## MUZIKOLOŠKI Z B O R N I K

MUSICOLOGICAL A N N U A L

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#### Niall O'Loughlin

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# Slovene Music in the later 20th and early 21st centuries: an External Perspective

Slovenska glasba v poznem 20. in zgodnjem 21. stoletju: pogled iz tujine

Prejeto: 24. marec 2009 Sprejeto: 1. maj 2009

**Ključne besede:** Slovenija, modernizem, postmodernizem

Izvleček

V poznem 20. in zgodnjem 21. stoletju glasba na Slovenskem teži k modernizmu ali postmodernizmu. Glede na nenehno medsebojno izmenjevanje kompozicijskih tehnik postaja razločevanje med skladatelji vse manj pomembno.

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#### ABSTRACT

Music in Slovenia in the late 20th and the early 21st centuries tends towards either modernism or postmodernism. However, with the constant sharing of techniques by a wide range of composers, this distinction is becoming increasingly irrelevant.

In the period just after the Second World War, music in Slovenia was relatively unadventurous: some followed the trends of the pre-war years with neo-classical and folk-influenced works. But by the early 1960s, this had changed dramatically: with the broadening of horizons and the ability to travel abroad now possible, composers felt the impetus to embrace new techniques and ideas. The scene was now set for a great blossoming of musical talent. Gifted young composers such as Vinko Globokar, Milan Stibilj, Janez Matičič and Alojz Srebotnjak were able to study outside Slovenia and join the new culture in France, Germany and the United Kingdom. Others such as Primož Ramovš, Ivo Petrić and Jakob Jež were able to travel abroad to observe new music at first hand and to perform their own pieces in front of an international audience. Lojze Lebič, Darijan Božič and Igor Štuhec quickly became part of this group, and later they were joined by Pavel Mihelčič, Alojz Ajdič and Maks Strmčnik. Together they formed the

Slovene avant-garde which was enthusiastically supported by its performers, its public and its publishers. Over the next two decades, it thrived with a large body of high quality, adventurous music that in quantity was far more than might have been expected from such a small group of composers.

Inevitably some avant-garde trends went too far, leaving all but a small proportion of the audience bewildered. This was particularly the case in the German musical circles that focussed on Darmstadt and other centres of the musical avant-garde. One of the main reactions to this came from the United States with the influence of such pioneers as John Cage and followed by the so-called 'minimalists', La Monte Young, Terry Riley, Steve Reich and Philip Glass. This simplification of music and its reversion from the position of 'modernism' was a gradual process that spread across Western Europe, but was not universally adopted. This retreat from modernism occurring across the arts has normally been labelled as 'postmodernism', a term that had at this time gained a certain disapproval. In Slovenia, those composers who aimed for a more straightforward style, relying on regular rhythms, memorable melodies and traditional structures did gain a strong following.

Composers of the older Slovene avant-garde group already mentioned were likely to examine the reception of their music in the light of the new developments. Most continued to compose in the same style, as they had established a firmly identifiable idiom in which they were comfortable working. Of these only Srebotnjak seemed to turn his back on the new music and often worked in a style which derived some of its ideas from folk music. The real problem was for those composers who had an established style to determine if a change of direction was appropriate or desirable.

For younger composers, broadly speaking, those born after the end of the Second World War, the issue was what route to follow and in the event, these musicians followed their own interests and instincts. Of those born before 1960, those pursuing a traditional approach who have established their position in public estimation include Jani Golob, Tomaž Habe, Slavko Šuklar and Marko Mihevc.

Jani Golob (b. 1948) trained as a violinist and the studied composition with Uroš Krek. His interest in music featuring string instruments is already notable, but also his leaning towards the use of folk music, a fact that was clearly confirmed in the Four Slovenian Folk Songs for strings completed in 1980, a work featuring melodies from Bela Krajina, Dolenska, Prekmurje and Rezija. One must stress, of course, that Golob's folk-influenced music, like that of his teacher Krek, is considerably removed from the original. His musical idiom, moreover, has always been approachable and indebted to traditional methods. Nevertheless the techniques are expertly handled and the music sensitively written with a strong emotional undercurrent. His concertos for violin and violoncello (1992), violin (1998) and violoncello (2001) stand high in his opus, for their idiomatic string technique and vivid musical imagination. The Violin Concerto of 1998 gives some idea of the use of repetitions and traditional figurations that distantly recall both Mozart and Prokofiev. Also important are his works which derive their inspiration from Slovene history and legend, the ballets Urška in povodni mož ('Urška and the Watersprite' of 1985) and Krst pri Savici ('Baptism at the Savica') of 1989, as well as the symphonic Slovenska rapsodija of 1990.

Tomaž Habe (b. 1947) also follows traditional lines in his work. One can point to the *Three Humoresques* of 2002 for violin, guitar and accordion which present a lively and somewhat biting idiom or the more serious and substantial Concerto for horn and orchestra of 2000. One can also go back to an earlier piece for horn and orchestra *Narodna in scherzo* ('Folk Tune and Scherzo') of 1983 to hear the folk influence transformed into something bold and attractive.

The works of Slavko Šuklar (b. 1952) are less well known. In some ways he is only partly a traditionalist, with an eclectic grasp of new techniques which are used from time to time in his music. Like Jani Golob he has a fondness for string instruments, with such works as the *Vocalise concertante* of 1993 for violoncello and orchestra and the *Concerto Panonico* of 2002 for violin and strings. The atmospheric opening of the former with its string glissandi and strident harmonies introduces a group of strong solo recitative statements. In the latter, a more substantial but rhapsodic piece of over fifteen minutes, Šuklar employs similar techniques with recitatives contrasting with strongly rhythmic passages. Another single-movement piece, *Lux tenebris* for orchestra of 2000, based on the final chorale from Bach's St John Passion, is an impressive work that begins in silence and achieves strong climaxes by traditional means.

The music of Marko Mihevc (b. 1957) is much better known, being performed regularly and recorded. His symphonic poem *Equi* of 1990 was the work that brought his name to the attention of the musical public. It has a verve, elan and excitement that are very engaging. The harmonic basis of his technique is mostly tonal with some extended tonality, and even some hints of atonality. It has strong melodic lines and rhythmic structures with occasional hints of the symphonic poems of Richard Strauss and a well defined use of programmatic techniques. A fondness for incorporating popular dances is neither pastiche nor parody, but falls naturally into the style. Two further symphonic poems, *In signo tauri* and *Miracula*, enhance this reputation with works of a similar style. Of his more recent work, the *Trillus diabolicus* of 1997 gives a new perspective on the composer's work with a fresh sense of adventurousness and further use of some modernist techniques.

There have, however, been some who have looked more to the avant-garde for their inspiration, but have at the same time absorbed the ideas of the postmodernists, taking only what is thought to be useful and interesting. Again one can select a small number of composers born between 1945 and 1960 to represent this group most effectively, because now they have achieved an established position with a stable style and have composed a large enough corpus of music on which one can make valid judgements. Their music can be seen as a re-emergence of avant-garde ideas, but with some of the features rethought and as such it represents a continuity with the earlier avant-garde of the 1960s and 1970s. Five composers from this decade show how the new avant-garde has emerged in Slovenia in the years from 1975.

Aldo Kumar (b. 1954) as a composer does not fit comfortably within stylistic trends, and while his music shows a sense of adventure, his idiom is not normally that associated with the avant-garde. All his techniques are relatively familiar individually, but are placed in juxtapositions that are unusual. His early works, such as *Pet preludijev* ('Five Preludes') for piano of 1980, give some idea of his style, with its repeated ostinato

figures in 7/8 time, its chords of superimposed thirds and seconds and its lingering attachment to classical ternary form. A second piano piece, *Sonata z igro 12* ('Sonata – a Game of 12') from 1986, shows a new sense of organisation. It is a brilliantly conceived set of variations on a rising chromatic scale. Variants are teasingly introduced, by octave dislocation, rhythmic reorganisation, changing register and the use of parallel chords. It economically exploits a limited range of material.

Kumar has always looked outward from Slovenia in his music, having studied in Warsaw with Włodzimierz Kotoński, one of the chief Polish adherents of the European avant-garde of the 1950s and 1960s. His music is often inspired by the Istrian peninsula and the Alps. The connection with Istria is strong in the Istrian Suite for strings of 1986 and Istralia for full orchestra, taking folk and folk-like music through a series of transformations and developments. He followed these with the more diverse and adventurous Strastra for organ and orchestra from 2001 and Improstrastra for piano and big band of 2002. These pieces cast light on a contemporary work of his, Čelo Alp ('The Front of the Alps') for orchestra, which develops and extends techniques found in the piano pieces: the building up of melodic cells, sometimes into ostinatos that themselves merge into textures. There are passages of mysterious intensity and sudden and dramatic changes, sometimes involving silences. In the 1990 cantata for soloists, choir and orchestra, Na struni Merkurja ('On the String of Mercury'), Kumar set very vivid words by Andrej Lutman. The choir is treated mostly homophonically with the words not always clearly audible, but acting more as inspiration for the character of the music. As with Čelo Alp, brooding intensity is interrupted by the dramatic violence of repetitive ostinato figures. Since Slovene independence, Kumar's music has gone from strength to strength with his unusual combination of modernist and post-modernist features. The piano concerto of 1992, entitled Post Art or Look, subtitled Wolfgang is writing to you, is a light-hearted reflection on Mozart's style and features. By contrast, the Varda Concerto, also for piano and orchestra and completed in 1996, is an exercise in juxtaposing conflicting gestures and techniques, with some hints of folk influence.

A second composer, Uroš Rojko (b. 1954), lives and works in Germany, but regularly visits Slovenia. He studied with Uroš Krek in his native Slovenia, but also with Krzystof Meyer, Bogusłav Schaeffer and Włodzimierz Kotoński in Poland, and Klaus Huber and Györgi Ligeti in Germany. He has made a particular speciality of chamber music, with an emphasis on sonic memorability, exploiting a wide range of new techniques of individual instruments, but always combining these with a clear structural grasp. For example, an early work for violin and piano, Štiri novele ('Four Short Stories') from 1978, shows a strong development of short motives, a keen ear for colour and a metrical precision. The brass trio, Vinjenke ('Mellow Pieces') from two years later, is again wonderfully precise in the way that it maintains its metrical irregularity. Its melodic construction uses cells which are developed in the same flexible way as that of his teacher, Krek. As a clarinettist Rojko was on home ground in his Sedem vzdihljajev ('Seven Sighs') for clarinet and piano of 1981, concentrating very strongly on the particular sound of the clarinet, especially the use of wide vibrato and glissando, as well as complex florid passages shared with the piano. An extended piece for saxophone and piano called *Godba* from 1992 has a very strong presence and is far more impressive than its modest title might suggest. The opening section is particularly impressive for its brilliant juggling of different motifs with a narrow range of intervals but a wide range of cross-rhythms.

The solo cello piece called *Ja* (1986, revised 1990) is a virtuoso avant-garde study that goes even further, using, for example, two bows for one player on one cello, a feature which creates some amazingly difficult arpeggio passages. In addition to this, there is the extensive use of harmonics, scordatura, left-hand pizzicato and glissando. In complete contrast, Rojko surprises us with his guitar piece called *Passing Away on Two Strings* of 1984, in which repetitive sounds that are never virtuosic are drawn out in a piece of over twelve minutes' duration, yet it is constantly inventive in the sonorities that it draws from the instrument.

Perhaps even more impressive in its extension of the techniques of a selected instrument is the series of pieces that Rojko composed for the flute in the years 1985-91. The composer himself describes the processes involved: 'The source of the idea is the premise that instruments are not just a means of artistic expression, representing the composer's and the performer's tools. The instrument is an illusion of the individual, is a being that communicates, responds, between it and the performer, the possibility of a mutual contrapuntal dialogue and mutual identification is established." This work, ...für eine Piccolospielerin (1985), generates a wide variety of instrumental colour through the performer's vocal means as well as using what is referred to as a pianistic trill. In 1989 Rojko expanded this to contrast the flute with the oboe in Atemaj.<sup>2</sup> In a complicated explanation of his techniques and philosophy, the composer refers to floating as static constellation and movement as dynamic process.3 It explores the conflict between the static elements, but transforming them into dynamic ones, for example, by changing a static continuous sound into a moving one by adding vibrato. Glass Voices, also of 1989, combines flute with piano in a brilliant essay in duality and identity. The idea is that the lines of the two instruments become so intertwined that there is 'the illusion of a fictitious instrument, combining the characteristics of both real instruments.'4 The final work in this series is Inner Voices, scored for flute, doubling piccolo and alto flute and chamber orchestra. This is a more contemplative work which has a passages of an intense harmonic nature, which in the composer's view are based on the principle of inward orientation. This is achieved using narrow glissandos of between a quarter and a half tone, double trills, and the interweaving the lines of the solo instrument, successively piccolo, flute and alto flute, with those of the orchestra.

This ear for sonority has continued with a group of pieces using the accordion. With viola is the contemplative *Elegia per Hugo* (1993) which uses short collections of longheld notes in a slow tribute of overwhelming intensity and *Molitve* ('Prayers') of 1995, a group of seven short pieces that aim at a fusion of the sounds of the two instruments by means already explored by Rojko, involving, for example, glissandos, repeated notes, and the scattering of notes between the two instruments. For accordion with piano,

<sup>1</sup> Booklet notes to CD, Ed. DSS 200027 (Ljubljana, 2000), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The title Atemaj is an anagram of the names of the two players who first performed in Zagreb in 1989, Matej and Mateja, but also relates to the German Atem = breath and the Slovene Tema = theme.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, p. 9.

Bagatellen (1994) moves from the diametrically opposite sound of two instruments to a position in which they begin to sound similar, while *Tangos* (1994/5) extracts tango fragments in an analytical way that makes the music dance-like without parody or any alignment with postmodern thought. For accordion with baritone and cello, *Et puis plus rien le rêve* (1992) follows a pattern of long notes, repeated groups, ostinatos and quasi-ostinatos, parlato, glissandos. Taking texts by Ingeborg Bachmann, William Carlos Williams and Apollinaire, it attempts 'to "transpose" words into the acoustic world; the totality of thoughts and meanings, hidden in the verses and between them, is caught in the mood of the musical language."

Rojko's orchestral music follows similar lines, extending chamber music textures. The elaboration of the 1998 *Evokacija* ('Evocation') for cello and accordion into a work for symphony orchestra in the following year is sure evidence of the way that Rojko's structural plans can be applied to music of different scale. In a sense the principle of the work could hardly be clearer: it makes a contrast between what the composer calls 'a spectrum of composite sounds of differing densities [and] ... a pointillist rhythmical treatment of syllabic periods'. In other words the main contrast is between dense textures and passages of single notes.

Like Rojko, a third composer, Tomaž Svete (b. 1956), belongs firmly to the newer Slovenian avant-garde. His ideas are distinctive and memorable, but his music, unlike that of Kumar, makes no moves towards the post-modernist stance. His impressive orchestral piece, L'amôr sul mar of 1987, is sensuously scored and suggestive of the influence of Messiaen in its textures and harmonies and with its atmospheric sounds all carefully chosen. His Godalni trio ('String Trio') of two years earlier is even more extreme, with textures varying from very thin with fragmentary motives to dense and highly coordinated between the parts. The motivic working is both flexible and subtle. Some of the music has the appearance, although not the rhythmic complexity of passages of some of the string quartets of the American composer, Elliott Carter. Two later typical chamber works should also be mentioned. Evocazione of 1995 for soprano and chamber ensemble and *Dyphtongue* for saxophone quartet of 1996. Dyphtongue displays a strong avant-garde idiom with fragmentary motives, multiple sounds of the type catalogued by Bruno Bartolozzi, speaking and special tonguing effects. Evocazione uses many of the same features, as well as freely coordinated unbarred passages. The soprano's multilingual text is almost instrumental in its quality, especially in the repetitive passages of the Slovene settings. The French words are set more in traditional vocal style, while the concluding Japanese is more ritualistic and rhythmically regular.

Svete's vocal settings, however, have been most notable in his five operas. The earliest, the television opera *Kralj Malhus* of 1987, is a satirical piece in three scenes that last just under half an hour. Sigrid Wiesmann pointed to a flexible variety of types of vocal setting in the work as well as the use of a structure that is indebted to sonata form:

<sup>5</sup> Uroš Rojko in the note in the score Ed. DSS 1341 (Ljubljana, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> In the booklet notes for the CD recording Ed. DSS 200027 (Ljubljana, 2000), p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> First performed in Ljubljana on 14 April 1988.

Von den drei Szenen, aus denen sich das Werk zusammensetzt, ist die erste, natürlich in freier Form, quasi eine Exposition, die zweite, ein Instrumentalsatz mit Ballethandlung eine Durchführung, und die dritte, wenigstens andeutungsweise, eine Reprise.<sup>8</sup>

The radio opera, *Ugrabitev z Laudaškega jezera* ('The Abduction from Lake Laudach') of 1994, consists of a series of atmospheric dramatic miniatures that utilise the medium of radio in a totally involving manner. Many different word-setting techniques are used, varying from spoken words, modern recitative setting, as well as chanting and more extended but fragmentary vocal lines. The later prize-winning opera *Kriton* of 2000 confirms Svete's avant-garde techniques. The vocal settings vary from straightforward declamations to more lyrical lines. His music uses two separate twelve-note rows for Crito and Socrates, as a way of distinguishing their differing characters. The whole work shows a firm grasp of modern techniques 'without getting caught in the postmodernist trap'.9

The delicate and sensitive works of the fourth of these composers, Brina Jež-Brezavšček, are most impressive. *Presenečenje* ('Surprise') of 1983 for solo violin is a short study in violin techniques. The more substantial *Aulofonia domestica* for oboe, clarinet and percussion of 1988 explores a number of new woodwind techniques, particularly the 'smorzato' and the use of multiple sounds. The use of a wide range of percussion is particularly effective as it is used with the greatest musical sensitivity, as can be heard in the opening section in which all three players perform on the percussion instruments. The coordination between the parts is generally fairly free except when there are obviously important harmonic implications.<sup>10</sup>

More recently these techniques have been well developed and extended. The texture of *Perfume Composition* of 1996 for solo viola is a bewitching quasi-two-part illusion. The string techniques used in the *Meditation in Five Images* for violoncello and piano of 1997 are not so extreme, with sustained sounds, extensive use of precisely imagined chords and a strong rhythmic drive. Its five separate movements dwell on individual musical characteristics. The opening slow *Mantra or Introduction* has quiet sustained cello notes set against obsessive repetitive piano figures. *Attenuation* blends the sustained notes with scattered notes from the piano, while *Thickening* gives the piano strong faster chordal passages with the cello moving away from meditative sounds to the piano's rhythmic momentum. *Vicinity* for piano solo gradually transforms the rhythmic and harmonic sounds to more contemplative single ones. Finally, *Thoughts or Parallels* combines the sustained sounds with the harmonic ones in a slow homophonic procession in octaves of Messiaenic intensity.

More important is the orchestral *Sonsong – Sonorous Variations* for orchestra, first performed in 1999. It treats in kaleidoscopic fashion large numbers of differently scored short melodies, some of which are clearly audible and others, partly because of the complexity of the textures and the orientation of the horizontal and vertical, are

<sup>8</sup> See Siegrid Wiesmann: 'O »Kralju Malhusu« Tomaža Sveteta – Zu Tomaž Svetes »König Malhus«', in Primož Kuret (ed): Slovenska glasba v preteklosti in sedanjosti – Slowenische Musik in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Ljubljana: Kres, 1992), pp. 239-243.

<sup>9</sup> Tomaž Svete in Črt Sojar Voglar (ed): Skladateljske sledi po letu 1900 – Composers' Traces from 1900 Onwards (Ljubljana: Edicije DSS, 2003), p. 231.

<sup>10</sup> First performed in Ljubljana on 14 April 1988.

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not audible as such. Some of the work captures the spirit of Charles Ives's music. The composer described the construction in the following way:

Little melodies in various orchestral sounds, represented by different instrumental sections, were put together at first horizontally, then using a vertical sound material ... Since this material was strongly amorphous, I had divided it into a rigorous succession of units, composed of nine little parts ... These nine-bar units have their own typical symbols, sonority and contents.

Each little melody has its own contents, not heard or recognizable autonomously at all. It is a matter of concealing the existent ... contributing to the general effect in a broader sense of the music. Therefore, the succession of little nine-bar units is done in a sense of mutual correspondence and development, and is by no means interchangeable.11

Some of the ideas of making music work on different levels are also found in her *Orpheus* of 1989, which combines bass clarinet with an electronic tape. While the composer talks of a conflict between the gentle lyre of Orpheus and the rough sounds of the bass clarinet, there is also a deliberate matching of the two sound sources, for example, in the bass clarinet's openings that emerge out of a random collection of electronic sounds and the blending of smooth and steady electronic 'chords' with 'Bartolozzi' multiple sounds on the clarinet.

Electronic sounds, however, have been explored extensively and in depth in the work of the fifth composer, Bor Turel. After his basic studies in Ljubljana, like many of his contemporaries, he continued his work abroad, in Paris, Montreal, Salzburg and Graz. His music has been extensively performed in Zagreb, Hungary, Copenhagen, Vienna, Paris and Ljubljana.

Turel's early music explored the world of advanced instrumental techniques and compositional devices. A significant work is the first of *Trije dogodki* ('Three Events') for piano which dates from 1974 and which develops the idea of irregularly repeated notes and asymmetrically placed flourishes. His use of the prepared piano dates from this time in, for example, *Repetition Music* of 1976 and *Piano Parts* of 1977. The former uses minimalist techniques of repetition of short fragments, while the latter works with scattered fragments. Perhaps of more significance for future developments is *Chance Music* of 1976 in which there is an ingenious layering of different types of music. Taking its cue from some of the methods used by Steve Reich, *Music for Two Pianos* produces overlapping ostinatos that move in and out of synchronisation with each other.

Concurrently with this exploration of new instrumental techniques was Turel's use of electronic sounds. A work such as *Musique de l'eau* of 1976 presents water-like sounds with extra echo and resonance to build up into complex textures. It has similarities with that other Slovene water-piece, Milan Stibilj's *Mavrica* ('Rainbow'). From the same year

<sup>11</sup> This detailed explanation was given by the composer in the programme booklet for Slovenski glasbeni dnevi 1999 (Ljubljana: Festival Ljubljana, 1999) for its first performance on 13 April 1999.

Musique de la porte uses modified door sounds as did Pierre Henry's Variations on a Door and a Sigh. The layering technique found in some of the instrumental pieces can be found in three electronic pieces of the next few years: Continuity, Electronic Experiment and Images.

Turel in the 1980s felt able to combine the two types: instrumental music and electronic sounds. This is the electroacoustic music which he has made his speciality, using, for example, flute, piano, trumpet and recorders. *The Endless Loop* for flute and tape of 1983 shows this well with a carefully constructed plan embracing a wide range of techniques, though it is not possible to demonstrate the structure in a short example. In *The Spiral* of 1986 Turel transferred a series of three-dimensional geometric constructions into musical form. One particularly intriguing concept comes from the idea of circles and arches moving around an axis. This is translated into musical terms as repeated ostinato patterns on the piano over sustained or slowly changing growling electronic sounds. Later on in the piece Turel merges the two sound sources with electronic 'noise' as away of reconciling the conflicts of the different sound types. Probably his most famous piece also dates from the same year, *Sonotranjosti* for cello and tape with its subtle matching and contrasting of the cello's sound with similar or nearly similar sounds on the accompanying tape.

Turel's work embraces numerous other ideas which move into the theatrical and multimedia areas and he composes extensively for radio. For this medium one fascinating work is *Med besedami in tisino* ('Between Words and Silence') from 2002, in which the words of the Slovene poet Dane Zajc are treated as sound objects without ever losing their semantic significance.

It is difficult and somewhat invidious or even capricious to make a selection of a number of younger Slovene composers to illustrate the newest range of music. Yet there is a sufficient number of works of eight Slovene composers born during the 1960s and 1970s that have been performed, published and/or recorded to make at least a provisional assessment of their music.

Of the composers who have to some extent followed post-modernist techniques, one can make some useful observations on four: Dušan Bavdek, Vitja Avsec, Rok Golob and Bojana Šaljić. It should be stressed here that there is no real consistency between the styles of these four composers and are only grouped together for convenience.

Dušan Bavdek (b. 1971) is a composer who is working in a traditional idiom, but has adopted some of the techniques associated with the minimalists. His music is always approachable and communicates well. The lighter side of his style can be found in his *Capricietto* of 1997. Vitja Avsec (b. 1970) is a composer whose style is wide ranging, with delightful, biting humour in his *Danza ritmica* for accordion of 1997. On the other hand he has created some very deep and serious sounds and woven motivic complexity into his symphonic movement of 1995 called *Gea*. Perhaps more obviously related to popular music is that of Rok Golob (b. 1975), whose style is immediately approachable. It is no criticism to say that there is something of the style of some film music in its bold and evocative sounds. Bojana Šaljić (b. 1978) shows an adventurous inclination in many ways. She has shown a strong preference for using electronic means of sound production, but giving this a modern twist with a lively sense of humour and an immediacy of

effect that encourages an instant response. Her piece called *1000 V* gives some idea of the manipulation of sounds in space and time in a manner that has become common in electronic music.

Of the Slovene composers born during the 1960s who have pursued more adventurous techniques, the one with the most impressive and consistent corpus of works is Nenad Firšt (b. 1964). Among the published and recorded music, the most important works are undoubtedly those for string instruments. First's natural affinity with strings arises from his skill as a violinist, having studied with Rok Klopčič in Ljubljana. This appears in Concertos for violin and for cello, and in the Concertino for double bass. Numerous chamber works can be added to this collection, *Nekaj divjega* ('Something Wild') for violin, O mejah, ki so ostale ('About Remaining Borders') and Monotipje ('Monotypes') for violin and piano, and Bi for two violins, as well as three string quartets and various works for viola, cello and double bass. Yet First's skill in writing for strings is only a part of his importance as a composer. He has a strong sense of effective structure, sometimes using symmetry in a subtle and unpredictable way. The prize-winning Third String Quartet of 1988 is a skilfully planned continuous multi-movement piece. Its economical use of motives is emphasised by its brilliant use of sharply etched melodies and clearly imagined counterpoint. Transparent textures are also a feature of the Concertino for double bass and chamber orchestra, also of 1988, in which the lyrical musings of the solo instrument are constantly apparent. The composer's formal imagination is carried one stage further in an unusually named piece from 1991 for violin and double bass called SSSSS. The five 'Ss' represent the five sections or free variations that constitute the work (Semplice - Sereno - Strepitoso - Scherzoso - Sognando). The variety and resourcefulness of the ideas are very impressive. The two outer slow sections symmetrically frame the three faster ones which are dance-like with constantly varying time signatures, sometimes with remote hints of folk music.

Among other Slovene composers born during the 1960s, Peter Šavli (b. 1961) has many substantial achievements. Having studied composition with Alojz Srebotnjak in Ljubljana, as well having completed a Masters Degree at Yale University and a Doctorate at Cornell in the United States, he also has an impressive pedigree. Soon after completing his studies in Slovenia in 1988, Šavli composed his piece, The Road Less Travelled, for four saxophones, a work that shows no signs of academicism. Already there is a strong but very untraditional interest in the beautiful and smooth sonorities of the quartet, using sensuous harmonies with no use of tonal progression. Contrasting with this is what the composer calls 'a free counterpoint of loosely notated parts,'12 which employs numerous unorthodox playing techniques. To move from this delightful chamber music to a full-scale concerto for the solo instrument was a major step, but one which Šavli accomplished with some assurance. Completed in early 1992, his Saxophonia was written for alto and baritone instruments. Again it uses carefully imagined harmonic sounds, especially in the dense textural passage that begins the work out of which the solo instrument emerges. The melodic nature of the saxophone is exploited in various ways that involve clashing with the powerful sounds of the dense tuttis. It also includes,

<sup>12</sup> In the booklet notes for the CD recording Ed. DSS 200034 (Ljubljana, 2002), p. 8.

however, the interweaving of subtle sounds similar to those of the earlier quartet with a range of unexpected and unusual instruments, including the alto flute, the vibraphone, the ocarina and the tenor recorder. Composed in 1999 towards the end of his studies in the United States, *Devant une neige* for chamber orchestra is a masterly essay in the control of sonority, texture and form. Out of the beautifully imagined chords of the opening emerge fragments of melody which are effortlessly transformed. The nine sections follow each other without a break but are almost effortlessly blended, helped by the subtle movement from harmonic to melodic features and back again. The Piano Concerto of 2001 presents the harmonic/melodic conflict by means of various motives and other note-groupings, but combines this with a brilliant virtuosity for the piano.

Two further composers born in the 1960s are considered here: Larisa Vrhunc (b. 1967) and Urška Pompe (b. 1969). Their music is always adventurous, employing a wide range of avant-garde techniques. They have both worked abroad: Vrhunc studied at the Geneva Conservatory of Music, with Gilbert Amy in Lyon and at various composition courses in France, Germany, Austria, Slovenia, the Netherlands and Belgium, while Pompe pursued post-graduate studies in Budapest and various composition courses abroad. Both composers emphatically represent the new Slovene generation.

Vrhunc's music is full of delightful surprises, always with something new or interesting to say. Typical of this is the set of six miniatures called Gratis 0-6 for flute, clarinet and double bass of 1996, brilliant sketches which exploit unorthodox instrumental techniques with beguiling sounds. The rhythmic ingenuities of the second piece are particularly memorable. The third is also notable, in this case for the ingenious way that it produces a single melodic line for most of its length by matching the tone-colour of the last note of one instrument's phrase with the first note of the new instrument. From the same year, the piano trio called A Kogoj produces vivid recreations or paraphrases on five of the Malenkosti ('Bagatelles') for piano by the Slovene composer, Marij Kogoj (1892-1956). The work gives some indication of the composer's recognition of her heritage, as well as emphasising the very terse and elliptical nature of the original pieces. New works have come in quick succession. Regen Liebe creates a musical piece from a spoken text that makes reflections before, during and after the rain. Using sung voices, Ubi est? for mixed choir connects with the tradition of well blended choral singing, but introduces into the setting numerous newer choral techniques. It makes a strong link with the past without compromising the forward looking approach that characterises Vrhunc's music. Many of her recent works are for chamber ensembles, a fact that makes performances more likely. A group dating from 1999 and 2000 display a widening of horizons that suggests future developments. Neo-Stravinskian ostinatos and quasi-ostinatos of Open Rite recall the rhythmic vitality of the second of the pieces in Gratis 0-6. The sextet for flute, clarinet, violin, cello, piano and percussion called Spirale ('Spirals') makes very great play with trills and flourishes in a developing way that is hinted at by the subtitle, 'potovanje' (journey). The wind quintet Celo ('Even') is subtitled 'looking for perfection, putting pieces (of instruments) together, successfully?'.<sup>13</sup> The instruments are often matched in tone colours, something that may have been anticipated in the earlier

<sup>13</sup> In the booklet for the CD RTV Slovenija 106200 (Ljubljana, 2000), p. 9.

*Gratis 0-6.* The last of these chamber works has the elaborate title *Satelitov trop nam zvezde kraj oznani – čas hiti* ('A Flock of Satellites Announces the Star's Place – Time Flies') for violin, horn and piano takes its title from the poetry of Slovenia's most famous poet, France Prešeren. Its character comes from the sense of searching for a means of expression: single groups of notes, short flourishes, scatterings of counterpoint, silence.

Urška Pompe's music is precise and detailed, often working in very exact metrical lengths, something that is apparent in the brilliant four-movement *Solo* for cello of 1996. Despite the lack of regular barring or even the absence of barring, it has enormous rhythmic momentum, particularly in the second section marked 'Agitato'. In its procedures and like the music of Larisa Vrhunc, it takes only what it wants from avant-garde techniques. The metrical precision is more obvious in the *Trio – Pogovori* ('Conversations') for horn, trumpet and tuba of 1999, which displays a virtuosic counterpoint of juxtaposed 'incompatible' motifs, of free moving but exactly controlled melodies, and of single pointillist notes. A recent work by Pompe, *Čuječi* for wind quintet of 2001, reinforces the trend of metrical complexity. The title means roughly 'those who listen intently'. Indeed, because of the difficulties of synchronisation and coordination, the work could never be performed by players that did anything else, but as listeners the same criterion applies because the gestures, the correspondences, and the interactions are all so subtle that we could easily miss them or their significance.

This dichotomy between modernist and post-modernist techniques is not clear-cut because there is considerable overlap between the two groups. It is likely that much of the two 'styles' will become the common property of all composers without any philosophical or aesthetic problems arising. What is most important is that there has been a renewed surge of enthusiasm for ensuring that a serious music culture is reinvigorated and grows. Younger composers have been following the solid tradition that had been built up in the 1980s and earlier and will almost certainly follow the works mentioned here with others that are similarly challenging and interesting. With the new opportunities presented by the current situation, there is likely to be a new flourishing of native Slovene musical talent.

#### POVZETEK

Po 2. svetovni vojni je bila glasba na Slovenskem po svojem stilu večinoma neoklasicistična in pod vplivom ljudske glasbe. Zahvaljujoč potovanjem in študiju v tujini je vedno bolj prihajal do veljave modernizem, ki so ga zlasti podpirali takrat mladi skladatelji, kot so Globokar, Stibilj, Matičič, Ramovš, Jež in Petrič. Kot reakcija je v poznih sedemdesetih letih prišlo do poenostavljene zbirke tehnik, kar danes označujemo s pojmom postmodernizma. Skladatelji, ki so dosegli zrelost v zgodnjih osemdesetih letih, pa so bili postavljeni pred izbiro, da se odločijo za eno ali drugo. Razlikovanje med avantgardo oziroma modernistično držo in postmodernisti je postalo izrazitejše v poznih letih 20. stoletja, pri čemer so med prvimi bili Aldo Kumar (vključujoč glasbo pod določenimi ljudskimi vplivi), Uroš Rojko (zlasti z glasbo, ki uporablja napredne instrumentalne tehnike), Tomaž Svete (še posebej z operami), Brina Jež-Brezavšček (z glasbo, ki uporablja napredne instrumentalne tehnike) in Bor Turel (vključujoč veliko elektronske in elektro-akustične glasbe), medtem ko druga skupina piše bolj tradicionalno glasbo - Jani Golob, Tomaž Habe, Slavko Šuklar in Marko Mihevc. Ker pa sta obe skladateljski skupini izmenjavali različne kompozicijske tehnike, je razločevanje postalo vedno bolj zabrisano, proces, ki ga je še bolj poudarilo delo mlajše generacije skladateljev, rojenih po 1960. Kljub temu je še vedno zaznati postmodernistične poteze v glasbi Dušana Bavdka, Vitie Avsca, Roka Goloba in Bojane Šaljić, ter modernistične značilnosti pri Nenadu Firštu, Petru Šavliju, Larisi Vrhunc in Urški Pompe. Ta in tak razvoj je pripeljal do raznovrstnih in domiselnih del skladateljev najrazličnejših prepričanj, kar je dober obet za prihodnost slovenske glasbe.

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### Romantika kot glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje - med zakoreninjenostjo in negotovostjo

# Romanticism as a Period of Musical History – between Rootedness and Uncertainty

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**Ključne besede:** romantika, zgodovina glasbe, obdobje, recepcija glasbe

Izvleček

Razprava skuša pokazati, kako novejši muzikološki diskurz opredeljuje in definira pojem romantika kot oznako za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje.

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**Keywords:** romanticism, history of music, period, reception of music

ABSTRACT

The article tries to detect the ways of new musicological discourses defining Romanticism as a designation of a period in music history.

Časovno zamejevanje romantike kot pojma za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje je po Eggebrecthovem mnenju tako raznoliko in nejasno kot pojem sam.¹ To pomeni, da je časovno zamejevanje romantike predvsem odvisno od razumevanj in razlag pojma, ki lahko postanejo morebitna osnova periodizacijski kategoriji.

Nedvomno je, da pojma romantična glasba in glasbena romantika še danes predstavljata v zavesti glasbenikov glasbo 19. stol., pri tem pa nemalokrat postavljajo enačaj med glasbo 19. stol. in romantiko kot glasbenozgodovinskim obdobjem. Tovrstnega pojmovanja niso 'zakrivili' izključno številni glasbenozgodovinski pregledi v 20. stol., ki so 19. stol. označevali kot glasbeno romantiko ali romantično glasbo, temveč tudi dejstvo,

<sup>1</sup> Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht. 'Romantisch, Romantik'. V: Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie. Albrecht Riethmüller (ur.) Zv. V: P-Se. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999, 9.

da sodobna muzikološka veda ni ponudila terminološke fiksacije pojma.

Glasbenozgodovinski pregledi prve polovice 20. stol. uporabljajo pojem romantika kot skupno oznako, ki združuje različne glasbeno-kulturne pojave 19. stol. in kot taka postaja oznaka za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje.² Nekritični prenos kategorije kot obdobja v glasbenozgodovinske preglede je pomenil le navidezno ureditev in periodizacijo izrazito heterogenega časa, ki ga je povezovala zgolj oznaka obdobja.³ Razlog za takšno stanje je tičal tudi v tem, da se je termin romantika v glasbeni zgodovini kot izrazito znanstveni pojem uveljavil šele v drugi polovici 20. stol. Tako romantika kot oznaka za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje predstavlja v glasbenozgodovinskih pregledih prve pol. 20. stol. neredko zgolj nalepko, torej periodizacijsko sredstvo, ki združuje najrazličnejše pojave, sama kot taka pa najpogosteje ne pove ničesar.

Poskus znanstvene opredelitve pojma so prinesle šele muzikološke razprave druge polovice 20. stol., ki so se spopadale tudi s poskusom definiranja določitve romantike kot glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja. Seveda pa je to odvisno predvsem od načina interpretacije romantike kot glasbenozgodovinskega pojma.

Izbor razprav bo skušal pokazati, v kolikšni meri je muzikološka veda uspešno definirala periodizacijo romantike kot glasbenozgodovinske oznake. Tako Friedrich Blume meni, da je v kontekstu glasbene zgodovine romantiko mogoče razumeti le kot delni pojav znotraj enovitosti klasicistično-romantične dobe. Torej klasicizem in romantika kot glasbenozgodovinski obdobji sestavljata po njegovem celoto. Sta dva aspekta istega glasbenega pojava in istega zgodovinskega obdobja. Znotraj tega pojava in te dobe, in sicer od začetka do postopnega izteka v 20. stol., je obstajal enkrat bolj klasični, drugič bolj romantični tok. Ni ju mogoče klasificirati, ker sta zavezana osebnostim, smerem, modam in namenom. Pravi, da so temeljne naloge in težnje ostale enake, prav tako temeljni nazori o bistvu glasbe kljub bolj ali manj odločilnim nasprotnim, vzporednim, stranskim nazorom. Zato promantični stil« kot določljiv in zamejen ne obstaja sam zase. Obstaja le počasna preobrazba tistega stilnega tipa, ki se je na začetku klasično-romantične dobe izoblikoval in se od takrat razvijal, stopnjeval, postajal kompleksen in se ne nazadnje potem razkrojil«. Blume je prepričan, da so začetki

- 2 Recepcija pojma v 19. stol. kaže na njegovo pomensko heterogenost in večplastnost, saj je bil uporabljen v najrazličnejših kontekstih in na najrazličnejših miselnih ravneh. Prim.: Martin Wehnert. 'Romantik und romantisch'. V: Die Musik in Geschichte und Genenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopādie der Musik. Ludwig Finscher (ur.) Zv. 8. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998, 470-474. Ulrich Tadday. Das schöne Unendliche. Stuttgart, Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 1999, 203-218. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht. 'Romantisch, Romantik'. V: Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie. Albrecht Riethmüller (ur.) Zv. V: P-Se. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999, 1-9.
  - Že v drugi polovici 19. stol. je bil izraz romantika oznaka za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje. Čeprav so glasbene zgodovine poznega 19. stol. obdobje 'romantike' sicer in širjenja na vedno poznejši čas opazovale tudi s kritičnimi pridržki, se je ob prelomu stoletja uveljavilo pozitivno prevrednotenje pojma v korist opazovanja neposredno preteklega časa kot romantičnega glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja. Prim. U. Taddy, nav. delo, 207-209.
- 3 Prim.: Ernst Bücken. Die Musik der 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Moderne. Wildpark-Postdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion M.B.H., 1929, 20-26. Bücken ločuje med romantičnim in romantiko. Prvo zanj predstavlja duhovno držo, drugo pa glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje. – Paul Henry Lang. Music in Western Civilization. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1941. – Kurt Pahlen. Musikgeschichte der Welt. Zürich: Orell Füssli Verlag, 1947, 216-220. – Frizt Högler. Geschischte der Musik. Wien: Osterreichischer Bundesverlag, 1949, 101-106.
- 4 Prim. Friedrich Blume. 'Romantik'. V. Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musikwissenschaft. Friedrich Blume (ur.) Zv. 11. Kassel: Bärenretier, 1963, 758-845.
- 5 Prav tam.
- 6 Prav tam.

velikih glasbenozgodovinskih obdobij določljivi z opazovanjem nastajajočega novega in abstrahiranjem starega. Vendar pa je zaključke le-teh precej težje definirati, saj »vsako še obstaja znotraj naslednjega«. Romantika ni izoblikovala drugačnega in samostojnega stila, temveč je zgolj razvila omenjeni »visoko klasični tip«. Ob tovrstni opredelitvi izhaja Blume iz ugotovitve, da romantika ni stil, ki bi ga lahko definirali, temveč zgolj duhovna drža. Ta se kaže predvsem v refleksijah o glasbi, torej romantični glasbeni estetiki. Celo klasicistično-romantično obdobje zamejuje kot celoto nasproti prejšnji dobi – baroku – in novi glasbi, ki je sledila, to pa pomeni, da govorimo o obdobju, ki obsega čas med nekako 1760. in prvim desetletjem 20. stol. Tako Beethoven predstavlja zanj zgolj eno od številnih vmesnih postaj.

Izhodišče, ob katerem gradi Blume svoje pojmovanje enotnosti klasicističnoromantičnega obdobja, je kanon oblik. Nasproti različnim težnjam v 19. stol. zagotavlja
ta obdobju določeno enovitost. Vendar pa – čeprav opredeljuje romantiko kot duhovno
držo in zagovarja enotnost klasicistično-romantičnega obdobja – v svoji razpravi podaja
prikaz glasbene zgodovine 19. stol. v kontekstu posameznih kompozicijskih prvin.<sup>8</sup>
Ta dihotomija med razumevanjem glasbenozgodovinskega prikaza in obdobja lahko
nakazuje bodisi zasidranost ustaljenih prepričanj, ki jih obvladuje močna zgodovinska
zavest in onemogoča, da bi pozabili na tradicionalne časovne določitve romantike,
bodisi Blumejevo negotovost pri opredeljevanju pomena romantike.

Rey M. Longyear govori o »ustaljeni navadi«, da romantika predstavlja glasbenim zgodovinarjem glasbo med 1828. in 1880. v najožjem ter med 1789. in 1914. v najširšem pomenu besede. Pravi, da je navada njegovega časa razumeti klasicizem in romantiko kot nasprotni strani istega kovanca, to pa pomeni v najožjem pomenu besede čas med 1740. in 1830., v najširšem pa do 1910. Tovrstna opredelitev po Longyearovem mnenju po eni strani izključuje raziskovanje vseh 'pre-'. 'post-' in 'neo' predpon, po drugi pa ne upošteva novih teženj v tem devetdeset do sto sedemdeset let trajajočem obdobju. 9 Čeprav se zaveda, da je romantika problematična oznaka za obdobje, se ji v svoji razpravi ni odpovedal. Pravzaprav, kot je vidno že iz samega naslova knjige, pojmuje Longyear celotno 19. stol. kot obdobje romantike, a ga diferencira po posameznih tematskih naslovih. 10 Tako bi lahko dejali, da Longyearov glasbenozgodovinski oris označuje kot predhodnika romantike v glasbi čas gibanja Sturm und Drang in celotno Beethovnovo ustvarjalnost; Beethovnovih sodobnikov, torej tistih, katerih glasbena ustvarjalnost je doživela razcvet med 1830. in 1850., pa ni apostrofiral neposredno kot romantične, temveč kot progresivne skladatelje. Svojo razpravo in s tem tudi obdobje romantike končuje (če ne upoštevamo francoskih skladateljev ob prelomu stoletja) z Mahlerjevo in Straussovo glasbo. Pravi, da je Mahler s svojo peto simfonijo »prestopil iz romantike 19. stol. v post- ali hiperromantiko 20. stol.«.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Avtor obravnava te prvine: 1. ritem, metrum, tempo, 2. harmonija in tonaliteta, 3. motiv, tema in tematsko delo, 4. zvrsti in oblike. Prav tam, 806-831.

<sup>8</sup> Longyear trdi, da so vse oznake obdobij udobnosti in da se uporabnost giblje v razmerju do truda, porabljenega za definiranje le-teh ali postuliranje odnosov med kulturnimi, intelektualnimi, socialnimi in zgodovinskimi komponentami. Rey M. Longyear. Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music. Engelwood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Tako govori o Beethovnu in njegovih predhodnikih, Beethovnovih sodobnikih, razvetu nemške romantike, italijanski in francoski romantiki, glasbi prihodnosti (vključuje Liszta in Wagnerja), govori o ponovnem rojstvu absolutne glasbe, nacionalizmu 19. stol. v glasbi ter o izzvenevanju romantike.

<sup>10</sup> Longyear, prav tam, 192-193.

<sup>11</sup> Longyearu prav tako ne nasprotuje diferenciaciji obdobja z rabo oznake »post-romantika«.

Torej začetek obdobja romantike posredno nakazuje Beethovnova umetnost, vključuje vse izstopajoče glasbene osebnosti 19. stol., končuje pa prehod v 20. stol. Romantika v glasbi je zanj stilno poenotena zgodovinska entiteta, v kateri pa izstopajo posamezne usmeritve, generacije in individualne osebnosti skladateljev.<sup>12</sup>

V definiciji romantike Johna Warracka najdemo časovno zamejevanje obdobja na čas med približno 1790. in 1910.<sup>13</sup> Zdi se, da obe letnici prevzema iz obstoječih glasbenozgodovinskih razprav, kajti Warrack se ne obremenjuje s poskusom utemeljevanja legitimnosti in trajanja obdobja. Zanj je romantika »gibanje v umetnosti in misli«, ki je vplivalo na celotno glasbeno ustvarjalnost 19. stol. Po njegovem mnenju je gibanje doseglo vrhunec prav z Wagnerjevo umetnostjo in je po skladateljevi smrti, letu 1883, kljub delu »velikih poznoromantičnih skladateljev, zlasti Mahlerja« oslabelo.¹⁴ Iz Warrackovega pojmovanja romantike lahko razberemo razumevanje obdobja kot glasbenozgodovinske oznake za celo 19. stol.

Naslov razprave Leona Plantinge »Romantična glasba« s podnaslovom »Zgodovina glasbenega stila v Evropi 19 .stol.« sugerira razumevanje glasbe 19. stol. z zbirnim imenom 'romantično'. Nikjer v razpravi Plantinga ne opredeljuje natančneje, ali ob tem razume tudi obdobje. Vendar v uvodu podaja misel, da »smo doslej že na nekaj mestih v razpravi uporabljali pojem 'romantično' kot splošno oznako za prevladujoče poteze glasbe 19. stol. Koncepti in imena kot je to bodisi za opisovanje stila, kanone okusa bodisi označitev dobe so otopeli inštrumenti, katerih pomanikljivosti so bile že poudarjene«. 15 S to mislijo se Plantinga sicer na videz distancira od opredeljevanja romantike kot glasbenozgodovinske dobe, vendar pa se mu ni mogel izogniti pri zamejevanju zgodovinskega časa, ki ga interpretira glasbenozgodovinski pregled. Svojo razpravo začenja z letnico 1792 oz. Beethovnovim odhodom na Dunaj, končuje pa s Straussovimi simfoničnimi pesnitvami in Mahlerjevimi prvimi tremi simfonijami. Razprava tako obsega čas do začetka 20. stol., pri čemer je Mahlerjeva simfonična ustvarjalnost postavljena v dve ločeni glasbenozgodovinski 'obdobji'. 16 Tudi izbira letnice 1792 se zdi poleg vseh drugih potencialnih letnic nekako izbira, ki jo je mogoče interpretirati s tradicionalnim zamejevanjem romantike. Kot je že Longyear dejal, predstavlja romantika v najširšem pomenu besede glasbenim zgodovinarjem obdobje med 1789. in 1914. Obe letnici nakazujeta bolj sočasnost s politično kot kulturno zgodovino. Zdi se, da Plantingova odločitev pri zamejevanju začetka romantike skuša poiskati letnico, ki ne bi bila preveč oddaljena od francoske revolucije.

Beethovnove umetnosti ne označuje za romantično, vendar tudi v nadaljevanju ne govori o romantičnih skladateljevih ali pa romantični generaciji skladateljev. Iz tega izhaja, da je zanj obdobje romantike zgolj nalepka za določen oz. predstavljen glasbenozgodovinski čas in nikakor ne problemsko področje, ki bi mu bilo treba pripisati kakršenkoli pomen.

<sup>12</sup> John Warrack. 'Romantic'. V: The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Stanley Sadie (ur.), Zv. 16. London: Macmillan, 1980, 141.

<sup>13</sup> Prav tam, 144.

<sup>14</sup> Leon Plantinga. Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1984, 20.

<sup>15</sup> Ta razdelitev je vsekakor vprašljiva.

<sup>16</sup> Donald Jay Grout, Claude V. Palisca. A History of Wstern Music. New York. London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1988, 656-657.

Razprava Zgodovina zahodne glasbe Donalda Jaya Grouta in Claudea V. Palisce se je zaradi vsebinske zasnove glasbenozgodovinskega pregleda izognila vprašanju romantike kot glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja. Avtorja obravnavata 19. stol. po glasbenih zvrsteh, kljub temu pa sta v uvodu h glasbi 19. stol. napisala: »več ko o glasbi določenega časa, prostora ali pa skladatelja vemo, vedno bolj nam postaja jasno, da so posplošeni opisi stilov neprimerni, meje obdobij pa samovoljno postavljene. Kljub temu pa je delitev glasbene zgodovine na stilna obdobja uporabna. Periodizacija upravičuje tako kontinuiteto kot spremembe. Nalepki klasika in romantika sta približni in netočni, lahko sta le orientacijski točki v pristopu do dejanske glasbe«. 17 V devetnajstem poglavju razprave z naslovom Konec dobe omenjata, da je bila zadnja tretjina 19. stol. razmeroma mirna in stabilna, da pa začetek 20. stol. označuje povečevanje »splošnega nezadovoljstva družbe in mednarodne napetosti, ki je doseglo vrhunec prav s prvo svetovno vojno«.18 Nemir in napetosti naj bi se na glasbenem področju manifestirali v »različnih radikalnih eksperimentih«. In prav v tem času naj bi se po njunem mnenju sklenila klasicistično -romantična doba in z njo konvencije tonalnosti, značilne za glasbo 18. in 19. stol. Že sam naslov poglavja namiguje na konec dobe, ki jo, kot se v nadaljevanju izkaže, avtorja razumeta kot klasicistično-romantično dobo. S tem se ne le približujeta Blumejevi tezi o enovitosti klasicistično-romantične dobe, temveč izhajata iz predpostavk tonalnosti in kanona oblik, ki omenjeni glasbenozgodovinski čas kontinuirano združujeta.

Dahlhaus je zavrgel tradicionalno pojmovanje romantike kot oznake za zaključeno dobo med klasicizmom in novo glasbo. Meni, da je ta klišejska predstava, ki združuje vse (pomembne in nepomembne) skladatelje od Schuberta do Mahlerja v en zbirni pojem ali pa v pojem glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja, napačna.<sup>19</sup> Da bi kategorija lahko postala uporabna tudi kot oznaka za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje, bi jo bilo po njegovem mnenju potrebno precizirati.

Dahlhausova kritika nedvomno izhaja iz nekritične rabe pojma v dotedanjem glasbenem zgodovinopisju. Narobe bi bilo razumeti, da Dahlhaus predlaga ukinitev glasbenozgodovinskega pojma in s tem tudi oznake za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje. Dahlhaus zgolj opozarja na relativnost pomena pojma, ki je ob nereflektirani in nekritični rabi v glasbenem zgodovinopisju postal zgolj nalepka, ki poleg tega, da obstaja, ne pove ničesar, ali pa so njegove interpretacije tako heterogene, da so glasbenemu zgodovinopisju vse prej kot v oporo. V svoji razpravi, ki sprva namiguje na ukinitev rabe pojma, vendar v nadaljevanju pretresa uporabnost le-tega ter skuša nanovo vzpostaviti vrednostne kriterije, po katerih bi le-ta lahko postal uporaben, ne preverja romantike kot pojma za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje. Na ta segment posredno odgovarja v razpravi 'Neoromantika', ki bo omenjena v nadaljevanju.

Nadaljnja kritika rabe pojma kot oznake za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje je v razpravi *Romantika v glasbi* Petra Rummenhöllerja. Rummenhöller opozori na ustaljeno rabo v glasbenem zgodovinopisju in tudi govorni rabi, po katerih je romantika splošno glasba 19. in začetka 20. stol, torej nekako od Carla Marie von Webra do Rich-

<sup>17</sup> Prav tam, 755.

<sup>18</sup> Carl Dahlhaus. 'Musik und Romantik'. V: Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts. Wiesbaden: Athenaion, Laaber: Laaber, 1980, 13.

<sup>19</sup> Peter Rummenhöller. Romantik in der Musik. Analysen, Portraits, Reflexionen. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1989, 8-9.

arda Straussa.<sup>20</sup> Ob tem izpeljuje primerjavo z literarno romantiko, za katero ugotavlja, da je »velikodušno računano« trajala 35 let (v obdobju med letoma 1800 in 1837). Tako se mu zdi 140 let glasbene romantike glede na 35 let literarne romantike »pošastno« dolgo. Dodaja, da konec enega fenomena pravzaprav predstavlja šele pravi začetek in polni čas delovanja drugega. Rummenhöller meni, da je romantika kot pojem za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje neenotna in zato tudi neuporabna. Od tod je izpeljal ugotovitev, da romantika (v glasbi) ni oznaka za obdobje, temveč zgolj svetovni nazor. Pravi, da je treba, če želimo romantiki in romantičnemu povrniti smisel, njun pomen in rabo radikalno omejiti na določen čas. V svoji razpravi zato govori zgolj o glasbi prve polovice 19. stol., pri tem pa ne označuje vse takratne glasbe za romantično. Rabo pojma kot oznake za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje je nadomestil z interpretacijo o romantični generaciji skladateljev. Kot pravo romantično generacijo skladateljev označuje »rojene okoli l. 1810«; Mendelssohna (1809), Schumanna in Chopina (1810) ter Franza Liszta (1811). Ob tem pripominja, da je Liszt »znatno prestopil prag sredine stoletja« in da kot skladatelj simfoničnih pesnitev ne more pripadati več romantiki. Kot izhaja iz navedenega, enači Rummenhöller romantiko z romantično generacijo skladateljev, pri tem pa pojem definira kot delni fenomen v glasbi prve polovice 19.stol.

Tako je romantiko v glasbi po njegovem mogoče zaslediti v delih omenjenih skladateljev v času med 1830. in 1850. Čeprav se Rummenhöller vnaprej odpove možnosti uporabe pojma kot glasbenozgodovinske oznake, pa vendarle v svoji razpravi posredno uporablja periodizacijo 'fenomena'. Trajanje le-tega je določil na osnovi generacijskega vidika. Pri tem je upošteval letnice rojstva skladateljev in njihovega vstopa v javno glasbeno življenje ter ob izbranem glasbenem gradivu prepoznaval pripadnost le-tega romantiki, kot izhaja seveda iz njegove literarne interpretacije pojma. Čeprav ugotavlja, da skladatelji po letu 1850 uporabljajo nekatere »romantične pridobitve«, pa časa po 1850 nikakor ne želi označiti kot romantičnega.<sup>21</sup>

Generacijski vidik 'periodizacije' uporablja tudi Charles Rosen v svoji razpravi »Romantična generacija«. Razprava je omejena na čas med letoma 1827 in 1849, letnici pa je določil glede na leto Beethovnove in Chopinove smrti. Rosen meni, da naj bi Beethovnova smrt pospešila razvoj novih stilnih tendenc v ustvarjalnosti skladateljev rojenih »okoli 1810«.²² Ugotavlja, da le Chopina ni prestrašila impozantna podoba avtoritete, ki naj bi jo Beethoven utelešal mlajšim generacijam skladateljev. Chopinova smrt bi po Rosenu lahko pomenila konec enega obdobja, saj je Schumann umrl nekaj let za njim, Liszt pa se je po letu 1850 odpovedal »mnogim smelim prijemom in razvil nove poti v glasbenem stilu«.²³ Leta 1850 prihaja na glasbeno sceno mladi Brahms, katerega ustvarjalnost je nakazala, da je »bila v zraku nova in bolj konzervativna glasbena filozofija«.²⁴ Rosen se je v svoji razpravi omejil na tiste skladatelje, katerih »značilni stili so bili definirani konec dvajsetih in ob začetku tridesetih let 19. stol.«, in katerih glasba je bila »nedvoumno povezana z umetnostjo, literaturo, politiko in osebnim življenjem

<sup>20</sup> Rummenhöller navaja, da literarna zgodovina označuje čas, ki je sledil romantiki, kot »poetični realizem« in da bi njegovo uporabnost veljalo preveriti tudi v glasbenem zgodovinopisju. Prav tam, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Rosen. The Romantic Generation. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press, 1995, IX.

<sup>22</sup> Prav tam.

<sup>23</sup> Prav tam, IX-X.

<sup>24</sup> Prav tam, X.

na način, ki je bil sicer manj neposreden in bolj ambivalenten kot v glasbi predhodnih obdobij«.  $^{25}\,$ 

Tako Rummenhöller kot Rosen povezujeta romantiko v glasbi ali 'romantični' čas v zgodovinopisju z generacijo skladateljev rojenih »okoli 1810«. Razlika je v tem, da prvi upošteva že letnico 1810, drugi pa čas njihove ustvarjalne uresničitve v javnem življenju. Pri obeh se omenjeni čas sklene na polovici stoletja. Avtorja ne zamejujeta 'romantičnega' časa z letnicami, ki bi iskale vzporedje z odločilnimi letnicami literarne ali pa politične zgodovine. Kot novost pri obeh se izkaže zamejevanje 'fenomena' na opazno krajše časovno obdobje, kot ga je glasbeno zgodovinopisje dotlej opredeljevalo. Oba govorita o novem času v glasbeni zgodovini po letu 1850, ki pa ga natančneje ne opredelita. Torej romantiko v glasbenem zgodovinopisju povezujeta z ustvarjalnostjo skladateljev prve polovice 19. stol., natančneje z (romantično) generacijo skladateljev rojenih okoli 1810. Kot kriterij pripadnosti le-tej pa navajata značilnosti glasbenega jezika. Pojem romantika kot oznaka za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje Rummenhöller je zavrgel, Rosen pa se mu je izognil. Kljub temu razpravi temeljita na periodizaciji, katere izhodišče predstavlja generacijski vidik.

Rummenhöllerjeva in Rosenova interpretacija periodizacije 'romantike' v glasbi posredno upošteva Dahlhausove ugotovitve in periodizacijo 'neoromantike' v glasbenem zgodovinopisju. Dahlhaus ne govori o času, o katerem pišeta Rummenhöller in Rosen, razpravlja pa o poskusu interpretiranja glasbenozgodovinskega časa po letu 1850. S svojo razpravo se torej zelo posredno dotika prve polovice 19. stol. in v luči razumevanja glasbenozgodovinskega časa druge pol. 19. stol. sugerira odnos do interpretiranja prve polovice stoletja. Kot sta ugotovila že Rummenhöller in Rosen, je glasba druge pol. 19. stol. »neromantična« (Rummenhöller) oz. »pripada naslednji generaciji skladateljev« (Rosen). Dahlhausova interpretacija glasbenozgodovinskega časa po letu 1850 izhaja iz zgodovinskofilozofske ali duhovnozgodovinske perspektive razumevanja tega obdobja. Za glasbo prve pol. 19. stol. pravi, da je »romantična v času romantike, ki je ustvaril tudi romantično poezijo in slikarstvo, neoromantika druge pol. 19. stol. pa je bila romantika v neromantičnem času, v katerem sta dominirala pozitivizem in realizem«.26 Dahlhaus meni, da se je v prvi pol. 19. stol. filozofija imela za bistvo znanosti, umetnost pa je bila prežeta z metafizičnim dostojanstvom.<sup>27</sup> Toda pozitivizem druge pol 19. stol. ni veljal za trivialno realnost, ki bi mu filozofija in umetnost lahko nasprotovali in s tem predstavljali pravo realnost. Prav tako ni bil zgolj nasprotje duhovnim, intelektualnim in kulturnim težnjam časa, temveč je bil sam kot tak duh znanstvene dobe.<sup>28</sup> Tako se je glasba v tem novem času ločila od duha dobe in prav ta ločitev ji je omogočila izpolnjevanje duhovne, kulturne in ideološke funkcije, ki pa »se je zavzemala za alternativni svet«. Tudi sama trditev »glasba je drugačna« je predstavljala jedro glasbene estetike dobe pozitivizma.<sup>29</sup> Če so bile ideje, s katerimi je bila glasba prežeta v prvi pol. 19. stol., sorodne principom, ki so bili prevladujoči v literaturi, slikarstvu in filozofiji, pa to ne velja več za čas po 1850. Glasba je postala v času, ki je vedno bolj reflektiral metodologijo naravoslovnih znanosti,

<sup>25</sup> Carl Dahlhaus. 'Neo-Romanticism'. V: 19th-Century Music 3/2 (1979), 99.

<sup>26</sup> Prav tam, 100.

<sup>27</sup> Prav tam,

<sup>28</sup> Prav tam, 99.

<sup>29</sup> Prav tam, 100.

presežena in s tem tudi izolirana umetnost.<sup>30</sup> Dahlhaus ugotavlja, da je prav s tem da je omogočala alternativo realnostim sveta po eni strani povečala svoj vpliv, po drugi pa zaradi odtujitve od pozitivističnega *duha časa* ni mogla veljati za »reprezentativno« umetnost, tj. dokument in refleksijo svojega časa. Dahlhaus utemeljuje razumevanje razmerja romantika - neoromantika na osnovi duhovnozgodovinske interpretacije, v kateri poudarja prepad med glasbo ter sočasno literaturo in umetnostjo. Čeprav je po njegovem mnenju glasba druge pol. 19. stol. še vedno romantična, vendar 'odmaknjena' od sočasnega duha časa, pa ne pomeni, da po 1850. tudi sama ni bila deležna strukturnih sprememb. Kot je vidno iz razprave, Dahlhaus ne išče neposrednih analogij med političnimi in filozofskimi gibanji časa s sočasno glasbo. S tem da je obdobje neoromantike postavil med letnici 1850 in 1890 (ali 1910), pri 'izbiri' letnic ni imel v mislih ne odločilnih ne glasbenih dogodkov, temveč dejstvo, da se je v tem času zgodil »duh kulturnega prevrednotenja«, ki pa je nedvomno vplival na mišljenje o glasbi in tudi na glasbo samo. Iz tega lahko sklepamo, da neoromantika kot oznaka za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje ne predstavlja Dahlhausu zgolj duhovnozgodovinskega konteksta glasbe v pozitivističnem duhu časa, temveč tudi spremembo, ki jo je glasba manifestirala v sebi sami, zlasti na področju jezika struktur.

Čeprav se Dahlhaus z vprašanjem tega ne ukvarja, pa s svojo interpretacijo razumevanja in razčlenjevanja 'dobe' lahko predstavlja argument in potrditev izsledkov novejših raziskav, zlasti Rummenhöllerjevo in Rosenovo periodizacijo 'romantike' v glasbi.

Pri poskusu interpretacije romantike kot glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja opazuje Martin Wehnert romantiko v luči stilnega obdobja. Meni, da se je sistem členjenja stilnih obdobij v zgodovini umetnosti, ki ga je z upoštevanja vrednimi rezultati prevzela tudi muzikologija, pokazal za plodovitega.<sup>30</sup> Vendar pa je proces individualiziranja in diferenciranja pripeljal do situacije, v kateri se je romantična duhovna drža v potencirani obliki pokazala za preveč odprto.31 Ugotavlja, da je 19. stol. »globoko raztrgano stoletje« ter izpeljuje, da je razpravljanje o romantični dobi v 19. stol. contradictio in adjecto. Ob romantiki 19. stol. prepoznava Wehnert še neromantike, tj. »alternativne« pojme (bidermajer, realizem, klasicizem, historicizem, nacionalne romantike in neoromantie), na osnovi katerih je zavrgel prepričanje o stilni enotnosti 19. stol. in jo nadomestil s stilnim pluralizmom. Wehnert uporablja sintagmo Walterja Wiore, iz katere izhaja dvojna vloga muzikologije: »po eni strani kritika na račun mnenja o domnevni enotnosti [romantike], po drugi pa raziskovanje, ali obstajajo skupne značilnosti in kako daleč te segajo«,32 Mnenja je, da je ta postulat potrebno imeti »še danes« za nerešenega. Torej Wehnert postavlja domnevni romantiki kot pendant alternativne pojme, s katerimi je ovrgel možnost razpravljanja o romantiki kot morebitnem glasbenozgodovinskem obdobju. Pravzaprav se je temu vnaprej odrekel. Vendar pa se ob njegovem zagovoru stilnega pluralizma postavlja vprašanje, ali so alternativni pojmi, ki jih navaja kot argument za razpad stilne enotnosti, aktualni tudi v glasbi prve pol. 19. stol. Prav tako se poraja pomislek, ali so 'alternative' odločilno zaznamovale glasbena dela druge pol. 19. stol.

<sup>30</sup> Martin Wehnert. 'Romantik und romantisch'. V: Die Musik in Geschichte und Genenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik. Ludwig Finscher (ur.) Zv. 8. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998, 491.

<sup>31</sup> Prav tam.

<sup>32</sup> Prav tam, 492.

Če parafraziram Carla Dahlhausa, ki pravi, da definicije obdobja v zgodovini umetnosti ali katerikoli drugi umetnosti niso nikoli povsem neodvisne od vrednostnih presoj, lahko rečem, da iskanje skupnega imenovalca vse glasbe, nastale v 19. stol., predstavlja zmotno predstavo o razumevanju umetnostnozgodovinskega ali glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja. Wehnertovo razumevanje obdobja izhaja iz stilne enotnosti, ta pa domnevno iz načina razumevanja klasicizma kot stilno enotne dobe, katere model stilne enovitosti skuša prepoznati Wehnert tudi v glasbi 19. stol. Vprašanje, ali pojmovanje romantike lahko utemeljujemo na podlagi predpostavk razumevanja obdobja glasbenega klasicizma, predstavlja tisti odgovor, ki bi lahko omogočil poskus morebitnega ponovnega definiranja romantike kot glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja. Tako postane razumljivo tudi izhodišče Wehnertovega zanikanja romantike kot glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja.

Da poskus definiranja glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja na podlagi stilne enovitosti ni najbolj varna osnova za morebitno določanje obdobja romantike, je opozoril Jim Samson. Tovrstni 'nevarnosti' se je izognil tako, da je predlagal obravnavanje romantike predvsem glede na »ideje in spodbude« in manj glede na glasbene stile.<sup>33</sup> Če pa bi se odločili za to možnost, sugerira »omejevanje pojma na opis večjih tendenc, izvirajočih iz tistih idej in spodbud, ki bi se jih lahko uporabilo za celotno obdobje«.<sup>34</sup> V svoji razpravi Samson ne želi natančneje opredeliti lastnega stališča glede romantike kot glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja. V uvodni definiciji označuje romantiko kot gibanje ali obdobje kulturne zgodovine, ki se identificira bodisi s prvo polovico 19. stol. bodisi s celotnim 19. stol. Vendar pa je iz načina njegovega nadaljnjega razpravljanja o romantiki vidno, da mu je bilo bližje razumevanje obdobja v blumejevskem kontekstu periodizacije kot pa zamejevanje obdobja na polovico stoletja. Ob tem navaja tendence, ki so po njegovem mnenju navzoče v glasbi vse do prehoda v 20. stol.

Romantika je v glasbenozgodovinskih pregledih prve pol. 20. stol. predstavljala zgolj nalepko, torej imenovalec, ki naj bi brez jasne osnove združeval najrazličnejše pojave v 19. stol., razprave druge pol. 20. stol. pa so preverile dejansko uporabnost te nalepke. Kritični vpogled v rabo pojma je omogočil stabiliziranje pomena in vzpostavitev njegove (ne) uporabnosti. Kategorija, ki je še v nekaterih glasbenozgodovinskih pregledih in razpravah druge pol. 20. stol. veljala za samoumevno, je postopoma zahtevala znanstveno opredelitev.

Izbira navedenih diskurzov, ki se dotikajo tudi vprašanja periodizacije romantike in s tem (nekatere) skušajo opredeliti ali opredeljujejo le-to kot glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje, je pokazal, da sta se v drugi pol 20. stol. in začetku 21. stol. izoblikovala dva modela interpretiranja pojma kot glasbenozgodovinsko razumljenega obdobja: prvi je blumejevsko zamejevanje romantike, po katerem se romantika neposredno navezuje na klasicizem oz. z njim sestavlja zaprto celoto, kar pomeni da traja vse od druge pol. 18. pa do začetka 20. stol.; drugi in hkrati novejši zagovarja tezo, da o romantiki lahko govorimo le v prvi pol. 19. stol. Čeprav se zdi, da Blumejeva periodizacija na nek način ponavlja ustaljeno prakso označevanja celotnega 19. stol. kot romantičnega, je novost v tem, da Blume podaja argumente v dokazovanju pojma kot glasbenozgodovinskega

<sup>33</sup> Jim Samson. 'Romanticism.' V: Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23751 (dostop 22. marec 2007).

<sup>34</sup> Prav tam.

obdobja. Njegova periodizacija temelji na spoznanju, da strukturne in oblikovne osnove 18. stol. ostanejo prisotne tudi v glasbi 19. stol. Torej, kanon oblik je tista predpostavka, ki zagovarja enotnost klasicistično-romantičnega obdobja. Zanimivo je, da Blumejeva trditev iz 60. let 20. stol. še danes predstavlja nekaterim glasbenim zgodovinarjem izhodišče pri zamejevanju tega glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja. Lahko bi celo dejali, da je postblumejevski diskurzi definiranja tega glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja niso nikoli povsem ovrgli ali pa zanikali. Tisto, kar ponuja drugi model zamejevanja glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja, predstavlja na določen način konkretizacijo in diferenciacijo obstoječe blumejevske paradigme, ki pa je pripeljala do nekaterih novih spoznanj. Novejše raziskave zagovarjajo interpretacijo romantike kot oznake za glasbenozgodovinski čas le v prvi pol. 19. stol., pri čemer pravzaprav nikakor ne želijo govoriti o zaprtem obdobju, temveč o romantični generaciji skladateljev. To ne izhaja toliko iz obstoječe kritike rabe pojma in zato previdnosti rabe le-tega, temveč spoznanja, da je generacija skladateljev, rojenih okoli 1810., ne le iz konteksta novih družbenih, filozofskih, kulturnih in sploh intelektualnih premen zaznamovala nov čas v zgodovini glasbe, temveč je s svojo ustvarjalnostjo ponudila tudi novosti v samih strukturah kot jeziku le-teh. Drugi model je vzpostavil ločnice tako med glasbo poznega 18. stol. in glasbo romantične generacije skladateljev, kot tudi med slednjimi in skladatelji druge pol. 19. stol. Po tej plati je pokazal, da kljub kanonu zvrsti obstajajo mehanizmi, ki paradigmo o enotnosti klasicistično-romantične dobe ali pa celotnega 19. stol. lahko znanstveno na novo preverijo in omogočijo vzpostavitev novega in tudi drugačnega razumevanja tega glasbenozgodovinskega časa. Mlajše razprave (Dahlhaus, Rummenhöller, Rosen) so enotne pri upoštevanju dejstva, da je raba pojma v glasbenem zgodovinopisju primerna za čas prve pol. 19. stol. Čeprav tega časa ne želijo označiti kot obdobje v glasbeni zgodovini, temveč ga argumentirajo z generacijskim vidikom, lahko ta postane osnova za morebitno nadaljnje razpravljanje bodisi v zagovor bodisi kritiko rabe pojma kot oznake za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje.

Pričujoča razprava želi izpostaviti še en premislek, ki ga je spodbudilo Wehnertovo enačenje romantike z enotnostjo stila. Ob tem se postavlja vprašanje, ali je enotnost stila pogoj za obstoj glasbenozgodovinskega obdobja. Če je, je romantika kot glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje vnaprej obsojena na zanikanje, to pa se kot posledica dotika tudi interpretiranja romantične generacije skladateljev. Tako znameniti stavek Walterja Wiore »romantika je smrt stila« lahko beremo na dva načina: da romantiko želimo (tudi kot obdobje) opredeliti na podlagi predpostavk značilnih za prejšnje obdobje, pri čemer postane raba pojma kot glasbenozgodovinske oznake contradicito in adjecto (Wehnert); drugi način branja sintagme Walterja Wiore pa pomeni, da sta v izrečenem utelešena ugotovitev in dejstvo, ki je last prav romantike in jo kot tako določa v novem glasbenozgodovinskem kontekstu.

S stališča najnovejših muzikoloških razprav bi težko dejali, da je glasbena zgodovina (dokončno) sprejela pojem kot oznako za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje v svojo periodizacijo evropske glasbe. Še vedno je očitno, da novejša kritika skuša omajati pomen in rabo le-te, vendar pa lahko na osnovi izsledkov muzikoloških razprav druge pol. 20. in začetka 21. stol. razberemo, da so si enotne v ugotovitvi, ki opredeljuje prvo pol. 19. stol. kot romantiko.

Če je bila romantika v glasbenem zgodovinopisju nekoč zgolj nalepka, je kritika druge pol. 20. stol. prispevala k vzpostavitvi kriterijev, ki pojmu omogočajo uporabnost. Ker pa definicija obdobja izhaja iz definicije pojma, ki ga muzikološka veda še ni dokončno opredelila, je razumljiva tudi negotovost v rabi pojma romantika kot oznake za glasbenozgodovinsko obdobje.

#### SUMMARY

Music history surveys of the first half of the 20th century use the term Romanticism as a general designation that covers various musical-cultural phenomena of the 19th century, and as such represents a designation of an entire period of music history. Uncritical transfer of a category as a period into surveys of musical history brought about only a seeming solution in dividing up a markedly heterogenious time into periods, linked only through the term Romanticism. It was only in the second half of the 20th century that musicological research tried to give a scholarly definition of the term that would match the period of musical history itself. A cross section of selected musicological discourses has shown that in the second half of the 20th century and in the beginning of the 21st two models of interpreta-

tion have evolved: One in the wake of Blume's ideals, considering Romanticism as a continuation of Classicism, and as such, together with the former, forming a closed, self-contained whole that lasts from the second half of the 18th to the beginning of the 20th century, and another, more recent, which supports the thesis that one can speak of Romanticism only in the first half of the 19th century. Considering the latest musicological research one could hardly say that music history has accepted the term as a designation of a period in its structuring of European music (for good). It is obvious that recent critical minds are trying to undermine the importance and use of the term while, on the other hand, it is also true that the results of musicological discourses of the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century reveal a unanimous support for designating the first half of the 19th century as Romanticism.

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# Zlatorog Viktorja Parme - med opero in glasbeno dramo

### Viktor Parma's Goldenhorn – between opera and music drama

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**Ključne besede:** Viktor Parma (1858-1924), slovenska opera, glasbena drama, vodilni motiv, zlatorog

#### Izvleček

Članek je namenjen analizi Parmove opere Zlatorog, ki zavzema posebno mesto v avtorjevem opusu in tudi v kontekstu razvoja slovenske opere. Skladatelj si je zadal ambiciozen načrt, saj je uglasbil mitološko zgodbo, pri uglasbitvi pa se je skušal približati aktualni glasbeni drami. V svoji realizaciji pa je ostal nekje na sredi poti, kar izdaja analiza oblikovalnih postopkov in dela z vodilnimi motivi.

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**Keywords:** Viktor Parma (1858-1924), Slovenian opera, music drama, leitmotiv, Goldenhorn

#### ABSTRACT

The article concentrates on the analysis of Parma's opera Goldenhorn, which occupies an important place in the composer's oeuvre as well as in the context of the development of the Slovenian opera.

Skladatelj Viktor Parma (1858-1924) prav gotovo zavzema posebno mesto v zgodovini slovenske glasbe. Če utegne biti razpravljanje o estetski vrednosti posameznih skladateljevih del metodološko sporno, pa ne more biti dvoma, da Parma sodi med najplodovitejše slovenske skladatelje na področju glasbenega-gledališča, kar dokazujejo njegove opere (*Urh, grof celjski, Ksenija, Stara pesem, Zlatorog*, nedokončana komična opera *Pavliha*), operete (*Carične Amazonke, Nečak, Venerin hram, Zaročenec v škripcih*) in scenska glasba (za Govekarjevi ljudski igri *Rokovnjači* in *Legionarji* ter pravljico *Mogočni prstan* Frana Milčinskega).¹ Seveda se v zgodovinski spomin Parma

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Za podatke o izvedbah in letnicah nastanka gl. Darja Frelih, »Viktor Parma – razsikovalna izhodišča«, v: Muzikološki zbornik 29 (1993), 39-58.

ni vtisnil zgolj s svojo široko gledališko produkcijo, temveč tudi kot avtor prve v celoti komponirane slovenske opere² – Benjamin Ipavec (*Teharski plemiči*, 1891) in Parma (*Urh, grof celjski*, 1894) sta segla po istem Funtkovem libretu, vendar je Ipavec še ostal pri govorjenih dialogih, medtem ko jih je Parma le štiri leta kasneje v svoji uglasbitvi prelil v glasbo. Posebno mesto med slovenskimi operami pa si gotovo zasluži tudi zadnja skladateljeva dokončana opera *Zlatorog* (1919). Kot piše J. Sivec, naj bi se skladatelj z *Zlatorogom* »najvišje vzpel«, čeprav v operi odkriva tudi šibka mesta.³ Še bolj navdušen se zdi D. Cvetko, ki navaja, da je to »Parmovo najboljše, res najzrelejše delo«, vendar ne pojasni bolj natančno, v čem je kvaliteta skladateljevega poslednjega dokončanega gledališkega dela,⁴ medtem ko je P. Petronio celo prepričan, da si delo zasluži status slovenske nacionalne opere.⁵

V nadaljevanju članka velja premisliti, zakaj naj bi si *Zlatorog* zaslužil izpostavljeno mesto v zgodovini slovenske opere, kar je mogoče opraviti z bolj natančno glasbeno analizo dela, predvsem osrednjih glasbeno-oblikovalnih postopkov. *Zlatorog* se v resnici precej razlikuje od skladateljevih predhodnih glasbeno-gledaliških del in izkazuje silno skladateljevo željo in prizadevanje po umetniškem napredku, ki se kaže tako v izbiri snovi in glasbenega materiala kot tudi na ravni glasbenega oblikovanja. Parma je izbral mitološko snov, ki zahteva posebno dramaturško in glasbeno obdelavo, mit o zlatorogu pa seveda prinaša tudi značilne nacionalne konotacije, kar pomeni, da se Parma ni odpovedal želji po kreaciji slovenske nacionalne opere. Ob novi snovi pa se je skladatelj odločil še, da opusti številčno obliko opere, namesto niza zaključenih oblik pa je oblikotvorno vlogo zaupal iz Wagnerjeve glasbene drame prevzetemu simfoničnemu načinu razmišljanja z motivično-tematskim delom. Vse to so bile novosti v Parmovem opusu in z izjemo želje po ustvarjanju nacionalne opere tudi novosti v slovenskem opernem snovanju.

Takšen prestop v novo pa ni predstavljal radikalnega odklona v neznano, temveč bolj sintetiziranje sočasnega. Tipiko takšnega koraka je seveda potrebno umestiti v kontekst slovenske glasbe in širšega mednarodnega prostora. Kar se tiče prvega, Parma za svoj ambiciozni projekt na Slovenskem ni imel pomembnejšega zgleda. Po letu 1848, torej v času slovenske narodne prebuje, nastaneta na slovenskih tleh dve spevoigri - Vilharjeva Jamska Ivanka (1850) in Tičnik Benjamina Ipavca (1864) - vendar pa za obe deli kot tudi za nekoliko kasnejšo Ipavčevo uglasbitev Teharskih plemičev velja, da gre za tako v glasbenem kot tudi dramaturškem pogledu precej neizrazita dela. Poteze nacionalne opere bi morda lahko iskali v Foersterjevem Gorenjskem slavčku, ki pa je bil sprva zamišljen kot opereta (1872) in šele dobri dve desetletji kasneje predelan v operno obliko (1896), za nekoliko drugačno in tudi precej samosvojo pot k nacionalni operi pa se je odločil Risto Savin s svojo drugo opero Lepa Vida (1907), ki prinaša značilno slovensko snov, spregledati pa ne smemo, da je tudi Savin skušal posodobiti glasbeni jezik, saj poleg značilnih verističnih melodičnih izbruhov in pitoresknega kola glasbeno

<sup>2</sup> Opozoriti velja, da se ponekod zmotno navaja, da je Parma avtor prve slovenske prekomponirane opere, ker bi to pomenilo, da se je avtor v tej operi popolnoma izognil zaprtim periodičnim glasbenim oblikam, kar ne drži.

<sup>3</sup> Jože Sivec, Dvesto let slovenske opere, Opera in balet SNG Ljubljana, Ljubljana 1981, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Dragotin Cvetko, Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem, zv. 3, DZS, Ljubljana 1960, 362.

<sup>5</sup> Prim.: Paolo Petronio, Viktor Parma. Oče slovenske opere, Mladika, Trst 2002.

dogajanje zaznamuje tudi uporaba vodilnega motiva. Če se je torej slovenska opera na prelomu v 20. stoletje šele dejavneje premikala od lažje spevoigre k razvitejši operni obliki, snovno pa je prevladovala želja po nacionalnem karakterju opere, so se evropski operni skladatelji ukvarjali s precej drugačnimi problemi. Osrednji je bil povezan s hitrimi slogovnimi spremembami, ki so se razkrivale tako na dramaturški kot tudi na glasbeni ravni. Melodično poudarjeni belcantizem se je izrazito umaknil veristični operni dramaturgiji, ki je v sebi združevala melodično emfazo belcanta z dramaturško odrezavostjo in namišljenim življenjskim naturalizmom, ter večinoma po Wagnerjevih zgledih ukrojeni glasbeni drami in literarni operi. Priostreno rečeno je šlo za prehod od poudarjeno glasbenega h gledališkemu, od melodičnega k dramatičnemu, od operni formi prilagojenega libreta k »čistemu« dramskemu tekstu, od glasu k orkestru.

Parmovo opero *Zlatorog* je nujno treba razumeti in tudi vrednotiti znotraj takega zelo raznolikega konteksta – predstavlja namreč poizkus vzpostavitve velikega slovenskega opernega dela in hkrati obračun z vsemi sočasnimi evropskimi opernimi premiki. *Zlatorog* je tako umeščen v izpraznjen slovenski operni prostor in precej razpršen evropski operni kontekst. Negotovost ob vstopanju v »neznan« prostor in poznavanje številnih novih struj – Parma je vsaj v času študija prava na Dunaju (1876-1881) in obiskovanja teoretičnih predavanj pri A. Brucknerju obiskoval tudi knjižnico, kjer naj bi študiral operne partiture,<sup>7</sup> še pomembnejši pa so morali biti impulzi, ki jih je ponovno prejel na Dunaju med letoma 1916 in 1920, ko je postal tudi namestnik predsednika novoustanovljenega »Neodvisnega umetniškega združenja«,<sup>8</sup> katerega predsednik je bil prav Richard Brauer, libretist *Zlatoroga* – pa se kaže predvsem v mnogih in med seboj precej raznolikih vplivih, ki se stekajo v delo:

- 1. Snov opere v nekaterih obrisih spominja na Webrovega *Čarostrelca*, torej na zgodnjo nemško romantično opero. Stične točke odkrijemo predvsem v motivu lovca, ki greši (Tondo), in tudi v motivu lovca, ki pomoč za izpolnitev ljubezenske sreče išče v nadnaravnih silah. Veliko bolj očitne so snovne vzporednice s Catalanijevo opero *Wally*, na katere je opozoril že P. Petronio. Catalanijeva opera je postavljena v gorsko okolje, takšen gorski milje pa služi kot okvir opere, katere dogajanje se v središčnih slikah odvija v »kontrastni« dolini, isti miljejsko-geografski okvir in kontrast pa zaznamujeta tudi Parmovo opero. Izrazite podobnosti lahko odkrijemo tudi v glavnih moških likih iz obeh oper: Hagenbach je podobno kot Janez uspešen strelec, ki prihaja iz »tujega« okolja (Hagenbach iz Söldna, Janez iz Trente), v smrt pa oba pelje ljubezen, pri čemer prvega odnese snežni drugega pa kameni plaz.
- 2. Parma še vedno zaupa razpeti pevski melodiki, kar ga povezuje z italijanskim belcantom, ki je najbolj razločen v duetu Jerice in Marca, v »italijansko« smer pa ga vodijo tudi veristični zgledi. Tako je kljub mitološki snovi v karakterjih glavnih protagonistov mogoče razbrati realistične, občečloveške poteze, karakterizacija pa presega enostavno

<sup>6</sup> Prim.: Gregor Pompe, »Slovenska operna ustvarjalnost in slovenski roman«, v. Slovenski roman / Obdobja 21, Center za slovenščino kot drugi/tuji jezik pri Oddelku za slovenistiko Filozofske fakultete, Ljubljana 2003, 697-703.

<sup>7</sup> D. Frelih, nav. delo, 40-41.

<sup>8</sup> Prav tam, 44.

<sup>9</sup> P. Petronio, nav. delo.

črno-belo šatiranje (Janez je najprej skoraj presamozavesten in samozaverovan, kasneje pa se izkaže še za slabiča; »sumljiv« je tudi karakter Jerice, ki je ob pogledu na dragocen nakit kaj hitro pripravljena pozabiti Janeza; del krivde za tragični razplet pa je mogoče pripisati tudi Špeli, ki pomaga v Jerici vzbuditi sum o resnični Janezovi ljubezni). Še vedno najdemo v operi značilne pitoreskne zbore, ki opero »barvajo« in skušajo miljejsko določati prostor, za sam dramaturški razplet pa so večinoma nepomembni (to še posebej velja za zbor šolarjev, v gorsko-lovsko sfero pa nas prestavlja zbor lovcev), iz verizma pa je prevzeta tudi ideja o hitrem koncu - Janeza zasuje plaz, zbor in ponovitev vseh pomembnih glasbenih motivov sicer najavljajo vzpostavitev ravnotežja in sprave, vendar pa sam Janez nima več časa, da bi s svojim življenjem in svetom poravnal račune, brez česar v romantični operi še ni šlo (prav pomiritveno slovo od sveta je najznačilnejša sklepna točka številnih oper 19. stoletja). Seveda pa Zlatoroga z verizmom povezuje tudi kombinacija zanosne pevske melodike s povečano vlogo orkestra, ki glavno tematiko razpreda v uvodih k posameznim dejanjem in tudi v izmiritvah ob koncih, z roko v roki z melodiko in osamosvojenim orkestrom pa gre tudi nekakšna neodločna razpetost med zaokroženimi pevskimi številkami (arije, dueti itd.) in dramatičnim, prekomponirami stavkom.

- 3. Iz orkestrske glasbe, ki je postavljena na začetek posameznega dejanja, gotovo izstopa glasba, ki odpira poslednje dejanje. Po dramatičnem začetku sledi namreč obsežna baletna glasba (če upoštevamo različne oznake za tempo in motivično gradivo, bi lahko govorili vsaj o sedmih različnih baletnih slikah), ki v svoji izdatnosti spominja celo na zvrst pariške velike opere.
- 4. Med raznolikimi vplivi ne gre spregledati mestoma izrazitega bližanja slovenskemu ljudskemu melosu – na ta način je ukrojena predvsem glasba s konca prologa (gl. primer 4) - kar kaže na skladateljevo željo po ustvarjanju nacionalne opere.
- 5. Preslišati ni mogoče tudi značilnih operetnih impulzov (periodična melodika je zelo pogosto ujeta v iskriv tričetrinski ali triosminski takt, kot to velja na primer za duet Janeza in Špele), ki jih je Parma v svoje operno delo vnesel kot verzirani mojster operete.
- 6. Podobno kot številna operna dela iz konca 19. in začetka 20. stoletja pa se tudi Parma ni mogel izogniti Wagnerjevemu vplivu. Nenavadno sorodnost z wagnerjansko idejo opere izdaja že izbrana mitološka snov, ki je mestoma v motivih in temah nenavadno podobna Wagnerjevi tetralogiji Nibelungov prstan (seveda pri tem ne gre toliko za vprašanje, koliko se je Parma idejno naslonil na Wagnerja, temveč bolj za spoznanje, kako sorodna zna biti struktura mitov, kot je to spoznal že C. Lévi-Strauss<sup>10</sup>). Tako je pri Wagnerju osnovni zaplet povezan z »ropom« renskega zlata, katerega bogastvo simbolizirano predstavlja Alberichov prstan. Vendar pa postane po Alberichovi kletvi prstan, v katerega je metaforično usmerjen pohlep po bogastvu, smrtonosen za vsakogar, ki se ga polasti, tudi za velikana, ki ga v obliki pretečega zmaja straži v svoji votlini. Konec

<sup>10</sup> Prim.: Claude Lévi-Strauss, »Struktura mitov«, v: Problemi 41 (2003), št. 4-5, 219-248.

je odrešujoč - ko se prstan povrne v Ren, reka prestopi bregove in »očisti« svet: ta je lahko skladen šele takrat, ko je uravnotežena narava. Tudi v *Zlatorogu* imamo opravka z bogastvom, ki naj bi se skrival v votlini nekje pod Bogatinom, za njegovega čuvaja pa lahko imamo zlatoroga. Pohlep, želja po zakladu vodi Janeza v kraljestvo zlatoroga, kjer pa ga zaustavi narava v obliki plazu. Zlatorog se je maščeval (zbor poje: »Vollbracht ist die Rache durch Zlatorog!«), vzpostavljen je red narave, ki očitno v sebi skriva tudi osnovne moralne prvine. Seveda je bolj pomembno kot te tematsko-mitološke zveze med Wagnerjem in Parmo, da se je Parma pri svoji uglasbitvi mitološke snovi oprijel Wagnerjevega dela z vodilnimi motivi. Zdi se, da je metaforične razsežnosti mita in njegove nadzgodovinske dimenzije najlažje in najbolj učinkovito mogoče uglasbiti s pomočjo simfoničnega razpredanja vodilnih motivov, ki glasbeno zaznamujejo glavne junake, predmete in posredno tudi osrednje idejne vsebine dela.

Seveda je »mešanica« naštetih vplivov izrazito nehomogena, pa vendar glavna posebnost *Zlatoroga*. Ne kaže namreč toliko skladateljevega deloma pomanjkljivega glasbenega znanja in ne vedno enakomerno navdahnjene invencije, temveč točno določen trenutek v zgodovini slovenske operne ustvarjalnosti in širše tudi prelomni trenutek v zgodovini evropske opere. Takšna vmesna pozicija – Parma je razpet med novim (aktualnim) in starim (operna tradicija 19. stoletja) ter med umetniško »vzvišenim« (glasbena drama) in bolj popularnim (operetni vzgibi, ljudski melos) – se najbolje zrcali na dveh ravneh, ki jima velja v nadaljevanju posvetiti več pozornosti, in sicer na ravni oblikovalnih postopkov ter na ravni motivičnega dela.

Parma za razliko od svojih prejšnjih oper pri komponiranju Zlatoroga ni uporabil stare oblike številčne opere, temveč je želel po modnih verističnih zgledih in skladno z vplivi Wagnerjeve glasbene drame napisati v celoti prekomponirano opero, ki bi kar najbolj dosledno izražala dramatično vsebino teksta. Pri tem pa vendarle ni bil popolnoma dosleden in tako lahko znotraj prekomponiranega toka uglasbitve zdaj bolj in drugič nekoliko manj izrazito razločimo posamezne »točke«. Najbolj je po starih modelih številčne opere ukrojena Janezova napitnica, sicer drugače priljubljena točka številčnih oper, za katero je ponavadi značilno druženje solističnega z zborovskim (vsaj tako je v obeh najbolj znanih napitnicah iz Verdijeve Traviate, Mascagnijeve Kmečke časti in Leoncavallovih Glumačev) - tudi Parma ohranja takšno značilno izmenjavanje med solistom in zborom, ki prevzame solistovo melodično misel. Podobno izrazito zaokrožen je tudi kvartet tujih trgovcev, duet Jerice in Marca (enostavna šablonskost je v tem primeru v službi dramaturgije, saj skladatelj verjetno želi samo še podčrtati Marcov sumljivi karakter in osladno dvorjenje, ki postane uspešno predvsem zaradi dragocenega darila), il kratka pesem Jerice in oba omenjena pitoreskna zbora (zbor šolarjev in zbor strelcev). Kot tradicionalno točko pa je mogoče razumeti tudi zaključek drugega dejanja, saj imamo opravka z nekakšnim koncertantnim finalom (pojeta solistični kvintet in kvartet tujih trgovcev), ki svoj višek doseže v postopnem stapljanju z osrednjim motivom opere (x v primeru 1) in nekaj taktov kasneje tudi z njegovo inverzijo (-x v primeru 1).

Nekoliko drugačne poudarke pa dobita oba ljubezenska dueta in »arija« Janeza. Duet

<sup>11</sup> Skladatelj je \*točko« objavil tudi v verziji za klavir kot Barkarolo iz opere Zlatorog, kar še bolj jasno kaže na zaključenost glasbene oblike.

Jerice in Janeza je namreč motivično izpeljan iz glavnega motiva opere (prim. primera 5 in 1), kar duetu podeljuje izrazito metaforično vrednost - prav ljubezen do Jerice bo Janeza pognala v kraljestvo zlatoroga, kjer se bo dopolnila njegova usoda. Izrazito podobnost v oblikovanju pa izkazujeta duet med Janezom in Špelo ter Janezova osrednja točka. V obeh primerih imamo opravka s pregledno tridelno obliko, vendar pa je v periodično oblikovani in melodično spevni oblikovni okvir v obeh primerih vstavljena bolj dramatična epska pripoved. V srednji del dueta, ki v robnih delih s svojim gladkim osemosminskim taktom sicer spominja na operetno lahkotnost, se prikrade Janezova pripoved o tem, kako je v gorah nabral šopek rož. Podobno je z Janezovo pesmijo, ki je v obeh robnih delih namenjena melodioznemu prepričevanju Jeričine mame Katre, naj mu svojo hčer vendarle zaupa v plesni objem, bolj dramatično razgibani srednji del pa služi Janezovi lastni predstavitvi, v kateri že jasno pove, da je morda prav on tisti otrok, ki so mu svojo milost naklonile skrivnostne bele žene. Srednji del je tako posejan z že znanimi motivičnimi drobci - motivom Janeza oz. Trente (gl. primer 3), glavnim motivom (primer 1) in ariozno oblikovano mislijo (primer 14), ki je dobesedna ponovitev besed Jake iz prologa. Takšni primeri oblikovanja že kažejo, kako je Parma v uglasbitev želel vnesti več dramaturške logike in posledično dramatičnosti.

Med odseki, ki oblikujejo bolj ali manj zaprte točke, pa gotovo izstopa pripoved Jake iz prologa. Ta je sestavljena iz vrste zaporednih fragmentov - ariozno oblikovanih odlomkov, motivičnih reminiscenc in bolj recitativno ukrojenih odsekov (gl. tabelo 1). Že sam začetek prinaša osrednji motiv opere v molu, sledi Jakov arioso in ob zamaknjeni pripovedi o belih ženah zaslišimo ponovno glavni motiv opere. Sledi nov melodično še izrazitejši arioso, ki govori o belih ženah in ki ga bo Janez kasneje ponovil v svoji »točki«, nato pa prvič nastopi drugi glavni motiv opere (primer 2), ki je prav tako povezan s kraljestvom zlatoroga, le da je oblikovan molovsko dramatično. Po krajšem recitativu Jaka zopet zdrsne v arioso in ob pripovedi o tem, kako iz kapljice ranjenega zlatoroga zraste triglavska roža, ki jo zlatorog poje in se zopet vzdigne zdrav, da bi se maščeval tistemu, ki se je pregrešil zoper njega (smrt napoveduje ritem posmrtne koračnice, ki se v melodični obliki vrne v orkestrski predigri k zadnjemu dejanju, kjer nam že daje slutiti, kako se bo dopolnila Janezova usoda - gl. primer 15), skladatelj predstavi motiv triglavske rože (primer 12), pripoved pa sklene arioso nad bogatimi figuracijami v orkestru, ki jih je mogoče razumeti kot odblesk silnega zaklada, ki leži pod Bogatinom. Takšna pripoved v celoti sledi logiki dramatičnosti besedila, hkrati pa izpolnjuje jasno dramaturško funkcijo, saj služi kot predstavitev predzgodovine mita in s tem tudi jasna napoved kasnejših zapletov, skladatelj pa »baladni« trenutek (v operah 19. stoletja so bile takšne pripovedi ponavadi oblikovane kot dramatične balade) izkoristi tudi kot teren za glasbeno ekspozicijo najpomembnejšega motivičnega materiala. V slovenski operi je bilo takšno oblikovanje več ali manj pionirsko.

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| oznaka<br>tempa                 | Adagio                                           | Andantino<br>/ Andante                    | Adagio                              | Andantino                                   | Poco piu<br>mosso                                                    | Andante<br>/ Allegro<br>moderato /<br>Andantino /<br>Largo                                 | Larghetto                                                                                    |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| motivi                          | motiv<br>belih<br>žena in<br>zlatoroga<br>v molu |                                           | motiv belih<br>žena in<br>zlatoroga | ariosna<br>melodija<br>se kasneje<br>ponovi | motiv<br>maščevanja<br>zlatoroga                                     | motiv<br>maščevanja<br>zlatoroga,<br>motiv<br>triglavske<br>rože,<br>posmrtna<br>koračnica | inverzija<br>motiva<br>zlatoroga                                                             |
| oblikovanje<br>pevske<br>linije | recitativno                                      | arioso                                    | recitativno                         | arioso                                      | recitativno                                                          | med<br>recitativnim<br>in ariosnim                                                         | arioso                                                                                       |
| vsebina                         | napoved<br>bajke                                 | opis<br>triglavskega<br>gorskega<br>sveta | kraljestvo<br>zlatoroga             | o belih<br>ženah                            | o čredi belih<br>gamsov in<br>zlatorogu, ki<br>stražijo bele<br>žene | kaj se<br>zgodi, če se<br>pregrešimo<br>zoper<br>zlatoroga                                 | profetska<br>napoved<br>zmage nad<br>zlatorogom<br>in polastitve<br>zaklada pod<br>Bogatinom |

Tabela 1. Oblikovanje pripovedi Jake iz Prologa.

Kljub temu, da je Parma želel napisati v celoti prekomponirano delo, pa so »ostanki« točk v resnici tako močni in izraziti, da bi bilo mogoče posamezne odseke pretolmačiti v ločene številke, kot to prikazujejo tabele 2-5 (izrazito zaključene točke so označene z mastnim tiskom). Iz slednjih je razvidno, da je poglobljeno glasbeno prilagajanje dramatičnosti trenutka značilno le za sklepno dejanje, medtem ko so prolog in prvi dve dejanji zasnovani kot ohlapno zaporedje dramatičnih scen in zaprtih glasbenih številk.

| uvertura | scena                  | pripoved<br>(balada?) | scena                  | scena          | duet           | zbor      | orkestrska<br>poigra |
|----------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------------------|
|          | Špela<br>Janez<br>Jaka | Jaka                  | Janez<br>Jaka<br>Špela | Špela<br>Janez | Špela<br>Janez | bele žene |                      |

Tabela 2. Zaporedje scen in »točk« v prologu.

| orkestrska<br>predigra | zbor    | scena                   | zbor    | napitnica                 | scena                   | scena                             | arija | ples z<br>zborom |
|------------------------|---------|-------------------------|---------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------|------------------|
|                        | šolarji | Tondo<br>Katra<br>Špela | strelci | Janez<br>zbor<br>strelcev | Janez<br>Špela<br>Tondo | Janez<br>Špela<br>Tondo<br>Jerica | Janez |                  |

Tabela 3. Zaporedje scen in »točk« v 1. dejanju.

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| orkestrska<br>predigra | scena          | duet           | scena | pesem  | scena           | scena          | kvartet         | scena           | duet            | scena           | koncertantni<br>ansambel                                                |
|------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------|--------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                        | Špela<br>Janez | Špela<br>Janez | Katra | Jerica | Jerica<br>Špela | Katra<br>Marco | tuji<br>trgovci | Marco<br>Jerica | Marco<br>Jerica | Jerica<br>Janez | Janez<br>Jerica<br>Katra<br>Marco<br>Špela<br>kvartet tujih<br>trgovcev |

Tabela 4. Zaporedje scen in »točk« v 2. dejanju.

| orkestrska predigra | balet | scena          | orkestrska poigra z zborom |
|---------------------|-------|----------------|----------------------------|
|                     |       | Janez<br>Špela |                            |

Tabela 5. Zaporedje scen v 3. dejanju.

Podoben vmesni položaj je mogoče odkriti tudi ob preučevanju Parmovega motivičnega dela. Tako Parma mestoma že prevzame in izpelje Wagnerjevo tehniko vodilnih motivov, v nekaterih primerih pa ponavljajoči se motivični drobci vendarle ne prerastejo v prave vodilne motive, temveč so v resnici spominski motivi. Parma pri delu z vodilnimi motivi tudi ni tako natančen in konsistenten kot Wagner – nastop protagonista ali omemba predmeta nista vedno opremljena z vodilnim motivom – zato je včasih posameznim motivom tudi težje dati enoznačno imensko nalepko. Kljub tej nedoslednosti pa Parma po drugi strani operira s psihološko precej premišljeno in kompleksno mrežo vodilnih motivov.

Glavni motiv<sup>12</sup> odpre opero (primer 1), v kasnejšem toku pa se tudi največkrat ponovi. Njegovo poimenovanje se izkaže za težavno: v skoraj vseh primerih nastopi takrat, ko junaki omenjajo bajeslovne bele žene, zatorej bi ga lahko imeli za motiv belih žena, pomembno izjemo pa predstavlja konec prologa, v katerem se ob motivu na sceni s svojo čredo gamsov pojavi tudi zlatorog. Zadeva je tem bolj zapletena, ker se ob omenjanju zlatoroga večinoma pojavlja drug motiv (primer 2). Izkaže se, da je oba osrednja motiva najbolje tolmačiti kot dva različna obraza istega mita: prvi motiv poudarja pravljični in svetli karakter belih žena, ki lahko obdarijo otroka, drugi pa skrivnostno, temačno plat, s katero se sreča posameznik, ki se pregreši proti zlatorogu.



Primer 1. Motiv zlatoroga in belih žena.

<sup>12</sup> V oblikovnem pomenu gre seveda za teme, vendar ohranjam v tekstu termin motiv v povezavi s terminom vodilni oz. spominski motiv.



Primer 2. Motiv maščevanja zlatoroga.

Takšna dvojnost pa je šifrirana v obeh motivih tudi glasbeno. Če je za prvega - imenujmo ga motiv zlatoroga in belih žena - značilna izrazita enostavnost in notranje simfonično izpeljevanje (prvim značilnim štirim tonom [x], sledita dve diminuciji, nato pa inverzna ponovitev prvih štirih tonov [-x]), je drugi - motiv maščevanja zlatoroga - izpeljan iz prvega (postop prvih tonov bi lahko imeli za varianto inverzije glavnega motiva [-x], nadaljevanje pa je prevzeto iz motiva Janeza oz. Trente - motivični drobec y, gl. primer 3; motiv Janeza oz. Trente se ponavlja predvsem na mestih, ko je govor o Janezovem trentarskem poreklu). Tako je že v samem motivu zapisana usoda: za Janezovo življenje bo usodno srečanje z zlatorogom.



Primer 3. Motiv Janeza oz. Trente.

Ker je prvi motiv že sam v sebi zasnovan simfonično, v nadaljevanju ne doživi kakšnih večjih transformacij in bolj boječe prestopa iz spominskega v vodilni motiv. Najdemo ga skritega v plesni, napol ljudski motiviki ob koncu prologa (primer 4), iz njega je izpeljan duet med Jerico in Janezom (primer 5), srečamo ga v višku ansambla ob koncu drugega dejanja, povsem logično pa je, da je iz njegovega osrednjega submotiva (x) in njegove inverzije (-x) izpeljan tudi kratek zbor belih žena ob koncu prologa.



Primer 4. Ljudski plesni motiv.



Primer 5. Duet med Janezom in Jerico.

Motiv maščevanja zlatoroga se pojavlja na najbolj dramatičnih šivih oper (npr. dramatična scena med Jerico in Špelo, sklepni dialog med Špelo in Janezom), izkaže pa se tudi, da je veliko bolj prikladen za motivično-tematsko delo. Kako natančen je pri tem Parma, kaže primer iz pripovedi Jake. Na mestu, ko Jaka govori o tem, da bo nekoč nekdo vendarle premagal zlatoroga (»Doch, man sagt, es werde einmal Einer siegen und der Goldgehörnte einst erliegen.«), zaslišimo motiv maščevanja zlatoroga v inverziji (primer 6) – motiv ni več vzdigajoč, padanje lahko razumemo tudi kot smrtni padec zlatoroga.



Primer 6. Inverzija motiva maščevanja zlatoroga.

Podobno kot motiv maščevanja zlatoroga doživlja veliko transformacij tudi motiv ljubezni (primer 7), še posebej njegov ritmično najbolj izrazit končni del s punktirano noto (z). Motiv ljubezni se v nekoliko spremenjeni obliki (prve tri note v inverziji; gl. primer 8) pojavlja na začetku scene med Jerico in Špelo (ljubezen obeh žensk bo Janeza pahnila v smrt), obvladuje začetek dramatičnega tretjega dejanja (izstopa predvsem značilna ritmična figura s punktirano noto, konec pa je že varianta osrednjega motiva x; primer 9). Negotovost, ali morda ne gre za motiv ljubezni, temveč za motiv Jerice, saj se prvenstveno ponavlja ob njenih nastopih, se razbije v zadnjem dejanju, ko je ena izmed variant motiva tesno povezana s Špelino ljubeznijo (primer 10; »Sieh, ich will dir bereiten, was Lieb' und Entsagen bieten können dem Leben!«). Izrazito simbolično moč pa ima tudi spajanje motiva belih žena in zlatoroga z motivom ljubezni v sceni med Jerico in Špelo (primer 11), ki le še enkrat več razkriva, da zaslepljena ljubezen vodi v pogubo.



Primer 7. Motiv ljubezni.



Primer 8. Varianta motiva ljubezni iz drugega dejanja.



Primer 9. Varianta motiva ljubezni iz tretjega dejanja.



Primer 10. Varianta motiva ljubezni iz sklepne scene med Špelo in Janezom.



Primer 11. Spojitev motiva belih žena in zlatoroga z motivom ljubezni.

Med drugimi motivičnimi enotami, ki igrajo v operi pomembno vlogo, gre omeniti še motiv triglavske rože, ki ne doživlja pravega motivičnega razvoja in je tako tipični primer spominskega motiva (primer 12). Podobno velja tudi za motiv gora (primer 13), ki nastopi v predigri k prologu in v uvodni glasbi k tretjemu dejanju (poimenovanje prevzemam po P. Petroniu, obe dejanji se dogajata v gorah), krajšo melodično misel iz pripovedi Jake, ki jo kasneje dobesedno ponovi Janez (primer 14; seveda pri tem ni nepomembno, da krajši melodični vzgib (y) spominja na motivični drobec iz motiva Janeza oz. Trente, s čimer skladatelj še glasbeno potrjuje Janezovo slepo zaverovanost, da je prav on izbranec belih žena), in nastavek posmrtne koračnice (primer 15), ki ga prvič zaslišimo v prologu Jake, ko le-ta najavlja maščevanje zlatoroga, melodično obogaten z

motivom zlatoroga in belih žena pa se potem »vrne« v predigri k tretjemu dejanju, kjer najavlja Janezovo smrt. Ob koncu velja omeniti še to, da je s fanfarami pospremljen nastop Janeza v vseh dejanjih (primer 16) – čeprav takšne fanfare ne prinašajo izrazite motivične karakterizacije, pa služijo za preusmerjanje pozornosti k nečemu pomembnemu (na podoben način spremljajo fanfare nastope kralja Heinricha v Wagnerjevm *Lohengrinu*, vendar v tem primeru prinašajo jasno karakterizacijo kralja kot vodje in poveljnika vojaških sil).



Primer 12. Motiv triglavske rože.



Primer 13. Motiv gora.



Primer 14. Melodična misel iz pripovedi Jake.

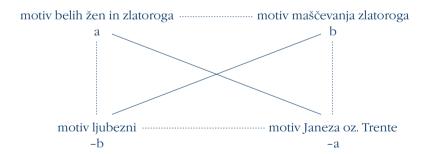


Primer 15. Varianti posmrtne koračnice iz prologa Jake in predigre k tretjemu dejanju.



Primer 16. Fanfare Janeza.

Kljub temu, da posamezni motivi ne prinašajo izrazitejše karakterizacije (če motiv belih žena in zlatoroga s pravljično atmosfero povezuje njegova enostavnost, »čistost«, pa je takšno zvezo zelo težko poiskati med motivom Janeza oz. Trente in protagonistovo osebnostjo ali izvorom), pa je vendarle treba priznati, da jih Parma povezuje v precej tesno prepleteno motivično mrežo. Motiv maščevanja zlatoroga tako v sebi nosi motiv Janeza, kar pomeni, da je v samem motivu že skrita skrivnost junakovega konca, podobno je z interpolacijo istega motivičnega drobca (y) v Jakov arioso o izbrancu belih žena, kar daje tudi glasbeni namig o tem, da je morda prav Janez ta izbranec, spregledati pa ne gre še vdora osrednjega motiva v duet med Jerico in Janezom (ta ljubezen je očitno usodna in povezana z zlatorogom) in ansambel s konca drugega dejanja, v katerem se povežejo usode vseh protagonistov. Motivično prepletanje je gosto in hkrati tako premišljeno, da razpostavitev glavnih štirih motivov - motiva belih žena in zlatoroga, motiva maščevanja zlatoroga, motiva Janeza oz. Trente in motiva ljubezni - izkazuje globoko psihološko-semantično podstat, ki nam omogoča (pre)drzen interpretacijski korak: te štiri motive je namreč mogoče umestiti v znameniti Greimasov semiotski kvadrat, 14 v katerem je razmerje med členoma a in b opozicijsko, med členoma a in -a ter b in -b kontradiktorno in med členoma a in -b ter b in -a komplementarno:



Iz takšne konstelacije je jasno razvidna opozicijskost: motiv belih žena in zlatoroga naznačuje pozitivni element mita, motiv maščevanja zlatoroga pa negativnega (a vs. b), medtem ko je ljubezen očitno v nasprotju z Janezovim delovanjem (-b vs. a), ki mu prinese pogubo. Motiv belih žena je komplementaren z motivom ljubezni (bele žene so verjetno svojo milost zaupale prav Janezu; a vs. -b), skupno negativno komponentno pa prinašata Janezova pohlepna natura in posledično maščevanje zlatoroga (-a vs. b). Kontradikcija je skrita v odnosu med maščevanjem zlatoroga in ljubeznijo (b vs. -b), edini interpretacijski »šum« pa nastane pri definiranju kontradiktornega razmerja med motivom belih žena in motivom Janeza (a vs. -a).

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Morda je takšna interpretacija res korak pred Parmovo idejo, pa vendar na tesno mrežo opozarja tudi skladatelj sam na koncu opere, ko v zadnjih devetih taktih (primer 17) zaporedno naniza tri glavne motive – motiv maščevanja zlatoroga, motiv belih žena in zlatoroga ter motiv ljubezni – in s tem še glasbeno povzame celotno dogajanje. Ti postopki izdajajo skoraj wagnerjansko poglobljeno idejnost glasbene drame, toda takšno psihološko-motivično sprepletenost je potrebno v primeru Parme vendarle motriti z določeno distanco: v zadnjih devetih taktih so sicer res umetelno povezani trije osrednji motivi, toda ostaja dejstvo, da slonijo zgolj na treh harmonijah (tonika, subdominanta in dominanta), kar vendarle razkriva določeno glasbeniško okornost: dramaturški trk različnih motivov je v glasbenem pogledu precej šibek in neizrazit.



Primer 17. Sklepni takti opere.

Seveda bi lahko našli podobnih mest, v katerih sta v neskladju visoko zastavljena ideja in njena bolj popreproščena realizacija, še več. Tako Parma iz wagnerjanskega glasbenega stavka prevzema sekvenčno nizanje, ki pa harmonsko ni izpeljano vedno tako gladko kot pri bayreuthskem mojstru. Najbolj tipičen primer najdemo že v predigri, kjer skladatelj naniza sekvence s preprostimi vzporednimi tonalnimi preskoki v zaporedju E-dur, D-dur, C-dur, B-dur:



Primer 18. Vzporedno sekvenčno nizanje iz predigre.

Problem in bistvo Parmovega *Zlatoroga* sta potemtakem skrita v nesorazmerju, ki se kaže na osi med izredno premišljeno psihološko motivično mrežo in prav šolarsko nemarnim harmonskim zdrsom in površnostim ali še drugače: v razmerju med zelo ambiciozno idejo in bolj popreproščeno realizacijo. Zdi se, da si je Parma v svojem *Zlatorogu* zadal skorja preveč nalog naenkrat. Želel je ustvariti tip opere, ki postopoma prehaja v glasbeno dramo. Tak prestop je upravičil z izbiro mitološke snovi, ki jo je mogoče glasbeno smiselno realizirati s pomočjo tehnike vodilnih motivov, hkrati pa se zdi izbrana snov primerna tudi za privzdignjen nacionalni status opere. Seveda se Parma ob odpiranju takšnih za slovensko operno ustvarjalnost novih oblik ni želel do konca odpovedati tudi »sladkostim« starejših opernih oblik, predvsem tistim iz veristične opere, kar se kaže predvsem v bolj zaprtem oblikovanju nekaterih pevskih točk in poudarjeni melodični emfazi.

Vendar bi zglede za takšno vmesno pozicijo med zelo širokopoteznim načrtom in ne do kraja prečiščenim rezultatom zlahka našli tudi med velikani evropske opere. Podoben primer nam predstavlja C. Dahlhaus ob preučevanju »velike romantične opere« *Euryanthe* Carla Marie von Webra, ki si je podobno kot Parma zadal precej težko pionirsko nalogo. Kot izdaja že zvrstna oznaka je želel ustvariti opero v nemškem jeziku, ki bi se oblikovno naslonila na dosežke pariške velike opere, njena snov pa bi bila »romantična«. Če je Weber problem nacionalnega izvrstno razrešil v svoji operi *Čarostrelec*, ki jo je naslonil na francoski model zvrsti *opéra comique*, pa se je opera *Euryanthe* razletela ob poizkusu združevanja treh praktično nezdružljivih opernih zvrsti – nacionalne, velike in romantične – izmed katerih se vsaka veže na svoj element opere kot sestavljene umetnine (nacionalna opera na jezik in družbeni kontekst, velika opera na kompozicijsko tehniko in romantična opera na snov). Pa vendar ne gre prezreti dejstva, da je bil Weber v svojem poizkusu prvi in da je tako odprl »prostor« sledečim skladateljem, ki so podobne probleme lahko razrešili bolje.

Na podoben način lahko ocenimo tudi Parmovo opero *Zlatorog*. Skladatelj je v njej skušal zadostiti ideji nacionalne opere, tehniki glasbene drame in mitološki snovi, obenem pa si ni odpovedal še oblikam veristične opere in celo obsežnemu baletu, ukrojenem po modelu pariške velike opere. Glede na to, da je bil takšen zalogaj zares velik in ambiciozen, je mogoče zatisniti oči pred kakšno skladateljevo nerodnostjo in nedoslednostjo ter se navduševati nad zares premišljeno izpeljano mrežo vodilnih motivov. Operi *Zlatorog* gotovo pripada prav posebna zgodovinska vloga v zgodovini slovenske operne ustvarjalnosti: če ne drugače je treba Parmo jasno umestiti med tiste operne zanesenjake, ki so omogočili velik kvalitativni preskok, ki so ga v naslednjih letih, sicer že iz sodobnejših izhodišč, v slovensko opero prinesli R. Savin, S. Osterc, M. Kogoj in M. Bravničar. Parma je šel pri izbir snovi in oblikovalnih postopkov (vsaj načelna odpoved točkam, delo z vodilnimi motivi) znotraj konetskta slovenske opere precej »daleč«, pa vendar je v resnici ostal nekje »vmes«: med »ostanki« tradicionalne opere serie in »okusom« po glasbeni drami.

#### SUMMARY

Parma's last opera *Goldenhorn* occupies a special place in the composer's oeuvre as well as in the history of the Slovenian opera. Parma wanted to write a great Slovenian national opera and for that

purpose he chose the mythological subject and form of a music drama, which was at that time practised by most important European operatic composers, but was totally new in the Slovenian context. In his realisation Parma stayed stretched between older and new form. Therefore, in

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Goldenhorn there can be found different influences reaching from belcanto operas and music dramas of Italian verismo to the influences from operetta, folk music, grand opera and Wagner's music drama. Parma gave up the form of operatic numbers in favour of through-composed music drama, but one can easily discern typical 'numbers', such as Janez's toast, two love duets

and choirs with *couleur locale* as well as Jerica's song. More advanced is Jaka's monologue from the Prologue, built up from different fragments and leitmotivic allusions. In his use of leitmotifs Parma is not so strict and precise as Wagner, but he builds a strong psychological net of motivic interrelations so that such a motivic net can be interpreted in terms of Greimas' semiotic square.

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# Likovna oprema baročnih orgel: Johann Frančišek Janeček in dekoracija njegovih orgelskih omar

# Artistic Decor of Baroque Organs: Johann Frančišek Janeček and His Decoration of Organ Cases

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**Ključne besede:** Johann Frančišek Janeček, ljubljanska stolnica, Ruše, Olimje, Sladka Gora, Čermožiše pri Žetalah, orgelska omara, glasbeni simboli

Izvleček

Prispevek prinaša ugotovitve primarne raziskave o orgelskih omarah Johanna Frančiška Janečka, baročnega orglarja, delujočega v Celju, ki izhaja iz češke rodbine orglarjev. Avtorica se posveča petim instrumentom iz slovenskih cerkva, katerih ohišja imajo glasbene simbole v obliki puttov in angelov z glasbili ter figure kralja Davida s harfo in sv. Cecilije z orglami. Raziskava odgovarja na vprašanja o naročnikih orgelskih omar, njihovih izdelovalcih in likovnih ter glasbenih značilnostih posameznih elementov. Ugotovitve kažejo na povezave z orglami na območjih dežele nekdanje Češke, s katerimi sta skupni arhitektura ohišja ter figuralika z glasbenimi simboli.

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**Keywords:** Johann Frančišek Janeček, Ljubljana cathedral, Ruše, Olimje, Sladka Gora, Čermožiše near Žetale, organ case, musical symbols

#### Abstract

The article presents the results of initial research on J. F. Janeček's organ cases, a baroque organ maker working in Celje, who came from a Czech family of organ builders. The authoress concentrated on five instruments from Slovene churches the cases of which are endowed with musical symbols in the form of putti and angels with instruments as well as with figures of King David with a harp and St Cecilia with an organ. The article answers the question of who were those that commissioned the organ cases, and who made them, taking into account artistic and musical characteristics of individual elements. The findings speak of links with organs in Bohemia due to the common architecture of the casing and the figures and figurines with musical symbols.

Za ozemlje današnje Slovenije je bila od 16. do 19. stoletja značilna intenzivna migracija izdelovalcev orgel, ki so prihajali predvsem iz Italije, Nemčije in Češke in so v

slovenskih cerkvah zapustili pomembne sledove. Priseljevanje in delovanje orglarjev iz dežel nekdanje Češke je dokazano od zgodnjega 18. stoletja naprej. V času od leta 1700 do sredine 19. stoletja je na primer samo na Moravskem dokazanih okrog 170 orglarjev, zato ne preseneča, da so nekateri med njimi iskali nova, bolj oddaljena tržišča. Kdaj natančno so Slovenijo dosegli vplivi čeških orglarskih delavnic, ni znano, zanesljivo pa je bil med prvimi uspešnimi orglarji, ki so postavljali orgle v cerkvah današnje Slovenije, Johann Frančišek Janeček (ok. 1700-ok. 1777),1 ki izhaja iz češke rodbine izdelovalcev instrumentov.<sup>2</sup> Na podlagi dosegljivih virov doslej ni bilo mogoče ugotoviti direktnih rodbinskih povezav. Med Janečki ali Janáčki se v 18. stoletju na Češkem oziroma Moravskem pojavljata dve veji orglarjev. Prva vodi v Prago, kjer je za prvo polovico 18. stoletja znan Martin Janeček, druga pa je dokazana na Moravskem. Tam sta v drugi polovici 18. in na začetku 19. stoletja kot orglarja delovala Venčeslav Janáček in njegov sin Jiří, prednika skladatelja Leoša Janáčka.3 Priimek se v pisnih virih pojavlja v več inačicah, vendar doslej ni znana raziskava, ki bi oba priimka povezala v isto rodbino. Johann Frančišek Janeček je od mladosti deloval v Celju in bil utemeljiteli tako imenovanega celjskega kroga orglarjev, ki mu sledimo poldrugo stoletje. Njegova delavnica je bila aktivna vsaj od poznih dvajsetih let 18. stoletja. Janeček velja za najpomembnejšega mojstra baročnih orgel na Slovenskem. Njegovi izdelki so imeli kvalitetno mehaniko, ki je bila vgrajena v ohišja dobrih obrtnikov. Številne orgle so okrašene z angeli in svetniki z glasbili, ki so jih izdelali znani rezbarski in kiparski mojstri. V Janečkovi delavnici so v obdobju petdesetih let izdelali okrog 150 orgel, in sicer za naročnike iz slovenskega okolja pa tudi za cerkve v severnem delu Hrvaške, kjer je njegova delavnica pogosto zastopana.<sup>4</sup> Med naročniki so bili tudi cerkveni dostojanstveniki iz najimenitnejših cerkva v Ljubljani in Zagrebu ter pomembnejši samostani. Janeček je bil cenjen meščan, saj je bil med letoma 1759 in 1761 v Celju celo mestni sodnik oz. župan. V sapnice svojih orgel je dosledno pritrdil listek s signaturo »Joannes Franciscus / Janechek, Burger / und Orgel Macher / in Zilla« ter dodal letnico izdelave instrumenta. Do danes je v Sloveniji in na Hrvaškem ohranjenih okrog 30 njegovih orgel. Večje so bile dvomanualne, večina pa je enomanualnih. Med njimi je bilo veliko manjših pozitivov (4-6 registrov), od katerih je nekaj t. i. procesijskih orgel. V Pokrajinskem muzeju Ptuj so v tamkajšnji zbirki glasbenih instrumentov ohranjene procesijske orgle z letnico 1739.

Orgelskim omaram in njihovim dekorativnim elementom na pročeljih instrumentov se stroka na Slovenskem podrobneje še ni posvečala. V pričujoči primarni raziskavi bo obravnavan prav ta segment Janečkovih orgel, ki naj bi osvetlil, kdo so bili Janečkovi

<sup>1</sup> Johann Frančišek (Joannes Franciscus) Janeček (Janecheck, Janetschek, Janezig, Genecheck) se je rodil okrog leta 1698. Arhivski viri ga od leta 1721 omenjajo kot orglarja v Celju. Kot oče se omenja Venčeslav. Johann Frančišek se je leta 1721 poročil z Marijo, hčerko krojača Adama, s katero sta imela tri otroke. Za biografijo glej Milko Bizjak, Celjske orglarske delavnice v obdobju baroka, Cerkveni glasbenik 77 (1984), 41-45; prim. Darja Koter, Izdelovalci glasbil na Slovenskem 1606-1918 / Instrument Makers in Slovenia 1606-1918, Muzikološki zbornik / Musicological Annual XXXIX (2003), 136.

V Pragi je v prvi polovici 18. stoletja deloval Martin Janeček, ki je leta 1734 začel izdelovati orgle za praško cerkev sv. Katarine. Orgle je leta 1741 dokončal Jan Storck, vendar po Janečkovi zamisli. Prim. Vladimír Němec, *Pražské varhany*, Praha: František Novák, 1944, 103. V Budimu je v drugi polovici 18. stoletja deloval Josip Janeček, rojen v Pragi, ki je leta 1776 izdelal orgle za frančiškansko cerkev sv. Antona Padovanskega v Našicah na Hrvaškem. Prim. Jagoda Meder, *Orgulje u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb: Globus, 1992, 98.

<sup>3</sup> Prim. Jiři Sehnal, Barokní varhanářstvií na Moravě I, Brno: Muzejní a vlastovědná společnost v Brně, Univezita Palackého v Olomouci, 2004, 15, 71–73 in vol. II, 126, 234.

<sup>4</sup> Prim. J. Meder, n. d., 44, 62, 114, 214.

sodelavci in kakšni likovni elementi so značilni za orgelska ohišja te priznane celjske delavnice. Med okrasjem posebej izstopajo angeli z glasbili, ki simbolizirajo nebeško harmonijo, ter figure kralja Davida s harfo. Janečkove orgle pa niso le pričevalci baročne glasbene poustvarjalnosti, temveč tudi izraz likovne opreme baročnih cerkva na Slovenskem. Orgelsko piščalje je bilo pri zgodnjih orglah tja do poznega srednjega veka odprto oziroma brez lesenega ohišja. Od poznega srednjega veka pa so ga začeli vgrajevati v leseno omaro, ki je imela sprva zgolj varovalno vlogo kot zaščita pred prahom. Za prednjo stran omare so bila značilna dvokrilna vrata, okrašena z naslikanimi svetniškimi podobami, med katerimi sta se sčasoma ustalila kralj David s harfo in sv. Cecilija z orglami. Baročni čas je prinesel orgelskim omaram nove likovne značilnosti, kot so pozlačene rezbarije, razgibani arhitekturni elementi in skulpture angelov z glasbili. V tem obdobju so orgle skupaj z okrašenim ohišjem postajale tudi izraz veličastja cerkvene opreme ter poudarjanja statusa naročnikov instrumentov.<sup>5</sup> Ker domnevamo, da je Johann Frančišek Janeček češkega rodu in se je najverjetneje orglarstva izučil v domačem okolju, je treba pozorno pregledati tudi značilnosti orgelskih omar mojstrov nekdanjih čeških dežel obravnavanega časa. Za Janečkove orgle je že ugotovljeno, da so v svojem glasbenem ustroju sorodne češkim instrumentom, raziskava pa naj bi skušala odgovoriti na vprašanje, ali se je Janeček tudi pri načrtovanju orgelskih omar zgledoval pri tamkajšnjih navadah, in sicer v smislu arhitekture ohišja, v razporeditvi piščali v prospektu ter v rezbarijah in figuraliki. Čeprav so ohišja običajno izdelovali mizarji in rezbarji, so ta nastajala v sodelovanju z orglarskim mojstrom. Med Janečkovimi pomembnejšimi izdelki, ki imajo na orgelskih omarah poleg rezbarskega okrasja tudi figure z instrumenti, so orgle v stolnici sv. Nikolaja v Ljubljani (datirane z letnico 1734), od katerih je ohranjena le omara. Med instrumenti, ki bodo obravnavani v pričujočem prispevku, so tudi trije enomanualni pozitivi, ki jih najdemo v župni cerkvi v Rušah (izdelani 1755), na Sladki Gori blizu Celja (izdelani 1755) in v Čermožišah pri Žetalah (izdelani 1763), ter ene dvomanualne orgle iz samostanske cerkve v Olimju pri Podčetrtku (izdelane 1764). Janečkovi nasledniki, kot sta bila Anton Scholz (1756-1802) in Venčeslav Marthal (pred 1780, po 1825), po rodu Čeh, so še več desetletij spoštovali tradicijo njegove delavnice, dokler ni v Celje prišel Tirolec Alois Hörbiger (1810-1872), ki je imel kot predstavnik klasicistične nemške in italijanske šole velik vpliv na naslednje generacije orglarjev.<sup>6</sup>

# Johann Frančišek Janeček in dekoracija njegovih orgel

**Stolnica sv. Nikolaja v Ljubljani**, ki ima status škofovske cerkve, je bila na novo pozidana med letoma 1701 in 1706 in je ena najpomembnejših sakralnih stavb v Sloveniji. Gradili so jo po italijanskih vzorih znamenite rimske cerkve Il Gesù in je zasnovana kot bazilika. Načrtoval jo je slaven jezuitski arhitekt, slikar in teoretik Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709) iz Trenta. Njeno arhitekturno, slikarsko in kiparsko okrasje so prispevali eminentni mojstri, med katerimi izstopata slikar Giulio Qualio (1688–1751), ki je naslikal

<sup>5</sup> Prim. The Organ Encyclopedia (ur. Douglas E. Bush), New York - London: Routledge 2006, 95.

<sup>6</sup> Prim. Darja Koter, Izdelovalci glasbil na Slovenskem 1606–1918 / Instrument Makers in Slovenia 1606–1918, Muzikološki zbornik / Musicological Annual XXXIX (2003), 136.

večji delež fresk in več oltarnih slik, ter kipar Francesco Robba (ok. 1698–1757).<sup>7</sup> Prostor za orgle je bil sprva na balkonih na stranskih korih,8 na katera je med letoma 1710 in 1711 ljubljanski mizar Janez Pergman postavil tudi orgelski omari, ki sta slogovno enoviti in skladni s prižnico in balkoni, vendar brez angelov ali puttov oziroma figur z glasbili. Tako ubrana skladnost omenjene lesene opreme v slovenskih cerkvah nima primere. Na desni stranski kor so ob posvetitvi stolnice postavili nove orgle beneškega izdelovalca Bialda Covlere (1707), na levo stran pa so leta 1711 namestili stare orgle z osmimi registri, ki jih je za nekdanjo ljubljansko stolnico leta 1550 izdelal Michael Theisspacher iz Muraua v današnji Avstriji.9 Pergmanovi orgelski omari imata v prospektu piščalje, ki je postavljeno v nedeljenem polju, in sicer v trikotni obliki z najdaljšimi piščalmi na sredini. Tako oblikovan prospekt je kasneje ponovljen na orgelskih omarah na glavnem koru. Tovrstna razporeditev piščali spominja na značilnosti italijanskih orgel 16. stoletja, pa tudi kasneje, kjer so opazni vplivi antične arhitekture z loki (enojnimi ali trojnimi), ki se je nato spreminjala oziroma razčlenila na več manjših polj. Italijanski vzori orgelskih omar so na Slovenskem najpogostejši na širšem območju Primorske in v obalnih mestih, izjema pa je pozitiv neznanega mojstra v podružnični cerkvi sv. Jurija v Rogatcu, datiran v 18. stoletje. 10 Sicer pa arhitektura Pergmanovih orgelskih omar ne preseneča, saj je bila ljubljanska stolna cerkev pri prenovi na začetku 18. stoletja kot celota zasnovana v stilu italijanskega baroka. Po italijanskih vzorih zasnovane orgelske omare so značilne tudi za širše območje hrvaške Istre in Dalmacije.<sup>11</sup>

Cerkev prvotno ni imela orgelskega kora nad glavnimi vrati, ampak je bila njena zahodna stena prosta in poslikana. Za novo cerkev v razsežnostih bazilike so bile majhne orgle na stranskih korih v smislu glasbenih značilnosti gotovo preskromne, zato so leta 1718 pozidali še zahodno emporo. Korno steno so leta 1731 okrasili z rokokojsko štukaturo in s freskami, ki predstavljajo Davida s harfo, sv. Cecilijo z orgelskim pozitivom ter angele z glasbili i n so simboli nebeške harmonije. Leseno rokokojsko ograjo so izrezljali v delavnici kiparja Henrika Mihaela Löhra (rojen ok. 1700, umrl po 1761 v Ljubljani). <sup>13</sup>

Ker je bila stolnica sv. Nikolaja v Ljubljani opremljena z izdelki dobrih in cenjenih mojstrov, se zdi naravno, da so kot izdelovalca orgel za veliki kor k sodelovanju povabili takrat najpomembnejšega mojstra baročnih orgel na ozemlju današnje Slovenije, Johanna Frančiška Janečka iz Celja. To je bilo leta 1733, dvomanualne orgle s pedalom in z 22 registri pa so bile postavljene in nameščene v tridelno orgelsko omaro leta 1734, od katerih je bil na sredini nameščen pozitiv (nem. Rückpositiv). Igralnik je bil postavljen na sredino med obema simetričnima orgelskima omarama, pozitiv je bil najverjetneje pred njim. Kot je znano, so imele orgle značilnosti češke šole zgodnjega baroka, med katere prištevamo Janečkovi copuli, major in minor, ter lesene registre, ki so bili v večini. S

<sup>7</sup> Prim. Ana Lavrič, Ljubljanska stolnica / Umetnostni vodnik, Ljubljana: Družina, 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Oba balkona in stranska kora je med letoma 1710 in 1711 izdelal mizar Janez Pergman. Glej A. Lavrič, n. d., 17.

<sup>9</sup> Prim. Edo Škulj, *Orgle v Ljubljani*, Celje: Mohorjeva družba, 1994, 25-27.

<sup>10</sup> Prim. M. Bizjak/E. Škulj, n. d.

<sup>11</sup> Prim. J. Meder, Orgulje u Hrvatskoj, n. d.

<sup>12</sup> Štukaturo je izdelal Pietro Antonio Conti, freske pa ljubljanski slikar in freskant Franc Jelovšek (1700–1764). Prim. A. Lavrič, n. d., 145.

<sup>13</sup> Ana Lavrič, n. d., 133 in 136. Löhr je za ljubljansko stolnico izdelal tudi plastiki za oltar Kristusa Odrešenika in oltar sv. Jurija.

<sup>14</sup> M. Bizjak/E. Škulj, n. d., 56.

<sup>15</sup> Edo Škulj, n. d., 30-32.



Slika 1. Orgelske omare na glavnem koru v stolni cerkve sv. Nikolaja v Ljubljani (foto D. Koter)

Pet let kasneje, leta 1739, je Janeček za stolnico dobil še eno naročilo, in sicer za izdelavo novih orgel za stranski kor nad prižnico. Nova pogodba je gotovo pomenila, da so bili naročniki z njegovim delom zadovoljni. Orgle nad prižnico imajo 9 registrov in so se ohranile do danes, <sup>16</sup> medtem ko so orgle na velikem koru leta 1762 odstranili ter jih zamenjali z novim, večjim instrumentom, ki ga je izdelal Frančišek Ksaver Križman (1726–1795), naslednik znanega beneškega orglarja hrvaškega rodu Petra Nakića (1694–1769). <sup>17</sup> Če primerjamo vrsto in postavitev orgel v rimski baziliki Il Ges z ljubljansko stolnico, ugotovimo nekaj sorodnosti in razlik. V rimskem primeru so orgelski instrumenti prav tako postavljeni na ostenje pred prezbiterijem in na pevski kor nad glavnimi vrati, vendar velikost orgel ni enako razporejena kot v Ljubljani. Cerkev Il Ges ima glavne orgle pritrjene na desni in levi steni pred prezbiterijem, medtem ko je na koru nad vhodom le manjši pozitiv. V ljubljanski stolnici je obratno: manjše orgle so na stranskih balkonih, glavne pa na glavnem koru nad vhodom.

Od glavnih orgel iz Janečkove dobe sta do danes ohranjeni le stranski orgelski omari, za srednjo pa je ugotovljeno, da je bila ob menjavi orgel leta 1762 prenovljena in da so jo takrat povišali ter ji dodali nove figure. Stranski omari iz leta 1734 sta simetrično enaki. Po obliki aludirata na omari na balkonih, ki ju posnemata po postavitvi piščali v prospektu, do določene mere pa tudi v ornamentiki. Piščalje v prospektu na glavnem koru obdaja okrasje v obliki bogato draperirane zavese, ki ga

<sup>16</sup> Prav tam, 27-28.

<sup>17</sup> Darja Koter, n. d., 138. Avtorica navaja tudi starejšo literaturo.

<sup>18</sup> A. Lavrič, n. d., 147; prim. tudi dokumentacijo kiparskega oddelka Restavratorskega centra Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije. Okrasne figure angelov in puttov so restavratorji pred kratkim sneli iz orgelskih omar in bodo v naslednjih letih restavrirani. Šele po opravljenih postopkih bo mogoče ugotoviti in prepoznati njihovo prvotno stanje ter morebitne spremembe. Zahvaljujem se Mateji Sitar in Nuški Dolenc Kambič iz Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije za posredovano dokumentacijo.

<sup>19</sup> Mere leve in desne stranske omare: višina 750 cm, širina 246 cm, globina 270 cm.

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v obeh primerih držita dva putta, medtem ko na Pergmanovi omari piščalje obdaja pozlačena rezbarija, ki pa ni zasnovana kot draperija. Janečkovi stranski omari imata po dva putta tudi v zgornjem delu, na vrhu desno in levo pa sta figuri nadangela Gabrijela in Marije, ki simbolizirata Oznanjenje. Prizor Oznanjenja v kartušah pod piščalmi v prospektu dopolnjujeta napisa *Ave Maria* in *Gratia plena*. Med obema stranskima je osrednja omara, ki likovno odstopa in je videti kot delo drugega mojstra. Izdelovalcev omar ne poznamo, kot avtor nekaterih figur na srednji omari pa je dokazan že omenjeni kipar Henrik Mihael Löhr.<sup>20</sup>



Slika 2. Angel z violončelom na srednji orgelski omari na glavnem koru v stolni cerkvi sv. Nikolaja v Ljubljani (foto D. Koter)

Če se vrnemo k stranskima omarama, je treba naglasiti, da imata ti svoj pendant v orgelski omari cerkve sv. Katarine v Pragi, vendar so tamkajšnje orgle vgrajene le v dve omari, med njima ni pozitiva, kot je bilo v Ljubljani, igralnik pa je nameščen pod levo omaro. Za omari obeh cerkva sta značilni sorodna draperija ter dekoracija s figurami angelov in puttov z instrumenti ali brez njih. Nekoliko različna je ikonografija figur, ki v praškem primeru ne kaže na Oznanjenje, temveč le na angele muzikante, ki simbolizirajo nebeško slavo. Orgle za praško cerkev je leta 1734 začel izdelovati Martin Janeček, po njegovi zamisli pa jih je leta 1741 dokončal Jan Storck.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Prim. A. Lavrič, n. d., 147.

<sup>21</sup> Glej op. 2.



Slika 3. Detajl orgelske omare v cerkvi Sv. Katarine v Pragi (foto D. Koter)

Čeprav natančnih rodbinskih povezav med Martinom in Johannom Frančiškom Janečkom, ki je deloval v Celju, ne poznamo, podobnost orgelskih omar kaže na njuno sodelovanje, ki pa v virih ni izpričano. Šele podrobne raziskave o vzorih in izdelovalcih obeh orgelskih omar in morebitni še neodkriti viri bodo morda odgovorili na vprašanja o likovnih vzorih in stikih obeh Janečkov.<sup>22</sup>

Ker načrti za izdelavo orgelske omare v Janečkovem času niso ohranjeni, ne poznamo oblike njenega srednjega dela. Današnjo obliko srednje omare je v letih 1736 do 1737 z okraski in s šestimi angeli z instrumenti opremila kiparska delavnica Henrika Michaela Löhra, ki pa ni izdelala vseh plastik na orgelskih omarah. V Löhrovi delavnici je za leto 1736 omenjen tudi kipar Jožef (Joseph) Straub, ki se je kasneje preselil v Maribor in je avtor figur na dveh orgelskih omarah, ki bosta obravnavani v nadaljevanju prispevka. Leta 1762, ko so v orgelske omare postavili nove orgle F. K. Križmana, so srednjo omaro povišali<sup>25</sup> in ji dodali še tri angelske figure. S tem so spremenili prvotno arhitekturo

<sup>22</sup> Sorodnosti orgelskih omar v ljubljanski stolni cerkvi sv. Nikolaja in praški cerkvi sv. Katarine je ugotovil tudi Čeh Peter Černy, ki pravi, da so po postavitvi piščali v prospektu, ki je enovita, prepoznani italijanski vplivi, medtem ko je bila delitev omare na dva dela tipična za Češko. Černy meni, da sta oba primera orgelskih omar posebnost. Kot pravi, naj bi tak koncept postavitve piščali v prospektu sicer nastal v Italiji, vendar naj bi prav preko Slovenije prišel na Češko, kjer so ga nekoliko modificirali in ga vgrajevali v dve ločeni omari. Prim. Peter Černy, Unikátní barokní varhany v kostele svaté Kateřiny, Noviny Prahy, Ročník 2003, 3. 11. 2003.

<sup>23</sup> Henrik Michael Löhr je bil v Ljubljani poleg slavnega kiparja Francesca Robba najpomembnejši laični kipar prve polovice 18. stoletja. Kiparil je pretežno v lesu (Robba v kamnu). Ugotovljeno je, da ni bil domačin in ni znano, od kod se je preselil v Ljubljano. Prim. Blaž Resman, Nekaj »novih« del Henrika Mihaela Löhra, Vita artis perennis – Ob osemdesetletnici akademika Emilijana Cevca, Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2000, 409.

<sup>24</sup> Jožef (Joseph) Straub je avtor angelov z instrumenti na orgelskih omarah v Rušah in na Sladki Gori pri Celju.

<sup>25</sup> Mere srednje omare so: višina 865 cm, širina 246 cm, globina 270 cm.

<sup>26</sup> Ana Lavrič, n. d., 145 in 147.

izdelani iz lesa, polihromirani in pozlačeni.<sup>27</sup> Posamezni instrumenti so izdolbeni iz enega kosa lesa z nekaterimi izjemami. Način izdelave potrjuje, da avtor ni imel namena izdelati pravega glasbila, temveč da se je temu približal zgolj po zunanji formi, vendar v skladu z značilnostmi aktualnih instrumentov zgodnjega 18. stoletja. Na srednji omari sta v spodnjem delu simetrično postavljena večja angela. Leva figura ima v naročju instrument, podoben lutnji. Od tradicionalne oblike lutnje opazimo nekatera odstopanja, kot so izrazito plitko in ožje telo ter le dva para strun (struni sta iz vrvi), medtem ko je drža instrumenta blizu izvajalski praksi. Angel na desni strani drži violončelo, ki ga prislanja na telo v poševni legi in ne tako, kot je velevala realna praksa. Z levo roko pravilno objema ubiralko, desnico drži visoko v zrak, Ta poza kaže na možnost, da je desnica držala lok, ki je danes izgubljen. Telo glasbila je izdelano realistično in kaže detajle, kot so noga, strunek, kobilica, 4 strune, vrat ter polžasto zavita vijačnica s štirimi vijaki. Nekoliko višje sta simetrično postavljena putta, ki igrata na violini. Obe glasbili sta izdelani nekoliko shematično, vendar ju po obliki prepoznamo kot manjši violini, kar je skladno z velikostjo obeh figur. Položaj instrumentov v tem primeru kaže na posnemanje pravilne drže pri igranju. Na tretjem nivoju orgelske omare sta simetrično postavljena putta s trobentama. Na desnico oz. levico naslanjata kratki ravni naravni trobenti, ki aludirata na srednjeveške angelske trobente, vendar v krajši obliki ter z razširjenim odmevnikom, kakršni so bili značilni za baročni čas (izdelani iz enega kosa lesa, cev ni izdolbena). Druga roka je v obeh primerih prosta, napete ličnice puttov pa nakazujejo trobljenje. V vrhnjem delu te omare sta postavljeni skulpturi angelov, ki prav tako trobita v ravni trobenti. V skladju z velikostjo figur sta daljši in večji, kar kaže, da je kipar upošteval proporce velikosti skulptur, ne pa značilnosti pravih instrumentov. Na vrhu omare stoji angel, po velikosti in obleki identičen prejšnjima, in je rahlo sklonjen navzdol proti muzicirajočim angelom in puttom, v desnici pa drži kratko razčlenjeno palico, ki bi lahko simbolizirala dirigentsko vlogo tega angela. Skupino muzikov na srednji orgelski omari razumemo kot simbol božje glasbe. Instrumenti, kot so trobente, violine, lutnja in violončelo, kažejo na izbor glasbil, ki jih povezujemo z glasbeno prakso na cerkvenih korih v prvi polovice 18. stoletja, ko so plastike nastale. Tudi vloga dirigenta bi lahko bila skladna s časom. Bogat izbor instrumentarija je običajen pri večjih orglah in pri tistih, ki kažejo na premožnejše naročnike. Ob tem naj omenim, da je bila ljubljanska stolnica v prvi polovici 18. stoletja prizorišče velikih cerkvenih slovesnosti, pri katerih so sodelovali številni pevci in instrumentalisti, na čelu s člani imenitne Academie Philharmonicorum. Če primerjamo okrasje na pročelju Janečkovih orgel in njihovih mlajših dopolnitev z dekoracijo na orgelskih omarah iz prve polovice 18. stoletja na Moravskem, najdemo

Če primerjamo okrasje na pročelju Janečkovih orgel in njihovih mlajših dopolnitev z dekoracijo na orgelskih omarah iz prve polovice 18. stoletja na Moravskem, najdemo številne sorodnosti. Tako kot je ugotovljeno za ljubljansko stolnico, je tudi za širši moravski prostor značilna skladnost arhitekture orgelskih omar z drugo likovno opremo notranjosti cerkva, posebno z glavnimi oltarji. Kot ugotavlja Jiří Sehnal, največji poznavalec zgodovinskih orgel na tem območju, so bili za prvo tretjino 18. stoletja značilni prospekti z razčlenjenim piščaljem, orgelsko omaro pa je dopolnjevalo bogato okrasje, kot so lesene pozlačene rezbarije v obliki volut, girland in akantov na vseh poljih s piščalmi in na stranicah omare. Moravske orgle so bogate tudi po skulpturah, kot so

<sup>27</sup> Primerjaj dokumentacijo o načrtovanih konservatorsko-restavratorskih posegih na plastikah orgelskih omar iz cerkve sv. Nikolaja v Ljubljani. Program je pripravila Nuška Dolenc Kambič, ki se ji zahvaljujem za posredovanje podatkov.

angeli in putti, ki imajo pogosto v rokah različna glasbila. Med njimi prevladujejo dolge ravne trobente in kotlaste pavke v parih, naravne zavite trobente, lovski rogovi, godala in brenkala tipa lutnje, kralj David s harfo ter sv. Cecilija z orglami.<sup>28</sup>

J. F. Janeček je izdelal tudi orgle za **župnijsko romarsko cerkev Sv. Marije v Rušah**. Notranjost gotske cerkve je bila na začetku 18. stoletja temeljito prenovljena in barokizirana. Takrat so pozidali baročni prezbiterij in ladjo ter dodali bogato baročno štukaturo in poslikave.<sup>29</sup> Opremo cerkve so izdelali mojstri iz Gradca in Celovca ter domači umetniki iz bližnjega Maribora, ki je bil v avstrijskem cesarstvu center Spodnje Štajerske. Med bogato opremo sodijo tudi orgle Johanna Frančiška Janečka iz leta 1755. To so enomanualne orgle s 13 registri in z nekaterimi posebnostmi, ki jih pri drugih Janečkovih instrumentih ne zasledimo.<sup>30</sup> Orgelsko omaro sestavljajo trije ločeni deli, marmorirani v modro rdečih tonih. Obe stranski omari – pozitiva – sta oblikovani kot skrinji, na osrednjem delu instrumenta pa je piščalje na pročelju razdeljeno na tri polja, od katerih je srednje povišano zaradi 8-čeveljskega principala. Dekoracija te omare je bogata in pozlačena. Rezbarije predstavljajo volutasto okrasje, stilizirano cvetje in oblačke. Lesene skulpture na omarah je izdelal Jožef (Joseph) Straub, kipar iz Maribora, po rodu iz dežele Württenberg v Nemčiji, ki je pomembno ime štajerskega baročnega kiparstva.<sup>31</sup>



Slika 4. Orgelske omare v cerkvi Sv. Marije v Rušah (foto B. Kovačič)

<sup>28</sup> Prim. J. Sehnal, n. d., vol. 2, 81-87.

<sup>29</sup> Sergej Vrišer, Vodnik po ruških cerkvah, Ruše: Župnijski urad, 1995, 6.

<sup>30</sup> Med posebnosti sodita 8-čeveljski principal in igralnik, ki je postavljen pred orglami in je ločen od omare. Oboje je edinstven primer pri Janečkovih enomanualnih orglah. Prim. Milko Bizjak / Edo Škulj, Orgle na Slovenskem, Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1985, 56.

<sup>31</sup> Jožef (Joseph) Straub (rojen leta 1712 v kraju Wiesensteig v Nemčiji, umrl leta 1756 v Mariboru) izhaja iz pomembne srednjeevropske kiparske družine iz dežele Württenberg. Najprej se je izobraževal v očetovi delavnici v Wiesensteigu, nato pa pri bratu Filipu Jakobu v Gradcu, ki je tja prinesel vplive baročnih plastik, značilnih za München in tamkajšnji umetniški krog. Za kiparje se je izučilo kar pet bratov te družine. Na Slovenskem se Jožef Straub prvič omenja leta 1736, ko je bil pomočnik ljubljanskega kiparja Henrika Michaela Löhra. Nanj je vplival tudi najpomembnejši kipar v Ljubljani, Francesco Robba, Italijan po rodu, ki je za ljubljansko stolnico sv. Nikolaja izdelal vrsto pomembnih plastik. Kdaj je Straub zapustil Löhrovo delavnico in začel delovati samostojno, ni znano. Leta 1743 se kot avtor Kužnega znamenja, ki velja za njegovo najbolj monumentalno delo, prvič pojavi v Mariboru. Tam se je ustalil in se poročil. Po Straubovi smrti je delavnico prevzel njegov pomočnik Jožef Holzinger. Prim. Sergej Vrišer, Baročno kiparstvo na slovenskem Štajerskem, Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1992, 120–136.

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Straub je bil najvidnejši baročni kipar na ozemlju takratne Štajerske, kjer je ustvaril številne oltarje, prižnice ter kipe za fasade, orgle in druge umetnine. Za njegove kipe so značilne izrazito razgibane poze z močno gestikuliranimi gibi ter ekspresiven, celo ekstatičen izraz na obrazih, ki v določenih plastikah deluje portretno. Z njegovim opusom je kiparstvo na Slovenskem preseglo provincialne značilnosti in dobilo nadih baročnih središč tedanje Srednje Evrope. Baročno ornamentiko omar je leta 1755 pozlatil Dominik Cocconi, ki je na stranski orgelski omari naslikal še sv. Gregorja in sv. Cecilijo. Imenitno delo je tudi pevska empora, ki jo je za potrebe orgel leta 1753 povečal mizar iz Maribora Franz Leeb, Cocconi pa je nanjo naslikal prizore čudežev. Stranski omari sta okrašeni s simetrično postavljenima celopostavnima skulpturama angelov z naravnima trobentama. Figuri sta monumentalni in kažeta kiparja Strauba v njegovi najboljši luči. Njuna instrumenta predstavljata naravni zaviti trobenti, značilni za zgodnje 18. stoletje. Izdelani sta precej realistično in okrašeni z značilno ovito vrvico, a brez cofov.



Slika 5. Detajl, angel s trobento, J. Straub (foto B. Kovačič)

Srednja omara s piščalmi v prospektu ima obliko, ki se pri Janečkovih orglah večkrat ponavlja (Ruše, Sladka Gora, Crngrob pri Škofji Loki ...); je tridelna, s povišanim srednjim delom in okrašena z baročno ornamentiko. Nanjo je nameščenih sedem lesenih skulptur, od katerih je šest puttov, ki se proti vrhu po velikosti proporcionalno zmanjšujejo. Prvotno so imeli verjetno vsi putti v rokah instrumente (danes so štirje brez glasbenih atributov). Na vrhu omare je velika figura kralja Davida s harfo, ki je bila prav tako značilna skulptura Janečkovih orgel (ohranjena je tudi na orgelski omari na Sladki Gori), najdemo pa jo tudi na orgelskih omarah v cerkvah na Češkem oziroma Moravskem.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Prav tam.

<sup>33</sup> S. Vrišer, Vodnik po ruških cerkvah, n. d., 14.

<sup>34</sup> Prav tam.

<sup>35</sup> Prim. *The New Grove, Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (ur. Stanley Sadie), vol. III, New York, London: Macmillian Press 1984, 643–644, slika 7 a, 646.

<sup>36</sup> Prim. J. Sehanl, n. d., vol. I in vol. II.



Slika 6. Detajl, David s harfo in angeli muzikanti (foto D. Koter)

Tako kot celopostavna angela na stranskih omarah tudi druge figure kažejo značilne Straubove umetniške poteze, drža telesa in rok pa ni prilagojena igranju na instrumente. Danes sta spodnja putta brez instrumentov, na srednjem delu je na levi strani putt z liro simbolične oblike (nasprotna plastika nima instrumenta), ki je stilizirana, v baročni formi in ima dve struni iz vrvi. V vrhnjem delu omare sta še dva putta. Levi, tik pod Davidovo skulpturo, je nekoč imel v roki knjigo kot simbol Davidovih psalmov, putt na desni pa je igral na triangel s tremi obročki. Oba atributa sta danes izgubljena, vendar ju omenja starejša dokumentacija. Desna figura ima v naročju trombo marino,<sup>37</sup> ki je nanjo položena v skoraj ležečem položaju, kar ni v skladu z izvajalsko prakso (trombo marino so pri igranju prislanjali na prsi navpično navzdol). Po obliki spominja na realistične instrumente: izdelana je v enem kosu, ima trikotno obliko in dve struni iz vrvi, visok mostič ter volutasto zaključen vrat. Lok je izgubljen. Na vrhu omare je nadnaravno velik kip kralja Davida, ki se z levico naslanja na harfo. Kipi nadnaravne velikosti sicer predstavljajo eno izmed značilnosti Straubove oltarne plastike.38 Harfa je lesena, po obliki aludira na preprosto diatonično harfo, kakršne so bile v rabi v 17. in še v 18. stoletju. Ima 17 vijakov, na katere so napete strune iz vrvi. Zaradi manjkajočih instrumentov ne moremo ugotoviti nekdanje zasedbe muzicirajočih figur na orgelskih omarah Janečkovih orgel iz cerkve v Rušah. Ohranjene pa kažejo na to, da je kipar izbiral arhaična glasbila, kot je lira, in instrumente svojega časa, kot so naravna trobenta, tromba marina, triangel in

<sup>37</sup> Iz starejše dokumentacije razberemo, da je bila tromba marina v rokah putta pod njim. Prim. M. Bizjak / E. Škulj, ibid., 57–58. 38 S. Vrišer, *Baročno kiparstvo* ..., n. d., 123.

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harfa. V kompoziciji dominirata angela s trobentama ter David s harfo, ki skupaj s putti z glasbenimi simboli predstavljajo nebeško glasbo.

Janečkove orgle z omaro s figurami z instrumenti so tudi v **župni cerkvi Sv. Marije na Sladki Gori blizu Celja**, ki je znano romarsko središče. Sedanja baročna cerkev je bila pozidana v letih 1744 do 1754 na mestu starejše stavbe iz 14. stoletja. Romarji, ki so se stoletja zgrinjali v ta kraj, so v zahvalo za Marijino pomoč obilno darovali, zato je cerkev v celoti poslikana in okrašena s številnimi oltarji, ki so jih izdelali priznani mojstri. Poslikave so delo Franca Jelovška iz Ljubljane, ki velja za najpomembnejšega predstavnika baročnega stenskega iluzionističnega slikarstva na ozemlju današnje Slovenije.<sup>39</sup> Poseben glasbeni pomen ima poslikava ostenja nad pevsko emporo, kjer najdemo tudi figure z instrumenti in angele pevce. Med kvalitetnejšo opremo sodijo tudi Janečkove enomanualne orgle iz leta 1755.<sup>40</sup> Tako kot v Rušah je tudi v tem primeru figure z glasbili izdelal Jožef (Joseph) Straub iz Maribora. Orgelska omara je marmorirana in okrašena z bogato baročno ornamentiko. Po obliki je skoraj identična z Janečkovimi starejšimi orglami v Crngrobu pri Škofji Loki iz leta 1743, kjer pa ni skulptur z instrumenti.



Slika 7. Orgle v cerkvi Sv. Marije na Sladki Gori (foto D. Koter)

Piščali v prospektu so razdeljene v tridelno kompozicijo, s povišanim srednjim delom, kjer tako kot v ruški cerkvi tudi na Sladki Gori dominira David s harfo, obdan s snopi

<sup>39</sup> Marja Lorenčak, Cerkev sv. Marije na Sladki Gori, Skriti biser: zbornik župnije Sladka Gora (ur. Rok Metličar), Sladka Gora: Župnijski urad, 2004, 113–117.

<sup>40</sup> Pozitiv je bil v 19. stoletju dvakrat predelan. Izvorno je imel le osem registrov in je bil brez pedala, pedal in štirje pedalni registri so bili dodani leta 1804. Dodal jih je Venceslav Marthal, po rodu Čeh, ki velja za enega od naslednikov Janečkove delavnice v Celju. Prim. M. Bizjak / E. Škulj, ibid., 54.

žarkov. Ta omara ima štiri putte z instrumenti. V spodnjem delu sta putta z violinama, ki sta precej realistični, vendar preproste izdelave brez značilnosti pravih instrumentov. Figuri sta v dokaj pravilni pozi igranja in držita lok.



Slika 8. Detajl, angel z violino, J. Straub (foto D. Koter)

V zgornjem delu sta simetrično nameščena putta s preprostima ravnima trobentama, ki sta pozlačeni. Instrument držita z eno roko v smeri navzgor. Osrednji lik David naslanja na telo diatonično harfo (instrument je pozlačen) z desetimi strunami (število deset simbolizira božje zapovedi) iz vrvi. Oblika harfe je podobna že omenjeni v Marijini cerkvi v Rušah, vendar ji manjka steber, ki je odlomljen in izgubljen. Kompozicijo dopolnjujejo številne angelske glavice, ki jih na drugih orgelskih omarah Janečkovih orgel ne najdemo, njihova likovna vrednost pa ne dosega kvalitet Straubove delavnice. <sup>41</sup> Izbor instrumentov se zdi običajen: harfa je atribut kralja Davida, trobento razumemo kot angelski instrument, violina pa je bila v prvi polovici 18. stoletja poleg orgel med najobičajnejšimi instrumenti v cerkveni glasbeni praksi, poleg tega je kot strunski instrument simbol nebeške glasbe.

Orgle Janečkove delavnice so tudi **v romarski cerkvi Marije Tolažnice v Čermožišah pri Žetalah** v okolici Ptuja. Cerkev je bila zgrajena med leti 1713 do 1723, povod zanjo pa so bili čudežni pojavi in kužne bolezni na mestu sedanje cerkve. Gradnjo so finančno podprli knezi Eggenbergi, lastniki številnih posesti na ozemlju nekdanje Štajerske. Opremo za oltarje so izdelali neznani rezbarji iz lokalnega prostora. <sup>42</sup> Pri orglah so naročniki naredili izjemo in jih naročili pri priznanem mojstru Johannu Frančišku Janečku. Izdelane so bile leta 1763 in imajo sedem registrov v manualu ter tri v pedalu. <sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Mogoče so bile na orgelsko omaro nameščene kasneje. Praksa dodajanje angelskih glavic iz opuščenih oltarjev ali drugih delavnic je bila običajna. Takšne poteze kažejo na željo po kopičenju okrasja.

<sup>42</sup> O zgodovini cerkve, njenih naročnikih in opremi glej Polona Vidmar, Od kaplanov do knezov - umetnostna dediščina žetalskih cerkva, *Žetale in Žetalenci nekoč in danes* (ur. Stanko Skledar), *Žetale*: Občina, 2003, 187-192.

<sup>43</sup> Orgle so bile skupaj z orgelsko omaro leta 1993 temeljito restavrirane in obnovljene. Danes imajo značilnosti iz časa izdelave. Več o tem glej v: Darja Koter, Janečkove orgle v Čermožišah pri Žetalah, *Žetale in Žetalenci nekoč in danes* (ur. Stanko Skledar), Žetale: Občina, 2003, 209–216.



Slika 9. Orgle v cerkvi Marije Tolažnice v Čermožišah pri Žetalah (foto D. Koter)

Arhitektura orgelske omare je podobna že omenjenim v Crngrobu pri Škofji Loki, Rušah in na Sladki Gori, vendar je likovno skromnejši izdelek. Podobno velja za leseno baročno okrasje in za skulpture z instrumenti, ki so delo neznanega ljudskega mojstra in ne dosegajo umetniških kvalitet že omenjenih omar drugih Janečkovih orgel. Ta omara pa je vseeno posebna, saj njene skulpture sestavljajo eno najštevilnejših glasbenih zasedb, ohranjenih na orgelskih omarah na Slovenskem. Na dveh prosto stoječih stebrih ob omari sta postavljeni figuri David s harfo in Sv. Cecilija z orglami. Obe skulpturi nosita bogato nagubana in pozlačena oblačila, ki po stilu spominjajo na plemiški stan. To ne preseneča, saj sta upodobljena kralj in kraljica. David, z glavo obrnjen proti cerkveni ladji, je v pozi igranja na preprosto diatonično harfo z desetimi strunami (strune so iz vrvi), levica se dotika strun, desnica sloni na resonančnem delu korpusa. Število strun lahko tudi v tem primeru razumemo kot simbol božjih zapovedi. Nasproti je sv. Cecilija s krono na glavi in z žezlom v levici, s čimer spominja na lik kraljice, ki ga prepoznamo kot simbol kraljice glasbe. V desnici drži simbolično in preprosto oblikovan pozitiv, izdelan iz enega kosa lesa.



Slika 10. Detajl, Sv. Cecilija z orglami (foto D. Koter)

Putti in angeli z glasbenimi simboli so kot skupina nameščeni na zgornji del omare. Najprej sta simetrično postavljena putta z violinama preproste oblike. Instrumenta sta brez vitalnih detajlov, vendar pobarvana kot violini; v izrazito svetlem lesu s temnim vratom in strunekom. Drža instrumentov spominja na igranje kitare (lok ima le putt na levi). Takšne anomalije niso bile običajne, saj so figure z instrumenti praviloma odraz realne glasbene prakse. V tem primeru upravičeno domnevamo, da je nenavadna drža instrumentov posledica nepoznavanja restavratorjev, ki so orgelsko omaro prenovili. 44 Bolj realistični glasbeni figuri sta putta z naravnima trobentama. Instrumenta spominjata na obliko naravnih trobent iz 17. oz. 18. stoletja. Sta relativno kratki, okorno izdolbeni iz enovitega kosa lesa in pozlačeni. Ob njiju sta dva angela: levi je v pozi igranja na majhne okroglaste pavke, drugi drži violončelo. Pavke so po velikosti in po namestitvi v višini pasu podobne instrumentom, značilnim za starejša obdobja do renesanse, in aludirajo na instrumente arabskega izvora. Angel skuša posnemati igranje (ohranjen je le en tolkač). Tudi angel z violončelom deluje kot pravi glasbenik, kar pa je rezbarju uspelo zgolj s pozo igranja, medtem ko je instrument le preprost obrtniški izdelek brez vitalnih značilnosti glasbila. Rezbarjevo nepoznavanje pravih instrumentov ali pomanjkljivi likovni vzori so lahko vzrok tudi temu, da angel namesto loka drži v roki dolgo palico; morda pa je prvotni lok izgubljen in ga je nekdo zamenjal s preprosto palico. Na vrhu orgelske omare je izjemno visoka skulptura angela v razgibani pozi, ki ima v

rokah dva zvitka. Lahko ju razumemo kot zvitka psalmov, ki aludirata na božjo glasbo. Vrhnje skulpture so po pravilu največje, kar je skladno s proporci celovite kompozicije.

Najmlajša ohranjena orgelska omara z Janečkovimi orglami in skulpturami z glasbenimi simboli je v župni in samostanski cerkvi v Olimju pri Podčetrtku. Cerkev je del grajskega kompleksa, ki zgodovinsko sega v 11. stoletje, sedanjo obliko pa je dobil sredi 16. stoletja. Grad je bil v sredini 17. stoletja podarjen redovnikom pavlincem, ki so ob njem pozidali baročno cerkev (končana je bila leta 1675). Stavba ima bogato opremo, ki je sad umetnikov iz vrst pavlincev iz bližnjega samostana v Lepoglavi na Hrvaškem. Pavlinci so orgle naročili pri Johannu Frančišku Janečku. Izdelane so bile leta 1764 in so edine njegove ohranjene orgle z dvema manualoma (12 registrov v manualih in 2 v pedalu). Vgrajene so v korno ograjo. Principalne piščali imajo le 4-čeveliski register. Orgelska omara z razgibanimi baročnimi ornamenti in marmoracijo je bila izdelana leto kasneje, o čemer priča kronogram nad igralnikom, ki je prav tako delo pavlinskih mojstrov. Arhitektura omare je, tako kot že predstavljene omare Janečkovih orgel, tridelna s povišanim srednjim delom. Igralnik je nameščen na hrbtni strani omare, tako da organist vidi na glavni oltar skozi posebno kukalo. Na vrhu ohišja so postavljene tri skulpture puttov z glasbenimi simboli. Figure so baročno razigrane in kažejo na dobrega kiparja, ki pa ostaja neznan. Drža skulptur tako kot pri večini le deloma spominja na realno glasbeno prakso, kar razumemo kot dejstvo, da so imeli putti ali angeli z glasbili kot del likovne opreme orgelskih ohišij zgolj simbolno vlogo, tako kot upodobitve podobnih figur na stropnih in stenskih freskah. Stranski figuri držita v roki kovinski ravni trobenti v srebrni barvi, ki predstavljata ozko menzurirane instrumente. Na vrhu omare dominira putt, ki ima ob vznožju postavljene majhne kotlaste pavke v paru, v rokah pa drži tanka tolkača, s katerima zamahuje kot pri igranju. Tolkača sta po obliki bližja tolkačem za male bobne kot tistim za pavke, za katere je na konici značilna večja odebelitev. Pavki predstavljata instrumente, kakršne so imeli glasbeniki pritrjene okrog pasu in jih poznamo iz Praetoriusove Syntagme musicum (2/1619).45 Tako kot omenjeni trobenti sta tudi pavki izdelani iz kovine, kar je posebnost, saj so vsi instrumenti na doslej omenjenih orgelskih omarah leseni. Po obliki sta pavki precej realistični, nakazani so celo vijaki za napenjanje open. Opna je iz kože.



Slika 11. Orgle v samostanski cerkvi v Olimju pri Podčetrtku (foto D. Koter)

Skupina puttov glasbenikov kaže na izvajalsko prakso trobentačev v 16. in 17. stoletju, ki jih je spremljal pavkist. Takšna praksa je dokazana tudi v cerkveni in samostanski glasbeni praksi na ozemlju današnje Slovenije. V enem izmed ženskih samostanov, v nekdanjem dominikanskem samostanu Marenberg v dolini Drave na slovenskem Štajerskem, so tamkajšnje nune v 17. in 18. stoletju igrale na raznovrstne instrumente, med njimi tudi na pavke. Pri slovesnejših bogoslužjih, kjer so bili navzoči tudi plemiči, so v samostanski cerkvi igrali tudi na trobente in pavke. Ker se je glasbena ikonografija spreminjala v skladu s poustvarjalno prakso, ni čudno, da so nekdanje ravne angelske trobente, značilne za srednji vek, v baroku običajno preoblikovane po tedanjih manirah. Podobno so se spreminjali tudi glasbeni sestavi, in ko se je od 16. stoletja ustalila praksa t. i. trobentačev s pavkisti, so ti vzori prešli tudi med glasbene simbole na cerkvenih freskah in na orgelskih omarah.

## Zaključne ugotovitve

Celjski orglar Johann Frančišek Janeček, ki ga poznamo kot vodilnega baročnega mojstra na Slovenskem, domnevno izhaja iz češke rodbine orglarjev, kar dokazujejo značilnosti njegovih instrumentov. Pričujoča raziskava pa kaže tudi na skupne točke v

<sup>46</sup> Prim. Jože Mlinarič, Marenberški dominikanski samostan 1251–1782, Celje: Mohorjeva družba, 1997, 255– 288; Darja Koter, Glasbilarstvo na Slovenskem, Maribor: Založba Obzorja, 2001, 33–35.

oblikovanju orgelskih ohišij in njihovem okrasju. Sodeč po dosegljivih virih, bi ga lahko povezali s praško vejo Janečkov, od katere poznamo Martina Janečka, ki je deloval vsaj do leta 1734 in je zasnoval orgle v praški cerkvi sv. Katarine. O njunem morebitnem sodelovanju pričajo ohranjene orgelske omare v omenjeni praški cerkvi in omare na glavnem koru v ljubljanski stolnici. Primerjava ohišij obeh orgel kaže na to, da sta s praškim prospektom sorodna stranska dela omare na pevski empori cerkve sv. Nikolaja, medtem ko je njen srednji del zasnovan drugače. Obe orgelski omari, ki sta predmet primerjave, sta nastali v istem obdobju, skupna pa je tudi postavitev igralnika na sredino med obema omarama. Ljubljanske orgle so bile dokončane leta 1734, praške pa med leti 1734 in 1741, ko je instrument Martina Janečka dokončal Jan Storck. Za oba primera je značilno trikotno postavljeno piščalje na enovitem polju, obdano z bogato izrezljano draperijo, ki jo na straneh držita putta. Takšna oblika prospekta in njegove dekoracije je tako na Slovenskem kot na Češkem po ugotovitvah dosedanjih raziskav edinstvena in kaže na italijanske vzore. Za dekoracijo orgelskih omar na Janečkovih enomanualnih orglah v Marijinih cerkvah v Rušah in na Sladki Gori pri Celju je ugotovljeno, da je nastala sočasno z orglami (1755) in da so figure angelov z glasbili v obeh primerih delo mariborskega kiparja in rezbarja Josefa Strauba. Čeprav sta arhitektura obeh orgel in postavitev piščali skorajda identični, razporeditev figur in njihovo število nista enaki. Prav tako se angeli razlikujejo po vrsti instrumentov, obe omari pa imata na vrhu figuro kralja Davida s harfo. Skulpture na obeh omarah lahko označimo kot ene najkvalitetnejših baročnih lesenih plastik, ki so ohranjene na Janečkovih orglah, njihova kvaliteta pa izstopa tudi v širši dediščini na Slovenskem. Straub je tudi edini po imenu znan kipar, ki je sodeloval pri likovni opremi obravnavane celjske delavnice. Kljub številnim sorodnostim pa oba primera potrjujeta, da je bila likovna oprema orgelske omare skrbno načrtovana ter odvisna od velikosti pevske empore in celotne zasnove cerkvene opreme. Tretje Janečkove enomanualne orgle z angeli in s figurami z glasbili, ki so ohranjene v Čermožišah pri Žetalah, so s prvima sorodne v arhitekturi orgelske omare, medtem ko avtor njenega likovnega okrasja ni ugotovljen. Figure z glasbili v tem primeru kažejo na domačega ljudskega rezbarja, kar lahko razumemo kot posledico omejenih denarnih možnosti naročnikov orgel in njihove likovne opreme. Čermožiška cerkev je izrazito podeželska, vendar romarska, a očitno ni premogla večjih sredstev za kvalitetnejšo opremo. Čeprav je ohišje teh orgel skromnejše delo, pa izstopa po večjem številu angelov z glasbili in ga lahko skladno s časom nastanka primerjamo le s srednjo orgelsko omaro v ljubljanski stolnici. Kot posebnost naj omenimo tudi celopostavni figuri Davida in Cecilije, postavljeni na stebrih ob orgelski omari, ki sta po kompoziciji edinstveni na baročnih orglah na Slovenskem. Vse tri omenjene omare Janečkovih enomanualnih orgel so po obliki in dekorativnih rezbarijah primerljive z ohišji instrumentov v cerkvah v Crngrobu pri Škofji Loki (1743) in na Pesku pri Podčetrtku (1751). Vsem pa je skupna izhodiščna oblika, kakršno v variacijah najdemo pri orglah na Moravskem iz obdobja med letoma okrog 1700 in 1760.47 Tudi orgelska omara Janečkovih orgel v cerkvi v Olimju pri Podčetrtku, ki so jo sicer izdelali bratje pavlinci iz samostana v Lepoglavi na Hrvaškem, po obliki in postavitvi piščali v prospektu bistveno ne odstopa od drugih Janečkovih instrumentov.

<sup>47</sup> Prim. J. Sehnal, n. d., vol. II.

To ne preseneča, saj je tudi na območju severne Hrvaške, posebno v okolici Zagreba, opazen vpliv čeških oziroma avstrijskih mojstrov, pri katerih so prepoznane skupne značilnosti. Poleg tega je treba naglasiti, da je bil Janeček kot orglar pogosto povabljen tudi na hrvaško ozemlje in da je za tamkajšnje cerkve izdelal vrsto orgel, med katerimi pa ni ohranjenih večjih in z glasbenimi simboli opremljenih orgelskih omar. Omenjene ugotovitve kažejo tudi na to, da je Johann Frančišek Janeček poznal prakso oblikovanja orgelskih omar, ki se je v prvi polovici 18. stoletja ustalila v nekdanjih čeških deželah, ter da je skupaj z mizarji, rezbarji in s kiparji, ki so izdelovali ohišja njegovih orgel, posnemal likovne vzore v arhitekturi omar, razporeditvi piščali v prospektu ter v rezbarijah, figuraliki in simboliki.

#### SUMMARY

The article deals with the characteristic decorations on organ cases made by Johann Frančišek Janeček (ca 1700 - ca 1777), the leading baroque master in Slovenia. Presumably, Janeček comes from a Czech family, which can be corroborated by the features of his instruments. The results of present research show common features in the form of organ cases and their decor. We link him with Prague branch of the Janečeks, of which Martin Janeček is known to have been active up to at least 1734, and to have conceived the organ in St Catharine's Church in Prague. Proof of their possible cooperation can be provided by the organ cases in the just-mentioned Prague church and on the main organ loft in St Nicholas's Cathedral in Ljubljana. The front pipe arrangement suggests Italian models, up to now quite unique in Slovenia and Bohemia, as current research has shown. As for the decorations of organ cases on Janeček's single-manual organs in Holy Mary's churches in Ruše and on Sladka Gora near Celje, it has been established that they were made together with the organs (1755), and that in both cases the angel figures with instruments are the work of the excellent Maribor sculptor and woodcarver Josef Straub. The sculptures on both organ cases can be considered as some of the best examples of baroque wooden plastic art preserved on Janeček's organs, while their high quality stands out also within the broader Slovene cultural heritage. Both examples confirm the fact that the artistic decor of the organ cases was carefully planned, since it was dependent on the dimensions and conceptual ideas of the choir gallery and the entire church fittings. Janeček's third one-manual organ with angels and figures with instruments, preseved in Čermožiše near Žetale, are related to the first two as regards the design of the organ case, whereas the author of the artistic decor has not been established vet. The figures point to a native folk carver, which could be understood as a consequence of limited financial means of those commissioning the organ and its artistic decor. All three of Janeček's cases of one-manual organs can be in terms of form and decorative carvings compared with organ cases in the church of Crngrob ner Škofja loka (1743) and that 'on Pesek' near Podčetrtek (1751). All three originate in the initial form that is - in variations - to be found with organs in Moravia during the period from 1700 to 1760. Janeček's organ case in the Olimje church near Podčetrtek too, though made by the Pauline Brothers from the Lepoglava monastery in Croatia, does not - as regards its form and front pipe arrangements - differ in any essentiality from Janeček's other instruments. Which is not surprising, since also in northern Croatia, above all in the environs of Zagreb, one can detect a noticeable influence of Czech or rather Austrian masters. The findings of research show that Johann Frančišek Janeček was well acquainted with the organ case practice which, in the first half of the 18th century, became prevalent in Czech lands, and that he imitated artistic models of case design, front pipe arrangements, as well as carvings, figural solutions, and musical symbols.

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# Some issues of studying the activities of Czech musicians in Serbia in the 19th century

# Nekatera vprašanja preučevanja delovanja čeških glasbenikov v Srbiji v 19. stoletju

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#### Izvleček

Glavni cilj sestavka, posvečenega vprašanju preučevanja čeških glasbenikov v Srbiji v 19. stoletju, želi opozoriti na dileme in njih rešitve v dosedanjem muzikološkem raziskovanju. Posebna pozornost je bila usmerjena v manj znane in redko objavljene podatke v zvezi z raznovrstnim delovanjem čeških glasbenikov.

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#### ABSTRACT

The main object of this paper, dedicated to the issue of studying Czech musicians in Serbia in 19th century, is to point to the dilemmas and their solutions in the musicological research carried out so far. Particular attention was paid to less widely known and rarely presented data on versatile activities of Czech musicians.

Our diverse studies of the issue of activities of Czech professional musicians on the territory of the present Serbia, which has taken several years, assures us that perception of this area permanently and persistently imposes numerous issues and dilemmas that we are sometimes able to clear out as we went on; however, certain segments have remained persistent in not being solved. Even though tendencies of the Czechs were mainly of local character and importance, they were frequently irreplaceable at their positions from the standpoint of professional music life in Serbia. Nowadays, it appears to us that the conditions, maybe even the need to view this issue in all its versatility and ampleness were almost never in place. This is corroborated by their almost regular assimilation in general trends of music development in Serbia, both in the older and later

historiographic and musicological literature. Because, as well as the local music forces, apart from being into composing activities, the Czechs also played in various music ensembles, embraced pedagogic activities as teachers, conducted, and did everything to respond to the requirements of the environment they had tied their professional activities to.

Generally, the topic of perceiving the influence of Czech musicians on creative endeavour in music in Serbia primarily calls for abandonment of stereotypes and biases which are persistently repeated in literature. Only then could they be integrated in the general historic trends. Lately, however, we have encountered a significant historic crosssection of their presence, as well as their contribution to Serbian 19th century music, even though, unfortunately, this issue has not been deliberated from primary musicological sources.1 Regardless of this, most persons encountered in our country who belonged to the corps of Czech musicians have still not been included in any contemporary music lexicon or encyclopedia. There is also not a single unique and trustworthy study on this issue. However, it needs to be pointed out that this topic, although not fully suppressed, was studied only partially and mostly sporadically in most musicological researches carried out in Serbia so far, and mainly in texts in which the Czech authors found their place: in manuals, history books, studies, lexicons and encyclopedias.2 Separate texts on them were relatively rare and sporadic.3 This is why the search for data has so far been aimed at some preserved and available archive sources, rare monographs of composers Robert Tollinger and Joseph Weikert4, theatre and opera houses, testimonials of various music institutions and singing societies, music and other libraries in which their published music or manuscripts are kept, and periodicals of the period.

The less well known Joseph Weikert falls into the separate and large group of Czech musicians comprising members of military orchestras of the Austro-Hungarian military. Migrations of Czech musicians into Hungarian regiments of the time were almost an everyday phenomenon. Numerous Czech musicians were deployed at military bands which were placed in military garrisons of Austro-Hungarian Empire. The fact is that most bandmasters in military bands were at the same time teachers, but frequently also very successful mediators in multiethnic settings with mixtures of different cultures

<sup>1</sup> Пејовић, Роксанда: Чешки музичари у српском музичком животу (1844–1918), I, Нови Звук, Београд, 1996, 8, 51–58; Чешки музичари у српском музичком животу (1844–1918), II, Нови звук, Београд, 1997, 9, 65–74; Tomašević, Katarina: Contribution of Chech Musicians to the Serban Music in the 19th Century, Muzikološki Zbornik, Ljubljana, 2006, XLII / 1, 127–137.

<sup>2</sup> Muzička enciklopedija, I-III, Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod, 1971–1978 as well as Leksikon jugoslovenske muzike, Zagreb, 1984 contain only some individual units on Czech musicians in Serbia. Significant enlargements were provided by Vladimir Djordjevic in his book Biografski rečnik srpskih muzičara, Beograd, 1955. The most numerous and most comprehensive positive developments in this sense were noted in the recentlz initiated publishing of Cpncxu διοκραφέχει peruux, Hobu Cara, Marnua cpncκa, 2004–2007. The three volumes published so far mostly contain completed biographies of the following Czech musicians, listed in an alphabetic order: Brodil, Josif/Brodil, Josif/Brodil, Josif/Brož, Miloš/Brož, Miroslav/; Brumeti, Fridrith/Brunetti, Fridrich/; Burza, Rudolf/Burza, Rudolf/; Blažek, Dragutin/Blažek, Karel/; Valenta, Avgustin; /Valenta, Avgustin Aleksandar/; Vedral, Vaclav/Vedral, Vaclav/; Vimer, Franja/Wimer, František/; Vovec-Dorđervić, Antonije/Voves, Antonin/; Voves, Josip; / Voves, Josef/; Dubska-Adamović, Božena/Dubska, Božena/; Dubska-Matačić, Karola/ Dubska, Karola/, Dusil, Josif/Dusil, Josef/; Žaludova, Marija/ Žaludova, Marja Marie/; Zikova-Dimitrijević, Zdenka/ Zikova, Zdenka/. We would like to emphasise that the Cyech lexicographic editions, which have recently published the on-line edition of the very important lexicon Česko slovensky hudebni slovnik osob a instituci, Praha: Statni hudebni vydavatelsti, I A-L, 1963; II M-Ž, 1965., as well as Pazdirkuv Hudebni slovnik naučny II, čast osob, sv. 2, 12 tiskovich arcu, nedokončeno, Brno 1937 /41 were invaluable assistance in our work.

<sup>3</sup> Compare: Томашевић, Катарина, the stated paper.

<sup>4</sup> Милорад Мишков: Роберт Толингер, Шабац, 1986.; Živan Ištvanić - Edit Fišer, Weikert, Bela Crkva, 1999.

and confessions. They were frequently very successful in establishing specific forms of their symbiosis.

A great problem in studying the topic is represented by the fact that the available sources are mostly incomplete and frequently also inaccurate, even incorrect - starting from incomplete, erroneous or changed spelling of names of certain persons. 'Numerous professional Czech musicians, who worked in various areas of the Habsburg Empire, including areas inhabited by Serb population in Vojvodina, registered themselves with Serbian Ministry of education and got jobs in Serbia. It is important to mention that acceptance of Orthodox confession and a Serb name on baptizing was a necessary prerequisite for having a job in Serbia'5 On the other hand, we encountered meagre and incomplete, mainly incorrect information on their professional life and work, as some sources bring us data only on their activities in Bohemia, while the other relate to their activities almost solely connected to Serbia. Thus, based on such sources, it has been difficult, sometimes even impossible, to single out real and authentic values of individuals who deserved it for numerous reasons. The solution to these problems is primarily perceived in stating the names of every individual musician in two ways - the original manner and as acquired in Serbia, as well as in compiling the information collected independently by Czech musicologists and their Serbian counterparts.

Sometimes it was very difficult for us to establish whether certain musicians really had authentic Czech origin6. We were surprised to discover that Czech nationals were hiding behind the names of authentic local musicians. This is why we deem it necessary to conduct comparative research of our and Czech sources; this would result in a meticulous analysis of the data stated as well as their comparison. This should result in a new quality while the arguments, originating from authenticity, should resolve numerous dilemmas and ambiguities. I believe that is this way the issue of Czech migrants in our regions should be considerably deepened and complemented. Some of the results achieved in this area will enable us to catch a glimpse of, and at least try to perceive the scope and main directions of their activities the professional quality of which was of crucial importance for the overall development of the art of music in our country in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries.

It is worthwhile mentioning that yet another difficulty in studying was in the fact that the Czech sources that we had the opportunity to consult so far did not treat the topic of activities of musicians in Serbia. Thus, almost complete lack of information on activities of musicians who left their homeland, that is, in another setting, is still the main problem.

Let us recall that the development of music art in our country in the 19th century was marked by development of a national style with a permanent trend of getting closer to achievements of west European music. This is when, simultaneously with efforts of numerous music amateurs as well as the first, albeit rare educated musicians, Czech musicians were also active in laying professional foundations of our overall music life. 'Being Slavs, they corresponded to the cultural tendencies of our people and their resistance

<sup>5</sup> Marković, Tatjana: Transfigurcije srpskog romantizma - muzika u kontekstu studija kulture, Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu. 2005. 62.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, Jindrih Hartl is hiding under the pseudonym Dobromil Tvrdić, while Ljubica Stanojević, wife of Ilija Stanojević, was Lujza before her marriage.

against Germanisation and Hungarisation. They occupied the positions of conductors of choral societies, taught music in elementary and professional schools, worked as military or civilian bandmasters, worked as singers or concert musicians, and members of chamber and larger orchestras. Almost all Czech musicians in our country aspired at harmonization of folk or church songs. Their activities include music publishing, first textbooks on music and some of the first ethnomusicological studies'.<sup>7</sup>

In this period of time, Czech musicians started conquering Serb towns and having positive influence to their music development by moving around professionally, but teaching as well. Many of them did not spare either effort or time, even though appropriate kindness or even understanding of local citizens was frequently lacking. It is also necessary to make clear distinctions according to whether certain Czech musicians remained on the territory of Serbia only briefly, just as they were passing by. On the other hand, because of their permanent professional engagement, many of them embraced Orthodoxy and Serb citizenship, and started their families here. Thus, in some cases, their descendants, also talented and educated in the area of music, continued the work on upgrading the level of our music education and creativity as a whole. Some Czech musicians found eternal peace in our country, as they grew to love it and respect it sincerely in time. The environment in which they lived and worked was mostly able to recognize their efforts, so that many of them were awarded high professional recognitions and awards. However, we cannot ignore the fact that they sometimes felt hostility of their Serb colleagues even though, in the period of war, they actively fought on the Serb side on the front.

Newer, complete, but apparently not quite justified and much disputed achievements of some hardworking individuals present an equally difficult issue. 'Blažek used to work as a teacher of music in a Sombor school for teachers for many years, and wrote a book on theory of music which was totally insignificant from the standpoint of pedagogic literature...'. 'This was a totally dilettantish approach to music education that could not possibly be used to develop music literacy and music culture'. 'As a contradictory musician, Blažek was both praised and denied at the same time. However, the fact remains that he was the first teacher of music to Serb composers Josif Marinkovic and Petar Konjovic. However, in such texts, we may also encounter a realistic picture of another musician who, as it appears to us, was too frequently favourised to the detriment of other Czech musicians in Serbia. 'Tollinger gives ideas for elementary school curricula that teaching must be based on folk music, that is songs which are closest to children'... 'If Tollinger had stayed in Vojvodina, or if he had come to Belgrade, instead of going to Cetinje, he

<sup>7</sup> Пејовић, Р.: the stated work.

<sup>8</sup> Let us mention the already quoted Vajkert, then Martin Novaček/Novaček, Martin Josef/ and his family, then the brothers Voves, Frantisek and Emil Pokorny / family Konetzni and many others.

<sup>9</sup> They were most frequently decorated with the Order of St. Sava for achievements inpedagogy. Among others, this order was awarded to Dragutin Blažek /1875/, pianist Marie Dvoržakova, Josef Svoboda, and others.

<sup>10</sup> An act of denial of professional qualities was performed by Stevan Sojanović Mokranjac who composed his *Primorski napjevi* was inspired by his dissatisfaction with the manner in which Slavoljub Lžičar, Lžičar, Eduard František/ did it before him. He was probably not among top musicians, but became important in Serbian music history by writing about Mita Topalović's remake of Kornelije Stanković's *Liturgija*.

<sup>11</sup> Vojtech Frait was a volunteer in the Serb military in 1915–1918. Intolerance as well as jealousy were the reasons for launching debates between Serb and Czech music professinals. Let us recall the debate between Jvan Ivanišević and Robert Tollinger on his composition *Pupoljci*.

<sup>12</sup> Васиљевић, Зорислава: Рат за српску музичку писменост, Београд: Просвета, 2000, 61-62.

would have given much more in the area of spreading the culture of Serb people. Even though he did not develop a particular 'method', Tollinger gave exquisite pedagogic ideas which would not be encountered in our country for a long time.'<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, the Czech sources, relevant for this issue, have still not taken a deserved place in our historiography in general, as well as in music. We believe that their critical viewing might make up for some of the injustice done so far.

At that time, the need for Czech musicians in our country was doubtless great. This is why in the 1890s Czech choral conductors and music teachers flooded our towns. It could be said that in some settings Czech composers dominated the music scene with almost no competition, even though their overall efforts were of mainly local significance, with rare exceptions. <sup>14</sup> It became obvious that Czech musicians were the core of the music life in Serbia of the period. Apart from singing and playing in choirs and orchestras, which were their predominant activities, they struggled to be more intensely active as solo musicians and performing in chamber orchestras. <sup>15</sup>

The last great influx of Czech musicians in Serbia occurred in the 1890s. The reason for the sharp drop in the number of musicians from Bohemia in the beginning of the 20th century was not only in a growing number of local professionals with music education. One of the reasons for this may also lie in the fact that by that time all vacancies they had been wanted for had been occupied by that time.

Still, 'our Czechs' kept educating the whole generations of youth at schools, as well as lovers of music in other music institutions. They tended to make them musically literate and took part in the very difficult act of laying professional foundations and developing our national music culture. The impossibility of conducting precise measuring and the lack of scientifically justified indicators in this segment have not prevented us in establishing that these were their greatest achievements the value of which is absolutely impossible to perceive or measure. We could conclude, however, that these results could have hardly been achieved by the few local musicians who would not have either strength or knowledge to reach them if it were not for the selfless assistance of their Czech colleagues.

Studies of this topic unambiguously contribute to our music history with new personalities who have generally not been known even to the professional music public so far. The same applies to numerous new details on their activities, that have both in terms of quantity and quality become relevant for the purpose of introducing some more serious corrections in interpretation of this period of our music history.

<sup>13</sup> The stated work, 64-65.

<sup>14</sup> The objectivity of singling out such statements significantly problematises the fact that not all contributions of all Czech musicians who, as it is believed, left the deepest and the most fruitful trails in Serbian environment were taken into consideration. In literature it is customary that Robert Tollinger, Dragutin Pokorni, Dragutin Blažek, and Josif Ce are singled out, if not for their exceptional achievements, then for their significant contribution. This is why some pioneer results and achievements of some other Czech musicians, for example Antonin Andel, who informed Czech public about the premier performance of Stanslav Binicki's opera Na uranku after this important event – Prvni srbska opera. (Dalibor, 1904, 46, 328–329), have been quite neglected. Speaking about operas, let us recall that Vaclav Vedral's opera Pitija which was composed in 1902, was one of the first operas composed in Serbia, even though it was never performed. It is through his merit that in Bohemia a text was published on Kornelije Stankovic (Dalibor, 1913). It is sometimes forgotten that the author of one of the best known Serb patriotic songs Rado ide Srbin u vojnike was a Czech national, Antonin Jahimek/.

<sup>15</sup> Thus, uit is well known that the first string quartet in Serbia was active in the following composition: 1st violin – Ferdinand J. Melher, 2nd violin – Stevan Mokranjac, Strevan Šram – viola, and Josef Svoboda – cello.

A deeper analysis surpassing chronological presentation of data will be yet another proof to confirm the large number of Czech musicians on this territory as well as the great role they played. It will help perceive all pioneer efforts of these modest, albeit sincere fighters for professionalisation. The general problem of their de-etatisation resulted in the fact that migrant Czech musicians have not been valued in proper way so far. In places where their importance is perceived to some extent, it is still unjustifiedly minimised. In extreme cases, they are sometimes denied their national affiliation and individuality, so that the 'authenticity' of local music development could remain primary. There are also examples of their being 'annexed' with the explanation that they fully fitted in the new environment.

Czech musicians treated Serb folklore in the most versatile manners: we encounter numerous song-books – let us recollect that, prior to Kornelije Stankovic, the first one was published in Serbia by Alois Kalaus, Czech<sup>17</sup>; as well as compositions of different genres inspired by Serb folklore. Ludvik Kuba also treated it in a specific manner, as he was one of the first persons to study, write down, and publish it. However, the most authentic sources on Serb musical folklore in the 19th century from a pen of a Czech national can be found in the texts of Romuald Lukke. As a teacher of music in Požarevac Grammar school, he is important as the author of a whole range of very professional texts on Serb music and music folklore which, together with music examples, he continued to publish in Czech music periodicals of the time (1870–1874). Still, most Czech musicians created more or less successful compositions based on our folklore motifs. This, to be honest, is the most frequently treated issue in terms of Czech musicians in Serbia.

Let us add that many Czesh musicians may be placed in the category of 'music travellers' - hudebny cestovately - who, unlike Kuba who wrote down folk songs and customs of the people, traveled our country either as concert musicians or patrons of the arts, publishers and sellers of music instruments.

It has been long known that the 'Conservatorium of Europe' dispersed its musicians throughout many countries, and not only European ones. 'In the high Czech music schools, which were founded in the beginning of 19 century (School of organ 1830 and Conservatorium in Prague, 1811) numerous music professionals were educated. In search of a job, they went everywhere where educated musicians were needed – most frequently to the provinces of the Habsburg monarchy, but across the borders as well – to Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and elsewhere. In our country, they provided an exceptional

<sup>16</sup> This is why we launched a series of texts on activities of Czech musicians in individual towns of Serbia proper under the common archaic name of Crtice iz muzičkog života in Mokranjac magazine.

<sup>17</sup> Alois Kalaus, pianist and the first piano teacher in Serbia, won his greatest merit in development of Serbian music as the compiler and the author of the first printed collection of covers of our folk songs for the piano, which was published in two volumes: Serbische Melodien: Srpski napjevi, Wien 1 1852, II 1855. Regardless of artistic value of this collection, its historic value is doubtless. The prefaces to both volumes (published in Serbian, French and German languages) are also the earliest texts on our folk music, in which the author explains the criteria for selection of songs and gives his division. Due to their solid presentation and processing, they are also mentioned and analyzed by Carl Engel in his work An Introduction to the Study of National Music, London 1866.

<sup>18</sup> Сотраге: Гајић, Милица: Написи о српском музичком фолклору у српској периодици Мокрањчевог доба, Нови Звук, Београд, 1993, 1, 139-146.

<sup>19</sup> Compare: Гајић, Милица, Непознато дело Лудвика Кубе композиција Z luhu slovanskyh I pisne černohorske – контекст настанка, Нови Звук 23, Београд, 2004, 71–83.

contribution to the establishment of professionalism'.20 Because, Prague was the city which was a Slav cultural centre and one of European music capitals, and where from a range of Czech musicians, who graduated from the aforementioned university institutions, came not only to Serbia, but to the Slav south in general in the 19th century. Even though they were mainly young and without considerable professional experience, they were frequently very successful in managing our newly established music institutions. Through providing a personal example and with their active participation in the overall musical life of their new settings, they managed to successfully inspire local forces to reach higher artistic values and frequently became very popular among local citizens. Simultaneously, although this is rarely mentioned, they established lasting relationships between their home country and their new place of residence by ordering necessary music instruments to be sent to Serbia, and maintaining them professionally; they also ordered many Czech compositions, and had local ones published as well. However, the wide scope of the role they had as migrants, far away from their homeland, is still not perceived. As pioneers of organised music activity, Czech musicians were establishers of many segments of it, and this is where their influence was the most dominant. Certainly, it is about the establishment of the first orchestras and choirs, as well as professional education of local musicians. In this sense, our science of musicology has numerous tasks ahead. One of the primary ones is to reevaluate overall activities of Czech musicians in our country, in order to place them on the adequate position and to assign them the deserved recognition in every individual segment, as well as in a whole.

This is why it appears to us that the basic questions the answers to which may assist us grasp the issue of Czech music migration in our country are as follows:

- What are the reasons for Czech musicians of various profiles to have gone abroad?
- What part of their music tradition did they bring or transfer to the new setting to which they moved?
- How and to what extent did they manage to market their music individuality in the new environment?
- To what extent did the new setting influence changes in their spirit and mentality?

The fact is that studying of individual cases most frequently leads to conclusions and statements that they are actually a synthesis of the first artistic elements collected from two-fold experience – both in the homeland and in the new setting in which they were active.

Czech musicians came to our country either upon invitation or based on competitions which were published in Czech music magazines, e.g. *Dalibor*, *Hudebny listi*.<sup>21</sup> It is doubtless that the established reputation of Czechs as people very talented for music was of crucial importance for their selection. But, there was also their willingness to accept Orthodoxy<sup>22</sup> and not really perfect working conditions if they opted for work in schools.

The lack of Serbian language skills, even though it falls in the group of familiar Slavic languages, was a greater problem than it may appear at first. They encounter difficulties

<sup>20</sup> Маринковић, Соња: Историја српске музике, Београд: Завод за уџбенике, 2008, 21.

<sup>21</sup> These magazines are in any case important for the studying of our topic due to the large number of texts in them.

<sup>22</sup> See: footnote No. 5.

with accentuation of Serb poetry in composing, but the major problem was in almost the total lack of music terminology in the Serbian language. However, aware of the needs, despite criticism, they bravely embraced translating, writing and publishing of some of the first texts on music, and even created the first music textbooks.<sup>23</sup>

Still they were most numerous as initiators and advocates of music in all settings, especially in the countryside, even though, objectively, there were few cases in which these settings had overcome provincial characteristics, and in frequent cases even provincial needs. Most of them adapted to the new environment fast, responding to its needs in accordance with the performing possibilities in which they adequately incorporated their personal artistic ambitions.

In the 19th century, numerous Czech musicians were in charge of development of music life in practically all our cultural centres. This is why reasons for migration of Czech musicians changed, which can nowadays be regarded as a collective social movement at most. The basic difference from the previous migrations originated from establishment of the professional music education system in their home country-the Conservatorium in Prague, as well as the Scholl of Organ, private music schools that educated a large number of professional musicians, too many of them to be adequate for real needs of their own setting. For many of them, especially instrumentalists, it was necessary to leave and it was sometimes the only way out to use the chosen profession to assure certain social security. This issue will be complemented by the statement that this is why migration of musicians was a serious and significant phenomenon, running on a large scale in Bohemia, especially in the 1880s. After this, it gradually dropped, so that after the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918 it was restricted to individual cases only.

Still, these social migrations of musicians do not always have the same common denominator. There was a great difference in forms and motives for migration of top musicians in comparison to the so-called 'music proletariat'. In the period of Austro-Hungarian monarchy, it was important to distinguish between leaving the borders of a country within the Monarchy, and leaving the Monarchy altogether. As a whole, it appears that the whole problem of migrations was still caused by the hyper-production of highly educated musicians which was absolutely disproportional to the possibility of their getting a job in their local environment.

Studying Czech periodicals of the time presents yet another considerable problem in discussing this issue, because it related to these migrations of Czech musicians in different manners. On the one hand, they were unobjective and jealous in supporting only local artistic forces, struggling to keep them at home, and giving moral support only to those who were not 'corrupted by foreign countries'. The other extreme is the situation in which publicists regularly covered and frequently exaggerated news on successful foreign activities of Czech musicians in other countries. This was even more so as the musicians themselves acted in the capacity of unique 'correspondents' and informed their compatriots on their always success activities in a non-selective manner.

Despite numerous problems encountered in studious deliberation of this issue, we can freely state that numerous singers and instrumentalists, a whole range of not so

<sup>23</sup> Dragutin Blažek is the author of the both praised and denied Theory of music, while Tollinger was the founder of the first music magazine *Gusle* which was published in Sombor.

well known Czech bandmasters and composers developed a significant portion of their professional and artistic activities out of the Czech land, incorporating their activities in the overall development of their new settings. <sup>24</sup> Let us also add that in Vojvodina there was a large number of Czech musicians deployed at military bands placed at the military garrisons of Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Enlargement of the wave of migrations outside the borders of the Monarchy and conquering of new professional positions emerged in the 1870s, when Czech musicians started leaving for the Balkans. Here, in time, they occupied key positions in the overall music life.

Family music dynasties, so characteristic of Czech environment, did not surpass our region; the older member of a family would frequently bring along a family 'colleague'.<sup>25</sup>

Several hundred artists of Czech origin, who were, primarily due to economic and to a lesser extent political or religious reasons, forced to leave their home country which in the 19th century was impoverished and oppressed, got a unique opportunity to employ their natural skills and systematically developed talents in the new environment, moving too frequently, as they believed they would be able to find something better, sometimes failing to leave more significant evidence of their activities.

Only since the period of Absolutism, which in Czech regions came in power soon after the 1848 revolution, did radicals, who found the Habsburg regime uncertain, even unbearable in many segments, started leaving the home land. Apart from this, some young men, unwilling to serve in the Habsburg military looked for employment outside their home land, which was yet another reason for leaving to the new environment.

There were several very important periods when the number and range of activities of the newly-arrived Czech musicians greatly surpassed the achievements of local forces. It was also noticeable that the Czechs were so entrepreneurial in answering to the needs of a certain community significantly extended their activities thus promoting their professional, as well as financial status.

The picture of Czech music performance in our country can never be complete, because, in time, many archives and other primary music sources were lost forever. The attempt to reconstruct the overall activities of Czech musicians on our territory will be enriched with new discoveries to complement to the main trends of music historiography in Serbia. By that time, we shall have to resolve at least some dilemmas about their activities in Serbia in 19 century. Even though they opted for working away from home, some of them were inspired to work hard by the new environment. Many of were also educated not only in musical, but in general terms as well, and informed about current developments in many areas of culture. Apart from this, they were also continually bringing music and considerable music literature into our country, which they compiled persistently in time, thus significantly extending local knowledge by performing general music literature.

<sup>24</sup> According to the research I have been conducting since 1989 thanks to the materials I collected in Prague as a recipient of scholarship of the Czech music fund, in this period there were more than 250 Czech musicians of different profiles in Serbia.

<sup>25</sup> Czechs would not be Czechs if there had been no music talents in their families, at least in the second generation of families who migrated to other countries. Many of the newly-arrived Czechs brought with them their music education and experience, at least as a secondary profession they would frequently resort to in a new environment - in order ot survive in case all their other plans failed.

#### MUZIKOLOŠKI ZBORNIK • MUSICOLOGICAL ANNUAL XLV/1

#### POVZETEK

Večletno in raznoliko preučevanje vprašanj v zvezi z delovaniem čeških profesionalnih glasbenikov na današnjem ozemlju Srbije v 19. stoletju nas prepričuje, da obravnava tega vprašanja vzbuja mnoge probleme in dileme. Raziskovanje se je usmerilo v njih možne razrešitve na podlagi dosedanjih muzikoloških raziskav. Posebno pozornost je posvetilo manj znanim in bolj redko upoštevanim podatkom glede mnogovrstnosti dela čeških glasbenikov. Kar je pomenilo tudi osvoboditev od mnogih predsodkov in stereotipov. Ostaja deistvo, da večina čeških glasbenikov. ki so delovali v Srbiji, ni uvrščenih v noben sodoben leksikon ali enciklopedijo, pa čeprav bi si to zavoljo svojega dela in prispevka to vsekakor zaslužili. Na drugi strani pa so ohranjeni primarni muzikološki viri nepopolni in nenatančni, pa čeprav neznanje srbskega jezika češkim glasbenikom ni branilo, da bi - ko so to okoliščine narekovale – ne skladali različne vokalne skladbe, pa čeprav s pomankljivo akcentuacijo, ali se ne bi hrabro spustili v pisanje učbenikov in teoretskih del ter tako sodelovali pri vzpostavljanju osnov srbske glasbene terminologije.

Čeprav tujci, so se zlili z novo sredino in aktivno sodelovali pri polaganju temeljev srbskega nacionalnega stila ter vsesplošni profesionalizaciji srbskega glasbenega življenja v 19. stoletju. Zdi se, da je vzroke za migracijo številnih čeških glasbenikov v Srbijo iskati predvsem v dejstvu, da je v njihovi domovini – Češki – število profesionalno šolanih glasbenikov daleč presegalo lastne potrebe. Zato so bili razlogi predvsem ekonomski in veliko bolj poredkoma politični.

Z današnje perspektive moremo mnogim češkim glasbenikom biti hvaležni, da jih je novo srbsko okolje, v katerem so profesionalno bivali v 19. stoletju, vzpodbujalo k marljivemu in skrbnemu delu, ki jim je na mnogih področjih profesionalnega glasbenega življenja omogočilo pionirsko vlogo.

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'Slovenian Music History' or 'History of Music in Slovenia'? With respect to the Role of Czech Musicians on Musical Culture in Slovenia in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century

»Slovenska glasbena zgodovina« ali »Glasbena zgodovina na Slovenskem«? Z ozirom na vlogo čeških glasbenikov v glasbeni kulturi na Slovenskem v 19. in začetku 20. stoletja

Prejeto: 10. april 2009 Sprejeto: 1. maj 2009

**Ključne besede:** slovenska glasbena zgodovina, glasbena zgodovina na Slovenskem, češki glasbeniki, migracije

Izvleček

Delovanje čeških glasbenikov je nedvomno usodno zaznamovalo dogajanje v glasbeni kulturi na Slovenskem v 19. in začetku 20. stoletja. Ob prevladujoči vlogi čeških glasbenikov na Slovenskem se zastavlja vprašanje, ali je v obravnavanem obdobju sploh smiselno govoriti o »slovenski glasbeni zgodovini«, ali pa bi bilo upoštevajoč nadvse pomebno vlogo čeških glasbenikov na Slovenskem v obravnavanem obdobju veliko primerneje razpravljati o »glasbeni zgodovini na Slovenskem«.

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#### ABSTRACT

The activity of Czech musicians undoubtedly left a visible mark on the musical culture in Slovenia in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Taking into account the prevalent role of Czech musicians in Slovenia, there arises the question whether – as regard the period in question – it might be at all reasonable to speak of 'Slovenian Music History' or, considering the high important role of Czech musicians during the period dealt with, better to talk about 'History of Music in Slovenia'.

It is quite understandable for differences to exist between music of different provenances; individual musical works are therefore not only distinguished by their chronological sequence and related changes in style, but also by different geographic or sociological (class, cultural, and even ethnic) backgrounds. Yet the clarity of these characteristics varies, for they cannot be perceived in precisely the same way or observed with the same degree of reliability in a musical work. In this respect, the national component causes considerable difficulties. This not only involves determining the specific styles of individual ethnic groups. These can be felt in European art music at least from the 13th century onward. A major shift occurs in the 19th century, after the French Revolution, when nationalism becomes a major form of thinking. The previously distinguishable style characteristics of a specific ethnos suddenly begin to serve the ruling ideology, to which the art aesthetics adapts and creates a new major category – the principle of nationality.

The above-mentioned period was therefore marked primarily by the efforts of 'nonhistorical'<sup>3</sup> nations of Central Europe to create a new national (id)entity, as well as by the tendencies of individual nations to round off their territories according to the national key. National awakening was a period in which nations emerged through national identification. In the case of Slavic nations, it was primarily constituted through the national language. From the latter emerged a romantic and national legitimation of the existence of a nation as a special entity within the Slavic family. Those nations nurturing a tradition of spiritual culture are entitled to have national, and later also political and economic requirements, and are left to exist as independent and original entities.

Literature in particular became a symbol of national identity, in which the young bourgeoisies recognized its emancipation abilities. It should be noted that among Czechs in the first decades of the 19th century, and among Slovenes still deeper into the 20th century, the language of a nation was not only understood as a sign composition for communication, but primarily as a sign of more or less mass identification. This is because the horizon of a Slovene or Czech reader's expectations was designed primarily using the model of national literature and its utilitarian-propagandistic aesthetics, whose task was to win the members of an emerging nation.<sup>5</sup> Initially, music did very little to assist literature in this function. In time, however, music gradually asserted itself and became one of the most solid foundations of a nation's identity.

Czech romantic nationalism in the first half of the 19th century called for identification with the cultural model which the thinking elite presented as having to be a valid representative of the nation and the social actions harmonized with such identification.

<sup>1</sup> Matjaž Barbo, "'Domači duh' kao poetska kategorija – nacionalni preporodi u hrvatskoj i slovenskoj glazbenoj romantici", in: Vera Katalinić (Ed.), Ferdo Wiesner Livadić: život i djelo, Zagreb 2003, 21-27.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Einstein, Nationale und universale Musik: Neue Essays, Zürich & Stuttgart 1958, 256.

<sup>3</sup> Igor Grdina, Slovenci med tradicijo in perspektivo: Politični mozaik 1860-1918, Ljubljana 2003, 104.

<sup>4</sup> And of course through literature, and via these two, through an imagined entity. Jonatan Vinkler, Posnemovalci, zavezniki in tekmeci: češko-slovenski in slovensko-češki kulturni stiki v 19. stoletju, Koper 2006, 167.

<sup>5</sup> Such pragmatic nation-identifying utilitarian aesthetics of early national awakening does not basically differ from the aesthetics of the Catholic Middle Ages on one side, or the aesthetics of socialist realism with its engineers of the soul on the other side. Ibidem, 262.

This identification was also indirectly realized through individual musical works.<sup>6</sup> Contrastingly, the small bourgeois circle emerging in Slovenia, i.e. a class which managed to acquire certain aesthetic values, was only beginning to form in the mentioned period. One should not forget that the Slovenian bourgeoisie was bilingual (German-Slovenian) at least until the end of the 19th century.<sup>7</sup>

Other significant differences appeared primarily on the institutional level. In the 19th century the Slovenes did not have any institutions comparable in size and significance to Czech institutions. Within their ethnic territory, the Slovenes did not have a university-level institution comparable to Karl's university<sup>8</sup> in Prague, which would be capable of educating a cultural elite such as the one that had formed in the Czech Republic and which was in reality capable of 'conceiving a nation'.

The next significant difference that had an essentially different effect on the consciousness of Czech revivers than on their Slovene contemporaries was Czech provincial patriotism and the role of the provincial nobility in preserving and strengthening this type of identification. In Slovene provinces there were few noblemen who were willing to pledge their name and property in order to strengthen the expressed provincial identity.9 Furthermore, not very many noblemen's houses were closely linked to the provincial culture through which the identification both in the Czech and in Slovenian provinces was gradually leading to a national culture, at least among the elite, in the third and fourth decades of the 19th century.<sup>10</sup> The significance of the Czech provincial nobility in the development of the Czech awakening and the related consciousness should therefore not be underestimated, because precisely the abovementioned part of the aristocracy had important and unavoidable merits not only in setting the foundations of modern Czech culture, but also in the political 'protection' of numerous activities of Czech revivers. Nothing similar can be found in Slovenian provinces, which is why the referential framework of Czech and Slovene revivers cannot be the same in this respect. What, then, connected Czech and Slovenian musical culture in the second half of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, despite their considerably different situations?

<sup>6</sup> Jiří Fukač, "Die Last der Nationalismus und die Suche nach den 'überzeugend tschechischen' Stilparadigmen", in: Helmut Loos and Stefan Keym (Ed.), Nationale Musik im 20. Jahrhundert, Leipzig 2004, 97-105.

<sup>7</sup> It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that the need first arose for the publication of Goethe's Faust as one of the basic works of German literature in the Slovene language. When the first part of the Slovene translation of this work by Anton Funtek (1862-1932) was issued by the Slovenian Literary Society in 1906, this signalled, on a cultural and historical scale, that Slovenian-German bilingualism was no longer purely self-evident and that the aesthetic experience obtained from German literature is no longer common to the majority of the bourgeoisie, as it had been in the first half of the 19th century. Vinkler, Posnemovalci. 240.

<sup>8</sup> Karl's university was established by the Charter of Karl IV dated 7 April 1348. It soon acquired the reputation of one of the key institutions of higher education in the Czech provinces and in Central European culture in general. Ibidem, 142.

<sup>9</sup> Stane Granda, Slovenija: Pogled na njeno zgodovino, Ljubljana 2008, 153.

<sup>10</sup> It should be emphasized that the provincial patriotism of the nobility in Czech provinces initially originated in their identification with the provincial entity of *Bohemia*, and not in their language identification with ethnic Czechs. Although provincial and national identities were not exclusive categories, their (non)compatibility was evident on various levels. On the contrary, the designation *der Böhme*, which in the first and second decades of the 19th century only denoted geographic allegiance to the province of Bohemia, i.e. the central Czech province, irrespective of language (German or Czech), was considered an offensive word by Czech intellectuals in the fourth decade of the 19th century. This is because it did not separate them (as a Czech nation) from the other inhabitants of the central province of St. Václav. Vinkler, *Posnemovalci*, 140.

Until the beginning of the constitutional period in the Habsburg Empire, <sup>11</sup> cultural ties between the Czech and Slovene nations were primarily focused on contacts between individual key figures of the emerging young Czech and Slovenian cultures. In the beginning of the constitutional period, the Slovenian national movement was primarily based on informal matters (friends, acquaintances, professional issues etc.). <sup>12</sup> It should be emphasized that the Czech mass meetings or 'tabori' (rallies), <sup>13</sup> which, on the basis of historical law, called for the unity of provinces under the crown of St. Václav (Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia), were equally irrelevant in the eyes of the government as those rallies in support of the then still inexistent 'United Slovenia' in the Styria, Carniola and Carinthia regions and in the Austrian-Illyrian coastal region. <sup>15</sup>

It was the appearance of 'bésede' (words) in the 19th century, <sup>16</sup> which were used in almost everything that was being created, that strongly expanded the possibilities of performing Slovenian compositions and directly stimulated more intensified musical creativity. In the 1860's, composing generally developed under the influence of newly established 'čitalnice' (reading halls), <sup>17</sup> theatrical performances and other events featuring the performances of major and minor singing ensembles, vocal and instrumental soloists, and even orchestras. In addition to patriotic songs, instrumental compositions (from solo to chamber and orchestra compositions) began to be performed at these events, including solitary attempts in the field of stage music.

To satisfy the rapidly growing aesthetic needs of audiences, it appeared necessary in the early 1860's to institutionalize Slovenian musical life. The global systematic planning of national music culture was the only means of ensuring harmonious musical development. The feverish establishment of local, regional and all-national associations in the 1860's with Dramatical Society ('Dramatično društvo') continued at an undiminished rate in the 1870's with Slovenian Musical Society ('Glasbena matica'), despite the unfavourable circumstances. This led to the establishment, in the early 1890's, of the first truly Slovenian corpus of performers – i.e. choir – first in Ljubljana, then in Trieste and Maribor.

The Italian and German influences dominating Slovenian music in the past thus slowly began to be replaced in the second half of the 19th century predominantly with Czech<sup>18</sup> elements as above all the consequence of Czech musicians in Slovenia. From

<sup>11</sup> Until 1860/61, when a permanent constitutional system was introduced in the Habsburg Empire, the Slovenians - like other Central European language communities - were merely a cultural and political movement and not a national in the true sense of the word. Grdina, Slovenci, 13.

<sup>12</sup> The creation of a network of 'trustworthy men' is most accurately described by Josip Vošnjak. Josip Vošnjak, *Spomini*, Ljubljana 1982.

<sup>13</sup> These were envisioned as demonstrations of power against the government.

<sup>14</sup> Vasilij Melik, "Ideja Zedinjene Slovenije 1848-1991", in: Stane Granda and Barbara Šatej (Ed.), Slovenija 1848-1998: iskanje lastne poti. Ljubljana 1998, 15-20.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Vodopivec, "Kulturni boj in njegove posledice", in: Jasna Fischer (Ed.), *Slovenska novejša zgodovina* 1: Od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije, 1848-1992, Ljubljana 2005, 66-71.

<sup>16</sup> Slovenian patriots found models for them in the Czech Republic. Karel Sázavský, Dějiny Filharmonického spolku »Besedy Brněnské« od r. 1860-1900, Brno 1900. See also: Hanuš Jelínek (Ed.), Padesát let umělecké besedy 1863-1913, Praha 1959 and Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, "Uvod v glasbeno delo čitalnic na Slovenskem", in: Matjaž Barbo (Ed.), Muzikološki zbornik 32 (1996), Liubliana 1996. 61-73.

<sup>17</sup> These were established in Trieste (29 January, 1861), Maribor (17 July, 1861), Ljubljana (20 October, 1861) and elsewhere in Slovenia. Cvetko Budkovič, *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem* I: Od začetka 19. stoletja do nastanka konservatorija, Ljubljana 1992, 156, 292, 298.

<sup>18</sup> Many of whom were naturalized and can therefore be included among 'domestic' creators.

the mid 19th century onward, thus the initially predominant German element began to be substituted, due to pan Slavic enthusiasm,<sup>19</sup> by mostly Czech musicians, who were numerous and worked as music reproducers, music teachers, composers and publicists.<sup>20</sup>

The activities of Czech musicians had an enormous impact on events in the music culture of Slovenia in the second half of the 19th century. The numerous Czech musicians working in Slovenia in the mentioned period actively co-created in practically all areas of music culture in Slovenia and strongly influenced the transition from a more or less musically inspired dilettantism to a gradual qualitative and quantitative rise of music culture in Slovenia.

It seems that well-educated Czech musicians had arrived just in time to occupy the vacant job positions in a number of newly established music institutions in the early 1860's, whose primary task was to emancipate Slovenian music from the previously prevalent and dominant cultural models. In spite of this, the decisions of Czech musicians to work in these institutions were more of an existential than of an ideological nature. The arrival of Czech musicians was therefore primarily the consequence of the formation of several new music institutions, as well as the existing need for well-educated staff. The similarity in language and ideas in the above-mentioned institutions gave Czech musicians an advantage over their predominantly German-speaking counterparts, and this similarity was more often than not decisive for their engagement.

Czech 'immigrants'<sup>21</sup> informed their fellow countrymen on the situation in Slovenia mostly through letters, arousing in them an interest in Slovenian provinces. By emphasizing Czech-Slovenian reciprocity in the past, they kindled feelings of solidarity and connectedness among the two nations. Such connections through ideas soon brought concrete results and, with the onset of the constitutional period in the early 1860's, stimulated more intensive migration of all professions from Czech to Slovenian provinces. The arrival of Czech musicians was in part also due to the fact that they were much too numerous in the Czech provinces, and thus came to Slovenia primarily as economic migrant workers. A key role was naturally played by personal acquaintances among Czech musicians and the recommendations of some of their colleagues, who

<sup>19</sup> The term pan Slavism can be traced back to the year 1826. Fran Zwitter, *Nacionalni problemi v habsburški monarhiji*, Ljubljana 1962, 71-73. Among the first to present the cultural image of the entire Slavic world was Pavel Josef Šafařík in *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten* (1826). In this work, Slavic languages are presented for the first time as the bearers of national identity and as a uniform, complete spiritual whole which draws its integrality from language similarities. In the concept and arguments of the above-mentioned work, the idea of the Slavs as an independent language group first appeared in the above-mentioned work. Vinkler, *Posnemovalci*, 166. The emerging pan Slavism was initially a response to the rising waves of German nationalism after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, which suggested that our patriots seek solutions to the east and south. However, the problems of different Slavic nations were so specific that they excluded the possibility of effective mutual performance. Furthermore, the will to cooperate was prevented by numerous prejudices (religious, civilizational etc.). Nevertheless, Slovenian political leaders did not abandon the idea of entering into more or less platonic alliances with the Czechs, Croatians, Serbs and Russians. Irena Gantar Godina, *Neoslavizem in Slovenci*, Ljubljana 1994, 10-11.

<sup>20</sup> The inflow of Czech musicians gradually subsided by the first World War, when Slovenian music institutions gradually began to be occupied by Slovenian artists who mostly studied at the Prague National Conservatory.

<sup>21</sup> Although they could be described as immigrants they were newer less citizens of the Habsburg monarchy so the term 'immigrants' is deliberately avoided in the present article. A. J. P. Taylor, Habsburska monarhija 1809-1918, Ljubljana 1956. See also: Robert A. Kann, The Multinational Empire, Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848-1918, Empire and Nationalities, New York 1950 and Alan Sked, The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire 1815-1918, London & New York 1989.

through their work had already proven their worth in Slovenian provinces and enjoyed considerable trust among its musicians. Slovenian musicians often sought advice on the recruitment of educational and reproduction staff from Czech colleagues already working in Slovenia, who were well-acquainted with the situation in Czech music.

The activities of predominantly well-educated Czech musicians were already of utmost importance in the music culture of the first half of the 19th century in Slovenia. In this period, Czech musicians significantly contributed to improving the music culture of Slovenia in the areas of music reproduction (Gašpar Mašek, Josef Beneš), music education (Josef Mikš, Franc Sokol, Jan Slavik), musical craft<sup>22</sup> (Andrej Ferdinand Malahovski) and, last but not least, composing (František Josef Benedikt Dusík, Venčeslav Wratny). Some of their compositions even represented an initial contribution to the tradition of individual musical genres in Slovenia.<sup>23</sup> Through their tireless work in the period of major political events, such as e.g. the Ljubljana Congress in 1821 and afterwards,<sup>24</sup> they maintained a more or less high level of music reproduction. It is in particular these musicians who deserve the merit for the high quality level of philharmonic concerts, as well as the organizational work and staging of certain performances in the Estate Theatre in Ljubljana. Already in the initial decades of the 19th century, such concerts and opera performances introduced audiences in Ljubljana to some of the most recent compositions, among others also Beethoven's symphonies.<sup>25</sup> Although equal importance cannot be attributed to all educational achievements of Czech musicians in the first half of the 19th century in Slovenia, they nevertheless contributed decisively to the education of the emerging generation of composers, music reproducers and teachers in Slovenia. Nor should one overlook their valuable contributions in individual local communities, where many of them worked as choirmasters, organists, organ masters and music teachers, and in this way helped to raise the music culture of these areas.

As in the first half of the 19th century, the functioning of certain major music institutions in Slovenia in the period between 1861<sup>26</sup> and 1914<sup>27</sup>, which saw the arrival of an increasing number of Czech musicians, practically cannot be imagined without Czech musicians. Most of these newcomers were well-educated, as they generally had the possibility of acquiring the best university-level music education at the leading Czech university-level music institutions, such as the Prague National Conservatory of Music<sup>28</sup> and the Organ

<sup>22</sup> Specially in connection with organ building.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. the symphonies from František Josef Benedikt Dusík. Matjaž Barbo, "František Josef Benedikt Dusík and the beginnings of Slovene Symphonic Music", in: Lubomír Spurný (Ed.), Acta Musicologica.cz: revue pro hudební vědu vychází s podporou Českého hudebního fondu, http://acta.musicologica.cz/, 3.4.2009.

<sup>24</sup> The Ljubljana Congress in 1821 was the second of three congresses of the Holy Alliance. For a good four months, the capital city of Carniola was transformed into the center of European politics. This consequently led to the revival of musical life. Eva Holz and Hernrik Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres: 1821*, Ljubljana 1997.

<sup>25</sup> One of the first performers of Beethoven symphonies in Slovenian lands was Czech musician Gašpar Mašek. Jernej Weiss, Vloga čeških glasbenikov v glasbeni kulturi na Slovenskem med letoma 1861 in 1914, doctoral thesis, Ljubljana 2009, 242-243.

<sup>26</sup> The implementation of the constitutional regime.

<sup>27</sup> The beginning of the first World War.

<sup>28</sup> The Prague National Conservatory was established in 1811. Johann Branberger, Das Konservatorium für Musik in Prag, Praha 1911. See also: Vlastimil Blažek, Sborník na pamět 125 let konservatoře hudby v Praze, Praha 1936.

School in Brno<sup>29</sup>. Some of them had enriched their extensive musical knowledge in various fields in their own Czech provinces before arriving in Slovenia. It therefore comes as no surprise that they brought with them a considerable amount of highly applicable musical knowledge, methods and techniques which they were then able to put to practical use in the establishment of some of the most important music institutions in Slovenia.

There should be stressed that Czech musicians in Slovenia collaborated with all music institutions operating in Slovenia between 1861 and 1914, regardless of their national character. Without musicians such as Anton Nedvěd³0, Jan Lego or Henrik Korel, the establishment and subsequent operation of reading halls in Ljubljana, Trieste or Maribor simply cannot be imagined.³¹ One could also hardly speak of the beginnings and subsequent operation of the Dramatical Society,³² the Musical Society³³ or, later on, the Caecilian Society³⁴ without Anton Foerster³⁵, who undoubtedly played one of the leading roles in these institutions. Just as inconceivable is the functioning of the so called 'German' Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana without such Czech music directors as Anton Nedvěd and Johann (Hans) Gerstner, who largely contributed to the quantitative and qualitative rise of both music-reproduction and music-education activities of this institution. In the area of music-organizational work, mention should be made of Julius Ohm Januschowsky and a number of other Czech musicians, such as Karl Hoffmeister and Josip Procházka, who contributed to the functioning of the Music School of the Ljubljana Musical Society. Also deserving mention are the valuable institutional endeavours of Czech musicians in the

<sup>29</sup> The Organ School in Brno began to operate in 1882. John Tyrrell, The Organ School, Janáček: Years of a Life, The Lonely Blackbird, Volume I (1854-1914), London 2006, 244-258. See also: Jernej Weiss, Orglarska šola v Brnu, Emerik Beran (1868-1940): samotni svetovljan, Maribor 2008, 19-36.

<sup>30</sup> Anton Nedvěd (Hořovice, 19 August 1829 – Ljubljana, 16 June 1896), conductor, composer and teacher. He studied at the Music Conservatory in Prague and worked as music teacher and opera singer in Prague and Brno. From 1856 onward he lived in Ljubljana. He was Director of the Philharmonic Society (1858-83), from 1859 onward he was a teacher at the Public Music School, and also taught at a secondary school and a semenary. Within the scope of the Philharmonic Society, he established a mixed and a male choir. He was one of the founders of the 'Glasbena matica' (Musical Society) and its committee member until 1880. Primož Kuret, 'Nedvěd, Anton', *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, Ljubljana 1993, 349.

<sup>31</sup> Slovenian patriots found models for them in the Czech Republic. They performed special events called 'bésede' (words) on them. Manica Špendal, "Prispevek k verodostojnosti podatkov o ustanovitvi čitalnic na Slovenskem", in: Matjaž Barbo (Ed.), Muzikološki zbornik 43 (2007) 1, Ljubljana 2007, 107-110.

<sup>32</sup> The awakened Slovenian national consciousness saw its great opportunity in the opera, which became the centre of a national movement with which the young bourgeoisie identified themselves. Stage music reproductions were reintroduced by the Ljubljana reading hall with music performances in theatrical productions. Its work was then continued by the 'Dramatično društvo' (Dramatical Society), founded in 1867.

<sup>33 &#</sup>x27;Glasbena matica' (Musical Society), an association of professional musicians and music lovers founded especially to cultivate the Slovene musical art. 'Glasbena matica' was established in 1872 in Ljubljana as the central Slovene musical institution. It began to collect Slovene folk songs and to regularly issue above all Slovene authors' compositions, which encouraged music production in Slovenia. Being aware that it would only carry forth its message with a sufficient number of musically trained performers, it opened a music school in 1882. In 1891, it also established a choir, whose quality soon improved under Matej Hubad's leadership. After 1918, the Ljubljana Glasbena matica successfully continued its work: in 1919 it established a conservatory, followed by the Orchestra Association. Jože Sivec, 'Glasbena matica', Enciklopedija Slovenije, Ljubljana 1989, 224.

<sup>34</sup> The Caecilian Society in Ljubljana was founded in 1877. In order to increase the number of capable organists and church choirmasters, the Caecilian Society established the Organ School in Ljubljana (1877) and published the magazine 'Cerkveni glasbenik' (1878-1945, 1976-). Aleš Nagode, Cecilijanizem na Slovenskem kot glasbeno, kulturno in družbeno vprašanje, doctoral thesis, Ljubljana 1997.

<sup>35</sup> Anton Foerster (Osenice, 20 December 1837 – Novo mesto, 17 June 1926), composer, organist and pianist. He studied law (graduated in 1863) and music in Prague. He was regens chori of the cathedral in Senj, Croatia (1865-67), and from 1867 onward worked in Ljubljana. He was choirmaster of the National reading society in Ljubljana and conductor of the Dramatical Society, then regens chori of the Cathedral (1868-1909) and music teacher in Ljubljana's secondary schools. In 1877 he established the Organ School in Ljubljana, was a co-founder of Cerkveni glasbenik (Church Musician) and its long-time editor (1878-1908). Andrej Rijavec, 'Foerster, Anton', Enciklopedija Slovenije, Ljubljana 1989, 129.

field of church music. In particular Anton Foerster, much like Peregrin Manich in Maribor, considerably reformed the music activities of the Ljubljana Cathedral as its regens chori. Without Czech musicians such as Václav Talich, Peter Teply or Ciril Metoděj Hrazdira, it would have been hard to imagine the aspirations emerging at the beginning of the 20th century for the establishment and functioning of a professional orchestra such as the Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra which, in the field of orchestra music, succeeded in replacing the previously predominant army bands. Czech musicians working in Slovenia in the first half of all the 19th century naturally participated in the musical performances of the leading Slovenian opera institutions: the Estate Theatre (later known as the Provincial Theatre), as well as the previously mentioned Dramatical Society and the Slovenian Provincial Theatre established in 1892.

In the field of music reproduction, attention should in particular be drawn to the activities of some other Czech musicians, who in various cities and towns in Slovenia contributed substantially to raising the level of music reproduction. It would be very difficult to imagine the formation of the choir of the Trieste Musical Society without Jan Lego, or any advancements in the area of music reproduction without the endeavours of Josef Michl in Gorica and Peter Teplý in Trieste, or the choir of the Maribor Reading Society without Emerik Beran. These musicians largely contributed to the qualitative and quantitative rise of music reproductions in the above-mentioned cities.<sup>38</sup>

Numerous Czech musicians can also be traced in the field of music education. Most of them were active at the Music School of the Ljubljana Musical Society, where the music education programme was only beginning to be created and conditions established for the music education process, which the management of this institution entrusted to well-educated Czech musicians. Through mediators in Prague, particularly Jan Lego, the Ljubljana Musical Society succeeded in bringing these musicians to Slovenia. It is therefore not surprising that Ljubljana hosted such renowned music teachers as, for example, pianists Karl Hoffmeister and Josip Procházka, who were later among the most distinguished professors at the National Conservatory in Prague. Václav Talich was also one of those professors of the Ljubljana Musical Society who later significantly influenced the music education activities of the National Conservatory in Prague, as well as the music reproduction activities of the Czech Philharmonic. Worthy of mention are a number of other Czech music teachers, such as Gustav Moravec and Johann (Hans) Gerstner, who did not enjoy such internationally resounding musical careers, but for almost half a century created the music education programmes of the Music School of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society, and continuously followed the changes in music education abroad.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Through their activities, several Czech bandmasters and other Czech musicians left their mark on these bands.

<sup>37</sup> The last-mentioned is reputed as the first Slovenian Opera House.

<sup>38</sup> Among the cities with the largest number of active Czech musicians in Slovenia are, in first place, Ljubljana and Maribor, followed in particular at the turn of the century by Gorica and Trieste with a number of very important Czech musicians. In the other provinces throughout Slovenia, Czech musicians did not play such an important role in the period discussed, despite a number of significant Czech musicians who strongly influenced the reproduction level of music culture in these areas.

<sup>39</sup> Although Czech music teachers were most numerous in Ljubljana – at the Music School of the Philharmonic Society and especially at the Slovenian Musical Society in Ljubljana –, they were also quite numerous in other parts of Slovenia at the turn of the century, following the formation of other music education institutions. Hence, it seems that without their active participation, the music education of these areas would be virtually nonexistent, as it was their extensive musical knowledge that enabled the formation and subsequent undisturbed operation of the mentioned institutions.

In the field of composing, Czech musicians also contributed some fundamental compositions in practically all music genres, and these set the guidelines for further composing activities in Slovenia. Considering the compositional contribution of Anton Nedvěd in choral music, Foerster's manifold composing activities, which brought brilliant results in the area of musical performances with the opera 'Gorenjski slavček' (The Nightingale of Upper Carniola), the creative achievements of Emerik Beran in chamber and symphony productions, the significant piano compositions of Karl Hoffmeister, and the songs of Josip Procházka, it seems that the above-mentioned composers essentially contributed to the development of individual music genres in Slovenia in the period discussed. Their shared quality was by all means a rich compositional-technical knowledge which, in contrast to the dilettantism that dominated all spheres of musical activity in Slovenia at the time, stemmed from a solid foundation in musical education.

These musicians managed to acquire a solid musical education during their studies with some of the leading Czech composing teachers and theoreticians, among whom special mention should be made of Smetana, Dvořák, Janáček, Otakar Hostinský, and many others. With their extensive compositional-technical knowledge, they were able to avoid the self-sufficient, chiefly utilitarian concept of music culture that more or less marked music production in Slovenia up to the period between the two wars. This is largely owing to the fact that they harboured a deep-rooted tradition of autonomous musical thinking. Although the majority of Czech composers were more or less reserved towards the most recent compositional-technical procedures, their mastery of musical artisanship provided them with ample opportunities to express themselves within their own compositional poetics. And for this reason they generally did not subordinate their compositional-technical solutions to the utilitarianistically interpreted artisticness that was predominant in Slovenia at the time. Folk simplicity was, of course, far from being unknown to them - on the contrary: the numerous choruses written by them for the patriotic or lyrical verses of Slovenian authors demonstrate their conviction that a functional incentive for music is important. However, much like those at the beginning of the 20th century, more educated Slovenian composers were cautious towards simplicity.

Alongside national awareness, they were thus among the first to understand music also from the perspective of compositional-technical relevance, which was sooner a rare than a self-evident view of musical creativity in Slovenia at the turn of the 19th century. In spite of the utilitarian purpose of compositions, the majority of Czech musicians in Slovenia emphasized their artistic, pure or special way of thinking in tones without which a musical creation may nevertheless be a work of art, but only within the framework defined by postulates outside the sphere of music, such as e.g. the reading-society folk nature of an expression or the religiously prescribed moderacy of a melody. Precisely this approach, which could be designated as pure musical thinking – is at the same time the source from which their fundamental compositional orientation can be drawn.

Czech musicians working in Slovenia made an important contribution in yet another area – music publishing. Although they were present in this area in somewhat smaller numbers than in music reproduction or music education, it is primarily their contribution in the field of music publishing that holds the greatest value. Czech musi-

cians such as Anton Foerster, Julius Ohm Januschowsky, Karl Hoffmeister and Josip Michl wrote important articles and reviews of concerts in daily newspapers and in some Slovenian magazines. Through these articles they also influenced Czech musical newspapers and magazines. It is largely owing to Foerster, and later to Michl, that Czech readers obtained valuable information from these publications on musical events in Slovenia and were, throughout the period discussed, constantly informed on the very important role played by their fellow countrymen in the music culture of Slovenia. Of major significance were also their published contributions in the field of music education, foremost among these being individual textbooks serving as teaching aids to Czech musicians in their educational work. Nedvěd and Foerster made the most important contribution to the formation of music education literature in Slovenia. With their music textbooks, Czech musicians laid the foundations for more efficient work in the field of music education, and thereby established the foundations of Slovenian music terminology. Although their music publishing activities were the least productive if compared to other areas of their work, which may probably be attributed to some language difficulties, the contributions of Czech musicians set the guidelines for the further development of music publishing activities in Slovenia.

In comparison with other migrants in Slovenia, Czech musicians are by all means the most numerous, and made the most important contribution to raising the level of music culture in Slovenia. Of a similar intensity were the migrations of Czech musicians to some areas outside the Habsburg monarchy. In Serbia, for example, the migrations of Czech musicians to the northern part of the then Serbian provinces were particularly characteristic, although they were also present in southern parts of Serbia as well. This is quite surprising given the fact that only the northern part of the then Serbian territory formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire<sup>40</sup>. A very similar situation regarding Czech musicians also existed in some other provinces in southeastern Europe. An increased migration flow of Czech musicians into Bosnia and Herzegovian was observed in particular after 1878, when the Bosnian and Herzegovian provinces were also officially annexed to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Like in Slovenia, Czech musicians played

<sup>40</sup> The process of 'Europeanization' of Serbian music thus began in the 18th century and intensified considerably in the 19th century in the multinational and multicultural southwestern part of the Austrian Empire, of which Vojvodina was also a part. The creation of modern Serbian musical life in this area – in Novi Sad, as well as in numerous small towns (Vršac, Kikinda, Subotica, Pančevo) – strongly depended on the numerous Czech musicians who came to earn a living in the Serbian provinces. The first tide of Czech immigrants arrived as early as in the 1950's, while the last one came in the 1980's. With time, Czech musicians began to move southward and occupy distinguished positions in the musical life of some other Serbian cities: Belgrade, Niš, Leskovac, etc. The Czech newcomers (e.g. V. Hlavač, A. Lifka, R. Tollinger, etc.) were mostly well-educated musicians who enthusiastically began to lay the foundations in music institutions as choirmasters, orchestra and theatre conductors, other musicians and music teachers. Although their creative range was slightly more modest in comparison with the achievements of their more famous European colleagues, their musical contribution – particularly in choral, orchestral and piano music – was of major importance in the formation of a new 'Serbian' music culture. Katarina Tomašević, "Contribution of Czech Musicians to Serbian Music in the 19th Century", in: Matjaž Barbo (Ed.), *Muzikološki zbornik* 42 (2006) 1, Ljubljana 2006, 127-137. See also: Roksanda Pejović, "Czech Musicians in Serbian Musical Life (1844-1918): Part I", in: Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman (Ed.), *New sound* 8 (1996), Belgrade 1996, 57-64 and Roksanda Pejović, "Czech Musicians in Serbian Musical Life (1844-1918): Part II", in: Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman (Ed.), *New sound* 9 (1997), Belgrade 1997, 64-75.

a key role in the professionalization of music culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>41</sup> A considerable number of Czech musicians can also be traced in Croatia, and these were active in almost all areas of musical life and contributed significantly to the development of music culture there.<sup>42</sup>

The arrival of such a large number of Czech musicians after the implementation of the constitutional regime of 1861 was thus not only characteristic of nations within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy although the majority of them could be traced inside the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Similarly to the southern, nonHapsburgian part of Serbia, Czech musicians also markedly influenced the music culture of Bulgaria.

As regards the representation of Czech musicians in individual Slovenian provinces, it is difficult to say in which of these provinces they were most influential in terms of institutional forms of activity. However, the province hosting the largest number of Czech musicians was none other than the central Slovenian historical province of Carniola. It was in Carniola, more specifically in its capital Ljubljana, that one was able to observe the continuous activities of Czech musicians, who worked in almost all the leading music institutions in Ljubljana from the establishment of its reading hall in 1861 until the dissolution of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society in 1919. A slightly smaller number of Czech musicians can be traced in the bordering provinces, particularly in the southernmost province of Primorska, which is probably attributable to the increased cultural influence of the neighbouring Italian and Austrian provinces on the local cultural activities. For this reason no increased numbers of Czech musicians arriving in Slovenia were observed in the Primorska region after 1861.<sup>45</sup>

In determining the total number of Czech musicians working in Slovenia, it may be established that in the period discussed, around 60 Czech musicians who contributed significantly to the development of music culture were active in Slovenia for an extended period of several years. In the same period, more than 300 Czech musicians were active in Slovenia for a shorter period of time and, for the most part, did not significantly influence the music culture of Slovenia. Czech musicians therefore contributed very intensively in all areas of their musical activity in Slovenia in the period between 1861 and 1914.

After their arrival in Slovenia, Czech musicians were able to apply the rich musical knowledge they had acquired at Czech university-level music institutions in practice, and in this way profoundly penetrated all areas of musical activity. This is largely the reason

<sup>41</sup> The immigration of Czech musicians to Bosnia and Herzegovina began to intensify primarily after its annexation in 1878, when the Austro-Hungarian government sent a large number of Czech musicians to work in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In these provinces, Czech musicians occupied practically all the positions where they were needed as professional musicians. There were also a great many amateur musicians among the Czech immigrants, who began to organize societies in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the most famous of these being the so-called Češki krožok. Yet the immigration of Czech musicians to Bosnia and Herzegovina did not end upon the onset of first World War, as a large number of Czech musicians arrived in the said territory even after the end of the war. Fatima Hadžić, "Češki muzičari u Bosni i Hercegovini", in Ivan Čavlović (Ed.), Muzika 9 (2005) 2, Sarajevo 2005, 68-87.

<sup>42</sup> Sanja Majer-Bobetko, "Djelovanje stranih glazbenika u drugoj polovici 19. stolječa u Hrvatskoj", *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, Zagreb 1991, 455.

<sup>43</sup> Specially because of the same formal and legal framework inside the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

<sup>44</sup> Emiliya Desislava, Češkite kapelmajstori i prinosept na Bulgarija, Sofia 1978, 53-68.

<sup>45</sup> On the contrary, given the exceptionally rich history of activities carried out by Czech musicians at the beginning of the 19th century, their number even declined slightly after the constitutional changes implemented in the above-mentioned province in 1861.

why their role in the music culture of Slovenia in the period between 1861 and 1914 is of exceptional value. One could say that their work in the areas of music education and music reproduction was so superior that they actually created the trends in the music culture of Slovenia. Czech musicians did not take almost any positions on national or ideological issues, as they worked in both German and Slovenian music institutions. It therefore seems relevant to stress that the so-called uniform declaration of Czech musicians for the Slovenian side, which until now had been more or less uniformly attributed to them by recent music-history literature, 46 does not hold true. One must realise that despite their emphasis of Pan-Slavic reciprocity and certain other positions on various ideas appearing in the Slovenian environment in the period discussed, there were no pronounced declarations among Czech musicians for either side. The majority decided to collaborate with Slovenian music institutions irrespective of their national character and for entirely practical respectively existential reasons. The so-called 'division concept', which generally links Czech musicians between the years 1861 and 1914 in their later interpretations with the Slovenian side, never had any significant impact on the work of Czech musicians in real life.

It is indisputable that the concept of nationally influenced music culture left a strong mark not only on Slovenian musical creativity, but also on musical historiography in Slovenia. This phenomenon could exaggeratedly be called national 'collaboration', and appears continuously in post second World War literature on music history.

Anton Foerster as the composer of the first Slovenian national opera supposedly did not remain faithful to the clearly expressed national orientation of his opera 'Gorenjski slavček'. His subsequent adherence to Caecilian ideas was interpreted by some music historians as 'shattering the unity of Slovenian composers', and his entire church opus was generally labelled 'reactionary'. <sup>47</sup> So there was very little published about his church music, although Foerster never declared himself to be of Slovenian, Czech or German nationality. Someone who has written a national opera simply shouldn't be a founder of the so called 'German' Caecilian Society.

Where in the music history in Slovenia is for example Johann (Hans) Gerstner, 48 a long-standing director of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society, as well as many of his 'German' friends who spent their entire lives working in Slovenia and who were virtually nonexistent in the music history of Slovenia because of their supposedly German orientation? Gerstner and most of his colleagues never declared themselves to be neither Germans nor Slovenians – they were above all citizens of the highly ethnically diversified Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The problem probably lied in the fact that his almost half a century-long tenure as Music Director of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society was, for the post-second World War writers of 'Slovenian music history', probably not sufficiently determined as being Slovenian.

It would therefore be necessary to take a critical distance from certain secondary historical sources or certain musical-historical literature from the recent period. In line with the new European cultural and political reality, which transcends national bounda-

<sup>46</sup> E.g. Dragotin Cvetko, Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru, Ljubljana 1991, 335.

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>48</sup> I deliberately use a term 'music history in Slovenia' and not 'Slovenian music history'.

ries, and above all by including some new sources which historians have traditionally disregarded, it would seem logical to make an attempt at reinterpreting the role of certain institutions and individuals in the history of music in Slovenia, and do away with the endless repetitions of certain truly outdated concepts of an extremely nationally determined Slovenian music history.<sup>49</sup>

Parallel to determining the role of Czech musicians in the music culture of Slovenia, a number of other issues are thus coming to light in connection with the interpretation of music history. The main question is whether it is at all reasonable to speak of 'Slovenian music history' at all given the dominant role played by Czech and some other music migrants in Slovenia – for in doing so we are involuntarily stressing its national character – or would it be more suitable to speak about the 'History of Music in Slovenia', considering the very important role held by Czech musicians in Slovenia in the past. Ultimately, the music culture of a certain territory is defined primarily by current musical achievements and not allegiance to a certain national or political group.

The majority of Czech musicians who were active in Slovenia over an extended period of time were naturalized there and completely assimilated with the local inhabitants. They did not declare themselves to be Czechs, Germans or Slovenians, but understood their mission and the related identity above all as a contribution to raising the music culture of the mentioned area. It is largely owing to them that, in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, several attempts were made to professionalize musical life in Slovenia. In different fields of musical activity, Czech musicians contributed to the establishment and functioning of the leading music institutions of that time in Slovenia. In comparison with other musicians, Czech musicians are those who most significantly marked the music culture of Slovenia in that period. Not only is their contribution far more extensive when compared to that of other music 'migrants' and by all means more significant considering their achievements, their role in the music culture of Slovenia is so important that the functioning of many music institutions in the period between 1861 and 1914 in Slovenia would have been highly questionable, if not impossible, without Czech musicians.

<sup>49</sup> The same concept of national determined music historiography is characteristic also for the part of the Czech Music history. One of Smetana's first biographers, the Czech musicologist Zdeněk Nejedlý, had great difficulties when he tried, in many of his aggressive polemics with his clear-cut ideological stance, to write an 11-volume biography about Smetana as a national composer. We know that in this biography he almost entirely avoided any discussion about Smetana's mostly German correspondence. His love relationship towards Smetana is even more evident in his attitude to other figures in Czech music – Dvořák, Janáček, Suk and Novák –, who did not belong to Smetana's succession and were therefore evaluated entirely negatively or simply omitted from his publications. Dvořák, for example, the major Czech composer of operas in the period between Smetana and Janáček, was omitted from his book on Czech opera after Smetana. In an ideologically unitary period, some music historians thus found it necessary to rewrite music history in line with daily political needs.

#### MUZIKOLOŠKI ZBORNIK • MUSICOLOGICAL ANNUAL XLV/1

#### POVZETEK

Češki glasbeniki so vseskozi aktivno sooblikovali praktično vsa področja glasbene kulture v 19. in začetku 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. S svojim delovanjem so tako odločilno zaznamovali glasbeno-ustvarjalno, glasbeno-poustvarjalno, glasbeno-pedagoško in glasbeno-publicistično področje ter korenito vplivali na prehod iz bolj ali manj glasbeno-navdahnjenega diletantizma v postopen kvalitativen in kvantitativen dvig glasbenega dela na Slovenskem.

Ob določitvi vloge čeških glasbenikov v glasbeni kulturi na Slovenskem se odpirajo tudi nekatera druga vprašanja, povezana z interpretacijo glasbene zgodovine v obravnavanem obdobju na Slovenskem. Predvsem se zastavlja vprašanje, ali je ob prevladujoči vlogi čeških in nekaterih drugih glasbenih migrantov na Slovenskem, v obravna-

vanem obdobju sploh smiselno govoriti o »slovenski glasbeni zgodovini«, saj se ob poudarjanju nacionalnega predznaka in iz njega izhajajočih interpretacij nehote omejujemo zgolj na en segment glasbene zgodovine, ali pa bi bilo upoštevajoč nadvse pomebno vlogo čeških glasbenikov na Slovenskem v obravnavanem obdobju veliko primerneje razpravljati o »glasbeni zgodovini na Slovenskem«. Večina čeških glasbenikov, ki so skozi daljše časovno obdobje delovali na Slovenskem se namreč po prihodu na Slovensko ni nacionalno opredeljevala ter je sodelovala z vsemi obstoječimi glasbenimi ustanovami. Slednji so namreč svoje poslanstvo in s tem povezano identiteto razumeli predvsem kot prispevek k dvigu tamkajšnje glasbene kulture. Prav njim gre torej zasluga, da so bili v 19. in začetku 20. stoletja na Slovenskem napravljeni določeni poizkusi v smeri profesionalizacije glasbenega življenja.

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# Return to the Origins - Wagner, Jung, and Symbolic Forms

# Vrnitev k izvorom - Wagner, Jung in simbolične oblike

Prejeto: 7. maj 2009 Sprejeto: 15. maj 2009

**Ključne besede:** arhetip, kolektivno nezavedno, mit, leitmotiv, simbol

Izvleček

Psihoanaliza sprva ni posvečala posebne pozornosti glasbi. Vendar so se taka stališča do danes spremenila. Neopsihoanalitik Carl Gustav Jung je bil navdušen zlasti nad Wagnerjevimi glasbenimi dramami, nad njegovimi tematskimi analizami mita, nad vodilnimi motivi in mističnimi prizori.

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**Keywords:** Archetype, collective unconscious, myth, leitmotif, symbol

#### Abstract

At first psychoanalysis did not pay any particular attention to music. Still, this attitude has changed by now. The neopsychoanalyst Carl Gustav Jung was particularly fascinated by Wagner's music dramas, his thematic analyses of myth, his leitmotifs, symbols and mystic scenes.

The beginnings of psychoanalysis did not imply any concern with music. Freud was namely supposed to feel uneasy, if he could not explain everything rationally. Since music predominantly influences emotions, the subjects' experiences, when they listened to it, could not be explained purely by reason. Because of that, Freud's attitude towards music was very ambivalent. He even described himself as 'totally unmusical' (ganz unmusikalisch) (1936), but such a reaction could be interpreted as his unconscious and suppressed feelings of anxiety, when he was confronted with something, which could not be explained by his theory. Therefore, it was an intrinsically anxious experience for Freud, if he was emotionally moved by something without knowing, what was moving him or why (Roazen, 1975).

Despite Freud's clear resistance to music as an instrument of psychoanalytic research, he could enjoy certain operas and he used musical metaphors in the context of his theory

and therapy. The operas, he listened to, were above all regarded as 'conversational' and 'narrative' forms of music, and he might have imagined that they helped him to establish some kind of 'cognitive control' over the affective impact of the musical sounds. According to Cheshire (1996) Freud may have even feared the potential therapeutic power of music, which has always been much more influential than psychoanalysis.

Because of all these facts some theorists assert that the orthodox psychoanalysis did not have much to offer in the scientific debate about the influence of music on human organism. Still, Cora L. Díaz de Chumaceiro in her paper 'Richard Wagner's life and music: What Freud knew' (1993) offered a completely different explanation of the relation between Freud's psychoanalysis and music. She argued that Freud knew a lot about Wagner, his music, and his views, but he somehow neglected his contribution. Freud must have felt some threat because of Wagner's profound theoretical explanations of what he later wanted to present as an original contribution to the understanding of human psyche (Díaz de Chumaceiro, 1993).

Among Wagner's chief concerns there were the origins of musical affect, inspiration, and genius. In his attempts to explain these phenomena, Wagner offered a powerful dream theory that predated by a half a century essential elements of Freud's dream theory such as the unconscious, condensation, and secondary revision. Cora L. Díaz de Chumaceiro even asserts that Wagner's theory was almost certainly used by Freud in formulating his own interpretation of dreams. Additionally, Wagner integrated his elaborate music system with contemporaneous philosophical and evolutionary views. So Freud did not want to cite Wagner (which Díaz de Chumaceiro (1993) calls an 'inexplicable case of omission').

Freud's failure to explain the basic psychological and philosophical issues connecting music and affect obviously meant that orthodox psychoanalysis at that time could not provide a profound theory of music and its effects on human psyche. Lacking Wagner's unique and original perspective of the capacity of music, which was supposed to inspire and emotionally enrich people, psychoanalysis at the beginning limited emotional feelings to negative affects, suppressed desires and defence mechanisms.

#### Freud's successors and their attitude towards music

In spite of Freud's inability to explain the subtle influence of music on human emotions, some psychoanalysts realised the crucial importance of music for human psyche. One of Freud's earliest students, Theodor Reik (1953) used the theme of the 'haunting melody' in Freud's Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis (1916-17 [1915-17]) to show (contrary to Freud) that musical structure could represent feelings. Reik stressed that melody could convey emotions far better than words and showed that music as the voice of the 'unknown itself' could become compulsive in its attempt to convey secret messages. His supposition was based on his discovery that the unconscious material sometimes emerged as a melody rather than as mere thoughts. Because of that he was sure that melody could better indicate moods and unknown feelings (Reik, 1953). His thesis has been later developed further by some other psychoanalysts, who believed

that the use of music in psychotherapy could bring to some profounder results than the use of mere words.

Some of the later psychoanalysts found out that psychoanalysis had to enlarge and deepen its understanding of human psyche, especially its emotional aspect. The best possibility to enlarge the domain of psychoanalysis was the use of music, the emotional language 'par excellence'.

This was very early discovered by Carl Gustav Jung, who was at first Freud's admirer, but later their theoretical systems and research orientations completely parted. He also had a completely different attitude towards music and its influence on the subjects' emotions.

#### The contribution of Carl Gustav Jung

Carl Gustav Jung (July 26, 1875 – June 6, 1961) was a Swiss psychiatrist and the founder of a neopsychoanalytic school, which he named **analytical psychology**. He was one of the most widely read writers of the twentieth century on the psychology of human mind. The total amount of his works is very large (about 200 papers and several books, edited later in his Collected Works in English). His influence has been as enduring and diverse as that of Sigmund Freud.

At first Jung worked together with Freud. He studied word associations (1904-1907) and invented a new term for a group of repressed psychic contents, which he named a 'complex'. Between 1907 and 1912 Jung confirmed many of Freud's ideas. Still, their cooperation ended when Jung published 'Psychology and the Unconscious: a study of transformations and symbolisms of the libido' (1912), in which he argued against some of Freud's ideas.

Jung's primary disagreement with Freud stemmed from their differing concepts of the unconscious. Freud stressed the importance of the personal unconscious, i.e. that aspect of the psyche, which usually does not surpass the individual's experiences and consists mainly of repressed emotions, needs and desires. Contrary to that Jung was sure that human mind contains much more than only consciousness and the individual unconscious. He formed a new term – 'collective unconscious', which is supposed to be constructed by inherited, universal themes that run through all human life. The whole history of the human race, back to the most primitive times, has been governed by the laws of the collective unconscious, which has remained untouched (and perhaps also untouchable) by personal experiences (Campbell, 1971). There Jung (1934-1954) located the archetypes.

After his split with Freud Jung interpreted Freud's theory of the unconscious as incomplete, one-sided, overly-concrete, and unnecessarily negative. According to Jung (1917) Freud's conception of the unconscious was too restrictive, for he believed that the unconscious had a lot of creative potentials. He was sure that the archetypes and images of the collective unconscious, which contained mysterious depths, were constantly processed and renewed.

In the following years Jung (1932, 1933, 1938) became more and more interested in the study of mythological and religious symbolism in different cultures, which before and after him inspired many writers and composers (such as Wagner). Jung wanted to find analogies between the contents of the unconscious in Western man and the myths, cults, and rituals of primitive peoples.

Jungian therapy dealt with dreams and fantasies and was supposed to set up discussion between the subject's consciousness and the contents of the unconscious. If the therapy was successful, the patient entered the individuation process. This (according to Jung's interpretation) consists of psychological transformations and should enable the opposite tendencies of human mind to work together with the aim to achieve the subject's personal wholeness.

Jung (1912, 1917) thought that the unconscious was crucial for the psychological development of human beings and spent a lot of time researching this aspect of life, which has often appeared in symbolic form in dreams and other spiritual experiences. His unique and broadly influential approach to psychology emphasized the understanding of psyche with the help of the exploration of dreams, art, mythology, world religion, and philosophy. Although he was above all a theoretical psychologist and a practicing clinician, he spent a lot of time studying other realms, including Eastern and Western philosophy, alchemy (Jung, 1944), astrology, sociology, literature and the arts. In his works he emphasized the importance of balance and harmony, which is also one of the basic determinants of a good musical composition. He was sure that modern humans rely too heavily on science and would benefit from integrating spirituality and appreciation of the unconscious in their consciousness.

Jung was able to identify the extreme importance of music for human psyche. This can be realised from Peter Gabriel's song 'Rhythm of the Heat' (Security, 1982), where Gabriel, describes Jung's visit to Africa. There Jung joined a group of tribal drummers and dancers, which made him fear that the emotionally dense music could take control over him. At that time, Jung was exploring the concept of the collective unconscious, and was fascinated by the drummers' and dancers' suggestive power. People, who joined the ritual dance, really let the music control them. Gabriel learned about Jung's journey to Africa from Jung's essay Symbols and the interpretation of dreams (1974). In his song, Gabriel tried to capture the powerful feelings that African tribal music evoked in Jung by means of intense use of tribal drumbeats.

The most notable contributions of C. G. Jung, which are important also for the research of music, include his concept of the psychological archetype, his theory of synchronicity and the collective unconscious - also known as 'a reservoir of the experiences of human species'.

#### Jung's Analytical psychology

Analytical psychology primarily explores how the collective unconscious, which is cross-cultural and common to all human beings, influences personality (Jung et al., 1928). It is utilized not only for patients with certain mental disorders, but also for people, who desire to promote their own psychological development and well-being. Jung's approach to psychology emphasized the understanding of psyche through the exploration

of anthropology, astrology, alchemy, dreams, art, mythology, religion, and philosophy. Jung (Jung, Dell, 1940) believed that the integration of opposites (e.g. masculine and feminine, thinking and feeling, science and spirituality) was very important. He was sure that the studying of the humanities was crucial for the understanding of human psyche and wrote about that in his letter to the *Psychoanalytic Review* (1913). Many of his studies extend into different realms of the humanities: from comparative religion and philosophy, to criticism of art and literature.

Throughout all his life Jung (1934) tried to determine the reconciliation of the subject's consciousness with the world of the supra-personal archetypes. He understood the individual's encounter with the unconscious as central for this process. A person experiences the unconscious through symbols that appear in all aspects of life: in dreams, art, religion, symbolic dramas and in all relationships and life pursuits. The subject's encounter with the collective unconscious is enabled by the symbolic language. So, the individual can harmonize his life with the suprapersonal archetypal forces only through the attention and openness to the world.

Exploration of the subject's 'inner space' was based on Jung's extensive knowledge of Freudian theory, which he combined with his knowledge of mythology, religion, and philosophy. He studied profoundly the symbolism of complex mystical traditions, such as Gnosticism, Alchemy, Kabala, and combined their understanding with Hinduism and Buddhism. From this foundation, Jung's life work was to make sense of the unconscious and its habit of revealing itself in symbolic form through archetypes. Later in his life, Jung (1944) spoke of the transcendent function of the psyche, by which the consciousness and the unconscious are united. He believed that this would lead to the full realisation of the potentials of the individual self.

Jung learned many concepts and tools from Freud's method of psychoanalysis (such as the unconscious, dream analysis, and free associations), but his contributions to dream analysis were much more extensive and influential. Besides, he invented and defined some new psychological concepts, which have also proved to be very useful in the study of certain musical works. The most important of them are

- The archetype;
- The collective unconscious;
- · The complex;
- · Synchronicity;
- · Individuation and
- · Psychological types.

#### The archetype

Carl Gustav Jung (1934) discovered that certain symbolic themes exist in all cultures and civilisations, all epochs, and in every individual. Together these symbolic themes comprise 'the archetypes of the collective unconscious' and represent the basic elements of the eternal truths in myths.

The term archetype descends from Greek and originally meant a model, i.e. the initial version of something that is later multiplied. Ideal model phenomena and characters were easily recognizable as type-roles in drama and literature (for example the evil stepmother, the miser, the brave hero, etc.) and were usually traceable back to the myth and fable. Jung used this term in his theory of psychology and culture in an elaborate way, giving it his own specific meaning. He repeatedly referred to such fictional type-roles, among which 'the hero' was the most frequent. Still, to Jung (1934-1954) the archetypes implied much more then only typical characters that appear in all cultures. They represented the symbolic keys to truths and the paths to personal enlightenment, which (according to him) created myths, religions, and philosophical ideas that influenced whole nations and epochs.

The archetypes refer to idealized or prototypical models of persons, objects, or phenomena, similar to Plato's ideas. According to Jung (Jung et al. 1978), archetypes reside in that part of the unconscious, which is common to all human beings (and is therefore collective). These archetypes are not directly available to the conscious mind, but manifest themselves in dreams and other mystical experiences. Certain common characteristics can be found in all stories and characters all over the world. This supports the idea about the existence of universal archetypes in mythology, literature, and religions.

Jung (Jung, 1970) believed that a person could live a full life only in harmony with the archetypal forces. He asserted that the symbols and archetypes of the subject's collective unconscious can be primarily discovered in the person's dreams, revealing important keys to the individual's growth and development. Through the understanding of how the individual unconscious is integrated with the collective unconscious, the person can be helped towards achieving a state of individuation or wholeness of the self.

Archetypes, the symbolic elements, containing different aspects of human physical and mental lives, are according to Carl G. Jung (1934) the clues to self-realization in myths, and in many other cultural phenomena. Jung discovered different archetypes through careful recording of his own dreams, fantasies, and visions, as well as those of his patients and found out that these archetypes had both, good and bad manifestations, reflecting the principle of the opposites in the psyche.

Jung's archetypes are not limited to persons, but may include also animals and objects. According to Jung (1934) there exists a multitude of archetypes. Some of them are known, while others still have to be discovered. Archetypal contents are supposed to get incorporated into the archaic heritage by repetitious experience. So, an image can be considered archetypal when it can be shown to exist in the records of human history, in identical form and with the same meaning.

An archetype retains such potency wherever it appears (Jung, 1934). Its symbolic function emerges, even if this is not intended by its user. People are drawn to archetypes, often obsessed by them, whether they know their function or not. They feel a resonance from their unconscious, recognise it and are stimulated by the archetypal contents. Their universality is proved also by the fact that Jung (1934) found expressions of the same archetypes in his studies of tribal folk wisdom, mythology and fairy tales in Algiers, Tunis, New Mexico, Uganda, Kenya, Mount Elgon, Egypt, Rome and India.

#### The basic archetypes

Particularly important archetypes in Jung's theory (1934) are: the 'self', the 'persona', the 'shadow', the 'anima/animus', the 'mother', the 'child', and the 'wise old man'.

- The self is the most important archetype, for it represents the centre of the personality, i.e. the centre of its conscious and unconscious part. It is characterised by the harmony and balance between the various opposing psychic qualities. The symbols of the self are often manifested as geometrical forms, particularly mandalas, but also as figures with four parts. The self may also be presented in the form of an important human or divine creature (for example as Buddha or Christ).
- The persona is the mask that people wear to make a particular impression on others. It may reveal or conceal their real nature. Most often it represents a compromise between a person's real individuality and the society's expectations.
- The shadow is the negative or inferior side of the personality, which includes animal tendencies that people have inherited from their pre-human ancestors.
- The anima/animus personifies the subject's inner attitude. The anima is supposed to represent the feminine in men and the animus is the comparable counterpart in the female psyche.
- The great mother archetype is expected to be almost the same for all people. Mother is the source of life and nurture and her images are nearly inexhaustible. This archetype includes different manifestations: Mother Earth, Divine Mother, deep water, womb, a vessel, the sea, the moon, etc.
- The child archetype represents original or child-like condition in the life of the individual and reminds the conscious mind of its origins. It also signifies the potentiality of future personality development and self-realization.
- The wise old man is the archetype of meaning, spirit and authority.

Jung frequently mentions also some other archetypes:

- The hero, who pursues a great quest to realize his destiny.
- · Mana and other concepts of spiritual energy.
- The god, the perfect image of the Self.
- The goddess, the great mother, or Mother Earth.
- The trickster, a rascal agent pushing people towards change.
- The beast, a representation of the primitive past of human beings.
- The journey, a representation of the quest towards self-realization.
- Life, death and rebirth, the cyclic nature of existence.
- Light and dark, images of consciousness and the unconscious.

The majority of archetypes can be recognised also in Wagner's operas, particularly in *the Ring of the Nibelung*.

#### The Collective Unconscious

The collective unconscious is a key concept in analytical psychology and can be understood as the totality of human experiences. However, it is not directly available to people, but is encountered in a symbolic form through dreams and other mystical experiences. Jung (1967) believed that the collective unconscious guides to the self-fulfilment. He presented it as the whole spiritual heritage of mankind's evolution born anew in the brain-structure of every individual. It can be considered as an immense depository of ancient wisdom. So each person should strive to bring the individual self into harmony with it. Those, who are able to fulfil their potentials as individuals, also live in harmony with humankind as a whole. Contrary to Freud, Jung regarded the unconscious as something positive and named it the guide and the advisor of the consciousness.

While the personal unconscious is organized by complexes (f. e. Oedipal complex, etc.), the collective unconscious is characterized by 'archetypes', the 'instinctual patterns of behaviour and perception', which can be discovered in dreams and myths. Therefore Joseph Campbell (1962, 1964, 1968, 1987), influenced by Jung, studied archetypal patterns in the mythologies of all cultures.

Jung's interest in the unconscious was not just theoretical; it has been developed on the basis of his own frequent experiences of vivid dreams and visions. After breaking with Freud, Jung deliberately allowed this part of his nature free expression, recording in detail his dreams and fantasies.

#### Dream analysis

Jung (1974) ascribed to dreams completely different meanings as his former teacher Sigmund Freud. Freud used them to explore the subjects' individual unconscious and believed that dreams predominantly consisted of repressed desires. Contrary to him Jung found in dreams a source of myths and symbols that could be a key to his own and his patients' self-understanding and enable their journey to wholeness. He was sure that the archetypes of the collective unconscious could be discovered by the primitive, analogical mode of thinking, specific to dreams.

Jung did not see dreams as a way to hide the dreamer's true feelings from the conscious mind, as Freud did. Instead of that, he saw dreams as providing a guide to the waking self and helping the dreamer achieve a kind of wholeness. To Jung (1974), dreams were a way of offering solutions to the problems that the dreamer was experiencing, when he/she was awake. Dreams are considered to be an integral, important, and personal expression of the individual's unconscious in analytical psychology. They reveal the symbols and archetypes contained in the person's unconscious, which can be keys to the individual's growth and development.

#### Other important Jung's terms

- Some other important terms, developed by Carl Gustav Jung, acomplex,
- · individuation and
- · synchronicity.
- **Complex** is a term, which was formed by Jung (1907) in his earlier career. He defined it as an emotionally charged group of ideas or images and supposed that complexes are relatively autonomous architects of dreams and symptoms and the source of all human emotions. They are not negative in themselves, but their effects often are.
- **Individuation** is a concept that was developed in the psychotherapy of the middle-aged and elderly people, especially of those, who felt that their lives had lost their meaning. Jung found that people could rediscover sense of their being in dreams and imagination, as well as through the exploration of mythology and religion, which could help them to develop richer personalities.
- The term **synchronicity** implies two simultaneous events that occur coincidentally and are not causally related but are in a meaningful connection. Synchronicity can also be understood as a meaningful coincidence of an inner image with an outer event, which can often help to see the world in a new light (Boeree, 2006).

#### Psychological types

One of Jung's most important discoveries was his definition of two psychological types that were supposed to be inborn and not socially constructed through interaction with parents, family, culture and other external influences. Social influences could only help them do develop without problems. These types are:

- Extravert outer-directed, sociable, and action-oriented type and
- **Introvert** inner-directed type that needs privacy and space, prefers solitude and is often reflective.

Besides these types Jung (Jung, Baynes, 1921) also determined four basic functions in human psyche - thinking, feeling, sensing, and intuiting. These discoveries were very important for the further development of psychology, but did not have any particular influence on the studies of music. In spite of that Jung even in his work 'Psychological Types' mentioned Wagner's Parsifal and the story of Saint Grail.

# Jung's influences on different researchers

Jung has always had a strong influence on psychology, but also beyond it. Many writers, artists, musicians, film makers, theologians, and mythologists have found inspiration in Jung's work (for example the mythologist Joseph Campbell and religiologist Mircea Eliade). Within the field of psychology, Jung's work has led to the construction of personality tests, based on his psychological types. Besides, his concept of archetypes

has formed the basis of Hillman's archetypal psychology, while his wide-ranging interpretation of dreams and associations counteracted Freud's restricted approach. Jung's analytical psychology remains one of the pillars of depth psychology.

#### Jung and his fascination by Wagner

Jung was strongly impressed by Wagner's work. In the majority of his writings he referred to some character or motive (most often to Teutonic gods) and their role in Wagner's operas. Particularly frequent was the mentioning of Wotan.

In the 'Symbols of Transformation' (1952), a revised version of the 'Psychology of the Unconscious' Jung mentioned Wotan galloping in a storm. He also wrote about heroic qualities of Siegfried and his feelings for Brunhilde, who was characterized as his spiritual mother, while Siegelinde was his human mother. Brunhilde was also presented as the anima archetype, while Mime was presented as a 'Terrible mother'. In that text Jung also mentioned the broken sword, which Siegfried had to reforge to accomplish his heroic deeds. Besides, Jung (1952) stressed the important role of the 'Mother Earth' and 'mother-bird'.

In his work on 'Psychological Types' (1921) Jung predominantly referred to Parsifal and his symbolism in the connection with the symbolism of Saint Grail, while in 'Two Essays on Analytical Psychology' (1917, 1928) he presented the relationship between Nietzsche and Wagner.

In 'The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious' (1934-1954) and 'Psychology and Religion: West and East' (1938) Jung often mentioned Wotan in different contexts, while in 'Psychology and Alchemy' (1944) he frequently referred to Wagner's musical presentation of fire. In 'Alchemical studies' and 'Mysterium Coniunctionis' (1956) Jung mentioned Wagner's Parsifal several times and stressed that one of the basic features of Wagner's music was the representation of archetypes.

Jung analysed Wagner's music also in his work 'The Spirit in Man, Art, and Literature', where he compared Wagner's and Dante's work, and stressed Wagner's fascination by the Nordic myth and other mythical events. Even in his 'The Development of Personality' (1991) he did not forget to stress the importance of Parsifal. In 'The Symbolic Life' there appeared several references to different mythological and symbolic themes that were presented in Wagner's operas: Grail, spear in Parsifal, the recurring motif in 'Der fliegende Holländer', etc. Jung even twice compared Mephisto in Faust with Wotan.

Wagner's work was very frequently mentioned in the notes for Jung's Seminar in 1928-1930 and he also used Wagnerian metaphors as parts of his symbolic language in interviews. So, he presented Nazi troops as the representatives of the Wotan cult.

From the examples stated above it is obvious that Jung was very impressed by Wagner's work and he interpreted it very often. The typical symbols that appear in Wagner's operas (particularly in his tetralogy 'the Ring') still cannot be completely explained by Jung's theory. Wagner predominantly relied on ancient Teutonic myths, which was also connected by his national identity, while Jung in his approach studied many different myths and was very informed about their similarities and differences.

Both, Jung and Wagner were extremely fascinated by myth, which is clearly recognised from their works.

#### **MYTH - A SYMBOLIC FORM THAT EXPLAINS THE UNIVERSE**

Myth is a particular form of the collective consciousness and could be regarded as one of the earliest forms of cognition. It is a complex system of fantastic representations about the natural and social surroundings of human beings.

Throughout history myths have always flourished. They have been a steady inspiration of all creative activities of human beings. Campbell (1949) stresses that myth is the secret opening through which the inexhaustible energies of the cosmos pour into human cultural manifestations and that religions, philosophies, arts, the social forms of primitive and historic man, prime discoveries in science and dreams 'boil up from the basic, magic ring of myth'.

Dardel (1984) asserts that the myth tells something that is of essential importance and that it represents a way of living in the world, of orienting oneself and of seeking answers to the basic questions of human existence.

Keen and Valley-Fox (1989) define myths as the 'interlocking stories, rituals and customs that inform and give the pivotal sense of meaning and direction to a person, community, or culture'. Their interpretation is similar to Freud's definition of unconscious, for they assert that a myth is like an iceberg, whose 10 percent are visible and 90 percent are beneath the surface of consciousness.

The majority of mythologists are sure that the organising myth of any culture functions in ways that may be creative or destructive, healthful or pathological. By providing a world picture and a set of stories, which explain why things are as they are, it creates consensus, sanctifies the social order, and prescribes the way of living. In the same measure that myth provides people with security and identity, it also creates selective blindness, narrowness, and rigidity because it is intrinsically conservative. It encourages them to follow the faith of their ancestors and to imitate the actions of the heroes that it presents. Their activities are often repeated in different rituals.

Kirk (1984) stresses that the mythic tales needn't always have a sacred nature. They can namely take on many different forms and functions. Therefore no definition of myths can easily cover all the possible uses, which overlap each other but do not coincide. Still, myth is certainly a type of cognition that is different from science (Rogerson, 1984), for its main element is imagination.

According to Rogerson (1984) the Romantic Movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (contrary to the Enlightment) regarded myths as expressions of the deepest creative potentials of man. He presents myths as constant sources of inspiration to dramatists, poets and painters, which enable them to express profound truths about human existence. Similar is also Larsen's (1990) interpretation of myth, for he denotes it as the 'universal tongue of the human imagination'. Because of that Segal (1999, 2004) stresses that mythic imagination does not only imply rich fantasising or reviving classic myths and fables, but enables thorough understanding of the phe-

nomena, which seem to be ordinary, but imply 'secret causes', i.e. mythic, archetypal patterns beneath the surface.

Hillman (1979) interprets mythical stories as presentations of the archetypal modes of experiencing and as thematic tales of different (Celtic, Nordic, and Greek) cultures, while Gaster (1984) presents myth as an expression of the concept that all things can be viewed under two aspects at the same time. On the one hand they can be temporal and immediate; on the other hand they can be eternal and transcendental.

Eliade (1984) stresses that a living myth is always connected with a cult, inspiring and justifying religious behaviour, so he is sure that the best possibility for understanding the structure of mythical thought is the studying of cultures where a myth is alive, i.e. where it is considered to reveal the truth 'par excellence'. In such cultures the myth namely connects the individual to his clan and invests him with his social and dramatic role (Dardel, 1984).

Dardel (1984) is sure that the mythical does not exclude reason, or precede it in time. It also does not completely disappear with its appearance, but co-exists with it and is complementary to it. So it could be compared to the primitive, archaic man that is still present in contemporary intellectuals. This conviction coincides with Larsen's (1984) thought that people make myths every day without knowing it. So the myth, deep within human psyche, illuminates every reality giving it direction and value. Therefore it is a universal, fundamental phenomenon, which (while keeping profound motives, inexpressible emotions and feelings hidden within the secret of the individual) reveals through surface gestures, forms and words, something internal that - without ever growing old - lives on in human hearts over centuries. So the studying of myths leads back to a remote, primordial past: to events, heroes, gods who pre-existed everything that exists now.

#### The role of myth in different historical periods

Ancient civilisations invented myth with the purpose to explain the fundamental problems of human essence and to give meaning to and the natural, social, and historical circumstances (Kovačev, 2000).

In Archaic societies myth was regarded as reality, so different myths (particularly the myths concerning the origins of the world) formed the basis of their early history and geography. Beside being connected with the beginning of science, myth was also crucially important for the beginning of art. Romantic philosophy even ascribed it the dominant role in providing the material for artistic production. Original mythical poems were formally very poor, aesthetically unelaborated (without rhymes or refined metaphors), while their contents were characterised by exaggeration and unlimited imagination. The myth's original aspirations were namely not aesthetical, but gnoseological (Kovačev, 1991).

In its earliest periods of development myth represented the traditional foundation of culture (Schechner, 1990) and gradually even its aesthetic function has been developed. This appeared when mythical themes were elaborated and used to create literary and plastic works of art. Later this function even prevailed over the ideological, religious, cognitive, and political functions of myth and it has remained by now.

One of the crucial characteristics of myth is its symbolism. Myth namely reflects the diffuse and undifferentiated primitive mind. Still, it is not only a story, but also a special form of collective consciousness, which (as a particular form of thinking and expression) is reflected in language, art, religion, science and politics. Mythical symbols and metaphors are deeply rooted in all human cultural activities. Still, the most important are their artistic and religious functions.

#### Myth and the origins of art

The influences of myth and religion on artistic creation are particularly obvious when the contents of the early works of art are analysed. These are often full of magic, mythical and religious meanings. The sacralisation of the artistically elaborated contents was determined by the fact that through its form it was possible to create a new order, a new rhythm, a new artistic drama characterised by one's own personality (Kovačev, 1991). The form was the symbol of the representation and modification of natural and supernatural reality, and it enabled its presentation in a particular way, which was adapted to human cognitive capabilities of that time.

The images of gods and divinities were most often anthropomorphic, which had two main functions. They were the expressions of the mortals' identification with the highest and the mightiest creatures. Besides, their representation facilitated their understanding. The same were the functions of the images of abstract notions. Therefore anthropomorphism and theriomorphism were very frequent in poetry and in the plastic arts. Plastic representation and naming also implied the possibility of exerting influence on the represented (or the named) objects in primitive mind. Even in cave paintings of the prehistoric times there appeared the images of animals, stabbed by the spears of the Palaeolithic hunters, which implied their symbolic killing even before the hunting began (Kuret, 1984).

The origins of art in myth are nowadays generally accepted. Romantic philosophy ascribed to it crucial role in artistic production. At the same time the secularisation of mythical themes appeared. Mythical and religious motives were degraded to illusions. Because of that many questions concerning the secularisation problem were raised. Researchers tried to find out whether the ambition to create illusory images for the transmission of messages was already present in the artists' minds, or it was invented later by the interpreters of art (Kovačev, 2003). The majority agreed that the secularisation of art appeared later and was a part of its interpretations, so one can suppose that the artists were still inspired by their sincere religious thoughts.

# The interpretation of the artistic meanings and their connection with mythical symbolism

Artistic meanings are multiple meanings and cannot be decoded gradually. According to Gombrich (1967) art is a condensation of simultaneous schemes and it implies

many unconventional or even illogical meanings, which are rarely (or almost never) understood completely. This even enriches the comprehension of the works of art, for their interpretation is always determined by the interaction of its numerous meaning implications and the subject's unconscious. For this reason Gombrich names the unconscious the fourth dimension of semantic space.

The syncretical fusion of meaning with other aspects of artistic reality determines its qualitative difference in comparison with other - arbitrary signs (like words). The particularities of the artistic structure sometimes make its meanings comparable to the magical and ritual meanings. Both of them are namely global, undifferentiated, diffused and polyvalent. Still, artistic sign systems are highly articulated. Their interpretations are determined socially and culturally.

Different cultures develop different interpretation patterns, which are based on conventions that essentially differ from each other. The interpretation of the arts and the determination of their symbolism are concentrated particularly on the latent, implicit meanings.

The meaning dimension of music often implies its textual basis. There exist several types of relations between word and sound. The analogy between the expressed contents enables the expression of the same idea through different media. Still, aesthetic elaboration might be used to cover certain symbolic meanings, which are not recognisable at once.

Literary themes, which serve as the foundation of operas, are not the only factors that contribute to the understanding of their complex meanings. They are namely determined by their context, i.e. by social and cultural factors.

# The contemporary secularisation of myth and art

By now the ritual function of art has been lost and it works only in exceptional situations, which can still help the spectator and the listener to experience the Aristotelian catharsis. Because of that mythical thinking and mythical contents are often considered to be the product of the wild imagination, characterised by the lack of causality and logic, which was typical for traditional societies.

# Interpretation of myth in the psychology of Carl Gustav Jung

In Jung's psychology myth can be recognised with the help of primordial figures - archetypes in the collective unconscious that reveal themselves with the help of symbols. Jung understood myths and dreams as excellent tools for gaining knowledge about the unconscious contents. He thought that every individual contained an ocean of unconscious material, which might be transported into consciousness.

According to Jung (1938) myth can express the inner personal meanings of truth much better than the objective scientific 'facts'. Personal truth namely cannot be defined or limited to purely rational elements. Jung wrote that human lives become richer, if their

myths and the unconscious are realised. He was sure that each human being possesses 'the almighty deposit of ancestral experience accumulated over millions of years', which he named the 'collective unconscious'.

As scientific understanding grew, the world became dehumanized. Jung (1934-1958) believed that individuals feel isolated in the cosmos because they have ceased to be involved in nature and have parted from their 'unconscious identity' with natural phenomena. He particularly stressed the profound emotional significance, contained in the image of some mythic figures.

The power of reason (asserted by Jung, 1934) eroded man's spiritual values to a dangerous degree, leading to the worldwide disorientation and dissociation. Jung (1934) researched anthropological documentation trying to find out, what happens when a society loses its spiritual values. In such cases people lose the meaning of their lives, social organization disintegrates, and morals decay. According to Jung (1974) dreams help to compensate for this enormous loss. He discovered that the psyche spontaneously produces images with mythic and religious contents. As human life becomes more rational, the dream symbols keep people connected with the symbols of the mysteries of life.

The symbols and archetypes are not static or mechanical, but become alive, when an individual assigns meaning to them. So, the symbol-producing function of dreams is to bring the original mind into an advanced consciousness. The symbols are an attempt to unite and reconcile opposites within the psyche (Jung, 1934-1954).

Jung (1976) defined myth as 'the natural and indispensable intermediate stage between the unconscious and the conscious cognition'. He believed that myths arrived in his life from the other world and was sure that life after death would give a purpose to human lifetime work. He theorised that the more people make conscious, the more they can take with them into the next world. This thought was very close to the decay of the hero (i.e. Siegfried) in Wagner's Ring.

# Richard Wagner and the Teutonic Myth

Richard Wagner, the monumental composer, dramatist, philosopher, and poet of the nineteenth century, who crucially transformed the tradition of German music and art, ascribed to the myth immense revolutionary power. He believed that art, in order to be powerful and fundamental to a nation, must be founded upon a myth that is shared by all those, who encounter the works of art. Dissatisfied with the already developed tradition of Greek myths, which was most frequently elaborated in European literary, plastic and musical art, Wagner believed that somewhere in the history, there must exist a myth, fundamental to the distinct German spirit, which can be newly discovered and developed.

# General characteristics of myth as a source of inspiration

According to Blumenberg (1986) myth is constantly regenerated and revived by the

replacement of its former contents. Its reduction to the methodical structure and filling the gaps with new contents creates new myths. All attempts to achieve demythologisation in religion, art and hermeneutics lead to the formation of the new forms of ancient myths. Another theory (descending from Schelling's (1998-2000) philosophy) is based on the conviction that there exists a need for a new mythology in human mind. Ideas namely have to be formulated aesthetically and covered with mythology, otherwise they cannot have any positive effects on people.

The present times are characterised by the expansion of new religiousness and new ways of life, which enable individual expression to rise on the level of mythic meanings. Art can still represent mythic structures, but it is also determined by self-conscious reflexive distance from them

#### RICHARD WAGNER - MUSIC, MYTH, AND SYMBOLISM

In the history of music it is very difficult to find a famous composer that evoked so many contradictory reactions as Richard Wagner. The commentaries of his work extended from immense adoration to complete rejection. In spite of the ambivalent attitudes towards him, Wagner had a crucial influence on the cultural and spiritual life of 19th century in Germany and many other countries. The content of the majority of his operas was determined by Teutonic mythology.

**Wilhelm Richard Wagner** was a German composer, conductor, theatre director and essayist, primarily known for his operas (or 'music dramas', as they were later called). Unlike most other great opera composers, Wagner wrote the scenario and libretto for his works by himself.

The main characteristics of Wagner's compositions (particularly of those that were composed in his later period) are contrapuntal texture, rich chromaticism, harmonies and orchestration, and elaborate use of leitmotifs, i.e. musical themes associated with particular characters, scenes or plot elements. Wagner invented a lot of advances in musical language (such as extreme chromaticism and quickly shifting tonal centres), which greatly influenced the further development of European classical music (Dallas, 1990).

He transformed musical thought with his idea of Gesamtkunstwerk ('total artwork'), the synthesis of all the poetic, visual, musical and dramatic arts, which he realised particularly in his monumental four-opera cycle 'Der Ring des Nibelungen' (1876). To put his works on an appropriate stage, Wagner has built his own opera house, the Bayreuth Festspielhaus.

### The life and creativity of Richard Wagner

Wagner's life itself was a drama. His creative motives were excitement and sensual impressions. He declared himself as a person that needs excitement for his well-being (Honolka, 1968). His real, multifaceted 'I' was realised in his performances. He himself was Tannhä user, Tristan, Hans Sachs, and Wotan, and his aesthetic theories gave no

recipe for his creations. The most important could only be discovered in his work. This is nowadays open to the public and its greatness makes all interpretations (even those written by Wagner himself) unnecessary and vague.

The evolution of Wagner's works and the creative principles, expressed in his music dramas and formulated in several writings, letters and autobiography, reflected different ideological streams of his time. At the beginning he admired J. J. Rousseau, then Herder, Prudhon, Hegel, the ideas of the revolution in 1848, and Feuerbach's idealistic philosophy. Later he was influenced by Schopenhauer's pessimism and finished his ideological development with Parsifalian religious mysticism. These were the bases of Wagner's development of his myth about art, which determined the pathos of his music and the cult of Bayreuth. His complex and contradictory personality had a strong influence on aesthetic ideology of the last decades of the 19th century (Gregor-Dellin, 1983). Particular stress was laid on his musically-dramatic conception of the opera, which evoked a lot of contradictory commentaries.

Wagner wanted his music dramas to reform not only theatre and opera but also the whole human society, which was clearly seen in many of his writings (*Die Kunst und die Revolution* (1849), *Das Kustwerk der Zukunft* (1849), *Oper und Drama* (1851), *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde*). Still, he failed in his endeavours to create works similar to Attic tragedy, which would incorporate culture that was supposed to be subtle and popular at the same time. His reformative missionary did not cause any cultural or social revolution. Nevertheless his influence was very strong. He inspired many contemporary spirits from Nietzsche to Schönberg and Strauss, from Baudelaire to Shaw and Th. Mann (Honolka, 1968).

According to Wagner the opera's greatest deficiency was the fact that the means of expression (music) became the goal. Therefore he tried to achieve complete unity of drama and music. His aim was the achievement of a holistic work of art (**Gesamtkunstwerk**), which (beside music) would also include other art forms, whose effects would be combined in a harmonious whole (Dahlhaus, 1979).

# Gesamtkunstwerk as a Wagnerian concept

The term 'Gesamtkunstwerk' was first used by the German writer and philosopher Eusebius Trahndorff in his essay in 1827. It is still unclear, whether Wagner knew that essay or not. He used the term in his essay *Art and Revolution* (1849) and his concept crucially influenced the further development of opera composing.

In 1849, Wagner described the Attic tragedy as the greatest 'Gesamtkunstwerk'. Soon after that, he has written *The Artwork of the Future* (1849), where he expanded the meaning of the concept. Later, in his extensive book *Oper und Drama* (completed in 1851) he profoundly explained his idea of the union of opera and drama (later called *music drama*, although Wagner did not approve of that term), in which the individual arts are subordinated to a common purpose.

Wagner used the term 'Gesamtkunstwerk' to refer to a performance that combines all the arts, including the performing arts (for example music, theatre, and dance),

literature (including poetry), and the visual arts (for example painting, sculpture, and architecture). The Gesamtkunstwerk was intended to be the clearest and the most profound expression of a folk tale or myth, abstracted from its national particularities and transformed into a universal fable (Borchmeyer, 2003).

Wagner felt that the Greek tragedies (particularly the works of Aeschylus) had been the finest examples of total artistic synthesis, but that this synthesis had subsequently been corrupted. During the rest of human history up to the Wagner's time (i.e. till 1850) the arts had drifted further and further apart.

#### Some typical Wagnerian musical innovations

The idea of opera reform, trying to bring it closer to its 'origins' in Greek theatre was not completely new. Some of its elements had already begun before Wagner at the end of the 18th century as the 'reform opera' movement. Still, Wagner elaborated that idea and created a new type of opera, the so called music drama, which implied the fusion of drama and music that were supposed to be organically connected expressions of the same dramatic idea. As a poet he was writing librettos himself and constantly kept in mind their musically-scenic realisation. Because of that his texts reflected remarkable musical qualities or even indicated his conception of music. The basic characteristics of his work, which were stylistically typical for Wagner, were:

- the so called never ending melody (unendliche Melodie),
- symphonic treatment of the musical material with the stress on the orchestra, which moves, forms, and transforms musical motifs;
- systematic use of the leading motifs (*Leitmotive*) in which sound symbols, that were associated with certain heroes, ideas, or even objects, were intertwined and condensed in the course of dramatic action and created an extreme expressive force in giving life to characters and their psychic states (Kovačev, 2004).

#### Leitmotifs as indicators of archetypes

A leitmotif (Leitmotiv) is a recurring musical theme, associated with a particular person, place, or idea. At the beginning it was a short melody, but later it could also become a chord progression or even a simple rhythm, which helped to bind a work together into a coherent whole, enable the composer to relate a story without the use of words, or to add an extra level to an already present story. To some extent leitmotifs could even be regarded as musical symbols of archetypes. The word became so popular that it was also often used to denote any sort of recurring theme, whether in music, literature, drama, or life (of a fictional character or a real person).

The use of short and characteristic recurring motifs in orchestral music could be traced back to the late eighteenth century. In French opera of that period 'reminiscence motifs' can be identified, which have recurred at significant junctures of the plots to

establish an association with earlier events. Still, their use has never been extensive or systematic. The power of the technique was exploited early in the nineteenth century by the composers of the Romantic opera, such as Carl Maria von Weber. Motifs were also important in purely instrumental music of that time; the most famous example of them was the opening movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, whose central motif was denoted by Beethoven's friend and biographer Schindler as a 'fate knocking at the door'. Similar was also the use of the 'idée fixe' by Hector Berlioz in reference to his *Symphonie Fantastique*.

Among all the composers that used such motifs Richard Wagner was most often associated with the term 'Leitmotiv'. His cycle of four operas, **Der Ring des Nibelungen**, includes dozens of leitmotifs, often relating to specific characters, things, or situations. While some of these motifs appeared only in one of the operas, many of them reappeared throughout the entire cycle (Tanner, 1995). Wagner never authorised the use of the word 'Leitmotiv'. Most often he spoke about 'Grundthema' (basic idea), or simply 'Motiv'. The word was disputed because of its early association with literal interpretations of Wagner's music (f.e. by Hans von Wolzogen, 1876), which often led to contradictions with Wagner's actual practice and intentions. Wagner namely preferred to emphasise the flexibility of thematic associations to leitmotifs, stressing their role in the musical form, and their emotional effects. After Wagner, the use of leitmotifs has been taken up by many other composers (such as Richard Strauss, Sergei Prokofiev, Giuseppe Verdi, Giacomo Puccini, and even Claude Debussy).

#### Other characteristics of Wagner's operas

There were also some other important factors of Wagner's dramaturgy, above all harmony (whose expressive force is particularly rich and intensified in Tristan) and instrumentation. Wagner used several registers that had not been used by then and created many nuances, strong and often bizarre effects and invented unusual sound means.

Wagner's musical reformation was planned and thoughtful. He gave the orchestra symphonic meaning and complex polyphonic structure. The haughty and dominant composer was eager for propaganda and was constantly writing manifestos. He presented supernatural heroes from Teutonic legendary and mythic world and paid a lot of attention to symbolism (Kovačev, 2003). Most of his operas reflect strong patriotism and national identity.

#### Thematic analysis of Wagner's operas

From thematic aspect Wagner was a specific phenomenon in Romantic music literature. The main motive that appeared in almost all Wagner's music dramas (with the exception of **Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg** in 1868) was the motive of salvation (Honolka, 1968). This appeared already in the opera **Der fliegende Holländer** (1843), where a man under the burden of his guilt was released by the victim of the loving

woman. Tannhäuser's relief, Lohengrin's ill success, the perdition of Tristan and Isolde, the rebirth of the whole world with Brunhilda's victimisation, the redemption of Parsifal – the destiny of all these characters reflected the same idea. Together with Siegfried (a supernatural creature that opposed to all customs) and Wotan (a god, who obeyed them, but was ruined in spite of that) all these heroes represented a part of Wagner's personality. On the basis of their characterisation there was deep pessimism. A man is full of guilt and can be saved only by the grace of God (Honolka, 1968).

Wagner was extremely inclined to the presentation of myths in his operas. Similarly to Greek tragedies his music dramas presented the eternal truths, contained in myths. His main sources were antique theatre, Middle Age Christian legends, and above all Teutonic mythology. The orientation towards mystic themes and old legends appeared already in his early work 'Der fliegende Holländer' (1843). Later (in his most important operas) it was further developed and adapted to Wagner's idea about the total artwork.

Wagner's first operas (**Die Feen, 1833; das Liebesverbot 1836**) were not particularly successful. Still, they provide valuable information about the development of the composer's creativity. His first remarkable success was his opera '**Rienzi**' (1837), by which he wanted to surpass the French (big) opera. He wrote libretto according to Bulwer Lytton's novel with the same title. The theme of this novel was a fight of Roman public tribune Colo di Rienzi against the wilfulness of feudal noblemen and the clergy for democratic government according to the Roman model in 14th century. The glorification of a public hero and social reformer reveals Wagner's contemporary political orientation which was still the reflection of the Young Germany movement. The strong stress on the external theatrical effects prevents the clear presentation of the basic democratic idea, but in this opera the composer's genius was already evident. His music is full of impulsive life, fire, emotional tensions, and enthusiasm. From the musical point of view the opera is far from what Wagner wanted to achieve, but the content of Bulwer's novel gave him the idea of his future heroes (Millington, 1992).

Wagner realised that the audience that was impressed by the middle age legends and fantastic stories liked the romantic scenery, full of rich, exaggerated costumes and accessories that historically had to be as veritable as possible.

The next important Wagner's opera **Der fliegende Holländer** (1843) was thematically based on old stories about the ghost ships and condemned sailors, which had to sail on the sea forever. The atmosphere in this opera was produced by the presentation of the rough sea. The condensed expression was provided by the orchestration, for the trumpets created the feeling of frightening powerlessness and horror. The libretto was written under the influence of Heine's work and some old stories, told by sailors, but the tragic figure of the sailor surpassed older descriptions. The salvation by the loving woman's sacrifice, which Wagner invented into the story, was a frequent motive in his later operas (Honolka, 1968). In this opera Wagner's musical progress was obvious. The orchestration became richer and the role of the orchestra was getting more and more independent. At that time Wagner was already preparing his great dramatic themes of the future, which brought to the abolishment of time and space, unclear distinction between dreams and reality, the presentation of fate, horror and the individual's burden, caused by the tragic attitude towards the world (Gutman, 1990).

Wagner's search for German national roots was reflected in his choice of the literature which he studied at that time, i.e. German mythology written by the Grimm brothers, Gervenius's history of German literature and the works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, the famous middle age poet.

**Tannhäuser** (1845) was thematically based on two sources: the Middle Age legend about the poet Tannhäuser and the competition of famous poets at the beginning of the XIIIth century (Sivec, 1976). Wagner wanted to integrate both themes into a harmonious whole and gave the drama an outstanding symbolical meaning, presenting the fight between the sensual and the spiritual world. Musically this work was a step back from his opera 'Der fliegende Holländer', and later Wagner changed it for the presentation in Paris (Sivec, 1976).

Neither 'Der fliegende Holländer' nor 'Tannhäuser' were accepted with enthusiasm by the audience and the critics. The rejection of Wagner's works was getting obvious. At that time Wagner was also attracted to the coming revolution in 1948 and accused the contemporary political and social situation of responsibility for the unsatisfactory situation, which he worked in (Honolka, 1968). He was also impressed by the anarchist Bakunin. At that time he studied The Nibelungen-Myth and wrote the first draft of Siegfried's death.

Wagner approached music drama with '**Lohengrin**' (1850), where he again used several sources. The story is very old and is known in the tradition of several nations. The German version was created by the famous poet Wolfram von Eschenbach and some anonymous Bavarian poet. In this opera Wagner managed to create a musical differentiation between two different worlds: the bright purity of the knight of Grail and the dark magic Ortruda's world. *Lohengrin* was presented by mystic sounds, which characterised perfectly the messenger of divine forces. Similarly to Wagner's musical development his poetic abilities developed very much. The libretto is symbolically very rich and the leitmotifs are also highly developed. Wagner wanted to introduce the mythological type of history and old legends to present to the audience the past events and stimulate their thinking about the present 'in accordance with eternal values of Germany' (May, 2004).

In the second half of the 19th century being a Wagnerian implied having a strong national identity and being fascinated by symbolism.

Wagner's presentations of supernatural heroes from the Germanic legendary and mythic world achieved their peak in the impressive tetralogy 'Der Ring des Nibelungen'. Wagner chose the well known theme from ancient Teutonic mythology because he considered myth to represent mutual effects of eternal forces that influence people's relations with gods and nature. He was also sure that myth reflects the structure of the society.

The tetralogy concentrated on religious, social and economic questions, which are presented in myth by symbols, objects and persons. Wagner used several sources when writing the libretto of tetralogy: Nordic legends, German stories, and partly 'The song of Nibelungs' (*Das Nibelungenlied*) from the Middle Ages. To some extent Wagner's ideal when composing the opera was the Attic tragedy. Human Gods, under the burden of guilt, are involved into the destiny of people, who strive for purification. These ideas appeared under the influence of the ancient Greek drama, but were also influenced by

Schopenhauer's pessimism, his negation of life and his longing for destruction (Strunk, 1950).

The poetic language of the libretto is characterised by the rejection of the rhyme and the use of alliteration. Wagner namely considered alliteration suitable for the time, in which people were still poets and the creators of myths. By this he stressed the ancient Teutonic character of the work. Although Wagner used several sources, the opera is extremely individualistic. The characters are presented very plastically and convincingly. The most impressive figure is Wotan, a combination of the humane, the mythic and the philosophical.

The music of the cycle is thick and richly textured, and grows in complexity as the cycle proceeds. In this work Wagner introduced a large orchestra, including several new instruments (such as the so called Wagner tuba, bass trumpet and contrabass trombone). He organized the building of a special theatre (the Bayreuth Festspielhaus), which was constructed particularly to perform this work. The theatre has a special stage which blended the huge orchestra, allowing the singers to sing without any restrictions. Besides, the acoustic of this building is among the best in the world (Spencer, 2000).

The composing of the Ring was a giant work, which lasted about 26 years. Under the influence of actual events Wagner interrupted his composing of tetralogy in the middle of the second act of Siegfried to compose two new operas: 'Tristan und Isolde' and 'Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg'.

'Tristan und Isolde' (1865), which is by many considered to be Wagner's greatest single opera, was inspired by Schopenhauer's pessimistic philosophy and Wagner's love for Mathilde von Wesendonck. Thematically it was based on an old Celtic story, which served as a material for several French and German poets. There he presented a passionate love, which was stronger than moral prescriptions (Meyer, 1986).

Wagner composed 'the Ring' in accordance with ancient Greek dramas, which were presented as three tragedies and a satyr play. The Ring properly begins with Die Walküre and ends with *Götterdämmerung*, while *Rheingold* is used as a prelude. Wagner called *Das Rheingold* a Vorabend or Preliminary Evening. *Die Walküre*, Siegfried and Götterdämmerung were subtitled First Day, Second Day and Third Day.

The epic story includes the struggles of gods, heroes, and mythic creatures, for the possession of the magic Ring, which grants the domination over the entire world. The drama and intrigues continue through three generations of protagonists until the gods' decay at the end of Götterdämmerung.

The first part of the tetralogy '**Das Rheingold**' (1869) is comparable to an overture, for it introduces the plot. This is clearly seen in composer's musical and dramatic diction. He did not include any strong accents that appeared in other parts of tetralogy, although some parts are very expressive (f. e. the condemnation scene).

The music of the second part 'Die Walküre' (1870) is very rich and stylistically this is the most complex opera of the cycle. The emotional intensity of the music has been surpassed only in Tristan. The leading motifs are beautifully interwoven and filled with inspiration.

The third part '**Siegfried**' (1876) seems like a sun-ray between the tragic peaks of "die Walküre" and "**Götterdämmerung**", for it even invents some humour.

The grand finale, 'Götterdämmerung' (1876) is the synthesis of the tetralogy. This is Wagner's maturest work and is very demanding for the audience.

The brilliant and impressive tetralogy was understood by many as a Germanic apotheosis and as such it was abused by nationalist movements, such as Nazism.

The last important Wagner's opera with legendary and mystic theme was 'Parsifal' (1882), based on the Christian legend of Saint Grail. There he used the theme that was worked on by several Middle Age poets, also by the famous Wolfram von Eschenbach, whose poem inspired Wagner (Beckett, 1981). The central idea is the salvation, but the musical inspiration of old and sick Wagner was weaker than in his earlier works (Sivec, 1976). Parsifal was meant to be performed only in his theatre in Bayreuth and his wish has been respected for even 30 years after its premiere. The cult of Bayreuth remained one of the symbols of German national identity.

## 'The Ring of the Nibelung' and its symbolical implications

Wagner's tetralogy '**Der Ring des Nibelungen**' is considered by many as his greatest work. Beside numerous musical innovations, it is also rich in symbolism. Every symbol is represented by a leitmotif, some of them even by several leitmotifs. Symbols that according to Jung reveal unconscious archetypes are in this set of operas presented by a musical language or a musical sign system, which has particularly strong influence of the listeners' emotions, and by this it can also evoke archetypes.

The symbolism is implied already in the 'Ring's' title, for a ring has a lot of positive and negative implications. As such it also appears in the tetralogy. It can be a source of immense power, but also of misery and decay.

## Symbolical meanings of the ring and the circle

The ring represents cooperation, connection, desire, community and common destiny. It is ambivalent, because it can bind two people together or isolate them. It can be a symbol of domination or subordination (Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1969). In Teutonic mythology the ring is regarded as a treasure, a symbol of wealth, omnipotence and magic. In Wagner' Ring of the Nibelung, its meanings are very similar. The ring is the symbol of power, endowing its possessor with supernatural strength and the domination over his fellows. To get such a powerful instrument always implies a victim, in the *Nibelung's* case this is the forswearing of love. When ring is demanded from Alberich by Wotan, he curses it, so that it becomes the cause of eternal misery in the world. Its existence ruins everything and only by Brunhilde's victim the world is solved from decay.

The ring can be equalised with the owner's personality, i.e. by the Jungian archetype - the self. To give a ring often means to unite the personalities of the ring-giver and the ring-receiver. Therefore ring can be also a binding symbol.

To some extent the ring has a common symbolism with circle, which represents infinity and eternity, continuity, divinity, and life. It often represents power, dignity,

sovereignty, strength, protection, perfection and cyclicity. To give a ring to somebody may also indicate the transference of power. The same symbolism is implied in mandala, a series of concentric circles in a square around the centre.

The centre symbolizes totality, globality, absolute reality, pure being, and the starting point of everything that exists. For this reason it is considered to be a sacred place that contains the potential for everything. It can be regarded as a rupture in space, or as the place of the transcendence of space and time, in which all contradictions disappear. It is the starting point and the point of return, which is also implied in Wagner's Ring. In the end it is returned to the Rhinemaidens.

The construction of the centre could be denoted as the insertion of the sacred into the profane, i. e. the creation of the world, which is ritualized in almost all traditional societies. Contrary to that, the destruction of the centre, i. e. of the microcosm, which sometimes coincides with the destruction of different means of its protection (walls, labyrinths, moats, trenches, but also the ring, which can protect the subject's personality) symbolises the abolition of an archetypal image of the established order and the regression to the pre-formal, chaotic state of fluidity, amorphism, and undifferentiation, which preceded the cosmogony.

Wagner's ring is the sole stimulus, the cause of everything that occurs physically, emotionally, and intellectually in the tale of the gods. It gives rise to greed, and to a lust for domination and power. It stimulates intense hatred, subtle remorse, the wrath, the woe, indeed the tragedy, in which the drama is steeped. Because of that Wagner gave it recognition in the most appropriate manner. He used it as the title of his masterpiece.

## Other symbols in the Ring

Beside the ring, there appear many other important symbols in this cycle. They are always presented by a particular musical theme, which announces events and makes them recognisable even before they really happen. The most frequent of them are:

- the symbols of destroying and purifying (fire the water, particularly the Rhine river),
- the hero (at first Sigmund and then his son Siegfried, who are both of divine origin),
- the weapon (a magic sword and Wotan's spear),
- lightening and thunder, the indicators of destructive forces,
- the dragon, who in Western culture is a frightening and an evil animal,
- the helmet (Tarnhelm), which enables the disappearing or the transformation of its wearers, etc.

### **CONCLUSION**

Wagner was one of the most impressive and contradictory composers of the Modern Era. As such, he evoked very ambivalent reactions, but also invented many innovations in musical expression. These completely renewed theatrical expression on the stage and caused a lot of changes in further opera performances. Later his personality and

his work became very interesting for psychologists and psychoanalysts, particularly because of his literary talent, which enabled him to present the characters of his operas with a lot of nuances, and a sense of concise and profound psychological observation and interpretation.

The main thematic sources of his operas were myths and legends, which he presented very plastically with the help of the leitmotifs that announce every character even before it appears on the stage. His leitmotifs could be to some extent compared to Jungian archetypes, which also indirectly transmit the eternal truths of the humanity.

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#### POVZETEK

Začetki psihoanalize niso bili povezani z glasbo. Prvotna psihoanaliza je raziskovala samo travme posameznikov, ki so se mogle verbalizirati in prevesti v jezik zavesti. Kljub temu pa so Freudovi nasledniki pokazali veliko zanimanja za glasbo, ki je raslo do današnjih dni, zlasti med glasbeno izobraženimi psihoanalitiki. Mnogi sodobni analitiki imajo glasbo za dragocen vir informacij o človekovi psihi, ki lahko pomaga diagnosticirati in zdraviti duševne bolezni. Učinki glasbe na človeška čustva so veliko močnejši kot učinkovanje besed. Razen tega lahko glasba že sama vzbudi podzavestne vsebine.

Zlasti zanimiva je teorija Carla Gustava Junga, ki je bil najprej Freudov občudovalec in kot tak potrdil vrsto njegovih hipotez, a je kasneje razvil popolnoma novo razumevanje človeške psihe, ki jo obvladujejo arhetipi in ki jih je najti v kolektivni podzavesti. Analiziral je sanje, mite in ponavljajoče se motive v različnih kulturah, kar ga je približalo Wagnerjevim glasbenim dramam. Wagner je bil zelo impresiven skladatelj, ki so ga privlačili starodavni (predvsem tevtonski) miti in njih simboli. Njegovo najpomembnejše delo je obsežna in monumentalna tetralogija »Nibelunški prstan« v kateri mrgoli vodilnih motivov, simbolov in mističnih scen.

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## Ottoman Influence on Folk Music Tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina

# Otomanski vplivi na ljudskoglasbeno tradicijo Bosne in Hercegovine

Prejeto: 11. maj 2009 Sprejeto: 15. maj 2009

**Ključne besede:** Bosna in Hercegovina, tradicionalna ljudska glasba, orientalski vplivi

IZVLEČEK

Prispevek skuša začrtati oblike nastajanja ljudske glasbe v Bosni in Hercegovini, tiste, ki je bila izpostavljena vplivom orientalsko-islamske kulture v času turške vladavine. S prepričanjem lahko trdimo, da so bili orientalski vplivi ključni za razvoj instrumentalnega muziciranja, duhovne glasbe in oblikovanja urbane glasbene prakse v Bosni in Hercegovini.

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**Keywords:** Bosnia and Herzegovina, traditional folk music, Oriental influences

#### ABSTRACT

The paper is aimed at outlining forms of traditional folk music making in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B-H) that were exposed to influences of Oriental-Islamic culture during the Ottoman rule. One can positively say that Oriental influence was crucial in the development of instrumental music making, spiritual music and shaping of B-H urban music practice.

Bosnia and Herzegovina (B-H) is considered the oldest South Slavic feudal state. Following the break-up of Roman Empire (in 395) into Eastern and Western, Bosnia becomes the borderline between the two great cultures. From the early Middle Ages, it was situated between Byzantium and Frankish Empire, and then Serbia and Croatian-Hungarian Monarchy. Over centuries, Bosnian people managed to achieve their own political, economic and cultural identity. It is important to remember ct that Kulin ban (1180-1204) already forged significant economic and cultural ties with neighbors. It is proven by the Contract on Trade with Dubrovnik, signed on August 28th, 1189. (cf. Imamović 1997).

Over years of research, academician Cvjetko Rihtman recorded specific vocal forms that cannot be encountered among other Balkans people. These are polyphonic forms

performed according to inherited tradition and on certain sites in B-H. Rihtman established that some forms of this practice coincide with areas where some Illyrian tribes used to live. This fact led to his conviction that the described forms are a 'relic of Illyrian musical culture' (Rihtman 1998: 8).

The medieval Bosnian state is associated with the concept of *Bogumilism*<sup>1</sup> and Bosnian Church, which existed in this region over about 400 years (Hamidović 2000: 154). Sacred music related to the Bosnian Church is one in a series of unknowns associated with *Bogumilism*. In the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, Franciscan order of Minor Brothers (Ordo fratrum minorum) came to Bosnia and rapidly gained popularity among people. In Franciscan monasteries, sacred music that corresponded with the spirit of the church music of the time was performed (Nilević 1998: 35). Mirna Marić emphasizes Missa Quotidiana<sup>2</sup> and Credo Cingalinum, and the Proper of St. Elias Mass. These forms were recorded in 'monastery song-book manuscripts and mass books compiled for their own needs' (Marić 2008: 239)

Data originating from Dubrovnik Archives lead to the conclusion that music played a very significant role in the Middle Ages. Bosnian feudal lords adopted the medieval knightly-court culture, which attached a great significance to music. Courts held bands that gathered a number of musicians and artistes. In the 1410-1463 period, Bosnian musicians used to visit Dubrovnik, mostly at celebrations of St. Blaise, Dubrovnik patron saint. Ivan Čavlović writes that musicians are mentioned under the following names: pifferi and piffarri (pipers), lautarius i lautares (lutists), tubetae, tubatores and tubicinae (trumpeters), pulsatores (percussion players), quacharii, quacharini, gnacharini and gniacharini (drummers), campognatores (bagpupe players) and sonatores (players). (Čavlović 2006: 20)

## Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ottomans draw origin from Central Asia, from the nomadic tribe of Kayu Turaka. In the establishment of Ottoman state system, a significant role was played by merchants, craftsmen and *ulema* – Islam interpreters and teachers. In the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, Bajazit I ruled the empire that spread from the Euphrates to the Danube. In 1384, during the rule of King Tvrtko I Kotromanić, Ottomans made the first raid to Bosnia. Bosnia was ultimately defeated in the spring of 1463, when sultan Mehmed I Fatih conquered Bobovac, the last stronghold of Bosnian kings. It should be noted that immediately upon the establishment of Ottoman rule, guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Fojnica, fra Anđelo Zvizdović asked for the freedom of religious activities for Bosnian Franciscans. In accordance with *sheri* regulations, sultan Mehmed I Fatih issued an *adhnama* – a written guarantee of the freedom of further religious activities.

<sup>1</sup> Bogumil religion is considered a movement, i.e. an ascetic sect that believes in the sinfulness of matter. Bogumil preaching was headed by djed or an alderman. Byzantine writer Epigan believes that etymological meaning of the word 'bogumil' is 'let God have mercy'.

<sup>2</sup> Vinko Krajtmajer recorded that 'among numerous rites where music plays a prominent role that we find in practice or that existed in Bosnian Franciscans' practice, a particular interest is aroused by Missa Quotidiana (Lat. Quotidie – every day; quotidiana – daily). This is understandable, since it is an aspect of traditional practice that was not recorded in official publications and whose duration was mostly conditioned by oral lore'. (Krajtmajer 1997: 61).

Contrary to other South Slavic states, Bosnia preserved its territorial borders. Upon the Ottoman arrival, direct and intense ties between the medieval Bosnian and Oriental-Islamic civilization developed. Oriental civilization was founded on Islam, a religion that uses Koran to regulate various segments of life. Through the Ottoman Empire, B-H population learned about the Oriental-Islamic way of life in various segments: Islam as a religion, culture and art, as well as a military, administrative and economic system.

Ottoman rule in B-H lasted until 1878. Centuries-long Ottoman rule witnessed acculturation processes that have been very intense and that left significant marks recognizable in the B-H folk-music practice to this day.

#### Ottoman influence on B-H folk-music tradition

During the centuries-long Ottoman rule in Bosnia, the tradition lived and developed in a few parallel streams of unequal scope, intensity and duration, popularity and influence. At present, we can claim that Oriental influence was crucial for shaping urban B-H musical practice, deeply permeating earlier layers of Bosnian sound harmony. This influence left its trace, though to a lesser extent, in the rural musical practice as well. Until the Ottomans arrival, B-H folk-music tradition developed within the rural patriarchal, crop-farming and cattle-breeding culture. Due to its complexity, the older polyphonic practice remained firmly linked to specific areas. These are specific interpretations of people living in small communities, in settlements scattered and nestling on non- or hardly accessible terrains. The technique of polyphonic singing is such that it requires certain 'rehearsal' by the singer, certain continuity of performance and pronounced awareness of such aesthetic concept. The goal is to reach particular style-related ideals and general sound unity, thus achieving full voice unison of functionally same or different sections of polyphonic singing, as well as expressive strength.

It is very significant to mention singing by the pan, a practice that, according to Wolf Dietrich, started in the early Turkish period and represented one of specific forms of female rural musical practice (Dietrich 1976: 74). In folk language, singing by the pan is known as 'tepsijanje' ('panning'). This technique is achieved by continuously rotating a pan on a sofra³. The pan is placed upright and rotated with the stretched right hand and using the wrist. Singing starts at the point when the woman rotating the pan feels that the pan sound has settled. The older way of performing includes a single person rotating the pan and singing. She would stand in a bent position and sing right above the pan. In this way her voice was reflected against the pan surface and created a specific echo. Nowadays, singing by a pan includes two women. The woman that rotates the pan bends on one side of sofra, while the woman who sings in the direction of the pan kneels sideways. By directing her face toward the copper pan surface, her voice is directly reflected against the pan surface. In this way, a distinctive singing quality is achieved, with the echo effect being its significant characteristic. While being rotated, the pan produces a steady, specific and even sound without a definite pitch, and serves

<sup>3</sup> Sofra is a low round wooden base that used to serve as a dining table.

as the bourdon accompaniment to singing<sup>4</sup>. By the end of singing, the pan falls freely, and the singer ends her singing when the pan falls on the *sofra*.

Wedding is one of the most significant customs of all ethnic groups inhabiting Bosnia and Herzegovina. Muslim population eventually adopted some elements of wedding customs that were direct influenced by Oriental culture, although it should be pointed out that other parts of wedding customs, considered 'old-fashioned' remained unchanged. Rihtman writes that a foreign influence was 'adopted particularly easily when it occurred with songs accompanying parts of Muslim wedding custom, parts that are missing in Christian ones. Thus songs sung, e.g. during the bride 'krnanje', i.e. painting tips of her fingers and toes with 'krna' (red vegetal colour) on the day before the first marital night.' (Rihtman 1982: 12). The custom of bride knivanje or krnanje is primarily aimed at leaving a recognizable mark that it is a young bride, and it also has a symbolic function, that of protection from evil powers. During knivanje, songs functionally related to the rite were performed. Tunes related to this custom were typically unisonous. This phenomenon is also observed in the rural tradition characterized by polyphonic singing, which leads to the conclusion that it is an Oriental influence (Petrović 1989a: 132).

Ottoman rule in B-H brought about huge changes in the position, nature and role of towns. New urban settlements sprang up throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, or leaned on older ones. New towns differed from the European ones by their emergence, development and role. Bosnian beys preserved the custom of keeping professional singers for a very long time, and in this way inherited some forms of living transferred from the Bosnian medieval period. It was recorded that, in Sarajevo, people played and sang in the households of the Dženetićs, Porčas, and other respectable families. Smail-bey Dženetić lived in Ćemaluša Street and frequently organized get-togethers where the saaz was played. It was men who gathered at get-togethers, while women sat in the *haremluk* (women's section). Sources say that people also played in the house of Hasan Porča and his sons Mekhem and Abdija (died in 1877). Hadži Junuz Ekmić, Topal ejni-han priest, also played the saaz writes that 'hadži Junuz Ekmić is a haberdasher by profession... He died on August 19th, 1878 during the occupation of Sarajevo. Ibrahim-bey Hadžiosmanović remembers him well and says that he was very sociable, and could also play the saaz.' (Traljić 1937: 34-36).

Hamdija Kreševljaković mentions prominent folk singers that sang with *tambura* accompaniment: 'Until recently, there were some excellent folk singers, who sang heroic songs with the accompaniment of *tambura* at beys' fireplaces and in coffee houses. For some, singing was the only profession, while others had other jobs as well. Today, people even don't remember most of their names, while the memory of some remained in the foreword to the third volume of the 'Croatian folk songs' book, written by dr. Luka Marjanović. The most famous singer of the first half of the last century [19th century, op. J.T.] was Ćerim Čajić. He was the last Ostrozac captain Muratbeg's singer, and they say he could sing 366 songs. He died in Cazin, in about 1845. His son Mahmut and grandson Mašo are also singers. Mašo is alive, well and merry although he is about 90 years old.' (Kreševljaković 1935: 90-91)

<sup>4</sup> Dietrich believes that' panning' is a transitional form from unison to part singing (Ibidem 1976: 72-72)

The overall life of B-H urban environments of the time led to the emergence of sevdalinkas. This complex time that was spontaneously experienced in music brought about this indigenous musical-poetic form which, in its base, contains the 'actual local temporal feature' (Rizvić 1969: 484), through naming real persons known in its environment, even accurately specifying neighborhoods they lived in. Sevdalinkas are thus 'contemporaries' memoir-like lyrical recordings of the personalities that were their ideal and role-model.' (Ibid: 484). In urban singing, one distinguishes between female and male songs. A woman lived 'within four walls', turned toward her family and a very narrow circle of closest relatives and female friends, and when she sang, she mostly sang 'for herself'. Her song is 'subdued', refined, subtle, it spoke of what moral norms did not allow her to express openly. On the other hand, the male song is more open, abandoned, lascivious, sung at get-togethers, dusk gatherings, 'by a glass', and hence its name, sarhoška (song of the drunk). Still, they have something in common: we recognize both as a sevdalinka, both sing of love, though in different ways. Both are essentially songs of intimate nature, intended for performance in a closed environment; in terms of dynamics, they are of lower intensity, traditionally performed by a single singer, without accompaniment or accompanied by saaz (and, more recently, accordion), with a pronounced possibility to express individual expressiveness and artistic capabilities. Distinctive features of these songs include a sentence of broad breath and scope, melisma, alteration and, in a certain number of cases, an augmented second. (cf. Karača-Beljak 2004: 57).

Sevdalinka did not grow exclusively out of Bosnian traditional sound sediment. Its shaping was also influenced by certain elements of Oriental music modal systems. The fact that this form is so well established primarily confirms the fact that, regardless of primary models, it was created by Bosnians, who introduced layers of their own spiritual heritage and elements of their own reality and homeland.

It is also important to point to secular and sacred forms of Spanish Jews – Sephardic Jews, who came to B-H as exiles from Spain and Portugal in the 1492-1506 (cf. Petrović 1989b: 54). These forms can rarely be heard today, and exist only among older Sephardi. For this reason, they deserve a special attention as a mark of cultural survival of a small ethnic and religious community on our grounds over five centuries. Sephardi preserved local cultural features of certain environments on the Pyrenean peninsula they draw their origin from (Katz 1973 237-243). Consequently, a special attention in Sephardic tradition should be paid to songs by Spanish romance writers, some of which originated on the Iberian peninsula in the late Middle Ages, as well as those created in our regions and sung in line with 'Bosnian *mekam*.'5

#### Sacred music

In this section, we will focus on individual segments of Islamic, Catholic and Orthodox sacred music that survived from the Ottoman age to this day.

<sup>5</sup> The concept of mekam is encountered in secular and ritual music of various peoples. In musical terms, it signifies a tonal scale and separate shaping of tune. (cf. Hadžisalihović-Spajić 1997: 37)

Islamic sacred music is almost regularly associated with dervish orders, within which it was created, developed and remained to this day. *Tesawwuf*<sup>6</sup> or Islamic mysticism in B-H is known as *tarikat*<sup>7</sup> - institutional *tesawwuf*, and its followers as dervishes. Čehajić writes that the 'emergence of dervish orders and raising of *sufi* institutions started as early as in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: the Isa-bey one in 1462 [in Sarajevo, op. J.T.], and somewhat later, as can be seen from a 1489 defter (agenda), Ajas-bey's *tekija* (convent) in Visoko, sheikh Muslihudin's *tekija* in Rogatica'. (Čehajić 1986: 21). In the 15th-17th century period, *nakšibendija*, *mevlevija*, *halvetija* and *kadirija* orders appeared in B-H. Gathering places included *tekijas* and *hakekahs*<sup>8</sup>. *Nakšibendija* order was the most numerous and gathered urban and rural population.<sup>9</sup>

Besides the described forms that emerged among people, one should also mention melopoetic forms that had the established lyrics known throughout the Islamic world. It primarily refers to *ezan* and *salavats*. *Ezan* is a melopoetic form that emerged during Hegira<sup>10</sup>, and it serves to invite believers to each of the five daily prayers. *Ezan*<sup>11</sup> has a unique text that consists of seven sentences propounding foundations of Islam. Contrary to the textual, *ezan* melodic pattern is not uniformly established, and its melodic patterns vary, although not essentially, both in some Islamic countries and in B-H. It is significant to note that some rural settings, such as Vukeljići *tekija*, preserved the custom of polyphonic performance of *salavat* and *ezan* during *mubarek* evenings<sup>12</sup>. Two or three 'callers' stand in front of the *tekija*, put their hand behind the ear and alternately call out *salavat* textual phrases. In certain moments their voices overlap and lead to two-part singing, which is in line with older rural tradition.

Word *salavat*<sup>13</sup> implies a blessing that has to be prayed upon the mention of Messenger's name. *Salavats* vary by content and tune, depending on the occasion. Their lyrics are always in Arabic, whose strict pronunciation rules affect the melody rhythm. *Salavat* is functional part of the Islamic religious ritual and as such has a certain musical significance. In its original form it has characteristics of Oriental musical practice, while in our region it adopted some indigenous traditional features of both rural and urban musical practice.

In *tekijas*, mostly of *nakšibendija* and *mevlevija* orders, poetry in Bosnian, Turkish and Arabic was created and cherished; it was spread by oral transmission or transcriptions in Arabica alphabet. *Ilahija*<sup>14</sup> is one of the most significant melopoetic forms of Islamic sacred music. The way of singing *ilahijas* was transmitted exclusively orally.

- 6 Tasawwuf from Arabic word suf wool. It signifies the custom of putting on woolen clothes and devotion to mystic way of living, to be a sufi, or sufi mystic.
- 7 Tarikat from Arabic word tariq, pl. turuq, signifies a road, method of approaching God.
- 8 Hanekah Arabic term from Persian compound hangah, han home, gah place, abode.
- 9 Nakšibendija order was founded by Muhammed Behaudin Nakšiband. It is based on the teaching that the greatest goal of human life is cognition of God achieved through reason and intuition.
- 10 Hegira is a move, and refers to the year when Muhammed a.s. moved from Mecca to Medina., on July 16th, 622. This year is taken as the first one in Islamic calendar.
- 11 Translated into our language it reads: Allah is the greatest. I testify that there is no other God but Allah. I testify that Muhammed is Allah's Messanger. Hurry to the prayer. Hurry for the salvation. Allah is the greatest. There is no other God but Allah.
- 12 Mubarek evenings are special, selected evenings when important events from the history of Islam are marked.
- 13 Salavat means that Muhammed's name has to be followed by pronouncing alejhi selam or sallallahu alejhi ve sellem, which derives from the Koran verse 'Allah and His angels bless the God's messenger. Oh, believers, bless Him yourselves and send him your regards.' (Koran XXXIII: 56)
- 14 Ilahija got its name from Arabic word Ilah, which means God.

Singing tradition changed over time, the changes depending on musical abilities of people that transmitted them. *Ilahijas* can be sung in the following ways: by a soloist, by a group in unison, and by a soloist with rhythmical pronunciation of given textual phrases by all the participants in the ritual. Soloist singing of *ilahijas* in folk tradition was mostly recorded in cases of their performance in home settings. They are mostly sung by mothers as a form of lullaby<sup>15</sup>, or to somewhat older children when they want to direct them to the Islamic way of life. Such *ilahijas* have long lyrics and are of educational character. Another way of performing *ilahijas* is encountered within religious celebrations or some significant events marked in a religious manner. The third way of performance is used only within *zikr*<sup>16</sup>. They are performed with rhythmical pronouncing by other *zikr* participants and are characterized by simple and short melo-verses of syllabic character. Thus, this is functional music where lyrics play the main role (cf. Talam 2003: 47).

During *zikr*, dervishes stand or sit in a circle. Performance of melopoetic forms can be understood as a discipline of breathing and sound pitches. In discussions on mysticism, Eva de Vitray Meyerevitch writes that 'sacred music is confirmed as a means of inspiring cognition, since it emerges out of gratitude, reminiscence in the Platonic sense of the word. Its goal is not the relish of listening to lovely tunes, but rather fathoming godly allusion. Music is awakening of the soul; it revokes time since it turns it into remembrance. Influences of invisible world, both auditory and visual, produce a powerful effect on the heart when they are in harmony with it, i.e. when the heart is pure.' (Meyerevitch-de Vitray 1988: 173)

It was during the Ottoman rule that Catholic sacred music in Bosnia and Herzegovina experienced a significant growth. Special vocal forms sung during great Catholic feasts include folk songs. 'By 'Bosnian' church folk lyric songs we imply tunes the structure of which shows a great resemblance or even identity with the parallel profane type of folk songs in Bosnia... Authors of these 'Bosnian' church songs are mostly unknown so far. They were probably gifted individuals or educated persons of Bosnian origin whose names have so far been unknown to us'. (Topić 1998: 149) Folk singing, essentially choral psalmody, was frequently transfigured and assumed stylistic features of local traditional musical practice. Very interesting examples of folk songs were recorded in west Herzegovina, their musical base being *ganga* – a special form of ancient Bosnian singing characterized by a small tonal sequence, minor and major second intervals experienced as consonances, as well as by use of rudimentary grace tones or tone groups<sup>17</sup>.

One of very interesting vocal forms is Our Lady's Tears, which sings about Christ's Passion in a distinctive way (Doliner 2001: 97-106) The first recording of Our Lady's Tears dates back to the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and was made by fra Matija Divković (Jelaške by Vareš, 1563-Olovo, 1631). (Gavran 1988: 14-17) Our Lady's Tears was sung on all Lent days, most frequently on Good Friday or during the Way of Cross (Topić 2005: 177)

<sup>15</sup> The first example of ilahija - lullaby was recorded by Omer ef. Humo in Konjic, in the late 19th century.

<sup>16</sup> Zikr as a religious ritual means mention, glorifying Allah using established phrases repeated according in the ritual order. It consists of reading Koran, mentioning Allah, praying for God's last Prophet, pronouncing words of sincere repentance (tewba i istrigfar), singing ilahijas and instruction in tarikat rules.

<sup>17</sup> This phenomenon was observed in the area of Prozor and Rama, where Academy of Music Sarajevo organized ethnomusicological research in April 2008.

As Cvjetko Rihtman claims, the influence of Islam on Orthodox tradition can be noticed even before the arrival of Ottomans. 'One should not forget that long before Turkish invasion, Byzantium had been a mediator of this influence over a long time period, that it itself adopted numerous achievements of flourishing culture of the early Christian age from its eastern provinces and transferred them, together with Christianity, to its west neighbours. We know that, in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, this role was taken by monasteries on Atos (Serbian monastery Hilandar being one of them), and that St. Sava, upon gaining independence for Serbian church, allowed a direct contact with monasteries of Syria and Palestine, without the mediation of Greek church.' (Rihtman 1982: 20). Rihtman made this conclusion based on the representations of some instruments of oriental origin found on paintings in the monasteries that date back to the Middle Ages, and in endowments of Serbian rulers who lived almost two centuries before Ottoman arrival.

#### **Musical instruments**

Traditional folk instrumental music of B-H rural communities corresponds with the described style characteristics of vocal music. Rural musical instruments are considered more archaic compared to urban ones. Studies so far have shown that, before Ottoman arrival, idiophone and aerophone instruments had a significant place in our rural practice. Ottoman arrival brought about the emergence of various kinds of music making that had not been known in B-H before. This primarily refers to Turkish military bands - mehterhanas, and traveling musicians in Romany population. 'In Turkish army, music had an important position, which could also be seen in Bosnia, as well as among military personnel: in fortified towns, headquarters, and at pasha's, as well as in affluent beys' homes. Naturally, its function was not the same everywhere. Beyond their job, players (mekters) could play for people's entertainment. A 1654 sidžil (court protocol) from Jaice explicitly prescribes when players are bound to pay mekterija (type of tax), and when they are exempt from it. 'Music' could be distinguished by instrumental ensemble, as well as by the number of players. Among military musical instruments, the most frequently mentioned ones include drums, kettledrums, flutes, zurnas, zilas and borijas, and, to a lesser extent, horn, trempas, čamparas and ahen-kahen' (Rihtman 1982: 12). A certain number of these instruments have been preserved in the folk music tradition to this day. The most significant ones include flutes with double reed - zurnas and chordophone instruments of the long-necked lute type, known by the common name of tambura among people. It is a fact that these instruments are of Oriental origin, although Bosnian people adjusted them to their own needs and made them in somewhat different variants. In his work 'Putovanje po Hercegovini, Bosni i staroj Srbiji' (Travelling through Herzegovina, Bosnia and old Serbia) (1972) Aleksandar Giljferding<sup>18</sup> noted following: 'The concert started upon the arrival of an old Muslim with the tambura. Tambura (something like our balalaika) is a beloved instrument of B-H Muslims. The Stolac artist was plucking its four high-pitched metal strings using a plectrum with unusual diligence.

<sup>18</sup> In 1856, Aleksandar Giljferding was appointed Russian consul in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and he arrived to Sarajevo in 1857.

This produced a dull and, to be honest, non-harmonic sound for our ears. Hamza-bey (Rizvanbegović), however, listened with pleasure. At moments, he would get carried away with an emotional love song, at times he would laugh shouting: *Aferim! Aferim!* – when the song would describe something funny. We asked Hamza-bey if he listened to songs often. 'Every evening – it's my pastime." (Giljferding 1972: 50)

The use of *tamburas* in Bosnia is also proven by an 18th century manuscript kept in the Gazi-Husrev bey's library in Sarajevo. It is Code 380, a collection of seven different books in the field of Koran interpretation. The seventh book in the collection is *ilmihal* (religion textbook) in Turkish by an unknown author, transcribed by hadži Sulejman, Muhammed's son, in Gradačac, on *ševal* 23rd, 1180 Hagira year (March 24th, 1767). One paragraph of the *ilmihal* says that 'a man who was using a kind of saaz in this world will be given the same saaz on the Doomsday and will play it; music will be on his mind at his death hour, and therefore he risks losing the faith. Will he be able, then, to think of God, or will he die thinking of saaz? Will he be able to listen carefully to prayers of Kelima – and *šehadet* 19 that those present besides him will pray at that hour? Will he be afraid of devil and saaz possessing him and moving to the Other World without faith.' (Dobrača 1963: 141-142) Such an unfounded attitude toward saaz and music in general was spread among Muslims as an Islam attitude. Still, in spite of such a negative view, instruments were very popular among Muslim population of Bosnia.

#### Conclusion

The paper was aimed at outlining achievements of Oriental-Islamic civilization, which had a significant influence on the B-H folk music tradition through Ottomans. The acculturation process lasted intensely for almost four centuries, and its traces are clearly visible even today through various forms of folk music expression. This primarily applies to the use of some types of aerophone instruments, and chordophone instruments of long-necked lute type known under the common name of *tamburas* among people, singing with a pan, wedding songs related to the custom of bride *knivanje*, urban love songs – *sevdalinkas*, Sephardi romances in Ladino language, as well as melopoetic forms of Islamic, Catholic and Orthodox sacred music. Austro-Hungarian rule (1878-1914) gave the European stamp and spirit of western civilization to the Oriental system of living – cultural patterns arisen as a fusion between medieval Bosnian tradition and Oriental-Islamic civilization. The result of these "encounters", evident in architecture and other arts is the foundation of the modern B-H society.

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<sup>19</sup> Testimony of God's unity and Muhammed's prophecy.

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#### POVZETEK

Bosna in Hercegovina je majhna balkanska dežela, ki jo naseljujejo tri konstituitivne entitete: Bošnjaki, Hrvati in Srbi ter številne manjšinske etnične skupine. Do 1431 je bila Bosna samostojna država. Bosanske fevdalna gosposka je negovala srednjeveško viteško kulturo v kateri je imela glasba pomembno vlogo. Na dvorih so se zbirali glasbeniki in umetniki. Obdobje otomanske vladavine, ki je trajalo skoraj 400 let, je globoko zaznamovalo bosansko-hercegovsko kulturo in umetnost, kar zadeva predvsem oblikovanje urbanega okolja – mest. Majhna mestna okolja – mahale – so se zgledovale po otomanskih vzorih. V teh novih življenjskih pogojih se je urbana glasbena praksa razvijala in razvila pod vplivi pretežno

otomanske kulture. V nasprotju z urbanim okoljem so vasi izoblikovale lastno glasbeno prakso, ki je bila funkcionalno dolgoročno vezana na dana obdobja človeškega življenja. V podeželski tradiciji je orientalne vplive zaznati predvsem v uporabi določenih tipov aerofonskih ter kordofonskih instrumentov z kot pri lutnji z dolgimi vratovi, med ljudstvom znanih pod skupnim imenom tambure, petja s piščaljo ter poročnih pesmi v zvezi z navado nevestinega knivanja. Danes lahko trdimo, da so bili orientalski vplivi ključni pri oblikovanju bosansko-hercegovske podeželske in urbane glasbene prakse. Prispevek želi izpostaviti oblike tradicionalnega glasbenega ustvarjanja in prakse v Bosni in Hercegovini, zlasti tiste, ki je bila izpostavljena orientalsko-islamskim vplivom v času otomanske nadvlade.

## Disertacija • Dissertation

Jernej Weiss

## Vloga čeških glasbenikov v glasbeni kulturi na Slovenskem med letoma 1861 in 1914

Dosedanje raziskave niso podale temeljitega in celostnega pregleda delovanja čeških glasbenikov v glasbeni kulturi na Slovenskem med letoma 1861 in 1914. Tako se v pričujoči doktorski disertaciji zastavlja vprašanje glasbenega, družbenega in kulturnega vpliva čeških glasbenikov v obravnavanem obdobju na Slovenskem. Natančneje, na katerih področjih, kako in v kolikšni meri so predvsem najpomembnejši češki glasbeniki s svojim delovanjem prispevali h glasbenem delu med letoma 1861 in 1914 na Slovenskem. Za potrebe pričujoče doktorske disertacije so bili torej analizirani primarni viri, splošno-zgodovinska, periodična, publicistična in specialno-glasbena literatura v glasbenih arhivih doma in na Češkem.

Delovanje čeških glasbenikov je nedvomno usodno zaznamovalo dogajanje v glasbeni kulturi med letoma 1861 in 1914 na Slovenskem. V prvi vrsti se doktorska disertacija osredotoča na posamezna področja delovanja čeških glasbenikov. Uvodoma so v disertaciji predstavljene kulturno politične razmere v čeških in slovenskih deželah ter v povezavi z njimi prikazani vzroki, ki so v omenjenem obdobju privedli do številnih čeških glasbenih migracij na Slovensko. Prav tako so predstavljeni poglavitni dosežki nekaterih čeških glasbenikov na Slovenskem, katerih delovanje sega pred obravnavano obdobje. Nadalje sledi predstavitev delovanja čeških glasbenikov v povezavi z delovanjem glasbenih ustanov v omenjenem obdobju na Slovenskem. Med slednjimi je poseben poudarek namenjen delovanju čeških glasbenikov v glasbenih ustanovah, ki jih uvrščamo med glavne nosilce glasbenih aktivnosti med letoma 1861 in 1914 na Slovenskem. Sledi predstavitev poglavitnih kompozicijsko-teoretskih in idejnih izhodišč nekaterih čeških glasbenikov na Slovenskem ter natančnejša raziskava njihovega glasbeno ustvarjalnega in poustvarjalnega dela. Med osrednjimi področji pričujoče doktorske disertacije je tudi raziskava vloge čeških glasbenikov na glasbeno pedagoškem in glasbeno publicističnem področju delovanja. Poleg že omenjenih področij pa se doktorska disertacija vseskozi posredno srečuje tudi z vprašanji univerzalnosti in nacionalnosti v glasbi med letoma 1861 in 1914 na Slovenskem ter idejnimi opredelitvami čeških glasbenikov v omenjenem obdobju, ki predvsem zadevajo t.i. nemško-slovenske nacionalne delitve. Zato

je omenjenim vprašanjem, ki obravnavajo predvsem sodelovanje čeških glasbenikov s t.i. »nemškimi« glasbenimi ustanovami ter na drugi strani njihovo »težnjo po načrtni realizaciji avtohtonosti glasbenega dela na Slovenskem« namenjeno samostojno, zadnje poglavje. V njem se avtor pričujoče doktorske disertacije kritično opredeli tudi do nekaterih vprašljivih glasbeno-zgodovinskih izhodišč temelječih na nacionalnem konceptu glasbene kulture, ki so do nedavnega močno zaznamovala interpretacije glasbene zgodovine na Slovenskem.

Z analitično predstavitvijo posameznih tematskih sklopov doktorska disertacija obravnava nadvse pomemben del glasbene zgodovine na Slovenskem med dvema družbeno-političnima prelomnicama: začetkom ustavnega obdobja v Habsburški monarhiji leta 1861 in začetkom prve svetovne vojne. Čeprav torej po svoji tematiki prvenstveno posega na področje glasbene zgodovine, se z obravnavanjem migracijske problematike posredno dotika tudi področja sociologije glasbe. Kot prva celostna raziskava, ki s svojimi izsledki na posameznih področjih podrobneje obravnava omenjeno tematiko, umešča češke glasbenike med letoma 1861 in 1914 na Slovenskem v kontekst srednjeevropske glasbene zgodovine ter prikaže, da je prispevek najpomembnejših predstavnikov čeških glasbenikov v obravnavanem obdobju h glasbeni kulturi na Slovenskem povsem primerljiv z glasbenim delom njihovih sodobnikov drugod po Evropi. Pričujoča doktorska disertacija se tako osredotoča na kar najširši sklop vprašanj o vzrokih za migracije čeških glasbenikov, njihovem pomenu za glasbeno kulturo na Slovenskem in vplivu na nijhove stanovske kolege med letoma 1861 in 1914 na Slovenskem.

Češki glasbeniki med letoma 1861 in 1914 so vseskozi aktivno sooblikovali praktično vsa področja glasbene kulture na Slovenskem. S svojim delovanjem so tako odločilno zaznamovali glasbeno-ustvarjalno, glasbeno-poustvarjalno, glasbeno-pedagoško in glasbeno-publicistično področje ter korenito vplivali na prehod iz bolj ali manj glasbeno-navdahnjenega diletantizma v postopen kvalitativen in kvantitativen dvig glasbenega dela na Slovenskem. Tako se zdi solidno obrtništvo povečini dobro izobraženih čeških glasbenikov na Slovenskem natanko to, kar je glasbena kultura na Slovenskem v zgodnji fazi njenega razvoja potrebovala. Za slednjo so bili tako odločilnega pomena stiki s številnimi, dobro izobraženimi češkimi glasbeniki na Slovenskem, ki so s seboj prinašali ustvarjalne dosežke glasbene kulture v čeških deželah v drugi polovici 19. in začetku 20. stoletja.

Obranjeno 30. marca 2009 na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani

## The Role of Czech Musicians on Musical Culture in Slovenia between 1861 and 1914

The studies conducted so far have not given a thorough and comprehensive overview of the activities of Czech musicians in the music culture of Slovenia in the period between 1861 and 1914. This dissertation thus deals with the question of the musical, social and cultural influences of Czech musicians in Slovenia in the period discussed. More precisely, in which areas, how and to what extent did in particular the most important representatives of the Czech musicians in Slovenia contribute, through their activities, to the music culture in the period between 1861 and 1914. For the purposes of this dissertation, the primary sources, general historical, periodical, publicist and special music literature kept in the music archives of Slovenia and the Czech Republic were analysed.

The activities of Czech musicians undoubtedly had an enormous impact on events in the music culture of Slovenia in the period between 1861 and 1914. The dissertation primarily focuses on individual areas of activity of Czech musicians in Slovenia. Initially, the cultural and political situations in the Czech and Slovenian lands are described, as well as the reasons leading to the numerous migrations of Czech musicians to Slovenia between the above-mentioned social-political turning points are discussed. Also presented are the principal achievements of numerous Czech musicians who were active in Slovenia prior to the period discussed. This is followed by a presentation of the activities of Czech musicians that were linked to the activities of music institutions in Slovenia in the period discussed. Among the latter, special emphasis is given to the activities of Czech musicians in music institutions that are ranked among the principal representatives of musical activities in Slovenia in the period between 1861 and 1914. This is followed by a presentation of the principal compositional-theoretical and conceptual starting points of some Czech musicians in Slovenia, and a precise analysis of their musical creative and reproductive work. One of the central topics discussed is the role of Czech musicians in the fields of music pedagogical and music publishing activities. In addition to the previously mentioned areas, the dissertation indirectly deals with the issues of universality and nationalism in music in the period between 1861 and 1914 in Slovenia, as well as with the conceptual declarations of Czech musicians in the mentioned period, primarily as regards the so-called 'German-Slovenian' national divisions. For this reason, the last chapter is devoted entirely to the above-mentioned issues relating primarily to the cooperation of Czech musicians with the so-called 'German' music institutions on one side, and their 'tendency towards the planned autochthonism of musical activities in Slovenia' on the other. In this chapter, the author takes a critical position towards certain questionable musical-historical starting points based on the national concept of music culture which has, until recently, strongly influenced the interpretation of music history in Slovenia.

Through an analytical presentation of individual thematic groups, the dissertation discusses an extremely important part of music history in Slovenia in the period between two social-political turning points. Although through its theme the dissertation predominantly deals with music history, its treatment of migration issues indirectly reaches into the sociology of music. Being the first comprehensive study whose findings in individual areas treat the above-mentioned themes in detail, the dissertation places Czech musicians working in Slovenia in the period between 1861 and 1914 within the context of Central European music history, and reveals that the contributions of the leading representatives of Czech music in the period discussed to the music culture of Slovenia are entirely comparable to the works of their contemporaries throughout Europe. The dissertation thus focuses on a very broad range of issues dealing with the reasons for the migration of Czech musicians, their significance for music culture in Slovenia and their impact on their musical colleagues in the period between 1861 and 1914 in Slovenia.

The numerous Czech musicians working in Slovenia in the period between 1861 and 1914 actively co-created practically all areas of music culture in Slovenia throughout this period. Through their activities they decisively influenced the musical-creative, musical-reproductive, musical-pedagogical and musical-publicist areas, and strongly influenced the transition from a more or less musically inspired dilettantism to a gradual qualitative and quantitative rise of musical culture in Slovenia. And so it seems that the sound craftsmanship of predominantly well-educated Czech musicians in Slovenia was precisely what music culture in Slovenia needed in the early phase of its development. Of key importance for music culture in Slovenia were therefore its contacts with the many well-educated Czech musicians who brought to Slovenia the creative achievements of music culture in Czech lands at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century.

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