


Notni primer 9: Razmerja šest v Ptolemajevi sintonični diatonični uglasitvi.

Izmed treh šest je nepredstavljen le še interval v razmerju 27 : 16 (oz. 5 : 2,963), veliko in malo seksto smo omenili že zgoraj. Ta interval je za komo večji od velike sekste:

$$\frac{5}{3} \cdot \frac{81}{80} = \frac{27}{16} = 27:16$$

SEPTIME



Notni primer 10: Razmerja septim v Ptolemajevi sintonični diatonični uglastitvi.

Zgoraj sta že bili navedeni razmerji velike in male septime, nov je interval v razmerju 16 : 9 (oz. 15 : 8,4375). Dobimo ga tako, da od male septime odštejemo komo:

$$\frac{9}{5} : \frac{81}{80} = \frac{9}{5} \cdot \frac{80}{61} = \frac{16}{9} = \underline{16:9}$$

Naj ob koncu postavitve sistema v Ptolemajevi sintonični diatonični uglastitvi še enkrat sumarno navedemo vse različice intervalov tega sistema: mali polton, veliki polton, mali celi ton, veliki celi ton, semiditon, mala terca, velika terca, čista kvarta, interval 27 : 20, tritonus, semidiapente, interval 40 : 27, čista kvinta, mala seksta, velika seksta, interval 27 : 16, interval 16 : 9, mala septima, velika septima in oktava.

Sistem se že na prvi pogled precej razlikuje od današnje enakomerne uglastitve, v kateri npr. dveh različnih poltonov ne moremo najti. A prikazani intervali predstavljajo pravzaprav le polovico sistema, kajti celoten sistem je po Galileijevem mnenju možno tudi transponirati za kvarto navzgor ter vanj vključiti ton b:

veliki	mali	veliki	veliki	mali	veliki	veliki
celi ton	celi ton	polton	celi ton	celi ton	celi ton	polton
(9 : 8)	(10 : 9)	(16 : 15)	(9 : 8)	(10 : 9)	(9 : 8)	(16 : 15)

*Notni primer 11: Transpozicija sistema na osnovi Ptolemajevoga sintoničnega diatoničnega tetrakorda.*²⁷

Kot je razvidno iz zgornjega primera, so razmerja med posameznimi toni enaka kot pri postavitvi sistema na ton c. Iz tega se lepo vidi, da gre dejansko za prenos celotnega sistema, dosledno z vsemi razmerji, na drugo tonsko višino. Posledično so tudi razmerja ostalih intervalov nujno enaka razmerjem, ki so bila predstavljena zgoraj: z dosledno transpozicijo ne dobimo nobene nove različice intervala. Za lažjo predstavo bi lahko od daleč povlekli paralelo z današnjimi durovimi lestvicami. Tudi v tem primeru namreč prenašamo sistem na različne tonske višine, da bi se ohranila razmerja med toni, pa uporabljamo predznake. Razlika med obema transpozicijama je v tem, da so danes predznaki posledica želje po transpoziciji – uporabiti jih moramo, da se ohranijo razmerja znotraj lestvice. V Galileijevem primeru pa je, kot se zdi, ravno obratno: transpozicija je posledica želje po umestitvi predznaka v sistem. Ton b je bil namreč del sistema in poiskati je bilo treba način, kako ga v sistemu predstaviti, ne da bi se pri tem porušila razmerja med posameznimi stopnjami.

Razmerja torej ostajajo enaka, a če pogledamo pobliže, hitro ugotovimo, da v pogledu tonskih višin ni tako. Velika večina slednjih sicer prav tako ostane enaka, kot problematičen pa se kaže ton d. Če transponiran sistem primerjamo z zgoraj podano osnovno različico, vidimo, da sta v zgornjem primeru razmerji tonov okrog d-ja različni, in sicer je zamenjan vrstni red. V osnovni različici imamo med c in d veliki celi ton (9 : 8), med d in e pa malega (10 : 9), medtem ko je pri transponiranem sistemu ravno obratno. Zdi se torej, da je zavoljo ohranitve razmerij med posameznimi stopnjami znotraj sistema ton d v transponiranem sistemu nekoliko nižji (natančneje: za komo nižji) kot v osnovnem.

Problem predznakov

V sklopu razprave o intervalih spregovori Galilei še o predznakih,²⁸ za katere pravi, da so bili vpeljani zato, da bi z njimi nepopolne konsonance in disonance spremenili v tako popolne konsonance, kot bi si glede na njihovo naravo lahko samo želeli. Kljub temu da so bili vpeljani s tem namenom, naj bi jih sodobni skladatelji slabo uporabljali. Tako naj bi po Galileijevem mnenju nižaj vpeljali samo zato, da bi lahko tonu f – tako kot ostalim tonom – postavili kvinto spodaj in kvarto zgoraj, tonu g pa veliko seksto spodaj in malo terco zgoraj. Iz podobnih razlogov naj bi bil vpeljan tudi višaj,

²⁷ Prevzeto po Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, 22.

²⁸ Glej Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, 69–71.

in sicer zato, da bi ton h nad seboj imel odgovarjajočo kvinto in ne semidiapente ter pod seboj čisto kvarto, in tudi zato, da bi tonu d lahko postavili oboje, male in velike terce in sekste.

Nižaj se po Galilejevem mnenju sicer uporablja izključno pri tonu h, ki se ob njegovi prisotnosti spremeni v b. Glede na to, ali je v njem ton h oz. ton b, naj bi bil sistem »trd« (*durus*) oz. »mehek« (*mollis*). Pri vseh drugih stopnjah sistema naj bi se (tam, kjer je bilo to potrebno) uporabljal višaj, a sodobni skladatelji naj se tega ne bi držali.

Galilei še dodaja, da se ravno v primeru potrebe po višajih in nižajih kaže šibkost notacijskega sistema njegovega časa, ki naj bi imel premalo osnovnih znakov, s katerimi bi lahko pokazali različnost posameznih stopenj sistema. Na drugi strani naj bi antični notacijski sistem imel dovolj znakov, s katerimi se je dalo natanko določiti in zapisati želeno višino tona. A kljub temu meni, da ima tudi notacijski sistem njegovega časa (ob uporabi predznakov) zadostno število znakov, s katerimi se da vsaki stopnji sistema postaviti kateregakoli od poznanih konsonantnih intervalov, še posebno v diatoničnem in kromatičnem genu.

Pomen razmišljanja o predznakih gre najverjetneje iskati v dveh smereh. Na eni strani ga gre opazovati, kot deloma nakaže že Galilei sam, znotraj razprave o vsej množici različnih intervalov oz. bolje rečeno v vsej množici različnih vrst istega intervala, ki so bile navedene zgoraj. Zamislimo si polifono kompozicijo 16. stoletja, v kateri so uporabljene vse različne vrste intervalov, v kateri hkrati nastopajo veliki polton in mali polton, veliki celi ton in mali celi ton, različne terce itd. Preplet vseh teh intervalov je ob nepazljivosti skladatelja gotovo velikokrat pripeljal do disonantnosti, ki pa se jo je marsikdaj dalo popraviti prav z višaji in nižaji. Tako je bil sicer na videz zapisan isti interval, danes bi mu rekli enharmonski, ki pa nikakor ni imel enakega razmerja in ni enako zvenel. Poskušajmo to prikazati z naslednjima primeroma:



Notni primer 12: Enharmonska intervala.

Pri tem upoštevajmo, da so toni razporejeni po sistemu zgoraj prikazane Ptolemajeve sintonične diatonične uglasitve, po kateri se pri prikazu posameznih intervalov ravna tudi Galilei. Poleg tega navaja, da se pri tem, ko noti dodamo višaj ali nižaj, ta zviša oz. zniža za razmerje malega poltona, torej 25 : 24.²⁹



Notni primer 13: Razmerje pri dodajanju višaja oz. nižaja.

²⁹ Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, 22.

Poskusimo sedaj dobiti razmerje intervala c–as, tako da seštejemo razmerja med toni od c do a, nato pa od tega odštejemo mali polton:

$$\frac{9}{8} \cdot \frac{10}{9} \cdot \frac{16}{15} \cdot \frac{9}{8} \cdot \frac{10}{9} : \frac{25}{24} = \frac{129600}{77760} \cdot \frac{24}{25} = \frac{3110400}{1944000} = \underline{8:5}$$

Izračunajmo še razmerje intervala c–gis, tako da seštejemo razmerja med toni od c do g, nato pa temu prištejemo še mali polton:

$$\frac{9}{8} \cdot \frac{10}{9} \cdot \frac{16}{15} \cdot \frac{9}{8} \cdot \frac{25}{24} = \frac{324000}{207360} = \underline{25:16}$$

Razlika med obema je očitna.

Drugi kontekst, v katerega gre postavljati Galileijevo razglabljanje o predznakih, je t. i. *musica ficta*. Če bi zelo v grobem poskušali podati definicijo *musice ficte*, potem bi rekli, da gre za vso tisto zalogo tonov, ki je srednjeveški tonski sistem ni zajemal. To pa so (razen tona b, ki se ni razumel kot znižani ton h, temveč kot del sistema) vsi zvišani in znižani toni. V srednjem veku so *musico ficto*, torej predznake, uporabljali predvsem v kadencah, da bi jih lahko pravilno izpeljali. Že v 14. in 15. stoletju so se predznaki začeli pogosteje uporabljati tudi zunaj kadenc, v 16. stoletju pa je njihova uporaba postala nekaj povsem običajnega. Tonski prostor se je s tem vse bolj širil in se odmikal od srednjeveškega.³⁰

Galileijev poskus postavitve sistema

Ko Galilei zaključi teoretično razpravo o intervalih, se vrne k osnovnemu vprašanju uglasitve in pravi, da potem, ko za vsa razmerja intervalov vemo, kako so sestavljena, lahko razrešimo vsako vprašanje, povezano z razlikami med uglasitvami posameznih tetrakordov. Nato še enkrat opozori na neskladje med antičnimi in sodobnimi intervali, pri čemer pravi, da koma vendarle ni tako majhna, da ne bi spremenila bistva intervala, če mu jo odvzamemo. S tem naj bi se strinjal tudi Zarlino, ki naj bi bil mnenja, »da je konsonantnemu intervalu dodana ali odzeta koma zadosti, da ga naredi disonantnega«.³¹ Če bi bila ta pomanjkljivost odpravljena, pravi Galilei, bi postal diatonični genus, v katerem se je pelo v njegovem času, čisto nekaj drugega.

Galilei nato poda oceno, da če je genus, katerega intervali so bili predstavljeni zgoraj, Ptolemajeva sintonična vrsta diatoničnega genusa, potem je gotovo, da to *ni* tisti, v katerem se je v njegovem času komponiralo, pelo in igralo. Ravno tako naj ne bi bila v rabi najstarejša ditonična diatonična uglasitev. Galilei je prepričan – kot sam pravi, na podlagi dolgotrajnega opazovanja –, da se v sočasni glasbeni praksi pravzaprav ne uporablja nobena izmed v *Dialogu* predstavljenih devetih antičnih vrst

³⁰ Podrobneje o tem glej Margaret Bent, »Musica ficta«, *Grove music online*, datum izpisa 30. 3. 2012, www.grovemusic.com.

³¹ Cit. po Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, 76.

diatoničnega genusa v njihovi osnovni obliki, temveč nekakšen hibrid treh izmed njih. Ti trije genusi naj bi bili Aristoksenov »napeti« diatonični (*L'incitato d'Aristosseno*), najstarejši ditonični diatonični (*il Diatono Ditonico antichissimo*) in Ptolemajev sintonični (*il Syntono di Tolomeo*).³² To naj bi bila torej po Galileijevem mnenju uglasitev njegovega časa.

V nadaljevanju Galilei predstavi, kako so uglašene posamezne vrste instrumentov. Pravi, da izmed instrumentov s strunami igrajo viola d'arco,³³ lutnja in lira s prečkami v Aristoksenovi »napeti« diatonični uglasitvi, kar lahko sklepamo na podlagi delitve enako velikih celih tonov na enako velike poltone, ki je značilna za to uglasitev.³⁴ Orgle, čembalo in harfa naj bi se od instrumentov s strunami razlikovale po tem, da se celi toni delijo na neenake poltone. Na koncu Galilei omeni še pihalne in trobilne instrumente (npr. korneti, prečne flavte ipd.), ki pa so nekje vmes, saj lahko – seveda odvisno od izurjenosti izvajalca – intonacijo prilagajajo in tako zadostijo trenutni potrebi. Tega naj bi bili zmožni tudi pevci. In ravno zaradi teh različnih tipov intonacije je Galilei prepričan, da se v njegovem času mešajo tri različne vrste diatoničnega genusa. Če bi namreč peli samo v sintoničnem diatoničnem genusu, pravi, potem bi imeli več tonov in malih poltonov, ki bi bili različni po velikosti, kar je (v omenjenem genusu) v njihovi naravi. In zaradi te neenakosti v teoriji bi potem v praksi peli intervale različnih razmerij: dve vrsti kvint, dve vrsti kvart, tri oz. morda celo štiri vrste terc, dve vrsti malih in dve vrsti velikih sekst. Podobno bi se zgodilo tudi z disonancami in končno z oktavo. S to raznolikostjo uglasitev in intervalov pa ni seznanjen nihče izmed mojstrov njegovega časa, pravi Galilei. Meni tudi, da v sočasni glasbi ni moč slišati takšne zmešnjave intervalov. To pa zaradi tega, ker jih nikoli niso uporabljali niti jih ne uporabljajo sedaj, in to je, pravi Galilei, argument, ki zadostuje, da nas prepriča v resničnost povedanega.

Če je Galileiju nekako uspelo pokazati, v kateri uglasitvi se je v njegovem času pelo, se ob vsej tej »zmešnjavi« različnih vrst diatoničnega genusa kot večji problem riše že nekoliko nakazana uglasitev instrumentov. Galilei namreč pokaže, da so v uglasitvi instrumentov s tipkami njegovega časa kvinte nekoliko manjšega razmerja, kvarte pa nekoliko prevelikega. Pravi, da je v sočasni uglasitvi klaviaturnih instrumentov med drugim vsak celi ton zmanjšan za štiri sedmine kome, kvinta pa za dve sedmini kome. Na drugi strani je mala seksta povečana za celo komo in sedmino, kvarta pa za dve sedmini. Vse te »napake« so tudi protargument tistim, ki pravijo, da se razmerja kome ne da slišati, pravi Galilei in dodaja, da tudi ti kljub temu priznavajo, da so pri instrumentih s tipkami kvinte pomanjšane, kvarte pa povečane, čeprav ni čisto gotov, ali to priznavajo zato, ker se tega dejansko zavedajo, ali pa iz vljudnosti.³⁵

³² Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, 77.

³³ Palisca pravi, da gre za violo da gamba. Glej Paliscov komentar med tekstem v Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, 78.

³⁴ Aristoksen se je v svojih razmišljanjih nekoliko odmaknil od pitagorejske »matematične« tradicije, po kateri je bilo ton možno razdeliti samo na dve neenaki polovici (limmo v razmerju 256 : 243 in apotome v razmerju 2178 : 2048). Namesto na teoretične izračune se je zanesel na čutno zaznavo, na sluh ter pokazal, da se na ta način lahko ton razdeli tudi na dve enaki polovici. Podrobneje glej Annie Béllis, »Aristoxenus«, *Grove music online*, datum izpisa 30. 3. 2012, www.grovemusic.com.

³⁵ Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, 87.

Galilei o uglastitvi lutnje: poskus enakomerne uglastitve?

Bolj poglobljeno kot z uglastitvijo instrumentov s tipkami se Galilei ukvarja z uglastitvijo lutnje, kar ne preseneča, saj je bil ne nazadnje lutnjar tudi sam. Najprej opiše razmerja intervalov. Pravi, da oktava tako pri lutnji kot pri violi sestoji iz šestih celih tonov oz. iz dvanajstih poltonov. A da bi se uskladili s sočasno prakso, dodaja Galilei, lahko rečemo, da sestoji iz petih celih tonov in dveh poltonov, pri čemer naj bi bilo gotovo, da so vsi izmed celih tonov manjši od 9 : 8 in večji od 10 : 9. Polton naj bi bil manjši kot 16 : 15 in večji kot 25 : 24. Mala terca naj bi bila manjša od 6 : 5, velika terca pa naj bi preseerala 5 : 4. Kvarta naj bi preseerala razmerje 4 : 3, kvinta pa naj bi bila manjša kot 3 : 2. Mala seksta naj bi bila manjša od 8 : 5, velika seksta pa naj bi preseerala razmerje 5 : 3. Tritonus in semidiapente naj bi bila enakovredna, zaradi česar naj bi bil prvi nekoliko manjši, drugi pa večji od tistega v sintoničnem diatoničnem genusu.

Uglastitev lutnje in viole se torej precej odmika od sistema intervalov, podrobno predstavljenega zgoraj. Predvsem pri poltonih in celih tonih vidimo nekakšen poskus *poenotenja obeh različic v neki srednji vrednosti*, podobno je tudi pri tritonusu in semidiapente, ki sta tudi dejansko poenotena. Zdi se, da ta približevanja ter tudi ostale spremembe pri razmerjih nekako nakazujejo premik v smeri *enakomerne* uglastitve, vendar se nedvomno lahko strinjamo s Palisco,³⁶ ki pravi, da samo iz tega, da je določen interval manjši oz. večji od razmerja, kot ga ima po Ptolemajevem sintoničnem diatoničnem genusu, njegove vrednosti ne moremo določiti.

Galilei pravi, da se morda na prvi pogled res zdi, da so celi toni pri lutnji v razmerju 9 : 8, a v resnici gotovo ni tako. To skuša pokazati s pomočjo delitve oktave na cele tone. Pravi, da je vsak ton na lutnji za šestino antične kome manjši od 9 : 8. Šest tonov v razmerju 9 : 8 naj bi preseeralo oktavo, in sicer za eno antično komo, medtem ko naj bi šest celih tonov pri lutnji oktavo ravno prav zapolnilo. Iz tega naj bi sledilo, da je vsak izmed teh šestih celih tonov od tistega v razmerju 9 : 8 manjši za eno šestino kome.³⁷ Poleg tega naj bi bil vsak izmed celih tonov pri lutnji od celega tona v razmerju 9 : 8 manjši za tri četrte kome v razmerju 81 : 80, ki je po mnenju praktikov Galileijevega časa tista, ki je bila v rabi takrat.³⁸

³⁶ Glej Paliscov komentar v opombi 173 v Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica et moderna*, 107.

³⁷ Če seveda predpostavljamo, da so vsi celi toni enako veliki.

³⁸ Poskušajmo na podlagi Galileijevih podatkov poiskati razmerje antične kome. Galilei pravi, da je antična koma presežek, ki ga ima šest celih tonov nad oktavo. Če torej seštejemo šest celih tonov (tako, da zmnožimo ulomke) in od tega odštejemo oktavo (delimo ulomke), bi morali dobiti razmerje Galileijeve antične kome:

$$\left(\frac{9}{8}\right)^6 : \frac{531441}{262144} \Rightarrow \frac{531441}{262144} : \frac{531441}{262144} \cdot \frac{1}{2} = \frac{531441}{262144} = 81,1:80$$

Samo razmerje torej ni veliko večje od sintonične kome, navedene v zgornjem naštevu intervalov. Če ga pretvorimo v cente, potem ugotovimo, da ima Galileijeva antična koma 23,64 centa, kar je 2,14 centa več od sintonične kome. Razlika torej ni tako velika in zato se zdi težko razumljiva Galileijeva opazka, da so celi toni pri lutnji od razmerja 6 : 8 manjši za šestino antične kome oz. za tri četrte kome njegovega časa. Ravno tako se Galileijeva antična koma ne ujema s pitagorejsko komo, veliko 22,8 centa. Poskušajmo preveriti, kakšno je razmerje med Galileijevim enakomernim celim tonom in celim tonom v razmerju 9 : 8. Po Galileiju je treba lutnjo uglastiti enakomerno, tako da bo oktava razdeljena na šest enakih celih tonov. Če razmerje oktave 1 : 2 razdelimo na šest enakih delov, dobimo velikost razmerja enega celega tona:

$$\sqrt[6]{\frac{1}{2}} : \frac{1}{1,12} = 1:1,12$$

Če želimo to razmerje približati razmerju 9 : 8, da ju lahko lažje primerjamo, potem ga razširimo (množimo) z 9 in dobimo

Težave uglasitve Galilejvega časa

Galilei v nadaljevanju pravi, da lahko iz povedanega o uglasitvi klaviaturnih instrumentov in lutnje hitro ugotovimo, koliko bolj kot lutnja ali viola so klaviaturni instrumenti oddaljeni od popolnosti.³⁹ Glavna težava naj bi se pojavila, ko so vsi ti instrumenti skupaj igrali v različnih sestavih. Vprašanje pa je, pravi Galilei, zakaj niso glasbeniki, ki igrajo na klaviaturne instrumente, prevzeli enake uglasitve, kot jo najdemo pri lutnji, če je ta toliko bližje popolnosti. Še tako talentiran instrumentalist naj zato ne bi mogel transponirati skladbe gor ali dol za ton ali polton, kar naj bi se na lutnji precej lahko doseglo. Galilei kot eno izmed možnih razlag poda enostavno to, da enaka uglasitev ni možna, ker so ljudje pri lutnji navajeni poslušati eno vrsto intervalov, pri instrumentih s tipkami pa drugo – sluh naj bi se navadil na takšno uglasitev in naj ne bi ravno dobro sprejemal sprememb.

Drugi razlog vidi Galilei v različni delitvi tona. Kot je bilo prikazano, je namreč pri lutnji celi ton razdeljen na dva enaka poltona, pri klaviaturnih instrumentih pa ne. Najbolj očitno se ta razlika sliši, pravi Galilei, pri tonih *gis* in *as* ter pri *dis*¹ in *es*¹. Kajti ko poskušamo na klaviaturnih instrumentih uglasiti *dis*¹ v veliko decimo s *H*, kot bi to v tem primeru storili na lutnji, nadaljuje, zveni tako medlo in zadržano, da je nedopustno. A če ga, ravno nasprotno, zvišamo, kolikor le lahko, bo zelo lepo zvenel v mali decimi s *c*, ko pa ga zaigramo v veliki decimi s *H*, je tako napet in visok, da tega ne moremo tolerirati, dodaja Galilei. Podobno naj bi se zgodilo tudi pri nekaterih drugih intervalih. Njihova narava naj bi se pri instrumentih s tipkami toliko bolj pokazala predvsem iz dveh razlogov: na eni strani zato, ker naj bi se uglasitev pri lutnji bolj skladala s petjem kot uglasitev pri klaviaturnih instrumentih, na drugi strani pa tudi zaradi kvalitete in kvantitete zvoka, ki naj bi bili odvisni od različnih okoliščin, v katerih se proizvaja zvok. Zvok strune klaviaturnega instrumenta naj bi dosegel uho glasnejši kot tisti pri lutnji. Poleg tega je jasno, dodaja Galilei, da zvok *terc* in *decim* ter podobno *sext* s svojo ostopostjo bije na ušesa, če so strune klaviaturnih instrumentov uglašene tako kot tiste na lutnji. Razlog, zakaj strune lutnje ne bijejo tako na ušesa, gre po njegovem mnenju iskati v tem, da material, iz katerega so narejene strune klaviaturnih instrumentov, sila, ki jih trza, ter večja moč in učinkovitost njihovega delovanja povzročijo, da zvok uho doseže bolj vehementno. Prav zaradi tega, ker so te lastnosti drugačne, naj se pri lutnji to ne bi dogajalo.⁴⁰

V nadaljevanju se Galilei (še vedno v okviru razpravljanja o različnih uglasitvah pri strunskih instrumentih) nekoliko naveže na Aristoksena in Ptolemaja. Pravi, da je Ptolemaj Aristoksena v določenih pogledih kritiziral, tri izmed kritik pa naj bi bile

razmerje 9 : 10,1. V takšnem razmerju je torej en celi ton na lutnji, uglašeni po Galilejevih navodilih. Poglejmo sedaj, kakšna je razlika med sintoničnim celim tonom v razmerju 9 : 8 in med »Galilejevim« celim tonom v razmerju 9 : 10,1. Ker naj bi bil prvi večji, moramo Galilejvega od njega odšteti, kar storimo z običajnim deljenjem ulomkov:

$$\frac{9}{8} : \frac{10,1}{9} = \frac{9}{8} \cdot \frac{9}{10,1} = 81:80,8$$

Razlika med antičnim celim tonom v razmerju 9 : 8 in med Galilejevim enakomernim celim tonom je torej 81 : 80,8 (4,28 centa), kar je bistveno manj od treh četrtin kome v razmerju 81 : 80. Ta obsega 21,5 centa, tri četrtine od tega pa znašajo 16,13 centa.

³⁹ Če primerjamo razlike v velikostih intervalov, kot so bili predstavljeni pri uglasitvi klaviaturnih instrumentov, in velikosti intervalov pri lutnji, potem vidimo, da to dejansko drži.

⁴⁰ Podrobneje glej Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, 106–115.

najpomembnejše, in sicer glede porazdelitve stopenj, delitve tona na dva enaka dela ter števila tonusov. Galilei se s kritiko delitve tona na dva enaka dela ne strinja in pravi, da je Aristoksen zelo dobro vedel, da je treba na enake dele pravzaprav deliti kvaliteto zvoka, ne pa kvantitete linije, strune ali prostora.

Galilei torej zagovarja delitev tona pri lutnji na dva enaka dela in v nadaljevanju oriše še, kako naj bi bile postavljene prečke. Zopet se naveže na Aristoksena in pravi, da je treba prvo prečko postaviti na eno osemnajstino strune. Druga prečka bi morala biti postavljena na devetini tistega, kar je ostalo od prve polovice strune, ko smo vzeli proč prvi polton, tretja prečka pa bi morala biti podobno postavljena na devetino prostora, ki je ostal po določitvi prvega in drugega poltona in tako naprej. Pomembno je, da ostanek strune po vsaki postavitvi poltona zopet jemljemo kot celoto in ga tako delimo. Na ta način, pravi Galilei, se lahko pravilno razporedi prečke na tistih instrumentih, kjer so potrebne, npr. pri lutnji in violi d'arco.

V nadaljevanju želi Galilei pokazati, zakaj Ptolemaj Aristoksenu oporeka pri delitvi poltona na dva enaka dela. Da to ni možno, naj bi Ptolemaj želel matematično dokazati: Celi ton ima razmerje $18 : 16$,⁴¹ med tema dvema številka pa ni nobene druge, razen 17. Če želimo tak celi ton razdeliti, ga moramo nujno razdeliti na dva neenaka dela v razmerjih $18 : 17$ in $17 : 16$, pri čemer je $17 : 16$ večji, razlika med obema pa je $289 : 288$.⁴² Iz tega naj bi nujno sledilo, da celega tona ni mogoče razdeliti na dva enaka poltona. Z aritmetičnega zornega kota je takšna razlaga sicer povsem v redu, pravi Galilei, vendar opozarja, da Aristoksen pri svoji delitvi ni mislil na to, temveč je uporabil zgoraj predstavljene metode za postavljanje prečk na lutnji, s pomočjo katere lahko katerikoli interval razdelimo na toliko enakih delov, kolikor želimo. V tem primeru glasbeniki namreč zvok razumejo kot kvalitativnega in ne kvantitativnega. Prečke na lutnji je torej treba postavljati enakomerno in v razmerju poltona.⁴³

Čisto ob koncu razprave o uglasitvi spregovori Galilei nekoliko podrobneje tudi o pevskem glasu.⁴⁴ Pravi, da so v njegovem času pri petju ravno tako kot pri igranju prisotni nepopolni intervali. V vrsti diatoničnega genusa, v kateri se je pelo, naj bi se namreč vsak interval zapel vsakič enako, v enaki velikosti oz. razmerju. Tako naj bi bile pri petju kvarte nekoliko večjega razmerja, kvinte pa nekoliko manjšega. Razen oktave naj vseh ostalih intervalov ne bi peli v njihovih pravih razmerjih.

Nadalje bi lahko tudi dejali, dodaja Galilei, da so intervali, ki so bili peti v njegovem času, bližje tistim, ki jih najdemo pri uglasitvi klaviaturnih instrumentov, kot tistim, ki jih najdemo pri uglasitvi lutnje. Vse skupaj pa je zelo blizu uglasitvi, kot jo je pojmoval Aristoksen – kvinta v razmerju, kot ga je podal on, se namreč lepše sliši kot pa kvinta v svojem osnovnem razmerju $3 : 2$.⁴⁵ To izhaja predvsem iz tega, je prepričan Galilei, da se

⁴¹ Podvojeno razmerje $9 : 8$.

⁴² Zelo enostavno jo izračunamo tako, da od večjega, torej $17 : 16$, odštejemo manjšega, torej $18 : 17$, kar naredimo na običajen način, z deljenjem ulomkov:

$$\frac{17}{16} : \frac{18}{17} = \frac{17}{16} \cdot \frac{17}{18} = \frac{289}{288} = 289:288$$

⁴³ Podrobneje glej Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, 128–129.

⁴⁴ Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, 131–134.

⁴⁵ Dejansko sta si enakomerno uglašena kvinta, kot jo iz slušne izkušnje podaja Aristoksen in ki jo najdemo pri uglasitvi lutnje, ter kvinta v svojem osnovnem razmerju $3 : 2$ zelo blizu. Če obe primerjamo v centih, potem je enakomerno uglašena kvinta, ki obsega tri tone in pol oz. sedem poltonov po 100 centov, velika 700 centov, kvinta v razmerju $3 : 2$ pa 701,9 centa.

je sluh zaradi napačne uporabe pokvaril, kajti kvinta v svojem osnovnem razmerju 3 : 2 naj se ne bi slišala le kot precej višja, temveč naj bi bila tudi nekoliko trda, nekako groba. Na drugi strani naj bi nekoliko zmanjšana kvinta pri Aristoksenu zvenela bolj milostno in mehko, kar naj bi bolj ustrezalo okusu Galileijevega časa. Že iz tega lahko vidimo, zaključí Galilei, kako velika je nepopolnost sočasne glasbe, kako močno je publika zavedena in kako malo razume pravo glasbo, saj ne pozna ne velikosti ne kvalitete in narave intervalov, ti pa sta (kvaliteta in narava namreč) njihova osnovna elementa. Aristoksen in večina antičnih glasbenikov naj bi vse to razumela do popolnosti.⁴⁶

Če se ob koncu ozremo po Galileijevem razpravljanju o uglastitvi, se nam uglastitev njegovega časa v primerjavi z današnjo upravičeno zdi precej kompleksna. Očitno je bilo zelo težavno tudi izvajanje glasbe, kar poudarja tudi Galilei, ko omenja ansambelsko igro, v kateri so vključeni tako instrumenti s tipkami kot lutnja, ki imajo očitno nekoliko drugačno uglastitev. Verjetno je takšna uglastitev težje razumljiva predvsem zato, ker smo danes navajeni na enakomerni sistem in si težko predstavljamo, da sta v glasbi hkrati lahko obstajala dva različna tipa istega intervala. A prav dva različna tipa celega tona, veliki in mali, sta bila tista, ki sta v glasbeni praksi Galileijevega časa, kot rečeno, povzročala nemalo težav.

Zamislimo si polifono kompozicijo 16. stoletja kot kompozicijo enakovrednih glasov, ki se med seboj prepletajo v vsej predstavljeni množici različnih intervalov, zamislimo si, da imamo v isti kompoziciji različne tipe istih intervalov. Danes bi orkester ali komorno zasedbo, ki bi igrala na takšen način, gotovo označili kot razglašeno in težko poslušljivo. Tako si lažje predstavljamo tudi vse napore teoretikov tistega časa, da bi našli sistem, v katerem bi bili vsi intervali enakovredni v smislu možnosti uporabe. Kot smo videli, je svoj sistem poskušal postaviti tudi Galilei, ki je s tem, ko je za lutnjo in ostala strunska glasbila s prečkami utemeljil enakomerno postavitev prečk in s tem enakomerno uglastitev v enakih poltonih, izmed vseh teoretikov morda videl najdlje.

SUMMARY

The tuning question is certainly one of the oldest musical-theoretical questions that has been discussed by a number of theorists since the ancient times. It should have been treated already by Pythagoras, who is supposed to have introduced the basic acoustic ratios into music. The tuning question gained considerable attention especially in music-theoretical treatises from the High Middle Ages onwards, when the writers were trying to create a system that would allow for as much as possible the equivalent use of musical intervals. Among them was also Vincenzo Galilei who presented his views in his main treatise *Dialogo della musica antica et moderna (Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music)*.

Galilei first wants to determine the intonation or types of diatonic genus (*spezie Diatoniche*) in which the music of his time was performed. Therefore, he first of all speaks about different tetrachord tunings in detail and then devotes his discussion to individual intervals. In particular detail he presents the system based on the diatonic syntonic tetrachord of Ptolemy which, according to his contemporary Gioseffo Zarlino, was the one used during his time. Galilei rejects his argument and finally tries to build up a system on his own, based on the case of lute tuning. He advocates the use of equal placement of frets on the instrument, thus promoting equal temperament, in which the octave is divided into six equal whole tones.

⁴⁶ Podrobneje glej Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, 133–134.

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Handel, His Contemporaries and Early English Oratorio

Händel, njegovi sodobniki in zgodnji angleški oratorij

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Pregled razvoja angleškega oratorija od prvih javnih uprizoritev Händlovega oratorija *Esther* (1732) do 1740. Obravnava vpliv Händla na njegove angleške sodobnike glede na slog, obliko, izbiro teme in alegorično vsebino, ter prikaže bolj celovito podobo angleškega oratorija v 30. letih 18. stoletja kot kdaj koli doslej.

Surveys the development of English oratorio from the first public performances of Handel's *Esther* (1732) until c. 1740. Handel's influence over his English contemporaries is discussed referring to style, formal design, subject choice and allegorical content, providing a more complete than hitherto picture of the genre in the 1730s.

When Handel gave the first public performance of an English oratorio with *Esther* in 1732, he was introducing London audiences to a new form of theatrical entertainment that would eventually become the staple of his London theatre seasons.¹ The first 'public' performances of *Esther* took place at the Crown and Anchor Tavern at the end of February and beginning of March 1732 and were well received; several weeks later, on 2 May, it was performed in the theatre with additions taken from various earlier works including the Coronation Anthems (1727) and with a new opening scene.² The

¹ This article was originally presented as a conference paper under the title '*Esther* and Handel's English Contemporaries' at the American Handel Society conference in Seattle, March 2011; it appears here in a revised version.

² For details of these performances see Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959; 1995), 203–14. See also Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 288–91, and Donald Burrows, *Handel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 166.

popularity of *Esther* led Handel to write two further oratorios in 1733, *Deborah* and *Athalia*, after which he initially returned to his regular occupation of composing Italian operas.³ In 1736, however, Handel again turned to English language works for the theatre with the ode for Cecilia's day, *Alexander's Feast*, which was soon followed by further oratorios, *Saul* and *Israel in Egypt* in early 1739; a second ode for St. Cecilia's day in late 1739; and a setting of Milton's poems *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* in 1740. This first group of English oratorios and odes can be seen as a period of experimentation, where Handel was still refining the genre of English oratorio and testing different methods of composition, subject choices and text sources, before it took on a more stable form in the 1740s.

Handel's oratorios from the 1730s have received plenty of scholarly attention and there can be little doubt that the first public performances of *Esther* and its warm reception by London audiences was one of the contributing factors in a chain of events that led Handel and his audiences to eventually abandon Italian opera completely after the 1741–2 season, with English oratorio taking its place.⁴ Handel was, however, not the only composer in London to experiment with English oratorios and odes during the 1730s. Maurice Greene (1696–1755), Willem De Fesch (1687–1761), William Boyce (1711–1779) and Michael Christian Festing (1705–1752) all tried their own hand at such works (see appendix), taking their initial incentive from the success of *Esther*. The influence of Handel's first English oratorios over these composers as a model for style, formal design, subject choice and allegorical content has often been underestimated or neglected, yet by taking the works of Handel's contemporaries into consideration it is possible to gain a fuller picture of the development of English oratorio before 1740.

Maurice Greene: *The Song of Deborah and Barak*

The first of the oratorios to be written by Handel's contemporaries after the 1732 *Esther* performances was Maurice Greene's *The Song of Deborah and Barak*, which was probably performed sometime towards the end of 1732 by members of the Apollo Academy⁵ – a semi-private musical club founded by Greene and Festing in 1731, as a result of the scandal surrounding the Bononcini-Lotti madrigal affair at the Academy of Ancient Music, causing both composers to walk out and found their own musical

³ *Athalia* did not receive its first performance in London until 1 April 1735; the premiere of this work was given in Oxford at the Sheldonian Theatre on 10 July 1733. During the four seasons 1733–4 to 1736–7 Handel concentrated on writing and performing new Italian operas owing to the competition he was facing from the Opera of the Nobility. The 1735–6 season was an exception to this as he had no opera cast and consequently reverted to performing his three English oratorios, *Esther*, *Deborah* and *Athalia* and writing *Alexander's Feast*. Towards the end of the 1735–6 season the castrato Gioacchino Conti became available and Handel offered some operas. See Donald Burrows, "A Sacred Oratorio for the Theatre: An Experiment that nearly failed," *Händel-Jahrbuch* 55 (2009): 136.

⁴ See, for example, Dean, *Handel's Oratorios*, 191–325; Anthony Hicks "Handel and the idea of an oratorio," in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 152–8; see also Carole Taylor, "Handel's Disengagement from the Italian Opera," in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (London: MacMillan, 1987), 165–81.

⁵ The libretto for Greene's *The Song of Deborah and Barak* was advertised in *The London Magazine* for September 1732, p. 322, and in October 1732 in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 9.

society.⁶ The work was clearly well received at the Apollo Academy as it was performed publically at a charitable concert given in Whitehall Chapel on 17 April 1733.⁷ Further performances may have taken place at the Apollo Academy in the 1730s and 40s – although no evidence of a definite performance date survives, the libretto features in a collection of the academy’s best twelve librettos published in 1740.⁸ Greene’s reason for producing an oratorio was almost certainly owing to the popularity of Handel’s *Esther* a few months earlier. He may also have been encouraged by the success of his own setting of Alexander Pope’s ‘Ode for Musick on St Cecilia’s Day’, which was performed at Cambridge on 6 July 1730 as his D.Mus exercise and in London on 18 November the same year, and was Greene’s first larger-scale secular work in English.

It is easy to see why *Esther* was popular in London: it was sung in English, combined elements of opera (arias, recitatives) with English church music (choruses), did not necessarily require ‘foreign’, Italian singers, and was based on a well-known story with allegorical content.⁹ Whether Greene actually heard *Esther* or only heard about it is an awkward question to answer. Unfortunately no evidence exists to suggest that Greene was present at a performance of *Esther* – given that he had walked out on the Academy of Ancient Music the previous year, he may not have wanted to attend one of their performances, but as one of London’s foremost musicians he may perhaps have been interested to hear one of the public performances at the King’s theatre. Greene had been a follower of Handel’s works for many years and they had, until sometime in the late 1720s, been close friends, when Handel broke off all contact because Greene had also been, according to the music historian John Hawkins, ‘paying the same court’ of friendship to Handel’s rival Bononcini.¹⁰ Greene, however, must surely have remained interested in Handel’s music, which can be attested in 1738, for example, when he subscribed to the publication of *Alexander’s Feast*.¹¹ Greene was not the only composer to quickly write an English oratorio following the first public performances of *Esther*: On 16 February 1733 the Dutch composer Willem De Fesch, who had recently settled in

⁶ The Apollo Academy met at the Devil’s Tavern in the Strand at 7 p.m. on Wednesday evenings during the winter season (October–March) and provided a forum where Greene, his pupils and friends could perform their works. The performances were semi-private with only club members (or their guests by prior arrangement) being allowed to attend; anyone, however, could become a member by invitation or nomination by performing members or the managers in addition to payment of four guineas for the first season and two for subsequent seasons. For further details see *The Standing Orders of the Apollo-Society made At a General Meeting of the Members, on Wednesday the 4th Day of April, 1733. And confirmed At the subsequent General Meeting on Wednesday 11th Day of April 1733* (London: 1733), 10, and Matthew Gardner, *Handel and Maurice Greene’s Circle at the Apollo Academy: the Music and Intellectual Contexts of Oratorios, Odes and Masques* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2008), 16.

⁷ The performance, which also included a Te Deum setting by Greene, began at 12 noon. On the same day Handel offered a performance of *Esther* at the King’s Theatre beginning at 6:30 p.m. For details of both performances see *The Daily Journal*, 17 April 1733.

⁸ *A Miscellany of Lyric Poems, The Greatest Part written for, And performed in The Academy of Music, Held at the Apollo*. London: Printed for the Academy, 1740.

⁹ For a detailed discussion of the allegorical content in *Esther* see Ruth Smith, *Handel’s Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 276–84.

¹⁰ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*. London 1776. A New edition with the author’s posthumous notes, vol. 2 (London: 1875; Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1969), 879. For further details of the friendship and disagreement between Greene and Handel see Gardner, *Handel and Maurice Greene’s Circle*, 7–13 and H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Handel and his bellows-blower (Maurice Greene),’ *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 7 (1998): 208–17.

¹¹ *Alexander’s Feast or the Power of Musick. An Ode Wrote in Honour of St. Cecilia By Mr Dryden. Set to Musick by Mr Handel. With the Recitativo’s, Songs, Symphonys and Chorus’s for Voices and Instruments. Together with the Cantata Duet and Songs as Perform’d at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. Publish’d by the author*. London: John Walsh, 1738.

England, gave the first performance of his oratorio, *Judith* to a libretto by William Huggins (1696–1761) – the music is, except for one air, lost, however the libretto survives.¹² De Fesch like Greene was clearly motivated by *Esther* and perhaps also by Huggins who, according to Burney, encouraged the performances of *Esther* at the Crown and Anchor Tavern.¹³

Similarities between *Esther*, *The Song of Deborah and Barak* and *Judith*

The similarities between Handel's *Esther*, Greene's *Deborah and Barak* and De Fesch's *Judith* go beyond the fact that they are all English oratorios written in 1732–3. Firstly, the title roles of all three works are women and their stories all describe how a woman saves her people. Esther risks her own life by entering the presence of King Assuerus unbidden in order to persuade him to come to a banquet where she can expose the plot of his right-hand man, Haman, to commit genocide against the Jews. The story of Deborah and Barak relates how the Prophet Deborah sends Barak to lead the Israelites into battle, and ensures victory over the more powerful Canaanite army, giving, however, the final victory to another woman, Jael, who murders Sisera, the commander of the Canaanite army, by inviting him into her tent and nailing his head to the ground with a tent peg. Judith, like Esther, also puts her own life in danger to save her people, but goes about it in a similar way as in the story of Deborah, in that Judith enters a foreign camp and disposes of the enemy's leader, here by means of decapitation. While the unknown librettist of Greene's *Deborah and Barak* and William Huggins who provided the text for De Fesch were primarily following Handel's example of writing an oratorio with a female heroine, they may well also have been aware of a publication that had been circulating since the early eighteenth century and which had reached its third edition in 1728. The book, by Nathaniel Crouch (published under his pseudonym 'Robert Burton'), is entitled *Female Excellency: or, The Ladies Glory* and includes descriptions of women from history who are particularly noteworthy.¹⁴ The first three chapters of the book deal with the three heroines found in the first three English oratorios. The story of Susanna, which is also included, became an oratorio subject when Handel set it in 1748.

¹² *Judith: An Oratorio; or, Sacred Drama By W--- H--- Esq; The Musick Composed by Mr. William De Fesch, Late Chapel-Master of the Cathedral Church at Antwerp*. London: 1733. The libretto was later set again by John Christopher Smith (junior) in c. 1755–8 and by Thomas Augustine Arne in 1761. For details of these settings see Eva Zöllner, "Murder Most Virtuous: The *Judith* Oratorios of De Fesch, Smith and Arne," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 158–71. While Greene and De Fesch wrote new English language works following the success of *Esther*, Thomas Arne took a different route in performing a pirated version of Handel's *Acis and Galatea* from 1718 on 17 and 19 May 1732. Handel quickly retaliated by offering a newer version of the work on 10 June 1732. See *The Daily Post*, 2, 6, 11 and 17 May 1732 and *The Daily Courant* 5 and 10 June 1732. See also Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel a Documentary Biography* (London: A and C Black, 1955), 289–94.

¹³ Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon in Commemoration of Handel* (London: 1785), 100–1.

¹⁴ Burton, Robert [Nathaniel Crouch], *Female Excellency: or, The Ladies Glory*. London: 1688, ³1728. Crouch's pseudonym 'Robert Burton' occasionally appears as 'Richard Burton'.

Secondly, all three oratorio subjects could be interpreted as an allegory for eighteenth-century Britain and/or British politics and all three stories were popular, featuring in literary commentary and publications. *Esther* can be interpreted in various ways, the original Canons version from c. 1720 as supporting the Jacobite cause, or in 1732 the representation of the defeated French invasion of 1731, for example. As Ruth Smith has shown, the allegory was flexible enough to represent any national or religious group who were spared from persecution.¹⁵ The story of Deborah and Barak had been used in connection with British politics long before Greene and Handel set the subject. In 1704, for instance, it was widely used as an allegory for the Duke of Marlborough's victory over the French and Bavarians at Blenheim on 13 August – a key event in the War of Spanish Succession.¹⁶ The parallel is simple: Queen Anne (Deborah) sent out the commander of her armies (Marlborough) to disperse a national-religious enemy (the French). As part of the celebrations thanksgiving services were held across the country, many of the surviving sermons from these services use the story of Deborah and Barak as their theme. The subject was, however, not only limited to sermons, it also appeared in church anthems, poems and pamphlets.¹⁷ The story of Deborah and Barak remained popular up until both Greene and Handel set the subject, but in how far it could still be related to British politics in 1732 is open to interpretation.¹⁸ It was, however, no doubt, like *Esther*, a story that was still associated with victory in war against a foreign oppressor – something which was still the case as late as 1743 and 1745 when the story could be connected with the battle of Dettingen or the Jacobite Rebellion, and when Handel revived his *Deborah* in 1744.¹⁹ The subject found in De Fesch's *Judith* can similarly be seen as a parallel to the recent wars with France, in that Judith also saves her land from a foreign oppressor.

Thirdly, the formal design of the oratorios by Greene and De Fesch owe some debts to Handel. According to Huggins's libretto for De Fesch's *Judith*, the work included 22 passages of secco recitative, three accompanied recitatives, seven choruses, fourteen airs (none of which are marked da capo in the libretto), and one grand march, spread

¹⁵ Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 280–1.

¹⁶ See annotations in the copy of William Penn (Philanglus), *Deborah and Barak: A Poem* (London: 1705) held by the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas, US-AUS, HRC WK A100 705D3. The allegory is also used in various sermons, see, for example, Evans, John. *A Sermon Preach'd at Chester and Wrexham, September: 7th 1704. Being the Day of Publick Thanksgiving for the Glorious Victory at Blenheim*. London: 1704; Grant, John. *A Sermon Preach'd at the Cathedral Church of ROCHESTER, on the Seventh of September 1704. Being the Thanksgiving-Day for the Glorious Victory obtained by the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, over the French and Bavarian Armies at Blenheim near Hochstet on the Banks of the Danube*. London: 1704; Jephson, Alexander. *A Sermon Preach'd in the Parish-Church of Camberwell, on the 7th Day of September 1704 being appointed by Her Majesty as a Day of Publick Thanksgiving and Rejoycing For the Glorious Victory obtain'd over the French and Bavarians at Blenheim, near Hochstet, on the 2nd August last past, by the Forces of Her Majesty and Her Allies, under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough*. London: 1705; Milbourne, Luke. *Great Britains Acclamation to her Deborah, A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of St. Ethelburga, September VII. 1704. being the Day Appointed by Her MAJESTY for a Solemn Thanksgiving for the Great Victory Gain'd by the Con-federate Forces of England, Holland and the Empire, against the French and Bavarians at Blenheim in Germany, under the Conduct of JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH and Prince EUGENE of SAVOY*. London: 1704.

¹⁷ For a detailed list see Gardner, *Handel and Maurice Greene's Circle at the Apollo Academy*, 303–4.

¹⁸ See Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 285–6, and Gardner, *Handel and Maurice Greene's Circle at the Apollo Academy*, 49–50.

¹⁹ Literary works published around the same time also suggest a connection between these events and the story of Deborah and Barak, see Owen, Josiah. *The Song of Deborah, apply'd to the Battle of Dettingen. A Thanksgiving Sermon On Occasion of the Late Glorious Victory, Obtain'd by the Allied Army over the French. Preach'd August the 1st*. London: 1743; or John Adams, *Poems on Several Occasions, Original and Translated. By the late Reverend and Learned John Adams, M.A.* (London: 1745), 37–43.

across three acts divided into scenes.²⁰ The action seems to be quickly paced and the work appears to have been suitable for the theatre. Like the wordbooks for the 1732 performances of Handel's *Esther*, the libretto for De Fesch's work also carried the title of 'An Oratorio, or, Sacred Drama'. Greene's *The Song of Deborah and Barak*, in contrast, was never actually called an oratorio in any of the surviving sources by Greene himself.²¹ Greene's work also differs from Handel's *Esther* in that, being based on the 'Song of Deborah and Barak' from Judges V, it is a narrative description of the events of Judges IV, where the original story is found. There are consequently no named characters and little dramatic action. The short work, which is made up of only one act and has a performance time of around 50 minutes, concentrates on Barak winning the battle and Jael murdering Sisera. The oratorio is made up of a French overture, six passages of secco recitative, six accompanied recitatives, four airs (all without da capo), one arioso, one duet and four choruses, and three soloists are divided almost equally in three sections across the work. The strong emphasis on accompanied recitative is perhaps indicative of Greene's interest in the emotional aspect of the story, and the chorus, although only employed twice, fulfils a similar function as in Handel's oratorios in that it represents the general population and commentates on the events of the story. Although Greene's work is a narrative rather than a dramatic oratorio, it still includes some dramatic music and Greene engages closely with the emotions of the story. One such example is the moment when Sisera is nailed to the ground by Jael – here Greene uses musical imagery to depict the blows of the hammer on the ten peg.²² Greene may have chosen a more ode-like, narrative setting of the 'Song of Deborah and Barak' because of his own success with setting Pope's St Cecilia ode in 1730. His use of a popular biblical subject with a female heroine and allegorical story was, however, inspired by Handel's example in *Esther*.

Handel's *Deborah* and *Athalia*

Following the success of *Esther* in 1732, Handel was also keen to produce further English oratorios, and in February 1733 he quickly composed *Deborah*, which received its first performance on 17 March, exactly one month before Greene's work was performed outside the Apollo Academy at Whitehall chapel, and one day after the premiere of De Fesch's *Judith*. That Handel composed a further oratorio was certainly due to the success of *Esther*, the choice of subject, however, may have been a snub or competitive attack against Greene. Handel's *Deborah* was a more spectacular work than Greene's, being over twice as long, employing considerably larger forces, including an eight-part chorus and rich instrumentation. Handel also continues the pattern of female title roles with *Deborah* and his third oratorio *Athalia*, although *Athalia*'s murderous, heathen queen moves away from the idea of female virtue. Whether part of Handel's intention in setting *Deborah* was intended as an attack against Greene or not, it seems to have discouraged Greene from

²⁰ *Judith: An Oratorio; or, Sacred Drama* By W---H--- Esq; *The Musick Composed by Mr. William De Fesch, Late Chapel-Master of the Cathedral Church at Antwerp*. London: 1733.

²¹ For a list of surviving sources see Gardner, *Handel and Maurice Greene's Circle at the Apollo Academy*, 34.

²² GB-Lbl Add. 5326, f. 44v.

producing further oratorios in the immediate future – his next large-scale work was the secular pastoral opera *Florimel, or Love's Revenge*, first performed in 1734, to a libretto by John Hoadly (1711–1776), who was to become Greene's regular librettist.²³

New English language works 1736–1740

From 1736 a new round of activity in producing English language odes and oratorios began among Handel's contemporaries. The first was a two-part oratorio *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* by William Boyce, a pupil of Greene who also worked as his copyist, given at the Apollo Academy on 16 April. The work, which describes the reaction of David to the news that King Saul and Jonathan are dead, is descriptive with no character names and follows the structural and stylistic example of Greene's *Deborah and Barak* rather than Handel's oratorios – a logical choice for Boyce as Greene's pupil.²⁴ One year after Boyce's first attempt at oratorio, Greene again turned to the genre with a new two-part oratorio *Jephtha*, like *Florimel* the libretto was by John Hoadly. Greene's timing may have had something to do with the fact that Handel had, in 1737, not written a new English oratorio for four years. Although the London premiere of *Athalia* took place in 1735, in the 1735–6 season *Esther*, *Deborah* and *Athalia* were all performed as part of a concerted effort to establish the genre and as a counter strike against the Opera of the Nobility,²⁵ and in 1736 Handel had performed a new ode for St. Cecilia's day, *Alexander's Feast*; none of these works were new English oratorios. Perhaps Greene thought the time was right to make another attempt, possibly with the hope of a theatre performance, especially as Handel appeared to have turned his interest back to Italian opera and towards English odes rather than oratorios.²⁶

Jephtha is Greene's first dramatic oratorio, here the characters have their own parts, the chorus plays a more integral role, representing the virgins, soldiers and elders. However, the drama is more slowly paced than in Handel's oratorios and Greene, as in *The Song of Deborah and Barak*, places the emphasis on the emotions of the story, especially the relationship between Jephtha and his daughter. Jephtha, who returns from exile to save his land in need, makes a vow to God that if he is victorious in battle, he will sacrifice the first person he sees on his return home. This turns out to be his own daughter, who, at least in Greene's work and accordance with the Bible, is duly put

²³ The opera was evidently popular, otherwise it is difficult to explain why six manuscript sources and numerous word-books spread across 20 years that document that at least two versions of the work were performed survive. Greene may have been motivated to write a masque, rather than an oratorio, by the hope of performing the work publically while avoiding any reaction from Handel – the English pastoral masque was a genre in which Handel had shown little interest. For a description of the sources see H. Diack Johnstone's introduction to Maurice Greene, *Florimel or Love's Revenge*, *Music for London Entertainment 1660–1800*, series C, vol. 6 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1995), x–xi.

²⁴ The libretto was reset in 1738 (first performance 1740) by John Christopher Smith (junior) Handel's assistant and son of his principal copyist John Christopher Smith (senior), and it is possible to speculate that through Smith (junior) Handel might have seen the libretto – in January 1739 Handel's own *Saul* received its premiere. The music for Smith's setting is, with the exception of one duet, lost.

²⁵ Burrows, "A Sacred Oratorio for the Theatre," 136.

²⁶ Winton Dean and Otto Erich Deutsch refer to a performance of Greene's *Jephtha* at the King's Theatre in 1737, but no evidence exists to support this. See Dean, *Handel's Oratorios*, 589, and Deutsch, *Handel*, 427. The oratorio must have been performed at least twice as two versions of the work, transmitted in one manuscript source (GB-Ob MS. Mus. d. 54), exist.

to death – in Handel's setting of the same story from 1751, the daughter is saved. The musical structure includes airs (in contrast to *Deborah and Barak*, nearly all da capo), recitative (accompanied and secco), duets and choruses, all of which have been carefully planned and integrated into the story's structure and emotional events. It is the first work by Greene to fully attempt to engage with Handelian oratorio style.

A political connection can also be found in Hoadly's text which was highly relevant in the 1730s.²⁷ The libretto sums up the patriot ideals of putting the good of the country before personal needs which were being discussed by Lord Bolingbroke and his followers in the Prince of Wales's circle. Hoadly had, as Chaplain to the Prince of Wales, a connection to this circle and was engaging with patriot ideals, which were also relevant to the Prince, who spent his time gambling, drinking and supporting the arts, rather than taking an interest in his country. The story was popular in literary circles and Giacomo Carissimi's oratorio from c. 1645 had been performed by the Academy of Ancient Music in 1734, which may have helped lead Greene and Hoadly to the subject.²⁸ Whether Handel knew Greene's *Jephtha* is unknown, it seems unlikely that he went to the Apollo Academy to hear it, especially given the relations between him and Greene. However, he may have seen a copy of the libretto and he would probably have heard about the work. Thomas Morell, Handel's librettist for his own *Jephtha* composed in 1751, clearly knew Hoadly's libretto as he quoted from it, almost word for word, in his libretto for Handel.²⁹

Odes for St Cecilia's Day

The success of *Alexander's Feast* was probably responsible for a sudden interest among Handel's contemporaries between 1736 and 1739 in writing odes for St Cecilia. In this short period three such works were composed by Handel's contemporaries, one by Festing and two by Boyce, and it is likely that Greene's ode from 1730 was also revived, given that it was included in the 1740 Apollo Academy libretto collection.³⁰ *Alexander's Feast* had proved popular with it being published in 1738 in full score to which Greene and Festing both subscribed,³¹ and the success of the ode was probably what led Boyce and Festing to revive the late seventeenth-century tradition of setting odes for St Cecilia's day. Boyce's first ode from c. 1737–8 to a text by Peter Vidal is a short work, consisting of seven numbers (including one recitative); likewise, Festing's ode, to a text by Joseph Addison, follows a simple structure in one part made up of sixteen numbers (including five recitatives). Festing's work may have been influenced by *Alexander's Feast* in so far as it uses a pre-existing text from the late seventeenth century. Boyce's second *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*, to a text by John Lockman and first performed in 1739, however, shows

²⁷ An analysis of the political allegory in Greene's *Jephtha* and Handel's *Jephtha* (1751) can be found in Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 335–345, and Gardner, *Handel and Maurice Greene's Circle at the Apollo Academy*, 51–92.

²⁸ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 185.

²⁹ Hoadly's text reads "Our Promis'd Joy to Sorrow turning, Our Songs of Triumph into Mourning?," Morrell's, "All our Joys to Sorrow turning, And our Triumphs into Mourning".

³⁰ *A Miscellany of Lyric Poems*, 37–42.

³¹ See subscribers list to *Alexander's Feast or the Power of Musick*. London: John Walsh, 1738.

a more clear debt to *Alexander's Feast*. Firstly, Boyce's ode is in two parts of roughly the same length as Handel's work (70 mins), and secondly the content of part one of the ode closely resembles Handel's ode by describing in recitatives the effects of certain types of music and then demonstrating their effect in the following airs.³² Whether Boyce and Lockman took their example from Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, or directly from Dryden's text which was well known, is impossible to know. It is also difficult to ascertain to what extent Handel's setting of Dryden's 1687 'Song for St Cecilia's Day', first performed on 22 November 1739, one day after the premiere of Boyce's ode, was in part a competitive move against the activities of the Apollo Academy composers.

Alexander's Feast did not just mark the beginning of a revived interest in odes for St. Cecilia's Day among London's composers; it was also the first work which began a tendency to set libretto subjects based on texts or themes from seventeenth-century English poetry. Examples include Handel's 1739 *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* to a text by Dryden; *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* and *Samson*, which use texts by Milton; *Semele* to a text by Congreve; Festing's *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (Addison) and *A Song for May Morning* (Milton); Boyce's *Secular Masque* (Dryden); and Thomas Arne's *The Judgment of Paris* (Congreve). In this respect Handel's English contemporaries may also have been following his example.

Singers

One further respect in which Handel's English oratorios and odes from the 1730s and those by his contemporaries differ is in their performance conditions. With the exception of the first three 1732 performances of Handel's *Esther* (first version) at the Crown and Anchor Tavern and the premiere of *Athalia* in Oxford, all of Handel's English oratorios and odes from the 1730s received their premiere in the theatre. For the *Esther* performances at the Crown and Anchor Handel used singers taken from the choir of the Chapel Royal, making up an all-male cast (the soprano solos were sung by boy trebles). For his oratorio performances in the theatre, however, Handel's cast generally consisted of soloists taken not from the London choirs, but rather from his company of Italian opera singers and/or by actors and English singers who had either already left one of the London choirs (such as John Beard as a tenor) or who had been educated outside the context of the church.³³ One reason for Handel's lack of use of Chapel Royal or church singers in his theatre performances of oratorios was owing to objections in London about the performance of sacred music in the theatre.³⁴ Further

³² In part 2 of Boyce's work the typical display of instruments often seen in odes for St Cecilia (hautboys, warbling flutes, viols, trumpets, etc.) can be found.

³³ This applies especially to female singers who could not be part of one of the London choirs. They were usually either actors who had learnt to sing or singers who had been taught privately, such as Cecilia Young (1712–1789) who was taught by Francesco Geminiani. Cecilia Young was also involved in performances of *Ariodante* and *Alcina* and could therefore clearly sing in Italian.

³⁴ The topic of sacred music in the theatre was discussed at the conference of the Halle Händel-Festspiele in 2008, the papers covering a wide variety of topics can be found in *Händel-Jahrbuch* 55 (2009), for the 1730s in London see Burrows, "A Sacred Oratorio for the Theatre," 135–44; John H. Roberts, "The Composition of Handel's *Esther*," 1718–1720, *Händel-Jahrbuch* 55 (2009): 353–90 and Matthew Gardner, "Händel, die Kirche und „geistliche“ Musik im Theater," *Händel-Jahrbuch* 55 (2009): 125–34.

issues were that those singers from the Chapel Royal who were ordained priests, such as John Abbot, could not appear on stage in the theatre and that there may have been some conflict between the commitments of singers to the London choirs and theatre performances. Additionally, Handel's opera singers had already been engaged for the season and were readily available, and oratorio, which originally was only intended to supplement opera and not replace it, was performed in the theatre where singers of the best quality were expected by audiences – using his Italian cast for the first theatre performances of English oratorios was therefore the most straightforward approach available to Handel. As a result, for the first performance of *Deborah* in 1733 Handel employed his London opera cast, with the castrato Senesino in the role of Barak and Anna Strada del Pò as Deborah. A similar formula was repeated in 1735 for the first London performances of *Athalia*, where Strada del Pò and Carestini sang the roles of Josabeth and Joad; however, some English singers were also involved in these *Athalia* performances with, for example, Cecilia Young as Athalia and John Beard as Mathan. When in 1736 Handel performed *Alexander's Feast* in London, the cast was all English with the exception of Strada del Pò, and from this point on Handel's oratorio performances were predominantly given with English singers.³⁵

In contrast to Handel's English language works, the oratorios, odes and masques by Greene, Festing and Boyce were primarily intended for semi-private performance at the Apollo Academy. Greene as organist and composer to the Chapel Royal and organist of St. Paul's Cathedral frequently drew on the choirs of these institutions to perform the solo parts and choruses of his oratorios, and it is reasonable to suppose that they were also available for performances of works by Greene's pupil Boyce, his friend Festing and perhaps for other concerts at the Apollo Academy.³⁶ As the Academy performed at the Devil's Tavern rather than in the theatre, this offered those members of the Chapel Royal and London choirs who were priests, such as John Abbot, or those who may have had scruples performing in the theatre the opportunity of participating in such works.³⁷

Conclusions

Handel's *Esther* was undoubtedly a work that gave Handel's contemporaries the initial incentive to write English oratorios. On the one hand they modelled elements of their own works on Handel's oratorios – such as using popular subjects that engaged with national and moral ideals and to a certain extent musical structure. On the other hand, they were developing their own English styles with roots in the ode tradition, producing narrative oratorios such as *The Song of Deborah and Barak* and

³⁵ One exception is the French soprano Elisabeth Duparc ('La Francesina') who regularly sang in Handel's English works in the 1730s and 40s, including performances of *Saul, Israel in Egypt, A Song for St. Cecilia's Day, L'Allegro, Samson, Joseph and his Brethren, Belshazzar, Semele, Hercules and Occasional Oratorio*.

³⁶ Details of the singers for the solo parts and choruses in Greene's works set to texts by Hoadly can be found in a collection of Hoadly's librettos for Greene held in the De Beer collection at the University of Otago Library, Dunedin, New Zealand. Z-Du Eb 1737 H.

³⁷ Singers included Anselm Bayly, Thomas Bell, John Freeman, George Laye, Edward Lloyd, Benjamin Mence, Francis Rowe, Robert Wass and Samuel Weely. For a table of singers who performed in works by Greene and Boyce see Gardner, *Handel and Maurice Greene's Circle at the Apollo Academy*, 301–2.

David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan. Their initial reluctance to fully engage with dramatic oratorio was probably a result of several factors – a lack of detailed knowledge of Handel's oratorios, a desire to preserve forms such as the English ode, with which composers such as Greene had experience, and that ode-like works were better suited to the performance location of the Apollo Academy, rather than the theatre. After around 1740 Handel dominated the English oratorio scene until his death; his English contemporaries, however, continued to occasionally produce oratorios, odes or masques that were on the same or similar subjects to those by Handel (or vice versa) – including, for example, the *Choice of Hercules*, the *Force of Truth*, *Jephtha* and *Joseph*, some of which even closely overlapped with Handel's own performances of works on the same subjects, such as Smith's *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* (1740) or De Fesch's *Joseph* (1745). Despite their attempts at oratorio, the composers associated with the semi-private Apollo Academy in the 1730s were never really a threat to Handel, but perhaps they occasionally hoped that they could perform their works in the theatre – once Handel had died in 1759, the door was opened for other composers such as John Stanley and John Christopher Smith (junior) to perform oratorios in the theatre; unfortunately it was too late for Greene who Handel outlived.³⁸

Appendix: English Oratorios, Odes and Masques 1732–1740

Handel (first performances)		Handel's Contemporaries (first performances)	
		06/07/1730	Greene: <i>Ode for Musick</i> (performed in Cambridge)
02/05/1732	<i>Esther</i> (2nd version – King's Theatre)		
		late 1732	Greene: <i>The Song of Deborah and Barak</i> (Apollo Academy)
		16/02/1733	De Fesch: <i>Judith</i>
17/03/1733	<i>Deborah</i>		
		17/04/1733	Greene: <i>The Song of Deborah and Barak</i> (Whitehall Chapel)
10/07/1733	<i>Athalia</i> (performed in Oxford)		
		1734	Greene: <i>Florimel, or Love's Revenge</i> (pastoral opera)

³⁸ For details of the oratorios of Smith and Stanley see Zöllner, Eva. *English Oratorio after Handel: The London Oratorio Series and its Repertory 1760–1800*. Marburg: Tectum, 2002; Richard G. King, "John Christopher Smith's Pasticcio Oratorios," *Music and Letters* 76/2 (1998): 190–218.

Handel (first performances)		Handel's Contemporaries (first performances)	
01/04/1735	<i>Athalia</i> (London premiere)		
19/02/1736	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>		
		16/04/1736	Boyce: <i>David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan</i>
		c. 03/1737	Greene: <i>Jephtha</i>
		?1737-8	Festing: <i>Ode for St. Cecilia's Day</i>
		?1737-8	Boyce: <i>Ode for St Cecilia's Day</i> (Vidal text)
16/01/1739	<i>Saul</i>		
04/04/1739	<i>Israel in Egypt</i>		
		21/11/1739	Boyce: <i>Ode for St. Cecilia's Day</i> (Lockman text)
22/11/1739	<i>A Song for St Cecilia's Day</i>		
		22/2/1740	Smith: <i>David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan</i> (composed 1738)
		early 1740	Greene: <i>The Judgment of Hercules</i>
27/04/1740	<i>L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato</i>		

POVZETEK

Po uspehu prve javne uprizoritve *Esther* leta 1732 je Händel začel odkrivati možnosti angleškega oratorija kot nove zvrsti, zato sta leta 1733 hitro sledili dve novi deli, *Deborah* in *Athalia*. Vendar pa Handel ni bil edini, ki je videl možnosti v angleškem oratoriju; leta 1732 sta tako Willem De Fesch kot tudi Maurice Greene ustvarila svoji lastni deli, *Judith* (glasba se je izgubila) in *The Song of Deborah and Barak*. Podobne okoliščine so se pojavile v poznih 30. letih 18. stoletja, po prvih uprizoritvah Händlove ode za praznik svete Cecilije, *Alexander's Feast* leta 1736; med leti 1736 in 1739 je William Boyce ustvaril dve odi za praznik

svete Cecilije, Michael Christian Festing pa eno, leta 1737 pa je Greene še enkrat poskusil z angleškim oratorijem z delom *Jephtha*; nekatera od teh del so brez dvoma dobila spodbudo z uspehom dela *Alexander's Feast*. Medtem ko je bil razvoj Händlovega angleškega oratorija v 30. letih 18. stoletja deležen precejšnje pozornosti, pa so bila dela njegovih angleških sodobnikov pogosto zanemarjena. V članku je napravljen ponoven pregled razvoja angleškega oratorija v 30. letih 18. stoletja, ki kronološko raziskuje odnose med Handlovimi deli in deli njegovih sodobnikov ter ocenjuje vpliv Handlovih prvih angleških oratorijev na sodobnike glede na slog, obliko, izbiro teme in alegorično vsebino.

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Kompozicije Ludwiga van Beethovna na koncertnih sporedih in v arhivu muzikalij ljubljanske Filharmonične družbe

Ludwig van Beethoven's Compositions in Concert Programs and in the Printed Music Collection of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

V prispevku je predstavljena frekvenca kompozicij Ludwiga van Beethovna na koncertih Filharmonične družbe do leta 1872. Pregled izvedb je dopolnjen s pregledom kompozicij, navedenih v družbinih katalogih in stanjem dejanskega ohranjenega gradiva v Glasbeni zbirki Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice.

The article presents the frequency of Ludwig van Beethoven's compositions at the concerts of the Philharmonic Society up to year 1872. The review of performances is complemented by the examination of compositions listed in the Society's catalogues and the actual state of the material preserved in the Music Collection of the National and University Library.

Stike med Ludwigo van Beethovnom in ljubljansko Filharmonično družbo že precej temeljito poznamo iz preteklih raziskovanj¹, ki so dodobra osvetlila predvsem častno

¹ Cvetko, Dragotin. *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem II*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1959. Kuret, Primož. *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794-1919*. Ljubljana: Nova revija, 2005. Klemenčič, Ivan. *Slovenska filharmonija in njene*

članstvo tega slovitega mojstra v enem izmed najstarejših tovrstnih združenj v Evropi. Začetek delovanja Filharmonične družbe v Ljubljani povezujemo z letom 1794. Do leta 1808, ko so prvič pomislili, da bi med svoje častne člane dodali Ludwiga van Beethovna, je bilo za njimi že zelo plodno obdobje, o katerem lahko sklepamo iz prvega ohranjenega kataloga muzikalij, koncertni sporedi pa, žal, za ta čas niso ohranjeni. Družba je očitno zelo dobro delovala, obenem je imela med svojimi častnimi člani že eno zelo sloveče ime, ki je zagotovo pripomoglo k ugledu družbe, in sicer je to bil Joseph Haydn. Kljub temu je članom družbe takratno izvolitev Beethovna za častnega člana odsvetoval na Dunaju živeči član družbe dr. Anton Schmitt (tudi njihov častni član), z razlogom, da bi Beethoven utegnil predlog filharmonikov zavrtni.² V pismu Filharmonični družbi je pisal, da bi svoj glas (člani so očitno želeli med častne člane pridobiti Beethovna ali pa Hummelovega sina, to je Johanna Nepomuka) namenil Hummelovemu sinu. Beethoven naj bi bil namreč precej muhast.³ Iz kasnejših poročil o častnem članstvu nikjer ni zaslediti Hummela, torej očitno nazadnje niso izvolili nobenega izmed načrtovane dvojice. Misli na pridobitev Beethovna kot častnega člana niso opustili, najbrž tudi zato ne, ker je bil v tistem času prepoznan kot največji med delujočimi komponisti. Zato so leta 1818⁴, najbrž kot pripravo na častno članstvo, izvedli Beethovno 6. *simfonijo*, ki takrat še ni bila v celoti izdana, torej je morala družba za izvedbeni material prositi neposredno skladatelja. Posamezne rokopisne parte so prejeli celo z njegovimi lastno-ročnimi popravki in so še danes hranjeni v Glasbeni zbirki Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice v Ljubljani. Očitno jih je to dejstvo oz. celo nekakšna skladateljeva naklonjenost spodbudila in so prihodnje leto, natančneje 15. 3. 1819, preko dunajskega magistratnega svetnika Matthiasa von Tuscherja Ludwigu van Beethovnu poslali diplomu s častnim članstvom.⁵ Kot je znano, se je Beethoven družbi maja zahvalil s pismom, ki je bil po prvi svetovni vojni prodan v tujino, danes pa je hranjen v Beethovnovi hiši v Bonnu.⁶ V pismu je Beethoven družbi obljubil, da bo v zahvalo za dodelitev častnega članstva poslal svojo še neobjavljeno skladbo. Z vprašanjem, katera skladba naj bi to bila, se je ukvarjalo že mnogo raziskovalcev, sprva so menili, da je to bila *Pastoralna simfonija*, ki pa so jo v Ljubljani izvedli že pred tem, zato je bila misel na to kompozicijo kmalu opuščena. Danes je najbolj razširjena trditev, da je Beethoven na obljubo pozabil, lahko pa, da je tudi menil, da se je družbi že oddolžil s tem, ko jim je leto poprej poslal prepis *Pastoralne simfonije*.⁷

Tako kot je bila Filharmonična družba aktualna in konkurenčna sočasni Evropi s pridobitvijo Beethovna med svoje častne člane, je bila na drugi strani v koraku s časom tudi s programom, ki ga je izbirala za redne in izredne akademijske koncerte. Jasnejšo

predhodnice. Ljubljana: Slovenska filharmonija: 1988. Isti, »Častni člani ljubljanske Filharmonične družbe,« v *Slovenska glasba v evropskem okviru* (Celje: Celjska Mohorjeva družba, 2008), 111–130.

² Friedrich Keesbacher, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach seit dem Jahre ihrer Gründung 1792 bis zu ihrer letzten Umgestaltung 1862* (Ljubljana, 1862), 50.

³ »Ich meines Theils würde in dieser Rücksicht mein votum blos für den letzten, nämlich Hummels Sohn geben, der bei dem regierenden Fürst Niklas Esterhazy 2. Hofkapellmeister ist (Haydn ist der erste). Beethoven hat ebenso viele Launen, als wenig Dienstfertigkeit.«

⁴ Točen datum izvedbe je 28. 2. 1818. Povzeto po Klemenčič, »Častni člani ...,« 123.

⁵ Ivan Klemenčič, »Šesta simfonija Ludwiga van Beethovna in njegove zveze z Ljubljano,« v *Slovenska glasba v evropskem okviru* (Celje: Celjska Mohorjeva družba, 2008), 137.

⁶ Prav tam.

⁷ Klemenčič, »Častni člani ...,« 125.

sliko o koncertnem dogajanju si lahko ustvarimo šele od leta 1816 dalje, saj so koncertni sporedi, razen enega iz leta 1811, ki je reproduciran v publikaciji Emila Bocka⁸, delno ohranjeni šele od leta 1816 dalje.⁹ Zanimivo je, da že prav omenjeni prvi koncertni spored za akademijo 8. 1. 1811 kot prvo točko sporeda navaja Veliko simfonijo Ludwiga van Beethovna (Eine grosse Symphonie von Herrn van Beethoven). Za katero simfonijo je šlo, ne moremo natanko določiti. Ivan Klemenčič domneva, da je morda bila to *Eroica*.¹⁰ Nasploh imamo pri opredeljevanju simfonij, ne zgolj Beethovnovih, težavno nalogo, kajti zapisovalci koncertnih sporedov so bili v tem segmentu dokaj nenatančni. Najpogosteje se na sporedu kot naslov skladbe pojavi zgolj Sinfonie (in druge različice zapisa) ter skladateljev priimek. V tem primeru nista znana niti opus niti tonaliteta, mestoma pa celo avtor ni naveden. Kljub temu lahko izmed tistih navedb, ki vsebujejo tudi tonaliteto, izsledimo, da je bila na koncertih Filharmonične družbe do leta 1872 največkrat izvedena *Simfonija št. 2 v D-duru*, in sicer na trinajstih koncertih. Sledijo ji *Simfonija št. 1*, nato *7. simfonija* ter *Pastoralna simfonija*, ostale so bile izvedene občutno manjkrat. Izvedbe *9. simfonije* ni moč zaslediti. Običajna praksa v tem obdobju, sploh v zgodnjem 19. stoletju, je bila, da simfonij niso izvajali v enem kosu, temveč so stavke razdelili in vmes izvajali preostale točke koncerta. Pogosto v enem večeru niti niso izvedli cele simfonije, temveč zgolj eden ali dva stavka, morda celo tri. Enako se je dogajalo tudi z Beethovnovimi simfonijami na koncertih Filharmonične družbe. Za primer navedimo frekventnost *Simfonije št. 7 v A-duru* v letu 1822 (sporedi za to leto so vezani v zvezek, zato predvidevamo, da so ohranjeni prav vsi). Za koncert 12. 4. je na sporedu tiskana izvedba prvega stavka imenovane simfonije. Zapis je prečrtan in temu dodan rokopisen pripis, ki napoveduje izvedbo *Simfonije v D-duru*. 4. 10. 1822 so člani filharmoničnega društva izvedli 1. stavek Simfonije, brez navedbe tonalitete. 11. 10. je bil na sporedu 1. stavek *Simfonije v A-duru*, že na naslednji akademiji, 18. 10., pa 2. stavek iste simfonije. Čez teden dni, torej spet na redni društveni akademiji, so izvedli še tretji stavek *Simfonije v A-duru*. Isti del simfonije so ponovili tudi na akademiji 15. 11. Še zadnji stavek simfonije je bil realiziran na zadnjem koncertu v letu 1822, ki se je odvijal 20. 12. Celotno simfonijo so torej predstavili v več delih oz. v celotnem jesenskem obdobju akademijskih srečanj. Takšen način kaže na povsem običajno prakso, ki je najbrž tudi posledica takratnih izvajalskih zmožnosti.

Po letu 1830 se je koncertni program Filharmonične družbe bistveno spremenil, kajti mojstre dunajske klasike so zamenjali italijanski skladatelji s posameznimi točkami iz oper in predvsem opernimi uverturami. Takšno sliko nam prikazujejo koncertni sporedi, o tem pa je poročal že Keesbacher.¹¹ Tako nekje do petdesetih let 19. stoletja komajda zasledimo simfonično delo. Prav ista usoda je doletela Beethovnovе kompozicije. Če so bila njegova dela od leta 1817 pa do 1825 prisotna nekje na desetih koncertih letno, včasih tudi z več skladbami na večer, se to število po letu 1830 drastično zniža. Takrat najdemo na sporedih zgolj eno ali dve izvedbi na leto in večinoma gre vedno za uverture. Kasneje, nekje v šestdesetih letih, se to število nekoliko zviša, vendar niti

⁸ Emil Bock, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach* (Ljubljana: Kleinmayr & Bamberg, 1902), 13.

⁹ V prispevku se opiramo na koncertne sporede, hranjene v Glasbeni zbirki Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice Ljubljana (v nadaljevanju Gl. NUK), in sicer zgolj do leta 1872, ko je bila ustanovljena Glasbena matica.

¹⁰ Klemenčič, »Častni člani ...«, 123.

¹¹ Keesbacher, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach ...*, 78–80.

približno ne doseže nekdanjega obsega. Zanimivo je, da v obdobju po letu 1830, ko na programih ne najdemo nobenih simfoničnih tvarin, razen resnično redkih izjem, le te predstavljajo ravno Beethovnovе simfonije. 29. 11. 1833 zasledimo *Simfonijo št. 2* (brez četrtega stavka), 2. 4. 1841 prvi stavek *Pastoralne simfonije*, 18. 2. 1842 *Andante* istega dela, 8. 11. 1844 pa celotno *Simfonijo št. 7 v A-duru*.

Izmed preostalih kompozicij naj izpostavimo, da so bile zelo pogosto izvedene uverture *Prometej* (21x), *Fidelio* (14x) in *Egmont* (13x), izmed pesmi pa izstopata *Adelaide* in *Božja čast*. Omeniti moramo tudi *Septet v Es-duru* in oratorij *Kristus na Oljski gori*, katerega posamezne dele so večkrat izvajali, zagotovo pa je bil v celoti predstavljen 8. 11. 1822, 6. 4. 1852 in 18. 3. 1856.

Danes so v Glasbeni zbirki Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice Ljubljana ohranjeni štirje katalogi muzikalij Filharmonične družbe. Prvi je iz leta 1804. Iz novejšega obdobja so ohranjeni še trije, prvi iz 1898, drugi iz 1904 in najmlajši, listkovni, brez točnega datuma nastanka, zagotovo pa je nastal po 1914.

V spodnji tabeli so razvrščene vse skladbe Ludwiga van Beethovna, točno tako, kot jih navajajo štirje katalogi, dodani so jim standardni naslovi in opusi. Pri vsaki izmed kompozicij je označeno, če je hranjena v arhivu Glasbene zbirke Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice še danes ter kolikokrat njihovo omembo zasledimo na koncertnih sporedih ljubljanske filharmonične družbe v Ljubljani do leta 1872.¹²

NASLOV IZ KATALOGA	STANDARDNI NASLOV	OPUS	ŠTEVILO IZVEDB	OHRANJENO
Grosse Ouverture in C dur	<i>Uvertura v C-duru (Uvertura za godovanje)</i>	115	1	DA
Ouverture zu »Fidelio«	<i>Uvertura k operi Fidelio</i>	72	14	
Ouverture zu »Prometheus«	<i>Uvertura Prometej</i>	43	21	
Ouverture zu »Coriolan«	<i>Uvertura Koriolan</i>	62	6	
Ouverture zu Leonore	<i>Uvertura Leonora</i>	138/72	2	DA
Ouverture (III) zu Leonore	<i>Uvertura Leonora št. 3</i>	72	/	
Musik zu Göthes Egmont	<i>Uvertura Egmont</i>	84	13	
Ouverture et Entr'acts zu »Egmont«	<i>Uvertura Egmont</i>	84		
Ouverture zu »König Stephan«	<i>Uvertura Kralj Štefan</i>	117	5	DA
Weihe des Hauses	<i>Uvertura Posvetitev hiše</i>	124	/	
Ouverture en Ut	<i>Uvertura Posvetitev hiše</i>	124	/	
Ouverture zu: die Ruinen von Athen	<i>Uvertura k delu Atenske razvaline</i>	113	4	DA
I. Symphonie	<i>Simfonija št. 1</i>	21	11	DA
II. Symphonie	<i>Simfonija št. 2</i>	36	13	
III. Symphonie. Eroica	<i>Simfonija št. 3</i>	55	1	
IV. Symphonie	<i>Simfonija št. 4</i>	60	1	
V. Symphonie	<i>Simfonija št. 5</i>	67	4	
VI. Symphonie. Pastorale	<i>Simfonija št. 6</i>	68	7	DA
VII. Symphonie	<i>Simfonija št. 7</i>	92	9	

¹² Velja zgolj za tiste navedke, ki so vsebovali dovolj podatkov za natančno identifikacijo.

NASLOV IZ KATALOGA	STANDARDNI NASLOV	OPUS	ŠTEVILO IZVEDB	OHRANJENO
VIII. Symphonie	<i>Simfonija št. 8</i>	93	2	
IX. Syphonie	<i>Simfonija št. 9</i>	125	/	
Konzert, C dur	<i>Konzert za klavir in orkester št. 1 v C-duru</i>	15	/	DA
Konzert No. III	<i>Konzert za klavir in orkester št. 3 v c-molu</i>	37	1	DA
Konzert	<i>Konzert za klavir in orkester št. 5 v Es-duru</i>	73	/	
Konzert, G dur	<i>Konzert za klavir in orkester št. 4 v G-duru</i>	58	/	DA
Concert, C dur	<i>Konzert za klavir, violino, violončelo in orkester v C-duru</i>	56	/	
Concerto	<i>Konzert za violino in orkester v D-duru</i>	61	1	
Romanzen g dur, f dur	<i>Romanca za violino in orkester v G-duru</i>	40	3 (ni znano, katera od Romanc)	
II. Romanze	<i>Romanca za violino in orkester v F-duru</i>	50		
II. Symphonie	<i>Simfonija št. 2 (prir.)</i>	36	/	
Sonaten	<i>Sonata za violino</i>	12/23/24/ 30/47/96	2 (F dur), 2 (?)	
Sonaten	<i>Sonata za violončelo</i>	5/69/102	/	
Klaviertrio No. 5	<i>Klavirski trio v D-duru (Trio duhov)</i>	70	1	
Klavier Trio	<i>Klavirski trio</i>	WoO 38/op. 1/97	1 (c-mol), 1 (?)	
Trio	<i>Godalni trio</i>	3/87/9	1 (Es-dur)	
Sonate in F dur	<i>Sonata za violončelo v F-duru</i>	5	/	
Deux grandes Sonates	<i>Sonati za violončelo</i>	5/102	/	
Klavier-Quartette	<i>Klavirski kvartet</i>	WoO 36	/	
Quatuors	<i>Godalni kvarteti</i>	127, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135	2 (Es-dur), 1 (F-dur)	
Quatuors	<i>Šest godalnih kvartetov v F, G, D, c, A, B</i>	18		
Quatuors	<i>Godalni kvarteti v F, e, C, Es in f</i>	59, 74, 95		
Trois quatuors	<i>Godalni kvartet</i>	18		DA
Gran Quintetto (C dur)	<i>Godalni kvartet v C-duru</i>	29		DA
Trois Quatuors	<i>Trije godalni kvarteti v F, e in C</i>	59		
Six Quatuors	<i>Šest godalnih kvartetov (št. 1 v F-duru)</i>	18, št. 1		
XI. Quartett	<i>Godalni kvartet v f-molu</i>	95		
Quatuor	<i>Godalni kvartet v Es-duru</i>	74		
Quatuor (die Geschöpfe der Prometheus)	<i>Kvartet (prir. Prometeja)</i>	43	/	
Quintetto. Es dur.	<i>Godalni kvartet v Es-duru</i>	4	/	DA

NASLOV IZ KATALOGA	STANDARDNI NASLOV	OPUS	ŠTEVILO IZVEDB	OHRANJENO
Septetto	<i>Septet v Es-duru</i>	20	16	
Serenade	<i>Serenada v D-duru</i>	25	/	
Grosse Sonate. Quintett	<i>Sonata za klavir, klarinet (ali violino) in violončelo (prir. Godalnega kvarteta op. 4)</i>	63	/	DA
Grosses Trio	<i>Trio za klavir, violino (ali klarinet) in violončelo (prir. Septeta op. 20)</i>	38	/	DA
14 Variationen	<i>Variacije za klavir, violino (ali klarinet) in violončelo v Es-duru</i>	44	1	DA
3 Trios. I. II. III	<i>Trije trii za klavir, violino (ali klarinet) in violončelo</i>	1	/	DA
Adagio, Variationen & Rondo	<i>Variacije za klavir, violino (ali klarinet) in violončelo na temo Wenzla Müllerja »Ich bin der Schneider Kakadu«</i>	121a	1	DA
Thème varié du grand Septuir, transit par Haubenfeld	<i>Variacije na temo Septeta op. 20</i>	38	1	
Grand Quintetto	<i>Klavirski kvintet v Es-duru</i>	16	1	
Christus am Ölberge. Oratorium	<i>Kristus na Oljski gori</i>	85	8	
Messe	<i>Maša v C-duru</i>	86	/	
Missa v C	<i>Maša v C-duru</i>	86	/	DA
Missa solemnis	<i>Maša v D-duru »Missa solemnis«</i>	123	/	
Graduale mit deutschem Texte	<i>Gradual</i>		/	DA
Die Ehre Gottes	<i>Šest pesmi, št. 4 Božja čast</i>	48, št. 4	/	DA
Trauerklängen	<i>Žalne pesmi</i>		/	
Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt. Von J. W. von Göthe	<i>Mirno morje in srečna vožnja</i>	112	2	
Die Ruinen von Athen. Fest- u. Nachtspiel von A. v. Kotzebue	<i>Atenske razvaline</i>	113	/	DA
Fantasie	<i>Fantazija za klavir, zbor in orkester v c-molu</i>	80	1	
Ha! Treuloser! Aria	<i>Ah! Perfido</i>	65	1	DA
Elegischer Gesang	<i>Sanft wie du lebstest</i>	118	/	
Scottische Lieder	<i>25 škotskih pesmi</i>	108	/	DA
Tremate, empi, tremate!	<i>Tremate, empi, tremate</i>	116	/	DA
O, grausam war mein Vater. Der schönste Bub war Henny. Der treue Johnie	<i>O cruel was my father; The sweetest lad was Jamie; Faithu' Johnie</i>	108, št. 15, 5, 20	/	
Adelaide	<i>Adelaide</i>	46	7	
25 Scottische Lieder	<i>25 škotskih pesmi</i>	108	/	DA
30 ausgewählten Lieder 3 Gesänge v. Goethe »Nachruf	<i>Tri pesmi (Goethe): Wonne der Wehmut, Sehnsucht, Mit einem gemalten Band</i>	83	/	
Die Brautjungfern am Vorabend, Die Vesper	<i>Die Brautjungfern am Vorabend, Die Vesper</i>	Prir. opusov 2, 7, 10, 12, 24, 81b in 87	/	

NASLOV IZ KATALOGA	STANDARDNI NASLOV	OPUS	ŠTEVILO IZVEDB	OHRANJENO
Lieder von Gellert	<i>Šest pesmi (G. F. Gellert): Bitten, Die Liebe des Nächsten, Vom Tode, Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur, Gottes Macht und Vorsehung, Busslied</i>	48	1 (Bitten, Die Liebe des Nächsten, Gottes Macht und Vorsehung), 5 (Die Ehre Gottes)	DA
8 Lieder und Gesänge	<i>Osem pesmi: Urians Reise um die Welt, Feuerfarb, Das Liedchen von der Ruhe, Maigesang, Mollys Abschied, Die Liebe, Marmotte, Das Blümchen Wunderhold</i>	52	/	DA
Ha! Treuloser!	<i>Ah! Perfido</i>	65		DA
6 Gesänge von Goethe	<i>Šest pesmi: Mignon, Neue Liebe, neues Leben, Aus Goethes Faust, Gretels Warnung, An den fernen Geliebten, Der Zufriedene</i>	75	2 (Neue Liebe, neues Leben), 1 (Mignon)	DA
4 Arietten und 1 Duett	<i>Štiri ariette in duet</i>	82	/	DA
3 Gesänge von Goethe	<i>Tri pesmi (Goethe): Wonne der Wehmut, Sehnsucht, Mit einem gemalten Band</i>	83	/	DA
An die ferne Geliebte	<i>An die ferne Geliebte</i>	98	/	DA
Der Abschied (La partenza). Der freie Mann. Empfindungen bei Lydiens Untreue. Gedenke mein. Vier deutsche Gedichte aus Reisig's Blüten der Einsamkeit (Lied aus der Ferne. Der Jüngling in der Fremde. Der Liebende. Sehnsucht)	<i>La partenza, Der freie Mann, Gedenke mein, Lied aus der Ferne, Der Jüngling in der Fremde, Der Liebende, Sehnsucht</i>	WoO 124, WoO 117, WoO 130, WoO 137, WoO 138, WoO 139, WoO 146	/	DA
Drei Gesänge. (An die Geliebte. Das Geheimniss. So oder so.) Ich liebe dich. Resignation. Abendlied unterm gestirnten Himmel. Die laute Klage. Die Sehnsucht (mit 4 Melodien)	<i>An die Geliebte, Das Geheimniss, So oder so, Ich liebe dich, Resignation, Abendlied unterm gestirnten Himmel, Die laute Klage, Sehnsucht</i>	WoO 140, WoO 145, WoO 123, WoO 149, WoO 143, WoO 163, WoO 133, WoO 104	1 (Das Geheimniss)	DA
Seufzer eines Ungeliebten. Trinklied. Wachtelschlag. Op. 121. Opferlied. Kriegers Abschied. Im Frühlinge. Canon »Kurz ist der Schmerz«. Arietta »In quasta tomba«. Gesang der Mönche aus Schiller's Wilhelm Tell	<i>Seufzer eines Ungeliebten, Trinklied, Der Wachtelschlag, Opferlied, Des Kriegers Abschied, Kurz ist der Schmerz, In questa tomba oscura, Gesang der Mönche »Rasch trirr der Tod« iz Schillerjevega Viljema Tella</i>	WoO 118, WoO 109, WoO 129, WoO 126, WoO 143, WoO 163, WoO 133, WoO 104	/	DA
Busslied	<i>Busslied</i>	48, št. 6	1	

NASLOV IZ KATALOGA	STANDARDNI NASLOV	OPUS	ŠTEVILO IZVEDB	OHRANJENO
Quartett aus »Fidelio«	<i>Kvartet iz opere Fidelio (Mir ist so wunderbar)</i>	72	/	DA
Fidelio, Oper in 2 Acten	<i>Fidelio</i>	72	/	DA
Fidelio	<i>Fidelio</i>	72	/	
Finale aus Fidelio	<i>Finale iz Fidelia</i>	72	/	
Chor der Gefangenen aus Fidelio	<i>Zbor zapornikov iz opere Fidelio</i>	72	/	DA
Concertos et Fantaisie			/	
Ouvertures	<i>Uverture za klavir štiriročno</i>		/	
Adagio favori	<i>Koncert za klavir št. 2 v B-duru (2. stavek)</i>	19	/	
Andante favori, F dur	<i>Petnajst variacij in fuga v Es-duru (Erotica varicije)</i>	35	/	
Sonaten (Ausgabe F. Brissler), I. Band	<i>Klavirske sonate</i>		2 (f-mol, op. 2), 1 (f-mol, op. 57), 1 (c-mol, op. 13), 1 (As-dur)	
Sonaten in Hallberger's Ausgabe.	<i>Klavirske sonate</i>	2, 7, 10, 14, 27, 49		
Sonate. Cotta'sche Ausgabe	<i>Klavirske sonate</i>	2, 5, 10, 13, 14, 49		
Symphonien V. VI	<i>Prir. Simfonij št. 5 in 6 za klavir štiriročno</i>		/	
Ouverture »Leonore«	<i>Uvertura Leonora za klavir štiriročno</i>	138/72	/	
Ouvertüren	<i>Uverture za klavir štiriročno</i>		/	
Grand Trio	<i>Godalni trio</i>	3/9	/	DA
Trio	<i>Godalni trio (prir. Tria za 2 oboi in angleški rog op. 87)</i>	87	/	
Orchesterstimmen zur Arie des Leonore aus der Oper »Fidelio«	<i>Abscheulicher! Wo eilst du hin? iz opere Fidelio</i>	72	2	DA
Ein- und mehrstimmige Gesänge mit und ohne Begleitung des Pianoforte frei nach Shakespeare, Byron, Thomas Moore	<i>An Eleonora, An Malwina, Schwarzauge, An die Geliebte, Die Brautjungfern am Vorabend, Die Vesper</i>	Prir. opusov 2, 7, 10, 12, 24, 81b in 87	/	DA

Ko združimo podatke, ki smo jih o Beethovnovih kompozicijah pridobili po pregledu ohranjenih koncertnih sporedov in katalogov muzikalij, ugotovimo, da je družba za namene rednih in izrednih akademij uporabila precej manjši delež celotnega gradiva, kot je bil zaveden v katalogih muzikalij. Nekaj notnega materiala, ki je ohranjenega še danes, vsebuje rokopisne označbe in popravke (npr. *Maša v C-duru*, *Godalni kvartet op. 29*, *Šest godalnih kvartetov op. 18*, *25 škotskih pesmi ...*) kljub temu, da izvedb nimamo zavedenih na koncertnih sporedih. Možno je, da je to posledica manjkajočih sporedov, nedvomno pa je bilo veliko kompozicij pridobljenih in izvedenih po letu 1872. Edina skladba, ki je katalogi ne navajajo, bila pa je izvedena na akademijah Filharmonične družbe, in sicer dvakrat (8. 11. 1922 in 15. 11. 1822), je *Wellingtonova zmaga ali bitka pri Vittorii*.

V zadnjem delu prispevka se posvetimo enemu izmed pomembnejših dogodkov, ki jih je v 19. stoletju pripravila ljubljanska Filharmonična družba. Gre za dvodnevno slavje

ob praznovanju stote obletnice rojstva Ludwiga van Beethovna, 12. in 13. novembra 1870. O celotnem poteku svečanega dogodka lahko podrobnosti preberemo v letnem poročilu Filharmonične družbe¹³, o njem pa je pisal tudi prof. dr. Primož Kuret¹⁴. Zato bomo na tem mestu zgolj orisali celotno dogajanje in podali natančen pregled izvajanih kompozicij. Družba se je na dogodek pripravljala precej časa, posvetili so mu nemalo pozornosti in seveda tudi sredstev. V poročilu omenjajo finančno pomoč, ki so jo prejeli, mdr. popust, ki ga je uprava Južne železnice priznala gostom, ki so se pripeljali v Ljubljano z vlakom, tiskarja Bamberga, ki je tiskal vstopnice in podjetje Friedricha Ehrbara iz Dunaja, ki je družbi posodil koncertni klavir, in sicer na lastne stroške prevoza. Za boljšo organizacijo so osnovali več odborov, glavnemu je predsedoval direktor Filharmonične družbe Anton Schöppl, finančnemu Fidelis Terpinz, sprejemnemu in namestitvenemu takratni župan Ljubljane Jožef Supan, gospodarskemu in odboru za dekoracijo dr. Rudolf, umetniški odbor pa je vodil glasbeni direktor Filharmonične družbe Anton Nedvěd.

Družbini člani so se potrudili slavje pripraviti čim bolj razkošno in odmevno, zato so k sodelovanju povabili pevce in orkestrske glasbenike iz drugih mest. Ljubljanskim glasbenim močem se je tako pridružilo veliko gostov, pevcev je bilo skupaj 126, orkester je štel več kot 60 članov. Ljubljanskih pevcev je bilo 60 (od tega 40 moških), iz Celja je prišlo 40 pevcev in 12 pevk, iz Kočevja 7 pevcev, iz Trsta in Maribora po 2 ter iz Gorice trije pevci. Gostov v orkestru je bilo največ iz Gradca in Zagreba (skupaj 12), iz Trsta in Maribora po eden in iz Koroške 4. Poročilo poimensko izpostavlja naslednje orkestraše: Juliusa Hellerja, glasbenega direktorja iz Trsta, violončelista Kozellija iz Gradca, Schwarzja iz Zagreba, oboista Wlčka, hornista Wilda in Schantla, Fiederja in Schneditza iz Gradca, Mariborčana Adolfa Brambergerja, zborovskega dirigenta Zinnauerja in direktorja mestne šole Triminga iz Celja ter Zagrebčane Dertla, Simma, Eisenhuta in Felbingerja. Orkester je imel v zasedbi 16 prvih in 16 drugih violin, 8 viol, 7 violončel in 7 kontrabasov.

Prvi dan praznovanja, to je 12. 11. 1870, so po prihodu gostov iz Gradca, Maribora, Zagreba, Trsta, Kočevja in Celja imeli skupno vajo za večerni koncert, ki se je pričel ob sedmi uri zvečer v povsem polni dvorani Deželnega gledališča. Avditorij je najprej slišal slavnostni prolog, ki ga je napisal Friedrich Keesbacher, interpretiral pa ga je član ljubljanskega Deželnega gledališča Richter. Ob zaključni strofi predgovora so odkrili Beethovnov doprsni kip. Celoten spored prvega koncerta je sledeč:

1. Prolog
2. Uvertura k operi *Fidelio*, op. 72
3. *Mirno morje in srečna vožnja (Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt)*, op.112
4. *Koncert za violino in orkester v D-duru*, op. 61, solist Julius Heller
5. *Ah! Perfido*, op. 65, izv. članica Deželnega gledališča Frankenberg
6. *Fantazija za klavir; zbor in orkester v c-molu*, op. 80, klavir Josef Zöhrer, pevski solisti Wilhelmina Pachmann, Maria Schöppl, Rosa Fischer, Friedrich Keesbacher, B. Zegnar in J. Schulz
7. *Božja čast (Die ehre Gottes)*, op. 48, prir. za moški zbor
8. Zaključni zbor iz oratorija *Kristus na Oljski gori*, op. 85

¹³ *Achter Jahresbericht vom 1. October 1870 bis letzten October 1871*. Gl. NUK, arhiv Filharmonične družbe, mapa Koncertni sporedi.

¹⁴ Primož Kuret, *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794-1919* (Ljubljana: Nova revija, 2005), 168-172.

1870

BEETHOVEN-FEIER.

Programm

zu den

beiden Concerten, welche von der philharmonischen Gesellschaft
Sonntag den 12. November Abends 7 Uhr und Sonntag
den 13. November Mittags 12 Uhr unter Mitwirkung des
 Damenchores und des Männergesangvereines von Cilli und
 mehrerer auswärtigen Künstler unter Leitung des Musik-
 directors Herrn A. Nedved im landeshoflichen Theater
 veranstaltet werden.

<h3 style="text-align: center;">Erstes Concert.</h3> <p>(Sonntag den 12. Nov. 7 Uhr Abends.)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prolog, gedichtet von Herrn Dr. Keesbacher, gesprochen von Herrn Richter, Mitglied des landeshoflichen Theaters. 2. Quvertette zu „Fidelio“, E-dur. Op. 72. 3. Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt, op. 112. Cantate für Chor u. Orchester. 4. Viola-Concert mit Orchester, op. 61, vorgetragen von Herrn Julius Heller. 5. Sopran-Arie (op. 65) „Ah perfido“, gesungen von Frau Frankenberg, Mitglied des landeshoflichen Theaters. 6. Sonata für Clavier, Chor und Orchester, op. 80. Der Clavierpart wird gespielt von Herrn J. Zohrer, die Soli werden gesungen von den Fräulein: Wilhelmine Pachmann, Marie Schöppl und Rosa Fischer, dann von den Herren: Dr. F. Keesbacher, B. Zognar und J. Schulz. 7. „Chor Gottes“, op. 48, Männerchor. 8. Schlüßchor aus dem Oratorium: „Christus am Oelberge“, op. 85. 	<h3 style="text-align: center;">Zweites Concert.</h3> <p>(Sonntag den 13. Nov. 12 Uhr Mittags.)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sinfonie in C-moll, op. 67. 2. a) „Mignon“, op. b) „Neue Liebe neues Leben“, 175. Lieder, vorgetragen von Frau Leop. Gregorič. 3. a) „Andenken“, b) „Mit einem gemalten Bilde“, Lieder, vorgetragen von Herrn Alex. Rüdinger, Mitglied des landeshofl. Theaters. 4. „Die Ruinen von Athen“, (Fest- u. Nachspiel von A. v. Kotzboe) für Soli, Chor und Orchester, op. 113. 114. Die Soli werden gesungen von Frau Leop. Gregorič, von Herrn J. Schulz und Herrn Novotny, Mitglied des landeshofl. Theaters. Der leitende Text wird von Herrn Richter gesprochen.
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Sämmtliche Compositionen sind von **L. van Beethoven**.

Die Texte zu den Chören und zum Zonnerke **„Die Ruinen von Athen“** sind an der Kasse für 10 fr. zu haben.

Der Concert-Flügel wurde von Herrn Friedrich Ehrbar, k. k. Hofclavierfabrikanten in Wien, aus Gefälligkeit beigeleßt.

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Primer 1: Koncertni spored Beethovnovega slavlja.

Navdušenje poslušalcev naj bi bilo izjemno in je imelo zelo ugodne odmeve tudi v časopisu Laibacher Zeitung.¹⁵ Poročevalec piše o povsem polni gledališki dvorani in izjemnem violinskem solu.¹⁶ Tudi pisec letnega poročila Filharmonične družbe posebej izpostavlja violinista Hellerja, ki mu je navdušeno občinstvo ploskalo celo po vsakem

¹⁵ *Laibacher Zeitung* 260 (1870): 3–4.

¹⁶ »Den Glanzpunkt des Concertes bildete aber unstreitig des Violinconcert, vorgetragen von Herrn Heller. Wir haben in Herrn Heller einen vollendeten Künstler kennen gelernt. Diese Leichtigkeit des Bogens, diese Reinheit, Klarheit und Schmiegsamkeit des Tones, diese perlende Anmuth der Passagen können nur die Resultate eines ausgebildeten grossen Talentes sein.«

stavku Violinskega koncerta. Prvemu koncertu je sledil še pevski večer, na katerem so izvajali tudi skladbe drugih skladateljev, ne zgolj Beethovnovih.

1. Ludwig van Beethoven: *Božja čast (Die ehre Gottes)*, op. 48, izv. moški zbor Filharmonične družbe in Celjsko moško pevsko društvo
2. Anton Wöckl: *Petglasni zbor*, izv. Celjsko moško pevsko društvo
3. Violinska skladba, Schwarz iz Zagreba
4. Silcher: *Lovec in vodna vila (Der Jäger und die Nixe)*, izv. Celjsko moško pevsko društvo
5. H. C. G.: *Himna za zbor in klavir*, izv. združen zbor
6. Skladba za violončelo, izv. Kozelli iz Gradca
7. Johann Strauss: *Novi Dunaj (Neu-Wien)*, izv. Celjsko moško pevsko društvo
8. Anton Nedvěd: *Večerna serenada (Abendständchen)* za tenor solo im mrmrajoče glasove/Brummstimmen, izv. Alexander Rüdinger, moški zbor Filharmonične družbe
9. A. Absänger: *Slovo od dirndla (Abschied vom Diandl)*, Štajerska pesem, izv. Celjsko moško pevsko društvo
10. J. Otto: *Jahaška pesem (Reiterlied)*, izv. združen zbor

Tudi drugi dan Beethovnovega slavja, 13. 11. 1870, se je pričel s skupno vajo vseh udeležencev. Ta dan je bil koncert opoldne. Spet polna dvorana je slišala naslednje Beethovnovske skladbe:

1. *Simfonija št. 5 v c-molu*, op. 67
2. *Mignon*, op. 75, izv. Leopoldina Gregorič
3. *Nova ljubezen, novo življenje (Neue Liebe, neues Leben)*, op. 75, izv. Leopoldina Gregorič
4. *Spomin (Andenken)*, WoO 136, izv. Alexander Rüdinger, član Deželnega gledališča
5. *Sposlikanim trakom (Mit einem gemalten Band)*, op. 83, št. 3, izv. Alexander Rüdinger, član Deželnega gledališča
6. *Atenske razvaline*, op. 113, solisti Leopoldina Gregorič, J. Schulz, Novotny, besedilo je bral Richter

Poročevalec ponovno poroča o splošnem navdušenju na koncertu, zlasti o ovacijah za Antona Nedvéda, ki je pripravil glasbenike za oba koncerta in bil zaslužen pohvaljen. Največ navdušenja naj bi tokrat vzbudila *5. simfonija v c-molu*. Po koncertu je za udeležence sledilo slavnostno kosilo, zvečer oz. natančneje ob 21. uri pa ples v kazinski dvorani.

Med koncertnimi sporedi Filharmonične družbe, ki so ohranjeni v Glasbeni zbirki Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice, je hranjeno tudi vabilo na Beethovnovi slavje. Ta nam daje vpogled v cene festivalskega dogajanja, in sicer lahko razberemo, da je vstopnica za člane Filharmonične družbe za družino (največ tri osebe) stala tri florine oz. goldinarje. Za posamezno karto je družbin član odštél dva florina. Tudi nečlani so imeli možnost nakupa družinske ali posamezne vstopnice. Družinska je stala pet goldinarjev, posamezna pa tri. Kosilo, ki je bilo po koncertu drugi dan, je veljalo en goldinar in 30 krajcarjev. Sicer pa je vstopnica vključevala vstop na oba festivalska koncerta, pevski večer in udeležbo na plesu.



Primer 2: Vstopnica.

Med gosti iz Trsta je v Ljubljano na počastitev obletnice Beethovnovoga rojstva prišel tudi Alexander W. Thayer, ameriški konzul v Trstu, sicer pa znan kot Beethovnov biograf. V družbinih letnih poročilih prihodnje leto je bilo objavljeno njegovo pismo z datumom 19. 11. 1870¹⁷, v katerem se družbi toplo in prisrčno zahvaljuje, jim čestita ter pravi, da je z dogodki ob počastitvi stote obletnice Beethovnovoga rojstva zelo zadovoljen in da so vsekakor potešili njegova pričakovanja. Nadalje so v letnem poročilu objavljeni tudi njegovi zapisi o posameznih Beethovnovih skladbah, ki so bile v okviru svečanosti izvedene. O nekaterih skladbah je navedenih precej podatkov, na primer o *Mirnem morju in srečni voznji* pa zgolj: »In Betreff dieses Werkes kann ich einzig nur bemerken, das es im Jahre 1815 componirt wird.« Navedimo še en primer, in sicer za skladbo *Božja čast*: »Die Ehre Gottes in der Natur ist Nr. 5 von VI geistlichen Liedern von Gellert, componirt von Beethoven, einstimmig am Klavier zu fingen, und veröffentlicht gegen Ende von 1803. Das genaue Datum der Composition dieser Lieder ist nicht bekannt, aber zweifelsohne folgte sie dem Christus. Das Arrangement für Männerchor, welcher zu Laibach gesungen worden, war nicht von Beethoven.«

Tudi Thayer je bil navdušen nad Beethovnovim slavjem, kot tudi sami člani Filharmonične družbe in prebivalci Ljubljane. Zanje je slavje pomenilo višek takratnega delovanja, dodatno poglobitev glasbenega ustvarjanja, predvsem pa tudi navezovanje novih stikov, izmenjavo izkušenj, mnenj in druženje s povabljenimi pevci in instrumentalisti. Ljubljanska Filharmonična družba se je tako ponovno izkazala za zelo uspešno in aktualno združenje. Kompozicije Ludwiga van Beethovna pa niso bile aktualne zgolj v teh dveh slavnostnih dneh, temveč so bile stalnica na koncertih Filharmonične družbe v vseh obdobjih njenega delovanja, kot je bilo prikazano v prispevku.

¹⁷ *Achter Jahresbericht vom 1. October 1870 bis letzten October 1871*. Gl. NUK, arhiv Filharmonične družbe, mapa Koncertni sporedi.

SUMMARY

Ludwig van Beethoven presumably came into first contact with the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana in 1818, when offering the performance material of his Pastoral Symphony to the Society. The following year, he became its honorary member. According to the preserved concert programmes, Beethoven's compositions were always present in concerts, however, the most frequently performed were his overtures (Prometheus, Fidelio and Egmont). Frequently present were also his symphonies or their selected movements, even between 1830 and 1850, when symphonies were not supposed to be performed in concerts of the Philharmonic Society. This was the period of Ital-

ian composers, especially of operatic pieces. Most frequently performed was Beethoven's *Symphony No. 2 in D-major*. There are four preserved printed music catalogues of the Philharmonic Society listing many Beethoven's compositions; in fact, more than those mentioned in concerts programmes of the Society. In 1870, the members of the Society organized a special celebration marking the 100th anniversary of Ludwig van Beethoven's birth. Invited to the two-day event were singers and instrumentalists from Graz, Maribor, Celje, Kočevje, Zagreb and Trieste. All together, there were 126 members of the chorus and more than 60 members of the orchestra. Also attending the two very successful concerts was Beethoven's biographer and American consul in Trieste, Alexander W. Thayer.

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Slowenische Musik als Bestandteil der Musikkultur der Wiener Slawen in den Jahren 1840–1870

Slovenska glasba kot sestavni del glasbene kulture dunajskih Slovanov v letih 1840–1870

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Obširna muzikološka obdelava glasbenega življenja dunajskih Slovanov je stari dolg avstrijske muzikologije in hkrati »okostnjak v omari« muzikologiji posameznih slovanskih dežel. Članek preučuje sledi, ki so jih pustili Slovenci na Dunaju. Članek se pretežno opira na podatke iz češkega (dunajsko-češkega) tiska, ki zagotovo ni primarni vir za raziskovanje slovenske muzikologije, vendar zelo pomemben za primerjavo virov in informacij. Časovni obseg sega od prvih omemb o vzajemnih stikih dunajskih Slovencev z drugimi dunajskimi Slovani in se konča okoli leta 1870 z ustanovitvijo društva *SLOVENIJA NA DUNAJI*.

To carry out detailed musicological research into the musical life of Slavs in Vienna has been an old obligation of Austrian musicology, and at the same time “a skeleton in the cupboard” of individual Slav musicologies. The paper concentrates on Slovene traces in the city of music – Vienna, based mostly on information coming from the Czech (Vienna Czech) press, which is not a primary source for Slovene musicological research, though of crucial comparative importance. The period covered reaches back to the first references regarding the collaboration of Vienna Slovene with other Slaves in the city, and ends around 1870 when the *SLOVENIJA NA DUNAJI* Society was founded.

Vor und im Jahre 1848

Das Bild des Musiklebens der Wiener Slawen im Vormärz kann man aus verschiedenen Blickwinkeln rekonstruieren. Als erste Perspektive bietet sich die nationale an:

unter den Veranstaltungen einzelner slawischer Völker dominierten hinsichtlich ihrer Quantität die böhmischen und die mährischen, einen bedeutenden Anteil hatten jedoch auch die allslawisch orientierten. Eine andere Perspektive spiegelt die soziale Seite wider. Niedrigere soziale Schichten, vor allem die Arbeiterschaft aus Böhmen und Mähren, fanden ihre Unterhaltungen im Rahmen von Gasthausproduktionen, kleineren Bällen etc. Diejenigen, die im Zentrum Wiens oder unweit davon lebten, nahmen oft an den prestigeträchtigen slawischen Veranstaltungen teil. Sie waren auch unentbehrlich für die musikalische Begleitung der tschechischen Gottesdienste in der Kirche Maria am Gestade. Neben den Handwerkern bestanden die in Eile zusammengestellten Chöre hauptsächlich aus Studenten und Beamten. Eine der typischsten Assoziationen der Wiener Slawen vor 1848 sind die berühmten Slawenbälle und die slawischen Besedas.¹ Die Proben fanden u. a. auch im Saal des Cafébesitzers Johann Michael Schweighofer (1806-1852) an der Ecke Mariahilferstraße/Breitegasse statt.² Der Chor zählte meist 40-60 Sänger (überwiegend Studenten), manchmal auch mehr. „*Den Slawenstämmen nach pflegten es Böhmen und Mährer; 2 Slowaken aus Ungarn, ca. 3-4 Südslawen, zu einem größeren Teil Slowenen und in einigen Besedas dann ein Pole, der Techniker Džibiński, zu sein.*“³

Eine der damals üblichen Gewohnheiten war das Komponieren von sog. slawischen Potpourris. Ein solches *potpourri z národních tanců/Potpourri aus Nationaltänzen* erklang Anfang Jänner 1848 im Lokal „Zum Neuling“ auf der Landstraße. Gespielt von einem Ensemble, das der Kapellmeister Slaba/Slabý leitete, komponiert vom Wiener-tschechischen Komponisten Václav Vojtěch Tieftrunk/Wenzel Adalbert Tieftrunk (1823-1896).⁴ Introdution, Finale und ein paar Andanti, die die einzelnen Teile (u. a. den slowenischen Tanz Kolo) verbinden, komponierte Tieftrunk. Mit dem Slowenischen befassten sich auch zwei andere Wiener-tschechische Komponisten aus der Zeit um 1848. Hynek Vojáček (1825-1916) vertonte 1848 den slowenischen Text *Mogočni boj (Modlitba před bojem/Das Gebet vor dem Kampfe)*. Adolf Winter (1820 - ca. 1920) bearbeitete, zumindest den Quellen nach, nicht näher bekannte slowenische Lieder.

Die Slowenen fehlten nicht in den Lokalen, in denen sich die Wiener Slawen trafen, z. B. im „Bayrischen Café“ in der Josefstadt oder im „Slawischen Café“ (Gerlović Café) am Bauernmarkt. Diese Treffen kann man für bestimmte Vorläufer der späteren Vereine halten und man hörte hier oft slowenische Lieder. Die Slowenen waren auch im Ausschuss der Slawenbälle vertreten, z. B. war ihr Vertreter in den Jahren 1846 und 1847 Peter Kozler. Den slowenischen Namen Jenko finden wir im Ausschuss des Slawenballes vom 9. 2. 1848. Die Damen, die den Slawenball am 27. 1. 1847 besuchten, erhielten ein Album slawischer Nationallieder mit den Melodien „*Poměňky S. B. Uspomena, 1847*“ – „*Pomněňky S. B. – Uspomena. We Widni 1847 u Beču.*“. Als letztes steht hier das Krainer

¹ Als Beseda bezeichnet man eine Plattform für Geselligkeit, Konversation, Musikausbildung und Volksbildung; allmählich profilierten sich auch sog. musikalische Besedas. Manchmal verwendete die deutschsprachige Presse in Wien die Bezeichnung Réunion.

² Schweighofer war als Klavierhersteller gleichzeitig der Verleiher der Instrumente für die Veranstaltungen.

³ František Bedřich Ševčík-Jedovnický, „Zpěv slovanský a pěstování společenského života ve Vidni od r. 1841 až do r. 1862,“ in *Sborník Čechů dolnorakouských*, ed. Josef Karásek (Wien, 1895), 22. [„*Dle kmenů slovanských bývali to Čechové a Moravané, 2 Slováci z Uher, asi 3-4 Jihoslované, větším dílem Slovinci a pak v několika besedách Polák, technik Džibiński.*“]

⁴ Slabý/Slaba: nicht näher bekannter Kapellmeister, geboren in Úvaly u Prahy/Auwal bei Prag.

Lied *Kde so moje rožice...* Eine andere rare Erinnerung, dieses Mal an den Slawenball vom 9. 2. 1848, betrifft „... *kleine Fächer aus hartem Papier mit 12 Blättern. Auf dem 2. bis 11. Teil waren kolorierte Bilder der tanzenden Paare (Krainier, slowakisches, polnisches, dalmatisches/dalmatinisches, serbisches, böhmisches, mährisches, ruthenisches, kroatisches und slawonisches) in den Nationaltrachten (es wäre interessant, die Vorlagen zu ermitteln) und unter ihnen die Wappen der entsprechenden Länder. Ševčík nach ist der Urheber der Bilder A. Daněk, in Stein gravierte sie Kovář, und dem Korrespondent der Zeitschrift Včela nach kolorierte sie Rauth. Auf dem oberen Teil stand die Aufschrift ‚Slavljanski bal 18 9/2 48‘ und unter dieser war der österreichische Kaiseradler. Auf dem untersten Teil war die Tanzordnung.*“⁵

Ein beliebter Interpret der slawischen Besedas war der Krainer Baritonist Fran Legat, der meist slowenische Lieder vortrug.

Nach der Revolution

Im revolutionären Wien verteidigten die Slawen ihre Interessen größtenteils selbstständig, einheitlich dann in Prag im Rahmen des Slawenkongresses. Eine Entsprechung des Vereins SLEZSKO-MORAVSKO-ČESKÁ JEDNOTA (Schlesisch-Mährisch-Böhmische Einheit) war der Wiener-slowenische Verein SLOVENIJA.⁶

In der Not erkennst du den wahren Freund

Die slawische Wechselseitigkeit zeigten die Wiener Slawen auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise, u. a. mittels der Unterstützung ihrer Vaterländer (z. B. Unterstützung der Vereine, Hilfe in der Zeit von Naturkatastrophen oder bei bedeutenden gesellschaftlichen Ereignissen etc.). Ein Beispiel für alle: einen Teil des Ertrages vom Slawenball vom 5. 2. 1850 (insgesamt 750 Fl.) erhielten u. a. auch der Verein SLOVENIJA in Laibach sowie die slowenischen Vereine in Klagenfurt und Graz. Die Slawenbälle pflegten vor und nach 1848 ein Treffen der slawischen Elite (Aristokraten, hochgestellte Militärpersonen, Politiker und Beamten, kirchliche Würdenträger etc.) zu sein. Falls diese nicht kommen konnten, schickten sie meist eine Entschuldigung – so z. B. der Graf Chorinsky aus Laibach im Falle des Slawenballes vom 17. 2. 1851. Ein Teil des Ertrages, konkret 100 Fl., wurde an den Ausschuss des slowenischen Vereins (društvo) in Laibach geschickt; die Absender waren die Vertreter des Ballausschusses Stjepan Pejaković und Josef Kapler/Kepler.⁷

⁵ Jan Heyer, „Jak se kdy v naši menšině tancovalo,“ *Dunaj* 16 (1939): 42. [“... *malé vějíře z tuhého papíru o 12 lístech. Na 2. až 11. dílu byly kolorované obrázky tančících párů (krajinského, slovenského, polského, dalmatského, srbského, českého, moravského, rusínského, chorvatského a slavonského) v národních krojích (bylo by zajímavé zjistiti předlohy!) a pod nimi znaky příslušných zemí. Dle Ševčíka je autorem obrazů A. Daněk, v kámen je ryl Kovář, a dle dopisovatele Včely koloroval Rauth. Na vrchním dílu byl nápis ‚Slavljanski bal 18 9/2 48‘ a pod ním císařský orel rakouský. Na nejspodnějším dílu byl taneční pořádek.*”]

⁶ 7. 11. 1846 (sog. „1. slawische Beseda“), 1. 12. 1846 (sog. „2. slawische Beseda“, beide in den Sträußelsälen in der Josefstadt), 11. 12. 1847 (Beseda, „Zum Sperl“), 22. 7. 1850 (Beseda, in der Josefstadt), 2. 9. 1850 (Beseda für die Bewohner der Städte Krakau und Chrudim, „Zum Sperl“).

⁷ Zu den Mitgliedern des Vereins SLOVENIJA zählte z. B. der Jurastudent Anton Globočnik (1825–1912), später ein Volkstümmler. Für die EINHEIT verwendete man auch den Titel ČESKO-MORAVSKO-SLEZSKÁ JEDNOTA.

Es sei jetzt im Interesse der thematischen Einheit ein großer Schritt in der Chronologie gemacht und hinzugefügt, dass „den armen Istrianern“, eigentlich dem Komitat in Terst, der Ertrag (126 Fl., 55 Kr.) aus der Veranstaltung vom 15. 3. 1880 im Lokal „Zum grünen Tor“ geschickt wurde. Der Veranstalter dieser Unterhaltung war der SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK/Slawische Gesangsverein in Wien.

Das slowenische Repertoire vor der offiziellen Konstituierung des SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK

Weisen wir auf die Vertretung der slowenischen Lieder im Programm der Beseda, die am 12. 2. 1850 im Lokal „Zum grünen Tor“ stattfand, hin. Die Räumlichkeiten waren überfüllt, es fehlte nicht an berühmten Personen wie z. B. Jan Kollár, Karel Havlíček Borovský, Karol Kuzmány oder Jan Dvořáček. In puncto Programm gehörte diese Beseda zu denen, die weniger amüsant waren. Den Gesang besorgte eine Dilettantengruppe, die damit großen Erfolg hatte. „*Ca. 24 junge slawische Männer führten sehr meisterhaft zwei tschechoslawische und einen kroatischen Chor auf; dann hörten wir einzelne reizende slowenische, kroatische und tschechoslawische Lieder von verschiedenen ausgezeichneten Sängern. Bei dieser Gelegenheit überzeugten wir uns wieder davon, dass viele musikalische Begabungen und Talente, und zumal für den Gesang, unter unseren jungen slawischen Männern ganz verborgen liegen; leider werden diese Gaben unseres Volkes wenig verwendet, weil es an Unterstützung fehlt und solche jungen Männer in der Unbekanntheit und im Verborgenen verschwinden.*“⁸ An den vokalen Teil knüpften Darbietungen slawischer Musikwerke an, gespielt von der Musikkapelle der Wiener Kavallerie unter der Leitung des Kapellmeisters Budínský.⁹

Es wäre unmöglich, auf Basis meiner Forschungen alle Veranstaltungen der Wiener Slawen mit einem Anteil slowenischen Repertoires oder der slowenischen Musikkünstler anzugeben, daher folgt hier im Hinblick auf den Umfang meiner Arbeit nur eine zusammenfassende Auswahl.¹⁰ Im Programm der Besedas, die am 21. 12. 1857 und am 26. 4. 1858 im Lokal „Zum Sperl“ in Leopoldau stattfanden, war der Flötenspieler Adolf Teršák/Terschak/Tržák (1832-1901)⁹; slowenische Lieder gab in beiden Fällen die Sängerin Irene von Fichtenau zum Besten. Eine schöne Überraschung bei der Beseda, die am 3. 11. 1858 im Lokal „Zum Schwender“ („Schwenders Colosseum“, an der Ecke Mariahilferstraße/Arnsteingasse/Reindorfsgasse) veranstaltet wurde, war die siebzehnjährige Schülerin des Prager Konservatoriums Mína Medalová (geb. ca. 1841). Sie sang u. a. das slowenische Lied *Ipava*.¹⁰ Großer Beliebtheit erfreute sich in Wien Jenkos Chor *Naprej zastava Slave*. Zum ersten Mal erklang er im Programm der am 22. 10. 1860 im Lokal „Zum Sperl“ von Josef Burgerstein organisierten Beseda. Nach fünfzig Jahren wurde an dieses Ereignis

⁸ Mitglied des Vereines SLOVANSKÁ BESEDA/Slawische Beseda in Wien in den Jahren 1866–1868 und des Vereines SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK in den Jahren 1865–1868.

⁹ „Rakúské mocnářstvo. Z Widně.“ *Slovenské noviny* (März 21, 1850): 134. [“*Asi 24 slovanských mladíkův provozovalo velmi mistrně dva česko-slovanské sbory a jeden horvátský; pak jsme slyšeli utěšeně jednotlivé písně slovinské, horvátské a českoslovanské, od rozličných výtečných zpěvcův. Při této příležitosti jsme se opět přesvědčili, že mnoho vloh a nadání hudebných, a zvláště ku zpěvu, mezi našimi slovanskými mladíky skryto všechny leží; bohužel, že tyto dary našeho národa málo se používají, poněvadž podpory není a mladíci takoví zmizí v neznámosti a v skrytí.*”]

¹⁰ Wahrscheinlich František Václav Budínský/Franz Wenzel Budinsky (1810–1863).

erinnert: „Das Lied elektrisierte in solchem Maße, dass die Begeisterung kein Ende nahm. Danach verbreitete es sich im ganzen Slawentum und wurde zur Nationalhymne. Vor allem Tschechen und Kroaten sangen das Lied anlässlich von Feierstunden. Preußische Militärkapellen spielten es im Jahre 1866 beim Ein- und Ausmarsch in und aus Böhmen und russische Kapellen beim Einmarsch in Plewen/Plewen und Sofia.“¹¹ Die Slowenen fehlten nicht einmal am Slawenball, der am 1. 3. 1859 in Sophienbad stattfand. Für diese Veranstaltung wurde die Tanzordnung in Form vom Büchlein gedruckt und mit den Initialen „S. B.“ versehen. Man verteilte „[...] Büchlein, gebunden in roten Samt, umfassend die Nationalgedichte der verschiedenen slawischen Stämme mit angemessenen Zeichnungen und Bildern der Dichter [...]“.¹²

SLOVENSKO PEVSKO DRUŠTVO und SLOVENIJA

Davorin Jenko und Valentin Zarnik gründeten in Wien 1859 das SLOVENSKO PEVSKO DRUŠTVO, dessen Mitglieder auch Serben, Kroaten und Bulgaren waren. Der von Studenten gebildete Chor probte im Lokal „Zum Lothringer“ (später auch im Lokal „Zum goldenen Sieb“) und trat auch im Programm allslawisch orientierter Veranstaltungen auf. Das Debüt fand am 13. 5. 1860 im Gasthaus „Zum großen Zeißig“ statt. Im Jahr 1861 entstand der Wiener-slowenische Verein SLOVENIJA, doch die innere Uneinigkeit und Hochschulabschiede paralyisierten seine Tätigkeit, was zum schnellen Ende des Vereins führte. Eine gewisse Hoffnung für die Slowenen war der SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK (gegr. 1862). Seine Anfänge waren wirklich allslawisch und die Slowenen spielten hier eine wichtige Rolle. Jenko, der mit den beiden zuvor genannten Wiener-slowenischen Vereinen zusammenarbeitete, kooperierte auch mit diesem und sogar von Anfang an. Die ersten Monate der Existenz des neuen Gesangsvereines zeigten die Notwendigkeit, einen weiteren allslawisch orientierten Verein zu gründen, weil die Plattform eines Gesangsvereines mit dem Willen der Mitglieder, sich zu treffen, Zeitungen zu lesen, zu diskutieren, Billard zu spielen, zu lesen etc., nicht korrespondierte. Im Prinzip waren es dieselben Leute, die nach der Gründung des Gesangsvereines auch beim Entstehen des (formal) bis heute bestehenden Vereines SLOVANSKÁ BESEDA beteiligt waren. Im Ausschuss, der auf Grund der konstituierenden Sitzung vom 25. 2. 1865 entstand, waren die Slowenen durch Peter Kosler vertreten.¹³ Der dritte Verein, der sich immer um einen allslawischen Charakter bemühte, war der (ČESKÝ) AKADEMICKÝ SPOLEK (gegr. 1868). Er war, genauso wie SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK und SLOVANSKÁ BESEDA, im Hinblick auf die Zahl der Böhmen und Mährer in Wien mit jedem weiteren Jahr mehr und mehr tschechisch geprägt.

Die Wiener Slowenen nahmen gern an den Ausflügen der Wiener Slawen teil. Die Ausflüge in die nähere Umgebung der Stadt veranstalteten meist dieselben Leute, die gegen 1860 begonnen hatten, die Idee eines stabilen allslawischen Gesangsvereines,

¹¹ Vorliegender Beitrag entstand im Rahmen eines Projekts des Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung in Österreich (FWF), *Die Musikkultur der Wiener Tschechen, 184–1939* (Leitung: Theophil Antonicek, Wien).

¹² Als Geburtsort werden Praha und Sibiu angegeben.

¹³ Im Jahre 1858 war sie Schülerin des Prager Konservatoriums.

also des Vereines SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK, in die Praxis zu übertragen. Obwohl der Ausflug vom „Donnerstag“ (höchstwahrscheinlich ging es um den 11. 7. 1861) vom Regen verdorben wurde, nahmen ca. 50 Personen daran teil. Zum Verlauf die Meldung im Periodikum Opavský besedník: „[...] die Kapelle der tschechischen Musikanten oder Tonkünstler, die schon seitens der Veranstalter des Ausfluges bestellt war, spielte uns allerlei Nationallieder und Nationaltänze, und während sich diese ausruhten, pfiß ein echter böhmischer Dudelsackpfeifer auf seinem Dudelsack diverse Stücke derart, dass uns die Ohren gellten. Am Samstag darauf fand der Ausflug zum zweiten Mal für jene statt, die beim ersten Mal nicht dabei gewesen waren. Das schöne Wetter lockte ca. 300 Slawen heraus, hauptsächlich Tschechoslawen, Russen und Slowenen, und alles war wieder so wie am Donnerstag, nur ein bisschen feierlicher und allgemeiner. Für heuer war es der letzte Ausflug.“¹⁴ Die Presse erwähnte im Zusammenhang mit dem Samstags-Ausflug auch die Teilnahme der tschechischen Spitzenpolitiker František Palacký und František Ladislav Rieger. Auch in späteren Jahren gehörten die Wiener Slowenen zum Kern der Ausflüge.

Die Werke slowenischer Komponisten im Repertoire des Vereines SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK

Kommen wir zum Thema dieses Kapitels aus allgemeinerer Perspektive. „Allslawisch“ waren vor und auch nach der Entstehung der Wiener-slawischen Vereine diejenigen Veranstaltungen, die für das ganze Slawentum von hoher Bedeutung waren. Ein typisches Beispiel dafür ist das Willkommen-Heißen der slawischen Besucher von Ausstellungen, die in Wien stattfanden. Beispielsweise wurde am 18. 5. 1857 für die Gäste der Wirtschaftsausstellung (u. a. auch Slowenen) eine große Beseda im Lokal „Zum großen Zeißig“ organisiert. Zehn Jahre später wurden ähnlich auch die führenden Persönlichkeiten aus Serbien, Kroatien, Slowenien und der Slowakei, deren Ziel die Moskauer Ausstellung war, begrüßt (am 14. 5. 1867, veranstaltet von SLOVANSKÁ BESEDA). Im Sommer 1873 veranstalteten die Vereine SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK und SLOVANSKÁ BESEDA einige Besedas für die slawischen Besucher der Weltausstellung. Auf dem Programm der ersten Beseda vom 20. 5. 1873 standen z. B. die slowenischen Chöre *Kdo je mar* (entweder von Gašpar Mašek oder Benjamin Ipavec und *Pri luni* (höchstwahrscheinlich eine Bearbeitung von Arnošt Förcchgott-Tovačovský).

Mit den Slowenen wurde auch beim Veranstalten der Ausflüge nach Böhmen und Mähren gerechnet. Es war gerade der Verein SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK, der mit tschechischsprachigen Plakaten an Hauswänden und Zäunen die Wiener Slawen zur Teilnahme an der Feierlichkeit in Brünn lockte (Das nationale Gesangfest am 25. 8. 1863, 26. 8. 1863). Der gerade erwähnte Verein verbreitete während seiner Konzertreisen das slowenische Repertoire auch hinter die Grenzen Wiens, z. B. war am 29. 1. 1865 (manch-

¹⁴ „Vznik hymny ‚Naprej zastava Slave!‘. Videňský denník (9. November, 1910): 1. [„Píseň elektrisovala tak, že nadšení nebralo konce. Poté se rozšířila po celém Slovanstvu a stala se národní hymnou. Zvláště Češi a Hrvati píseň tu zpívali při slavnostních okamžicích. Pruské vojenské hudby hrály ji v roce 1866 při vstupu a východu z Čech a ruské hudby při vstupu do Plevna a Sofie.“]

mal geben die Quellen auch das Datum 5. 2. 1865 an) auf dem Programm der Beseda in Uherské Hradiště/Ungarisch Hradisch der Chor *Zbor voišakov* von Ipavec.

Bei der Einordnung des slowenischen Repertoires in die Programme des Vereines SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK halfen sicher auch dessen slowenische Mitglieder. Zu den ersten in der Vereinsgeschichte allgemein zählte Ivan Meden.¹⁵ Slowenische Nationallieder trug er als Solist anlässlich der Silvesterfeier des Vereines vor (31. 12. 1862, Hotel de l' Europe). Die Slowenen waren auch im Ausschuss des Vereines vertreten, z. B. waren es im Jahr 1878 F. Štajer und (J. oder A.) Lenarčič.¹⁶ Zu den Mitgliedern gehörte im Zeitabschnitt 1875-1877 auch der Abgeordnete Andrej Fernjačič. Der Verein verabschiedete seine verstorbenen Mitglieder oft mit Gesang während des Begräbnisses; der slowenische Student Andrej Kopač war keine Ausnahme (Tenor in den Jahren 1879-1880), gesungen wurde der Chor *Blagor mu*.¹⁷ Ähnlich war es im Falle des in den Jahren 1884-1888 zahlenden Mitgliedes Jakub Kruljač am 1. 11. 1888. Bleiben wir noch kurz in der neueren Geschichte des Vereines und nennen einige wichtige slowenische Mitglieder: den Chorleiter und Komponisten Matej Hubad (1866-1937). Am 28. 10. 1896 wählte ihn die Generalversammlung zum Chorleiter, ein Jahr später wurde er zum Ehrenmitglied des Vereines. Nicht weniger wichtig war der Philologe Matija Murko, der in den Jahren 1897-1899 Obmann des Vereines war. Zu den bedeutenden Funktionären gehörte auch der Jurist Jakob Radoslav Pukl (1849-1913). Nach zwanzig Jahren im Verein ernannte ihn die Generalversammlung am 29. 10. 1897 zum Ehrenmitglied. Ähnliche Verdienste für den Verein erwarb sich auch der Angestellte der Staatsschuldkasse Žiga Sežun (? - nach 1912). Die Slowenen waren bis zum Ende des Vereines nach Böhmen und Mähren die meistvertretenen Slawen.

Die Werke der Slowenen erschienen seit seiner Gründung in den Programmen des Vereines SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK und der Verein war meist das erste Ensemble in Wien, das diese Werke präsentierte. Was sagt die Bilanz aller aufgeführten Kompositionen während des ersten Vierteljahrhunderts der Vereinstätigkeit aus? Insgesamt führte man 305 Stücke auf, davon 174 tschechische, 46 slowenische, 27 kroatische, 26 serbische, 15 kleinrussische, 12 polnische, 12 slowakische, 10 russische, 3 bulgarische, 1 wendisches.¹⁸ 12 Werke von Jenko erklangen 37 mal; öfter wurden nur die Werke von Arnošt Förcchgott-Tovačovský (1825-1874) aufgeführt. Noch ein Vergleich: Jenkos Chor *V boj* erschien zwölfmal und war die meistaufgeführte Komposition überhaupt!

Für eine konkretere Vorstellung nur eine kurze Auswahl slowenischer Komponisten (1860-1881) aus den Programmen des Vereines SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK:

¹⁵ Heyer, "Jak se kdy v naši menšině tancovalo," 43. [... knížecky, ale v červeném aksamitu vázané, obsahující národní básničky rozličných kmenů slovanských s přiměřenými výřesy a podobiznami básníků ...]

¹⁶ Mitglied des Vereines SLOVANSKÁ BESEDA in den Jahren 1865-1867.

¹⁷ K. S. [wahrscheinlich František Kyselka-Slanovodský], "Dopisy. Z Vidně. 17. července.," *Opavský besedník* (Juli 19, 1861): 168. ["...; banda českých muzikantů čili hudebníků, která již byla objednaná od pořadatelů té vycházky, hrála nám všeliké národní písně a tance, a zatím, co oni odpočívali, pískal skutečný český dudák na svoje gajdy rozličné kousky, že nám až uši zaléhaly. V sobotu na to odbyvala se vycházka podruhé pro ty, kteří ponejprv nebyli. Pěkné počasí vylákalo ke třem stům Slovanů, nejvíce Čechoslovanů, Rusů a Slovinců, a bylo všecko zase tak jak ve čtvrtek, jenom trochu slavnější a všeobecnější. Byla to letos poslední vycházka. "]

¹⁸ In der Tenorgruppe in den Jahren 1862-1864. Wahrscheinlich identisch mit dem Sänger, der 1898 in Slowenien wirkte.

- Jenko D.: *Naprej, zastava Slave* (22. 10. 1860, Bürgersteins Beseda, „Zum Sperrl“)
 Jenko D.: *Pobratimija* (15. 5. 1860, Bürgersteins Beseda, „Zum großen Zeißig“)
 Jenko D.: *Mornar* (15. 5. 1860, Bürgersteins Beseda, „Zum großen Zeißig“)
 Jenko D.: *Beg* (9. 3. 1861, Beseda, „Zum Sperrl“)
 Jenko D.: *Strunam* (16. 12. 1861, Beseda, im „Dianasaal“)
 Ipavec B.: *Zapuščena* (17. 11. 1864, Vereinsunterhaltung, „Zum großen Zeißig“)
 Ipavec B.: *Kdo je mar?* (13. 12. 1864, Vereinsunterhaltung, „Zum Sperrl“)
 Ipavec B.: *Zbor vojščakov* (13. 12. 1864, Vereinsunterhaltung, „Zum Sperrl“)
 Ipavec B.: *Popotnik* (9. 2. 1865, slowenische Beseda, im „Dianasaal“)
 Nedved A.: *Domovina* (9. 2. 1865, slowenische Beseda, im „Dianasaal“)
 Nedved A.: *Popotnikova pesem/Popotnik* (28. 9. 1866, Vereinsunterhaltung, „Zum grünen Tor“)
 Förster A.: *Samo* (5. 4. 1870, Vereinsunterhaltung, Gartenbaugesellschaft)
 Čebejev: *Slovinské národní písně* (13. 3. 1874, Vereinsunterhaltung, Gartenbaugesellschaft)
 Ipavec: *Domovini* (5. 7. 1876, Vereinsunterhaltung, „Zum schwarzen Adler“ in Ober-Döbling)
 Nedved A.: *Moja rožica* (11. 6. 1877, Vereinsunterhaltung, „Zum schwarzen Adler“ in Ober-Döbling)
 Förster A.: *Slava Slovincem!* (3. 12. 1877, Vereinsunterhaltung, Gartenbaugesellschaft)
 Förster A.: *Svět* (18. 3. 1878, Vereinsunterhaltung, Gartenbaugesellschaft)
 Nedved A.: *Oblakom* (18. 3. 1878, Vereinsunterhaltung, Gartenbaugesellschaft)
 Förster A.: *Rath* (17. 6. 1878, Vereinsunterhaltung, „Zum schwarzen Adler“ in Ober-Döbling)
 Förster A.: *Pobratimija* (18. 12. 1880, Konzertbeseda, Gartenbaugesellschaft)
 Nedved A.: *Slovo* (4. 4. 1881, Vereinsunterhaltung, Gartenbaugesellschaft)
 Nedved A.: *Pozdrav* (15. 12. 1881, Konzertbeseda im „Bösendorfsaal“)
 Ipavec G.: *Sredi vasi* (13. 5. 1882, Vereinsunterhaltung, Gartenbaugesellschaft)

Einige slowenische Komponisten widmeten dem Verein eigene Chöre:

- Ipavec B.: *Kam?* (6. 3. 1882, Konzertbeseda)
 Nedved Ant.: *Slovó* (6. 3. 1884, Konzertbeseda)
 Ipavec B.: *Slovanska pesem* (3. 5. 1887, komponiert für das Jubiläumskonzert des Vereines)
 Förster Ant.: *Ljubica* (gewidmet 1890)

Dem Verein SLOVANSKÁ BESEDA widmete Anton Förster seinen gemischten Chor *Kitica* (zum ersten Mal aufgeführt wahrscheinlich am 21. 3. 1891).

Die Chorleiter des Vereines SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK als Bearbeiter slowenischer Lieder

Zu den Bearbeitern des slowenischen Liedtums gehörten die ersten Chorleiter des Vereines. A. Förchgott-Tovačovský zählte sogar zu den besten Kennern und Bearbeitern slawischer Lieder. Er trat auch als Sänger auf; z. B. am 16. 11. 1867 als Solist im Chor *Domovina* von Ipavec.

- Bearbeitung D. Jenkos *Što čutiš, Srbine tožni* (zum ersten Mal am 18. 5. 1867, Vereinsbeseda)
- Bearbeitung D. Jenkos *Dumka* (4. 5. 1871, Vereinsbeseda)
- Bearbeitung *Pri luni* (ca. 1871)
- Ein nicht näher bekanntes Lied bildet einen Bestandteil der Reihe *Národní písně/Nationallieder* für Chor und Klavier (aufgeführt am 4. 5. 1871 im Rahmen einer außerordentlichen Beseda für A. Förchgott-Tovačovský in der Gartenbaugesellschaft).
- Das Lied mit dem Incipit *Ka dan se zaznáva, Danica...* befindet sich in der Reihe *Druhá kytice z národních písní slovanských/Zweiter Liederkranz slawischer Weisen* (Uraufführung wahrscheinlich am 11. 4. 1872).
- Anlässlich der Eröffnung der neuen Räumlichkeiten des Vereines SLOVANSKÁ BESEDA am 17. 10. 1874 erklangen seine *Slovinské národní písně/Slowenischen Nationallieder*.

Der nächste Chorleiter Alois Alexander Buchta (1841-1898) knüpfte an seinen Vorläufer an. Seine Reihe *Kytice z národních písní slovanských/Liederkranz slawischer Weisen* konnte das Publikum zum ersten Mal am 10. 3. 1879 im Programm der Vereinsbeseda in der Gartenbaugesellschaft hören. Nach dem einleitenden tschechischen Lied folgt das slowenische Lied mit dem Incipit *Po planincah gromi in se bliska* und daran schließen noch acht slawische Lieder an. Ein anderer Chorleiter des Vereines, Konstantin Jahoda-Křtinský (1828-1895) komponierte einen Chor basierend auf dem slowenischen Lied *Ljubičina pošta*, aufgeführt im Konzert des Vereines SLOVANSKÁ BESEDA am 13. 12. 1883. Den Damen des Gesangskreises dieses Vereines widmete er die Reihe *Tři národní písně slovanské/Drei slawische Nationallieder* für einen gemischten Chor. Die Dreiergruppe bilden ein tschechisches, ein serbisches und ein slowenisches Lied (mit dem Incipit *Po planincah grómi in se blíská...*).

Eine kleine Bemerkung noch. In den Programmen zu den Veranstaltungen der Vereine SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK und SLOVANSKÁ BESEDA erschien seit 1875 ein paar Mal auch der Männerchor mit dem Titel *Slovenske národne pesmi/Slovinské národní písně/Slovenske narodne pesmi*. Sein Autor (oder der Autor der Bearbeitung) war nie mit ganzem Namen angegeben, nur mit dem Monogramm J. C. oder J. Č. Den Chor bilden vier Lieder mit den Incipits *Venček na glavi – Kje so moje rožice – Stoji, stoji tam lipica – Na Laškem puške*.

Genese des Vereines SLOVENIJA

Genauso wie die anderen Slawen in Wien versammelten sich auch die Slowenen nicht nur in den allslawisch orientierten Vereinen, sondern auch in rein slowenischen

Vereinen. Ihre Tätigkeit bestand u. a. in der Veranstaltung repräsentativer Feiern der großen Söhne des Volkes. Eine solche Feier organisierten sie gemeinsam mit den Serben und Kroaten zu Ehren des Dichters Valentin Vodnik im Dianasaal am 9. 2. 1865. Die Zahl der Besucher erreichte ca. 500 Personen, hauptsächlich natürlich Slawen, wobei der Anteil der Tschechoslawen relativ gering war. Zum Verlauf eine authentische Meldung: „SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK täte gut daran, die hiesigen Südslawen mehr zu beachten, es gibt derer nicht so viele wie uns, demgegenüber haben sie aber mehr an Honorationen und hübschen Damen, des notwendigsten Teiles jeder angenehmen und ausgesuchten gesellschaftlichen Unterhaltung. Die Ansprache war slowenisch. Dann folgten lauter slowenische und serbische Lieder, vorgetragen vom SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK, der die Einladung gern angenommen hatte. Es war jedoch zu sehen, dass er dezimiert ist. Aber die Tatsache, dass nur serbische und nicht auch kroatische Lieder gesungen wurden, hielten die anwesenden Kroaten, mit denen sich die Serben und Slowenen immer komisch zanken, für eine Art vorsetzlicher Beleidigung und (ich denke, sie errieten es) verließen ungefähr nach dem vierten Lied den Saal, was alle sehr unlieb verletzte und die Lebendigkeit des Gesprächs und der Unterhaltung ziemlich unterbrach. Man sang zwar danach außerhalb des Programms kroatische sowie auch russische und tschechische Lieder, aber der unliebe Zufall war schon passiert. Mit dem Konzert endete ca. um 12 Uhr die Feier, denn der Ball, über den ich dir geschrieben hatte, wurde nicht abgehalten.“¹⁹

Alljährlich wurde von den Wiener Slowenen auch der Dichter France Prešern gefeiert. Einen Beleg dafür findet man auch im Periodikum „Zukunft“, im Bericht über die Beseda vom 5. 1. 1867, die die slowenischen Studenten der Wiener Universitäten in den Saalkalitäten „Zu den drei Engeln“ (Wieden, große Neugasse) veranstaltet haben. Vertreten in corpore war auch der Verein VELEBIT (alle Hörer der hiesigen Hochschulen aus dem dreieinigem Königreich einschließend), weiter Serben, Tschechen und ausnahmsweise gemeinsam auch Ruthenen und Polen. Im zuvor veröffentlichten Programm befanden sich folgende slowenische Komponisten: Nedvěd (*Domovina*), Ipavec (*Zapušena*) und Jenko (*Što čutiš, Srbine tožni*).²⁰ Eine andere Nachricht lautet: es war „ein wahres Verbrüderungsfest unter der hiesigen slawischen Universitätsjugend“, und fügt hinzu, dass der „akademische slowenische Gesangsverein“ mit dem Chorleiter Brezovar die Gesänge vortrug.²¹ Alle Stücke mussten wiederholt werden. Die Gesangsproduktion bereicherte auch der Verein VELEBIT.

Am Ende des Jahres 1867 ließen die slawischen Studenten wieder von sich hören. Am 6. 12. 1867 veranstalteten sie in der Gartenbaugesellschaft einen „geselligen Abend“. Eine ausführliche Nachricht darüber (Zahl der Studenten, vertretene Vereine, Dekoration, Repertoire) brachte z. B. die Zukunft.²² Hier sind die Slowenen, organisiert im Verein SÁVA, erwähnt. Man hatte vor, jeden zweiten Monat ähnliche Abende zu organisieren.

¹⁹ *Zukunft* (Januar 3, 1867), 3.

²⁰ *Zukunft* (Januar 7, 1867), 4.

²¹ *Zukunft* (Dezember 7, 1867), 2.

»Slovenija na Dunaji«

Eine der nächsten Veranstaltungen der slawischen Studenten in Wien war das Abschieds- und Verbrüderungsfest vom 28. 6. 1869 in Grinzing. Unter den dort anwesenden Vereinen findet man auch den Namen SLOVENIJA. Dieser slowenische Verein hatte seine Generalversammlung im Sommer 1869 und gehörte bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg zu den bedeutendsten slawischen Vereinen in Wien. Die Gründe für die Entstehung kann man einfach benennen: Bestreben nach nationaler Selbstbestimmung und Entstehung vieler slawischer Vereine in Wien. Zur frühesten Geschichte des Vereines gehört die Teilnahme an der Feier für tschechische Schulen und den Fond für die Unterstützung der armen Studenten in Wien (10. 6. 1871, „Zum Zobel“). Die Veranstalter waren möglicherweise alle Vereine der Wiener Slawen. Am Gesangsteil nahm SLOVENIJA zwar nicht teil, doch fehlte das slowenische Repertoire nicht: Jenkos Chor *Hejdmó* und der Chor *Pri luni* (wahrscheinlich die Bearbeitung von A. Förchgott-Tovačovský).

Vor dem Schlusswort noch eine Bemerkung. Eine wichtige Stellung in der Geschichte des Vereines SLOVENIJA hat der Wiener-tschechische Chorleiter Jan Jiřík (1843-1895). Er ist mehr durch seine Aktivitäten in den Vereinen SLOVANSKÁ BESEDA und SLOVANSKÝ ZPĚVÁCKÝ SPOLEK bekannt als im Zusammenhang mit SLOVENIJA. Hier wirkte er als Chorleiter wahrscheinlich seit 1868. Dafür spricht die Tatsache, dass er am Anfang des Jahres 1888 auf Grund der zwanzigjährigen Aktivität im Verein zum Ehrenmitglied wurde. Bei dieser Gelegenheit bekam er einen Brillantring. Wie lange er im Verein war, ist schwer zu sagen; sicher noch im Jahre 1890, wahrscheinlich aber bis zu seinem Tod. Es war gerade der Vereinschor, wo Jiřík seine Erfahrungen an den jüngeren Kollegen Jan Stiebler (1857-1930) weitergab.

Schlusswort

Mit der Gründung der SLOVENIJA im Jahre 1869 endet die Retrospektive des slowenischen Anteiles an der Entwicklung der Musik des slawischen Wiens im Zeitabschnitt 1840-1870. Mittels verschiedener Perspektiven wurde belegt, dass es sich hierbei um einen wesentlichen Beitrag handelte. Egal, ob es im Rahmen der rein nationalen oder der allslawisch orientierten Vereinsstrukturen war. Die tschechisch-slowenische Zusammenarbeit ist im Kontext der tschechischen Geschichte mit der Zusammenarbeit der Tschechen mit den Lausitzer Sorben und Slowaken vergleichbar. Es wurden vielleicht alle wichtigen Akteure und Ereignisse erwähnt, dennoch muss auf die Notwendigkeit, in Zukunft auch in der deutschsprachigen Wiener Presse ausführlich recherchieren zu müssen, hingewiesen werden.

POVZETEK

Obširna muzikološka obdelava glasbenega življenja dunajskih Slovanov je stari dolg avstrijske muzikologije in hkrati »okostnjak v omari« muzikologije posameznih slovanskih dežel. Članek preučuje sledi, ki so jih pustili Slovenci na Dunaju. Pretežno se opira na podatke iz češkega (dunajsko-češkega) tiska, ki zagotovo ni primarni vir za raziskovanje slovenske muzikologije, vendar zelo pomemben za primerjavo virov in informacij.

Časovni obseg sega od prvih omemb o vzajemnih stikih dunajskih Slovencev z drugimi dunajskimi Slovani in se konča okoli leta 1870 z ustanovitvijo društva *SLOVENIJA NA DUNAJI*. Metodološko se članek trudi opisati vse, kar je slovensko na slovanskem Dunaju. To pomeni širjenje slovenskega repertoarja (oz. njegove uporabe v delih neslovenskih skladateljev), integracija Slovencev v vseslovanska in slovensko usmerjena društva, izkazovanje slovanske vzajemnosti v kontekstu glasbenih prireditev itd.

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Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac and Producing the Image of Serbian Folk-Song: Garlands from »Old Serbia« as a Form of Musical Travelogue*

Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac in ustvarjanje podobe srbske ljudske pesmi: Rukoveti (venčki) iz »Stare Srbije« v obliki glasbenega poročila

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Keywords: Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, garlands (rukoveti), »Old Serbia«, travelogue, folk-song, national territory

IZVLEČEK

Z umeščanjem Mokranjačevih venčkov iz Kosova in Makedonije v kontekst poročila o potovanju iz »Stare Srbije« se ne morem strinjati, da bi se njihova politična pomembnost skrivala v vsebinski privrženosti folklorem gradivu. Z analizo načina Mokranjačevega obravnavanja ljudskih pesmi bom pokazal, kako je ustvaril podobo domovine Srbije kot organske celote.

ABSTRACT

By positioning Mokranjac's garlands from Kosovo and Macedonia into the context of travelogues from 'Old Serbia', I will argue that their political significance lay in purported adherence to folklore material. Analyzing how Mokranjac handled the folk-songs I will show how he produced an image of Serbian homeland as an organic whole.

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Opus of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac in general, and the collection of fifteen garlands (rukoveti) in particular, undoubtedly acts as the cornerstone of Serbian art music canon. Adopting the paradigm of originality, and at the same time positioning Mokranjac as the founder of the Serbian national music school, one of the main objectives of Serbian musicological discourse, as well as discourse on music in general, has become claiming the much disputed status of original artworks for Mokranjac's garlands. However, in my investigation of Mokranjac's compositional choices and procedures, I will attempt to reconstruct the contemporary political and social meaning of Mokranjac achievement by addressing notions such as nation, territory, and folk-song as social constructs, and observing compositional activity as a material social practice. As a result, I will be able to show that in moment of their creation, garlands actually contested the position of folk-song arrangements, which could give them a greater role in political life than the position of an original artwork. In my discussion I will position a number of Mokranjac's garlands 'from Old Serbia' in the discourse of 'Old Serbia' travelogues which was current at turn of the centuries and which formed a germane part of Serbian kingdom's cultural politics. Finally, analyzing certain compositional choices and procedures, I will show how through these 'travelogue-garlands' Mokranjac built an image of a Serbian folk-song which strove to present accessible image of these lands and to represent them as an organic part of imagined Serbian 'homeland'

Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (born in Negotin in eastern Serbia in 1856 and died in Skopje in 1914 during the First World War) represents the most prominent Serbian composer of romanticism. Not only was Mokranjac a widely acclaimed composer during his lifetime, but he also acted as one of the most important figures in the Serbian musical life. In the period between 1887 and his death he was the leading conductor of the Belgrade Choir Society (Beogradsko pevačko društvo), the most excelled Serbian choir society of the time that acted under the patronage of the royal family. Mokranjac gained his musical education in leading European centres of Munich and Rome, as he was awarded a scholarship firstly by Belgrade Choir Society and later by the state, gaining insight in the contemporary techniques of harmony and counterpoint.¹

The vast majority of Mokranjac compositional output was dedicated to choral music. Continuing the tradition of choir conductors, he wrote an array of occasional compositions, and compositions meant to be performed exclusively by his own choir. Distinguished from this line stands the collection of fifteen garlands, conceived as medleys of Serbian folk-songs organized by geographical criterion, stylized in a coherent musical whole and arranged for *a capella* choir.² In the case of garlands, initial premiere by Belgrade Choir Society was swiftly followed by reproduction, printing, and wide distribution through the network of choir societies. This secured garlands achieving not only great popularity during Mokranjac's lifetime, but also becoming the core stone of Serbian musical canon.

In the nineteenth-century and the beginning of the twentieth-century, choir societies were amongst the most far-reaching music institutions in Serbian cultural life, concern-

¹ Details of Mokranjac education are available in *Ђурић-Клајн, Стана. Млади дани Стевана Мокрањца*. Неготин: Мокрањчеви дани, 1981. For general biographical data see Романа Рибич, "Хронолошки преглед живота и рада Стевана Ст. Мокрањца," in *Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац. Живот и дело*, eds. Дејан Деспић and Властимир Перичић (Београд: Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства Књажевац – Нота, 1999), 235–249.

² The exception is Fourth Garland (1890), composed for soloist, mixed choir, piano and castanets.

ing both the sheer number of them, and the territorial extent covered by their network. In most of the cases, the activities of choir societies compromised political, cultural and artistic function and their cultural politics had a great impact on Serbian public in general. The political function was especially prominent in the lands controlled by Austro-Hungary, where the political discourse of Serbian nationalism was heavily censored. It is thus very important to bear in mind that in the period between Berlin congress of 1878 and the end of the First World War – that is, in the period when Mokranjac's creative output took place – people recognizing themselves as belonging to the Serbian nation were divided by many political borders crossing the Balkan. They inhabited various parts of Austro-Hungary – South Hungary, Croatia, occupied (and later annexed) Bosnia and Herzegovina, etc. – parts of the Ottoman Empire, and, finally, the newly constituted Kingdom of Serbia. Although the Principality of Serbia (which was declared kingdom at Berlin congress) existed as an autonomous polity in the Ottoman empire from the beginning of the nineteenth-century, and mostly acted as an independent state, throughout this period the major part of Serbian intellectual elite that played crucial part in shaping the Serbian nationalistic discourse was still concentrated in the South Hungary and cities of Vienna and Budapest. This overall political situation made the construction of the Serbian nation a difficult project; it was of crucial importance to create the cultural artefacts that could transcend given political borders and symbolize the unity and legitimacy of Serbian nationhood in a way that could be easily understood and perceived.

Serbian choral music of Mokranjac's predecessors was often bluntly nationalistic, especially regarding the texts of the songs, whereas the music held to the hymn- and fanfare-like sound. What this representation lacked at the end of the nineteenth-century, when ethnic and primordial features of the nations became increasingly important throughout Europe, was the adequate usage of the folklore material that would create the musical image of common ancestry and speak about shared heritage. In this context, Mokranjac's collection of garlands can be construed as an adequate answer to this need.³ In the period between 1884 and 1909 Mokranjac composed fifteen garlands, as well as the composition entitled *Coastland Tunes (Primorski napjevi)*, built on the similar principles,⁴ giving in total 92 folk-tunes arrangements for various choir settings. In the process of finding the adequate folk-tunes, Mokranjac drew on pre-existing compositions of other authors, folk-songs collections of his predecessors such as Kornelije Stanković and Franjo Kuhač, used songs that were popular in his urban surrounding, and, finally, performed his own fieldwork in order to collect folk-songs.

It is possible to show that Mokranjac activity closely corresponded with the strivings of Serbian intellectual and political elite to encompass all the lands recognized as Serb national territory under the realm of a single nation-state. As Biljana Milanović demonstrated, the different stages in creating the cycle of garlands, as well as in planning the concert tours of the Belgrade Choir Society, reflect the strategic changes in Kingdom of Serbia territorial expansion politics: after first six garlands, labelled 'from my homeland'

³ For situating Mokranjac in Serbian romanticism from the aspect of the theories of musical style cf. Marković, Tatjana. *Transfiguracije srpskog romantizma: muzika u kontekstu studija kulture*. Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu, 2005.

⁴ *Coastal tunes* (c. 1893) differ from the garlands as they were composed using an eponymous medley by Slavoljub Lžičar as a model. They, however, meet the criterion of geographical reference (Dalmatia) and have had similar reception history.

(which can be interpreted as the boundaries of existing Kingdom of Serbia), Mokranjac turned his eyes towards south ('Old Serbia', 'Macedonia', 'Kosovo' and 'Ohrid' in seventh, eighth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and fifteenth garland) and west ('Bosnia' in fourteenth, as well as Dalmatia in *Coastal Tunes*), paying tribute to Montenegro in the Ninth Garland, on occasion of strengthening political ties between kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro.⁵ Mokranjac was also closely related to semi-civil initiatives which served as vehicles of state politics, such as Saint Sava Society (Društvo *Sveti Sava*), purportedly educational initiative active in Ottoman Kosovo and Macedonia, and which strived to inculcate Serbian national identity in the Slav population of these regions.⁶ The garlands which Mokranjac composed referring to the territories widely recognized at the time as 'Old Serbia' are particularly intriguing from at least two standpoints. On one hand, perusing the narrative of Serbian medieval state, these territories increasingly came to be recognized as the 'core territory' of Serbian nation, becoming more and more prominent in the official political discourse of the day. On the other hand, Mokranjac himself travel to these lands, whether specifically for performing ethnomusicological research or as a part of Belgrade Choir Society concert tours, which makes it possible to construe these compositions as a part of a current and politically engaged discourse of travelogues from 'Old Serbia'.

It is far from surprising that the narrative of Serbian medieval state rose as the main focal point of Serbian nationalistic discourse. Serbian medieval state, or, more precisely medieval feudal polity ruled by the Serbian dynasty of Nemanjić from 12th to 14th century, was perceived as the golden age of Serbian nation, when both the claim of Serbian statehood and autocephaly of Serbian church were successfully vindicated in spite of the vicissitudes of medieval Balkan political map. The main figure of this narrative was emperor Dušan 'the Mighty', the first of the lineage to adopt the lofty title, after he had waged a successful military campaign and occupied a vast swath of land, reaching even the Bay of Korinthos. The potency of this narrative in the nineteenth century was manifold. As the narratives of medieval states' past were adopted as one of the main sources of nations' legitimacy across Europe, it gave the nascent Serbian nation sense of dignity and a vehicle to strive to symbolic equality with the 'great European nations', notwithstanding its current unenviable political situation. More generally, it served as a claim to prove the Serbian nation's historical right to statehood and it was used to vindicate the project of the unification of 'Serbian lands'. Finally, as the very territories which formed the core of Serbian medieval state were the lands ruled by Ottoman Empire and bordering the south reach of the contemporary Serbian kingdom, the glorification of this chapter in Serbian history served as often unambiguous call to wage yet another 'liberation' war with the Ottomans. Widely named 'Old Serbia', these lands, mostly encompassed by Ottoman Kosovo vilayet and comprised of Kosovo and Metohija, Raška and Macedonia, were becoming the object of rising curiosity of Serbian people living in the Kingdom and in Austro-Hungary, and who were eager to receive information on these places which they considered to be the spring of their nationhood.

⁵ Биљана Милановић, "Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац и аспекти етничитета и национализма," in *Мокрањац на дар. 2006. Простета – чудних чуда кажу – 150 година. 1856*, eds. Ивана Перковић Радак and Тијана Поповић-Млађеновић (Београд: Факултет музичке уметности, 2006), 33–53.

⁶ Милановић, "Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац и аспекти етничитета и национализма," 45.

Although travelogues of Serbian lands appeared in Serbian culture throughout the nineteenth century, after the Berlin congress and strengthening of the newly constituted kingdom one can note formation of a specific discourse of travelogue form ‘Old Serbia’. These ‘travelogues’ appeared in various disguises, as literary travelogues, demographic and ethnographic reviews, works of visual art, etc., sharing a common goal to present cogent and vivid imagery of the distant lands that people living in Kingdom of Serbia and Austro-Hungary, and participating in the Serbian national identity, felt belong to their nation, and form the core part of their homeland (see table 1). Importantly, this discourse formed when travel in general was becoming increasingly available to middle class as a possible articulation of incipient category of ‘time of leisure’,⁷ which made the descriptions of travel and movement through space more tangible to the prospective audience. The corner stone of the discourse was laid by Miloš S. Milojević, historian, politician and writer, who published two key works following his travel through ‘Old Serbia’: the first one was literary travelogue written in documentary style and published in three volumes during the 1870’s,⁸ and the second one was scholarly study on demographics, ethnography and geography of the region.⁹ These works established several basic principles of the discourse: the travelogue was to be ostensibly documentary, purporting to contain the factual reports, descriptions of the places were to be designed to emphasize the sense of space and downplay the sense of historical time, knitting together events from past with current landscape and paying special attention to historical monuments linked to Serbian medieval state, and, finally, reports of the present state of affairs was to be filled with the sense of imminent danger of cultural assimilation or even sheer extinction of Serbian population. The documentary nature of the Miloš Milojević’s literary travelogue was even more accentuated with the consequent publication of scholarly study, and this strategy was to be repeated by Branislav Nušić, writer and politician, who for a certain period of time acted as the Serbian consul in Priština, in Kosovo.¹⁰ The principles of the discourse functioned across different media and can be also discerned in the illustrated journals *Iskra* (published in 1898) and *Nova iskra* (1899–1911) that were continuously bringing illustrations of places from ‘Old Serbia’. It was often stated that the illustrations were produced following the photographic image, portrayed objects were often monuments linked to Serbian medieval state, and comments to the images convey the sense of danger posed towards Serbian national heritage in these lands. Illustrations 1 and 2 bring images from *Nova iskra* in 1899, when an array of images from Macedonia was reproduced. The second one brings an image based on photographic material of the bridge which was supposedly build by emperor Dušan ‘the Mighty’, and the first one an image of a gorge Demir Kapija, one of the most iconic geographical landmarks of

⁷ Cf. Дубравка Стојановић, “Туризам и конструкција социјалног и националног идентитета у Србији крајем 19. и почетком 20. века,” *Годишњак за друштвену историју* 13 (2007): 41–59.

⁸ Милојевић, Милош С. *Путпис дела Праве (Старе) Србије*. Књ. 1, Београд: Главна српска књижара Јована Д. Лазаревића, 1871; Књ. 2, Београд: Државна штампарија, 1872; Књ. 3, Београд: Државна штампарија, 1877.

⁹ Idem. *Народотисни и земљотисни преглед средњег дела праве (Старе) Србије: са етнографском мапом српских земаља у кнежевинама: Србији, Дрвој Гори, Краљевини Румунији, Аустро-Угарској и Турској царевини*. Београд: Задруга штампарских радника, 1881.

¹⁰ Nušić travelogue from Kosovo appeared in parts in various journals prior to its integral publication. For data on the history of its publication, but also for discussion of the sense of timelessness in Nušić’s travelogue from Kosovo, cf. Славица Дејановић, “Нушићев путопис о Косову у српским часописима од 1892. до 1902. године,” in *Књига о путопису*, ed. Слободанка Пековић (Београд: Институт за књижевност и уметност, 2001), 451–463.

Macedonia. Interestingly, very similar illustration of Demir Kapija was also featured in Spira Kalik's short travelogue documenting the trip of the members of Belgrade Choir Society on the concert tour to Macedonia, where this gorge is described as similar to other gorges one could find in Kingdom of Serbia.

Table 1: Example of 'travelogues' from 'Old Serbia' from the late 19th to the beginning of 20th century.

Year of publication / first exhibition / premiere performance	Work	Genre
1871-1877	Miloš S. Milojević: <i>Putopis dela prave (Stare) Srbije</i> [Travelogue of a part of the true (Old) Serbia], three volumes	literary travelogue (with several illustrations)
1881	Miloš S. Milojević: <i>Narodopisni i zemljopisni pregled srednjeg dela prave (Stare) Srbije</i> [Ethnographic and geographic review of the middle part of the true (Old) Serbia]	demographic, ethnographic and geographic study
1884	Đorđe Krstić exhibition featuring number of sketches and drawings made on a trip to the south	visual art works: drawings, aquarelles, oil painting
1894	Spira Kalik: <i>Iz Beograda u Solun i Skoplje s Beogradskim pevačkim društvom: putničke beleške</i> [From Belgrade to Thessaloniki and Skopje with Belgrade Choir Society: traveler's notes]	literary travelogue (with several illustrations)
1894	Branislav Nušić: <i>S obala Ohridskog jezera</i> [From the shores of lake Ohrid]	literary travelogue
1894-1909	Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac: garlands from 'Old Serbia', 'Macedonia', 'Kosovo', 'Ohrid'	choir compositions / folk-songs arrangements
1892-1902	Branislav Nušić: <i>S Kosova na sinje more</i> [From Kosovo to the blue sea]	literary travelogue
1898-1911	Illustrations in illustrated journals <i>Iskra</i> (1898) and <i>Nova iskra</i> (1899-1911)	illustrations / graphic art
1903	Branislav Nušić: <i>Kosovo. Opis zemlje i naroda</i> [Kosovo. A Description of the land and people]	demographic, ethnographic and geographic study (featuring music examples)



Picture 1: *Demir Kapija*, published in *Nova iskra 1* (1899): 95.



Picture 2: *Most preko Vardara kod Skoplja*, published in *Nova iskra 1* (1899): 118.

In order to demonstrate that Mokranjac's garlands from 'Old Serbia' can be construed as a musical travelogue and a part of the discourse of 'Old Serbia' travelogues I will firstly discuss the documentary nature of garlands. On two occasions Mokranjac himself travelled to the territories of 'Old Serbia': in 1894 Mokranjac travelled with Belgrade Choir Society on a concert tour to Thessaloniki and Skopje and in February 1986 Mokranjac travelled to Kosovo specifically in order to collect folk-songs for his garlands. Information on both of these travels was available to Mokranjac's audience, as Spira Kalik literary travelogue described the former, from the vantage point of a choir member, and Nušić, in his study *Kosovo. Opis zemlje i naroda* (Kosovo. A Description of the land and people) published in 1902, included eight tunes recorded by Mokranjac on his latter trip, mentioning the name of the recorder. The dates of Mokranjac first garlands from 'Old Serbia' closely correspond with these travels: just after the trip to Thessaloniki and Skopje Mokranjac wrote the Seventh Garland, *From Old Serbia and Macedonia*, and in the year of trip to Kosovo he wrote the Eight Garland, *From Kosovo*. Comparing the relationship between Mokranjac's garlands labelled 'from my homeland' and garlands from 'Old Serbia' one can note a striking difference: while Mokranjac rarely wrote down the tunes for the first six garlands in a form of ethnomusicological transcription before composing the garland itself (bar two songs from Third Garland and two songs from Fifth Garland), all the songs from Seventh and Eight Garland can be found in Mokranjac ethnomusicological material, as well as majority of the songs from later garlands from 'Old Serbia' (see table 2).

Investigating the contemporary receptions of these Mokranjac's garland, it is possible to argue that the purport of the garlands was to present the authentic folk-songs from various regions inhabited by Serbs.¹¹ For purposes such as reporting the concert

¹¹ Even in today's Serbian (ethno)musicological discourse one can sense that it is a certain taboo to discuss the possibilities that the tunes in the garlands are not authentic folk-songs, that is that Mokranjac actually composed some of the tunes he used in garlands, which is paradoxical having in mind that vindicating Mokranjac originality in composing garlands has become one of the main goals of the same discourse. In his introduction to Mokranjac's melographic work Dragoslav Dević gives a following paradigmatic statement:

"We know that *Garlands* are based on about eighty odd folk songs originating from various parts of the country, of which this edition covers 32 songs. We think that Mokranjac's records should also include the other songs from the Garlands, but we did not publish them in this book because they are partly altered by his composer's treatment."

programs in press garlands were generally referred to as medleys of songs and the subtitle – emphasizing the geographical origin of the music material – often acted as the title. from certain geographical region.¹² Tunes from Mokranjac garlands were also further transmitted as authentic folk songs, which can be shown using an edition of Serbian folk-songs edited by composer Isidor Bajić and printed at the begging of the 20th century in Belgrade. Bajić titles his edition “Serbian folk-songs and folk-songs from Mokranjac’s garlands”, printing the latter part of the title in small prints (see illustration 3), and throughout edition does not make any additional comments whether a certain song which is included is a folk-song or derives from Mokranjac’s garlands.¹³ This also corresponds with the manner in which Kalik also refers to the garlands in his travelogue, describing Third Garland as “the artificial array of Serbian folk-songs”.¹⁴ Concurrently, Mokranjac ethnomusicological work was highly praised and esteemed, as we learn from the writings of Vladimir Đorđević, himself collector of folk-songs; in his preface to an edition of folk-songs from ‘Southern Serbia’ Đorđević warned the reader on low quality and reliability of previously collected folk-songs material, praising Mokranjac as the deftest of the collectors whose work is “in every regard, flawless”.¹⁵



Picture 3: Title page of Isidor Bajić's album for voice and piano *Srpske narodne pesme i narodne pesme iz Mokranjčevih rukoveta* [Serbian folk-songs and folk-songs from Mokranjac's garlands].

Dragoslav Dević, foreword to Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, *Ethnomusicological work*, ed. *idem*, trans. A. S. Petrović (Beograd: Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Aids, and Krjaževac: Nota, 1996), xvii.

¹² Цвејић, Cf. Ђорђе, ed. *Гусле. Званично гласило Савеза српских певачких друштава*. Сомбор: Година I, Број 1, 1911; Година IV, Број 5, 1914.

¹³ Бајић, Исидор. *Српске народне песме и народне песме из Мокрањчевих рукова*. Београд: Дворска књижара Мите Стајића, с.а.

¹⁴ “Čim se malo stiša, Stipan dade znak i mi počesmo III rukovet, taj veštački niz srpskih narodnih pesama našega denijalnoga Mokranjca,” Спир Калик, *Из Београда у Солун и Скопље с Београдским певачким друштвом: путничке белешке* (Београд: Штампарија П. К. Танасковића, 1894), 49.

¹⁵ Владимир Р. Ђорђевић, Предговор for *Српске народне мелодије* (Скопље: Скопско научно друштво, 1928), xiv.

Table 2: Tunes in Mokranjac's garlands 'from Old Serbia'.

Name of the song in the garland	Reference in Mokranjac*	Reference. in Đorđević**	Reference in Milojević***
Seventh Garland, From Old Serbia and Macedonia (Iz Stare Srbije i Makedonije), 1894			
More, izvor-voda izviralala	257: Iz vir voda izviralala	62: Izvir voda izviraše. Veles	
'Ajde, koj' ti kupi kulančeto	258: Ajde koj ti kupi kulančeto		
Što li mi je milo le, majko, i drago	259: Što mi je milo i drago		
Poseja dedo golemata njiva	260: Posadi deda golemata njiva		57: Poseja dedo golemata njiva. Peć
Varaj, Danke, gizdava devojko	260a		
Mokranjac used only the text of the song he noted. Unlike the small ambitus of the noted melody, the tune used in the garland is wide-spread and follows the contours of the tonic six-four chord.			
Eighth Garland, From Kosovo (Sa Kosova), 1986			
Džanum, na sred selo šarena češma tečaše	173 : Na sred selo šarena češma (urban, from Živko / gradska, od Živka)		
Što Morava mutno teče	189a, 189b	(402: Rosa pade te Morava dođe. Donja Gušterica / na Kosovu/)	6: Što Morava mutno teče. Vučitrn
Mokranjac noted two different versions of the song. In the garland he used melody of 189a, and part of the text of 189b. Milojević noted another version of the song, with the text similar to 189b			
Razgrana se grana jorgovana	129 (urban, from baba Lena / gradska, od baba Lene)		51: Razgranjala grana jorgovana. Uroševac
Skoč' kolo, da skočimo	117 (rural / seoska), 118		
Mokranjac opted for 118 with greater ambitus and clearer dominant, discarding 117 he noted as rural. He also adds octave leap at the final cadence.			

Name of the song in the garland	Reference in Mokranjac*	Reference. in Dorđević**	Reference in Milojević***
Tenth Garland, From Ohrid (Sa Ohrida), 1901			
Biljana platno beleše	295	236	
Mokranjac used only the text of the song he noted. Dorđević notes different version of the song, but recognizes Mokranjac tune from the garland as an older folk song.			
Do tri mi puški puknale			
Dinka dvori mete	298		
Pušči me, majko le mila		388. Puštaj me, male mori, da vidam. Tetovo	
Niknalo cvekje šareno			
Eleventh Garland, From Old Serbia (Iz Stare Srbije), 1905			
Pisaše me, Stano, mori	190		
Mokranjac adds fourth leaps, makes rhythmical changes and speeds the tempo.			
Crni goro, crni sestro			
Oj, Lenko, Lenko, Stavreva kjerko	305: Oj, Lenko, Lenko, Stavreva čerko		
Mokranjac used only the text of the song he noted. Unlike the small ambitus of the noted melody, the tune used in the garland follows the contours of minor six-four chord.			
Kalugere, crna dušo, 'ajde de	191: Kalugere, crna dušo		
Twelfth Garland, From Kosovo (Sa Kosova), 1906			
Deka si bila daneske, Cveto	299		
Aman, šetnala si, more Jano	163		
Da l' nemam, džanum, ruse kose	162: Da l' nemam, ruse kose		
Cvekje cafnalo	306: Cveće c'fnalo u naša gradina		
Sedi moma na pendžeru	127a: Posejala baba tikve 127b: Sama rade po livade		
Mokranjac combined the tunes of two similar folk-songs and used new text, as he considered existing texts as unsatisfactory.			

Name of the song in the garland	Reference in Mokranjac*	Reference. in Đorđević**	Reference in Milojević***
Fifteenth Garland, <i>From Macedonia (Iz Makedonije)</i>, 1909			
Marije, bela Marije	307 (for 15 th G / za XV R)		
Ej, obasjala mesečina	308: Ugrejala mesečina (for 15 th garland / za XV rukovet)	203: Ugrejala mesečina. Bitolj	
Bog da go ubije, mamо	309: Bog da go ubije komšičeto	(279: Bog da go bijet Alima. Kičevo)	
Prošeta devet, majko, godini	310		
Sejala Dinka bosiljak	311	326: Sadila Dimka bosilek. Debar-Melničane	
<p>* – Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац, Етномузиколошки записи, ed. Драгослав Девић (Београд: Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства Књажевац: Нота 1996). The number refers to the numbering in this edition. The title of the tune is given if it differs from the title in the garland. If Mokranjac's comment exist, it's given in brackets.</p> <p>** – Владимир Р. Ђорђевић, Српске народне мелодије (Скопље: Скопско научно друштво, 1928). The number refers to the numbering in this edition. Follows the title, geographical reference (regular in Đorđević) and comment, if any. Loosely connected songs are bracketed.</p> <p>*** – Милоје Милојевић, Народне песме и игре Косова и Метохије, ed. Драгослав Девић (Београд: Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства and Карић Фондација, 2004). The number refers to the numbering in this edition. Follows the title and geographical reference (regular in Milojević).</p>			

Placing Mokranjac garlands from 'Old Serbia' in the context of travelogue discourse has ample ramifications. If Mokranjac's contemporaries perceived tunes contained in the garlands as authentic, documented folk-songs, the garlands then acted as the musical image of the territories they considered belonging to the Serbian nation and served as a vehicle in producing a tangible sensory representation through which both members of the choirs performing these works and their respective audience believed to experience the soundscape of the core of their homeland. It is thus of crucial importance to investigate how Mokranjac produced these representation, by manipulating and arranging the folk-tunes from the moment of making transcription in the 'field' to the composing of the arrangement in the garland. I will argue that Mokranjac's compositional choices had at least two goals: firstly, he tended to produce an accessible image of Serbian folk-song adjusted to Western-European music style and, secondly, he tended to downplay regional differences creating a unified image of Serbian folk-song which was to symbolize the organic unity of the imagined Serbian homeland itself. In order to do so, I will trace Mokranjac compositional choices comparing the songs from the garlands with his transcriptions from the 'field'. As an aid, I will also use later transcriptions of particular folk-songs made by Vladimir Đorđević in 1920's and Miloje Milojević

in 1930's, having in mind that they certainly must have had encountered different versions of the songs.

Tracing Mokranjac creative process from the 'field' to a garland, there are at least four different stages in which he made choices which are important for the resulting product of the image of the Serbian 'folk-song'. As a first step we must recognize Mokranjac's decision where and what to record. Mokranjac mostly recorded songs in urban centres where folk-music would be under heavier influence from western-style functional music harmony, which sets him apart from the later ethnomusicological tradition. Unlike other collectors of folk-songs, Mokranjac never intended to publish his ethnomusicological work, and his prime objective in recording the folk-songs was to collect material for the garlands. In the case of two first songs from Fifteenth Garland he even noted their purpose together with the tunes. Therefore, we can suppose that his decision whether to record a song or not would be driven with the prospect of including it in one of the future garlands. The second step is the process of making the actual transcription: phonograph was not available to Mokranjac, and he wrote down the melodies on the spot. It is interesting to note that in the case of several tunes which entered the garlands mostly unaltered (such as the last song from Fifteenth Garland), Đorđević or Milojević give significantly different version of the tunes, which could lead us to the conclusion that Mokranjac also recorded the tune in the way he wanted to include it into the garland.

Third and fourth step in Mokranjac compositional process would be selection of appropriate songs for a garland, and arranging the songs for choir and making interventions on the tune. These are two crucial steps both to accommodate the tunes in western-style music harmony and to produce a unified image of what a Serbian folk-song is. In selecting the songs Mokranjac mostly shunned songs from rural areas and songs with small ambitus, as well as songs which were hard to fit into his harmonic idiom.¹⁶ In altering the tunes one can also note certain repeating procedures which Mokranjac performs:

- speeding up the song, especially if it is the opening song of a garland (e.g. "Pisaše me, Stano, mori", first song in the Eleventh Garland)
- changing leaping intervals in order to meet desired harmony, most often dominant function (e.g. "More, izvor-voda izviralala" in the Seventh Garland, correcting the tune to accommodate cadential six-four)
- introducing octave, fifth or fourth leaps (e.g. "Poseja dedo golemata njiva" in the Seventh Garland);
- introducing dotted rhythm (e.g. "Sejala Dinka bosiljak" in the Fifteenth Garland).

While the first, third and fourth procedure contribute to the overall vivacity and dance-like style of the garlands, second and third procedure help establish strong functional harmony anchored in strong dominant function.

One of the most intriguing questions in this investigation is whether Mokranjac actually composed some of the songs himself, contrary to the belief of his contemporaries. In three cases Mokranjac actually completely disregarded the tune he recorded and

¹⁶ For a detailed overview on Mokranjac harmonic style see Dejan Despić, "Хармонски језик и хорска фактура у Мокрањчевим делима," in *Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац. Живот и дело*, 145–199. Importantly, Despić argues that Mokranjac came up with specific harmonic patterns which he then applied across his choral oeuvre (see specifically pp. 157–165).

seemingly decided to compose the tune himself, using only the text of the songs. These examples are the last song in Seventh Garland, “Varaj, Danke, gizdava devojko” (“Beguile, Danka, beautiful maid”), the first song from Tenth Garland, “Biljana platno beleše” (“Biljana whitened her linen”) and third song from Eleventh Garland, “Oj, Lenko, Lenko, Stavreva kjerko” (“Lenka, Lenka, Stavro’s daughter”). The first and the last of these three examples are very much alike: Mokranjac disregarded small ambitus tune and instead wrote a vivacious tune which mostly follows six-four chord, thus building climactic closure of the Seventh Garland and contrasting section of the Eleventh Garland. As these examples correspond with the interventions Mokranjac performed in case of other tunes, it is viable to conclude that these songs are indeed thoroughly composed.

In order to strengthen my argument, I will look more closely at two specific examples of songs from garlands: “Što Morava mutno teče” (“Why does the Morava turbidly flow”), second song in the Eighth Garland, and aforementioned “Biljana platno beleše”. In case of “Što Morava mutno teče” Mokranjac had recorded two distinct versions of the song (189a and 189b), differing both in the tune and in the text (see examples 1 and 2).¹⁷ Comparing the musical, as well as the literal content of the songs, it is possible to discuss their historical sequence and to argue that the first song (189a) is of more recent origin. While the story of the first song refers to relatively recent historical events connected with the contemporary crisis of Ottoman society, the second song (189b) tells an allegorical story of one of the sisters lost in a flowing river, that can be interpreted as related to pre-Christian Slavonic rituals. Regarding the melodies, the first song has simplified rhythm, clearer chromatic substance, as well as fully developed second phrase that the second song lacks. In producing his garland, Mokranjac made very interesting choice: he selected the tune of the first song, but he adhered to the text of the second one. Choosing quasi-mythological subject over a subject from a recent history Mokranjac adds the quality of ‘timelessness’ quintessential in the context of ‘Old Serbia’ travelogue discourse. Mokranjac’s choice of musical material, however, conveniently fits into already existing and recognisable models of harmonisations of Serbian folk-songs, and by accentuating augmented second he also achieved striking resemblance to the several other passages in the garlands, such as the very famous beginning of the Sixth Garland, *From My Homeland. Hajduk Veljko*.

Што Мо-ра-ва мут-но-те-че, што Мо-ра-ва мут-но-те-че,

мут-но те-че — и — кр-ва-ва, жа-ло-сти мо- - - ја.

Example 1: Stevan St. Mokranjac, *Što Morava mutno teče*, 189a.

¹⁷ Similar examples are “Skoč’ kolo, da skočimo”, also from the Eighth Garland, and “Sedi moma na pendžeru” from Twelfth Garland; see table 2.

Што Мо-ра - ва мут - но те - че, што Мо - ра - ва
мут - но те - че, еј, жа - ло - сти, мут - но те - че.

Example 2: Stevan St. Mokranjac, *Što Morava mutno teče*, 189b.

“Biljana platno beleše” is exceptional amongst the songs we can speculate Mokranjac had composed due to its immense popularity, both of the recorded folk-song and the one from the garland. After Mokranjac had recorded the song in Belgrade (see example 3) he used it in this form in music for the theatre play *Ivkova slava* (*Ivko’s Feast*) in 1901, arranging it for mixed choir and orchestra. However, only a year later, Mokranjac composed his Tenth Garland, *From Ohrid*, with a song bearing the same text but radically different tune, both in its contours and in character. (see example 4). As in the case of other ‘composed’ songs, Mokranjac modelled the tune and its ambitus around six-four chord, using spirited tempo. Thus it seems that Mokranjac remodelled the song in order to get a jovial introduction, which became a recognizable cachet of his garlands from ‘Old Serbia’. The result is that “Biljana platno beleše” used in the garland resembled an array of other opening songs of the garlands from ‘Old Serbia’.

Би - ља - на плат - но бе - - ле - ше на
о - рид - ски - те из - во - ри, Би - ља - на плат - но
бе - - ле - ше на о - рид - ски - те из - - во - ри.

Example 3: Stevan St. Mokranjac, *Biljana platno beleše*, 295.

Allegretto grazioso [M.M. ♩ = 132-144]

Би - ља - на плат - но — бе - ле - ше на ох - рид -
 Vi - lja - na plat - no — be - le - še na oh - rid -

Би - ља - на плат - но — бе - ло бе - ле - ше на ох - рид -
 Vi - lja - na plat - no — be - lo be - le - še na oh - rid -

Би - ља - на плат - но — бе - ло — бе - ле - ше на ох - рид -
 Vi - lja - na plat - no — be - lo — be - le - še na oh - rid -

Би - ља - на плат - но — бе - ле - ше на ох - рид -
 Vi - lja - na plat - no — be - le - še na oh - rid -

Example 4: Stevan St. Mokranjac, Tenth Garland, beginning (bars 1–5).

It is striking that Vladimir Đorđević, in his collection of folk-songs from ‘Southern Serbia’, argued the case of authenticity of Mokranjac’s “Biljana platno beleše”, which shows the level in which Mokranjac’s songs from the garlands were venerated as examples of true folklore tradition. Commenting on his record of another version of “Biljana platno beleše”, Đorđević states as following:

This melody, in all likelihood, is not folk tune, but I record it as it has become extensively adopted and has suppressed the folk one. For the sake of completeness, I bring the folk tune, which Mokranjac recorded and used in his Tenth Garland. I, however, cite the text which I had noted.¹⁸

In the continuation, Đorđević gives the reader the tune of Mokranjac’s “Biljana platno beleše” in sixteen measures, copied from the leading voice in the garland. Đorđević transcribes Mokranjac in every detail, including the key of the song and articulation, which makes it obvious that he had no other source to claim this song as part of folklore tradition. Đorđević comment provide us with yet another and final argument in situating Mokranjac’s garlands from ‘Old Serbia’ in the context of ‘Old Serbia’ travelogue discourse: Đorđević actually tends to perceive Mokranjac garlands as a repository of true, old folklore tradition which is increasingly being suppressed and threatened to the verge of existence. Mokranjac’s garlands from ‘Old Serbia’ in the process of reception thus encompassed the sense of imminent danger posed to the cultural heritage of Serbian population.

¹⁸ “Ova melodija, po svoj prilici, nije narodna, ali ja ju beležim s toga što je ona veoma odomaćena i što je potisla narodnu. Potpuno radi unosim i narodnu melodiju, koju je zabeležio Mokranjac i upotrebio u svojoj Desetoj Rukoveti. Tekst, pak, navodim onaj, koji sam ja zabeležio,” *Борбенић*, Српске народне мелодије, 84.

Mokranjac compositional interventions in assembling the garlands 'from Old Serbia' were more far reaching than it's usually recognized, especially in the aspect of composing and altering the tunes. Mokranjac's garlands served as a kind of mechanism of representing musical folklore of the Serbian lands in an accessible, recognisable manner, and that they produced the likeness of musical folklore of various Serbian lands. Through his compositional dexterity, Mokranjac cogently argued for and musically presented the organic unity of the imagined Serbian homeland, of which 'Old Serbia' acted as a core part. In contrast with modern musicological discourse, garlands were often described as arrangements of folk songs, and not as original compositions. Perceived as authentic, documented folk-songs, they carried the aura of authenticity and it was their proclaimed veritable adherence to the folklore that gave them political legitimacy to serve as an image of united Serbian people.

POVZETEK

Ob dveh priložnostih je Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac potoval na ozemlja, ki so bila na splošno poznana kot »Stara Srbija«: Leta 1894 je šel na koncertno turnejo po Makedoniji, leta 1896 pa je obiskal Kosovo z namenom, da bi tam posnel ljudske pesmi. Takoj za tem je začel pisati zbirke ljudskih pesmi, pri katerih je navdih črpal iz teh pokrajin, to tematiko pa je uporabljal še pozneje pri večini svojih venčkov. Ne strinjam se, da je ta glasbena dela mogoče obravnavati kot del razprave o poročilih o potovanjih po »Stari Srbiji«, ki je bila takrat aktualna in je ogrozila razne kulturne

izdelke, kot so literarna poročila o potovanjih, demografske študije, ilustracije itd. Pogosta podlaga za ta dela, ki je bila vključena tudi v Mokranjčeve venčke, je dokumentarna osnova, kot tudi »brezčasna« razsežnost pripovedništva in čut za neizbežno nevarnost, ki je pretela srbski kulturi. Z analiziranjem, kako je Mokranjac izbral, dopolnjeval in v nekaterih primerih celo skladal pesmi v venčkih iz »Stare Srbije«, želim prikazati, kako je ustvaril dostopno imaginarno glasbeno okolje, ki bi lahko preseglo današnje politične meje na Balkanu in vtisnilo zavest o teritorialni identiteti v glave ljudi, ki so se imeli za člane srbske nacije.

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How much is opera inter/national?

Kako inter/nacionalna je opera?

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IZVLEČEK

Od 19. stoletja dalje se izraz »nacionalna opera« uporablja v dvojnem pomenu: poleg politične reference za »obrobno« območje (V in JV Evropa, Skandinavija, Iberski polotok, deloma Nemčija) pomeni tudi nacionalno tradicijo opere, vključno s »središčem« (Italija, Francija, Anglija, deloma Nemčija). Prispevek nudi zemljevid ključnih vprašanj, povezanih z nacionalno opero in njenim dojemanjem in razbija tradicionalno dihotomijo »nacionalno-internacionalno« v opernih študijah.

ABSTRACT

Since the nineteenth century the term 'national opera' has been in use with a double meaning: additional to the political reference to the "peripheral" area (East and Southeast Europe, Scandinavia, the Iberian peninsula, partly Germany), it also suggests a national tradition of opera, including the "center" itself (Italy, France, England, partly Germany). This paper provides a map of the key questions related to the national opera and its reception, providing a deconstruction of the traditional dichotomy national-international in opera studies.

This paper proposes a different perspective on "national opera" in comparison with the way it has been considered in literature so far. In order to suggest a theoretical framework as a departure point for further study of the topic, the concept of the paper can be understood as mapping the key questions about given definitions of "national opera" along with possible answers, given in the examples from different national opera traditions, including the contemporary reception of the works.¹ Opera is a complex medium, providing various approaches to its different aspects in numerous possible contexts. The new opera research developed during the last decades represents a wide area with cross-

¹ This paper is part of a book that will be dedicated to the national traditions in opera in Southeast Europe in the European context. The research has been conducted within the postdoctoral project *Opera And The Idea of Self-representation In Southeast Europe* supported from the Austrian Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung: V143 at the Institute of Musicology (Elise-Richter Stelle), University of Graz.

ing disciplines from the history of music and theory of music to literary studies, sociology, teatrology, linguistic studies, cultural and political studies, colonial and postcolonial studies to physics, architecture, and medicine. Interdisciplinary approach opened up a variety of methodologies and resulted in new critical perspectives of the opera studies. Among them, national opera – in its different meanings – has also its place.

There are two perspectives in considering the problem of “national opera” related to the geographical (geo-political) point of view: from the inside and from the outside, as a label for the “peripheral” operatic culture and a self-label. As a matter of fact, the “national opera” is a term with a double meaning: additional to the mentioned political reference to the “peripheral” area (East and Southeast Europe, Scandinavia, Iberian peninsula, partly Germany), it also means a national tradition of opera, including the center itself (Italy, France, England, partly Germany). Analogous to this, the opinion about the existence of two opposite spheres – national and international – is also relative. What is national and what is international (and for whom) are categories that are not strictly determined.

Political and economic centers became in due course cultural centers as well, and as such they dictated innovative trends and their own (national) traditions reached the status of a European canon. In the surrounding areas the canon and local trends permeate each other, and this interaction has been often interpreted as “Europeanization.” Opera has been regarded as a very important signifier of this process as “one of the means – perhaps the crucial one – of such a society’s celebrating itself as a superior civilization.”²

Accordingly, the musics of the mentioned “peripheral” countries in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century have been designated as “national schools.” In this regard, my thesis is that there are not two strictly separated groups, national and international, within opera production. Instead, there are different national traditions of opera, within which those that develop in the politically and economically most powerful countries are declared and accepted as international. Certainly, it is an undeniable fact that the development of classical music took place in different ways in diverse geographic areas, in accordance with different stylistic periodization, resulting from quite contrasted political and cultural contexts (Habsburg vs. Ottoman, for instance). This fact, however, does not influence the division national–international because the mentioned supranational interrelations and communication resulted in the same (Romantic) stylistic framework. There is no deep, significant difference between musical language itself in what is called international and national opera in the nineteenth century, when this division was constructed.³ Thus the nineteenth-century Romantic opera, including works of different European national traditions, is based on the same techn(ological) model of the discourse of music.⁴

² Andrew Riemer, *Inside Outside* (Sydney: Agnus and Robertson, 1992), 76.

³ Excepting the difference between the operas written by composers of different generations, such as Glinka-Mussorgskij, Smetana-Janáček, Weber-Wagner and so on. Yet even in this respect, there are exceptions due to different style periodization. For instance, the national traditions in opera in the Balkans, in the previous Ottoman provinces (Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece) were established later than the operatic tradition in West European countries. In that way, the intertextual relations to the earlier established traditions in opera were fulfilled in the works of the composer of the next generation. Let me mention the very significant influence of Mascagni’s opera *Cavaleria rusticana* on numerous operas in Southeast Europe.

⁴ In his book *A Theory of Musical Semiotics* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994) 18, Eero Tarasti defined discourse of music through manifest and immanent levels. While at the manifest level it is possible to differentiate

Therefore, the “conflict” (national-international) is related exclusively to the ideological model of musical discourse. This area of ideology, guided by a number of fiery “pro-European” versus “pro-national” debates,⁵ is where the concept of national opera was constructed. Thus, it is primarily ideological motives that have led to the advocating of “national” music and national opera. In this regard, the idea of national opera is seen by numerous authors as a “paradox” that does not really exist in the musical sense. Most of the “national” operas from Southeast Europe, for example, were formed under the strong influence of Italian *verismo*, primarily *Cavaleria Rusticana* by Mascagni, with “local” content. Is it really a paradox? What makes the opera more “national” at the “periphery” than in the “center”? Or, what makes the national tradition of the opera in the “center” international? Is it really the music itself or the ideas contextualizing music?

In the industrial age, when various types of transport were developed, it was usual for composers and musicians to travel or study in countries where the musical life was more vivid and developed, and where the institutional network was established due to the economical power. Thus creative experiences were formed in accordance to the same source of common knowledge (theory of music, tonal harmonization, orchestration) in the leading university textbooks, with local flavour aimed to provide communication in a new context. Or, the national opera is at the same time an opera for the nation. That was the time of renewed interest in folk heritage and national past, and so the communication in a given society presumed a use of a historical or a topic from the village life, as well as inspiration from traditional music and the use of folk melodies. It is therefore possible to speak about mainly the same musical language with the use of folk heritage, whether in literary (libretto), music (folk melodies or imaginary folklore) or iconographic (folk costumes) aspects of opera. This leads us further towards consideration of chosen recognizable symbols, both “national” (forests and hunting in *Freischütz* by Weber, the folk tale in *Ruslan or Sneguročka*, with an entire folk rite revived in the latter, a patriotic song in the most popular Croatian opera by Ivan Zajc, or muezzin’s singing in the Serbian or Hungarian operas) and “international” (the Kaiserhymne in the opera *Nikola Šubić Zrinski* by Ivan Zajc).

The international reception of the national opera is related mainly to the differences from the canon and what makes them “national.” Overemphasizing these differences directed towards the establishment of the term “national music” or even “national style” for Romanticism of the countries seen as peripheral.⁶ It is worth noting that certain writings on national opera obtain these terms as a part of self-representation and self-evaluation:

“Hungarian romantic musical idiom as a stylistic entity, was one of the most significant contributions of the Eastern periphery to European music history in the era that saw the budding, blossoming and withering of musical nationalism in its primary form. As attested by great number of pieces and movements in this style by Schubert,

between ideological (philosophy, aesthetics) and techn(ological) model, at the immanent level there are the structures of communication and the structures of signification.

⁵ Let us recall, for example, the opposition of Anton Rubinstein and Petri Ilić Čajkovskij versus the Five: in fact the representatives of “European” ideology also used folk melodies in their works, which was one of the objects of differences.

⁶ Cf. Michael Beckerman, “In Search of Czechness in Music,” *19th-Century Music*, Vol.10, No.1 (Summer, 1986): 61–73; Taruskin, Richard. *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000; Michael C. Tusa, Michael C. Tusa, ed., introduction to *National Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Opera*. Vol. 2. Central and Eastern Opera. Ashgate, 2011.

Weber, Brahms and of course by Liszt... *style hongrois* enjoyed a wide popularity in the nineteenth century. In view of the overwhelming attraction of opera for both musicians and the public in the decades of musical romanticism, the idea of adapting the Hungarian national musical style to contemporary operatic forms inevitably had to be born in the 1830s.⁷

As is obvious from this quotation, the category “national style” is referring to romanticism, although it is not acceptable as such. What can be also concluded from the writings about the “national style” is that it is an expression actually meaning (personal or national) manner, not style.⁸

The search for “authentic” self-representation and the unique expression of national identity resulted in the establishment of special categories called “Czechness” or “Rusianness” or “Germanness.” The efforts to define these terms still remained ambiguous:

“Thus we may finally make a distinction between ‘the Czech style’ and ‘Czechness’ itself. While the former may be considered as a series of descriptive or analytic generalizations based on the actual characteristics of a body of music, ‘Czechness’ itself comes about when, in the minds of composers and audiences, the Czech *nation*, in its many manifestations, becomes a subtextual program for musical works, and as such, it is that which *animates* the musical style, allowing us to make connections between the narrow confines of a given piece and a larger, dynamic context.”⁹

By Czech music “we are referring to the music composed by Czech-born and Czech-speaking composers who perceive themselves to be part of the western European musical mainstream”.¹⁰ In addition to these two criteria, there are other questions concerning the definition of national opera: “Is it the origin of the composer? The genre? The language? The subject? The musical style? The singers’ style of interpretation? Or all of these together? To anticipate, the hopelessness of finding a satisfactory answer to these questions reveals the whole dilemma faced by the concept of a national opera.”¹¹ Further efforts to define national opera are directed in a very similar way:

“Was ist eine deutsche Oper? Eine deutsche Oper ist zunächst ganz einfach eine Oper, die auf einen Text in deutscher Sprache komponiert wurde. Naturgemäß ist der Zusammenhang zwischen Text und Musik in der Oper sehr eng. Daher darf man erwarten, daß sich Opern auf deutsche Texte auch stilistisch von Opern auf italienische, französische oder andere nicht-deutsche Texte etwa in der Bevorzugung bestimmter melodischer und rhythmischer Muster insofern unterscheiden, als Sprachmelodie und Sprachrhythmus Einfluß auf die Gesangslinie nehmen. (...) Ein zweites Element, das

⁷ “Hungarian National Music and Ferenc Erkel,” accessed April 5, 2012, http://www.zti.hu/erkel/text_en.htm.

⁸ About theories of style and the difference between manner and style, cf. Marković, Tatjana. *Stil I: Istorijske i analitičko-teorijske koordinate*. Beograd: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2009.

⁹ Afterwards, Beckerman pointed out that in spite of the fact that “we cannot precisely *define* ‘Czechness,’ any more than we can fully articulate ‘Rusianness’ or ‘Germanness,’” it is necessary to consider them as “aesthetic facts” without which one cannot clearly interpret the nuances of communication in the music of this period.” Cf. Michael Beckerman, “In Search of Czechness in Music,” 61–73. John Tyrrell tried to define the “Czechness” in a clearer way, on the basis of the literature on music criticism of the 1860s, pointing out that it were “usually detected in passages which, purely because they were simple, were thought to resemble folksongs, whereas these passages which advanced the dramatic action were taken to conform to foreign models.” John Tyrrell, *Czech Opera* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 213.

¹⁰ Beckerman, “In Search of Czechness in Music”, 63.

¹¹ Silke Leopold, “The idea of national opera, c. 1800,” in *Unity and Diversity in European Culture c. 1800*, ed. Tim Blanning and Hagen Schulze (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 22–23.

deutsche Opern von anderen unterscheiden könnte, ist die Tradition des Komponierens in Deutschland.”¹²

In answering the question of what does national German opera mean, Wolfgang Michael Wagner stated:

“Das erste Adjektiv soll andeuten, daß es sich hier um Werke handelt, die nicht nur auf deutsche Texte geschrieben, für die Aufführung an einem Theater in Deutschland bestimmt waren, sondern darüber hinaus Stilelemente enthalten, die als spezifisch deutsch angesehen wurden, und die deshalb als Produkt des deutschen Nationalgeistes galten. Natürlich konnten das nur noch Werke von deutschen Komponisten sein.”¹³

Finally, the author comes to the point that the German national opera cannot be divided from the German “national style.” It seems that certain national musics/operas could not fulfil even the basic demands of the mentioned definitions, concerning the ethnic origin of composer and the language of an opera libretto, as the following examples will show.

In spite of his enthusiasm for calling himself the first Czech composer, Smetana never spoke the Czech language fluently. In a letter (11 March 1860) to his former student and friend Ludevít Procházka, the composer, pianist, music writer, conductor, and collector of Czech and Slovakian folk melodies, Smetana regretted his inability to learn Czech: “...up to the present day I have not had the good fortune to be able to perfect myself in our mother tongue. Educated from my youth in German, both at school and in society, I took no care, while still a student, to learn anything but what I was forced to learn, and later divine music monopolized all my energy and my time so that to my shame, I must now confess that I cannot express myself adequately or write correctly in Czech.”¹⁴ More than twenty years later (31 August 1882), Smetana claimed: “I am, according to my merits and according to my efforts a Czech, and the creator of a Czech style in the branches of dramatic and symphonic music – exclusively Czech.”¹⁵ This personal development followed Smetana’s belonging to the New German School. “The fact that Smetana ultimately came to identify with his Slavic ethnicity, rather than with his original native language, his Teutonic cultural milieu, or his lifelong political allegiances, encapsulates more vividly than any other single musical-historical fact the metamorphosis that the idea of nation underwent over the course of the nineteenth century.”¹⁶

Also questioning the mentioned definition of national opera is the case of a composer who has been regarded as the leading Croatian national composer, after whom the entire period 1870–1914 is named (*Zajčevo doba*), and who wrote one of the most popular opera in the history of Croatian music. Giovanni von Zaytz was born in 1832 in the Austro-Hungarian city Fiume (today Rijeka in Croatia), where his father Johann von Zaytz, the Kapellmeister of a military orchestra from Prague, moved with his ensemble. He studied at the Milan Conservatory (1850–1855), yet despite starting a very successful career in Milan, he went back to his birthplace Rijeka (Fiume) to continue his father’s

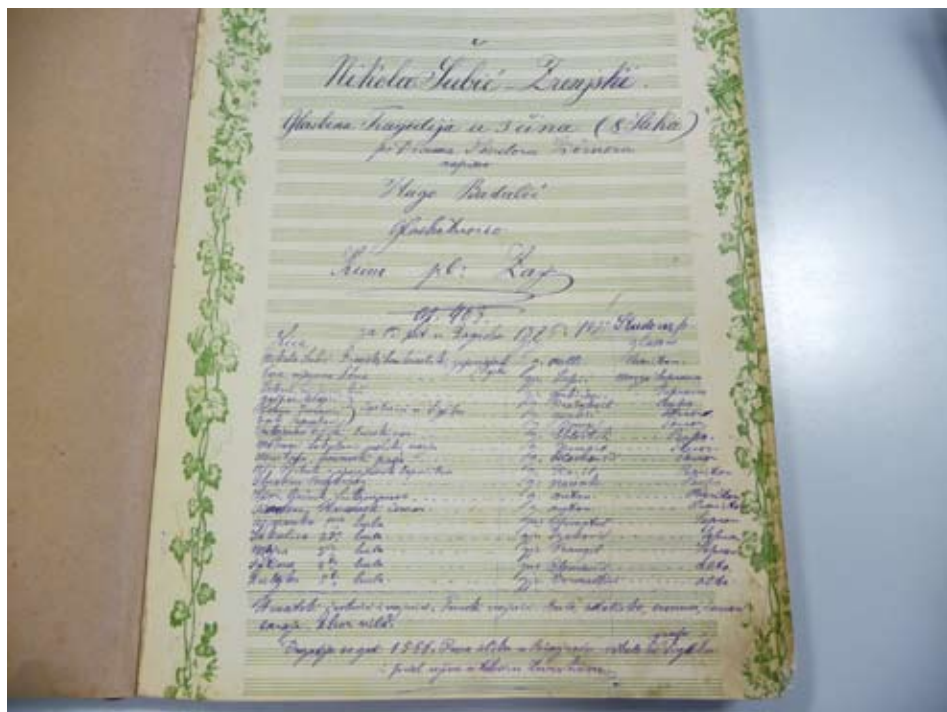
¹² Wolfgang Michael Wagner, *Carl Maria von Weber und die deutsche Nationaloper* (Mainz: Schott, 1994), 9.

¹³ Wolfgang Michael Wagner, *Carl Maria von Weber und die deutsche Nationaloper*, 10.

¹⁴ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western music*, vol. 3, “Music in the nineteenth century” (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 443.

¹⁵ František Bartos, *Bedřich Smetana: Letters and Reminiscences* (Prague: Artia, 1955), 250–251.

¹⁶ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western music*, vol. 3, “Music in the nineteenth century,” 443.



Example 1a: Ivan Zajc: *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*, manuscript (Zbirka muzikalija i audiomaterijala, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb): the title page of Croatian version of the opera.

duties after his death. In 1862 Giovanni von Zaytz moved to Vienna and continued his successful career as an operetta composer at the Carltheater. After eight years, he accepted an invitation from Agram (Zagreb) and moved to this city, where he established the Croatian Opera House and became its first director and conductor, the leading organizer of the musical life, and music teacher. He also continued composing operas in the Croatian language, as well as other works. This was followed by the changing (or, Croatizing) of his name to Ivan Zajc. He spoke Croatian but not fluently, and even his main opera *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* (1876) was composed in two versions, Croatian and German (cf. title pages of both versions in *Example 1a* and *1b*). The practice of composing operas in Croatian and German or Italian was common for many composers in Croatia.¹⁷ Expressed Croatian nationalist feelings are intriguing if we have in mind that the opera was inspired by a heroic act of Nikola Šubić Zrinjski or Miklós Zrínyi, Hungarian soldier of Croatian origin in the service of the Habsburg Monarchy, described in a theater play by a German playwright, and written in Croatian and German language – the mixture of elements that would hardly be accepted by any theoretician of national opera. Yet,

¹⁷ The same practice of composing operas in both native and foreign languages was also present in Bulgaria and Greece.

even if Ivan Zajc was neither born in Croatia nor spoke the language fluently, but these were obviously not obstacles for him to be the composer of the most significant Croatian national opera. Even after profound consideration of the music proper, it is possible to say that the same ambiguity remains: in addition to the very popular chorus number from the opera “U boj, u boj” (To the figt, to the fight),¹⁸ one of the music themes serving as not quite articulated leitmotif technique is actually a combination of the Haydn’s Kaiserhymne and Serbian (royal) national anthem! Since this fact was unknown so far, I will explain it in a more detailed way.

At the very beginning of the opera, in the instrumental Introduction, music “explains” the motive of heroic act of sacrificing the life Zrinjski and his soldiers in the struggle with much more powerful Ottoman army – it was their loyalty to the emperor and Empire – by quoting the Kaiserhymne, i.e., Serbian national (royal) anthem *Bože pravde* by Davorin Jenko, very similar to each other (see *Examples 2–4*).

The quotation appears several more times during the opera, and the last of them is at the beginning of the farewell duet of Zrinjski and his wife Eva (No. 30) in the manner of the Glinka’s concluding chorus “Slavs’ja” from his opera *Жизнь за царя* (A Life for Tsar), fortissimo in tutti orchestra, in *Pesante ritenuto*, in octaves. The mentioned “national-international” (Croatian–Hungarian/German) ambiguity in *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* shows one more important dimension of the national opera: ambiguity of the national versus imperial identity.



Examples 2–4. Example 2: Ivan Zajc: Nikola Šubić Zrinjski, Introduction, m. 1–2. Example 3: Joseph Haydn: Kaiserhymne, m. 1–2. Example 4: Davorin Jenko: Srpska himna (Serbian anthem), m. 1–2.

Clearly, the definition of national opera is applicable to some cases, but it cannot be accepted as the complete definition. It is obvious that the composer’s origin, even the language of the libretto, are not the main – or, at least not the only important – criteria for defining national opera. Also named as signifiers of national opera are the content of the

¹⁸ In 1866, when the 300th anniversary of the Siege of Sziget and heroic death of Zrinjski was widely celebrated in Croatia, Ivan Zajc, who lived then in Vienna, wrote a composition for male choir and solo baritone *Zadnji čas Zrinjskoga* (The last hour of Zrinjski), more famous as *U boj, u boj* op.182 of verses by Franjo Marković. Later on, this song was incorporated into the opera.

libretto and/or the literary or musical references to the national context. For the Russian music critic and composer Aleksandr Nikolaevič Serov, precisely this criterion was the most significant. Interestingly enough, he pointed out that the big historical events in which historical heroes take part, are the most unfavorable. He recommended instead “patriotic feeling,” which should be treated very carefully, so that “it brings delight and gratitude to the event and the heroes instead of sacrifice them to the work of music.”¹⁹ The ideal example for Serov was the content of the Glinka’s opera *Жизнь за царя*.

As was mentioned, village life was an opportunity to present an idyllic image of people or a love plot, often in the framework of a comic story. It was a favorite theme of writers of plays with singing, for which composers wrote harmonization and stylization of folk melodies. As a matter of fact, the theater plays with music numbers were highly popular in this period and, in the societies where there was no possibility to establish operatic life, such as Serbia, it was a dominant form of stage music during entire nineteenth century. Examples of the operas from this group would be, for instance, the “first national” Czech and Croatian operas, Bedřich Smetana’s *Prodaná nevěsta* (1866) or Vatroslav Lisinski’s *Ljubav i zloba* (Love and Malice, 1846).²⁰ “Smetanas ‚neudeutscher‘ Orientierung widerspricht es keineswegs, daß er den nationalen Ton, in dem ein unterdrücktes Volk sich wiedererkannte, zunächst nicht in einer tragischen, sondern in einer komischen Oper – der *Verkaufte Braut* – traf; denn da Wagners übermächtiges Werk die musikalische Tragödie gleichsam besetzt hielt, propagierte Liszt um 1850, als Smetana in Weimar war, die musikalische Komödie, wie sie im ‚neudeutschen‘ Zirkel Peter Cornelius mit dem *Barbier von Bagdad* (1858) zu realisieren versuchte.”²¹

Along with the mentioned genre of comic national opera, there is also the fantastic, or fairy-tale, opera. The most famous examples in this category certainly are *Der Freischütz* by Carl Maria von Weber and *Ruslan i Ljudmila* by Mihail Ivanovič Glinka.

According to the content of national operas, it seems that historical and patriotic content were the most common.²² Consequently, in addition to comic and fairy-tale opera, the most significant (we can also say the most “convenient”) genre is opera tragedy. Tragic narrative can be also related to a love story with national historical or social background, as in the Polish and Serbian operas *Halka* (1848) by Stanisław Moniuszko and *Na uranku* (At Dawn, 1904) by Stanislav Binički. Quite a number of these operas are

¹⁹ A. H. Серов, Статьи в музыке 1: 1847–1853 (Москва: Музыка, 1984), 188.

²⁰ Since the content of the Croatian opera is not widely known, let me present it briefly: Obren and Ljubica fall in love with each other, but her father decides to marry her to Vukosav. At the end, the father realizes that Vukosav is an evil man, regrets his own decision, and consents to the marriage of Ljubica and Obren. The seemingly patriotic message “U boj” (Let’s go fight) is thus related only to the duel between two men motivated by their love for the same girl. A happy ending is provided with the help of the “voice of the reason”, certainly not accidentally named Ljudevit after Ljudevit Gaj. Ljudevit Gaj (1809–1872) was a linguist, writer, founder of the first Croatian newspapers (Slovenian, and Dalmatian Newspaper, 1834; in 1836 renamed The National Illyrian Newspaper), representative of the idea about a South Slav unity, and the central figure of the Croatian national revival, called the Illyrian movement. (More detailed about this opera cf. Tatjana Marković, “The myth on the ‘first national opera’: The cases of Serbia and Croatia,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 2012, forthcoming.)

²¹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Gesammelte Schriften in 10 Bänden, Band 5*, “19. Jahrhundert II. Theorie / Ästhetik / Geschichte: Monographien,” Hrsg. Hermann Fanuser (Laaber-Verlag, 2003) 219.

²² Precisely historical topic in the following combination of French grand opéra was recommended by Franz Brendel as early as in 1845: “Als musikalisches und ideologisches Vorbild empfahl Brendel die französische grand opéra, deren Volksszenen und geschichtliche Stoffe ihm als besonders massenwirksam erschienen”. Barbara Eichner, “Vier Hochzeiten oder ein Todesfall: Die Inszenierung des *Kudrun*-Epos als Nationaloper,” in *Bühnen der Politik. Die Oper in europäischen Gesellschaften im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Sven Oliver Müller, Jutta Toelle (Wien, München: Oldenbourg, 2008), 55.

based on a dichotomy between Us and the Other, referring to historical events, famous battles, and the period of striving for liberation and struggling against the occupation. In the widely celebrated Russian national opera *A Life for the Tsar* or *Ivan Susanin* (1836), this dichotomy is placed between Russians and Poles in the seventeenth-century episode from Russian history called *Смутное время* (Time of Troubles). The paradigmatic Russian hero is a peasant who sacrificed himself by misleading a group of Poles that were searching for Mihail Romanov in order to prevent him to become the Russian tsar. “Sodann erscheint in *Iwan Susanin* der Patriotismus – der außer der Handlung auch Teile der Musik so drastisch prägt, daß der Schlußchor zu einer Art zweiter Nationalhymne werden konnte – in der Gestalt einer Rettungsoper, in der er für die Herrschenden, denen das Opfer galt, ebenso akzeptierbar war wie für die Beherrschten, die es brachten.”²³ It seems to be excessive to designate the music of the final chorus “Slav’sja, slav’sja” from the opera as “drastisch.” It was a usual music setting of patriotic choir composition from the repertoire of the choral societies. In this case the words were dedicated to the glory of the Russian tsar and the Russian people:

Славься, славься, наш Русский Царь!
 Господом данный нам Царь-Государь!
 Да будет бессмертен твой царский род,
 Да им благоденствует русский народ.

Interestingly enough, it was Glinka’s friend Prince Vladimir Fedorovič Odoevskij, philosopher, author and music critic, who persuaded him that the chorus could be a hero of the opera,²⁴ which was characteristic for the entire Russian opera tradition. Judging by the example of the choir “Slav’sja,” it was apparently wise advice.

There are similar examples not only of the musical topoi of patriotism, but also of the same reception to the patriotic musical numbers, which became national anthems too. Thus the final music number “Kde domov můj?” from the incidental music to the play *Fidlovačka aneb Žádný hněv a žádná rvačka* (1834) by Josef Kajetán Tyl, composed by František Jan Škroup, later became part of the Czech national anthem. A similar case is the last chorus *Bože pravde* (God of Justice) from the theater play with music *Markova sablja* (Marko’s Saber) by Jovan Đorđević with music by Davorin Jenko. This play was written and performed in celebration of the coming of age of Prince Milan Obrenović, when he became a ruler of the Principality of Serbia, and the melody was accepted as the national anthem. Ten years later, in 1882, when Serbia was proclaimed a kingdom and when Prince Milan won the title of king, it became the anthem of the Kingdom of Serbia. The chorus *Bože pravde* gained the status of national anthem due to its great popularity, i.e., the reception of the audience.

Due to very admirable and positive evaluations by music writers of *A Life for the Tsar*, the opera was declared the “first Russian national opera” almost immediately after its premiere. “No other major Russian work was ever received with such universal

²³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Gesammelte Schriften in 10 Bänden*, Band 5, “19. Jahrhundert II. Theorie / Ästhetik / Geschichte: Monographien,” 215.

²⁴ Quoted from David Lowe, “Vladimir Odoevskii as Opera Critic,” *Slavic Review* 41 (Summer, 1982): 313. (306–315)

acclaim,²⁵ at least at the beginning. At the same time, the cult of Glinka was established and with it a rich national/ist narrative:

“The composer used many folk melodies in order to compose music in the same way. Because of that, the opera ‘A Life for the Tsar’ can be called national Russian opera par excellence. It seems that the composer depleted in it all richness of our native melodies and we would say that it is almost impossible after this opera to write another one in a purely national spirit. Finally, it takes a musician equally talented as Glinka. In the future these people may appear, but now we do not know any.”²⁶

The nationalism of the first opera entirely in the Russian language “was acknowledged and praised by court, intelligentsia and public. All agreed, though for different reasons, that this was how Russianness should be represented...”²⁷ The main reason for this attitude was undoubtedly the fact that the opera was based on the intonations of Russian folk melodies in the framework of early-nineteenth-century Italian opera. Glinka’s contemporaries, later music historiographers, and even Glinka himself did not deny that fact. Moreover, in a letter (15 February 1841) to his mother, Glinka wrote: “Art, this joy given to me by heaven, perishes here [in Russia] from the murderous indifference to everything that is beautiful. Had I not spent several years abroad, I would not have written A Life for the Czar. Now I am completely convinced that Ruslan can only be completed in Germany or France.”²⁸

Obviously, the concept of the national opera is not in any contradiction with the West European musical canon. The opposition is imposed not by the “national composers”, but by West European music historiographers, sometimes in a rather unusual way: “Der Stil Bellinis und Donizettis, durch dessen Aneignung Glinka während seiner Italienreise Anfang der dreißiger Jahre “musikalisch sprechen” lernte, hinterließ in beiden Opern Spuren, die nur ein fanatischer Nationalist leugnen kann.”(!)²⁹

The mentioned Otherness in the historical operas is certainly related to the national cultural memory, and as such they were communicative. In a significant number of works in different national traditions of opera – Russian, German, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian and others – cultural memory is associated with the national past, marked by the trauma of wars with or slavery under the invaders. Among the biggest conquerors for centuries were Ottomans, and so the characters of Turks are often present in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European operas and theater plays.

In analyzing Croatian and Serbian opera,³⁰ I have come to the conclusion that there are two kinds of relation to Orientalism, understood ultimately as “a political vision of

²⁵ Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian music and nationalism from Glinka to Stalin* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 60.

²⁶ A. H. Серов, *Статьи о музыке 1: 1847 – 1853*, 182. Exclusively positive opinion about Glinka’s opera was later changed. This growing difference in critics’ opinions about that caused separation among them, the split between two prominent music critics, Aleksandr Nikolaevič Serov and Vladimir Vasil’evič Stasov is famous.

²⁷ Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian music and nationalism from Glinka to Stalin*, 59.

²⁸ Yuri Olkhovskiy, *Vladimir Stasov and Russian National Culture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 56.

²⁹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Gesammelte Schriften in 10 Bänden*, Band 5, “19. Jahrhundert II. Theorie / Ästhetik / Geschichte: Monographien,” 215.

³⁰ More detailed consideration of Orientalism in Serbian and Croatian opera was carried out in: Tatjana Marković 2012. (2012): “Ottoman past in Romantic opera’s present: Balkan operas between Orientalism and Occidentalism,” in Risto Pekka Pennanen, Panagiotis Poulos, Aspasia Theodosiou, ed., *The Ottoman Past in the Balkan Present: Music and Mediation* (Helsinki: The Finnish Institute at Athens), forthcoming.

reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them').³¹ In case of the Habsburg province Croatia, the Ottoman characters are presented as respected, but under the dominance, "different," Other, "sounded" by Italian opera conventions, as the mentioned *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* shows. In the countries occupied by the Ottomans, this characterization is much more "exotic," since the cultural and musical traditions were in direct contact, so that their musical depiction is actually a crossroad between Western, or Occidental and Oriental conventions. In that way, Serbian operas – like some Russian – show a self-orientalization, or "the exotic self" from the Western point of view: "Balakirev did not see the Oriental style as a means for representing a separate, alien people, and Other, in current parlance, but as an essential component of musical Russianness."³²

It is worth noting that precisely Orientalism was one of the reasons Wolfgang Michael Wagner stated to explain why Weber's opera *Oberon* not be considered a German national opera: "Insofern kann Webers *Oberon* außer Betracht bleiben, denn er wurde auf einen englischen Text über ein zum großen Teil orientalisches Sujet für das Londoner Covent Garden Theatre geschrieben."³³

It seems that Weber was chosen to be the composer of the first German national opera in accordance to other criteria. The arbitrary decision as to whether or not a certain national opera will be marked as such depended primarily on historical, political and cultural circumstances. Thus, the "first" or most important national operas were proclaimed very often in relation to a political crisis or war, when the public reception was heightened emotionally. Let us take the example of German and Croatian opera, with Weber's *Der Freischütz*³⁴ and Zajc's *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*.

Thinking about these two operas as the model in this respect, I would argue the need to take into account the rich tradition of choral societies in promoting national movements and on being powerful organizations struggling for unity and liberation. The national choral societies consisted mainly of music amateurs, and so they assembled the masses; their meetings, especially while singing patriotic songs, were among the risky political events. Precisely the composers of the most popular patriotic songs were the most popular and praised national composers. Among these were Weber and Zajc.

During the war against Napoleon's army, and especially after the victory over France at the end of Napoleonic wars, there were big patriotic celebrations in Berlin in 1814:

"Die große Volkserhebung vom Jahre 1813 hatte ihre Früchte getragen, die Nation hatte durch eignen Willen, eigne Opfer, eigne Kraft den großen Unterdrücker besiegt und stand, wie ein Löwe, ihrer Stärke bewußt, auf dem Siegesfelde. (...) Vom kleinen Straßenjungen an, der, seit dem Mai 1814, in Berlin militärisch stramm einher ging, bis zu den Generälen des aus dem Volke hervorgegangenen Heeres, füllte nur ein Gefühl alle Herzen: Selbsterkämpfter Sieg, Kraft, Freiheit! – Leben, Kunst, Wissen, Alles mußte sich auf diese Begriffe und Ideen beziehen, wenn es Gewicht in den Augen des Volkes erhalten, Aufmerksamkeit erwecken sollte. (...) Vor Allem aber legte sich die musikalische

³¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London Penguin Books, 2003), 43.

³² Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian music and nationalism from Glinka to Stalin*, 153.

³³ Wolfgang Michael Wagner, *Carl Maria von Weber und die deutsche Nationaloper*, 10.

³⁴ The opera (actually Singspiel) in the German language, *Günther von Schwarzburg* (1777) by Ignaz Holzbaue is also mentioned as a candidate for the first German national opera. Cf. Silke Leopold, "The idea of national opera, c. 1800," 33.

Bearbeitung der patriotischen Gedichte des jungen deutschen Sängers nahe, der, durch seinen poetischen Tod bei Gadebusch, auch auf diese, an sich schon bedeutsamen Gesänge, ein vaterländes Licht geworfen hatte.”³⁵

Inspired and delighted by these fiery patriotic feelings, Weber, like many other composers, wrote patriotic compositions and set Theodor Körner’s poems. Körner himself voluntarily joined the war against Napoleon’s army and died as a 22-year-old soldier, becoming the symbol of Germany’s struggle for liberation. Among Weber’s compositions were ten songs to Körner’s poems, *Leyer und Schwert* (1814). Precisely the patriotic choir compositions as the one mentioned brought glory to Weber. He became an idol of young Germans and “zum ersten Male fühlte er sich politisch als Deutscher, zum ersten Male erwärmten die Begriffe von Freiheit, Vaterland, Heldentod, Bürgertugend, Thyrannenhaß seine Seele, und gewannen bald eine so intensive Kraft in ihm, daß sie, auf eine Zeit lang, alle andern künstlerischen Motive in den Hintergrund drängten und ihn mit allem Feuer den Stoff suchen ließen, in dessen künstlerischer Gestaltung er seine Wärme für diese Ideen...”³⁶

It seems that precisely the musical topoi of the patriotic choirs, introduced afterwards into the opera, contributed to their communicativeness. With this experience, Weber composed “Jägerchor” in his opera *Der Freischütz*, which became widely popular and was very often performed as an independent song.

Beside the patriotic discourse, there are also other textual and musical “means of communication” recognized as characteristically German, resulting in the status of the opera *Der Freischütz* as the representative German national opera. A great contribution was made by Richard Wagner, who clarified what made this opera German: “the ‘specifically German character’ of its underlying story, with its profound dependence on nature and the demonic; the opera’s roots in folk legend; and its meditative spirit. Weber had forged in this opera a work that had united a politically and socially fractured Germany. ‘Here the most opposite tendencies of political life met at one common centre: from one end of Germany to the other the ‘Freischütz’ was heard, sung, and danced.”³⁷

Including a patriotic call to battle “U boj, u boj” in *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* (1876) by Ivan Zajc, an opera inspired by Theodor Körner’s drama, made it the most popular Croatian national opera. As the librettist Hugo Badalić pointed out, the opera related to the revival of medieval myth about a Hungarian general of Croatian origin, struggling for the Habsburg Monarchy, who was offered to the people during the Balkan crisis in 1876:

“In this hour, when the issues of education and progress are being solved in the Balkans, and when cannons decide the fate of Croateness, here it is, Croatian people, take a green leaf of your history, here’s the hero of Siget, Nikola Šubić-Zrinjski! He is an embodiment of your sublime task during previous several centuries; he makes you still understand how much significant are you for yourself and for the world. Anyone, with any belief, should admit that the struggle of the small troops for their freedom and their

³⁵ Max Maria von Weber, *Carl Maria von Weber. Ein Lebensbild* 1 (Leipzig: Ernst Keil, 1864), 450–451.

³⁶ Max Maria von Weber, *Carl Maria von Weber. Ein Lebensbild* 1, 454.

³⁷ William Ashton Ellis, ed., *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works* (New York: Boudé Bros, 1966; orig. pub. London, 1898) 176; quoted from Michael C. Tusa, “Cosmopolitanism and the National Opera: Weber’s *Der Freischütz*,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 36 (2006): 484.

education against the wild torrents and against tremendous masses, acquired honorable name for Croats in all nations and all centuries.”³⁸

The study of the national traditions of many cultures in the opera “off center” is much more difficult because there are only piano scores of operas performed or published, or else scores in uncritical editions that are not completely reliable. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the manuscript of the scores in attempting to reach the relevant conclusions regarding the language of music. Another difficulty in studying these operas is, however, the fact that these manuscripts are not easily available.³⁹

Different versions of a national opera exist because of censorship, as well because of “corrections” in preparing the work for performance. A well-known example of censorship causing two different versions of an opera is *Boris Godunov* by Mussorgskij. The case of “correcting” a national opera is related to the Serbian “first national opera,” *Na uranku* by Stanislav Binički. The opera was composed and premiered in January 1904 (December 1903, according to the Julian calendar, then in effect in Serbia). The libretto by leading Serbian playwright Branislav Nušić presented the love of the young Serbian couple, Stanka and Rade, in the context of the country occupied by Ottomans. The couple was to be married, blessed by Rade’s mother Anđa, but the wedding (a village celebration) was interrupted by the Turk Redžep-aga. Being offended because of Stanka’s refusal, he decided to take revenge: he comes uninvited to the wedding and reveals the long-kept secret that Rade is an illegitimate child. In a patriarchal society during the early nineteenth century, that was the biggest shame. When Anđa admits that Rade is a “child of love,” the disgraced son kills his mother in the heat of passion. This is obviously a typical subject of a veristic drama. However, when the opera was renewed at the stage of the Narodno pozorište (National Theatre) in Belgrade in 1968, director Jovan Putnik changed the end, so that in his production, Rade did not kill his mother. “I betrayed both Nušić and the composer Binički, since I did not want to accept the son’s murder of his mother because of the reason which is not understandable to today’s psychology. I used the motif of the folk song: when she realizes that the son wants to kill her, mother’s heart burst of grief and she falls dead.”⁴⁰ This act of “correcting” an opera in order to gain more “positive” image of self-representation shows that the opera researchers should take into account all results of profound historical investigation of performance practice.

The mentioned new perspectives in opera studies go along with a focus – or, should it be said, reduction – to the English language. Without any intention to challenge the need for a *lingua franca*, which is the English language today, it seems there is a certain danger in this practice. One of the results of focusing on the English language exclusively is to direct scholarship in a not quite precise way and to reach wrong conclusions, like in the following quotation. The entire tradition of opera production and performance before Glinka’s works has been ignored, when it is mentioned that the Russian and Czech

³⁸ Hugo Badalić, introduction to *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski. Glazbena tragedija u 3 čina (8 slika)* (Zagreb: Tiskom C. Albrechta, 1876), 3.

³⁹ In this regard, the initiative of the Institute of musicology at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest and the Manolis Kalomiris Society in Athens to present the national operas online is praiseworthy.

⁴⁰ D. Gajer, “Izneverio sam Nušića,” *Espresso*, 26 September, 1968.

opera traditions in the second half of the century were created “more or less *ex nihilo*”.⁴¹ It seems that not only knowledge of the required languages of the libretti, but also insight into the research in the respective languages would provide reliable conclusions.

Instead of the term “national opera,” with a connotation of the so-called periphery, it seems preferable to talk about national traditions in nineteenth-century opera.⁴² In accordance with the undeniably accepted influences of the West European opera composers, what was confirmed by both composers and music critics from all other parts of Europe – and as comprehensive “national operas” show themselves, between the adopted Western stylistic musical vocabulary and national signifiers such as the colours of traditional music, use of the folk melodies, and specific harmonies – is the fact that between the national traditions in opera and the canon it is possible to achieve harmony. To conclude, there is no opposition and no paradox between the opera traditions designated as national and international opera.

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⁴¹ Michael C. Tusa, ed., introduction to *National Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Opera 2: “Central and Eastern Opera”* (Ashgate, 2011), xi.

⁴² This has been already done in two collections of essays in the framework of the Ashgate Opera Studies. Cf. Steven Huebner, ed., *National Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Opera 1: “Italy, France, England and the Americas”* (Ashgate, 2010) and Michael C. Tusa, ed., introduction to *National Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Opera*, Volume 2: Central and Eastern Opera.

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POVZETEK

Skupaj z razvojem nove ali kulturne muzikologije je polje opernih študij postalo veliko širše, interdisciplinarno in je znova opredelilo številne tradicionalno obravnavane težave. Med rezultati omenjenih študij je tudi ponovna opredelitev t.i. nacionalne opere. Študije opere, napisane v zadnjih 25. letih, so namreč znova preučile nacionalna izročila v italijanski, francoski, nemški, ruski in češki operi.

Od 19. stoletja dalje se izraz »nacionalna opera« uporabljata v dvojnem pomenu: poleg omenjene politične reference za »obrobno« območje (V in JV Evropa, Skandinavija, Iberski polotok, deloma Nemčija) pomeni tudi nacionalno tradicijo opere, vključno s »središčem« (Italija, Francija, Anglija, deloma Nemčija). S časom je praksa, da se ohrani izraz za »obrobno« kulturo z vidika Zahodne Evrope (včasih izraženo celo na kolonizacijski način), postala prevladujoča. Še več, razprava o operi ponavadi ni vključevala zgodovinpisja nacionalne glasbe in literature, napisane v jezikih »nacionalnih« oper.

Članek nudi zemljevid ključnih vprašanj, povezanih z nacionalno opero in njenim dojemanjem, kot so: Kaj napravi opero bolj »nacionalno« na »obrobju« kot v »središču«? Ali, kaj napravi narodno izročilo opere v »središču« mednarodno? Je to res glasba sama po sebi ali ideje, ki dajejo glasbi smisel in kontekst? Možni odgovori razbijajo tradicionalno dihotomijo »nacionalno-internacionalno« v opernih študijah. V času industrijske dobe, ko so se razvili različni načini transporta, je bilo za skladatelje običajno, da so potovali ali študirali v državah, kjer je bilo glasbeno življenje bolj živahno in razvito, in kjer je bilo zaradi gospodarske moči vzpostavljeno institucionalno omrežje. Tako so se v učbenikih vodilnih univerz oblikovale kreativne izkušnje, skladne z istim virom splošnega znanja (teorija glasbe, tonska harmonizacija, orkestrira-

nje), z željo da lokalni priokus omogoči komunikacijo v novem kontekstu. Z drugimi besedami, nacionalna opera je hkrati opera za narod. To je bil čas obnovljenega zanimanja za nacionalno zapuščino in zgodovino, zato je komunikacija v določeni družbi izkoriščala uporabo zgodovinskih tem ali tem iz vaškega življenja, ter iskala navdih tudi v tradicionalni glasbi in v uporabi ljudskih melodij. Zato je mogoče govoriti o večinoma istem glasbenem jeziku z uporabo nacionalne zapuščine, ne glede na to, ali govorimo o literarnih (libretto), glasbenih (ljudske melodije ali navidezna folklor) ali ikonografskih (ljudska oblačila) vidikih opere. To nas pripelje do razmisleka o izbranih prepoznavnih simbolih, tako »nacionalnih« (gozdovi in lov v Weberjevem *Čarostrelcu*, ljudska pripoved v delih *Ruslan* ali *Sneguročka* – v slednji je spet obujen celoten ljudski običaj –, domoljubna pesem v najbolj priljubljeni hrvaški operi Ivana Zajca, ali poziv k molitvi s petjem kot znak *lokalne barve* v srbskih in madžarskih operah) kot tudi »mednarodnih« (cesarska himna v operi *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* Ivana Zajca). *Lokalna barva* je izraz, uporabljen za regionalno literaturo, pomeni pa »leposlovje in poezija, ki je osredotočena na like, dialekt, oblačila, topografijo in druge značilnosti posameznih regij«.

Skladno s temi nesporno sprejetimi vplivi opernih skladateljev iz Zahodne Evrope so tako skladatelji kot glasbeni kritiki iz drugih delov Evrope potrdili dejstvo, da je med nacionalnimi izročili v operi in kanonu mogoče doseči harmonijo. Kot obsežne »nacionalne opere« same kažejo, med privzetim zahodnim slogom glasbenega besedišča in narodnimi elementi, kot so barve tradicionalne glasbe, uporaba ljudskih melodij in posebne harmonije, ni nasprotij, prav tako pa ne neskladja med opernimi izročili, označenimi kot nacionalna in internacionalna opera. Namesto izraza »nacionalna opera« s konotacijo t.i. obrobja se raje govori o nacionalnih tradicij v operi 19. stoletja.

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Opera Directing in Slovenia between the Two Wars: Between the Aesthetics of the Drama Theatre and Opera Aesthetics*

Operna režija na Slovenskem med obema
vojnama: med estetiko gledališča in estetiko
opere

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Keywords: opera directing, Ljubljana Drama Theatre, National Theatre, Osip Šest, Bratko Kreft, Ciril Debevec

IZVLEČEK

Prispevek obravnava razvoj operne režije na Slovenskem med obema svetovnjima vojnama, s poudarkom na opernih predstavah ljubljanske Opere. Avtorica predstavi profil opernega režiserja, povezave z gledališko režijo ter vplive pomembnih evropskih gledališč in šol. Sledi prepletanju zakonitosti estetike gledaliških in opernih predstav, ki so nastajale pod vodstvom vidnejših režiserjev ljubljanske Drame, kot so bili Osip Šest, Bratko Kreft in Ciril Debevec.

ABSTRACT

The article deals with opera directing in Slovenia between the two wars, with the emphasis on opera performances of the National Theatre in Ljubljana. The author introduces a profile of an opera director in relation to theatre directing as well as some important European theatres and schools, and assesses the interactions between theatre and opera performances that were directed by some of the most notable stage directors of the Ljubljana Drama Theatre, such as Osip Šest, Bratko Kreft, and Ciril Debevec.

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Theatre and music theatre performances of Slovenian theatre have coexisted in certain synergy at least from the second half of the 19th century from the establishment of the Dramatično društvo (Dramatic Society Theatre) in 1867. Such symbiosis continued between 1892 and 1914, in the time of the Deželno gledališče (Regional Theatre), as the consequence of various factors. The Slovenian stages were preparing both the theatre and musical theatre performances, therefore many of them required the casts equally accomplished in acting and singing. Hence, the appearance of the same performers on both stages, that of Drama and that of Opera which remained a common practice for quite a long period since the performers were bound by contract to perform on both stages. Such practice continued until the beginning of the World War I. Similar and very intense combinations can also be observed through the development of stage directors' professional profiles as they used to operate in both spheres.¹ The director also used to work as an actor or/and singer what remained a common practice until the World War I, and to a certain degree even longer. More defined profile of the stage director appeared on the territory, which is today Slovenia, as late as between the two wars. Constant and intense exchanges between both casts as well as stage directors' parallel operations also resulted in intertwining of the aesthetic ideals. Such outcome was correlated to the lack of personnel and furthermore, their sufficient and, most of all, comprehensive education. Finally yet importantly, such synergy or awareness of the mutual features of drama and music was also present in the development of the European theatre scene.

After the World War I, stage directing saw more varieties in style which reflected on both stages. The most important European influences affected the Slovenian stage performances as well. Ljubljana and Maribor, for example, hosted theatre people of various nationalities belonging to different theatre schools and having manifold experiences. The most prominent of them were the great names of Muscovite artistic theatre, Konstantin Stanislavsky and Vladimir Nemirovič-Dančenko, also the members of Národní divadlo in Prague, La petite Scène in Paris, various Viennese theatres; and many others. The stage directors working in Slovenia often travelled to most important European cultural centres to perfect their professional skills, whereas the migration contributed its share as well. The Russian theatre emigration remarkably marked the 20's in Ljubljana.²

Among the Russian influences we should mention the Moscow musical theatre studio inclined to abstraction, established in 1919 by Vladimir Ivanovič Nemirovič-Dančenko. Vsevolod Meyerhold also had a notable influence with his experimental, psychological and symbolical approach, becoming an example to many opera and theatre directors.³ The most important among Germans was Max Reinhardt, who worked in Berlin, then in Vienna and is considered a founder of the modern stage directing. The most significant move in Reinhardt's development was the inclusion of various elements, from traditionally realistic ones, to symbolism and expressionism, which brought about both approval

¹ Compare Darja Koter, "Glasbeno-gledališka režija na Slovenskem: od diletantizma Dramatičnega društva do (poskusov) profesionalizacije v Deželnem gledališču / Music Theatre Directing in Slovenia: From Dilettantism of the Dramatic Society to (the Attempts of) Professionalism in the Regional Theatre," *Muzikološki zbornik / Musicological Annual* 46/1 (2010): 57–72. The author also cites the extensive literature.

² Filip Kalan, "Evropeizacija slovenske gledališke kulture," in Linhartovo izročilo, ed. L. Filipič (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1957), 66.

³ "Meyerhold Memoriam Museum," accessed April 22, 2012, www.meyerhold.org/.

and critical reactions. The most important Reinhardt's achievements were chamber and large-scale stagings, intimate scenes and mass performances, modern drama and silent spectacles, cooperation of actors and contemporary scene, the importance of the great theatre stars and ensemble, changing the theatre institutions and later also certain changes in film art. Opera performances were marked also by Bauhaus's work, inclined to the understanding of the art-work as a whole. He was very passionate about the experimental work and progressive ideas, which resulted in a number of novelties he realised, such as Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex*, Křenek's *Der Diktator*, Hindemith's *Cardillac*, and many others. Siegfried Wagner had also complemented a modern opera scene after the World War I, when he has revived Bayreuth festival in 1924. His ideas, based on massive three-dimensional stagings and more subtle innovations, more or less in accordance with the period, surpassed the traditional approaches by his last production - *Tannhäuser* in 1930.⁴

The new development in Slovenian drama rendition started in February 1919, when the curtain of the Drama Theatre of Ljubljana had risen again. This was a step towards the world of European theatre set as the objective of the Slovenian theatre and eventually reached between the two wars. The progress was the result of a great enthusiasm of all theatre people and most of all their wish to explore modern movements, which brought about certain risks in acting, different approaches to composition, up-to-date experiments, however, as they were going along, they never disregarded Slovenian drama pieces.⁵ The most important examples were set as the result of educational journeys undertaken by directors who worked on the territory of Slovenia, as well as by guest performances of avant-garde theatres on domestic stages. For instance, in 1922, a director Osip Šest and a scenographer Václav Skrušny produced a modern constructivist drama *RUR* by Karl Čapek on stage of the Drama Theatre of Ljubljana. Čapek wrote this text in 1921, introducing science fiction into literature. In this provocative and shocking staging, which saw raging reviews, Šest and Skrušny merged the compositions of Russian constructivism and Bauhaus.⁶ At the beginning of the 20's, expressionism finally appeared in Ljubljana, first in painting art by brothers Kralj and then with Avgust Černigoj, a great connoisseur of Bauhaus and Russian constructivism. In music, the expressionism appeared in the late 20's which was evident in creativeness as well as in musical scenography rendition. For the season of 1929, when the Opera in Ljubljana was planning to prepare a performance of Kogoj's *Črne maske*, no less than six authors applied for the post of scenographer and three of them, Avgust Černigoj, Ferdo Delak and Eduard Stepančič were considered the pronounced expressionists. Finally, Opera voted in favour of Vavpotič, and his scenography was declared as an example of fabulous expressionism.⁷

New art styles and movements had finally reached the Opera in Ljubljana, but there these developments seemed slower and less profound in comparison with those in the Drama. If in the 90's of the 19th century the Opera and its repertoire took the advantage

⁴ "Max Reinhardt Seminar," accessed March 29, 2010, <http://www.maxreinhardtseminar.at/mrs.php?Sel=7>.

⁵ Kalan, "Evropeizacija slovenske gledališke kulture," 60-63.

⁶ "Pogled na Gledališko scenografijo," accessed April 16, 2010, www.rtvsl.si/.../gledalisko-scenografijo-konstruktivizma-in-ekspresionizma/.

⁷ "Rado Pregarc," accessed April 16, 2010, www.rtvsl.si/.../gledalisko-scenografijo-konstruktivizma-in-ekspresionizma/.

by following the European movements, then the Drama took the lead after the World War I. After the National Theatre had been taken over by the state, the art director's post in the Opera was occupied by Friderik Rukavina, a sophisticated, cosmopolitan man. In five years of his tenure in the Opera, he included into the programme some important works of French, Italian and Slavonic literature. However, none of these works was in vogue as much as those performed by the Drama. In addition, the approach to the directing of the Opera did not exceed the level reached before the World War I, and the director's professional profile remained unchanged since the director still appeared on stage as actor. The scenography remained on the level of "house-painting" and had no regard for the scenographer's artistic ideas. Similar situation could be observed in costume design. Even in 1928, the director Osip Šest noted, that "in Drama, the Prince takes off his tights in the afternoon so that a wardrobe attendant takes it with a swift pace to the Opera, where the Duke of Mantua puts it on."⁸ Therefore, a mediocre scenography and an improvised costume design met the common expectations; similar situation occurred in stage direction as well, as the Opera performances were carried out without a proficient opera director.

Between the two wars, the Opera saw a real pleiad of directors. Some of them were of Slovenian nationality and represented various methods and schools. Among them were directors, such as Franjo Bučar (1861–1926) and Josip Povhe⁹, both distinguished themselves even before the World War I and were very successful as directors of prewar school, but they had never tried to introduce the avant-garde to their stages. Povhe was more of an operetta director right from the beginning. After the war he reappeared on the Ljubljana stage, where he directed a number of operettas, such as 1920 *Ksenija* by Viktor Parma, in 1931 a novelty by Pavel Šivic *Oj, ta prešmentana ljubezen*, and in 1938 Parma's operetta *Nečak*. During Mirko Polič's management, Povhe was the most important director distinguished for his classical approach to operetta directing.¹⁰

It would seem that directing operas and operettas did not represent a professional challenge for all drama directors, as could be deduced from their remarks. Some of them reluctantly accepted the directing of musical performances. Yet, by proving their versatile proficiency, they could reach a commensurate or higher salary range.¹¹ In the first postwar years, the directing was for the most part designed upon traditional principles of realistic performances, attempting to create an illusion of a real life. However, within such approach it was still possible to insert the baroque virtuosity of the first soloists singing the great arias in any chosen language; that was also Rukavina's viewpoint implemented in the performances under his direction.¹² Osip Šest was the most prominent in the Opera in the 20's of the 20th century. He was the first profiled opera director in Slovenia and maintained his primacy until 1930 when has started the new era of directors in the Opera Theatre of Ljubljana. Šest attended a renowned Otto's school in Vienna, where he graduated even before the World War I. He spent the wartime in

⁸ Resumed after Dušan Moravec, *Slovensko gledališče od vojne do vojne* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1980), 232.

⁹ Josip Povhe was mentioned by various sources, but his biography has not been published yet.

¹⁰ Compare *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč 1867–1967*. Ljubljana: Slovenski gledališki muzej, 1967.

¹¹ Dušan Moravec, *Slovenski režiserski kvartet (z gostom)* (Ljubljana: Slovenski gledališki in filmski muzej, 1996), 50.

¹² Compare *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč*, 209–214.

Russian captivity where he was introduced to the already famous Stanislavsky's work that without any doubt affected Šest's later work. He noted rather ironically, that he did not understand much about music, that he could not count the bars, and that he lacked musicality necessary for a "musical director", emphasizing that he was "a man of drama". Despite such opinion about himself, he was considered a successful opera director. Apparently, "he had good fortune in creating some original types", among other things he improved the scenography, which gained a greater importance under his leadership.¹³ In the Opera, he staged a great number of works from world literature as well as many works of domestic authors, such as a remake of Anton Foerster's *Gorenjski slavček*, a premiere of *Gospodsvetski sen* and *Matija Gubec* by Risto Savin, Hugolin Sattner's *Tajda* and Slavko Osterc's minute opera *Iz komične opere*.

From 1929 to 1938, Šest produced 55 musical stagings. He also travelled more frequently than any other domestic stage director. Through his journeys, he became acquainted with the latest renowned stagings in Berlin, Paris and Prague, where he regularly took active part in theatre conferences and congresses.¹⁴ He tried to implement these novelties in the domestic production too, but his attempts met certain reproaches for his imitations of the European production. His resuming of European trends was considered inconsistent and his style too heterogeneous and insufficiently profiled. His younger colleague, Ciril Debevec commented that Šest was a master of fantasy and external effects, but his directing lacked profoundness as well as consistency in the introduction of modern trends.¹⁵ Šest admitted his inclination to Russian and Viennese examples. As mentioned earlier, he modelled himself after Russian directors - the consequence of his captivity during the World War I. Among other things, he frequently mentioned Max Reinhardt's stagings in his articles that were a sort of reviews published in *Gledališki listi*. However, we have to admit that Šest's contribution was very important for the development of drama theatre and opera directing. He exerted himself upon Europeanization of Slovenian theatre, fought against dilettantism; he introduced a systematic work in production, harmonized the concept of the play and at the same time tried to restrain from psychological analysing. His greatest success was the production of Sergej Prokofiev's opera *The Love for Three Oranges* (1927), which met good reviews both by the opera audience and reviewers; it reached not less than 22 stagings, which represented a record in number of performances at the time. In this period, Šest preferred the texts containing the expressionist elements which were in opposition with the fact that he proved himself in the Drama as an excellent stage director of modernized Shakespeare's works.¹⁶ Osip Šest was the first among more sophisticated Slovenian directors to pave the way for a modern stage directing, which was realized after 1930 by Ciril Debevec, Bratko Kreft and Bojan Stupica. Šest was at first operating as a stage director in the Drama as well as in the Opera; however, for two seasons (1936–1938), he was appointed "merely" as opera director which represented a turning point in the history of opera directing. Already in this period, he realized that he could not compete

¹³ Moravec, *Slovenski režiserski kvartet*, 50–51.

¹⁴ Moravec, *Slovenski režiserski kvartet*, 48.

¹⁵ Ciril Debevec, "Vprašanja režiserjev v ljubljanski Drami," *Mladina* 1 (1925/26): 172; resumed after Moravec, *Slovensko gledališče*, 121.

¹⁶ Moravec, *Slovenski režiserski kvartet*, 37–42; *ibid.*, *Slovensko gledališče*, 217–221.

with younger successors. Despite his profound inclination towards drama directing, he remained faithful to the opera after the war as well.

The second development period in the Opera Theatre of Ljubljana started in 1925 with Polič. In comparison with Friderik Rukavina, Polič's artistic leadership became noticeable by the staging of updated musical works by Prokofiev, Stravinsky, Křenek, Kogoj, Shostakovich, and others. Such selection of authors eventually brought the Opera repertoire to the level of progressive European centres. Polič's time was marked also by the intense fluctuation of stage directors who were still obliged to operate in the opera sphere as well. The directing methods still lingered upon a stereotyped approach evident in the arrangement of the actors who had not assumed neither impersonation nor staging qualities. Similar characteristics could be observed in the work of Boris Krivecki, who directed *Črne maske* during his short stay in Ljubljana.¹⁷

Bratko Kreft (1905–1996), an avant-garde enthusiast, came to the Ljubljana theatre in 1930. Prior to that, he had been working in the avant-garde theatre named Delavski oder which was considered a cradle of a modern “proletarian theatre”. His work reflected the influences of the new Russian school. Besides, he was very impressed by the work of Slovenian stage director Milan Skrbinšek. In spite of his preference for modern Russian theatre, he remained faithful to his own point of view - some sort of “collective art”. His friend, Matija Bravničar, put him on the path to the Opera sensing that musical environment of the period was going to be a better place for the realization of Kreft's avant-garde ideas. At the time, Kreft was in dispute with the authorities, therefore an employment in Drama was out of his reach. He claimed that musical Thalia in Ljubljana was a synonym of obsolescence, so he wanted to rejuvenate her. Polič supported Kreft's aspirations with the incentive words, suggesting he should carry out “something modern, somewhat new, exciting and arousing”.¹⁸ Kreft's first production, otherwise a traditional musical comedy *La Mascotte* by Audran Edmond, was a real sensation; whereas his stagings of *Werther* by Massenet, and *Carmen* by Bizet, the latter arranged in the style of Bolshevism, raised a wave of disapproval and indignation of the audience and in reviews. Kreft sustained an equal status of all performers: singers, choir, ballet and orchestra. That was his vision of “collective stage directing” as opposed to status of the star performers, which he strongly disapproved. In his productions, he introduced the profundity and grotesqueness of stylized movements and figural compositions, as well as the situation comedy as the supplement to the rigidity of Viennese operetta; dancers' circus stunts, thus approaching the performance to “commedia dell' arte”. By the spring 1932, he had staged three Osterc's novelties, one-act opera *Medeia*, a ballet pantomime *Maska rdeče smrti*, and a grotesque *Dandín v vicah*; as the last, he produced *Rusalka* by Dvořák.¹⁹ Kreft especially enjoyed staging the first performances of Osterc's miniatures, seeing that they inherently enabled the modern approaches in directing. In his musical theatre productions, Kreft successfully employed satire, black humour and most of all constructivist accentuation, leaving the tradition behind.

¹⁷ Compare, *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč*, 633.

¹⁸ Moravec, *Slovenski režiserski kvartet*, 184, 180.

¹⁹ Moravec, *Slovenski režiserski kvartet*, 177.

The next director to extend his drama proficiency into opera directing, was Ciril Debevec (1903–1973). He had received his education in a German oriented Prague academy. He first proved himself as an actor in the Drama, then he started working with Šest and Milan Skrbinšek as a third stage director. While Osterc's career as a theatre stage director reached its most intense phase, European stages were under the influence of Reinhardt, Meyerhold, Piscator, and others. Debevec ridiculed their achievements and methods and wrote some pungent comments about them. Debevec's approaches to staging came as a complete surprise, and his name became a synonym of "a profound, introverted 'literary' stage director, who ascetically persevered in simplicity on stage. He was considered serious, earnest, and sometimes even sombre in his interpretations of modern European texts, especially those dealing with horrible recent years; a stage directing magician, who managed to capture his audience into motionless silence. "Debevec was not keen on stage effects, whereas he was fond of exploring "horror, demonical and mysticism".²⁰

Polič entrusted Debevec a premiere staging of Bravničar's opera *Pohujšanje v dolini Šentflorjanski*. Some of the most important Debevec's productions were *Jenůfa* and *Katja Kabanova* by Leoš Janáček; among contemporary works we should mention the operetta *Der verlorene Walzer* by Robert Stolz and a modern opera *Der Günstling* by Rudolf Wagner-Régeny; in 1940 he directed *Kleopatra* by Danilo Švara and a year later *Hlapec Jernej in njegova pravica* by Bravničar. In more than fifteen years of his work in the Drama Theatre of Ljubljana, he staged more than 40 performances.²¹ Though he had been admired for years, his glory gradually started to fade in the second half of the 30's; he was reproached with stagnation, repetitiveness, too much mysticism and inclination toward pathos. In the autumn of 1939, after fifteen years of operating on both Drama and Opera stages, he decided to convert to musical theatre. The new director of Opera, Vilko Ukmar appointed him as "chief-stage director" and promised him the autonomy in directing and repertoire selection. The autonomy had always been his unfulfilled wish while he had been working in Drama. With this appointment, the Opera Theatre of Ljubljana made a decisive step towards a more defined ensemble profile. Debevec persisted in the Drama, somehow contented but still unaccomplished, until the autumn 1943 when he took over the management of the Drama under the jurisdiction of German authorities. His decision about taking this position was often regarded as morally disputable. A singer and stage director Robert Primožič replaced him in the Opera, but died in a tragic accident shortly after he had assumed the post.

Debevec was also an ardent essay writer. His articles published in *Gledališki listi* were about explaining and introducing his stage productions. Improvement of acting in musical performances was one of his most important contributions; thus, he educated a number of Slovenian singers requiring of them to study with a comprehensive approach to psychological features of their parts, which was otherwise characteristic of the actors. His leadership brought along the end of the stage effects' realm and consequently the improvement of the opera theatre directing, which had been neglected in former times. In this way, he built the foundations for the new era of the postwar generation of musi-

²⁰ Moravec, *Slovensko gledališče*, 353–355, 285, 286.

²¹ Compare *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč*, 224–252.

cal theatre directing. Ciril Debevec introduced the examples of modern theatre to the Opera, however, his approach was not as avant-garde as Bratko Kreft's, with whom he was working side by side for a certain period of time. Šest and Debevec, who staged a greater part of music performances played between the wars, confirmed the synergy of the drama theatre aesthetics and opera aesthetics. The importance of their work is comparable with Bratko Kreft's exertion, during his Opera period between 1930 and 1932, which marked musical Thalia with the European, most avant-garde movements.

POVZETEK

Čas po prvi svetovni vojni je na polje režije na Slovenskem prinesel večjo stilno raznolikost, ki se je vzporedno odražala v dramskih in glasbenogledaliških predstavah, med najvplivnejšimi pa so bili vzori iz Narodnega divadla iz Prage, pariškega La petite Scène, dunajskih in ruskih teatrov, Weimarja, šole Bauhausa ter drugi. V Ljubljani se je v 20. letih močno odražal val ruske gledališke emigracije. Opera takoj po prvi svetovni vojni ni imela profiliranega opernega režiserja. To delo so opravljali igralci oziroma pevci in priučeni režiserji, ki so se v veliki večini poglobljeno posvečali Drami. V Operi se je sprva zvrstila prava pleada režiserjev, Slovencev in drugih, ki so bili različnih metod in šol. Režija je bila večinoma zasnovana na tradicionalnih načelih realističnih predstav, kjer se je skušalo ustvarjati iluzijo stvarnega življenja. Opero je v 20. letih 20. stoletja najbolj zaznamoval Osip Šest (1893–1962), ki se je z leti profiliral v opernega režiserja in je imel na tem polju primat do leta 1930. Prizadeval si je za evropeizacijo slovenskega gledališča, se boril proti diletantizmu, uvedel je sistematično delo, harmonijo v konceptu predstave ter se izogibal psihološkemu analiziranju. Dvajseta leta so v ljubljanski Operi pod vodstvom Mirka Poliča zaznamovana z uprizoritvami najsodobnejših

evropskih in slovenskih opernih del (Prokofjev, Stravinski, Křenek, Kogoj, Šostakovič in drugi). Od leta 1930 do 1932 je operno režijo zaznamoval Bratko Kreft (1905–1996), ki je imel pomembne izkušnje iz avantgardnega Delavskega odra, kjer je deloval pod vplivom Tairova, Mejerholda in Erwina Piscatorja. V stilu tako imenovane »kolektivne režije« je zagovarjal enakopravnost vseh akterjev: pevcev, zbora, baleta in orkestra. Uvedel je poglobljenost in grotesknost s stiliziranimi gibi ter se tako približal sodobni »commedii dell'arte«. Ciril Debevec (1903–1973), tretji med najpomembnejšimi akterji razvoja profila opernega režiserja na Slovenskem, se je postavil nad vsakdanji realizem ter zagovarjal meditativnost in poetičnost predstav. Izbiral je tekste simbolistične dramatike, izraz njegovih predstav pa je odražal mistiko, patetičnost in demoničnost. Njegove režije z značilno stilizacijo ter stopnjevanjem ekspresionističnega in melodramatičnega vzdušja so razdvajale tako občinstvo kot gledališko kritiko. Prispeval je h kakovostnemu dvigu igre v glasbenih predstavah in v tem smislu vzgojil vrsto slovenskih pevcev, od katerih je zahteval tudi igralsko in psihološko poglobitev pri študiju vloge. Z njim se je raven dotlej premalo upošteevane operne režije strmo dvignila in pripravila temelje novi dobi povojne generacije režiserjev.

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Emotions Unveiled: Romance at the Opera in *Moonstruck* (1987), *Pretty Woman* (1990) and *Little Women* (1994)

Razkrita čustva: Romance v operi – v filmih *Moonstruck* (1987), *Pretty Woman* (1990) in *Little Women* (1994)

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IZVLEČEK

Članek preučuje romantične komedije in romances, katerih zgodba vključuje prizore, v katerih vodilni igralci obišejo operno predstavo. Analiza obiskov opernih predstav v filmih *Moonstruck* (1987), *Pretty Woman* (1990) in *Little Women* (1994) bo odgovorila na vprašanje o smislu in funkciji opere v vrstni romances in postavila te ugotovitve v daljši razpravi o pomenu zvočnega filmskega traku za romantične komedije in za konvencije zadevnega žanra.

ABSTRACT

The article examines romantic comedies and romances whose narrative includes a scene where the protagonists attend an opera performance. An analysis of opera scenes in *Moonstruck* (1987), *Pretty Woman* (1990), and *Little Women* (1994) will answer questions about the purpose and function of opera in the genre of romance and base these findings in a broader discussion on the importance of the soundtrack for romantic comedy/romance and the particular genre conventions.

Opera music is used widely in a variety of film genres, but there are far fewer examples where the attendance at an opera performance is part of the plot. Nevertheless, “opera scenes” have appeared in a variety of films in the past decades. There is the massacre during a performance of Pietro Mascagni’s *Cavalleria Rusticana* in Francis Ford Cop-

pola's *The Godfather Part III* (1990). Several opera scenes appear in historical films, for example, the adaptations of *War and Peace*, *Marie Antoinette*¹ or *The Age of Innocence* (1993). There was an alien singing "Il dolce suono" from *Lucia di Lammermoor* in *The Fifth Element* (1997); a parodistic scene in *2001 Space Travesty* (2000), several scenes at the Royal Opera House Covent Garden in Woody Allen's *Match Point* (2005) as well as oppressive pictures of Liu's suicide from Puccini's *Turandot* in *The Life of David Gale* (2003) and of Tosca's death in *Milk* (2008). Even the James Bond adventure *Quantum of Solace* (2008) featured a performance of Puccini's *Tosca*.² Several of these opera attendances have found attention in research,³ including Marcia Citron's close reading of one of the few romantic comedies including such a scene: Norman Jewison's *Moonstruck* (Jewison, US, 1987) that uses Giacomo Puccini's *La bohème* extensively throughout the plot.⁴ Citron's observations are to be my starting point for exploring the theme of visits to the opera in this particular genre. *Moonstruck* is followed by prominent examples in the early 1990s: the romantic comedy *Pretty Woman* (Marshall, US, 1990) features a performance of Giuseppe Verdi's *La traviata* and the novel-based romance *Little Women* (Armstrong, US, 1994) includes an attendance at George Bizet's *Les pêcheurs de perles*. By comparing these three films the study will answer questions about the purpose and function of opera in the genre of romance, the correlation between the opera and the film narrative, and the meanings that are created by using opera music as nondiegetic sound. Finally, it will site these findings in a broader discussion of the soundtrack for romantic comedy/romance and the particular genre conventions.

Situating the opera scene

The initial situation of an opera attendance is fairly similar in *Moonstruck*, *Pretty Woman*, and *Little Women*. After about two-thirds of the film has expired, the male protagonist takes the female protagonist out to attend an opera performance. For Loretta (the female lead in *Moonstruck*), Vivian (the female lead in *Pretty Woman*) and Josephine (the female lead in *Little Women*, called Jo throughout the film) it is their first visit to the opera whereas the male leading roles (Ronny, Edward, and Friedrich) appear as opera-

¹ There are several film versions for both subjects. Opera scenes appear, for example, in the latest films: *War and Peace* (Dornhelm, Belgium, 2007) and *Marie Antoinette* (Coppola, US, 2006).

² Wlaschin, Ken. *Encyclopedia of Opera on Screen. A Guide to More Than 100 Years of Opera Films, Videos, and DVDs*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004. It gives a useful overview up to the early 2000s.

³ See, for example, Marcia J. Citron, "Operatic Style and Structure in Coppola's Godfather Trilogy," *The Musical Quarterly* 87 (2005): 423–467; Helen A. Roulston, "Opera in Gangster Movies: From Capone to Coppola," *Journal of Popular Culture* 22/1 (1988): 99–111; Marcia J. Citron, "The Operatics of Detachment: *Tosca* in the James Bond Film *Quantum of Solace*," *19th-Century Music* 34/3 (2011): 316–340. For a more general engagement with opera in films see Jeongwon, Joe and Rose, Theresa, ed. *Between Opera and Cinema*. New York: Routledge, 2002. Citron has republished some of her essays lately in her volume *When Opera Meets Film*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

⁴ Marcia J. Citron, "An Honest Contrivance": Opera and Desire in *Moonstruck*," *Music & Letters* 89/1 (2007): 56–83. *Moonstruck* was also explored by Kathryn Conner Bennett in an article where she compares the use of *La bohème* in Sally Potter's *Thriller*, Baz Luhrmann's *Moulin Rouge!* and Norman Jewison's *Moonstruck*. See Kathryn Conner Bennett, "The Gender Politics of Death: Three Formulations of *La Bohème* in Contemporary Cinema," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 32/3 (2004): 110–120. Anahid Kassabian focused on ethnicity and identification in romantic comedies, among them *Moonstruck*. See Anahid Kassabian, "Songstruck: Rethinking Identifications in Romantic Comedies," *Screening the past* 18 (2005), accessed March 1, 2012, http://www.latrobe.edu.au/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fr_18/AKfr18a.html.

goers on a regular basis. Scenes that emphasize the social context and the elite character of an opera performance precede the visit. The preparations of the woman protagonist for attending the opera are given a prominent place. Loretta feels obliged to improve her appearance and is seen later on at home with a new dress, new shoes, a new haircut and newly manicured red nails. In *Pretty Woman*, the red evening dress Vivian wears, the exclusive and expensive necklace, and the flight to the San Francisco Opera in a private jet emphasize the elite character of going to the opera. Particular shots convey the specific ambiance, beauty and imposing architecture of the opera houses in San Francisco and New York. *Little Women* hints at several of these motives (e.g. Jo telling Friedrich that she has no dress to wear to the opera) but does not directly play them out. Jo and Friedrich are watching the opera backstage as he obviously cannot afford regular tickets.

Another dominant motive stresses the rituals and rules of attendance at the opera. Opera is considered to be elite, not only because of its upper-class character, but also because it presupposes education and specific behavior. This aspect is most obvious in *Pretty Woman* where Vivian is surprised that there is—as she says—“a band” (meaning the orchestra), and complains about her opera glass not working because she does not know how to open it. The highlight of this inappropriate behavior is the end of the opera scene where Vivian answers the question about the performance posed by the woman in the neighboring box with, “Oh, it was so good, I almost peed my pants.” Edward defuses the situation by simulating a misunderstanding, saying, “She said she liked it better than *Pirates of Penzance*.”⁵ Similarly, *Moonstruck* reveals Loretta’s ignorance in various scenes, for example, when she asks Ronny about the location of the Metropolitan Opera or at the end of the performance, when she is wondering that Mimi “was coughing her brains out, right, and still had to keep singing”. Loretta combines the fatal illness of the operatic character with the performer’s ability to sing and is therefore revealed as a person unable to consider the dramatic principles of operatic performance. Though both Loretta and Ronny are Italian immigrants, Italian opera is not shown as a form of art that is automatically part of their culture. In *Little Women* Friedrich acts as a connoisseur by explaining the plot and the French words throughout the scene to Jo. However, the motive of the uninformed and naïve woman protagonist here is not as dominant as in the other two films.

Obviously, the general settings of an attendance at the opera in romantic comedy and romance share a variety of common motives observable in all three films. It is important to note that this kind of narrative is significant for this genre only and does not appear in this form in any other of the films with opera scenes from other genres mentioned at the beginning.

The narrative of the opera scene

Despite the similar initial situations in *Moonstruck*, *Pretty Woman* and *Little Women*, the particular narrative of the opera attendance itself differs in many aspects. The at-

⁵ Ironically, this Gilbert & Sullivan operetta belongs to a tradition of explicitly non-Continental but rather British music practice that influenced the American Broadway musical. *Pirates of Penzance* was never performed at San Francisco Opera. It was probably difficult to find an Italian opera fitting for the play on words.

tendance at *La bohème* in *Moonstruck* includes scenes prior to the performance, of the actual performance, of the intermission and post-performance and is, moreover, cross-cut with several other scenes outside the opera house.⁶ There are two musical cues from the performance itself. The first one (DVD, 00.59.22-00.59.32) includes only the opening bars of the opera performance after Loretta and Ronny have taken their seats, fading out after a cut to Rose walking the streets of Brooklyn. The second cue (DVD, 01.06.50-1.08.28) features parts of the third picture of *La bohème* where Mimì breaks up with Rodolfo and tells him to keep the cap in remembrance of their love. The narrative of the film and the narrative of the opera are hereby directly interwoven. Mimì and Rodolfo say farewell without rancor (“addio senza rancor”) and also Loretta has decided earlier to marry Johnny and say farewell to Ronny after the opera visit. Although the opera narrative parallels the film narrative here, not only in general but also in many details, the way in which the scene is shot also creates a narrative counterpoint. The scene opens with a shot of a part of the stage design showing the moon (a direct reference to the film), the camera then moves to Mimì who starts singing. A cut to Loretta and Ronny shows Ronny gazing at Loretta who has tears in her eyes. With Mimì’s first “se vuoi” (if you want) there is a close up of Ronny who is looking down (at Loretta’s hand as it is soon clear, he may be asking her nonverbally in Mimì’s words: if you want, I’ll take your hand), then at Loretta’s face again; for the second “se vuoi” again a stage view is offered where Rodolfo wants to approach Mimì but she holds him off. With the third “se vuoi serberla” Ronny moves his hand towards Loretta’s hand and they hold hands at this musically “suspended moment”⁷. After the vocal line and the swelling orchestra have risen to B-flat Ronny kisses Loretta’s hand at “d’amor”; for the first time in this opera scene Loretta looks at Ronny and they exchange intensive gazes at “addio”. With “senza rancor” Mimì and Rodolfo exchange a farewell handshake on the stage and at Rodolfo’s vocal line the scene closes with a long shot on Loretta’s face, her eyes brimming over and with tears running down her cheeks. In contrast to the visual aspect of the operatic farewell scene on stage where Mimì steps back from Rodolfo and then exchanges a rather neutral handshake, the way Loretta and Ronny touch each other and gaze at each other creates a particularly intensive bonding that responds to the emotional intensity of the opera scene as well as to the emotional intensity of their relationship, channeling their suffering, their passion and their love at the pace of the continuous quarter note accompaniment of this passage with the well nuanced musical climaxes.

Pretty Woman features in its opera scene one musical cue where five different musical excerpts from Giuseppe Verdi’s *La traviata* are put together. That the life of Violetta Valery in *La traviata* has specific parallels to that of Vivian Ward in the film (both are prostitutes and fall in love with an upper-class gentleman) is used here to focus on the female protagonists, both Violetta on the stage and Vivian in the audience responding to her fate. The opera scene starts musically from the beginning of the prelude with Edward explaining to Vivian that people either love or hate opera, and that there is nothing in between (DVD, 01.26.48). With a musical cut to the beginning of the first act (DVD,

⁶ A more detailed analysis of all cues accompanying the opera attendance can be found in Marcia Citron’s article “An Honest Contrivance”, 70–73. I particularly focus on the scene in the opera house that uses the music diegetically.

⁷ Citron, “An Honest Contrivance”, 72.

01.27.05), the camera moves to Vivian who smiles, looking quickly to Edward and back to the stage again. Shortly afterwards (DVD, 01.27.16) the music cross-fades to the end of the first act for Violetta's last repetition of "dee volare il mio pensier" (that make my spirit soar) and a cut to the stage shows Violetta singing, then the camera moves from the stage to Vivian and Edward again. A musical cut to the second act (DVD, 01.37.36) with Violetta's passage "amami, Alfredo, amami quanto io t'amo! Addio" (Love me, Alfredo. Love me as I love you! Farewell!) visually provides again first the stage design with Violetta embracing Alfredo and then shifts to Vivian and Edward. Vivian becomes more excited, looking first to Edward, then clenching the balustrade, Edward observes her emotional reactions, she then starts fidgeting with her hand at the "Addio". This pattern is continued in the last excerpt (DVD, 01.28.13), the very end of the opera, starting with Violetta's "rinasce, m'agita insolito vigor! Ah! ma io ritorno a viver! Oh, gioia!" (reborn in me the strength that once was mine! I feel I'm coming back to life! Oh joy!). The camera first rests on Vivian and Edward and then moves to Vivian alone when the musical climax at "gioia" directly parallels Vivian's strong emotional reaction – she is nearly crying. A cut to Edward again shows him emotionally untouched, observing Vivian. With the last bars of the score the camera focuses again on Vivian, now teary-eyed. It is certainly no coincidence that all the musical excerpts in this opera scene focus on Violetta and cover her different states in the three acts: her liberal mind in the first act, her love to Alfredo and farewell in the second act, her death in the third act. This opera scene mainly wishes to relate how Vivian is emotionally touched by opera and by Violetta's fate in particular. Edward solely observes her and does not seem to be emotionally involved at all.⁸

In contrast to *Moonstruck* and *Pretty Woman*, the narrative of the visit to the opera in *Little Women* starts in the middle of the already ongoing performance of Bizet's *Les pêcheurs de perles*. The film uses three cross-fading excerpts from the duet No. 9 between Léila and Nadir from the second act. The first excerpt already fades in when Friedrich and Jo are still seen at the door of her room after he has invited her to the performance (DVD, 01.18.38). The volume swells until a cut to the stage shows Léila and Nadir. This first excerpt starts in the first Allegro part of the duet where Léila tells Nadir that they cannot meet because of her vow ("Je ne dois pas t'entendre"). When Léila raises her arm to the sky, the camera follows her direction, showing Jo and Friedrich who are sitting in the flies. Friedrich explains the general outline of the plot to Jo, but stops shortly before Léila's "Ah!" on B-flat, accompanied by a I 6-4 chord (G minor) that is used for the transition into the second excerpt from the duet (DVD, 01.19.14). What Nadir explains in this passage, namely that he has sworn to avoid Léila ("J'avais promis d'éviter ta presence"), is not as important as the change of mood in this "a Tempo un poco animato"-excerpt with a characteristic staccato run in the strings. Friedrich explains that "trouble is coming" and Jo is curious about what will happen next. This agitated character is directly transferred to the visual sphere – cuts between the stage and the flies alternate quickly. While Friedrich is still explaining Nadir's words, the music nearly inaudibly shifts to the

⁸ The scene here offers a reading of traditional gender-roles, not only in the general narrative (Vivian being emotional, Edward being rational) but also in the gendering of looks provided by the protagonists and the camera position. For a theoretical background see also Mulvey, Laura. *Visual and Other Pleasures*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989; particularly Chapter 3: "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," 14–28.

third and last excerpt which starts in the Adagio, 5 bars before the final vocal unisono passage of the duet (DVD, 01.19.33). When Léila and Nadir start singing unisono, the camera has both couples in the frame for the first time. Léila and Nadir have taken each other by the hands. This inspires Friedrich to take Jo's hand and the camera to stay with Friedrich and Jo till almost the end of the scene. Friedrich translates Nadir's words, repeating "Your heart understood mine" twice and addressing it to Jo. The intimacy of the flies allows Jo and Friedrich the intimacy of a kiss, only disturbed at the first attempt by a stage worker. Jo and Friedrich finally unite in a kiss at Léila's and Nadir's last phrase ("Ô doux moment!"), the sweet moment transferring from the stage couple directly to the film characters. The curtain falls at Jo's and Friedrich's kiss at the last note of the duet, applause then mixing with a clap of thunder in the black-out.⁹

All three opera scenes demonstrate a distinct narrative where opera plot, opera music, stage action, verbal and non-verbal interaction of the film protagonists as well as the editing of the scene interact within a highly elaborated scheme. Although the musical scene selection (one longer passage in *Moonstruck*, five excerpts from different acts in *Pretty Woman* and three excerpts from one musical number in *Little Women*) and the narratives (cautious and melancholy affection between Loretta and Ronny, Vivian's emotions overwhelming her, strong bonding and kissing between Jo and Friedrich) are different, they share the purpose of being an emotional catalyst for the film protagonists.

Soundscape, film music and opera

To examine how the opera scene fulfills this purpose within the narrative of these romances it is necessary to take a look at their soundtrack in general and its relation to operatic music. Marcia Citron has observed that *La bohème* "plays a major role in *Moonstruck*. [...] The opera's impact goes beyond the surface of the soundtrack and plot."¹⁰ Citron even goes as far as to propose, "*Moonstruck* aspires to the genre of opera-film."¹¹ While this seems convincingly argued for in her article, it is, moreover, interesting to discuss the function of the opera's music in *Moonstruck* with regard to genre conventions. The *Moonstruck* soundtrack consists of 39 musical cues, of which 14 use the music of *La bohème*.¹² About the same number (13 cues) are nondiegetic¹³ cues composed by

⁹ This curtain is obviously inserted for the film narrative only. In the opera the finale of Act II would follow. It is important to mention that the narrative of this opera scene in *Little Women* is neither based on Alcott's novel (where a visit to the opera by Jo and Friedrich is not mentioned at all) nor does it correspond to the opera scenes in the two previous films based on the novel. Both versions from 1933 (Cukor, US) and from 1949 (LeRoy, US) include a scene where Jo and Friedrich are going to the opera (Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* in 1933, Flotow's *Martha* in 1949), but both scenes are very short (about 30 sec. in 1933, only 15 sec. in 1949) and do not lead to any particular exchange of affection between Jo and Friedrich. Consequently, the 1994 opera scene in *Little Women* is related much more to the romantic comedy opera scene narratives than either to the novel it is based upon or its preceding film adaptations.

¹⁰ Citron, "An Honest Contrivance," 56-57.

¹¹ Citron, "An Honest Contrivance," 78.

¹² Citron lists 12 cues because she skips the short second cue (when Ronny opens the door of the basement for Loretta) and counts the two parts of the Musetta waltz arrangement only as one cue. See Citron, "An Honest Contrivance," 64.

¹³ Lately there has been an intensive debate about the distinction between diegetic and nondiegetic music in film, see for example Robynn Stilwell, "The Fantastic Gap Between Diegetic and Nondiegetic," in *Beyond the Soundtrack: Representing Music in Cinema*, ed. Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer and Richard Leppert (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of Califor-

Dick Hyman. Another three cues go to the diegetic music played in the Italian restaurant visited by Loretta and Johnny in the beginning and later on by Rose. Four cues come from the stereo in Rose and Cosmo's house (three times it is the Vicky Carr song "It Must be Him", once Loretta turns on the radio with a saxophone tune). A funky pop song is heard when Loretta is parking her car, an instrumental jazz arrangement of the song "Moonglow" in the bar after their visit to the opera. Finally two cues with Dean Martin's song "That's Amore" frame the film at the beginning and the end. Of particular interest here is Dick Hyman's nondiegetically composed film music. It consists of five musical motifs, which all have a strong ethnic Italian character (using mandolin and accordion, folk-like melodies, harmonies, and rhythms). Two of them are only used twice: the one in triple meter when the grandfather is walking his dogs and the mandolin dominated minor tune when Johnny calls from Sicily. Another very lively musical theme is used five times, mainly associated with Loretta's and Johnny's relationship. It appears first after Johnny proposes to Loretta, twice when Loretta is walking the streets and twice when Johnny is back from Sicily. One motif has a less ethnical character and is used only once when Rose leaves the restaurant with the professor. All these musical motifs have a distinct leitmotivic significance and they are not associated with the love story between Loretta and Ronny. There is, however, one motif that is not so easily connected to a particular storyline and is, moreover, used in different arrangements. It is first arranged for mandolin and guitar when Loretta gets a rose from one of her employers (DVD, 00.04.02), then appears in a march-like rhythm with piano and mandolin while Cosmo and Mona are driving the car (DVD, 00.34.42) and is finally again slower and softer, now with accordion and clarinet and also repeated, when Ronny proposes to Loretta (DVD, 01.32.35). There is not a single cue composed by Dick Hyman that could be associated with a symphonic film score typical for romantic comedy. In particular, there is no musical leitmotif for Loretta or Ronny and their love for each other. These soundtrack cues are completely occupied by *La bohème* excerpts: Ronny's sentimental speech in the basement, Loretta and Ronny ending up in bed together, Ronny persuading her to stay with him after the opera performance, Ronny listening to the gramophone the next morning and Loretta walking home.

This extraordinary use of the operatic music is even more striking when compared to the other two films. The soundtrack of *Pretty Woman* consists of 32 musical cues. 14 cues use pre-existing pop songs, seven of them come from diegetic sources (music from the Blue Banana bar, in the street, in stores, Vivian singing in the bathtub, etc), the other seven include prominent hits such as Go West's "King of Wishful Thinking", a cover version of Johnny O'Keefe's "Wild One", the "title song", Roy Orbison's "Pretty Woman" or Roxette's "It Must Have Been Love". There are three purely instrumental cues arranged as pop-tunes, one of them used diegetically when Vivian turns on the stereo,

nia Press, 2007), 184–202; Jeff Smith, "Bridging the Gap: Reconsidering the Border between Diegetic and Nondiegetic Music," *Music and the Moving Image* 2/1 (2009): 1–25; David Neumeyer, "Diegetic/Nondiegetic. A Theoretical Model," *Music and the Moving Image* 2/1 (2009): 26–39; Giorgio Biancorosso, "The Harpist in the Closet: Film Music as Epistemological Joke," *Music and the Moving Image* 2/3 (2009): 11–33. In this article I use the "traditional" distinction between diegetic and nondiegetic. Concerning the opera scene, I mostly distinguish between music that is directly related to the particular performance in the opera house and music from the operas that is used in other scenes, either diegetic (e.g. when its source is the gramophone) or nondiegetic.

waiting for Edward. Other diegetic music includes Vivaldi's *Le quattro stagioni* during the dinner in a restaurant, two brass band cues during the polo game, Edward's piano playing, and the opera scene. James Newton Howard composed nine cues of original symphonic film music, mostly dominated by piano, strings and woodwinds and having a rather slow tempo. While four of them have a specifically singular musical motif, the other five share two main motifs and are written in the same key (G major). These five musical cues accompany the key scenes between Edward and Vivian:

cue 8	00.30.16-00.30.45	motif 1	Edward returns from bathroom and finds Vivian sleeping
cue 21	01.20.39-01.22.35	motif 1 and 2	Edward and Vivian in bed, Vivian talks about her past
cue 26	01.34.06-01.36.55	motif 1 and 2	Vivian returns from bathroom and finds Edward sleeping, starts to kiss him, he wakes up and they continue
cue 28	01.52.12-01.53.53	motif 2	Edward asks Vivian to stay the night
cue 30	01.56.50-01.57.48	motif 1	Vivian says farewell to Kit

Motif 2 was inspired by the piano introduction of Bruce Springsteen's song "Racing in the Street" (1978) that originated in the opening bars of The Crystals' song "Then He Kissed Me" (1963). Several musicians covered this song, including Springsteen himself. The associations to "Racing in the Street" (leaving a small town to find a new and better life) and "Then He Kissed Me" (the experience of a first kiss and the feelings it evokes) work well for the narrative of the film, as motif 2 is used in cue 26 when Vivian talks about her past and how she arrived in Los Angeles and in cue 28 when Vivian kisses Edward for the first time. With or without understanding these intertextual references Howard's score supports the emotional bonding between Vivian and Edward by establishing these two leitmotifs according to the film narrative.

It astonishes all the more that at the very end of the film, when Vivian and Edward finally connect, the music of *La traviata* is used again. The musical narrative of the film so far would rather seem to have suggested the use of either one of the two above-mentioned leitmotifs or a reference to the scene where Vivian tells Edward about her childhood dream of a prince who rescues her (cue 27, DVD 01.38.06-01.38.59). The filmmakers however, decided to use the second act of *La traviata* again (DVD 01.59.40-02.01.23). Vivian gets her fairy-tale ending when Edward arrives at her house in his limousine, underscored by the music of Violetta Valery's emotional outburst "Amami Alfredo" already heard during the opera scene. There is a rather blatant ignorance of intertextual references when Violetta sings "Addio" (Farewell) exactly at the moment when Edward starts climbing the fire ladder. Immediately, after this "Addio" Verdi's score is altered, not presenting the music of Violetta's rushing off, but repeating the whole passage of "Amami Alfredo" in a full orchestral version which is reduced in volume with the last short dialogue passage, followed by a transition into a newly composed cadenza when Vivian and Edward finally kiss.

From the viewpoint of intertextual references the use of this farewell scene from *La traviata* for the scene of final unification in the film obviously does not work very well. But what is more important than intertextual meaning in this scene is the effect it has particularly when considering James Newton Howard's "re-writing". Because Violetta's rushing out is cut off twice the music focuses on her emotional outburst and her declaration of love. Repeating the cantilena in a full non-vocal orchestral version turns it into symphonic film music dissociated from the opera narrative.¹⁴ The opera music here also works as a signifier for the fairy-tale character of this happy ending. Opera is a place where such fairy-tales are usually told and the happy ending first becomes operatic by using opera music and then tries step-wise to dissociate from opera again: first by removing the voice, then by blending into newly composed symphonic film music, and finally by bringing the title-song "Pretty Woman" again. Thus the larger framework for the use of *La traviata* at the very end of *Pretty Woman* is to create an extraordinary emotional situation both by repeating music that caused a strong emotional reaction in the opera scene before¹⁵ and by altering the score in a way that focuses on that part of the music that represents love rather than farewell and that supports the overwhelming musical effect of Verdi's setting. Neither Howard's rather intimate leitmotifs used for Vivian and Edward throughout the film, nor the rather descriptive music of Vivian's childhood fairy-tale story would have had that effect.

In contrast to *Moonstruck* and *Pretty Woman* the film makers of *Little Women* decided not to use any music from the opera scene in the soundtrack of the rest of the film. The *Little Women* soundtrack consists of 53 musical cues.¹⁶ 13 of these cues use music diegetically (Beth or Lawry playing the piano, the family singing Christmas carols, dance music at the ball, Friedrich playing the violin); all other cues are symphonic film music composed by Thomas Newman. There are several leitmotifs used throughout these 40 cues that are associated with particular characters or situations, the most prominent being an oboe theme associated with Jo (and particularly her being a writer). Most of the cues support the transition between the dialogues (fading in at the end of one dialogue and fading out at the beginning of the next). As *Little Women* follows the stories of four sisters and the storyline switches between the different lives of the sisters, the music often works as an agent to smoothen out the transition or create a particular mood for a new situation. Within the film narrative the story between Jo and Friedrich is only one storyline among others and in this sense their romance strongly differs from that between Loretta and Ronny or Vivian and Edward. This is directly reflected in the soundtrack that does not provide any particular music associated with the two of them as a couple. At Jo and Friedrich's final meeting at the end of the film, the last cue starts shortly before they kiss with a series of chords that soon progress into the final phrase

¹⁴ Michal Grover-Friedlander has argued that the operatic voice is essential for opera's aesthetic identity in film. See Michal Grover-Friedlander, *Vocal Apparitions. The Attraction of Cinema to Opera* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 3–4.

¹⁵ Here the film makers use the "affective memory" of the audience: any emotional labeling of a scene caused by the interaction of visual and aural spheres can be reproduced through the affective memory of the audience when using the same music again. See, for example, Claudia Bullerjahn, *Grundlagen der Wirkung von Filmmusik* (Augsburg: Wissner, 2001), 215.

¹⁶ Interestingly the film with the longest running time (*Pretty Woman* with more than 120 min) has the smallest number of musical cues.

of the film's main musical theme¹⁷ and then presents other music from the opening credits, visually transgressing into the final credits.

That Bizet's opera was not used in any other scene of *Little Women* might not only be a practical consequence of the production process¹⁸ but also have a particular meaning concerning the essential effect of opera in romance. *Little Women* is the only film that could have incorporated a 19th century opera as period music. Bizet's *Les pêcheurs de perles* was first performed in 1863, which fits historically very well with *Little Women* played during the American Civil War. However, to use the opera diegetically would have probably caused an audible conflict with Thomas Newman's score whose purpose was to musically create a period atmosphere but not distract from the dialogue.¹⁹ This leads directly to the final question of this article: how to situate an attendance at the opera and the use of opera music in romance and romantic comedy within the larger framework of musical genre conventions.

The opera attendance and musical genre conventions

It is difficult to generalize genre conventions of soundtracks for romance/romantic comedy as it heavily depends on the particular setting of the plot and the atmosphere the filmmakers wish to create. It is also necessary to differentiate between romantic comedies of the late 1980s and 1990s and historical settings as represented by *Little Women* because the genres offer completely different alternatives for a film soundscape. Romantic comedies usually make extensive use of 20th century popular songs.²⁰ The soundtrack for one of the most popular romantic comedies in the late 1980s *When Harry met Sally* (1989) consists of mostly popular songs and jazz standards from the 1920s and the 1930s. These songs are used in very different arrangements to create the particular atmosphere for the scene, e.g. the title song "It Had to Be You" by Isham Jones arranged for jazz trio appears in the opening credits to establish the light atmosphere of the film, then in a piano arrangement in a slow tempo for the more intimate scenes between Harry and Sally and finally sung by Frank Sinatra in the film's showdown where Harry runs back to Sally. Rather than creating such a unified soundscape, a more general convention in romantic comedy is to provide popular songs to create a general tone or mood in the film and to use symphonic film music in the underscore to accompany particular emotional situations or to illustrate specific actions. A typical example is *Sleepless in Seattle* (1994) that is framed by Jimmy Durante songs in the opening and closing credits, uses mostly

¹⁷ I would describe the second theme of the opening credits as the "main theme" of the film because it has a very prominent position in the opening and closing credits as well as in other cues of the film (e.g. the extended cue when Jo arrives in New York) but is not particularly associated with a character or situation.

¹⁸ Director Gillian Armstrong explains in the audio commentary that the kiss between Jo and Friedrich would originally have been in a later scene on the steps of the house, and then was rewritten for the scene in the opera house due to financial reasons.

¹⁹ Armstrong mentions this purpose in the audio commentary (DVD, 01.16.03).

²⁰ Though several publications about popular music in film evidence a growing interest in this topic, romantic comedy is hardly ever more than merely mentioned in this context. See, for example, Wojcik, Pamela R. and Knight, Arthur, ed. *Soundtrack available. Essays on Film and Popular Music*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001; Inglis, Ian, ed. *Popular Music and Film*. London and New York: Wallflower Press, 2003. In general, film music studies or histories show a tendency to neglect romantic comedy.

slow paced popular songs throughout the film to create a sentimental mood and turns to symphonic film music (dominated mostly by piano and strings) when the “magic of love” leads Annie to Sam, giving rise to a full orchestra finale when they finally meet at the top of the Empire State Building.

Opera music is hardly ever used in romantic comedies because it does not fit well as a soundscape for the love stories of ordinary people. There are quite a few insignificant examples, e.g. an instrumental version of the aria “Un bel di vedremo” (Puccini, *Madama Butterfly*) as background music in an antique shop in *One Fine Day* (1996)²¹ or an excerpt from Puccini’s *Tosca* used as background music in a bar in *40 Days and 40 Nights* (2002). In addition, there are a few examples that use Italian opera to create the ethnographic background for Italy, e.g. the drinking song from *La traviata* used for some picture postcard shots of Rome in Norman Jewison’s *Only You* (1994).²² When classical music in general appears in a more significant position in romantic comedy it evolves an explicitly elitist and high cultural character. A typical example is *Green Card* (1990), where a clarinet concerto and a flute concerto by Mozart accompany scenes in Brontë’s garden house. This music choice is integrated into a whole cosmos of contrasts in this film that places Brontë, the garden house, refinement, recreation, education, upper class, vegetarian food and classical music on one side and George, the streets, rudeness, hecticness, lack of education, lower class, meat and “African”²³ music on the other side. The cliché of classical music and particularly opera as being an elitist art also provides the basic narrative of the opera scenes in *Moonstruck* and *Pretty Woman*. However, exactly because these clichés are played through by going to the opera and explicitly naming them they can also be transgressed, both in the opera scene as well as in the use of opera music beyond an attendance at the opera. In contrast to other film genres that show a visit to the opera as an elite social ritual (e.g. *Matchpoint*, *The Age of Innocence*, *The House of Mirth*) romantic comedy explicitly focuses on the main protagonists and their emotions as soon as the performance has started; the audience, the clothes and the manners not being important anymore. Moreover, opera music can occupy very different and the most atypical places against the background of typical genre conventions of romantic comedy. It represents Ronny and the love between Ronny and Loretta in *Moonstruck* and is integrated into this film score in several arrangements and musically elaborated selections. In *Pretty Woman* the opera music emphasizes the fairytale character of the happy ending, occupying a place where usually voluminous symphonic film music or a foregrounded song can be heard.

²¹ It is, however, certainly no coincidence that “Un bel di vedremo” was chosen here, as the title song “One fine day” for the film *One fine day* was inspired by Puccini’s aria, which directly translates as “One fine day we will see”.

²² It is interesting that Jewison uses opera in *Only you* in a completely different way from *Moonstruck*; in the first case only illustrating Italian sights with it, in the second case using it as a signifier for his main protagonists and their love for each other. Prizzi’s *Honor* (1985) also uses Italian opera throughout the film to create the American-Italian ethnic background. This film, however, is more of a black comedy than a typical romantic comedy. For an analysis see Mary Hunter, “Opera in Film. Sentiment Wit, Feeling and Knowing: *The Shawshank Redemption* and *Prizzi’s Honor*,” in *Between Opera and Cinema*, ed. Jeongwon Joe and Rose M. Theresa (New York: Routledge, 2002), 93–120.

²³ Hans Zimmer creates percussion dominated symphonic film music to represent George’s fictive residence in Africa. French music (e.g. the chanson) is significantly not used to accompany George who should not represent a “cultivated” France that is usually associated with this kind of music.

These new possibilities offered in *Moonstruck* and *Pretty Woman* are absent from *Little Women*, though the film obviously follows the emotional narrative of the opera scene in romantic comedy, leading even to a kiss between the protagonists. Genre conventions would have allowed this historical romance to integrate opera music as period music into its soundtrack much more easily. There are also other prominent examples of literature based 19th century romances where opera music works as an important signifier for the protagonists' desire, e.g. Puccini's "Il mio babbino caro" from *Gianni Schicchi* and "Chi il bel sogno di Doretta" from *La Rondine* in *A Room With a View* (1985). Yet, particularly because opera music fits as period music in *Little Women* it could not have the utopian potential it has in romantic comedy when used both in an opera scene and in the soundtrack. Marc Weiner answered the question "Why Does Hollywood like Opera?" with the suggestion that as a "space for the expression of fantasy" opera "appears to transcend the particularity of given social conventions".²⁴ One might modify this statement for romantic comedy: to transcend its elitist character opera needs to be physically experienced in an opera attendance that has a particular narrative. In the emotional space opened up by this narrative opera music can become a romantic soundtrack.

POVZETEK

Članek preučuje romantične komedije in romance, katerih zgodba vključuje prizore, v katerih vodilni igralci obišejo operno predstavo. Analiza obiskov opernih predstav *Moonstruck* (1987), *Pretty Woman* (1990) in *Little Women* (1994) kaže, da so si začetne okoliščine za obisk operne predstave v vseh filmih precej podobne, vendar pa se povednost opernih prizorov in uporaba operne glasbe v filmih občutno razlikuje: *Moonstruck* glasbeno povezuje ljubezensko zgodbo Lorette in

Ronnieja z opero skozi celoten film; *Pretty Woman* z opero poudari pravljичni konec; *Little Women* pa operne glasbe sploh ne uporabi, razen v prizoru z ogledom predstave. Širša razprava o zvočnem filmskem traku romantičnih komedij in romancah razkriva ozadje opere, ki ima običajno velik pomen za elitno umetnost, vendar pa ne deluje dobro v glasbenem okolju ljubezenskih zgodb običajnih ljudi. S poigravanjem s temi klišeji ob obisku operne predstave lahko gre romantična komedija prek teh stereotipov, operna glasba pa lahko postane podlaga za filme.

²⁴ Marc Weiner, "Why Does Hollywood like Opera," in *Between Opera and Cinema*, ed. Jeongwon Joe and Rose M. Theresa (New York: Routledge, 2002), 79–81.

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Skladatelji in občinstva med visoko in popularno kulturo: K teoriji in zgodovini družbene recepcije opere

Composers and Audiences between High and Popular Culture: Towards a Theory and History of Social Reception of Opera

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IZVLEČEK

Članek predstavlja refleksiven pregled nekaterih primerov družbene recepcije opere. Pri tem so izpostavljeni štirje modeli družbene recepcije opere: 1) Mozart, hibridizem in divergentna kultura; 2) Wagner, avantgardizem in visoka kultura; 3) Meyerbeer, komercializem in popularna kultura; 4) Verdi, belkantizem in ljudska kultura.

ABSTRACT

The article is based on a pondered outline of examples of the social reception of opera. Four models of the social reception of opera are exemplified: 1) Mozart, hybridism and divergent culture; 2) Wagner, avantgardism and high culture; 3) Meyerbeer, commercialism and popular culture; 4) Verdi, belcantism and people's culture.

Uvod v problematiko

Pričujoče besedilo je nasledek mojega večletnega antropološkega ukvarjanja z opero in nedavnih raziskovalnih zasgov v polje opernih občinstev, klientel, klak in javnosti.¹ V

¹ Vezanih na dva projekta: prvi, z naslovom »Operno občinstvo na Slovenskem: Antropološka raziskava kulturnega kapitala nacije«, ki ga je avtor članka v letih 2007–2008 izvajal v *Znanstveno-raziskovalnem središču Univerze na Primorskem* s finančno

teh letih pa sem mimo formalnih raziskovalnih zadolžitvev in obveznosti aktivno vzdrževal stik z mnogimi iz raznih opernih krogov, kjer sem večkrat naletel tudi na izmenjavno mnenj o tem, ali je opera bodisi visoka oz. elitna bodisi popularna oz. ljudska kultura. V pričujočem besedilu si zato zadajam nalogo, da raziščem, kaj je na tem.

Razpravljanje o kulturi in njenih zbirih okoliščin ima v celotnem družboslovju in humanistiki, zlasti pa še v antropologiji, posebno zgodovino in množico uveljavljenih postavk in okvirov, ki oblikujejo posamezne interpretativne smeri, ki jih na tem mestu sicer ne moremo obravnavati, vsekakor pa gre pri tem pojmu za temeljni koncept, okrog katerega so se oblikovale številne discipline. V antropologiji je kultura razumljena holistično. Poenostavljeno rečeno, opredeljena je kot splošen družbeni proces, na podlagi katerih so človekove dobrine bile ustvarjene, dobile družbene pomene, vrednosti in simboliko, kakor tudi socialna razmerja in prakse, v katerih so te dobrine neke skupnosti kot objekti in procesi utelešene v nekem okolju (Clifford in Marcus 1986; Geertz 1973; Kroeber in Kluckhohn 1954; Šumi 2000, 17-96). Kulturni študiji pa so se pod vplivom zlasti marksistične sociologije in literarne kritike bolj fokusirali na študij konsumpcije kulturnih dobrin (na primer, moda, umetnost, literatura, turizem, potrošništvo ipd.). Tako kulturo pretežno vežejo na vprašanje stratificirane konsumpcije in produkcije kulturnih form in dejavnosti, ki so produkt zahodne industrijske družbe, pri čemer je družbena recepcija temelj za njihovo kategoriziranje, tudi kar zadeva razlikovanje med »visoko« in »popularno« kulturo (Williams 1997, 162-163; Fiske 1989; McGuigan 1992; Thompson 1993; Williamson 1986; Clarke et al. 1979). Če naj bi prva predstavljala kulturo višjih slojev in elit (balet, opera, klasična glasba in literatura, kulinarika, ipd.), naj bi za drugo bila značilna množična konsumpcija dobrin. Muzikologija (Bergeron in Bohlman 1992; Solie 1993; Beard in Gloag 2005), teatrologija in še nekatere druge discipline so pojem kulture še bolj zožile ali specificirale, saj jo vežejo vglavnem na pojem specifične zvrsti umetnosti. Tu je kultura največkrat razumljena v ožjem pomenu besede, bodisi kot sopomenka umetnosti (v smislu enačaja kultura = umetnost), bodisi kot nadpomenka različnim zvrstem umetnosti (na primer opera kot kulturna branža). Ta stik med pojmom »kultura« in »umetnost« se je z razvojem nacionalne organizacije države v 19. stoletju in njene pravnoregulativne sistematizacije v 20. stoletju še bistveno okrepil. Danes je tako rekoč raba besede »kultura« običajno prvenstveno rezervirana za omembo umetnostnih praks. V anglosaksonski tradiciji lahko srečamo celo eksplicitno enačenje *high culture* s *high art*, medtem ko nekateri slovarji *low art* povezujejo z *mass culture*.² To distinkcijo običajno razlagajo s tezo, da ekonomski izzivi 19. in 20. stoletja podpirajo razcep oziroma razpoklino med visoko in nizko kulturo že zaradi tega, ker naj bi kapitalizem v osnovi stremel k raznolikosti kulturnih dobrin in umetniških produktov.

Naj nekaj besed še namenim izrazu *družbena recepcija*, ki ga ne smemo enačiti z nekim drugim muzikološkim konceptom, to je glasbeno recepcijo. Pri družbeni recepciji ne gre le za kompetence strukturnega poslušanja glasbe ali dojemalne aspekte recepcije določene umetnostne zvrsti, pač pa za veliko širši, predvsem pa kompleksno

podporo Agencije za raziskovalno dejavnost RS Ministrstva za visoko šolstvo, znanost in tehnologijo; in drugi, z naslovom »Družbe in operna občinstva v medkulturni perspektivi«, ki se izvaja v okviru Inštituta za antropološke raziskave v Ljubljani.

² Robert J. Belton, »high art (culture)«, *Words of Art: the H_List*, datum izpisa 26. 8. 2003, http://www.ouc.bc.ca/fina/glossary/h_list.html.

zgodovinsko konstruiran družbeni proces individualnih in kolektivnih identifikacij, transformacij in obfuskacij smislov in pomenov, ki spremljajo ali obdajajo kulturne reprezentacije v nekem času in okolju. V tem članku bom tako skušal odstreti štiri take relativno dobro izrisane okvire družbene recepcije opere, ki ta družbeni in glasbeni fenomen rahljajo iz rigoroznih bipolarnih antagonističnih spon visoke kulture na eni in popularne na drugi strani.

Mozart, Dunaj, hibridizem in kohabitacija divergentne kulture

V 18. in zgodnjem 19. stoletju so učenjaki pogosto pojem kulture povezovali s pojmom »civilizacija«, tega pa praviloma zoperstavili pojmu »narava«. Pri tem je vplivno vlogo odigrala rousseaujevska distinkcija med kulturo in naturo. Antimonarhisti so pomanjkanje sestavin aristokratske kulture v neki umetniški manifestaciji radi razumevali tako, kakor da gre za bolj »naravno« kulturno obliko, medtem ko so elemente aristokratske kulture dojemali kot tiste, ki nasprotujejo ali celo dušijo človeško naravo. V skladu s tem gledanjem se je nižjim slojem prebivalstva aristokratska kultura kazala kot nekaj izumetničenega kot nekaj, kar je proti logiki narave. Idejo o nenaravnosti kulture elit je odločilno podpirala teza o njeni abstraktnosti in nerazumljivosti (Halle 1992). Glede na to, da je prav opera bila v predrazsvetljenski Evropi tista umetnost, ki je bila docela v domeni absolutističnega prikazovanja monarha in njegove oblasti, so jo antimonarhisti pretežno razumeli kot proizvod melodramatizacijskega kultiviranja monarhovega telesa in krone. Sociolog Rastko Močnik zapiše, da sta vokalna in instrumentalna operna virtuoznost »proizvod kultiviranja telesa, tehnike in discipline, ki delujeta na ločnici kultura/natura ... obe 'disciplini' sta hkrati vaja telesa in napor duha ... obe se opirata na abstrakcijo kulture ...« (Močnik 1992, 21). Če nadaljujemo s pravkar omenjeno strukturalistično ločnico v parafrazi Mladena Dolarja, bi lahko rekli, da nam prav mozartovska opera nemara ponudi ključ do skrivnega telosa lévi-straussoske ločnice natura/kultura, ki ne meri na perpetuiranje in nenehno transformiranje te ločnice, pač pa na njeno odpravo na način sprave, na utopično točko onkraj te strukture, ki bi odpravila bolečino razlike med naturo (popularno/množično kulturno formo) in kulturo (visoko/elitno kulturno formo) (Dolar 2003, 54). Ko je Mozart pri svojem ustvarjanju prehajal od *opere serie* k *operi buffi* in *singspielu*, ni prehajal le med opernimi žanri, modeli, paradigmi oziroma tradicijami. Prehajal je med različnimi družbenimi sistemi ter njihovimi ideološkimi ter strukturnimi podmenami: vzvišena *seria*, ki je bila ukrojena po meri baročnega stila, je bila kvintesenca absolutizma, starega režima, monarhije, ekskluzivnosti, družbenega privilegija; *buffa*, ki je utelešala klasičen stil, je bila simbol razsvetljenskega subjekta, revolucije, meščanstva, inkluzivnosti, družbene enakosti; invencija *singspiela* pa je Mozartu služila kot utopična točka, v kateri bi bila možna sprava oziroma kohabitacija med naturo (*buffa*, revolucija, meščanska kultura) in kulturo (*seria*, monarhija, aristokratska kultura).³ Po Dolarju Mozartu ni bilo za od-

³ V svojem pismu 16. junija 1781 Mozart zapiše: »Tako kot naj bi bilo karseda malo trivialnega in karseda veliko učenega in pametnega v operi serii, bi v operi buffi moralo biti karseda malo učenega ter toliko več trivialnega in veselega. Dejstvo, da si ljudje želijo komične glasbe tudi v operi serii, je nekaj, s čimer si nimam kaj pomagati; – toda tukaj [na Dunaju] zelo lepo

pravo ločnice, pač pa za njeno spravo: »Mozart hoče oboje obenem ... [želi si] zmage revolucije v formi monarhije« (Dolar 1993, 93–94). Povedano drugače, želi si zmage popularne/ljudske kulture v podobi visoke/elitne kulture. Prav v tej mozartovski združitvi družbeno nezdržljivega pa je mogoče videti srečen moment mitičnega obstoja divergentne kulture 18. stoletja, ki je še tolerirala prehajanje iz enega v drug družbeni sistem. Bistvo ideološke konstitucije tovrstne divergentne kulture je v družbeni propustnosti in raznolikosti, ne homogenosti in monolitnosti kulturnih artefaktov ter ravnanj njihovih nosilcev: na eni strani je isto Mozartovo delo, ki je bilo na dunajskem dvoru lahko podvrženo neizprosni cenzuri, na praškem odru in v javnosti lahko doživelo množično aklamacijo; na drugi strani pa je Mozart sam taktično izkoriščal družbene zakonitosti divergentne kulture, ki mu je omogočala, da je različnim družbenim agensom svojega časa (monarhu, plemstvu, meščanstvu, revolucionarjem) ponudil neko vizijo njihovega družbenega položaja in da je razmerja med njimi reševal posamično in vsakič znova, od ene opere do druge.

Mozart je vedno želel pisati italijanske opere. Ker na salzburškem dvoru ni dobil priložnosti za to, je iskal druge možnosti. Prvo pravo naročilo je prišlo iz Münchna. *Idomeneo*, Mozartova prva velika opera, je bila prvič predvajana v dvornem gledališču v Münchnu 29. januarja 1781. Ta sreča pa je bila kratkotrajna, saj mu je salzburški nadškof Colloredo dovolil ostati v bavarski prestolnici le toliko časa, da bi dokončal opero in dirigiral na premierah. Na Mozartovo srečo že marca 1781 dobi vabilo z Dunaja. V tistem času sta tam bili dve uradni cesarski hiši *teater-cum-opera*, *Kärtnerthortheater* (Gledališče pri koroških vratih) in *Burgtheater* (Mestno gledališče). Dunajsko glasbeno prizorišče se je Mozartu kmalu razkrilo v vsej njegovi mestni raznolikosti in dvornem veličastju. Prva opera, spisana za dunajsko občinstvo, je bila *Beg iz seraja*. O družbeni recepciji te opere Niemetschkova biografija nudi zanimive vinjete: »[Opera] je ustvarila razburjenje ... Ne morem iz lastnih izkušenj opisati senzacije, ki jo je povzročila na Dunaju – bil pa sem priča navdušenju, ki se je dvignilo v Pragi, tako med dobro obveščeni kot nevednimi ljudmi ...« (Landon, 1991, 139–140). Pismo, v katerem je Mozart svojemu očetu opisal ugoden sprejem premiere 16. julija 1782, se je izgubilo. 20. julija, pa drugi predstavi, pa piše:

Včeraj je bila 2. predstava predvajana; ali lahko verjamete, da je bilo včeraj spletkarstvo še močnejše, kot pa prvi večer? Celotno prvo dejanje so izžvižgali – niso pa mogli preprečiti glasnih klicev 'bravo' po arijah. [...] Teater je bil morda celo bolj poln kot prvič. Prejšnji dan nisi mogel dobiti zaklenjenih sedežev (v Burgtheatru so imeli abonenti sedeže, ki jih je bilo mogoče zakleniti) niti v plemiškem parterju niti na 3. galeriji; prav tako so pošle lože; opera je v dveh dneh zaslužila 1200 fl. (guldnov). (Landon 1991, 69–70)

Kljub ambivalentni recepciji prve dunajske Mozartove opere je *Beg iz seraja* kasneje zmagoslavno potovala po odrih nemško govoreče Evrope. V naslednjih letih si je Mozart še bolj kakor s to opero pridobil sloves s svojimi številnimi klavirskimi koncerti. Na njegovih abonmajskih koncertih je bil vselej »silen vrvež ljudi iz plemstva« (Landon 1991,

razlikujejo med obema žanroma.« (Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, *Mozart: Zlata leta, 1781–1791* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1991), 66).

125), gledališke in koncertne »dvorane [pa] večinoma prenapolnjene« (*ibid.*, 138). Leta 1784 je že bil slavjenec mesta: »Na Dunaju je bilo njegovo ime v tem času vsakomur na jeziku« (*ibid.*, 119). Na enem izmed koncertov »se je cesar [Jožef II] s klobukom v roki priklonil, se nagnil prek ograje [lože] in zaklical: 'Bravo, Mozart!'« (*ibid.*, 125). Leta 1785 je postalo ime Mozart za dunajsko občinstvo že čarodejno: »Še posebno na Dunaju so občudovali njegovo igranje klavirja ... ki je veljal[o] za povsem edinstveno« (*ibid.*, 139). Mozart se je uveljavil kot najpopularnejši neoperni skladatelj na Dunaju, čeravno mu konkurence, s Haydnom v prvi vrsti, ni manjkalo. Njegov pridobljeni superiorni družbeni položaj v dunajskem habitusu klavirskih koncertov je bržčas pomagal senzibilizirati heterogeno dunajsko občinstvo tudi za drugi habitus, v katerem se je Mozart odlikoval, to je v produkciji opere.

Zmotno bi bilo misliti, da skladatelji pred 19. stoletjem niso mislili na občinstvo. Kakor zapiše Landon, »v osemnajstem stoletju so bili skladatelji večinoma tudi virtuozni izvajalci« (Landon 1991, 144), kar je pomenilo aktiven odnos med umetnikom in njegovim občinstvom. Ker je Mozart imel precej članov dunajske aristokracije in buržoazije tudi za svoje učence, je ne le z javnimi koncerti in predstavami, ki jih je lahko dirigiral, pač pa tudi prek njih lahko posredno pripravil teren za uspešen plasma med občinstvom. Kakor pravi Einstein, »so se vse Mozartove glasbene sile pripravljale na izbruh« (Einstein 1946, 429), in ta izbruh je bila *Figarova svatba*, ki je že tedne pred premiero na Dunaju dvigovala veliko prahu, cesarju povzročala skrbi zaradi njene domnevne nemoralne zgodbe, časnikarjem bila podlaga za škandale, Mozartu pa predstavljala številne probleme. *Figarovo svatbo* sta Mozart in libretist Lorenzo da Ponte skrbno projektirala v skladu s klimo med dunajskim občinstvom. Njun glavni orientir in zgled pri ustvarjanju nove opere je bil Paisiellov *Seviljski brivec*, uprizorjen na Dunaju 13. avgusta 1783. Opera je v hipu osvojila Dunaj in je s šestdesetimi predstavami postala najbolj priljubljena opera v zgodovini dunajskih gledališč v 18. stoletju. Skladatelj in libretist sta se trudila, kakor trdi Landon, da bi občinstvo Burgtheatra Mozartovo uglasbitev *Figarove svatbe* imelo za naravno nadaljevanje Paisiellovega *Seviljskega brivca*. Šlo jima je za to, da bi njuna opera bila dostojna naslednica Paisiellovega opernega hita (Landon 1991, 157–158). Recepcija razvpite opere je bila zelo ambivalentna. Na premieri, ki jo je Mozart dirigiral izza klavirja, je bilo občinstvo razdeljeno v svojih odzivih. Menda zato, ker arije pevcem še niso dobro »ležale«, pa tudi zato, ker se je mnogim v občinstvu opera zdela težka novost. Kritika v časopisu *Wiener Realzeitung*, objavljena 11. julija 1786, lepo zrcali ambivalentno recepcijo:

Glasbo Herr Mozarta je občinstvo na prvi predstavi na splošno občudovalo ... Na drugi strani pa občinstvo ... dejansko tistega prvega dne ni vedelo, kaj naj si misli. Nadalje je pravično reči, da prva predstava zaradi dejstva, ker je opera zelo težka, ni bila najboljša. Toda zdaj, po večkratnih ponovitvah, bi se človek moral opredeliti za spletkarjenje ali pomanjkanje okusa, če bi gojil drugačno mnenje od tistega, ki priznava glasbi Herr Mozarta, da je umetniška mojstrovina; vsebuje toliko lepote in tako bogastvo misli, ki lahko izvira le iz rojenega genija. Nekateri časnikarji so si zastavili cilj poročati, da Mozartova opera sploh ni bila uspešna. Lahko si zamišljamo, kakšni dopisniki so, da razširjajo take laži. (Landon 1991, 163)

Podobno ambivaletno recepcijo sta na Dunaju doživeli tudi drugi dve Mozartovi operi, *Don Giovanni* in *Cos fan tutte* (*ibid.*, 170). Grofu Zinzendorfu, ki je veljal za barometer okusa v dunajskih visokih krogih, se je zdela *Figarova svatba* dolgočasna, *Don Giovanni* pa učen (*ibid.*, 173). Čeprav je sčasoma ob ponovitvah odobravanje občinstva naraslo, je ob premiernem nelagodju vendarle ostal grenak priokus.

Vloga dvora pri repaciji Mozartovih oper na Dunaju ostaja nezanemarljiva. Jožef II. je bil v primerjavi s svojo materjo Marijo Terezijo sicer razsvetljenski monarh, a je vseeno preko instituta dvornega cenzorja previdno skrbel za izvajanje oper in za vtis, ki bi ga lahko napravile na občinstvo in javnost (*ibid.*, 124). Landon pri tem opozori na

razvejanost odločitve Jožefa II., da ponovno uvede italijansko opero v Burgtheater. Silen uspeh Paisiellove *Il barbiere di Siviglia* kaže, da je bila Jožefova odločitev merilo njegove sposobnosti, preceniti okus in izbiro ljudstva (v primeru italijanske opere tudi svojo). Med 22. aprilom 1783, ko so italijansko opero spet odprli, in 25. januarjem 1790, na večer Mozartove tretje da Pontejeve opere, *Così fan tutte*, je bilo na Dunaju izvedenih devetinpetdeset *oper buff*. Med zastopanimi nemškimi skladatelji je bil Mozart daleč najuspešnejši, z dvajsetimi predstavami *Figarove svatbe* in petnajstimi *Don Giovanni*, toda po priljubljenosti je daleč zaostajal za nauspešnejšimi skladatelji italijanske opere – Sartijem (91 predstav), Martin y Solerjem (105), Cimaroso (124), Salierijem (138) in Paisiello (166). Medtem ko je v dvajsetem stoletju Mozart tako rekoč pometel italijanske skladatelje z odra, je bil položaj v osemnajstem stoletju zelo različen. (*ibid.*, 172)

Presenetljivo se zdi, da je največji uspeh na cesarskem Dunaju dejansko požela njegova zadnja opera *Čarobna piščal* z močno razsvetljensko noto, revolucionarnim namigom in celo zakodiranim prostozidarskim sporočilom. Uprizorjena je bila v dunajskem gledališču *Theater auf der Wieden* in nemudoma pritegnila pozornost množičnega občinstva:

Uspeh, ki ga je požela na Dunaju, je bil torej nenavadno velik iz dveh vzrokov – delno zaradi lepe glasbe, delno pa zaradi skritega sporočila. Doživela je dvainšestdeset predstav brez prekinitve. V prvih štirinajstih dneh ... je bilo najpomembneje, da si si zagotovil sedež pred peto uro popoldne. Kasneje je na stotine ljudi ostalo praznih rok, ker je bilo gledališče že polno. Šele tretji teden je bilo mogoče dobiti s precejšnjim naporom sedež ob šestih zvečer. Seveda je vedno več ljudi razumelo sporočilo opere. (*ibid.*, str. 259)

Obstoj divergentne kulture je v temelju zaznamoval ambivalentno recepcijo Mozartovih del na Dunaju, ki je segala v razponu od rigorozne terezijanske oziroma jožefinske dvorne cenzure, javne tekmovalnosti med opernimi skladatelji za trg občinstva in javno pozornost (Salieri, Martín y Soler, Mozart), skepse visoke aristokracije, do nespornih triumfov med meščanskim občinstvom. Nekateri domnevajo, da je občinstvo v starem Burgtheatru, kjer so bila uprizorjena tri njegova pomembna dela, bilo relativno raznoliko, čeravno je opera na Dunaju vselej uživala nekakšen »aristokratski status« državnega pomena. V vsakem primeru je operno občinstvo zavzemalo le manjhen delež celotne dunajske populacije. Otto Schindler ocenjuje, da je 90 odstotkov

občinstva Burgtheatra predstavljalo okrog sedem odstotkov najvišje rangiranega prebivalstva cesarske prestolnice. Med občinstvom je prevladovalo plemstvo, uradništvo, prominentni meščani in člani dunajske umetniške srenje (Schindler 1976, 92; Edge 1996, 81). Mary Hunter predpostavlja, da se »idealno« mozartovsko občinstvo, to je tisto, ki se je čutilo skozi njegova dela najbolj aktivno nagovorjeno, ni moglo dosti razlikovati od dejanske strukture dunajske kulturne in družabne klientele, za katero bi se dalo rekonstruirati, da je visoko ekskluzivna v razmerju do širšega prebivalstva, toda hkrati raznovrstna in jasno stratificirana v okviru svojih družbenih omejitev (Hunter 1999, 14–15). *Figarova svatba*, ki je bila v Burgtheatru krstno uprizorjena 1. maja 1786 in doživela do 18. novembra osem ponovitev, je rezonirala z zelo širokim spektrom družbenega smisla in pomena: bila je primer, da opera buffa na Dunaju funkcionira kot »dvorna stvar« (torej podaljšek monarha), a istočasno tudi kot oblika plehke zabave (kot reprezentant meščanov).

Večina teoretikov je na stališču, da je pred 19. stoletjem obstajal zelo majhen razloček med visoko ali elitno ter nizko ali popularno kulturo (Gans 1999[1975]; Crane 1992; Van Der Merwe 1989; Frith 1996; DiMaggio 1992; Burke 1978). Sociolog popularne glasbene kulture Simon Frith glede tega takole povzema ugotovitve Williama Webra:

William Weber, na primer, predlaga, da je v 18. stoletju obstajal zelo majhen razloček med visoko in popularno glasbo (razlike so zadevale samo glasbeno izobraženost: neka glasba je potrebovala umetnike in poslušalce s specifično obliko glasbene vzgoje). Toda v zgodnjem 19. stoletju je nemška klasična glasba pod vplivom romantizma, z njegovim konceptom »genija« na eni in »ljudstvom« [Volk] na drugi strani postala razumljena kot visoka umetnost, medtem ko so bile druge oblike komponirane glasbe (italijanska opera, na primer) ali virtuozne predstave (kmalu utelešene v Lisztu) pojmovane kot »popularne«. Take razlike so bile institucionalizirane v svetu klasične glasbe, kakor bi rekli sedaj ... (Frith 1996, 28)

Šele v 19. stoletju se zgodi stroga ločitev kulture na visoko in nizko oziroma na elitno in popularno. Po Johnu Mullanu je okrepitev nacionalne kulture v 19. stoletju bila pomemben moment izostritve distinkcije med »visoko« in »nizko« kulturo, ki jo je narekovala čedalje bolj zapletena razredna struktura meščanstva, zlasti še z vzponom neke vrste novega srednjega razreda, ki se je v novi družbeni situaciji trdno oklenil vrednostnih razlikovanj, npr. med lepim, dobrim, moralnim, omikanim in vulgarnim, slabim, nečistim, nekultiviranim. Te hierarhije so služile opredelitvi in utrditvi novega položaja v družbi. Tudi britanski zgodovinar Peter Burke piše, da je sodobna ideja popularne kulture povezana z boržuaznimi formami nacionalne zavesti s konca 18. stoletja, in ki naj bi rezidirala zlasti pri nemških intelektualcih, npr. pesnikih in skladateljih, z namenom konstruiranja novega pojma popularne kulture kot univerzalne nacionalne kulture. Burke tako pravi, da je distinkcijo med popularno in visoko ali »učeno« kulturo mogoče najbolj evidentno v tem obdobju prepoznati prav v pisanjih nemškega pesnika Herderja.⁴ V kontekstu predhodne naše elaboracije mozartovske združitve po logiki stvari sicer nezdržljive ločnice natura/kultura lažje razumemo Adornov zapis, v katerem zatrdi, da je Mozartova

⁴ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978), 8. (Vzeto po: Dominic Strinati, *An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1995), 2.)

Čarobna piščal (1791) verjetno bila še zadnji srečni trenutek evropske glasbe, kjer se je visoka kultura še skladala z ljudsko kulturo (Adorno 1986, 39).

To Mozartovo delo, ki uprizarja razsvetljenski mit o razsvetljenstvu (Dolar 1993, 80–89), pravzaprav kaže, kako visoka kultura še reflektira popularno in obratno, kar pa se s postracionalistično in postrevolucionarno epoko evropske kulture ustavi. Po Adornu (1986, 39) naj bi za tem trenutkom sprave med resno in lahko glasbo žalovali le še Strauss-Hofmannsthalova *Ariadna* (1912). Zdi se, da nadaljevanje elitnega projekta *Čarobne piščali* kot popularne kulture ne uspe oz. spodleti prav zaradi romantične nacionalistične paradigme, ki si ob koncu 18. stoletja začne utirati pot in ki v 19. stoletju prekine stik med *E- und U-Musik* (resno in zabavno glasbo).

Ko se s koncem 18. in v začetku 19. stoletja ideja o operni kulturi kot ugodju meščanskega sveta dokončno osvobodi monarhičnih spon, ki so prej kulturne kreacije zadrževale znotraj zaprtega absolutističnega univerzuma, je nadalje v 19. stoletju za novonastajajoče poaristokrateno meščanstvo postajalo vse bolj pomembno razlikovanje



Slika 1: Alegorična kompozicija prizorov iz oper *Don Giovanni* in *Čarobna piščal*. Reprodukcijska umetniškega tiska »Mozart-Vorhang im Landestheater Salzburg« [Mozartov zastor v salzburškem Deželnem gledališču] avtorja Alexandra Demetriusa Goltza (Vir: iz zasebne zbirke V. Kotnika).



Slika 2: Občinstvo v starem Mestnem gledališču [Burgtheater] na Dunaju. Ustanovo, zgrajeno leta 1741, je cesar Jožef II. povzdignil na raven dvornega »nacionalnega« gledališča [Hof- und Nationaltheater]; v njem so uprizorili Mozartove opere Beg iz seraja, Figarova svatba in Così fan tutte; kolorirana gravura iz zbirke Spomeniki gledališča [Denkmäler des Theaters], okrog 1830 (Vir: Avstrijski gledališki muzej na Dunaju [Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Wien]).

med visoko in nizko zabavo. Negotove plasti novo vzpenjajočega se družbenega sloja, med njimi prav *nouveaux riches*, so imeli velik motiv, da svoj novo pridobljeni družbeni status pokažejo v javnosti v bolj materializiranih ritualih, tudi s sovražnim zavračanjem vsega tistega, kar jih je spominjalo na prejšnji status. Izogibanje »nizkim zabavam« v zakotnih socialnih miljejih je bilo v funkciji vzpostavljanja posameznikovega ugleda in omike ter sestavni del vzpenjanja po družbeni lestevici. Če se je pred 19. stoletjem vstop v visoko kulturo večinoma dedoval ali bil pretežno povezan s participacijo v raznih »narojenih« plemenitih rodbinskih in drugih premožnih klientelnih mrežah, se v 19. stoletju s pojavom trga množične porabe in razvojem šolstva od konzumentov visoke kulture zdaj zahteva določen nivo pridobljene izobrazbe, izoblikovane estetike in morale, izbranega okusa in intelektualnih zmožnosti. Če se za imperativ družbene recepcije visoke kulture postavi poznavalstvo, se za konstitutiven element popularne kulture postavi množičnost. Toda z napredovanjem kapitalistične dobe se situacija glede vstopnega kapitala v visoko kulturo spremeni, če upoštevamo, da se kulturna elita in ekonomska&politična elita evropskih družb ločita, ker kapitalizem zahteva revolucioniranje produkcije, ki tako nenehno proizvaja *nouveaux riches* brez kulture, pa

tudi nove kulturne forme, ki jih želi povzdigniti v kulturo, ki pritiče njihovemu novemu statusu. Na drugi strani kulturna elita, ki ima praviloma omejen dostop do virov kapitala, reproducira samo sebe in svoj odnos kot potencialni vir legitimacije. Nedvomno pa si obe zvrsti elite pridružujeta privilegije za opredelitev tega, kaj je v nekem okolju in času vredno statusa, časti, prestiža in denarja.

Mullanova teza je, da naj bi bila visoka kultura ustvarjena, še preden bi sploh imeli zavest o nizki kulturi. Ideja, da naj bi ljudje imeli kulturo, po njegovem datira točno v čas, ko je bila izumljena ideja visoke kulture. Od tedaj dalje naj bi vse drugo, kar ni bilo označeno za visoko kulturo, bilo obravnavano kot nekultura ali antikultura. Popularna, ljudska in druge vrste kulture in umetnosti naj bi od tega časa veljale le za nedovršeno dvojčico visoke kulture. Spremembo v pojmovanju glasbene kulture je vsekakor narekovala čedalje bolj zapletena razredna struktura meščanstva 19. stoletja, ki je vplivala tudi na izbire producentov in konzumentov kulture ter na njihova razmerja (skladatelji, umetniki, mecene, patroni, publika).

Devetnajsto stoletje proizvede ključne kodifikacije opere, ki so kasneje pomembne za njeno družbeno recepcijo. Ustanovijo se mnogi novi dramski, vokalni, seksualni, ritualni, repertoarni, institucionalni in kulturni sistemi, ki navržejo hegemonijo družbene recepcije umetnosti, po kateri se družbena kodifikacija opere naseli v območje socializacije meščanske družine. Razvoj obiskovanja gledališča in kulturnih prireditev ter rekrutiranja občinstva je v karseda najbližjem stiku z rituali izkazovanja meščanske *Ausbildung*. Družbena recepcija opere ni več v domeni prikazovanja monarha in njegove oblasti kakor v preteklih stoletjih, pač pa je, rečeno v bourdieujevskem besednjaku, povezana z izkazovanjem simbolnega oz. kulturnega kapitala meščanske družine. Ta kulturna situacija zariše operi nov družbeni, politični in umetnostni okvir, znotraj katerega je umetnost vpeta v referenčno polje kulture kot urejene, a hkrati razčlenjene sheme zaprtega meščanskega kozmosa, ki vzdržuje vrednostno obarvan hierarhičen odnos med kulturnimi formami in umetnostmi. Meščanski imaginarij 19. stoletja nastopa kot nova oblika totalizirajoče strukture, ki radikalno spremeni tako produkcijo kakor recepcijo opernega imaginarija, prav tako status umetnika in umetnosti, predvsem s pomočjo novih sistemov vrednotenja umetnine. Na ozadju družbenih (posledice francoske revolucije, razvoj meščanske družbe), političnih (porajanje nacionalnih držav) in ekonomskih (uveljavljanje zakonitosti prostega trga) sprememb se tudi spremenijo odnosi znotraj samega umetniškega delovanja (skladatelj – libretist, umetniško delo – gledalec, razvoj koncepta žanra kot produkt industrijske revolucije in množične kulturne industrije). In prav to razgibano vzdušje dolgega 19. stoletja najbolj zakoliči distinkcijo med visoko in nizko kulturo, za katero sociolog Paul DiMaggio meni, da je sicer vzniknila brez velikega navora urbanih elit, da ustvarijo take kulturne forme, ki bi, prvič, izolirale visoko kulturo in, drugič, jo razločile od popularnih form (DiMaggio 1992). Po Frithu je tisto, kar je postalo prepoznano kot elitni umetniški ritual, poznavalstvo ali kulturni *connoisseurship*, bil potemtakem aspekt buržajske »distinkcije«, ki je kombinirala socialno, estetsko in etično prioriteto (Frith 1996, 29–30). V etabliranih evropskih kulturnih in intelektualnih okoljih, ki so operno umetnost povzdignili v doživetje nečesa transcendentnega, je ta umetnost posledično postala tudi ekskluzivna domena tistih s statusom, ki so si prila-stili pravico do presoje, da je njihovo doživljanje najbolj čisto, avtentično, omikano in

estetsko. Problem distinkcije med visoko in nizko oz. popularno kulturo, kakor ga vidi Frith, je v osmišljanju možnosti zlepitve te distinkcije, še zlasti od tedaj, ko je etabliрана umetnost poaristokratenih meščanskih elit kot ekskluzivna lastnina postala komoditeta najprej buržujškega zaprtega sveta in kasneje širšega družbenega univerzuma. Pojma opere kot visoke kulture torej ne gre enačiti z *bourgeois culture* nekega urbanega okolja, kakor na drugi strani ni mogoče epiteta nizke ali popularne kulture kar prekriti z oznako množične kulture (*mass culture*).

Po vsem tem lahko zaključimo, da se klimaks ideje o operi kot »visoki kulturi« vpenja, paradokсно, v čas, ko naj bi po mnenju nekaterih na drugi strani privedel do njenega, rečeno z Adornom, *Vermassung* oz. pomasovljenja (1986, 34) v obliki *Verbürgerlichung* oz. pomeščanjenja (1994, 25–44), ki je opero iz *high brow* potisnil v *midle brow* ter jo preobrazil iz zabave za gornji razred v umetnost za srednji sloj. To še zlasti velja od sredine 19. stoletja dalje, ko se opera ustali kot urbana in relativno množično trošena umetnost, namenjena srednjim slojem. Ljudje iz skupin s skromnejšimi dohodki, a z meščansko stanovsko zavestjo in inklinacijami so se na opero 19. stoletja odzvali kakor na privzdignjeno in omikano zabavo. In kakor umetnostni žanri od romantike naprej nastopi tudi kot nacionalna umetnost, ki naj bi omogočila »spontano« nacionalno identifikacijo članov svojega občinstva kot nacionalnega kolektiva. Ves ta *acte de présence*, ki ga je opera nudila množicam v času visokega liberalizma 19. stoletja, prej pa že v benečanskih, neapeljskih, hamburških in pariških operni hišah 17. in 18. stoletja, je srednjemu sloju ustvarila fantazmo, da participira pri pomembnem družabnem in družbenem dogodku vsaj za kratek čas, in se potemtakem vidi kot del *Society*, višje družbe. Opera je postala del meščanske *Ausbildung* za boljše situirano drobno meščanstvo, ki upa, da bo z obiskom opere sebi in drugim dokazalo svojo kultiviranost, izobraženost in pripadnost k nekemu fiktivnemu nekdanjemu višjemu statusu (Adorno 1986, 108–109, 112). Opera torej nastopa kot fantazma evropskega meščanskega sveta.

Wagner, Bayreuth, avantgardizem in etiketa visoke kulture

Ko imamo opravka z diskurzi o operi kot visoki kulturi, naletimo tudi na specifično vrednostno mapiranje opernih skladateljev, ki je posledično rezoniralo v splošnem družbenem klasificiranju in razmejevanju, katerega glavne zasluge gredo, po zgodovinarju Herbertu Lindenbergerju, zlasti glasbeni učenjaški srenji, ki je bolj s pozicije moči kakor vednosti in argumentacije konstruirala glasbeni kanon. Med opernimi skladatelji je Richardu Wagnerju (1813–1883) z njegovim modernističnim manifestom *Oper und Drama* (1851) nedvomno pripisan prvovrsten status v glasbenem akademizmu in posledično med poznavalsko operno publiko. Wagnerjevo preziranje popularnega okusa pa ni bilo odločilno pri tem, da ne bi ob tem kazal intenzivne skrbi za vzpostavljanje odnosa s publiko. Wagner si je močno prizadeval vzgojiti svoje lastno občinstvo. V svojih pisanjih je rad idealiziral občutek skupnosti, ki je opredeljeval gledališka občinstva v antični Grčiji ter v Parizu Gluckovega časa. Z ustanovitvijo svojega lastnega gledališkega svetišča v Bayreuthu je institucionaliziral ne le svoj radikalizem, ki mu je omogočal zanesljivo kontrolo sistematično inovativnih produkcij njegovih del, pač pa

tudi spomin nanj (Wagner 2001, 1-14). Ta situacija je pripeljala do specifične wagnerjevske hegemonije, zaradi katere Wagner največkrat predstavlja odnos 19. stoletja do opere sploh, ne pa na primer Verdi (1813-1901), čeprav je dovolj poseben in zanimiv, a so naracije, ki so oblikovale zgodovino glasbe, bile determinirane z modernistično estetiko, v okviru katere je prav Wagner in ne Verdi odigral osrednje vloge (Lindenberger 1984, 222). Povedano drugače, osrednja pozicija Wagnerja v zgodovini opere je privedla do nenehnega vrednotenja drugih skladateljev skozi wagnerjevsko perspektivo. Ta družbeni »Wagner« tako med poznavalsko operno klientelo pogosto figurira kot nekakšen arbiter standarda, izbranega okusa in zahtevne recepcije umetnosti. Po Lindenbergerju muzikologi in drugi glasbeni strokovnjaki opredeljujejo »napredek« in »kriterij« v glasbeni kompoziciji na način, ki je določenim opernim smerem, kakor so belkantizem ali verizem, izrazito nenaklonjen oziroma jo spravlja v nezavidljiv položaj. V štirih stoletjih, odkar opera obstaja, si je glasbena zgodovina izmislila specifično formo naracije o zmagoslavju določenih tehničnih teritorijev, predvsem območja harmonije, orkestracije in glasbene organizacije – podobno kakor se je zgodovina slikarstva skoncentrirala na področje perspektive in dekompozicije barv na platnu. Iz zornega kota te pristranosti ideji »progresivnega« in »visokega« v operni umetnosti zadostijo v glavnem Wagnerjeve opere. Dejstvo, da so se vse bistvene in za razvoj žanra prelomne operne reforme v obliki glasbenih inovacij nekako od srede 18. stoletja v glavnem zgodile v Nemčiji, je podoba italijanske opere od tedaj dalje z glasbenega vidika pogosto zaznamoval emblematičen »regresivnega«. Potemtakem ni čudno, da status Verdija znotraj kanonskih konvencij, ki so narekovali tudi samo družbeno recepcijo opere, ni bil adekvatno priznan ali vsaj ne tako eksplicitno, kakor je bil priznan Wagnerju ali še prej Glucku (Lindenberger 1984, 202-203).

Tovrstno razmejevanje skladateljskih opusov je seveda dobilo širše družbene implikacije. Razne strokovnjaške recepcije so prek svojih sodb pogosto postavljale na piedestal določene skladatelje, na primer Wagnerja kot nekoga, ki je operni žanr reformiral na način, da ga je povzdignil na nivo visoke kulture, medtem ko Verdiju v Italiji naj ne bi uspelo opere pripeljati dlje od prislovičnega ljudskanja. Tovrstnim dihotomijam se težko izognejo tudi pisci strokovne literature. Tak indikativen primer so že naslovi »vodniške trilogije« ameriškega libretista in pisca del o operi Williama Bergerja po opusu treh opernih skladateljev, Wagnerja – »najbolj zahtevnega opernega genija«, Verdija – »kralja opere« in Puccinija – »najbolj priljubljenega skladatelja sveta« (Berger, 1998, 2000, 2005). Tovrstne dihotomne recepcije, ki jih lahko zasledimo tudi v kvalificiranih učenjaških miljejih, pa zunaj akademskega diskurza, na primer med operno publiko, pogosto nastopajo v obliki »ljudskih teorij« o nemški operi, Wagnerju, Bayreuthu in dunajski Državni operi kot manifestacijah resne oz. visoke kulture in o italijanski operi, Verdiju in kanconjerski nagnjenosti »italijanskega značaja« kot manifestacijah bolj zabavljajske operne kulture, ki pripada *al popolo*.

Poglejmo, na kaj se nasloni ideologija o nemških opernih reformistih kot nosilcih ideje opere kot visoke kulture. Za to se moramo vrniti k Wagnerju. V poskusu reinterpretacije in reformacije zgodovine opere Wagner precej osorno, v nekakšni manihejski drži razdeli skladatelje operne preteklosti na tiste, ki jih ima za »resne« (*ernst*), in tiste, ki jih odslovi kot »frivolne« (*frivol*) v njihovem pajdašenju z najslabšim instinktom za

občinstvo. Tu imamo torej opravka z vrednostno dihotomijo, ki loči sprejemljive prakse od napačnih, slabih. Je pa Wagner zaposloval še druge bipolarne vrednostne perspektive, npr. ločevanje med *modnostjo* (*Mode*) in *umetnostjo* (*Kunst*). Ta opozicija pojem umetnosti omeji na »dobro« umetnost, pojem *opere* (*Oper*) pa zoperstavi tako specifično skovanim izrazom, kakor so na primer *glasbena drama* (*Musikdrama*) in *slavna duhovna scenska igra* (*Bühnenweihfestspiel*), pri čemer izraz *Oper* avtomatično postane umetniško vprašljiv (Lindenberger 1984, 220). Ko se je Wagner nekoč pred Beethovnom ponosno obelodanil: »Jaz nisem operni skladatelj«, je s tem pravzaprav izpovedal svojo lastno antioperno pozicijo, ki je izpričevala njegovo nezadovoljstvo nad tem, kar so ustvarili drugi skladatelji in posledično nakazala njegovo ambicijo v iskanju novih generičnih imen kot »resnih« alternativ izraza *opera*, ki je po njegovem postala brezupno povezana s tem, kar se kaže kot »frivolna zabava«. V podobnem duhu v 19. stoletju vzklije pojem absolutne glasbe (Dahlhaus 1978), ki terja ločitev visokih form umetnosti od nizkih na način, da izključi vse zvrsti glasbe, ki niso nastale zaradi glasbe same, pač pa iz potrebe po uglasitvi drame ali libreta.

Družbena recepcija Wagnerjevih del v njegovem času velja za kvintesenca kulturnih kontroverz. Če je *Rienzi* (1842) v Dresdnu doživel vsesplošen triumf⁵, se s *Tannhäuserjem* družbeni odmev bolj diferencira. Krstna uprizoritev leta 1845 v Dresdnu ni docela uspela, vendar ne iz estetskih razlogov, pač pa zaradi političnih strank in interesnih klak, ki so v kuloarju uprizorile javni napad na Wagnerjev pridobljeni uradni položaj v mestu. Kljub temu, da je delo s strani občinstva bilo pozitivno sprejeto, se zdi, da za skladatelja samega ni bilo »nikoli končano«, saj se je k njemu pogosto vračal in ga doделoval. Poznamo nekaj revizij dela za uprizoritev: dresdensko, pariško, münchensko in dunajsko. Nobena od njih ni povsem zadovoljila skladatelja. K temu pa so ga brčas spodbudili tudi različni odzivi občinstva. Najslabše jo je odnesla revizija dela za pariški operni oder leta 1861, ki je zaradi lokalnih zahtev vključevala baletno točko. Kljub tej dokaj prisilni prilagoditvi je *Tannhäuser* pri lokalnem občinstvu obveljal za notoričen neuspeh, izdatno podpihovan z organizirano pariško antiwagnerjevsko opozicijo in klako. Tudi münchenska premiera leta 1865 je sprožala pri obiskovalcih občutke »neugodja« zaradi skrajnih nasprotij med kontrastnimi emocijami in kontrastnimi svetovi glavnega junaka, kar se je kasneje uveljavilo pod oznako »*Tannhäuserjev* problem«. Občinstvo je bilo priča nenadnim, neprijetnim spremembam junakovega razpoloženja. Tovrstne emocionalne antagonizme in črno-bele polarizacije v *Tannhäuserju* skušajo nekateri teoretiki povezati prav z družbeno recepcijo tega dela. Friedrich Dieckmann meni, da je treba to delo imeti za »periodni komad«, torej za glasbeni rezime nekega specifičnega življenjskega obdobja in izkušenj, v katerem je Wagner doživel razpetost med nespravljivima svetovoma metropolnega, a sila avtoritativnega Pariza na eni strani, v katerem je bil zavržen, in provincialnega, a z neko udobno zaostalostjo prežetega Dresdna na drugi, kjer je bil deležen zelene pozornosti (Wagner 1998, 30). Ni pa bil to edini problem. Münchensko občinstvo je z nejevoljo sprejelo nepričakovano dolžino dela. Kompletно verzijo, ki jo je preferiral skladatelj, je sprejelo precej hladno. Celó

⁵ Opera naj bi svoj uspeh dolgovala zlasti dvema elementoma: prvič, pevskega protagonistoma, tenorju Josefu Tichatscheku in sopranistki Wilhelmini Schröder-Devrient; in drugič, aktualnosti libreta, v katerem je opisan vzpon in padec tribuna Cola Rienzija, in to v času vseljidskega odpora zoper samovoljo plemstva in oblastnikov.

prijatelji so mu svetovali vrnitev k »zgodnejšemu, udobnejšemu, bolj barvitemu« konceptu dela. Wagner je nastopil proti takšni »splošni razvajenosti in kajpak razbrzdanosti ... javnega okusa« (*ibid.*, str. 25). Tudi *Lohengrin* ima močno sled v nemški kolektivni memoriji, saj je kmalu po nastanku ta opera postala ikona tako avantgardne glasbe kakor romantičnega elitističnega okusa, v 20. stoletju pa za Nemce postane prava kulturna relikvija. Čeprav so nekateri delo označili za »hrupno« partituro »brez okusa«, je *Lohengrin* v očeh nemškega občinstva kmalu postala skladateljeva najuspešnejša opera⁶. Dramatska zasnova dela je svoj navdih črpala iz modela velike opere, sredi 19. stoletja nedvomno enega najdominantnejših opernih žanrov, kar je moralo zlasti tradicionalnemu občinstvu zelo ugajati. Nike Wagner takole opiše ikoničen status, ki ga v nemški kulturi 20. stoletja uživa to delo:

Z Lohengrinom se je vsakdo vsaj v Nemčiji srečal že kot otrok, njegova zgodba pa je vsem tako domača kakor kakšna pravljica. V začetku 20. stoletja je postal tako popularen, da se je sled njegovega avtorja skorajda izgubila ... Zdi se, da malo ljudi pozna ime skladatelja poročne koračnice, četudi se njegov največji hit igra tako rekoč na vsaki poroki. (*ibid.*, str. 39)

Ta opera je polagoma postala tako tekoče integrirana v naš vsakdan, da se je njeno dejansko estetsko bistvo moralo umakniti njeni dekorativni parafernaliji. Očitno dejstvo njene priljubljenosti je moč najti skorajda ob vsakem obisku boljših sejmov po Nemčiji in Avstriji. Prav tako je težko spregledati dekorativne krožnike in skodelice ter druge turistične drobnarije s podobami Lohengrina. *Lohengrina* moramo dandanes tako razumeti tudi kot oblikovalski kliše, kot kulturni logotip (*ibid.*, 40), ki v prirejenih družbenih rabah rezonira onkraj opernih konvencij. Skratka, množične družbene eksploatacije motivov tega dela so doživele zavidljivo nasprotje tistega, kar si je o resnosti svoje umetnosti bržčas mislil sam skladatelj. Tudi religiozno privzdignjena ritualizacija bayreuthskih slavnostnih iger Wagnerja ni odrešila tega problema, saj »sakralizirane«⁷ wagnerjanske ceremonije tam že od vsega začetka spremlja izdaten vsakoletni družabni in medijski pomp, ki Bayreuth v poletnih mesecih spremeni v mondeno središče nemške in evropske elite, okolico festivalskega griča pa v tržnico prodajalcev raznoraznih spominkov »à la Wagner«.

Wagnerjeva razmejitev med »resno« in »frivolno« opero terja pogled v širši družbenozgodovinski kontekst, saj zareže globoko v zgodovino opere vse do 16. stoletja. Ta delitev, zarisana bodisi v formi avantgarde kot oponenta nizke kulture ali v stari aristokratski formi kot oponenta komercialnega sponzoriranja opere, opredeli tako socialne zamotanosti kakor formalne značilnosti, ki so zaznamovale opero v posameznih zgodovinskih epohah. Za lažje razumevanje si pogledjmo nekaj primerov. Kariera prvega opernega skladatelja Claudia Monteverdija (1567–1643) se po raznih opernih priročnikih pogosto provizorično deli na njegovo ustvarjalno obdobje, ko je delal za mantovski dvor in na tisto drugo, za beneške operne hiše, ki veljajo za prvi kraj, kjer

⁶ Tudi *Mojstre pevce Nürnbergške*, krstno uprizorjene 21. junija 1868, je občinstvo lepo sprejelo. Bržčas je to bil največji Wagnerjev uspeh po *Rienzi*ju. Kljub nekaterim kritikam o »nemuzikalnosti« dela in celo »bolezenskih znamenjih« je širše občinstvo to opero vzelo celo za bavarsko narodno opero, in ta sloves se je drži še danes.

⁷ V Bayreuthu se je celo ustalila navada, da je med dejanji ploskanje prepovedano, kar je treba razumeti kot sakralizacijo festivalske profanosti, ki gledališko poslojpe preobraža v tempelj wagnerjancev, tj. častilcev Wagnerjeve umetnosti.

je opera uspela kot komercialna pustolovščina. Četudi ne bi poznali celotnega ozadja nastanka in razvoja zgodnje baročne opere, bi kot gledalci danes zlahka prepoznali spodobnega *Orfeja* (1607) kot Monteverdijevo dvorno opero in *Kronanje Papeje* (1643), s hripavo mešanico komičnega in seroznega, kot izrazito popularno formo. Razne kontroverze so dolble zarezo med visokim in nizkim stilom kot antagonizmoma, med bolj izobraženskim in manj izobraženskim glasbenim in gledališkim okusom in podobno. V 17. stoletju je bil v Franciji razvpit primer takega spora, imenovan *querelle des bouffons* (spor bufonov), ki ni bil le bitka med privrženci kralja (branitelji Rameauja) in pripadniki kraljice (pripadniki Rousseauja), temveč je pomenil kontekstualno veliko širšo konfrontacijo med nativno francosko kompleksnostjo in italijansko preprostostjo, med harmonijo in melodijo, barokom in razsvetljenstvom, aristokratskimi in buržujskimi vrednotami. Iz tistega časa poznamo tudi znan spopad med gluckisti in piccinnisti, pripadniki nemškega skladatelja Glucka (1714–1787) in somišljeniki italijanskega skladatelja Piccinnija (1728–1800), ki je vseboval naslednje družbene antagonizme: sever – jug, skladateljsko-centrirana opera – interpretsko-centrirana opera, glasbena drama – zabava, estetika težavne neuglašenosti – estetika takojšnje konsumpcije in podobno. V boju med privrženci Wagnerja in Verdija v poznem 19. stoletju so se revitalizirale nekatere predhodne dihotomije, kakor npr. sever in jug, harmonija in melodija, skladateljsko in interpretsko centrirana opera, plemenito in popularno, napredno in nazadnjaško in podobno. Prav tako so poznane nekatere dihotomije, ki naj bi veljale za figuro Wagnerja in Verdija: prvi kot reprezentacija (nemške) racionalnosti, discipline in kulturnosti, drugi kot reprezentacija (italijanske) instinktivnosti, spontanosti in naravnosti. Celo Verdi sam je perpetuiral kontinuiteto tovrstne stereotipizacije po nacionalnem ključu: ko je npr. skušal opisati podobo italijanskega liričnega genija, je v opisu nemudoma začel operirati z izrazi, kakor so na primer instinkt, spontan in naraven. Zlasti stereotipi o nacionalnih opernih stilih so bili močno podkrepiljeni z biologičnim besednjakom.

Skratka, zgodovina družbene recepcije Wagnerja je bistveno drugačna od zgodovine recepcije katerega koli drugega opernega ali drugovrstnega skladatelja, saj ne pripada le glasbeni ali gledališki zgodovini, v okviru katerih zaseda važno mesto, temveč pripada tudi intelektualni zgodovini, literarni zgodovini (v Franciji morda še bolj kakor v Nemčiji), tudi zgodovini modernizma kot gibanja, ki transcendirata kategorije akademskih disciplin. Wagnerizem kot gibanje s posebnimi ideološkimi cilji in konotacijami pripada tistim literarnim in intelektualnim tokovom, katerih razvpitost in vplivnost si je prislužila sufiks *-izem*. In med skladatelji sploh je to sufiksno določitev dobil le Wagner in ne morda Bach ali Beethoven. Na višku wagnerizma, v času *fin-de-siècle*, je participacija v wagnerističnem *commitmentu*, torej v ritualu uresničevanja te ideologije, pogosto izključevala oziroma ni nujno vključevala dejanske zavezanosti skladateljevi glasbi. Ilustrativen primer tovrstne recepcije je znano romanje Virginie Woolf na bayreuthski festival leta 1909, ki ni bilo motivirano s kakim posebnim entuziazmom za skladateljevo glasbo, pač pa bolj obeleženo s *famo* in vplivno etiketo Wagnerjevega častilca ter z njeno zavezanostjo modernistični estetiki, katere merilo je v Angliji tistega časa (dasi ne več v Nemčiji) veljal Wagner v avantgardi.



Slika 3: Wagnerjevo svetišče visoke kulture Bayreuther Festspielhaus (1876). Originalna kromolitografija, poslana 1902, št. natisa 91, založil Wagnerjev muzej in Café Sammet v Bayreuthu (Vir: zasebna zbirka V. Kotnika).

Fascinacija z »Wagnerjem« je zajela tudi mnoge druge avantgardne umetnike. Citati iz *Ringa* in *Tristana*, ki jih najdemo v pesmi *The Waste Land* T. S. Eliota, in ki igrajo tako pomembno vlogo v tej pesmi, so manj neka refleksija pesnikovega glasbenega okusa, kakor pa izkaz interesa za mite, ki jih je uporabil Wagner v teh operah. In ni niti najmanj pomembno, da so ti citati bili zlasti v funkciji tega, da pesnik z njihovo pomočjo na vidno mesto postavi svoje avantgardistične *commitments* (Lindenberger 1984, 222–224). Ob tem bi veljalo omeniti tudi gledališko fascinacijo z Wagnerjem (Craig, Appia, Mejerhold) ter zlasti z režijo njegovih oper v 20. stoletju. Britanski sociolog in antropolog glasbe David Evans meni, da je vloga režiserja v produkciji opere relativno moderen pojav (David Evans 1999, 293–340), čeravno lahko odkruške profila režiserja najdemo že v prejšnjih obdobjih v takšnih profilih, kakor so denimo libretist, dramaturg, scenograf ali celo impresarij. Toda zdi se, da je šele po drugi svetovni vojni režiser začel igrati prevladujočo in nemalokrat tudi kontroverzno vlogo v opernih hišah. Pomen režiserja v operi se je dvignil na raven avtonomnega profila prav z režiserji Wagnerjevih oper. Naj na tem mestu samo spomnim na prelomne, pogostokrat tudi škandalizirane, danes pa že legendarne produkcije Wagnerjevih oper po drugi svetovni vojni, ki so bile predmet vročih debat in polemik. Te znamenite povojne produkcije niso samo zaznamovale naše razumevanje Wagnerja, pač pa so preiskušale in prestavljale meje modernega glasbenega gledališča kot celote. Te povojne premike v



Slika 4: »Demokratično sedenje« discipliniranega občinstva v avditoriju Wagnerjeve festivalske opere Fotorazglednica, založila Feuerpfeil Verlag v Bayreuthu (Vir: zasebna zbirka V. Kotnika).

produkciji Wagnerja je seveda treba jemati v zgodovinskem kontekstu tega, kar se je z njegovo prezentacijo dogajalo v prejšnjih letih in desetletjih v Nemčiji, zlasti v času Tretjega Reicha.⁸ Ne pozabimo, da si je Adolf Hitler Wagnerjeve predstave v Bayreuthu tako rekoč ekskluzivno prilastil za svoje politične potrebe in propagandne namene. V tem smislu so bile radikalno abstraktne, denacificirane predstave Wagnerjevih oper v povojnem Bayreuthu pod vodstvom slovitega režiserja Wielanda Wagnerja, sicer vnuka skladatelja Richarda Wagnerja, v resnici ikonične manifestacije povojnih družbenih vrednot.⁹

Pri našem dokaj abruptnem izrisovanju recepcije Wagnerjeve glasbene drame je treba imeti v vidu tudi distinkcijo med zatrdelostjo ideološkega koncepta, povezanega z Wagnerjevim umetniškim opusom, in nanj pripete ali projicirane različne nacionalistične, moralistične, esteticistične, organicistične, naturalistične in sentimen-

⁸ Za več o tem glej zbornik Friedländer, Saul, in Jörn Rüsen, ur. *Richard Wagner im Dritten Reich*. München: C. H. Beck, 2000.

⁹ Za detaljnješe seznanitev s tem, kako so povojni nemški operni in gledališki režiserji iskali možnosti in načine, da bi pokopali neprijetno nemško preteklost, priporočam študijo Carnegie, Patrick. *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre: The Operas in Stage Performance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.

talistične ideologije 19. in 20. stoletja ter kompozicijsko-tehnično, glasbeno-gledališko ter idejno-dramaturško podstatjo Wagnerjevega opusa, ki seveda ni bila v 20. stoletju odmevna samo zaradi skladateljevega decidiranega pozicioniranja v sfero »visoke« kulture.

Opazamo, da je Wagner s svojim *Gesamtkunstwerk* (GKW) v podobi *glasbene drame* ne le izrazil silno voljo totalizacije (na primer njegovo hrepenenje po ujetju neke popolne enotnosti glasbe, drame, časa in prostora), pač pa je z njim ustvaril specifičen univerzalnostni »efekt« oz. *Wirkung*, kakor bi dejal antiwagnerjavec Nietzsche, saj je za obstoj GKW primerna le taka vrsta univerzalizma, torej ideološkega ustroja, ki je gradil na toposu estetske funkcije kot univerzalno humane, etične in socialne funkcije človeškega obstoja. In ta univerzalistični kozmos je Wagner priskrbel tudi za svojo operno publiko, ki po njegovi smrti znova in znova uprizarja ta ritual padca v specifično ideološko formo, ki se v provincialni adaptaciji ohranja tudi na Slovenskem, kaže pa se zlasti v bipolarni organiziranosti društvene operne kulture z Društvom ljubiteljev baletne in operne umetnosti na eni ter Društvom Richard Wagner Ljubljana na drugi strani.¹⁰ Neka informatorka, članica obeh društev, mi je takole pojasnila svoje videnje obeh društev:

Jaz sem članica obeh društev, ampak v resnici je tako, da se imajo wagnerjanci za nekaj več. Nekateri wagnerjanci gledajo na društvo ljubiteljev precej z viška, češ, mi smo vendarle poznavalci, imamo visok okus ... v društvu ljubiteljev pa so bolj nezahtevni obiskovalci opernih žajfnic. Wagnerjanci pač praviloma častijo in obrajtajo le svojega Wagnerja, že na Verdija pa gledajo kot na lahko glasbo, da ne rečem plehko zabavo. Ampak meni se zdi, da je mnogim wagnerjancem to njihovo oboževanje Wagnerja bolj poza, ki jim kao prinaša nek kvazi-kulturni prestiž, kot pa resnična ljubezen do operne glasbe. Sej veste, ljudje se radi štulijo tja, zaradi česar se potem lahko imajo za nekaj več.

Spomnim pa se tudi nekega drugega člana iz Društva Richard Wagner, ki mi je zanosno dejal:

Verdija lahko posluša vsak, tudi čisti operni analfabet, medtem ko Wagnerja ne more poslušat' vsak. Tu se pač zahteva nek nivo okusa, izostreno poznavanje glasbe, medtem ko so belkantistične zadeve dandanes čista masovka. Res pa je, da tudi naše društvo ne obiskuje le Wagnerjevih oper, čeprav je seveda glede na samo ime to pač v ospredju, ampak hodimo tudi še na številne druge predstave.

Naj za zaključek poglavja navedem idejo konvencionalistov, ki prav z Wagnerjevim primerom skušajo dokazati, da gre vzpon ideje o operi kot visoki kulturi razumeti prvenstveno kot reakcijo tradicionalistov 19. stoletja na vse večjo popularizacijo, zlasti pa spremljajočo komercializacijo opernega žanra in njegovih hibridnih oblik v 19. stoletju, s čimer naj bi opero skušali obraniti pred družbeno degradacijo in omalovažujočimi

¹⁰ Več o recepciji Wagnerja in wagnerjanstva na Slovenskem glej Katarina Bedina, »Slovenska percepcija Richarda Wagnerja - wagnerjanstva in wagnerizma do tridesetih let dvajsetega stoletja,« v *Zbornik ob jubileju Jožeta Sivca*, ur. Jurij Snoj in Darja Freljih (Ljubljana: Slovensko muzikološko društvo & Založba ZRC SAZU), 193-204.

predsodki, ki so jih nekateri, med njimi tudi Wagner, videli celo kot edino stalnico zgodovine opere.

Meyerbeer, Pariz, komercializem in triumf popularne kulture

Kakor že rečeno, se da pojav Wagnerjeve modernistične estetike in spremljajočih doktrin brati kot nekakšno reakcijo na vse večjo komercializacijo in popularizacijo umetnosti, ki ji je bil Wagner priča zlasti v času, ko se je nahajal v Parizu, po Walterju Benjaminu, v prestolnici 19. stoletja. Med 1839 in 1842 je tako opazoval tedanjo pariško glasbeno sceno ter precej neuspešno čakal na prepoznanje in spodbudo svojih talentov pri pariški kulturniški srenji. Wagnerjeva prisotnost v mestu, ki je slovelo po komercialnih pridobitvah industrijske družbe, je torej razprla prostor za soočenje kulturnih produktov razvite pariške družbe s čemernim opazovalcem, ki je prihajal iz nekega nemškega politično in ekonomsko precej drugačnega, zlasti slabše razvitega okolja. V tej luči gre tudi razumeti Wagnerjevo ostro kritiziranje Giacoma Meyerbeera (1791–1864), talentiranega nemškega skladatelja judovskega porekla, ki je bil *figura assoluta* pariške operne publike. Wagner tako Meyerbeeru očita pomanjkanje resnosti in prostitucijo talenta, da bi zadovoljil lahkoživo občinstvo, lačno užitka. Heinejeva pripomba, »*In zdaj je francoska opera v svojem najbogatejšem razcvetu, ali če sem bolj natančen, njena blagajna za vstopnice dnevno uživa dober izkupiček.*« (Lindenberger 1984, 229), signalizira, da so komercialni premisleki pomembno podčrtovali dobo francoske velike opere (*grand opéra*), pa tudi da sta se skozi opero umetnostni in ekonomski domeni povezali na specifično pregnanten način. Zvezo med ekonomsko politiko in estetskimi efekti se da zlahka dokazati pri francoski veliki operi. V letih po revoluciji 1830 se je pariška *Opéra* preobrazila iz popolnoma dvornega v podjetniški sistem, ki je novega direktorja Luisa Vérona spodbujal, da tradicionalno vodene subvencije dopolni z dobičkanosno blagajniško prodajo vstopnic. Tako je Véron tradicionalno ustanovo transformiral v model kapitalističnega podjetja.¹¹ Ker se je pariška buržoazija počutila neprijetno v *Opéra*, nova administracija ni posegla le v spremembe na odru, da bi si zagotovila njeno udeležbo, pač pa tudi v prostorsko razmestitev: na primer, število sedežev v ložah se je s štiri povečalo na šest, kar je pomenilo prilagoditev proračunu srednjega sloja. Ker je novo rekrutirano občinstvo potrebovalo vodstvo pri določanju njegovega odziva glede na dogajanje na odru, je hišni menedžment razvil dobro natrenirano in disciplinirano klako, tj. najeto skupino ljudi, ki je v gledališču za plačilo ploskala po navodilih vodstva, s čimer si je slednje hotelo zagotoviti uspeh pri novih produkcijah. Heine je zato zapisal, da je *Opéra* podpisala pakt s »sovražniki glasbe«, medtem ko je bila kultivirana aristokracija »pregnana« v italijansko operno hišo, kjer je bilo mogoče brez grandioznih in pompoznih spektaklov, kakršne so nudili v *Opéra* za nesamozavestno novopečeno buržoazijo, slišati velike pevce, med njimi italijansko sopranistko Giulio Grisi in tenorista Rubinija,

¹¹ Za natančen opis sprememb, ki so se zgodile v administraciji pariške *Opère* glej: William L. Crosten, *French Grand Opera: An Art and a Business* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1984), 8–48.

ki so peli Bellinija in Donizettija¹². Buržoazna revolucija je v umetnosti institucionalizirala nadvse populistična merila družbene recepcije: odprto rivalstvo med pevskimi virtuozii, priljubljenost pri publikii kot glavno merilo uspeha, zakup lože kot znamenje socialnega prestiža, fascinacija nad neuspehom novega dela, fascinacija nad škandalom v operi, fascinacija nad bliščem, ekstravaganco, pompoznostjo in grandioznostjo itd. Adorno v nekem svojem tekstu zapiše, da je bil nemški prostor zaradi svoje ekonomske in politične zaostalosti dolgo časa zaščiten pred tovrstno populistično komercializacijo umetnosti skozi državno subvencioniranje kulture, ki seže nazaj do preddemokratičnih političnih form (Lindenberger 1984, 228–231).

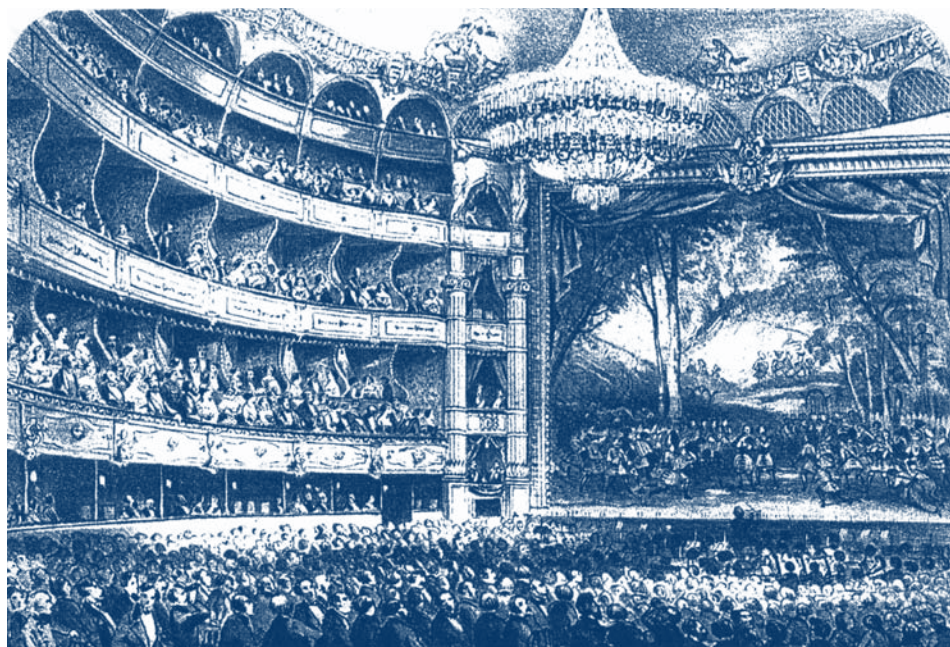
Mnogi avtorji radi poudarijo, da nobeden skladatelj, razen morda Rossinija, ni bil za časa svojega ustvarjanja in življenja tako entuziastično poveličevan kakor prav začetnik francoske velike opere Meyerbeer s svojimi znanimi operami, med njimi zlasti *Les Huguenots* ([*Hugenoti*] 1836), *Le Prophète* ([*Prerok*] 1849), *L'Africaine* ([*Afričanka*] 1865) – vse tri krstno izvedene v pariški Operi, in, zvrstno gledano, opero comique *L'Etoile du Nord* ([*Zvezda severnica*] 1854), prvič uprizorjena v pariški Komični operi (Opéra Comique).



Slika 5: Veliki foaje pariške Opere zrcali popolno avtoriteto Pariza kot svetovne kulturne prestolnice 19. stoletja.

Knjigotisk »Veliki foaje pariške Opere« iz kolekcije »Oilette – Večer v operi« Raphaela Tucka, natisnjena okrog 1905, serijska št. 136, založil Raphael Tuck et Fils Ltd. (Vir: iz zasebne zbirke V. Kotnika).

¹² Heinrich Heine, »Über die französische Bühne«, četrta zvezek v *Sämtliche Werke*, ur. Ernst Elster (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1925), 556.



Slika 6: Krstna uprizoritev Meyerbeerove opere *L'Etoile du Nord* (1854) v *Opéri Comique*.

Litografija De La Tremblaya (Vir: BNF, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra, Pariz).

Potem ko njegove zgodnje italijanske opere niso doživele zelenega odziva v Nemčiji, je Meyerbeer pazljivo načrtoval svoj prihod v operno prestolnico sveta tistega časa in kmalu mu je uspel naskok na institucijo, ki je bila prvovrstni francoski simbol, to je *Opéra*. Njegova prva zmaga pride v letu 1831, pomenljivo v času Julijske revolucije, z veliko opero *Robert le diable* (*Robert hudič*), v kateri uspešno poveže nemško čvrstost tehnike, italijanske melodije, spretno napisane za točno določene pevce, in njegov občutek za imponanten odrski spektakel. Časopisi so premiero označili za epohalno. Podobno formulo je skupaj z libretistom Scribom ubral tudi nekaj let kasneje v *Hugenotih*. Grandiozna scena, imponantni zborovski zaključki in močna ter pretresljiva glasba so bili recept za takojšen, vendar trajen triumf. Meyerbeerovska opera je dodobra izkoristila glasbene dimenzije gledališkega spektakla, saj je kombinirala številne zvrsti, od popularnih ljudskih pesmi, polnoglasnih zborovskih himn, ganljivih ljubezenskih romanc, virtuoznega bel canta, sočnih pivskih napevov do privzdignjene cerkvene glasbe. V *Hugenotih* denimo zboru svečane religiozne reminiscence na francoski barok nenadno sledi solo rossinijevske virtuoznosti, da bi se vznemirjenost navarske kraljice Margarete de Valois naposled fluidno prelila v graciozen ženski trio. Podobno se glasbeni stili hitro in svobodno menjajo tudi v *Robertu*, od bahavih germanskih pivskih napitnic do eteričnih, skorajda nadzemeljskih zborov, podprtih z nebeškim zvokom harf in orgel. Spremembe so tako tekoče, da po Schumannu poslušalce zlahka popeljejo skozi

cerkev in bordel, ne da bi občinstva takšna drastična menjava atmosfere sploh zmotila. Meyerbeeru je bilo zato težko očitati pomanjkanje glasbenega pedigreja. Bil je tudi mojster instrumentacije. (Johnson 1995, 253). Lahko bi rekli, da je Meyerbeer dodobra dojel kolektivno organizacijo intimnega ugodja pariškega občinstva, ki ga je atakiral s serijo skrbno načrtovanih glasbenih točk, slonečih na individualnih in kumulativnih efekti. Prav v njih so nekateri videli Meyerbeerovo pretirano preračunljivost, da bi pri občinstvu dosegel uspeh.

Toda z vzponom wagnerizma se je Meyerbeerov sloves začel hitro krhati, sam pa je zaradi svoje popularnosti postal najprimernejši grešni kozel za vzpenjajočo se modernistično ideologijo. Wagnerjev program, v okviru katerega je projektiral dihotomijo med »visoko« formo in degradirano umetnostjo, ki je izkoristila popularni okus za komercialne namene, torej predstavlja tako njegov odgovor na novo kulturno situacijo Pariza kakor njeno inverzijo. Delibesove, Gounodove, Chabrierjeve in Messengerjeve *opéras comiques* bi Wagner tako verjetno označil za »frivolne«, medtem ko jih je antiwagnerjevec Stravinski v svoji študiji *The Poetics of Music (Poetiki glasbe)* priporočil kot »bleščečo skupino mojstrovina« (1970, 79, 81, 105). Naraščanje srednjega sloja med opernim občinstvom je strukturo občinstva drastično preoblikovalo. To (malo)meščansko občinstvo je zase zahtevalo zabavo na javnih krajih, kjer se pripadniki srednjega razreda lahko pokažejo svetu in kjer njihova navzočnost lahko kulminira v kvintesenca socialnega prestiža. Tovrstno občinstvo je iskalo tako vrsto družbenega razločevanja, ki bi bilo dovolj enostavno za hitro konsumpcijo, a da bi se hkrati zdelo dovolj »resno« za zadovoljitev njegovih kulturnih pretenzij (Lindenberger 1984, 227–229). Vidimo, da so kulturne hierarhije med visokim in nizkim vgrajene v libreto, glasbo in pomen posameznih opernih del, ki vpeljejo značaje iz *opere serie* in bogato izkoristijo kulturno resonanco te dihotomije (npr. Strauss-Hofmannsthalova *Ariadna na Naksosu*), našle svoje varno pribežališče prav v družbeni recepciji. Kadar je v nekem mestu obstajalo več mnogovrstnih opernih gledališč hkrati, so ta običajno bila organizirana tako, da je vsako skušalo uvesti razločevalno pahljačo okusov, slojev, finančnih virov in strukture obiskovalcev. Logika diferenciacije in rangiranja je pomenila prilagoditev tržnemu pluralizmu. Če je, na primer, pariška *Opéra* v tridesetih letih 19. stoletja merila na novo porajajoči srednji razred, je *Théâtre Italien* (Italijansko gledališče), ki je predstavljal najbolj recentna dela Bellinija in Donizettija v izvirnem jeziku, pikiral na aristokrate in *connoisseurs*.¹³ V poznem 19. stoletju je distinkcija med *Opéra* in *Opéra Comique* v Parizu¹⁴, med *Hofoper* (Dvorna Opera) – kasneje preoblikovana v *Staatsoper* (Državna opera) – in *Volksoper* (Ljudska Opera) na Dunaju in še v drugih primerih naenkrat pomenila distinkcijo med »težjo« in »lažjo« zabavo, med recitativno in prostogovorno zvezo do arije, med pokroviteljstvom družbeno boljše elevirane in slabše elevirane operne javnosti, nenazadnje med višjimi in nižjimi cenami vstopnic. Lindenberger sredi osemdesetih let 20. stoletja zapiše:

¹³ Te distinktivne družbene razmere omenja več relevantnih avtorjev: Herbert Lindenberger, *Opera. The Extravagant Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 212; Jane F. Fulcher, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 2; Crosten, William L. *French Grand Opera: An Art and a Business*. New York: King's Crown Press, 1984. Gerhard, Anselm. *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998.

¹⁴ Za družbene reprezentacije pariških opernih hiš v 19. stoletju glej: Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 18, 22.

Distinkcija je v našem stoletju v Ameriki še zmerom očitna v razliki družbenega prestiža med opero, ki je bila v večjih mestih odvisna od finančne podpore tistih, ki jih poznamo pod oznako »družba«, in tisto formo, različno poimenovano, *opereta*, *lahka opera* ali *glasbena komedija*, ki je imela večinoma podporo samo iz dohodkov od vstopnic. Stara evropska distinkcija med »visokim« in »nizkim« v New Yorku danes vztraja v razločitvi aktivnosti med *Metropolitan Opera*, z bolj rigoroznim klasičnim repertoarjem, zvezdniškim sistemom in dovršenimi produkcijami, in samo za lučaj kamna oddaljeno, manj pretenciozno, bolj popularno naravnano *New York City Opera*. (Lindenberger 1984, 212)

Prav na podlagi ameriških zgledov kulturne hierarhije so nekateri pripravljene na tezo, da je popularna kultura izšla iz visoke kulture, in da ima potemtakem vsaka manifestacija visoke kulture svoj korespondirajoči antipod v popularni kulturi. V podporo temu nekateri navajajo naslednje antinomije: pariška velika opera *vs* pariška opereta, evropska opera *vs* ameriški muzikal, opera *vs* koncerti opernih arij (Salter 1955, 117–124) ipd. Razlog, zakaj naj bi do teh procesov popularizacije elitne kulture prišlo, nekateri pojasnjujejo s tezo, da se je popularna operna kultura pričela kot odgovor na kancerogeni razvoj visoke operne kulture. Popular(izira)na operna kultura naj bi integrirala množično recepcijo konsumentov prav na način nekakšne degradacije ali omilitve neznosne elitizirane operne kulture.

Nenehno ponavljajoče se distinkcije med severom in jugom, harmonijo in melodijo, težavnim in lahkim, visokim in nizkim, odkrivajo stereotipe, ki so se skozi stoletja še posebej prijeli posameznih nacionalnih opernih tradicij. Ena takih klasičnih repetacij v Gluck-Piccinnijevi kontroverzi je bila distinkcija med potrebo italijanskega opernega skladatelja, za katerega naj bi bilo značilno ustvarjanje oper na mah, in navado severnjaškega skladatelja, za katerega naj bi bilo tipično dolgotrajno delo na eni sami operni kompoziciji. Spomnimo se tudi Rousseaujeve konfrontacije med nesamozavedanjem in čutnostjo, ki ju je razpoznaval v italijanski operi, in prisilnim, neinspiriranim značajem francoske opere; prav tako njegovih skorajda ekstatičnih idealizacij Italijanov kot glasbenih ljudi, ko je prvič slišal italijansko opero med svojim obiskom Benetk.¹⁵ Na rousseaujevsko zasnovani dihotomiji natura – kultura kasneje tudi Schiller uvede vplivno distinkcijo med naivnim (kar je podmena za nemškega) in sentimentalnim (romanskim, italijanskim) umetnikom, ki sicer manj zadeva opero in bolj literaturo, vendar z njo okrepi nekatere stereotipe o značilnih severn(jašk)ih in juž(njašk)ih nagnjenjih. Znana je tudi Heinejeva kontroverza v zvezi z njegovo recepcijo Rossinija in Meyerbeerja. Heine je, da bi ponazoril razliko med nemškim in italijanskim opernim esencializmom, karakteristično kontrastiral po njegovem preprosto in melodično-centrirano Rossinijevo operno glasbo z veliko bolj kompleksnim, na harmoniji baziranim Meyerbeerjevim opernim stilom. Ko je v tridesetih letih 19. stoletja glorificiral Meyerbeerja, ga je označil za bolj naprednega umetnika, umetnika, ki je produkt revolucije iz 1830, medtem ko je za Rossinijevo umetnost trdil, da pripada restavraciji. Desetletje pozneje, ko je ugotovil, da je Meyerbeer med tem časom postal ljubljene aristokracije, je Heine popolnoma preokrenil svojo pozicijo: sedaj

¹⁵ Več o tem na posameznih mestih v Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Esej o izvoru jezika, v katerem se govori o melodiji in glasbenem posnemanju*. Ljubljana: Krtina, 1999; in sledečih njegovih pisanjih: *Dictionnaire de musique, Essai sur l'origine des langues in Les Confessions*, slednje v *Oeuvres complètes*, ur. Bernard Gagnebin in Marcel Raymond (Pariz: Gallimard, 1959), I, 313–316.

Meyerbeerja graja zaradi njegovega domnevnega »vpletanja eklekticizma v glasbo« in slavi Rossinijevega *Otella* (1816) kot »Vezuva, ki bruha žareče rože«. Heine je še opazil (ne ravno točno), da medtem ko so najboljše Mozartove in Rossinijeve opere pustile občinstvo hladne pri prvih poslušanjih in so rabile nekaj let, da so postale cenjene, so Meyerbeerove bile dizajnirane za takojšen uspeh. Heine je ta Meyerbeerjev uspeh pri pariški publiki pripisoval harmoniji in instrumentaciji, ki je bila narejena za sprožanje izjemnih efektov, s katerimi naj bi Meyerbeer premamil svojo publiko. Lindenberger tu opozori na zanimivo Heinejevo rabo pojma harmonije. Harmonija, ki jo je Heine in drugi običajno povezovali z nemško in »težko glasbo«, je tu spojena z »lahko glasbo«. Heineja so torej pri Meyerbeerovi harmoniji skrbeli gledališki efekti, ki jih harmonija lahko ustvari. Tudi Wagner je podobno zaposloval po večini stereotipne družbene recepcije opere. V času svojega zgodnjega entuziazma za sodobno italijansko opero je namreč kritiziral nemško glasbo zaradi njene domnevne erudicije in špekuliral, da če bi Bellini študiral zgolj pod vodstvom nemškega podeželskega učitelja, bi že bržčas komponiral »bolje«, toda izgubil bi verjetno nekaj tistega svojega liričnega daru. Tri desetletja pozneje, ko je poveličeval *Heldentenor*; je Wagner obsodil isti italijanski liricizem, ki ga je nekoč pri Belliniju tako odobral, iz razloga, ker da naj bi bil usmerjen samo v »čutno ugodje« (*sinnliches Wohlgefühl*) in ignoriral »trpljenja duše«. Prav tako je wagneristična ideologija grandomanijo, ki je spremljala družbeno recepcijo Meyerbeerovih oper, zavrnila kot vulgarno zaradi njene zvezanosti z dobičkanosnimi motivi, Meyerbeerja pa je označila kot skladatelja komercializma. Vsakdo, ki si je v času triumfa wagnerizma drznil trditi, da so Meyerbeerove opere polne lepe glasbe, kar v resnici tudi so, je tvegala svojo glasbeno kredibilnost (Lindenberger 1984, 211–214, 229, 233).

Vidimo, da lahko podobne na dihotomiji visoko *vs* nizko osnovane obtežitve najdemo tako na ravni same produkcije opernega žanra kakor na ravni njegove družbene organizacije in recepcije: na primer, razlikovanje med »resnimi« in »popularnimi« formami opere, med »resnimi« in »frivolnimi« skladatelji, med »resnimi« in »sentimentalnimi« opernimi tradicijami in nacionalnimi stili, med »dolgotrajnim kompleksnim« in »hipnim instinktivnim« ustvarjanjem opernih del in podobno.

Operne dihotomije med »visoko« in »popularno« kulturo pa so od 19. stoletja dalje dobile svoje nove pomene tudi na podlagi nacionalnih taksonomij. Tako se je nemški in avstrijski operni tradiciji pripisalo zasluge za reformizem (Gluck, Wagner), ki je operi odprl vrata v obnebjje reprezentančne nacionalne visoke kulture. Na drugi strani se je italijanske operne tradicije prijela pejorativna označitev, da je privezana na sentimentalizem zaradi svoje oprtosti na lirizem, belkantzem ter odprtosti »lažji ljudski« kulturi. Francoska operna tradicija pa si je v 19. stoletju pridobila sloves glasnice opernega komercializma, zlasti s specifično francosko zasnovano različico komične opere, z opereto in še nekaterimi drugimi specifičnimi stiliziranimi glasbenoodrskimi žanri, njena prestolnica Pariz pa je obveljala za rojstno mesto opere kot popularne kulture. Za ameriški operni sistem 20. stoletja pa se je uveljavilo gledanje, da je predstavnik ekonomizma, zasebnega kapitala, predvsem pa fleksibilnejše diverzifikacije operne umetnosti na njeno »elitno« (sem sodi znana zgodba o razlogih za izgradnjo nove metropolitanske operne hiše v New Yorku, katere ustanovitev je povezana s potrebo nove ameriške elite po zakupu prvorazrednih lož) in »popularno« različico (sem lahko uvrstimo ustanovitev lahkih in liričnih opernih

hiš, *light opera houses* in *lyric opera houses* ter seveda pojav muzikla, glasbenoodrskega dela z elementi operete, kabareta in glasbene komedije) (Levine 1988).

Po vsem tem pa lahko ugotavljamo skupaj z mnogimi avtorji (Boyden 2001; Dolar 1993, 8; Storey 2006, 435–456; Bereson 2006, 15–29), da opera še nikoli v zgodovini ni bila tako popularna kakor danes. Širi se neznanska operna mašinerija. Gradijo se nove operne hiše. Spektakli so čedalje dražji, zahtevnejši in distribuirani z velikopoteznimi televizijskimi prenosi ter diskografijo. Koncerti opernih arij se organizirajo v velikih arenah in stadionih za široke množice. Vzdržuje se glamurozni zvezdniški sistem. Obiskovanje opernih hiš in poletnih festivalov spominja na religiozna romanja. Matthew Boyden to novodobno »renesanso opere« z začetka 21. stoletja pripiše dejstvu, da je popularna kultura vsrkala operno, in sicer ravno na način, ki ga omogočajo množični mediji in sodobne tehnologije, s pomočjo katerih opera vstopa v domove kot vsakomur dostopen in dosegljiv pojav. Zdi se, kakor da je postmodernizem presekal dominacijo visoke kulture prav s popularno kulturo. In opera se zdi najbolj zgleden primer hibridizacije in spajanja popularne in visoke kulture (zlasti s pojavom rock opere, pop opere, techno opere, ipd.). Iz zadnjih let so poznani številni primeri, ki kažejo o selitvi »opere« v pop kulturo, od razvpitega pojava treh tenorjev Domingo–Pavarotti–Carreras, legendarnega dueta Caballé & Mercury, oboževane psevdoooperne pop skupine Il divo do medijske spektakularizacije opernih pevcev in zlasti pevk, npr. na lestvicah pop glasbe ikonizirane Anne Netrebko ali z opero spogledljive pop, rock, metal in travestitske vokalne dive, *à la* Sarah Brightman, Tarja Turunen, LaLa McCallan idr. S tem se ukinjajo tradicionalne distinkcije med elitnim in popularnim, ki jih je porodil družbenozgodovinski kontekst 19. stoletja. Jim Collins meni, da je eden najvidnejših trendov razvoja v popularni kulturi prav popularizacija elitnih okusov za množična občinstva. Globalna razsežnost tega procesa nakazuje, da tradicionalno razmerje med »visoko umetnostjo« in popularno kulturo doživlja globoko transformacijo (Collins 2002).

V teorijah množične oziroma popularne kulture so se razvile ideje o tem, da je množična kultura bila tista, ki je zlasti v 20. stoletju mase integrirala v razvrednoteno visoko kulturo in si na ta način pridobila pomemben instrument politične dominacije v tekmi z že uveljavljeno visoko kulturo. V kulturnih študijih popularne kulture se je za to idejo razširila sledeča definicija: »*koncept popularne kulture vsebuje grozečo subverzijo visoke kulture*« (Strinati 1995, 10, 21). Glavna kritika, ki jo je teorija popularne kulture namenila teoriji visoke kulture, je bilo pristajanje slednje na pozicije »visoke teorije«, torej pozicije moči, po kateri se da množično ali popularno kulturo razumeti in interpretirati pravilno samo z že njej vnaprej ugodne izhodiščne točke, ki jo določa in pozicionira visoka kultura. Iz te kritike visoke kulture je v pretežni meri črpala svoje krovne argumente tudi feministična teorija popularne kulture. Njena predstavnica Tania Modleski postavi distinkcijo med visoko in popularno kulturo v okvir razmestitve spolov. Po njenem je razmerje med visoko in popularno kulturo nespregledljivo seksistično. Modleski svojo tezo ponazori s setom opozicij¹⁶, po katerem visoka kultura reprezentira moškost, produkcijo, delo, intelekt, aktivnost, pisanje, edinstvenost, popularna kultura

¹⁶ Tania Modleski, »Femininity as mas(s)querade: a feminist approach to mass culture,« v C. MacCabe, ur., *High Theory/Low Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 42. (Povzeto po: Dominic Strinati, *An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1995), 78, 191.

pa uteleša ženskost, konsumpcijo, prosti čas, emocije, pasivnost, branje, množičnost. Na tem argumentu je gradila tudi feministična kritika opere kot visoke kulture, saj so feministične muzikologinje in teoretičarke z drugih področij (Solie 1993; Clément 1999; Letzter in Adelson 2001) zlahka podobne opozicije, med katerimi je glavna moški kot skladatelj *vs* ženska kot konzumerka, našle tudi v opernem imaginariju, ki je v preteklosti ženske izključil iz produkcije statusnih kultur in predvsem kultiviral spolne razlike, simbolne razmejitve in neenakosti.

Današnja religija opernega glamurja spet reproducira nove elite. V milanski Scali, dunajski Državni operi, beneški La Fenice, pariški Bastiji ali v newyorški Metropolitanu se zbira smetana kakor v časih Ludvika XIV ali Marije Terezije. Medijski blišč in pomp, ki spremljata operne dogodke, pevce, dirigente in režiserje tako rekoč čez noč katapultira med globalne zvede in nesmrtno ikone (Boyden 2001). Kljub tej senzacionalnosti in bombastičnosti pa recentni poskusi oživitve baročnih oper ostajajo marginalizirani, saj današnji aktivni in »popularni« operni repertoar, torej tak, ki se komercialno more obdržati pri življenju, zajema manj kakor pol drugo stoletje – nekako od Mozarta do Puccinija ter zgodnjih del Richarda Straussa – sicer štiristoletne operne zgodovine.

Verdi, Verona, belkantizem in emblem ljudske kulture

Meyerbeerove opere so odprle glasbene in dramske možnosti, ki so zagotovile konstitutivne modele za Verdijev razvoj med 1850 in 1860. Tisti, ki poznajo Verdijev *Ples v maskah* (1859), lahko v tej operi prepoznajo mnogo elementov iz tradicije francoske velike opere. In znano je, da tudi Verdijev sloves, podobno kakor Meyerbeerov, trpi od zaznave, da vso njegovo ustvarjanje razen morebiti zadnjih dveh oper, *Otella* (1887) in *Falstaffa* (1893), ni ravno prav »resno« na način, kakršnega je ustanovil Wagner, saj je bilo osiromašeno zaradi Verdijeve želje po ustvarjanju očitnih melodramatskih efektov¹⁷ in vnosa vulgaritet, ki se jih rado povezuje z »nižjimi« formami kulture. Pogosto povezovanje Verdija in drugih skladateljev italijanskega belkantizma 19. stoletja z »ljudsko« kulturo, tj. kulturo, ki pripada *al popolo*, ima seveda širše družbenozgodovinsko ozadje. Dejstvo je, da je opera igrala pomembno vlogo v življenju urbanih Italijanov v desetletjih po razpadu Napoleonovega evropskega imperija, torej v obdobju italijanske restavracije med 1815 in 1860. To obdobje političnega gibanja za osvoboditev in združitve Italije v nacijo, ki ga poznamo pod pojmom *risorgimento*, je opero, kakor zapiše David Kimbell, ne le potisnil povsem v družbeno ospredje, temveč je iz nje naredil kvintesenčen simbol italijanskega nacionalnega življenja. Opera je bila v tem obdobju iz gledališča, kjer je bil dotlej pretežno njen dom, izvožena na ulice, večerne zabave, razne državne sprejeme in družabne prireditve. Postala je neke vrste ljudska glasba (Davis 2006, 569).

¹⁷ Ko tu Verdija povezujemo z »gledališkimi efekti«, ki se jih sicer rado kot značilnost prej pripisuje Wagnerju, ki je bil idejno izrazito romantični umetnik z močnim naslonom na modernizem in avantgardo, moramo tu vendarle konstatirati distinkcijo med verdijevskimi in wagnerjevskimi »efekti«. Wagner je svoje efekte gradil na ideji kompleksne povezanosti libreta, glasbe, poetike, estetike, scene, arhitektonike in rituala, da bi dosegel »totalni efekt« umetnine pri občinstvu, medtem ko je Verdiju, simplistično rečeno, šlo za doseganje »hipnega efekta«, ki se je organiziral in koncentriral pretežno okrog pevskih ekshibicij in melodrame.

Vse to navdušenje Italijanov sredine 19. stoletja za opero pa ni bilo le stvar gole ljubezni do glasbe same kot take. Opera je predstavljala precej več. Od vseh umetnostnih form je namreč najbolje artikulirala najgloblje emocionalne potrebe Italijanov v prelomnem trenutku njihove zgodovine. Od vseh umetnosti je najbolj prepričljivo izrazila njihove kolektivne skrbi, razpoloženja, konvivialitete, aspiracije, upe in ideale (Kimbell 1991, 394). Čeprav so nekateri zadržani do teze, da se je operna glasba abruptno prelila v ljudsko ali popularno italijansko glasbo (Leydi 2003, 309–313), je težko zaobiti dejstvo, da je prav opera razdrobljeni Italiji prve polovice 19. stoletja ponudila utemeljitveni mit združene nacionalne države. Skrivnost Verdija in Wagnerja, kakor zapiše Dolar, je v veliki meri v tem, da sta lahko v 19. stoletju ponudila mitološko oporo prav tistima narodoma, ki se dotlej nista uspela konstituirati v nacionalni državi. Zlasti z Verdijem, čigar ime se je dalo brati kot kratico za »Vittorio Emmanuelle Re d'Italia«, je opera polnokrvno stopila na mesto odsotne države in jo pomagala konstituirati (Dolar 1993, 9). Opera je nacionalistom tako predstavljala simbolni in duhovni kraj uprizarjanja in fortifikacije združene nacije. Toda del popularnosti, ki si ga je opera pridobila v Italiji vse do današnjih dni, pripada rojstvu specifične italijanske romantične glasbene estetike, ki se je naslonila na najbolj človeško in rezonantno dimenzijo operne umetnosti, tj. na človeški glas. Ta estetika je rezultirala v razvoju *belcanta* (lepo petje) na ravni glasbe in *lirične opere* (*opera lirica*) na ravni drame. Melodramatizacija emancipatorne politike in nacionalne kulture je bržčas pomembno prispevala k transformaciji opere v ljudsko zadevo pri Italijanih. Ta proces popularizacije je verjetno olajšal tudi tradicionalni družbeni, politični in estetski konzervativizem italijanske operne publike (Rosselli 1984, 82–83). Če v grobem pogledamo, kaj je tisto, kar je opero naredilo množično trošeno kulturno dobrino v Parizu in kaj v Italiji 19. stoletja, lahko poenostavljeno ugotovimo, da je opera v sfero popularne kulture v obeh primerih vstopila skozi dva precej različna kulturna imaginarija. Če je francoski primer zaznamoval proces transformacije opere v meščansko kulturo, je za italijanskega značilna transformacija opere v nacionalno kulturo. Toda še vedno se poraja vprašanje, kaj je poleg zgoraj naštetega pravzaprav tisto, kar je v Italiji opero približalo ljudem z ulice bolj kakor kjerkoli drugje. Odgovor se morda skriva v posebnem odnosu med skladatelji in občinstvom, kakršnega je težko srečati drugje. Italijanska zgodovinarica Carlotta Sorba dokazuje, da so bili italijanski skladatelji močno osebno povezani s svojimi občinstvi. Zlasti Bellini, Donizetti in Verdi so bili zelo pozorni na okus publike in so dali veliko na pričakovanja javnosti. Ugajati občinstvu in javnosti je bil ustvarjalni *agens* večine skladateljev (Sorba 2006, 597). Skladatelji pa niso vzpostavljali stika z ljudmi le v operni hiši, temveč tudi zunaj njenih zidov. Gaetano Donizetti je menda dopisnika iz Messine pred uprizoritvijo ene izmed njegovih oper v tem mestu nagovoril, da promovira dva mlada pevca v lokalih, na trgih in celo po domovih meščanov, ter tako publiko pripravi na predstavo. Vincenzo Bellini je bil zelo zadovoljen, da je njegova *Norma* navdušila prebivalce Bergama, kakor tudi obiskovalce, ki so prišli iz sosednjih mest, Brescie, Verone in Milana. Njegov naskok na milansko Scalo s *Piratom* (*Il pirata*, 1827), *Tujko* (*La straniera*, 1829) in *Normo* (1831) je bil popoln, saj ga je občinstvo Scale posedlo na prestol šampijona (Rosselli 1996: 36–101). Tudi Verdi je bil zelo obremenjen s publiko, zlasti z neapeljsko, za katero je menil, da ni nikoli z ničemer zadovoljna. V letih 1849–1859, torej v ustvarjalni dobi od *Luise Miller* do *Plesa v*

maskah si Verdi pridobi sloves ljudskega skladatelja, *il compositore del popolo* [people's composer] (Rosselli 2000, 86–119). Ti primeri kažejo, kako so skladatelji merili svoje delo v relaciji do javnosti. V primeru Verdija je neposreden odnos med skladateljem in publiko mutiral celo v striktno kontrolo nad izvedbami njegovih oper po letu 1870. Močna osebna vključenost skladateljev v imaginarij publike pa jih je posledično povzdignila na raven mednarodnih zvezd. Zaradi vseh teh kontekstov, ki so opero v Italiji približali ne le premožnim, pač pa navadnim državljanom, Carlotta Sorba poudari, da je opera v Italiji postala bistvena »družbena umetnost« (2006, 603). Bistvo zadeve leži v dejstvu, da je italijanska operna publika 19. stoletja bila dejanski in edinstven sodnik uspeha skladateljeve kompozicije. Pri tem kritiki ali strokovna javnost (na primer, muzikologi in drugi glasbeni učenjaki) ni bila v kaki privilegirani poziciji pri določanju tega, kaj je dobro in kaj ne. *Bitko pri Legnanu* (1849), edino Verdijevo opero, ki je nastala pod neposrednim vplivom risorgimenta, so povsod sprejeli navdušeno. Rimsko občinstvo je ob vsaki predstavi zahtevalo ponovitev zadnjega dejanja. Nek gledalec, ki je med eno izmed predstav od samega navdušenja padel iz lože ali se morda nalašč vrgel v parter, je bil simbolni izraz tesne emocionalne vezi med skladateljem in občinstvom (Casini 1988, 114, 118). Toda občinstva na apeninskem polotoku niso ravno veljala za zelo disciplinirana in predvidljiva: če so v Benetkah *Rigoletta* (1851) sprejeli z navdušenjem, jo je krstna izvedba *Traviate* (1853) odnesla slabo. *Traviata* je hrupno propadla in Verdi je priznal njen neuspeh v treh lakoničnih pismih. Prvo dirigentu Emanuelu Muziu: »*La Traviata*, sinoči, polom. Sem kriv jaz ali pevci? ... Čas bo razsodil.« Drugo svojemu milanskemu založniku Ricordiju: »Žal ti moram sporočiti žalostno novico, vendar ti ne morem skriti resnice. *La Traviata* je doživela polom. Vzroke raziskujemo.« Tretje pa dirigentu in prijatelju Angelu Marianiju: »*La Traviata* je krepko pogorela. Še huje pa je, da so se smejali ...« (Casini 1988, 142–143). Angleški zgodovinar John Rosselli poroča, da je aplavz in odobravanje požela samo sopranistka v prvem dejanju zaradi koloratur, medtem ko se je skozi drugo in tretje dejanje občinstvo prostodušno smejala, se zabavalo po svoje, klepetalo in ga konec melodrame o dami s kamelijami ni preveč zanimal. Verdi je moral vnesti popravke (Rosselli 2000, 108).

Ta primat publike je zato od skladateljev, njihovih agentov ter impresarijev gledališč terjal redni monitoring publike in njihove reakcije. Verdi je bil znan po svoji inkvizitivni skrbi glede tega, kako so ljudje sprejeli njegovo delo in v kakšnem obsegu. Leta 1899 je zapisal: »*Kadar ljudje ne derejo v gledališče na ogled nove produkcije, je to že neuspeh.*« Ob neki priložnosti je Bellini menda dejal, da je polno gledališče bolj merodajen znak recepcije opere, kakor pa aplavz, ki ga predstava prejme. Podobnega mnenja je bil Verdi po uspehu opere *Moč usode* v milanski Scali leta 1869. Verdi je bil znan po tem, da je dal veliko na to, kaj publika hoče, zato je bilo zanj iskanje in ustvarjanje učinkov (*effeti*) ter spremljanje vtisov (*impressioni*) ključnega pomena. Verdi je to specifično kulturno situacijo zgodovinske konstituiranosti družbene recepcije opere v Italiji 7. decembra 1869 v polemičnem pismu Camille Du Locle glede vpliva kritikov na operno produkcijo v francoskem glasbenem prostoru strnil z besedami »*mi [v Italiji] dovolimo, da publika odloča*« (Sorba 2006, 601–614).

Na Verdijev sila ambivalenten odnos do občinstva pa kaže drug primer. *Simon Boccanegra* (1857) v Benetkah ni doživel pričakovanega sprejema. V pismu milanske-

mu založniku Ricordiju je prvič mogoče zaslediti Verdijevo tožbo na račun občinstva, češ da ni doraslo tistemu, kar se mu ponudi. To stališče, ki je sicer bilo tako značilno za avantgardne in modernistične skladatelje, mu je bilo načeloma tuje. V pismu tako naletimo na mesta, ki so za Verdija nasploh nenavadna: »*Mi, ubogi cigani, šarlatani in vse drugo, kar hočete, smo prisiljeni prodajati svoje napore, svoje misli, svoje blodnje za zlato, občinstvo pa si za tri lire kupi pravico, da nam žvižga ali ploska. Naša usoda je, da se vdamo – to je vse*« (Casini 1988: 183).

Zdi se, da vpliven družbeni položaj opere v italijanski romantični kulturi vse do danes izhaja prav iz tega razmerja med figuro skladatelja (kot nacionalnega simbola) in javnostjo ter iz njegovih državljskih reverberacij, saj je participacija v opernem *auditoriumu* v Italiji po združitvi postala tudi pomemben znak državljske vrline. Identifikacija med publiko in mestom, torej med življenjem v gledališču in mestu je bila zelo močna, saj so operne hiše 19. stoletja postale glavni kraj sentimentalne edukacije Italijanov. To je zlasti veljalo za najbolj razvita in razvpita italijanska operna središča, kakor so Benetke, Milano, Firenze, Rim, Neapelj in Verona. Če premiera ni uspela, je to v mestu nemudoma postalo glavni predmet govoric, kritike in pogovorov v trgovini, na ulici in drugod. Kritik Filippo D'Arcais je v časopisu *Opinione* takole komentiral presenetljiv uspeh opere *I Lituani* v milanski Scali: »... *to jutro se je vsepovsod govorilo o eni sami in isti stvari, o Ponchiellijevi operi. Samo ena tema je bila na tapeti na ulicah, v kavarnah, po domovih*« (Sorba 2006, 600). In tako je še dandanes, in to ne le v Italiji, pač pa je z razvojem medijev ta proces napredoval do globalnih razsežnosti. Fascinacija nad tem, kaj se je sinoči zgodilo v operi, v virtualni medijski realnosti na začetku 21. stoletja daleč presega razsežnosti širjenja mestnih govoric v 19. stoletju. Razni škandali, pikantnosti in *fiaschi coi fiocchi* (prvoradzredni fiaski), kakor bi ironično dejal skladatelj Donizetti, iz svetovnih opernih prestolnic z internetno hitrostjo resnih in tabloidnih medijev pridejo do opernih zanesenjakov po vsem svetu. Senzacionalistična recepcija opernih protagonistov in artefaktov je tako spremljevalni del današnje fenovske operne kulture, saj so bombastične in šokantne novice o velikopoteznih opernih uspehih in zlasti neuspehih ne le predmet vsakdanjih pogovorov, pač pa kar stalna fascinacija operne publike s *furorissimi* in *fiaschissimi*.

Poglejmo notoričen aktualen primer, ki signalizira »ljudsko« recepcijo opere v Italiji. Vsakdo, ki je že kadarkoli obiskal poletni operni festival v veronski areni, je lahko opazil, da gre za dogodek, ki daleč presega klasične okvire operne publike, kakršno rekrutirajo operne hiše po svetu. Vsakoletni operni festival na prostem v antičnem amfiteatru, ki je najpomembnejši glasbeni dogodek v Veroni, je bil inavguriran leta 1913 z Verdijevo *Aido*, s katero je bila obeležena stota obletnica Verdijevega rojstva. Od takrat dalje z izjemo izostanka predstav zaradi druge svetovne vojne arena vsako poletje privablja na tisoče in tisoče obiskovalcev. Program je že od leta 1934 zvest tradicionalnemu repertoarju: *Aida*, arenski spektakel *par excellence*, je skorajda vsako leto na programu, pogosto s predstavami *Carmen*, *Turandot*, *La Gioconda*, *Cavalleria rusticana*, *Traviata*, *Moč usode*, *Trubadur* in rednimi baletnimi predstavami in koncerti.



Slika 7: Avditorij milanske Scale je najprestižejši barometer uspeha in javne reputacije italijanskih skladateljev v 19. stoletju.

Originalna kromolitografija, iz okrog 1900 (Vir: iz zasebne zbirke V. Kotnika).



Slika 8: *Aida*, veronski spektakel par excellence.

Fotorazglednica »L'Arena in una serata di spettacolo lirico«, izdala založba Edizione Onestinghel v Veroni (Vir: iz zasebne zbirke V. Kotnika).

Ena od informatork, redna obiskovalka opernih predstav v Sloveniji in tujini je takole v intervjuju podoživela svoja »romanja« v veronsko operno svetišče:

Iti v Verono, sedeti v areni pod zvezdnatim nebom med dvajset tisoč glavo množico in poslušati prečudovito glasbo, to je nepozabna magija. Tega doživetja se ne da opisat', to je treba doživeti' ... Jaz sem b'la v Veroni že najmanj petindvajsetkrat. To moraš it tja za več dni, ne le za en dan, ker takrat celo mesto kar buhti od opernega navdušenja. [...] To je pravi ljudski festival, kjer ljudje neobremenjeno pojejo znane arije, plešejo po stopnicah arene, po predstavi pa se razkropijo po lokalih, kjer še dolgo v noč skupaj podoživljajo zadeve in nadaljujejo z zabavo. [...] Seveda je program festivala prilagojen ... narejen za mase in ne za kako zahtevno poznavalsko publiko. V Veroni pač ni Wagnerja na sporedu, pač pa so širši, tudi neoperni javnosti bolj priljubljeni skladatelji, na primer, Verdi, Puccini in Rossini, ki so absolutni vladarji tega festivala. V Verono pač ne greš z namenom, da boš strokovno razglabljal o najmanjših detajlih izvedbe in jo primerjal z dosežki v opernih hišah, saj gre za zelo specifičen, neznačilen operni ambient ... tja greš preprosto zato, da boš neobremenjeno užival ob lepi glasbi in petju. [...] V Veroni res lahko vidiš, kako je v Italiji opera tudi ljudska stvar. Tam boš težko našel kakega Italijana, ki ne bi znal zamrmrat' vsaj nekaj verzov kake znane Verdijeve arije, da ne govorim o napitnici iz Traviate ali zboru sužnjev iz Nabucca, ki sta tako rekoč neformalni italijanski himni.

Primer Verone pravzaprav razbija hegemonijo tradicionalne institucionalizacije opere kot preteksta družbene priložnosti in ceremonije – kakršno simbolizirata elitne milanska La Scala, beneška La Fenice ali neapeljski San Carlo –, katere participacijo določa, z Bourdiejevimi besedami, princip potrebnega kulturnega kapitala, ki je na strani integrirajočih se, označujočih se in odlikujočih se udeležencev izbranih ritmov družbenega koledarja, ki demonstira izkušnjo »članstva« v ritualih visoke družbe (Bourdieu 1984: 272). Na ta moment me je v razgovoru opozorila neka druga informatorka, članica ljubljanskega baletnega in opernega društva, ki je antagonizem med wagnerjevskim Bayreuthom in verdijejsko Verono takole ilustrirala:

Razlika med Bayreuthom in Verono je očitna: medtem ko je treba za obisk prvega čakati na vrsto tudi po več let, se Verona zdi lažje dostopna vsem. Zadnjič sem od svojega kolega izvedela, da je kar devet let čakal na karto za Bayreuth. Hočem reči, da jo je naročil kot čisti posameznik, mimo wagnerjanskih društev in drugih bližnjic.

In res se zdi, da oba poletna operna festivala tudi zrcalita družbeno podobo opusa njunih nosilnih predstavnikov, Wagnerja in Verdija. Bayreuthski operni festival se kaže kot zaprta in sterilna struktura, kot težko dostopen ritual, ki frekventira posvečene. Na drugi strani veronski operni festival deluje kot izrazito odprt in živahen sistem, kot buhteča masovka.

Sklepna misel

Problematika, ki smo jo v tem besedilu skušali le odstrti, je kompleksna in obsega najrazličnejše topike: procese glasbene kanonizacije, institucionalizacije kulturnih

kategorij, moralo, spolno in etnično razmejevanje, demografsko, razredno in statusno strukturo, družbeno konstrukcijo glasbenega okusa in estetskih sodb, inkluzivne in ekskluzivne aspekte visoke, popularne in ljudske kulture in podobno. Če smo lahko opazili, da elitistična koncepcija opero brezprizivno prepoznava kot visoko kulturo in kot ekskluzivno fantazmo svojega sveta, imamo na drugi strani opraviti z enako radikalno populistično koncepcijo, ki patronizira množičnost opernega občinstva kot subverzivne kolektivitete. Za obe torej lahko rečemo, da operirata s karikaturizacijami operne kulture, njenega občinstva in njegovega okusa, mimo adekvatne empirične, historične in analitske presoje družbene situacije, ki je opero od konca 18. stoletja dalje obsodila na stoletja dolgo prebivanje v bizarnem imaginariju »popularne visoke kulture«, zaradi česar distinkcije, kakor je na primer med visoko in popularno kulturo, izgubijo videz neprebojnosti:

Distinkcije, ki jih delajo kritiki množične [lahko bi dodali, tudi privrženci visoke] kulture med množično in visoko kulturo, v resnici niso tako čiste ali statične, kakor trdijo. Zanimivo je, da so bile meje, ki so bile zarisane med popularno kulturo in umetnostjo, ali med množično, visoko in ljudsko kulturo, venomer nejasne, izpodbijane in znova začrtovane. Te ločnice niso dane, niti niso konsistentno objektivne in historično konstantne. Prej bi jih lahko imeli za sporne, diskontinuirane in historično variabilne. (Strinati 1995, 45–46)

V tem članku smo torej skušali dokazovati, da so mnoge dihotomije, ki smo jih vajeni vleči med »resnim« in »frivolnim«, »visokim« in »nizkim«, »elitnim« in »popularnim«, same po sebi ukoreninjene v širše družbene konstelacije, ki so se vzpostavile v evropski družbi 18. in 19. stoletja in ostale – mnoge celo v povsem rudimentarnih in nespremenjenih oblikah – z nami vse do danes. Videli smo, da večina predstav o operi kot elitni zadevi izhaja iz kompleksnih konfrontacij o njeni družbeni vrednosti, ki niso le globoko vtisnjene v našo aktualno kulturo, pač pa segajo daleč nazaj v čas pred konceptualnim nastankom ločnice med visoko in nizko kulturo. Ob koncu naj se pozornemu bralcu opravičim za nekatere precej grobe navedbe in morebiti celo izzivalne izpeljave, za razumevanje katerih bi v resnici bila potrebna preciznejša, predvsem pa obširnejša kontekstualizacija. Ta napor bo moral počakati na kako drugo mesto in pisanje. Prav tako naj ima bralec v uvidu, da je namen članka bil izpostaviti samo nekatere elemente, ki neposredno najdejavajo konceptne, zgodovinske in kulturne oprimke v pojmu družbene recepcije opere, zaradi česar so nekateri drugi elementi, vezani na same probleme harmonije, orkestracije, glasbene poetike, estetike in žanrske diferenciacije, ki bi potrebovali nadaljnjo elaboracijo tudi z vidika glasbene analize in drugih sorodnih analitičnih postopkov, ostali neizpostavljeni in tako odprti za izčrpnjšo muzikološko erudicijo.

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SUMMARY

The article is based on a pondered outline of examples of the social reception of opera as high, popular and folk culture. The intercession on behalf of perceiving opera as something exclusively elite and prestigious is still so strong and self-evident, that only a slight scientific discussion was needed to rationalise it. Thus, the main goal of the analysis is to show, how the notion of the opera as high as well as popular culture represents a specific sociohistorical and ideological

construction with long-term consequences for the pertinent social reception of this phenomenon. Four models of the social reception of opera are exemplified: 1) Mozart, hybridism and divergent culture; 2) Wagner, avantgardism and high culture; 3) Meyerbeer, commercialism and popular culture; 4) Verdi, belcantism and people's culture. These examples indicate that through its history opera was determined through very different forms and conceptions of its social reception and not only by a single one, usually stereotyped as elitist on the one hand or populist on the other.

Disertacije • Dissertations

Katarina Šter

Poznosrednjeveška monastična recepција koralnega enoglasja na primeru antifonarjev iz žičke kartuzije

Kartuzija Žiče (ustanovljena ok. 1160 in ukinjena 1782), ki je bila pomemben samostan tako v današnjem slovenskem kot širšem evropskem porostoru, je v obdobju srednjega veka do konca 15. stoletja doživljala skoraj neprekinjen razcvet. Zanj je bilo najpomembnejše zgodovinsko obdobje čas velike zahodne shizme, v kateri je med letoma 1391 in 1410 postala sedež generalnega priorja rimskemu papežu zveste veje kartuzijanskega reda. Iz žičke kartuzije se je iz srednjega veka ohranilo šest antifonarjev, ki jih hrani Univerzitetna knjižnica v Gradcu (UB Graz). Rokopis s signaturo 273 je iz 13. stoletja in je eden najstarejših skoraj v celoti ohranjenih kartuzijanskih antifonarjev, ostali rokopisi (s signaturami 18, 21, 145, 51 in 7) pa so iz 15. stoletja. Kljub burnemu zgodovinskemu dogajanju in veliki časovni vrzeli med rokopisi, ki sta zagotovo vplivala na razlike med antifonarji, je mogoče domnevati, da vsi rokopisi pripadajo isti rokopisni tradiciji žičke kartuzije.

Naslov disertacije *Poznosrednjeveška monastična recepција srednjeveškega koralnega enoglasja na primeru antifonarjev iz kartuzije Žiče* je zasnovan na velikem številu muzikoloških, pa tudi zgodovinskih in liturgičnih pojmov, od katerih bi lahko vsak potegnil za sabo dolge in specifične definicije in utemeljitve. Obenem je tudi takšen, da posameznih pojmov med sabo ni mogoče preprosto ločiti in posamično razložiti, saj se njihov smisel skriva prav v posebni medsebojni mreži pomenov. Na prvem mestu se disertacija ukvarja z recepčijo, a ne s kakršnokoli recepčijo – tu ne gre za recepčijo nekega glasbenega dela v novoveškem pomenu besede, za ugotavljanje njegovega učinka ali namena. Gre za recepčijo, katere namen in učinek sta znana in trdno določena že vnaprej, saj je tu recepčija v tesni povezavi z določeno (liturgično) funkcijo. Natančno znan in določen je tudi ozki krog sprejemnikov, ki so jim ti rokopisi namenjeni. V istem krogu (seveda ne nujno med istimi ljudmi) so rokopisi tudi nastali.

Tako gre v tem primeru za posebne vrste recepcijo znotraj iste monastične tradicije v obdobju srednjega veka. To, da je ta liturgična in glasbena tradicija kartuzijanska, recepcijo znotraj nje še bolj opredeljuje, saj prav za kartuzijanski red velja, da je bil v vseh obdobjih svojega delovanja, predvsem pa v srednjem veku, znan po svojih prizadevanjih po enotnosti in nespremenljivosti liturgije in liturgične glasbe. Zato je vsakršna recepcija v okviru liturgije pomenila tudi ohranjanje tradicije. Pojma recepcije in tradicije sta tu neločljiva.

Disertacija tako preučuje recepcijo zgodnejšega antifonarja iz kartuzije Žiče v poznejših srednjeveških antifonarjih. Ta recepcija je posredno lahko potrjena, če se ugotovi, da obravnavani rokopisi pripadajo isti širši oz. kartuzijanski liturgični tradiciji. Neposredno pa bi jo potrdile še tesnejše in posebne povezave med rokopisi, ob katerih bi namesto o rokopisih kartuzijanske tradicije lahko že govorili o rokopisih žičke tradicije. Metoda, s katero disertacija obravnava vprašanje pripadnosti določeni tradiciji, je večplastna primerjalna analiza liturgične vsebine rokopisov ter njihove notacije in glasbe.

V prvem delu disertacije so na kratko predstavljeni širši okviri kartuzijanske tradicije. Predstavitvi zgodovine in glavnih značilnosti kartuzijanskega reda sledi poglavje, ki se ukvarja z zgodovino in značilnostmi kartuzijanske liturgije. Največji poudarek velja obdobju srednjega veka, v katerem so nastali tudi obravnavani žički antifonarji. Posebno poglavje je namenjeno liturgični glasbi kartuzijanov – kartuzijanskemu koralu, njegovim posebnostim in značilnostim izvedbe.

Drugi del disertacije je razdeljen v dva večja sklopa, namenjen pa je predvsem žičkim rokopisom. V prvem sklopu je na podlagi prej orisane širše predstavitve kartuzijanskega reda na kratko predstavljena zgodovina kartuzije Žiče, usoda njene knjižnice in splošne značilnosti njenih rokopisov. Tu je obravnavana tudi glavna literatura o žičkih antifonarjih, ki so tako v širši kot v slovenski muzikološki javnosti postali znani šele v 2. pol. 20. stoletja, vendar se o njih še ni veliko pisalo. V posebnem poglavju je podrobneje predstavljen rokopis 273, najstarejši žički antifonar iz 13. stoletja, njegova provenienca in paleografske značilnosti, predvsem pa njegova notacija. Sledeče poglavje predstavi še njegovo liturgično vsebino in jo primerja z dvema sočasnim antifonarjema, enim kartuzijanskim in drugim benediktinskim. Primerjava z obema je potrdila, da je rokopis 273 nesporno kartuzijanski antifonar in kot tak postane možni izhodiščni rokopis kartuzijanske glasbene tradicije v Žičah.

Ko je bilo potrjeno možno izhodišče žičke tradicije antifonarjev, so sledile še primerjalne analize s poznejšimi žičkimi antifonarji. Drugi sklop drugega dela disertacije se ukvarja z recepcijo liturgičnega enoglasja zgodnjega antifonarja v poznosrednjeveških žičkih antifonarjih. V posebnem poglavju je predstavljena liturgična vsebina kasnejših antifonarjev v primerjavi z liturgično vsebino rokopisa 273. Liturgična vsebina rokopisov je predstavljena v več plasteh, od najširše (sestava liturgičnega koledarja, za njo pa prisotnost spevov v posameznih oficijih) do najpodrobnejše (primerjava besedil spevov na istih mestih v rokopisih). Čeprav imajo kasnejši rokopisi nekoliko več praznikov in

čeprav vprašanje umestitve praznika posvetitve cerkve v rokopisu 273 še ni bilo razrešeno, je primerjava liturgične vsebine srednjeveških žičkih antifonarjev iz Univerzitetne knjižnice v Gradcu potrdila, da obstaja velika možnost neposredne recepcije mlajšega rokopisa v poznejših.

Vsi srednjeveški žički antifonarji uporabljajo kvadratno notacijo. V poglavju, ki obravnava notacijske znake in figure iz oficija Epifanije ter njihove oblike in uporabo v posameznih rokopisih, je prav tako dokazana možnost vpliva rokopisa 273 na kasnejše rokopise. Obenem to poglavje izpostavi nekatere značilne razlike med rokopisi in pokaže, da vsak rokopis uporablja neke vrste svojo različico zapisovanja melodij v kvadratni notaciji.

Poglavje o paleografskih vprašanjih postavlja temelj za naslednjo raven primerjave – glasbeno primerjavo, ki je izvedena na primeru spevov oficija Epifanije v srednjeveških žičkih antifonarjih. Melodije teh spevov (tj. zaporedja intervalov v spevih) so v različnih rokopisih – z izjemo nekaj tonov – iste. Oblike teh melodij oz. skupine kvadratnih not, notnih figur in skupin teh figur pa kažejo na velike spremembe v okviru te rokopisne tradicije. Tu gre za vprašanje spreminjanja ritma kartuzijanskega koral, kakor vprašanje skupinjenja kvadratnih not imenujejo nekateri kartuzijanski avtorji. Še nekatere druge značilnosti glasbenega teksta, kot so npr. značilne melodične figure, majhne melodične razlike, uporaba okroglih b-jev ali pokončnih črt v notnem črtovju, zopet kažejo različne vrste povezav med posameznimi rokopisi. Nedvoumni meril, po katerih bi lahko izločili en sam rokopis iz glasbene tradicije na podlagi rokopisa 273, ni. Najbolj iz skupne tradicije gotovo izstopa rokopis 273, kar je zaradi zgodnjega časa njegovega nastanka v primerjavi z ostalimi razumljivo. Vsekakor pa kompleksna mreža raznovrstnih povezav med rokopisi dokazuje, da je neke vrste recepcija rokopisa 273 v kasnejših rokopisih skoraj gotovo obstajala.

Obstaja pa še drug aspekt te značilne monastične recepcije. Podrobno preučevanje je pokazalo, da je bil rokopis 273 na številnih mestih korigiran in da je bila v poznejših rokopisih skoraj vedno upoštevana korigirana različica. Morda so korekture v rokopisu 273 nastale celo v času, ko je nastajal kateri od kasnejših rokopisov. Recepcija tako ni šla samo v eno smer, temveč je bila na neki način tudi vzvratna. Nekatero značilnost zgodnejšega rokopisa lahko prepoznamo v poznejših, določene značilnosti kasnejših rokopisov pa lahko najdemo tudi v korigirani plasti najstarejšega antifonarja. To je bila aktivna recepcija, ki ni le pasivno zajemala iz preteklosti, temveč je s posodabljanjem in korigiranjem starejšega rokopisa preoblikovala svojo lastno tradicijo in posledično vplivala na razumevanje le-te. Obenem je pokazala, da so kasnejši rokopisi rokopis 273 razumeli kot pomemben del svoje lastne, žive tradicije.

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Late medieval monastic reception of the liturgical plainchant: the example of the antiphoners of the Žiče Charterhouse

The Žiče Charterhouse was founded in 1160, and it was one of the most important in the territory of today's Slovenia. It was only the 20th Carthusian institution, but it was also among the first charterhouses built outside the "authentic" Carthusian countries, France and Italy. After comparative poverty in the 12th century, the Charterhouse Žiče reached its first blossoming in the 13th century and – with a constant rise of prosperity – it went on to thrive in the 15th century. During the years 1391–1410, in the time of the great Western Schism, the monastery played an extremely important role in the history of the Order, as it became the seat of the Prior General for all the charterhouses that remained loyal to the Roman Pope. After its decline in the 16th century, enduring devastation by the Turkish and also the period of Reformation, monastic life was abandoned for more than 30 years from 1565 till 1595. The 17th century was again a period of comparative advance. In 1782, the Habsburg Emperor Joseph II carried out his reforms in which he dissolved the Charterhouse Žiče and many other monasteries.

The Graz University Library (Universitätsbibliothek Graz) holds six medieval Carthusian antiphoners from Žiče. The first dates from the end of the 13th century (Ms 273) and is one of the oldest Carthusian antiphoners which remain well preserved. The remaining sources (Mss 18, 21, 145, 51 and 7) date from the 15th century. One could presume that the antiphoners belonged to the same manuscript tradition of the Žiče monastery – despite the turbulent history and large time gap between the manuscripts, which surely must have resulted in a number of differences between them.

In the special context of the liturgical life in the medieval Charterhouses (and in the Žiče Charterhouse as well), the term 'monastic reception' of the manuscript, which is used in this dissertation, does not mean anything like manuscript's effect on the wider audience or its wider popularity. A medieval Carthusian antiphoner was not a musical opus in the modern meaning of the word. It did not have an author as such, and it always had a very straightforward liturgical function. The circle of manuscript's recipients was always known in advance – and its very makers were part of the same circle: the Carthusian Order. Because the Carthusian Order is very conservative, the reception should always help maintain tradition, and thus the terms of reception and tradition were inseparable. We do not know much about the living, sonorous reception

of the antiphoners. But what we can come to know is the written reception of the tradition, which is the subject of this research.

The present study investigates the reception of the earlier antiphoner(s) from the Žiče charterhouse in the later ones. The direct reception can be confirmed only if the manuscripts belong to the same tradition. The main intention of this research is to confirm that all the manuscripts belong to the tradition of the Carthusian manuscripts, and that they probably belong to the same tradition of the Žiče manuscripts. The main research method of this work is the comparative analysis of the liturgical contents of the manuscripts and comparison of their music, especially in the fields of notation and melodies.

In order to present both the Carthusian tradition as well as the tradition in Žiče, the history of the Carthusian Order and its liturgy are introduced in chapters two and three. It is shown that in the time of the origin of the medieval Žiče antiphoners, the Carthusian liturgy has already been constituted, and that in the period till the end of the 15th century it did not change much except for the additions in the liturgical calendar. A chapter that follows concerns the Carthusian plainchant, its history, particularities and performance.

On the basis of the wider knowledge on the Carthusian liturgical manuscripts, the history of the Žiče Charterhouse and the destiny of its library and its codices are presented in the fifth chapter. Here the main literature on the Žiče antiphoners is listed as well. However, these manuscripts seem to become more widely known only from the second half of the 20th century, and they have not yet received much musicological interest.

The sixth chapter discusses the provenance and main palaeographical characteristics of Manuscript 273 (UB Graz, Ms 273) from the 13th century. In a liturgical comparison with contemporary Benedictine and Carthusian antiphoners in the seventh chapter, it is confirmed as a possible starting-point of the antiphoner manuscript tradition of Žiče.

After Manuscript 273 is confirmed as a starting-point of this tradition, there follows a comparative analysis of the liturgical contents of all the Žiče antiphoners in chapter eight. This comparison is performed on the basis of three layers of the manuscripts. The comparison of the first layer (the layer of the offices) investigates whether the manuscripts were made of the same offices. The second layer's comparison (the chant layer) is looking for the presence of the same chants in those offices that appear in Manuscript 273 as well as in the later manuscripts. Finally, the chants that the manuscripts have in common are researched in detail. Despite later additions of the feasts in the later manuscripts and the opened question of the place of the Church Dedication feast in Manuscript 273, the comparison of all three liturgical layers confirms that there was a large possibility of the direct reception of the earlier manuscript in the later ones.

All medieval Žiče antiphoners apply the square notation. Chapter nine, which discusses the notational signs and figures from the office of the Epiphany as well as the forms and use of these signs in the manuscripts, shows the possible

influence of Manuscript 273 on the later ones. It also shows some typical differences between them and proves that each manuscript applies its own version (or system) of writing melodies down in the square notation.

The chapter on the palaeographical questions lays the basis for the musical comparison of the Epiphany chants in the Žiže antiphoners. The melodies of the Epiphany chants (i.e. the sequence of intervals in the chants) in the antiphoners are the same, with the exception of a few tones. But the forms of these melodies – the groups of square notes in the figures and the groups of figures – show that there had been significant changes in the manuscript tradition concerning the Carthusian plainchant rhythm (as the Carthusian authors define the note groupings). Some characteristics of the later manuscripts show a lot of unifying features among them in which they seem to differ from Manuscript 273. But some other characteristics of the musical text, such as some typical figures, slight melodic differences or use of B-flats, show different types of connections between all the manuscripts. In this complicated network it can also be confirmed that there was a reception of the early manuscript in the later ones.

There is yet another aspect of this reception. The detailed research shows that Manuscript 273 had been corrected in many places, and that it was almost always the corrected version that had been taken into later manuscripts. Perhaps the corrections in Manuscript 273 date even from the time of writing some later manuscript down. It can be said that the reception of the earlier manuscript(s) did not only go one-way, but backwards as well – in other words, we can recognize some characteristics of the earlier manuscript in the later ones, but we can also find some of the later ones' characteristics in the corrected layer of the 13th-century manuscript. Thus this manuscript reception was not only passive, just taking from the source and adding changes in the later manuscripts, but also active, correcting and changing its source manuscript in the same time. In doing that, later manuscripts had influenced their own understanding of their tradition and in the same time showed that they considered Manuscript 273 as an important part of it. On the other hand, this backward process of reception shows that some questions concerning the origin of its primary source – Manuscript 273 – remain open for a more thorough research.

Defended on September 30, 2010, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

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»Villanelle alla napolitana« Giacomina Gorzanisa in njegova vloga v širitvi vilanele iz Italije na Kranjsko in v sosednje avstrijske dežele

Disertacija je zastavljena kot muzikološka študija dveh tiskanih knjig neapeljskih vilanel italijanskega slepega lutnjista in skladatelja Giacomina Gorzanisa, s ciljem opredeliti in ovrednotiti skladateljeve skladbe, predvsem pa njegovo vlogo v širitvi te priljubljene posvetne vokalne oblike preko meja italijanskega govornega področja na Kranjsko in v sosednje avstrijske dežele v zadnji tretjini 16. stoletja. Usmerjena je v (1) raziskave skladateljevega delovanja pod okriljem neinstitucionalnega pokroviteljstva kranjskega plemstva, (2) opredelitev glasbeno-literarne oznake neapeljska vilanela glede na pojavnost v glasbenih virih iz 16. stoletja in dosedanje zgodovinske in analitične raziskave ter (3) razčlenitev in primerjavo Gorzanisovih neapeljskih vilanel z namenom skladateljeve umestitve v glasbenozgodovinsko relevanten pretok oblik in postopkov.

Ob pomanjkanju neposrednih virov o izvajanju in sprejemanju Gorzanisove glasbe se zateka k umeščanju skopih biografskih podatkov, ki izhajajo iz uvodnih strani njegovih knjig in redkih ohranjenih arhivskih dokumentov, v posebne kulturnozgodovinske okoliščine, ki so ga uokvirjale in s tem tako v poustvarjalnem kot v skladateljskem oziru narekovale, usmerjale in spodbujale oblike njegovega delovanja. V kalejdoskopski sliki so zato razgrnjeni raznorodni podatki, ki vsak na svoj način prispevajo k prepoznavanju kontekstov, v katerih so se razvijale različne prakse glede na preference posameznikov, ki so glasbo poslušali, soustvarjali ali zanjo plačevali.

Terminološka razlaga pojma neapeljska vilanela se naslanja na pojavnosti v glasbenih virih iz 16. stoletja in zgodovinske interpretacije. Kljub dejstvu, da so bile neapeljske vilanele od začetka šestdesetih let 16. stoletja več desetletij v Italiji in tudi drugod po Evropi poleg madrigala najbolj razširjena posvetna glasbena zvrst, kar dokazujejo številne tiskane knjige in ohranjene rokopisne zbirke, so bile zaradi svoje nepretencioznosti v celoti izključene iz zgodovinskega kanona glasbenih del, njeni ustvarjalci pa prezrti in zapostavljeni.

Razčlenitev in primerjava Gorzanisovih neapeljskih vilanel z namenom skladateljevega umeščanja v glasbenozgodovinsko relevanten pretok oblik in postopkov se naslanja na izsledke Donne Cardamona, ki je skozi sistematično analizo pesemskih besedil in glasbenih oblik korpusa tiskanih glasbenih virov do 1570 definirala zvrst ter utemeljila izhodiščno besedilno, oblikovno in vsebinsko tipologijo. V formalističnem pristopu izpostavlja kot osrednji kriterij ustreznost metrične, verzne in kitične zgradbe besedila.

S ciljem umestitve Gorzanišovih vilanel v sprejeto formalno in slogovno klasifikacijo repertoarja so bile na tak naèin razèlenjene tudi Gorzanišove ohranjene skladbe.

Pesemska besedila Gorzanišovih neapeljskih vilanel oblikovno ne odstopajo od tipičnih vzorcev. Praviloma so sestavljena iz štirih metrièno enakih kitic, katerih osrednji verz je jambški enajsterec s shemami rim ter razporeditvami vrstic in refrenov, znaèilnimi za neapeljsko vilanelo pred in po letu 1565. Ena od glavnih znaèilnosti neapeljske vilanele - ujevanje besedilne in glasbene oblike pesmi - se razloèno kaže tudi v Gorzanišovih uglasbitvah. Analiza jezikovnih prvin v tovrstni razèlenitvi je usmerjena k izpostavljanju teŹnje po zlitju oblikovno in izrazno raznolikih besedil v bolj konsistenten in izbrušen verz, kot taka pa ponuja zgolj argumentacijo za sklepanje o tokovih in povezavah znotraj celotnega ohranjenega repertoarja. V svoji osredotoèenosti na razvojne implikacije zvrsti zanemarja druge formalne, strukturne in izrazne elemente, skozi katere so skladbe dosegale svoj namen.

Obraznava pesemskih besedil s stališèa ponavljajoèih se lingvistiènih elementov je pokazala, da se neapeljske vilanele v dikciji precej razlikujejo od renesanènih lirskih izpovednih pesmi. V neapeljski vilaneli govoreèi subjekt nagovarja imaginarne osebe ali okolico neposredno, v tem trenutku in na tem mestu. Z govorom, ki vkljuèuje osebne in kazalne zaimke, hiperbolièno izraŹanje, interogativne prošnje in mašilne pogovorne izraze, simulira gledališko akcijo. S tega zornega kota se zdi, da se termin neapeljska vilanela nanaša na zelo specifièen fenomen: pesmi tipiziranih moških likov, katerih prepevanje z vkljuèevanjem mimiènih in gestikularnih elementov privzame izrazito komièen znaèaj.

V uglasbitvah besedil se Gorzaniš nasprotno veèini severnoitalijanskih skladateljev neapeljskih vilanel ni izogibal elementov, ki veljajo za izrazito neapeljske kot so ozka lega treh visokih glasov, gibanje v vzporednih kvintah in postopno sestopanje melodije k finalu v kadencah. V Gorzanišovih melodijah prepoznavamo nekatere stereotipne figure starejših neapeljskih skladateljev vilanel kot so urne pospešitve in upoèasnitve tempa ali nenadne zaustavitve, spremembe metruma, raznolikost ritmiènih poudarkov ter duhovito krajšanje in pretirano ponavljanje posameznih besed. V kontekstu kratke pesemske kitice so te figure pogosto nesorazmerne in delujejo kot sredstvo ironiènega sporoèanja solzavih vsebin. Èeprav besedilo beremo kot toŹbo trpeèega ljubimca, je z uglasbitvijo spremenjeno v posmehovanje. Źe po naravi teatralnemu besedilu je Gorzaniš z uglasbitvijo podal paleto iztoènic za njegovo komièno interpretacijo. Poleg karikiranega podajanja doloèenih besed ali besednih zvez je ponudil tudi priloŹnosti za improvizirano mimiko in gestikulacijo, ki sooblikujejo skupek šaljivih, zabavnih in zbadljivih momentov.

Gorzanišove neapeljske vilanele so pesmi komiènega efekta. Opisna oznaka je poslušalce seznanjala, da so polne duhovitih, zbadljivih in posmehljivih podob ter prikritih in neposrednih namigovanj. Neke vrste skrivnostnost in nejasnost besedilnih sporoèil izhaja iz dejstva, da so se posluŹevale kodiranega besednjaka in aludiranja na aktualne druŹbene prakse in ideje. V tej funkciji je neapeljska vilanela iz italijanskega prostora prešla tudi v avstrijske deŹele.

Obranjeno 4. junija 2011 na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani.

The »Villanelle alla napolitana« by Giacomo Gorzanis and his role in the dissemination of villanellas from Italy to Carniola and the neighbouring Austrian lands

The thesis was designed to be a historical and analytical musicological study of two printed books of villanellas by Italian blind lutenist and composer Giacomo Gorzanis with the goal of characterizing and evaluating, and, above all, defining his role in spreading this popular genre of secular vocal music beyond the borders of the Italian-speaking territory to the neighbouring Austrian lands in the last third of the 16th century. It is focused on (1) the research of the composer's activities under the auspices of non-institutional patronage of the Carniolan nobility, (2) definition of the musical literary term the villanella alla napolitana regarding musical sources from the 16th century and historic and analytic research hitherto, and (3) analysis and comparison of Gorzanis' villanellas with the purpose to categorize the composer into the musically and historically relevant flow of musical forms and processes.

Due to lack of direct sources on Gorzanis' performance and response to his music it focuses on scant biographical data in introductory pages of his books and a few preserved archival sources, and transferred this information into cultural and historical circumstances which characterized him as well as inspired, guided, and motivated his artistic expression. A kaleidoscopic picture of various data contributes to understanding the circumstances according to individual preferences of the people who were creating, listening and paying for the music.

Terminological description of the villanelle alla napolitana is based on musical sources from the 16th century and historical data. These musically and literary simple songs were perpetuated in numerous printed books and manuscript collections, which proves that they had been the most popular secular musical genre in addition to the madrigal for several decades of the 16th century in Italy and elsewhere across Europe. Despite their popularity, villanellas were excluded from the historical cannon of musical work due to their simplicity and unpretentiousness, and their creators were overlooked and neglected.

The analysis and comparison of Gorzanis' villanellas with the purpose to categorize the composer's work into the musically and historically relevant musical forms and processes, are based on Donna Cardamone systematic analysis of the corpus of printed musical sources dated before the year 1570. She defined the form and determined the basic lyrics, musical and contextual typology. In the formalist approach to the definition

of the genre, Cardamone defines an adequacy of metric, verse and strophe structure of poems as the central criterion.

Poems of the Gorzani's villanellas in form abide by typical patterns. By rule they are composed from four metrically identical strophes where the central verse is iambic hendecasyllable. The table clearly shows the rhyme schemes and the distribution of the verse lines and refrains typical for a villanella before and after 1565. One of the main characteristics of the older villanella is the matching of the poetic and musical form of the song which is clearly shown also in Gorzani's compositions. The evolutionary theory which was formed in the second half of the 20th century is based on merging the formal and expressive heterogeneous lyrics into a more consistent and smooth verse. The focus on the form's evolutionary implications disregards other formal, structural and expressive elements which contributed to the songs' purpose.

Based on the observation of repeated linguistic elements of the lyrics we can determine that they are in diction quite different from the Renaissance lyrical poems. In the villanellas, the speaking subject addresses imaginary persons or the audience directly while singing. In a speech which includes personal and demonstrative pronouns, hyperbolic expressions, interrogative requests and fillers like colloquial phrases, it simulates an action, typical for theatrical performances. From this point of view it seems that the term villanella alla napoletana refers to a very specific phenomenon. Namely, the songs are typically performed by male characters, their singing includes mimic and gesticulated elements with a recognizable comic effect.

In the musical versions of lyrics, Gorzani, contrary to the majority of North Italian composers of villanellas, did not avoid mannerisms, which are typically Neapolitan as a narrow position of three high voices, movement in parallel fifths and gradual descent of the melody to the final in cadenza. In the tunes by Gorzani we recognize certain stereotypical figures of older Neapolitan composers of villanellas, such as sudden quickening or slowing down of the tempo or sudden stops, change in metrum, diversity of rhythmic emphases as well as funny shortenings and excessive repetitions of individual words. In the context of a short poetic stanza, these figures are often out of proportion and seem as a means of ironic messages of sentimental content. Although the lyrics are read as a complaint of a scorned lover, the composition changes it into a mockery. Gorzani added to these per se communicative lyrics by setting it to music a pallet of cues for a comic interpretation. Apart from the caricature presentation of certain words or phrases, he offered opportunities for an improvised mimic and gesticulation, which co-form the sum of mocking, fun and humorous moments.

Gorzani's villanellas were comical songs. The descriptive designation acquainted the listeners with information that it is full of witty, taunting and mocking images as well as hidden and direct sexual insinuations. The audience expected a nice tease and a laugh. Mystery and obscurity in understanding the lyrics stem from the fact that vocabulary is coded and alluded to actual social practices and ideas. In this function the villanella spread from Italy to Austrian countries.

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Sonja Kralj Bervar

Sobivanje družbenega, stanovskega in umetniškega v zgodovini Društva slovenskih skladateljev

Doktorska disertacija *Sobivanje družbenega, stanovskega in umetniškega v zgodovini Društva slovenskih skladateljev* obravnava zgodovino včasih harmoničnega, drugič pa nekoliko disharmoničnega odnosa med Društvom slovenskih skladateljev ter družbenimi in kulturnopolitičnimi okoliščinami in dejavniki, ki so vplivali na njegovo delovanje v šestdesetih letih od ustanovitve 22. decembra 1945, ki predstavljajo njen časovni okvir. Na eni strani opredeljuje pomen društva za ohranjanje slovenske glasbene identitete in promocijo slovenske glasbene ustvarjalnosti, na drugi pa razgrinja njegov pomen za zadovoljevanje stanovskih potreb njegovega članstva.

Temeljne vidike delovanja Društva slovenskih skladateljev osvetljuje skozi prizmo sodelovanja z glasbenimi institucijami, sorodnimi društvi v nekdanji Jugoslaviji in v mednarodnem kulturnem prostoru, opredeljuje naravo njegove (so)odvisnosti z Zvezo skladateljev Jugoslavije in ukrepi kulturne politike, vzvode uresničevanja njegovega poslanstva pa oriše s prikazom konkretnih pobud v glasbenem založništvu, koncertni dejavnosti, spodbujanju nastanka novih glasbenih del, posredovanju notnega gradiva, zaščiti avtorskih pravic in mednarodnem sodelovanju.

Dosedanje raziskave še niso podale temeljitega in celostnega pregleda njegove dejavnosti, nedvomno pomembne za osvetlitev slovenskega glasbenega življenja. V pričujoči disertaciji se zastavlja vprašanje, v koliko je Društvo slovenskih skladateljev poleg stanovskih potreb zadovoljevalo tudi širše kulturne in družbene potrebe v nekdanji državi Jugoslaviji ter še zlasti v nekdanji in današnji samostojni državi Sloveniji.

Temeljni primarni viri raziskave so bili poleg obsežnega arhiva Društva slovenskih skladateljev in ohranjenih dokumentov Zveze jugoslovanskih skladateljev še kulturnozgodovinski, kulturnopolitični in publicistični zapisi, njeni sekundarni viri pa so Arhiv Radiotelevizije Slovenija ter pričevanja nekaterih pomembnejših osebnosti, ki so usmerjale delovanje društva.

Disertacija je zasnovana v dveh delih s prilogo. Prvi del prinaša kronološko-tipološko koncipiran pregled zgodovine delovanja Društva slovenskih skladateljev; ta je smiselno umeščena v pet obdobjev razvoja jugoslovanske in slovenske kulturne politike, ki sta bistveno uokvirili polja in možnosti njegovega delovanja.

V vsakem izmed petih obdobjev se po pregledu kulturnopolitičnih okvirov in njihovega vpliva na glasbeno življenje, zapis osredotoči na dinamiko odnosov Društva slovenskih skladateljev s slovenskimi glasbenimi institucijami in skuša opredeliti, v kolikor, in koliko so člani društva kot strokovni sodelavci v umetniških svetih in kot predstavniki

zainteresirane javnosti vplivali na mesto slovenske glasbe v njihovih programih. Ob tem seveda ne more prezreti bipolarnosti odnosa društva in njegovih članov do predstavnikov kulturnopolitične oblasti in Zveze jugoslovanskih skladateljev, v katere okviru je delovalo štirideset let.

V posameznih poglavjih v disertaciji je opredeljen razvoj njegovih temeljnih dejavnosti, začenši z založniško, ki se je v sodelovanju z Državno založbo Slovenije porodila leta 1951, se tri leta pozneje pod imenom *Edicije DSS* osamosvojila, v nadaljnjih letih široko razmahnila, v letu 1972 dejavnost obogatila s celostnim zastopanjem tujih založniških hiš v Sloveniji, leta 2003 pa uvedla novo obliko digitalnih izdaj, poimenovano *Muzicije DSS*. V okvir založniške dejavnosti društva sodijo še izdaje gramofonskih in digitalnih plošč v serijah *Musica slovenica* in *Ars Slovenica*.

Poleg založniške predstavlja eno najpomembnejših dejavnosti društva koncertna dejavnost, ki se je začela z ustanovitvijo *Koncertnega ateljeja* leta 1966, v katerem je, najprej v sožitju z likovno umetnostjo, pozneje pa samostojno predstavljal dosežke sodobne glasbene ustvarjalnosti, s poudarkom na praižvedbah domačih del, katerih nastanke je spodbujalo z naročili. Koncertna dejavnost se je razširila z ustanovitvijo *Noči slovenskih skladateljev* leta 1989 in mednarodnim festivalom sodobne glasbe *Musica Danubiana* leta 1998, ki se je leta 2004 preoblikoval v bienalno prireditev z imenom *Unicum*.

V celotnem obdobju delovanja je društvo posebno pozornost posvečalo tudi zaščiti avtorskih pravic. Njegovi začetki segajo v ustanovitev Zavoda za zaščito avtorskih pravic v leto 1947, sledila mu je centralna organiziranost v nedrjih Zveze skladateljev Jugoslavije, po vzpostavitvi slovenske državnosti pa se je do postavitve trdnih temeljev za samostojno delovanje področje avtorske zaščite ponovno vrnilo v društvene okvire.

Društvo slovenskih skladateljev je že od samih začetkov delovanja, čeprav je bilo to zaradi družbenih okoliščin precej oteženo, najprej v okviru zveze, nato pa samostojno, skušalo navezovati tudi mednarodne strokovne in umetniške vezi. Disertacija opredeljuje vidike njegovega mednarodnega povezovanja, ki se je razmahnilo predvsem v zadnjem desetletju, ko se je s svojimi založniškimi projekti začelo kontinuirano predstavljati na Frankfurtskem sejmu, ko je mednarodne izmenjalne koncerte in festivale nadgradilo z odmevno glasbeno prireditvijo *Svetovni glasbeni dnevi 2003* in ko je v letu 2004 spodbudilo nastanek *Slovenskega glasbenoinformacijskega centra*, okna v svet slovenske glasbe.

Po celovitem in kritičnem pregledu zgodovine dokumentiranega delovanja Društva slovenskih skladateljev v preteklih šestdesetih letih v prvem delu prinaša doktorska disertacija v drugem delu kritično obravnavo in znanstveno interpretacijo pomena njegovih temeljnih dejavnosti za slovensko in jugoslovansko glasbeno življenje, pri obravnavi pa skuša upoštevati stičišča njegovih stanovskih in programskih dejavnosti z osišči družbenih, kulturnopolitičnih, institucionalnih in drugih dejavnikov. Tako komplementarno obravnava vplive zunanjih dejavnikov, ki so usmerjali in določali njegovo delovanje, ter poteze, ki so pomagale zarisati polpreteklo slovensko glasbeno zgodovino in njeno sedanjost in pustile sledi v širšem domačem in mednarodnem kulturnem prostoru. V prilogi prinaša preglednico programov in izvajalcev *Koncertnega ateljeja*, ki ponuja možnosti nadaljnje analitične in kritične znanstvene obravnave.

Prva temeljna monografska obdelava te problematike doslej potrjuje tezo, da je bilo delovanje Društva slovenskih skladateljev v šestdesetletni zgodovini pogojeno z družbenimi, socialnimi in kulturnopolitičnimi danostmi, v zgodovinskem procesu pa je vlogo zagotavljanja stanovskih potreb bistveno presešlo in se v nekaterih obdobjih svojega delovanja uvrstilo med ključne (so)oblikovalce slovenskega glasbenega življenja, kulturne politike in nacionalne glasbene identitete.

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Social, professional, and artistic interactions in the history of the Society of Slovene Composers

The doctoral thesis Social, professional, and artistic interactions in the history of the Society of Slovene Composers deals with the history of sometimes harmonious and at times less harmonious relations between the Society of Slovene Composers and the social and politico-cultural circumstances as well as those factors that influenced its activities within sixty years, starting with its founding on December 22, 1945, which represents the period of time in question. The submitted thesis, on the one hand interprets the Society's significance in maintaining Slovene musical identity and promoting Slovene musical creativity, and on the other, it explains its role in fulfilling the professional needs of its members.

The main areas of the Society's activities are treated through the prism of its cooperation with musical institutions and related societies in former Yugoslavia and abroad; the thesis also defines the nature of the Society's (inter)dependence on the Union of Yugoslav Composers and various politico-cultural measures, whereas its professional leverage is illustrated by dealing with concrete incentives in the field of music publishing, concert management, stimulating and commissioning new compositions, representing hire materials, copyright protection, and international cooperation.

Research, undertaken so far, has not given any thorough or rather rounded-off survey of the Society's activities, undoubtedly important for Slovene musical life. In order to shed additional light, the present thesis therefore raises the question of the extent to which the Society of Slovene Composers, apart from professional, met also broader cultural and social needs in former Yugoslavia, and above all in the former federal republic, the present day independent Republic of Slovenia.

Apart from the extensive archives of the Society of Slovene Composers and preserved documents of the Union of Yugoslav Composers, primary sources have also included historico-cultural, historico-political and journalistic records, whereas secondary sources comprise the RTV Slovenia archives, and statements given by the Society's key protagonists who have pointed and paved the paths of its activities.

The dissertation consists of two parts and an appendix. The first part offers a chronologically typological survey of the Society's history, which covers five periods in keeping with the development of Yugoslav and Slovene cultural policies that appear to have framed the fields and possibilities of its endeavours. In each of the above-mentioned periods, and after surveying the politico-cultural setting as well as its influence upon musical life, the writing focuses on the dynamics of the Society's relations with Slovene music institutions while trying to evaluate whether and to what degree the members of the Society, as collaborators in artistic councils and/or as representatives of the interested public, influenced the position of Slovene music in the relevant institutions. At the

same time, one should not overlook the bipolarity of the Society's relations, and that of its members, with politico-cultural authorities and those of the Union of Yugoslav Composers, within which it had to function for over forty years.

In a number of chapters the thesis deals with the Society's basic activities, beginning with publishing, which came into being in cooperation with DZS (The Slovenian State Publishing House) in 1951, only to establish three years later its own, independent Edicije DSS (Editions of the Society of Slovene Composers) and obtain a decisive upswing in 1972 by enriching its activity through becoming a fully authorized representative of foreign publishers in Slovenia, and in 2003 by introducing new forms of digital publications under the title Muzicije DSS. Gramophone records and CDs in the *Musica Slovenica* and *Ars Slovenica* series are also part and parcel of the Society's publishing activities.

One of the most important fields of its endeavours is that of organizing concerts, an activity that began with the founding of the Concert Atelier in 1966, in which, at first in a symbiosis with visual arts, and later independently, achievements of contemporary music creativity were presented, above all through first performances of Slovene compositions that were in many cases commissioned. Concert activities broadened their scope by establishing the Nights of Slovene Composers, since 1989, and through the international festival of contemporary music *Musica Danubiana* in 1998, which has since 2004 become a biennial event under the title *Unicum*.

Throughout its existence the Society has paid special attention to copyright protection. Beginning with the Board for Copyright Protection in 1947, the solving of these matters was centralized under the auspices of the Union of Yugoslav Composers, only to return - after the establishment of Slovenian statehood and corresponding bases for trouble free procedures in copyright protection - back into the framework of the Society of Slovene Composers.

From its very beginnings onwards, though hampered by social circumstances, the Society of Slovene Composers has tried to establish - at first within the Union and later independently - international connections, both professional as well as artistic. The thesis presents all the areas of the Society's international cooperation which gathered momentum especially during the last decade by continual presentations of its publishing projects at the Frankfurt Fair; by enhancing the reputation of its international exchange concerts and festivals up to organizing the World Music Days 2003, and in 2004 by establishing the Slovene Music Information Centre, i.e. the Slovene music's window to the world.

Following a critically thorough appraisal of the documented history of the Society's activities in the past sixty years, the second part of the thesis offers a scholarly treatment and interpretation of the significance of its basic activities for Slovene and Yugoslav musical life. While doing so, it tries to take into account points of contact of the Society's professional activities and programmes with socially, politico-culturally, institutionally, and in other ways, conditioned factors. In such a complementary manner, the thesis discusses the external factors that have influenced the Society's activities, as well as those traits that have helped to mark recent Slovene music history and its present, while leaving positive traces within the broader cultural framework at home and abroad. The appendix offers a synoptic table of programmes and performances in the Concert Atelier, which gives the possibility of further scholarly research.

The present dissertation, being the first substantial monograph relating to these problems, corroborates the thesis that throughout its sixty years' history the functioning of the Society of Slovene Composers was conditioned by social and politico-cultural factors. However, during this time it has surpassed its role of a professional society, and in some periods of its history took its place among the key upholders of Slovene musical life, its cultural policies and its musical identity as a nation.

Defended on September 30, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

Špela Lah

Nemško glasbeno gledališče v Ljubljani (1875-1914)

Doktorska disertacija »Nemško glasbeno gledališče v Ljubljani (1875-1914)« kronološko in znanstveno dokumentira glasbeno-gledališko poustvarjalnost na Slovenskem v zadnjem obdobju njenega delovanja in je prva tovrstna študija. Osrednji namen raziskave je odpraviti veliko belo liso v poznavanju glasbenega življenja v Ljubljani v poznem 19. stoletju, hkrati pa osvetliti čas slovensko-nemškega sobivanja v ljubljanskem Deželnem gledališču. V tem času se je Ljubljana razvijala v kulturno središče slovenskega etničnega ozemlja, na katerem so imeli vedno večjo vlogo različni nacionalni interesi. Postopoma sta se krepila kulturni razvoj Slovencev in njihova politična samozavest. Pričujoča študija, namenjena nemški poustvarjalni umetnosti pri nas, zato ne more spregledati sočasnega prebujenja na slovenski strani, katere prispevek je omogočilo novo, v prelomnem letu 1892 zgrajeno Deželno gledališče. Na ta način se lahko glasbeno-gledališko življenje predvojnega obdobja strne, smiselno poveže in objektivno prikaže, saj je bilo operno življenje tedanje Ljubljane prav zavoljo slovenske dejavnosti, ki je dala tej zvrsti poseben poudarek, neprimerno bolj bogato in razvejano.

Pri kritičnem ovrednotenju delovanja gledališke institucije je temeljno izhodišče raziskave profil posameznega podjetnika, ki je gostoval v Ljubljani. Ljubljansko Deželno gledališče je bilo domena deželnega odbora, ki je institucijo oddajalo v najem tujim gledališkim podjetnikom. Podjetniki, ki so se v obravnavanem obdobju zvrstili na direktorskem mestu v Ljubljani, so bili večinoma solidni gledališčniki iz manjših krajev tedanje Avstroogrske monarhije, saj finančna shema deželnega proračuna ni zagotavljala subvencij, ki bi omogočale uspešno delo večjim gledališkim družbam.

Razprava se osredotoča na umetniške sposobnosti angažiranih solistov in posameznih dirigentov, pa tudi orkestra, zboristov in režiserjev – njihova skupna ustvarjalnost se je izkazala za pomemben dejavnik za doseg ravnih gledaliških oziroma opernih prireditev ter gledališkega podjetja samega. Neposredno so odločali o kakovosti predstav in s tem o uspešnosti posamezne sezone ter pogojevali odziv obiskovalcev. Raven interpretacije je pogosto sicer vprašljiva, saj je splošna ocena uprizoritev mogoča le na podlagi kritičnih zapisov, katerih objektivnost je lahko relativna. Na ljubljanski oder je namreč stopilo le malo takih, ki bi z vidika sodobne glasbeno-zgodovinske stroke sodili med mednarodno priznane glasbene osebnosti in bi našli svoje mesto v obstoječi leksikalni literaturi. Raziskava je pokazala, da so bili njihovi dosežki na ravni provincialne gledališke prakse.

Pomemben vir v raziskovalnem procesu je bil odziv kritike, ki odraža družbeno razumevanje gledališča in odnos javnosti. V obravnavanem obdobju se je razvila že do te mere, da nudi vpogled v glasbeno življenje tedanje Ljubljane ter omogoča ustrezno presojo in ovrednotenje delovanja institucije. Iz časopisnih odrezkov lahko

ugotovimo splošno raven uprizoritev, razberemo imena vodilnih poustvarjalcev in oblikujemo programsko shemo, kar bi bilo zaradi pomanjkljivo ohranjenih virov neizvedljivo.

Pričujoča razprava je namenila posebno pozornost rekonstrukciji glasbeno-scenske reprodukcije, ki je omogočila umestitev glasbeno-gledališkega življenja tedanje Ljubljane v širši evropski prostor. Pokazalo se je, da je programska shema ustrezala provincialni gledališki praksi. Vodilna zvrst je bila opereta, ki je polnila gledališki avditorij in blagajno. Poleg te vedre, lahko umljive in pomljive glasbene produkcije je imela opera posebno mesto. Kot izjemen dogodek je pritegnila, še zlasti, če je bilo javno znano, da je angažiran sposoben vodilni operni kader. Pa vendar. Medtem ko so operete privabljale občinstvo tudi več večerov zapored, je uprizoritev opernega dela sicer vzbudila zanimanje, vendar je to po reprizi ali dveh pogosto povsem zamrlo. Tako ni presenetljivo, da so nemške družbe gojile opero le priložnostno.

Slogovnega odmika od ustaljene prakse preteklih desetletij nemška operna poustvarjalnost v Ljubljani do prve svetovne vojne ni doživela. Med deli operne zvrsti so na nemškem repertoarju prevladovali uspešnice italijanskih, nemških in francoskih avtorjev. Ljubljanska praksa je bila povsem primerljiva z drugimi sorodnimi institucijami, na primer z linškim in celovškim opernim gledališčem, do določene mere celo z večjo in uspešnejšo graško operno hišo. Skladatelj slovenskega porekla na nemških sporedih v obravnavanem obdobju ne zasledimo – njihova dela so na ljubljanskem gledališkem odru zazvenela šele z vstopom slovenskega Dramatičnega društva na glasbeno-gledališko sceno.

Na podlagi celovitih in sistematičnih dejstev sta nastala kronološki pregled in oris delovanja nemškega gledališča. Omogočila sta kritično presojo o njegovem delovanju in ovrednotenje njegovega pomena za razvoj glasbenega življenja v Ljubljani poznega 19. S tem je zapolnjena velika vrzel v poznavanju glasbeno-gledališkega življenja pri nas in strnjeno obsežno poglavje v zgodovini poustvarjalne umetnosti na slovenskem ozemlju.

Obranjeno 26. oktobra 2011 na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani.

German Musical Theatre in Ljubljana (1875-1914)

The doctoral dissertation »German Musical Theatre in Ljubljana (1875-1914)« chronologically and scientifically documents musical-theatrical work in the Slovenian territory in the last period of its activity, and is the first study of this kind. The main purpose of the research is to clear all doubts regarding musical life in Ljubljana in the late 19th century, and at the same time shed light on the period of Slovenian-German co-existence in Ljubljana Provincial Theatre. During this period, Ljubljana evolved into a cultural centre of the Slovenian ethnic territory where various national interests played an increasingly important role. Cultural development of Slovenes and their political self-confidence gradually enhanced. Therefore, this study, dedicated to German performing art in the Slovenian territory, cannot ignore concurrent Slovenian awakening, whose contribution was enabled by a newly-established Provincial Theatre built in the turning-point year of 1892. In this way, the pre-war musical-theatrical life can be condensed, appropriately linked and objectively depicted, since the opera life of the then Ljubljana was, due to the Slovenian activity which gave a special emphasis to this genre, significantly richer and more diverse.

The critical overview of activities performed by the theatrical institution is based on the profile of an individual entrepreneur who was staying in Ljubljana at the time. The Ljubljana Provincial Theatre was in domain of the Provincial Committee which rented the institution to foreign theatrical entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs who in this period held position of Director in Ljubljana were mainly solid theatre workers coming from smaller towns of the then Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, since the financial scheme of the provincial budget could not ensure subventions to enable successful work to larger theatrical companies.

The discussion is focused on artistic abilities of engaged soloists and individual conductors, as well as of the orchestra, choir singers and directors – their shared creativity turned out to be an important factor necessary to attain the level of theatrical or opera performances and the theatrical company itself. They directly decided on the quality of performances and, consequently, on the success of individual season, and influenced the response of visitors. The level of interpretation is often questionable, since the general assessment of the performance can be made only on the basis of the records made by critics, whose objectivity may be relative. The theatre stage in Ljubljana hosted only few artists who could, from the contemporary musical-historical point of view, be considered as internationally recognized musicians who could find their place in the existent lexical literature. The research has shown their achievements were at the level of the provincial theatrical practice.

An important source during the research process was the response of critics reflecting the public understanding of theatre as well as the public attitude. During that period, the critique developed to the extent which allows an insight into the musical life of the

then Ljubljana and enables an appropriate judgment and assessment of the activities performed by the institution. Newspaper articles make it possible to determine the general level of performances, as well the names of the leading performing artists, thus developing the programme scheme which would be otherwise impossible due to the lack of preserved sources.

The discussion gives a special attention to the reconstruction of the musical-scene reproduction, enabling the placement of the musical-theatre life in the then Ljubljana in a wider European context. The results show that the programme scheme corresponded to the provincial theatre practice. The leading genre was the operetta which filled the theatre auditorium as well as the box office. In addition to this light and easy to remember musical production, the opera held a special place. It attracted audience as an extraordinary event, especially if it was publicly known that competent leading opera personnel were engaged. Nevertheless, while operettas managed to attract crowds several nights in a row, the opera did arouse an interest which, however, significantly decreased following one or two reprises. Therefore, it is not surprising that German companies dealt with opera only occasionally.

By World War I, the German opera performing art in Ljubljana had not experienced a style deviation from the standard practice used in the previous decades. The German opera genre repertoire included mainly successful works of Italian, German and French authors. The Ljubljana practice was completely comparable to other related institutions, such as the Linz and Klagenfurt opera theatres, and to certain extent also to a larger and more successful opera house in Graz. In this period, Slavic composers did not appear in German repertoires – their works entered the Ljubljana theatre stage only with the appearance of the Slovenian Drama Association at the musical-theatrical scene.

On the basis of comprehensive and systematic facts, a chronological review and depiction of activities performed by the German theatre were made, which enabled a critical judgment of the theatre's activities, as well as the assessment of its importance for development of musical life in Ljubljana in the late 19th century. This filled a lacuna in the knowledge and understanding of the musical-theatrical life in the Slovenian space, and condensed an extensive chapter in the history of performing art in the Slovenian territory.

Defended on October 26, 2011, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

Ivana Paula Gortan-Carlin

Glasba istrskih sodobnih skladateljev na prehodu v 21. stoletje in njena vloga v regionalnem turizmu

Na podlagi muzikološkega raziskovanja so v disertaciji *Glasba istrskih sodobnih skladateljev na prehodu v 21. stoletje in njena vloga v regionalnem turizmu* z analizo notnih edicij *Naš kanat je lip* in *Nagrada Ivan Matetić Ronjgov*, intervjujev in analize recepcije glasbe imenovani istrski skladatelji, ki delujejo na prehodu v 21. stoletje. To so Dario Bassanese, Massimo Brajković, Đeni Dekleva-Radaković, Bruno Krajcar, Elda Krajcar-Percan, Nello Milotti, Branko Okmaca in Bashkim Shehu. Ti skladatelji pri skladanju uporabljajo elemente, ki izhajajo iz istrske tradicijske glasbe. Sodobne istrske skladbe sem poimenovala *neoistrsko-primorske skladbe*, način skladanja pa imenujem *neoistrsko-primorski stil*. Upoštevano je seveda dejstvo, da je „duh tradicijske glasbe“ kljub uporabi elementov iz tradicije v sodobnih skladbah lahko prepoznaven ali pa tudi ne. Z analizo del istrskih skladateljev in s pregledom dosedanjih znanstvenih rezultatov sem določila elemente istrsko-primorskega idioma, s katerimi se sklada umetniška istrska glasba. Pišejo jo vsi nasledniki dela Ivana Matetića Ronjgova, čigar glasba temelji na heksatonalni istrski lestvici oz. vrsti, in ne samo tisti, ki se deklarirajo kot istrski. V disertaciji sem raziskovala tudi turizem. Po množičnem turizmu, kjer sta zadostovala „sonce in morje“, se v turizmu pojavlja individualni turist, ki želi doživeti in občutiti nekaj novega. Z izvedenim anketiranjem in ekspertizo se potrди teza, da se v Istri klasična glasba istrskih skladateljev izvaja redkeje in da veliko število letnih turistov, ki za večerno zabavo izbere klasični koncert, želi doživeti avtohtono glasbo oziroma želi slišati delo istrskega skladatelja, ki ga v poletni ponudbi oziroma na repertoarjih pravzaprav ni. Razen klasičnih koncertov radi poslušajo zabavno glasbo, tradicijsko glasbo, jazz in rock. Potrди se tudi hipoteza obstoja zelo tesnega odnosa med turisti in glasbo, saj je glasba vseprisotna umetnost, ki ima moč. Glede na rezultate, ki sem jih dobila, ter na podlagi dosedanjih raziskovanj, ki potrjujejo, da turistična destinacija postaja dejavnik turističnega doživetja, obravnavam glasbene vsebine kot glasbeno-kulturne izdelke za razvoj glasbeno-kulturne destinacije v sklopu kulturne turistične mreže. Po raziskavi sodeč obstajajo tri vrste turistov. Vsak od teh tipov turistov bi lahko začutil in doživel glasbo v okviru doživetij, ki jih iščejo: prek osnovnega glasbenega izdelka (kot so npr. ceste, navdihnjene s glasbo, spominske sobe/hiše/muzeji glasbe, ljudske veselice, koncerti), razširjenega glasbenega izdelka (tečaj tradicijskega igranja in petja, smotre tradicijske glasbe in plesa, glasbena srečanja, glasbene delavnice, glasba na atraktivnih lokacijah/

prostorih) ali pa specialnega glasbenega izdelka (koncert vrhunskih izvajalcev, koncerti simfonične glasbe, simpozij o glasbi, tematske glasbene razstave). Na podlagi deduktivne metode je v disertaciji, ki potrjuje obstoj istrske umetniške glasbe in istrske glasbe drugih žanrov ter obstoj glasbeno-kulturnega turizma v Istri, s sintezo in metodo ustvarjanja modelov, oblikovan model integracije glasbe in turizma iz katerega izhaja nova, glasbeno-kulturna turistična niša. Model predvideva vključevanje vseh državnih, regionalnih in lokalnih subjektov, ki so povezani z glasbo oz. kulturo in turizmom za uresničevanje koncepta celovitega upravljanja s kakovostjo glasbeno-kulturne turistične destinacije. Obenem analiza vodi k predlogu o ustanovitvi določenega središča za upravljanje glasbeno-kulturnega turizma. V narejeni SWOT analizi so predstavljene specifične možnosti in tudi slabosti za istrsko glasbeno-turistično destinacijo. Ohranjena istrska tradicijska dediščina, multikulturalnost ali „avtohtoni“ istrski skladatelj so podane kot vrednote, na podlagi katerih je treba temeljiti turistično ponudbo.

Delo o glasbi istrskih sodobnih skladateljev na prehodu v 21. stoletje in njeni vlogi v regionalnem turizmu k tematiki pristopa z več vidikov. (1) Določa, kateri skladatelji so na prehodu v 21. stoletje *istrski skladatelji* (2) glasbo obravnava kot sredstvo za ustvarjanje regionalne identitete (3) išče identiteto v glasbi prek koncepta „tradicijskega duha“, čeprav obenem (4) določa tudi strukturne značilnosti istrske skladbe (5), analizira vlogo glasbe v turizmu in (6) istrsko glasbo opredeljuje kot turistični kulturni izdelek v okviru nacionalne in regionalne kulturne prakse, torej do neke mere tudi politično.

Vsebinsko je mogoče izsledke disertacije povzeti takole. Vloga glasbe istrskih skladateljev na prehodu v 21. stoletje, tudi naslednikov Ivana Matetića Ronjgova, je v regionalnem turizmu pomembna za ustvarjanje glasbenega turizma kot dela kulturnega turizma. Konkretno je glasba pomembna kot del istrskega glasbenega turizma, ki zajema vse elemente, ki jih recipienti vidijo/slišijo v pojmu *istrski skladatelj*: – avtohtonost, dediščino, duhovnost, istrsko motiviko, izvajanje, multikulturalnost, način skladanja, okolje, mesto delovanja, poreklo, identiteto, promocijo, univerzalnost, različen glasbeni žanr.

Disertacija ponuja marketinške načrte in seznam dejavnosti za vsako od zgoraj navedenih vrst glasbenega izdelka. Obenem pa ponuja način uresničevanja glasbeno-kulturne turistične zanimivosti, in sicer z ustvarjanjem glasbeno-kulturne destinacije: na ta način je mogoče dobro povezati glasbo in turizem, k čemur disertacija pripomore tako konceptualno kot metodološko in seveda zlasti vsebinsko.

Obranjeno 6. marca 2012 na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani.

Contemporary Istrian composers at the turn of the 21st century and the role of their music in regional tourism

The dissertation Contemporary Istrian composers at the turn of the 21st century and the role of their music in regional tourism identifies Istrian composers working at the turn of the 21st century based on musicological research, an analysis of sheet music publications from manifestations Naš kanat je lip and Nagrada Ivan Matetić Ronjgov, interviews and audience reception. They are Dario Bassanese, Massimo Brajković, Đeni Dekleva-Radaković, Bruno Krajcar, Elda Krajcar-Perčan, Nello Milotti, Branko Okmaca and Bashkim Shehu. These composers use elements deriving from Istrian traditional music. Elements of the Istrian-Littoral musical idiom in Istrian art music are established by means of an analysis of Istrian composers' works and an overview of research findings. All composers who use elements of the hexatonic Istrian scale, a series of tones and half-tones, are defined as those writing music in the footsteps of Ivan Matetić Ronjgov, as opposed to self-proclaimed Istrian composers. Their contemporary Istrian pieces are called neo-Istrian/Littoral works; similarly, the style is identified as neo-Istrian/Littoral, whereby the author bears in mind that the use of traditional elements in modern works may, but need not, reflect the "spirit of traditional music".

The second focus of this dissertation, in addition to music, is tourism. Mass tourism, providing just "sun and sea", has been superseded by individual tourism demanding new and exciting experiences. The hypothesis underlying this work, that classical music by Istrian composers is rarely performed and that many concert-going tourists would like to hear typical local music - works by Istrian composers now largely absent from repertoires - has been confirmed by a survey and a subsequent analysis of the findings. Among their preferences, in addition to classical music, the responders indicated pop music, traditional music, jazz and rock. The assumption that there is a close relationship between audiences (tourists) and music, an all-pervasive and powerful force, has also been confirmed. In light of the findings and of research carried out so far, showing that the destination has become a factor in the tourists' experience, the offer of music is treated as a music/cultural product aiming to develop a music/cultural destination as part of a cultural tourism network. Research shows that there are three classes of tourists. Each of these types want to feel and perceive music as part of their desired experience through the basic music product (music-inspired roads, memorial rooms/houses, music museums, village fetes, concerts), the expanded music product (a course in traditional music playing and dancing, music encounters, workshops, music playing in attractive sites) or the special music product (performances by major artists, symphonic concerts, music symposia, theme exhibitions).

This dissertation shows the existence of Istrian art music and Istrian music of other genres, as well as the presence of music/cultural tourism in Istria. By applying deduction, synthesis and modelling methods, the author created the Music and Tourism Integration Model, demonstrating the existence of a new, music-cultural tourism market niche. The model presupposes the involvement of all national, regional and local stakeholders in both music and tourism in the process of establishing a global quality management system for the music/cultural tourist destination. The analysis also indicated the need to establish a centre to manage music and cultural tourism. The SWOT analysis revealed concrete opportunities but also threats affecting the Istrian music tourism destination. The preserved Istrian heritage, multiculturalism or "typical" Istrian composers are values on which to base the tourist offer.

The paper on contemporary Istrian composers at the turn of the 21st century and the role of their music in regional tourism considers the topic from several aspects: (1) Identification of Istrian composers working at the turn of the 21st century; (2) Music as a means to create regional identity; (3) Establishing identity in music by applying the "traditional spirit" concept; (4) Description of structural features of Istrian music; (5) Analysis of the role of music in tourism; (6) Definition of Istrian music as a cultural tourism product in connection with national and regional cultural management systems, i.e. measures and policies.

Essentially, the conclusions of the dissertation can be summed up as follows: the role of Istrian composers' music, especially that written by followers of Ivan Matetić Ronjgov, in regional tourism at the turn of the 21st century is important in establishing music tourism as a part of cultural tourism. Specifically, music is a significant part of Istrian tourism, as it reflects all the elements the audience perceives in the term Istrian composer: typicality, heritage, spirituality, Istrian motifs, performance, multiculturalism, composing style, ambience, place, origin, identity, promotion, universality, different music genre.

The dissertation presents a model integrating music and tourism and proposes a plan to establish a music/cultural destination. It also proposes marketing plans and activities for each of the above-mentioned product categories. The author is convinced that existing attractions can help create a music/cultural destination linking music and tourism. This dissertation will hopefully be of use in achieving that goal in terms of concept, methodology and, naturally, content.

Defended on March 6, 2012, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

Maruša Zupančič

Razvoj violinizma na slovenskem do začetka druge svetovne vojne

Pričujoča disertacija prinaša temeljit kronološki pregled razvoja violinizma na Slovenskem od prvih omemb in upodobitev godal v srednjem veku do pojava prvih slovenskih violinistov na začetku 20. stoletja. V osmih poglavjih so po stoletjih predstavljeni najrazličnejši segmenti pojava violinizma. Prvo poglavje pojasni etimologijo besede violina in različna poimenovanja njenih predhodnic. Slovensko ozemlje je bilo v preteklosti prežeto z najrazličnejšimi kulturami in jeziki, zaradi česar so se skozi zgodovino spreminjali tudi glasbena terminologija in posamezni pomeni besed. Njihovo razumevanje je ključno za pravilno tolmačenje vsebine glasbeno-zgodovinskih virov.

Drugo poglavje se osredotoča na srednjeveške upodobitve godal, prve izvajalce na godala in njihov domnevno izvajani repertoar. Godalne instrumente so na Slovensko najverjetneje prinesli potujoči glasbeniki iz avstrijskih, nemških in italijanskih dežel. O prisotnosti in morebitni lokalni uporabi godalnih instrumentov zgodnejših obdobj na Slovenskem deloma pričajo srednjeveške poslikave, na katerih so poleg preostalih glasbenih instrumentov upodobljeni tudi *rebek*, *viela* in *lira da braccio*. Vprašanje brez odgovora ostaja, ali so umetniki naslikane instrumente dejansko videli pri nas ali so jih upodobili zgolj po lastnem vidnem spominu. V tistem času je namreč k šolanju freskantov spadalo tudi ogledovanje fresk drugih slikarjev po vsej Evropi. Ker se je po 15. stoletju začela pojavljati praksa slikanja fresk na osnovi grafičnih predlog, ki so prihajale od vsepovsod, freske ne morejo biti zanesljiv dokaz o obstoju tovrstnih instrumentov na Slovenskem. Prve beležke o izvajalcih na godala se pojavijo v drugi polovici 16. stoletja. Med njimi so bili najbolj znani t. i. ljubljanski mestni goslači (Stadtgeiger), ki so v Ljubljano prišli iz Gradca leta 1571. Repertoar goslačev je bil vsaj v 16. stoletju verjetno večinoma posveten. Z godali so spremljali ples in lahko tudi podvajali ali nadomeščali glasove sicer vokalnih zvrsti. Goslači so bili po pravilu le štirje, zato lahko sklepamo, da so igrali na godala različnih velikosti in registrov, kar jim je omogočalo izvajanje štiriglasnih vokalnih del, ki je bilo v 16. stoletju tudi sicer v navadi. Podobni izvajalci na godala so izpričani tudi drugod na Slovenskem, igrali pa naj bi na različnih plesih, porokah, blagoslovih ali cerkvenih godovih.

V tretjem poglavju so predstavljeni izvajalci na godala v okviru posvetnih in cerkvenih krogov do konca 17. stoletja, ko se na Slovenskem pojavi tudi najzgodnejši, sicer še neidiomatski violinski repertoar, ki pa ga sicer že lahko umeščamo v siceršnje evropske tokove. Kdaj natančno naj bi se na Slovenskem pojavila violina, kot jo poznamo, ni znano. Med njene najzgodnejše upodobitve spada upodobitev na freski v cerkvi sv. Martina v Laškem, ki je s konca 16. stoletja. Sklepamo lahko, da je bila violina ponekod prisotna že v prvi polovici 17. stoletja, medtem ko se je splošno razširila šele v drugi polovici 17. stoletja, ko je postala obvezen instrument v večini takratnih cerkvenih glasbenih

oblikah. V drugi polovici 17. stoletja se je violina kot obvezno glasbilo v cerkveni glasbi uveljavila v večjih cerkvenih kulturnih središčih – katedralnih cerkvah in samostanih. Vsaj po dva violinista – kot je to zahtevala večina takratnega vokalno-instrumentalnega cerkvenega repertoarja – sta bila prisotna v glasbenih kapelah vseh večjih cerkva na Slovenskem. Igranje na godala sta v 17. stoletju gojila vsaj dva ženska redova – dominikanke v Marenbergu in klarise v Škofji Loki. Najzgodnejši primeri violinskega repertoarja na Slovenskem so iz prve polovice 17. stoletja. Violinska dela na začetku 17. stoletja še niso izkoriščala violinskih potencialov, zato so bila sprva pisana v okviru vokalnega obsega in niso bila izrecno namenjena izvedbi violine. Te kompozicije je zato lahko izvajal kateri koli instrument primerne obsega, navadno je violino zamenjal cink. Zaradi tega v večini kompozicijskih primerov zgodnjega 17. stoletja ne moremo govoriti o violinski idiomatiki. Eden takšnih primerov je delo *Fantasia, Scherzi et caprici* Gabriella Pulitija, ki je kot organist in skladatelj deloval v raznih istrskih krajih, predvsem v Kopru in Trstu. Čeprav skromna violinska notna zapuščina, ki se je iz 17. stoletja ohranila na Slovenskem, večinoma ne razkriva uporabe takratnih dosežkov nemške in italijanske violinske idiomatike, pa notna zbirka, ki se je ohranila v rokopisni zbirki Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice v Ljubljani, priča o pretoku manjših vplivov violinske tehnike z omenjenih območij. Pričujoča notna zbirka se je ohranila v žepni knjižici še neidentificiranega lastnika iz okoli leta 1692, v njej pa se poleg menjalnih valutnih tabel, primerov poslanih pisem in kuharskih receptov, nahajajo tudi notne beležke in nekaj skladbic. Med njimi je najzanimivejši cikel stavkov za violino solo, ki je, kot kaže, eno zgodnejših nastalih del te oblike nasploh. Skladatelj je delo zasnoval na osnovi ustaljenih plesov takratne glasbene instrumentalne prakse. Najzanimivejše odkritje predstavlja uporaba scordature, preuglasitve strun, ki se je sicer uporabljala za poenostavitev zahtevnih violinskih tehničnih prepek, v našem primeru pa je bila uporabljena zgolj za poenostavitev že tako enostavnih akordov.

Četrto poglavje prinaša izčrpne podatke o najzgodnejših znanih goslarjih, o vlogi violine v okviru posvetnih in cerkvenih krogov, o violinskih didaktičnih priročnikih, ohranjenih na Slovenskem in o violinskem repertoarju, ki je v tem času nastajal oz. bil povezan z današnjim slovenskim etničnim prostorom. V 18. stoletju si je violina na Slovenskem izborila vidnejši položaj in se začela razvijati v vseh smereh. Violinski vplivi so še vedno pritekali iz nemških, avstrijskih in italijanskih dežel. Proti koncu 18. stoletja se s prihodom glasbenikov iz čeških dežel začnejo pojavljati tudi prvi zametki čeških violinskih vplivov, ki so nato na Slovenskem prevladovali vse do začetka druge svetovne vojne.

Preostala poglavja zajemajo obdobja od začetka 19. stoletja do začetka druge svetovne vojne in predstavijo violinsko šolstvo ter didaktične priročnike, koncertantno dejavnost ter violinski skladateljski prispevek tega časa na Slovenskem. Poglavje o pedagoški dejavnosti se osredotoča na pomembne vplive praške violinske šole, ki so bili na Slovenskem prisotni vse do začetka druge svetovne vojne. V tem oziru so posebej izpostavljeni vplivi češkega violinskega pedagoga Otakarja Ševčíka, ki je posredno in neposredno pomembno soustvarjal violinsko pedagogiko in didaktiko na Slovenskem. Zaradi zunanjih vplivov in pretoka številnih glasbenikov skozi slovenski prostor je vpetost tega do sedaj zapostavljenega poglavja glasbene zgodovine na Slovenskem v širše

evropsko raziskovanje še posebej zanimiva. Iz opravljenih raziskav lahko sklepamo, da so bila godala na Slovenskem najverjetneje prisotna vse od njihovega pojava v evropskem geografskem prostoru. Podobno je bilo s pojavom violine, ki se je za razliko od italijanskih, avstrijskih in nemških dežel razvijala počasneje in bolj zadržano, o čemer priča odsotnost violinskega idiomatskega repertoarja na Slovenskem. Šele na začetku 19. stoletja je violina na Slovenskem začela pridobivati veljavo in se pospešeno razvijati v vseh smereh. Kljub temu je v primerjavi s preostalimi deželami vsaj na violinskem ustvarjalnem področju do začetka druge svetovne vojne violinizem razvojno še vedno močno zaostajal za svetovnimi novostmi.

Obranjeno 29. marca 2012 na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani.

The development of violinism in the Slovene lands until the beginning of the Second World War

This dissertation seeks to bring a thorough chronological overview of the development of violinism in the Slovene Lands since the first records and depictions of bowed string instruments in the middle ages until the appearance of the first Slovene violinists at the beginning of the 20th century. In eight chapters different aspects of violinism are presented chronologically by century.

The first chapter strives to explain the etymology of the term violin and different names for its predecessors. The territory of what is nowadays Slovenia has in the past been exposed to all kinds of cultures and languages, and for that reason through the course of time musical terminology changed, along with meanings of specific words. The understanding of these is of vital importance for the correct interpretation of content of different sources from the history of music.

The second chapter focuses on medieval depictions of bowed string instruments, its first performers and their supposed repertoire. Bowed string instruments were most probably brought to the Slovene Lands by travelling musicians from different regions of Austria, Germany and Italy. However, medieval frescos to a certain extent bear witness to possible presence and local use of bowed string instruments in earlier periods, depicting, among other instruments, rebec, viola and lira da braccio. The question whether the artists actually saw the depicted instruments in our region or were just painting them by memory remains unanswered. Painters' schooling in that period included examining frescoes by other artists all across Europe. After the 15th century painting frescoes after graphic print templates from various sources became common practice, for that very reason fresco paintings cannot be treated as reliable proofs of the existence of such instruments in the Slovene Lands. First records of bowed string instrument musicians appear in the second half of the 16th century. Among these the most famous were the so called Town Fiddlers of Ljubljana (Stadtgeiger), arriving to the city from Graz in 1571. Their repertoire, at least in the 16th century, must have been mostly secular. As a rule there were four fiddlers, which allows us to assume they played bowed string instruments of different sizes and registers. There are records of similar troops in other parts of Slovenia as well, performing at various dances, weddings or church festivities.

The third chapter presents bowed instruments performers in the context of secular and religious circles until the end of the 17th century, when the earliest, still unidiomatic violin repertoire appeared in the Slovene Lands that can nevertheless be included in wider European trends. The exact date of appearance of the violin in its current form on the territory of Slovenia is unknown. One of its earlier depictions is a fresco in St. Martin's church in Laško, from the early 16th century. It is safe to assume that violins were used in some parts of the country in the first half of the 17th century, but it was only in its

second half that they became widespread, an indispensable instrument for church music of the age. In the second half of the 17th century the violin found its place as an obligatory church music instrument in all the major centres of ecclesiastic culture – cathedrals and monasteries. At least two violinists, following the needs of the vocal-instrumental church repertoire of the period, were present in the orchestras of all major churches in the Slovene Lands. In the 17th century playing bowed string instruments was fostered by at least two female religious orders – the Dominicans of Marenburg and the Clarisse of Škofja Loka. The earliest examples of violin repertoires in Slovene Lands date from the 17th century. In that time violin compositions did not yet fully take advantage of the instrument's potential, which is why they were initially written as parts of vocal range and were not explicitly indented for violin performances. The compositions could be performed on any instrument of appropriate range; a violin was frequently replaced by a cornett. For that reason it is impossible to speak of a violin idiomatic with most early 17th century compositions. One of such examples is *Fantasia, Scherzi et caprici* by Gabrielle Puliti, who worked as an organist and composer in various cities of Istria, mostly in Koper and Trieste. A fairly modest legacy of surviving 17th century musical notation in Slovene Lands in most cases does not reveal the use of the achievements of Italian and German violin idiomatic of the period. It is however the collection of musical notations from the manuscript collection of the National University Library of Slovenia that bears witness of minor influences of violin playing technique from the aforesaid regions. The collection was preserved in pocketbook form of a yet unidentified owner from around 1692. It contains, along with tables of exchange rates, letters and culinary recipes, musical notes and a few compositions. The most interesting of them is a cycle of movements for solo violin, which is one of the earliest produced works of that type. The composer based the composition on the instrumental dance music of the period. The most interesting discovery of all is the use of scordatura, mutation of certain strings, which was usually used in order to simplify demanding technical violin barriers; in our case it was applied for the simplification of already very simple chords.

The fourth chapter brings thorough information on the earliest known violin makers, the role of violin in secular and religious contexts, surviving didactical handbooks on violin in the Slovene Lands, and on violin repertoire, which developed at the time and was connected with Slovene ethnic territory. In the 18th century the violin gained a more prominent position, launching its wholesome development, influenced by German, Austrian and Italian regions. The arrival of musicians from Bohemia towards the end of the 18th century, first traces of Czech violinist influences began to appear, which would dominate Slovene Lands until the beginning of the Second World War.

The remaining chapters encompass the periods from the beginning of the 19th century to the beginning of the Second World War and present the system of violin teaching and didactic handbooks, concert performances as well as contributions in terms of compositions for violin in that epoch in the Slovene Lands. The chapter on pedagogical activity centres on important influences of the Prague school of violin, present in the Slovene Lands till the beginning of the Second World War. In that respect special attention has been paid to the influences of Czech musical pedagogue Otakar Ševčík, who directly and indirectly played an important role in the establishment of violin pedagogy and

didactics in the Slovene Lands. External influences and the flow of numerous musicians through the country is what makes the research of this up till now neglected chapter of musical history in the Slovene Lands interesting, even in a wider European context. The undertaken research has led us to conclude that bowed string instruments were present in the Slovene Lands since their appearance in the wider European context. The case was similar with the appearance of violin, which unlike in Italian, Austrian and German provinces developed at a slower and more restrained pace. The absence of violin idiomatic repertoire in the Slovene Lands is a clear proof of that. It was only in the beginning of the 19th century that violin began to gain prominence and develop more animatedly in all directions. In spite of that violin music writing in the Slovene Lands was, until the beginning of World War II, still considerably behind in terms of acknowledging innovations in the field.

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R Kyrie eleison

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a large initial 'R' and the lyrics 'Kyrie eleison' written below it. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line with diamond-shaped notes. The music is in a simple, rhythmic style.

R Kyrie eleison

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a large initial 'R' and the lyrics 'Kyrie eleison' written below it. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line with diamond-shaped notes.

R Kyrie eleison

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a large initial 'R' and the lyrics 'Kyrie eleison' written below it. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line with diamond-shaped notes.

R Kyrie eleison

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a large initial 'R' and the lyrics 'Kyrie eleison' written below it. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line with diamond-shaped notes.

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