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# Music During the Great War in Slovenia

## Glasba med prvo svetovno vojno v Sloveniji

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### IZVLEČEK

Prispevek je pregled glasbe kot družbene prakse med prvo svetovno vojno na območju današnje Slovenije. Slovensko glasbeno prakso obravnava s treh med seboj dopolnjujočih se gledišč. Prvič, članek ponuja vpogled na glasbeno Ljubljano, kjer je poleg zabavnega muziciranja obstajalo tudi koncertno abonmajsko glasbeno življenje. Drugič, osrednji del besedila se osredotoča na slovensko glasbeno produkcijo, povezano s prvo svetovno vojno, in sicer z dveh plati: s stališča glasbe za prvo svetovno vojno (in o njej) kakor tudi z glasbo o dogodkih, ki niso vezani samo na prvo vojno, so pa značilni tudi za glasbo tega, za mnoge grozovitega obdobja. Prispevek ponuja skico slovenske glasbene kulture med prvo vojno in glasbenega repertoarja časa velike vojske, ilustriranega na analitičnem fragmentu pesmi *Tam na karpatskoj gori (Prošnja umirajočega junaka)*. Tretjič, sklepni del prispevka načenja problematiko recepcije glasbe, povezane s prvo svetovno vojno na Slovenskem po letu 1918.

### ABSTRACT

The contribution is a survey of music as a social practice on the territory of today's Slovenia during the Great War. It addresses the Slovenian music culture during the Great War from three complementary perspectives. Firstly, it gives a glimpse of the musical practice in Ljubljana, where, beside the entertaining music practice, subscription concerts were offered as well. The second section, the most elaborated one, focuses on the Slovenian music production connected to the Great War in two respects: on the music for (and about) it, as well as on the musical practice based on the events of the period that is considered, by many, to be odious. It offers a taste of the musical culture in Slovenia during the Great War and of the repertoires of music pertaining to soldiery, concentrating on one in-depth analytical fragment of the song *Tam na karpatskoj gori (Prošnja umirajočega junaka)*. Thirdly, the last section is devoted to the reception of the music connected to the Great War in Slovenia after 1918.

## The Scope and methodology

In October 1915, when Belgrade surrendered to Feldmarschall August von Mackensen, the Ljubljana Glasbena matica gave its first concert that season. The concert, according to the introductory explanation by Stanko Premrl, was performed in honour of the 66<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Franz Josef I, whereas the proceeds were given to the Red Cross and to the families of war victims. The programme consisted of the Slovenian version of the anthem (“Bog ohrani, Bog obvari / nam cesarja, Avstrijo!”), followed by a set of lieder and choirs by Slovenian composers and a set of folk-songs arrangements. Importantly, instrumental music was absent – due to the circumstances of the pre-1914 prevalently vocal music culture on the territory of today’s Slovenia. Stanko Premrl – the otherwise rather reserved writer of the review, who was one of the leading personalities of Slovenian church music as well as of Slovenian music historiography – noticed particularly one of those folk songs, the folk song from Adlešiči (a region on today’s western Slovenian-Croatian border):

„GLASBENA MATICA“ V LJUBLJANI.  
XLIII. DRUŠTVENO LETO. XXIV. LETO REDNIH DRUŠTV. KONCERTOV.

V sredo 2. decembra 1914 zvečer ob 1/2 8. uri  
v veliki dvorani „Narodnega Doma“

### DOBRODELNI KONCERT

ob šestinšestdesetletnici vladanja Nj. Veličanstva Presvitelega  
Cesarja FRANA JOSIPA I.  
na korist „Rdačemu Križu“ in rdnbinam vrnolicanih vojakov.

SODELUJEJO: gđc. Cenka Severjeva, (mezzosopran);  
gosp. Leopold Kovač, (tenor); gosp. Josip Vedral, kla-  
virsko spremljevanje in pevski zbor „Glasbene Matice“.

VSPORED:

J. Haydn: **Cesarska pesem.**

1. a) Dr. Gobjmir Krek: **Zvečer.** } Nešani zbori. Poje }  
b) Anton Lajovic: **Napitnica.** } pevski zbor „Glasbene }  
c) Anton Lajovic: **Vadica čista se vila...** } Matice“.

2. a) Dr. Gobjmir Krek: **Šum vira in zelira.** }  
b) Dr. Gobjmir Krek: **Tam zunaj je sneg.** } Pesmi poj. g. Leopold Kovač.

3. a) Anton Lajovic: **Pesem starca.** }  
b) Anton Lajovic: **Predsmrtnica II.** } Pesmi poje }  
c) Josip Pavčič: **Pesem.** } gospodična Cenka Severjeva.

4. a) Anton Lajovic: **Buni vetri v polju.** }  
b) Anton Lajovic: **O, da dekleté je...** }  
c) Josip Pavčič: **Serenada, Gondoliera.** } Pesmi poje }  
(Po rokopisu.) } gospod Leopold Kovač.

5. **Narodne pesmi, harmonizirane za mešani zbor:** }  
a) **Jaz mam pa konjčta belega.** }  
b) **Je dro ušino poloti.** (Po Z. Svikašiču.) } Koroske slovenske narodne }  
c) **Gor čez izaro, gor čez gmajnico.** } pesmi. Harmoniziral gos- }  
(Po Z. Svikašiču.) } pod Matje Hubad.

d) **Na Gorenjsčem je fletno.** Harmoniziral gospod Sanko Pirnat.  
e) **Češi me, češi!** Hrvatska narodna. Harmoniziral gospod Anton Anđel.  
f) **Zelja ranjenega vojaka.** Belokranjska narodna. V Adlešičih zapisal in harmoniziral gospod Ludvik Kaba.

CENE PROSTOROM: Sedeži po 5, 4, 3 in 2 K. Stojišča po K 1-20, za dljake po 60 h. Predprodaja vstopnic v tratici gđc. J. Dolencéve v Pešernovi ulici in na večer koncerta od 7. ure naprej pri biagajni. — Vspored in besedilo pevskim točkam po 20 h istotam. Preplačila se tvaložno sprejemajo in izkazujejo.

Figure 1: Concert program of Glasbena matica on 2 December 1914.. Photo by: dLib, <https://www.dlib.si/>.

*“Very timely was especially the last song [The Wish of the wounded soldier, a song from White Carniola, harmonized by Lud(o)vik Kuba], solemn throughout, which had a very strong effect with its noble text and striking music along with accidental cannon shots from Ljubljana’s castle signalling the fall of Belgrade.”<sup>1</sup>*

We may say that the concert indicates three features of the musical life during the Great War in Slovenia. The first, and the most obvious feature, relates to the very troubled social context: the fear of the unknown, stemming from a bitter experience, was probably the main reason – embodied in the *Emperor’s song* – that stimulated many people to search for safety in the 66<sup>th</sup> year of the ruler. The second feature is the relatively modest, even though for that period far from unusual performance capacity, which may be seen as a sign of changed circumstances in public as well as private music practices: although Leopold Kovač (1887–1954) had already started his career as a professional tenor at that time, Censka Severjeva’s achievements remained confined to a few soloist performances with the choir of Glasbena matica. And, thirdly, the significantly absent instrumental music – even a basic comparison of the concerts given by Glasbena matica and Philharmonische Gesellschaft should be taken into account for this argument –, as well as a fairly huge share of folk-song arrangements, indicate not only the tastes and capabilities of the national musical culture in that period, but also a historiographically important fact: a poor heritage of regional music production. Following a historical method of close reading of publicly available archival materials<sup>2</sup> on music and consulting the literature on the Great War and music in today’s Slovenia, I shall address, first, the concert practice of that time, mainly in Ljubljana; after that, the question of Slovenian music for and from the Great War shall be posed. The contribution concludes by addressing the reception of music from and for the Great War after 1918.

## Musical Life During the Great War: Ljubljana

In his survey of the cultural climate in Ljubljana, the historian Dragan Matić noted reduced concert activities in Ljubljana: already in the 1914/15 season, the concerts were mainly of choral and chamber music, but the Philharmonische Gesellschaft also gave subscription concerts of more ambitious proportions. In both cases, the students’ concerts form an important part of the music reproduction during the war for Slovenians as well as for the German population. The income from the concerts was primarily charitable.<sup>3</sup> If reduced at first, the frequency of the concerts grew in the last year of the war. In summary:

1 Stanhko Premrl, “Glasba,” *Dom in svet* 25, no. 1 (25. 1. 1915): 32–33. Acc. 4 October 2017. <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOCVGQETOF7>.

2 It should be emphasized, however, that the number of published personal testimonies is growing, for instance Kacin, 1997, Zupančič, 1998, Reuh, 1999, Hacin, 2002. Anyway, if one could thoroughly reconstruct the individual activities of the musicians, as it may be done at least theoretically for World War II through testimonies such as Osana, 1999, the ideas of music as a social practice might be clearer in future.

3 *Dragan Matić*, Kulturni utrip Ljubljane med prvo svetovno vojno: kulturne in družabne prireditve v sezonah 1913/14–1917/18 (*Ljubljana: Zgodovinski arhiv*, 1995), 296 and 272.

*“In the 1917/18 season, there are more than 82 different concerts recorded. 42 were of art music, [probably] more than 42 were coffee shop, promenade or restaurant etc. concerts. Compared to the previous seasons, a huge leap is recorded in the quantity of art music concerts. There were more of those than even in the pre-war season of 1913/14. Musicians from all around were performing in Ljubljana, organizing concerts by themselves as well – without the help of [the two main music institutions in Slovenia] Glasbena matica and Philharmonische Gesellschaft, and in such large numbers that it presented a novelty in comparison to the previous seasons.”<sup>74</sup>*

(Beswillingt mit Erlaß der k. k. Polizeidirektion vom 21. März 1917, Z. 192/L.)

**Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach.**  
 Gegründet 1702. 215. Vereinsjahr.  
 1891 ausgezeichnet durch die mit dem Allerhöchsten Wohlgerichte gezeigte goldene Medaille, Beiherrin der Schubert-Medaille in Silber des Wiener Männergesangsvereines und der Badl-Medaille der Wiener Singakademie.

Montag den 2. April 1917, um halb 8 Uhr abends  
 im großen Saale des Kasino

**5. Gesellschafts-Konzert**

Orchesterleitung: Konzertmeister Prof. **Hans Gerstner**; Chorleitung: Sangwart **Viktor Ranth**; Solist: **Paul Pampichler** (Bariton) aus Graz; Klavierbegleitung: **Heinrich Wettach**; der gemischte Chor des Deutschen Singvereines und das verstärkte Streichorchester der Philharmon. Gesellschaft.

**Vortragsfolge:**

- 1.\* a) **Franz Cöfller**: Huldigungsfestgefang; } gemischte Chöre  
 „Heil Karl dem I., Osterreichs Kaiser!“ } mit Klavierbegleitung.
- b) **Josef Scheu**: „Hoffnung“;
2. **Josef Zährer**: Vier Tautücke für Streichorchester. [Nachgelassenes Werk.]  
 Uraufführung. (Introduktion — Kanon — Serenade — Rondino)
3. a) **Robert Schumann**: „Ich rolle nicht“; } Lieder mit Klavier-  
 b) — — — — — „Du bist wie eine Blume“; } begleitung, gesungen  
 c) **Engelbert Humperdinck**: „Wiegenlied“; } von Herrn  
 d) **Johan S. Svendsen**: a) Liebesfeier; } Paul Pampichler.  
 \* isländische Melodien; b) Moderato; zwei } für Streichorchester.
- 4.\* **Edvard Grieg**: a) Lento (Erstes Begegnen); b) Allegro  
 triololo, zwei norwegische Melodien;
- 5.\* **Theodor Podbertsky**: „Die tausendjährige Linde“. Bilder aus Deutschlands  
 Vergangenheit nach Karl Stiellers Dichtung „Unter der Linde“, für  
 Sopran- und Bariton-Einzelgefang, gemischten Chor und Klavierbegleitung.

\* Erstaufführungen in Laibach.

Der Wortlaut der Lieder ist an der Abendkasse erhältlich.

Ende um halb 10 Uhr abends.

Nichtmitglieder haben nach Maßgabe der verfügbaren Plätze Zutritt gegen Lösung von Galtkarten (ein Sitz 3 K., ein Stehplatz 1 K. 50 h., Studenteneintritt 60 h.), deren Ertrag den Zwecken der Kriegsfürsorge gewidmet wird.

Vorverkauf aus Gefälligkeit in der Buchhandlung Jg. v. Kleinmayr & Sed. Bamberg.

**Abendkasse.**

Zur gefälligen Beachtung! 1. Die Eintrittskarten sind den Soldatinnen abzugeben, ohne Eintrittskarte wird kein Einlaß gemährt. 2. Die Frauen werden gebeten, im Saale ohne Hüte zu erscheinen. 3. Das Betreten und Verlassen des Saales während der Dauer eines Musikstückes ist nicht gestattet. 4. Eintritts- und Austrittszeiten werden in der Direktionskanzlei, Tonhalle, in den Nachmittagsstunden (5—6) entgegengenommen; dabei wollen auch Wohnungsänderungen der Gesellschaftsmitglieder (schriftlich oder persönlich) rechtzeitig angezeigt werden.

Während der Vorträge bleiben die Saaltüren geschlossen.

1059 17

Figure 2: Concert leaflet of the 5th subscription concert by the Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Ljubljana, 2 April 1917. Photo by: dLib, <https://www.dlib.si/>.

Both the national and cultural proportions also changed somewhat in the last war season in favour of Slovenians: while the military music concerts fell under 50 % of the whole concert offerings, the Slovenians organized around 30 % and the Germans around 48 %, leaving more than 20 % of the concerts to foreign musicians.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding the programmes, the one reproduced in Figure 2 may be considered typical of the concerts given by the Slovenians. The Germans and their main institution, the Philharmonische Gesellschaft, however, offered musically richer performances, as their 5<sup>th</sup> subscription concert of the penultimate war year reveals. And in both instances, one may notice the presence of emotionally laden pieces, indicating political correctness (at that time depending, of course, on the perspective of political sides, yet, considered conceptually, regardless of it). Such a “social emotionalism”, if the politically correct musical programming may be labelled so, was not the rule. Moreover, during the Great War, it appeared more frequently in Slovenian than in German concert programmes in Ljubljana.

This is but a glimpse into the public concert life during the Great War in Carniola’s capital, Ljubljana. It should be complemented by other bigger cities of today’s Slovenia, and especially by gathering information on regional musicking in the more rural parts of the country (although the majority of it was rural), as well as by a study of the music within the army. Here, both topics are considered only partially while discussing Slovenian music for and from the Great War.

## Slovenian Music for (and about) and from the Great War

Tone Smolej, the literary historian, offered an ‘alfresco’ formulation of the difference between Slovenian war poetry and the English and German songs on/from the Great War:

*“If we compare the motifs of our war songs with those in English or German (Löschnigg 1994), we may discover that in Slovenian poetry the refugee-topoi come to the fore because the poets have, as a rule, resided in the hinterland. While in our poetry there are no discernible accounts of it, they feature prominently in English poetry (for instance Counter-Attack by Siegfried Sassoon). Further, in European literature, the enemy is rarely described in hostile terms (the exception is For all we have and are by Rudyard Kipling), because the war propaganda is not easily imposed upon the poets. In Slovenian poetry, in which a Slav cannot be proclaimed the enemy, the war itself is the fiend, as turned a brother into a beast. In German poetry, war is sometimes depicted through avant-garde procedures that are indicated in the work of Bevk.”<sup>6</sup>*

Even if the Great War has left many personal testimonies that urge the historian to research the private archives as well as newspaper entries and military reports, the

5 Ibid., 330.

6 Tone Smolej, “‘Ne jaz, ampak vojska je napisala to povest’: prva svetovna vojna in slovenska književnost (1914–1941),” in Peter Vodopivec and Katja Kleindienst, eds., *Velika vojna in Slovenci* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 2005), 100.

quoted difference regarding poetry nicely introduces the Slovenian cultural position: it was incomparable to the state of some more ardent nationalist colleagues (as for instance the notorious cases of Arnold Schönberg and especially his disciple Anton Webern). Slovenian composers remained creatively almost silent during the Great War. The war seems to have evoked some compositions more from a pragmatic than a programmatic, not to mention an ideological level. Some compositions have been composed in circumstances of war, although they do not address directly any war themes in specific terms. Here, one may mention Emil Adamič's (1877–1936) *Tri turkestan-ske (tatarske) ljubavne pesme (Three Turkestan [Tatar] Love Songs)* or his *Tatar Suite* (symphonic pieces written in memory of his war imprisonment), the disputably "first Slovenian symphony" *Lovska simfonija (Hunter's or Hunting symphony)*, 1915, by Fran Gerbič, a number of choirs, also nationally oriented, such as Stanko Premrl's *Slovenska govorica (Slovenian language)*<sup>7</sup> (or even his harmonization of *Zdravljica (A Toast)*, today's Slovenian anthem – although it was made in 1905), along with a number of other patriotic songs, such as Anton Kosi's *Za domovino Avstrijo (For the Fatherland Austria)*. The list should continue not only with some compositions from the concert repertoire, but also with the music by Slovenian church musicians, of whom the journal *Cerkveni glasbenik (Church Musician)* offered a nice account during the war; in this respect perhaps the most active field (beside popular music), the performance history of religious music, seems fairly important and has yet to be written. As organist Tomaž Holmar wrote in 1915:

*"Many organists have gone to war, as well as many singers! But our Carniolans sing even in the trenches! [...] Although I am above the age for military service, I shall go to fight for the faith, the Emperor, and the fatherland, and I shall fight till the last drop of blood, till the last breath! Long live the Emperor, long live the fatherland!"*<sup>8</sup>

It seems that Slovenian music from and for the Great War testifies about that period with a confined circle of music production ranging between several original, primarily choir music pieces (not too difficult to perform), a relatively small number of folk songs adaptations, and a handful of instrumental compositions. According to Zmaga Kumer, "the Great War has not left visible traces in the folk heritage, though some reflections from that period nevertheless remain. [...] Despite everything, three song-books have been published during that period"<sup>9</sup> And all three were published in 1915 – when feelings regarding the war were relatively favourable toward the Cisleithanian (since 1915 Austrian) visions despite the repressive local authorities<sup>10</sup> a cultural climate of affiliation that lasted until the beginning of 1917.

7 Stanko Premrl in Anton Medved, "Slovenska govorica," in *Trije mešani zbori* (Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, 1917). <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-RECQGIPH>.

8 *Cerkveni glasbenik* 38, no. 7/8 (1915): 90.

9 Marjetka Golež Kaučič, »Fantje se zbirajo ...: vojna in vojaki v slovenski ljudski pesmi (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2013), 41.

10 Walter Lukan, "Habsburška monarhija in Slovenci v prvi svetovni vojni," *Zgodovinski časopis* 62, no. 1/2 (2008): 91–149.

## An imprint of music from the Slovenian Great War music – and for the Great War

The first mentioned folk song, *The Wish of a Wounded Soldier*, may serve as a nice example for the examination of the Slovenian Great War music. The same song was performed by the same musicians the following spring, on a concert on May 8<sup>th</sup>. The first to transcribe the song was Ludovík Kuba, one of the most intriguing ethnomusicologists of his era. He published it within the impressive series of *Slovanstvo ve svých zpevech* (Pardubice 1884–1895), in the collection of 123 harmonized Slovenian folk songs in 1890.<sup>11</sup> Its performance was first recorded in 1914 and published in Strajnar, 1989; it is a rather popular folk song from White Carniola. Ivan Šašelj called the song a *Midsummer's Eve song*, mentioning three of his versions of the song, which he had acquired already in 1886 and published in the tamburica songbooks *Bisernice I* and *II*, respectively (1906: 48–56 and 1909: 24–5).<sup>12</sup> He mentions that for Kuba, the song “je to jedna najcennejšich pismi mnou vubec zapsanych, tudiž i najlepši upominka na moji belokrajinskou zajiždku.”<sup>13</sup> Šašelj also reports that

*“I heard from a former Austrian soldier last year [i.e., in 1935] that the same song was sung during the Great War in 1918 in Galicia, in the cities of Brody and Kovel, by Slovenian chaps – soldiers. They must have heard the song from the soldiers from White Carniola.”*<sup>14</sup>

There are several versions of the songs *Tam na karpatski gori (Prošnja umirajočega junaka)*<sup>15</sup> and *Naročilo ranjenega vojaka (gospoda barona)*, and perhaps several more songs. All three songs are thematic tokens of the same event – the event of a dying man expressing his last wish .

11 The mentioned song is on pp. 222–4, a copy may be found at <http://www.nulk.cz/ek-obsah/kuba07/224.htm>, acc. 1 May 2014.

12 The texts are also available under No. 13 at [http://sl.wikisource.org/wiki/Bisernice\\_iz\\_belokranjskega\\_narodnega\\_zaklada\\_I](http://sl.wikisource.org/wiki/Bisernice_iz_belokranjskega_narodnega_zaklada_I), acc. 1 May 2014.

13 I[van] Šašelj, “Iz belokranjskega narodnega pesništva,” *Etnolog* 8/9, no. 1 (1936): 30.

14 Ibid.

15 Zmaga Kumer, ed., *Slovenske ljudske pesmi, vol. 2, Pripovedne pesmi* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1997), 110–119; Miha Vrhovnik, “Zbogom, moj domači kraj: vojaštvo v slovenski ljudski pesmi,” (Diploma thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2009), 67.

Želja ranjenega vojaka [Wish of a wounded soldier]	Naročilo ranjenega vojaka (gospoda barona) [The order of a wounded soldier (Mr. Baron)]	
Tam na karpatski gori (Prošnja umirajočega junaka) [There on the Carpathian mountain [A request of a wounded hero]]		
<p>V ovi crni gori                      žarki ogenj gori.                      Mimo njega pelja uzka steza mala,                      i po njej zaide trideset junaka,                      trideset junaka, na izbor soldata,                      i medj njimi jeden jako kruto ranjen.                      Za Boga vas prosim, draga bračo moja,                      ne ostavljajte me v ovoj crnoj gori,                      neg' me vi peljite u Bosansko polje,                      u Bosansko polje, k svetemu Ivanu!                      Kopajte mi jamo pri svetem Ivanu                      po sabljo široko, četiri gliboko.                      Noter pogrnite moj kopenik beli,                      nanj'ga položite moje mrtvo telo,                      poleg njega den'te belo kopje moje,                      nanj'ga privežite moj'ga konjca vranca,                      naj me konjec žali, kad me ljuba neće!                      Ljuba bi žal'vala, ki bi ona znala!</p>	<p>Na karpatskoj gori                      šviga ogenj doli.                      Mimo pa prijaše                      trideset vojakov.                      Fsi so čvrsti, zdravi,                      samo eden ranjen.                      Ranjen milo kliče:                      »Kopljite mi jamo!                      Kopljite mi jamo                      pri svetem Ivanu.                      Vanjo položite                      moje grešno telo.                      Na karpatskoj gori                      šviga ogenj doli;                      na karpatskoj gori                      šviga ogenj doli.                      Vöni pa püstitite                      moje desno roko.                      Zanjö privežite                      mojga bratca konja.                      Naj se konjič joče,                      če ljubica neće.                      Ljubca bi jokala,                      če b sirota znala.                      Konjič zargeče,                      ljubica zatrepeče.</p> <p><i>(Kumer 1997: 100–119)</i></p>	<p>»Le sem pojdi, ti moj hlapec,                      da boš ti pogledal;                      če so moje rane rdeče,                      boš šel po padarja;                      če so moje rane črne,                      mi boš jamo kopal.«                      »Oh, kaj pa bo, barone!                      Tvoje rane so črne.«                      »Le pojdi mi jamo kopat,                      globoko in široko,                      z brinjem jo obložī,                      da me ne bodo trgali                      le-ti turški orli.«                      »Oh, kaj pa bo, barone,                      kaj bo za moje lone?«                      »Le pojdi mi v štalo,                      vzemi največega konja,                      domu mi pojezdi,                      trikrat okolj znamnja prijezdi;                      tebe bodo srečevali                      preljubi moji otroci,                      lepo jih potolaži,                      da me bodo lože pozabili;                      tebi bo prišla napoti                      moja žlahtna gospa,                      lepo jo potolaži,                      da me lože pozabi.«                      »Oh, kaj pa bo, barone,                      kaj bo za moje lone?«                      »Miznico ven potegni;                      noter so rmeni zlati,                      tisti bodo ti za lone.                      Le pojd ni jamo kopat,                      globoko in široko,                      z brinjem jo obložī,                      da me ne bodo trgali                      le-ti turški orli.«</p> <p><i>(Kumer 1997: 52–54)</i></p>



Without going into details about the provenance of the song, Šašelj has indicated, through Ludvík Kuba's aesthetic preference of the White-Carniolan version of the song over the Bulgarian and Montenegrin versions<sup>16</sup> (which explains rather nicely the "uniqueness" of this song), that the song has a universal historical background and cannot be confined to the Great War. Moreover, Marjetka Golež Kaučič adds passingly in her book on song texts connected to the Great War: "Also in the heroic songs of the 'Prošnja umirajočega junaka' or 'Bolni junak' (SLP I/19) type we find a trace of the Great War. For instance, in the variant SLP I/19/29 from Strahovica, GNI M 23.936: the 1<sup>st</sup> stanza reads: 'There on the Italian front / thirty heroes, / all firm, healthy, / only one is wounded'."<sup>17</sup> Marija Klobčar<sup>18</sup> refers to the song as a "ballad [...] that originated in Kajkavian Croatian territory and [...] spread to other Slovenian regions during the First World War," while during the Second World War it became "a song of the Partisan movement."

The several national and historical contexts gathered during the song's historical life indicate that the music, specific to the Great War as well, should not be confined to one period, although its content has a certainly important message for that era. The song entered the Great War as a transhistoric epic song in several versions. Textually, they were generated from a difference between a soldier (as a generative concept) and a hero (as a specific token), between the bad and the good, between a wish and the reality. Musically, as seen from Kuba's transcription given below, a generative phrase consists of a recognizable melodic gesture within the first two bars: a minor third skip, followed by two variants of it – an expansion of the ambitus for a major second up with (Schenkerian) diminution of the range and a sequence for a major second lower, ending with a Phrygian cadence (the examples are from Kuba's transcription):

The (Phrygian) modal conception alongside the "aksak" ("irregular", or literally "limping", "slumping", "stumbling") rhythmic features within a metric structure (7/4; not unusual in folk music from some regions of Slovenia) indicates an aesthetic laxness typical of folk music of geographically and culturally diverse regions throughout the Balkans. And it seems that it is this epic narrativity that fits with what Smolej characterized as "refugee-topoi", typical of Slovenian poetry.

The discussed song is but one part of the Great War music. The meagre state of the music written during the Great War was indicated by the circular appeal of a telling title, *Mehr Marsch- und Soldatenlieder in der Schule*,<sup>19</sup> made by the lower Austrian Landeschulrat in April 1915. It is because of this appeal that the war songbooks from 1915 were compiled. Although there are actually at least seven war songbooks<sup>20</sup> with Slovenian songs, only two of them – by Kosi and Marolt – may be taken as an illustration of their

16 Kuba also published a series of comments regarding his voyages alongside the musical examples from the countries he visited. The details about his relations with Slovenia are available in Kumer, 1999.

17 Golež Kaučič, »Fantje se zbirajo ...«, 41.

18 Marija Klobčar, "The expressiveness of traditional Slovenian Military Songs," foreword in the CD booklet for *Regiment po cesti gre* (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, Glasbeno-narodopisni inštitut, 2007), 39.

19 Das deutsche Volkslied. Zeitschrift für seine Kenntnis und Pflege. Jg. 1915, 8/9. Heft, 101. Also available at: <http://www.volkliedearchiv.de/volkliedforschung-295.html>, acc. 5 May 2014.

20 Beside Kosi and Marolt, all 1915, Hladnik as well as Andrejka, 1916, should be added as Slovenian war songbooks, although only Marolt, 1915, was meant as a handy pocket-booklet suitable for soldiers.

108. V onom černém lese.

(Z vlastních zápisek.) Bůa Kravina.  
Adlešit.

Vyprávěcím tonem.

Soprán.  
Alt.

Tenor.  
Bas.

V onom černém le - se žhou - cí o heň pla - ne. Kolem ně - ho ve - de

ú - zká jenom stezka, po té stezce kráčí tři - cet so - ko - li - ků, tři - cet so - ko - li - ků,

statných bo - jov - ni - ků, me - zi ni - mi je - den bo - lest - ně je raněn. Pro Boha vás prosím,

dra - zi bratři mo - ji! ne - ne - chávej - te mne v tomto černém le - se, a - le vedte vy mne

Figure 3: <http://www.nul.k.cz/ek-obsah/kuba07/224.htm>, p. 222, acc. 1 May 2014.

circulation (the duplication is indicated with the red colour) and juxtaposed with what two respected musicians – Žirovnik and Gerbič – had published before the Great War as important folk music heritage:

Anton Kosi: Vojaške narodne pesmi za dom in šolo (1915)	Fran Marolt: Slovenske vojaške narodne pesmi (1915)	Janko Žirovnik: Narodne pesmi z napevi (1900–10)	Fran Gerbič: Album slovenskih napევov (1910)
1. Cesarska pesem	<u>1. Al' me boš kaj rada imela?</u>	Al' me boš kaj rada imela? (I/4)	Barčica (20)
2. Cesarski orel pravi	<u>2. Barka zaplavala</u>	Danes je taisti dan (I/15; II/19)	
3. Danes ta dan*	<u>3. Danes je taisti dan</u>	Fantje marširajo (IV/18)	Ena ptica priletela (11)
<u>4. Ena ptič'ca priletela*</u>	4. Danes je dan*		Nocoj je prav lep večer (15)
<u>5. Fantje marširajo*</u>	<u>5. Ena ptička priletela*</u>		
6. Fantje se zbirajo	<u>6. Fantje marširajo*</u>	Prišla bo pomlad zelena (IV/12)	Nobene bukvice (33)
7. Kaj maramo mi	7. Mladi glas iz gradca gre		
<u>8. N'coj je prav lep večer</u>	8. Kaj si je' zmislu naš cesar		
9. Nobene bukvice niso tak' lepe	9. Kaj so to za eni fantje		
10. O ti moj dom	10. Ko ptičica na tuje gre		
11. Oblaki so rdeči*	11. Lavdon		
<u>12. Oj ta vojaški boben*</u>	12. Leži, leži ravno polje		
13. Pesem slovenskih vojakov	13. Ljuba si pomlad zelena		
14. Po polju pa rož'ce cvetejo	14. Mal'postojmo		
<u>15. Pomlad se že približa*</u>	15. Mi smo se skupaj zbrali		
16. Popotnica vojaška	16. Nekoč v starih časih		
17. Presvitli cesar vabi nas	<u>17. Nobene bukvice niso tak lepe</u>		
<u>18. Regiment po cesti gre</u>	18. Nocoj, pa oh, nocoj		
<u>19. Slovo I</u>	<u>19. Nocoj je en lep večer</u>		
20. Slovo II	20. Oblak'rdeči so*	Slovo (I/12)	
21. Slovo III	<u>21. Oj ta soldaški boben*</u>		
22. Solnce gre za goro	22. Oj kako strašno		
23. Solnce mi rajža*	23. Pobič sem star šele 18. let I.-II.	Oj ta vojaški boben (I/20; II/18)	
24. Spomladi vse se veseli*	<u>24. Pomlad se bliža*</u>		
25. Vodica med gorami	25. Po polju že rožce cvetejo		
26. Vojak na tujem	26. Pozimi pa rožice ne cveto		V nedeljo jutro (25)
Umetne:	27. Prisega, na bandero		
1 Za dom med bojni grom! (H. Volarič)	28. Radecki	Regiment (I/16)	
2. Slovo (H. Volarič)	<u>29. Regiment po cesti gre</u>		
3. Vojaška (B. Ipavec)	30. Slovenski fantje		
4. Novinci (H. Volarič)	31. Solnce mi rajža*		
5. Cesarska (J. Haydn)	32. Spomladi vse se veseli*	Tam za turškim gričem (I/17)	
6. Na straži (A. Nedved)	33. Tam na zelenem travniku		
7. Naprej! (D. Jenko)	<u>34. Tam za laškimi gričem</u>		
	<u>35. V nedeljo jutro vstala bom I.-II.</u>		

Even if the histories of all the songs are not clear, the majority of them are folk tunes and – if the songbook practice of Anton Kosi is taken into account – several tunes may have been supplied by Slovenian “composers and musicians”.<sup>21</sup> These three songbooks were meant for wider circulation, as the foreword to Marolt’s collection suggests: “The price and the handy book format offer to each friend of the folk song a possibility to get a copy of it for himself.”<sup>22</sup> Some of the songs had been widely circulated before the war, also as part of the educational system, such as the songbooks by Janko Žirovnik (1900–1910; above, the volume/pagination is given in brackets) or Jakob Aljaž (1886–1900), or through collections such as the folk song piano album by Fran Gerbič (1910) and Šašelj’s *Bisernice* (1906–9).

On the dissemination of the songs, Anton Leban reports from the front lines on 19<sup>th</sup> November 1915:

*“The Germans have beautiful patriotic and war songs. Prinz Eugenlied is, for instance, a cherished song and is sung often, but there are different lyrics to it and that disturbs the flow and the melody of the song. All that singing is dear, gentle and beautiful, but our folk songs are even more beautiful. Everybody knows them, at least every at least somewhat educated Slovenian. How beautifully those convenient songs resound now! How gorgeously Lavdon sounds at the White City [Belgrade]! How noble the singing about Radecki in Italy is. It goes from heart to heart.*

*We find more songs that are, for our soldiers, convenient and gorgeously beautiful – folk songs (Regiment po cesti gre).”*

All in all, Golež Kaučič<sup>23</sup> interestingly notes:

*“Slovenian soldiers were exceptionally good singers; they sang different songs, military as well as love songs and songs sung for the dead, but according to his opinion [= Leo Hajek’s, assistant and later Director of the Phonogrammarchiv], not even a single march.”*

This view on the Slovenian Great War music – Slovenian soldiers as musicians, not militarists – urges one to express “certain doubts that the songs mirror the real military action in somewhat too limited terms.”<sup>24</sup> The claim about marches is somewhat problematic, since at least Anton Jakl (1873–1948), one of the most prominent Kapellmeister beside his younger colleague Josip Čerin (1896–1951) was a prominent composer of marches before the Great War and, besides, there are more instrumental marches from the *fin de siècle* that just might have been performed during the Great War period as well. Thus, whether a 2/4-measure popular folk-song with a marching pace and military lyrics is defined as a march or not is not a question of musical genre

21 Anton Kosi, *Opombe k pesemski zbirki Šopek solskih pesmi: s posebnim ozirom na narodne in v narodnem duhu zložene napreve* (Središče na Štajerskem: Anton Kosi, 1906) 5, especially footnote on pp. 4–6.

22 Fran Marolt, *Slovenske vojaške narodne pesmi, za moški zbor* (Ljubljana: self-publishing, 1915), s. p. II.

23 Golež Kaučič, *Fantje se zbirajo ...*, 44–45.

24 *Ibid.*, 91.

but of its usage, and it seems that it is precisely this epic openness to addressing the elemental feelings of life, love, fear of death and patriotism that has remained an important feature of the musical heritage connected to the Great War. Moreover, it may be said for the entire production as well as reproduction that a certain vitalistic pragmatism prevails, in which the folk heritage is intertwined with artistic ambitions of the individual performers and composers alike.

It may be sensible to sum up the Slovenian music from the Great War with respect to the production within the absent genre of instrumental music. Although no systematic research has been done so far, one may say that the Great War bore witness to the first "Slovenian Symphony", as historiographers disputably label *Lovska simfonija* from 1915 by Fran Gerbič, and the *Three Turkestan (Tatar) Love Songs* and the *Tatar Suite* by the then imprisoned Emil Adamič are the only larger-scale instrumental works. During the Great War, the scattered secular vocal and chamber music production was confined to individual musicians due to the termination of the journal *Novi akordi* (1901–1914), leaving only the church music production more or less publicly available through the journal *Cerkveni glasbenik* (1878–1945). One should speak of the Slovenian Great War music primarily with regard to the reproduction, as the production was lagging far behind the reproduction. What remains to be done is a thorough topology of music re/production and perception during that period, a period in which singing and playing have been reported to act as important social activities initiated by individuals, as well as within different social circumstances.

## Reception of the Great War in Music

Some of the mentioned folk songs, as well as some of the composed pieces, have hardly found their way into today's music repertoire. The lively music tradition between the wars speaks in favour of what Marko Terseglav has found for Slovenian folk poetry, and it may also be ascribed to the national music during the Great War as a whole:

*"it is a vital phenomenon that something is found not only in the process of becoming, but also incessantly in its renewal, permanently acquiring new elements and specialities."*<sup>25</sup>

After 1918, direct links to the Great War music are rather scarce. If one considers *The Wish of a Wounded Soldier* a Great War song, which to some extent it certainly was, then Lucijan Marija Škerjanc's *V onom črnem lese* for string orchestra (1934) should be mentioned alongside Pavel Mihelčič's version of the same piece within the cycle *Štiri ljudske pesmi za sopran in orkester*.<sup>26</sup>

However, if one thinks of the aforementioned *Prinz Eugenlied*, one of its versions known as *Laudon* was even taken as an orthographic example in *Kmetijske in*

25 Marko Terseglav, "Šolske pesmarice kot možni vir za ljudske pesmi," *Traditiones* 36, no. 2 (2007): 20.

26 Pavel Mihelčič, *Štiri ljudske pesmi za sopran in orkester*, Ed. DSS 1941 (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 2009).

*rokodelske novice* on 30. 5. 1848 as one of the “Slovenian songs of the Carniolan folk” (94). Although it was heard at the concert of the Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Ljubljana on 24. 2. 1917 – the concert of the society that was abolished after 1918, and whose property was overtaken by the Slovenian Glasbena matica, it was rephrased in 1944 into a partisan song.<sup>27</sup> These historical transformations<sup>28</sup> that are based on the practice of contrafactum as well as music adaptation, as indicated also by *The Wish of a Wounded Soldier*, open up a nice horizon for the discussion about the reception of the Great War music. Although the evidence of the music production is scarce, and the music reproduction seems to be the main historical heritage of that period, it is exactly this missing production that indicates the period in which terror had caused a rather similar consequence, emptiness. There are, of course, direct musical ties to the Great War – yet, the music discussed above persistently evades confinement to the Great War.

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<sup>27</sup> Golež Kaučič, »Fantje se zbirajo ...« ..., 55.

<sup>28</sup> A historical perspective on this song is offered by Michael Fischer at: [http://www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/prinz\\_eugen\\_der\\_edle\\_ritter](http://www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/prinz_eugen_der_edle_ritter), acc. 5 May 2014.

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## POVZETEK

Prispevek ponuja pregled glasbe kot družbene prakse med prvo svetovno vojno na območju današnje Slovenije. Slovensko glasbeno prakso obravnava s treh med seboj dopolnjujočih se gledišč.

Prvič, članek ponuja vpogled na glasbeno Ljubljano kot eno bodočih prestolnic nove države, ki se je oblikovala na tem področju po prvi vojni. Ta pogled prinaša povzetek znanih dejstev, da je bodoča prestolnica poleg razmeroma bogatega zabavnega muziciranja imela tudi abonmajsko koncertno življenje, utelešeno, seveda, v *rednih* dejavnostih Filharmonične družbe, ki jih je *redno* beležil časopis Laibacher Zeitung. Slovenska glasbeno-gledališka podjetnost je v času prve svetovne vojne molčala, Glasbena matica pa je imela krepko okrnjeno koncertno dejavnost.

Drugič, (o)srednji del besedila se osredotoča na slovensko glasbeno ustvarjalnost, ki je vezana na drugo svetovno vojno. Ta predstavlja veliko manjši – pravzaprav komajda obstoječi – del glasbenega dogajanja v primerjavi z glasbeno poustvarjalnostjo.

Glasbeno dogajanje prikazuje z dveh plati: s stališča glasbe za prvo svetovno vojno (in o njej), osredotočajoč se na objave glasbe (kar v osnovi pomeni: na vojne pesmarice) med prvo vojno, kakor tudi z glasbo o dogodkih, ki niso vezani samo na prvo vojno, so pa značilni tudi za glasbo tega, za mnoge grozovitega obdobja. Zato prispevek podrobneje skicira slovensko glasbeno kulturo prve vojne in njenega glasbenega repertorija z analitično ilustracijo pesmi *Tam na karpatskoj gori* (*Prošnja umirajočega junaka*). Pesem si zasluži podrobno predstavitev skozi vse njene različice ob kaki drugi priložnosti, čeprav tu nakazuje zgodovinski okvir in jo je treba razumeti kot orientir za nadaljnje raziskave slovenskih glasbenih del tako med vojno kakor tudi pred in po njej.

Tretjič, sklepni del prispevka načenna problematiko recepcije glasbe, povezane s prvo svetovno vojno na Slovenskem po letu 1918. V njem je z omembo pesmi o *Princu Evgenu* (*Lavdon*) izpostavljeno dejstvo, da k tematiki ne sodi samo glasba, vezana na prvo svetovno vojno, temveč tudi tista, ki »potuje« skozi čas in prehaja iz enega obdobja v drugo.