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Laibacher Deutscher after the Congress of Laibach

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ABSTRACT

Behind the scenes of the Congress of Laibach (modern day Ljubljana), a dance form called *Deutscher* came into existence and for a decade remained, in a specific local version, the most popular dance of bourgeois circles. This paper sheds light on the phenomenon of the *Laibacher Deutscher* within a broad social and cultural context and political background.

Keywords: Ljubljana, Congress of Laibach, dance music, social dances, *Deutscher*, waltz

IZVLEČEK

V senci dogajanja na ljubljanskem kongresu je v Ljubljani zaživela plesna oblika z imenom *Deutscher* in se eno desetletje obdržala v specifično lokalni obliki kot najbolj priljubljen ples meščanskih krogov. V prispevku je osvetljen fenomen ljubljanskega *Deutscherja* v širšem družbeno-kulturnem kontekstu in s širšim političnim ozadjem.

Ključne besede: Ljubljana, ljubljanski kongres, plesna glasba, družabni plesi, *Deutscher*, valček

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Introduction

Some European social dance forms, such as the *Allemande*, the *Anglaise*, the *Écossaise*, or the *Polonaise*, indicate in their naming both their geographical origins as well as their interwovenness with the character of the local population of a given land.¹ Geographical classification has been maintained over the centuries in written sources as an important attribute of social dances, and the association of some dances with towns has also been noteworthy. In this respect, the Viennese Waltz, which began its triumphal march more than two hundred years ago, is certainly the most significant. Coinciding with the waltz is the emergence of the hitherto largely overlooked *Laibacher Deutscher*, which, unlike its giddy and at that time still young competitor, can be described as both an attempt at restoration and an epilogue to one of Europe's oldest social dances, the German Dance. Its two representative forms, the *Laibacher Redout-Deutscher* and the *Laibacher Schießstatt-Deutscher*, performed in Ljubljana's dance halls in the decade after the Congress of Laibach, provided the educated classes with a useful opportunity to consolidate their affiliation to German bourgeois culture.

The German Dance: an Enigma in Dance History

Despite the fact that for centuries the German Dance has appeared in the sources under various names, to this day, this chapter of European dance history remains poorly researched and undefined. The term *Deutscher* (a freestanding adjective of *Deutscher Tanz*) is used to refer to a social dance in triple time, often found in the towns of southern Germany and the Habsburg domains in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century.² The expression can therefore also be applied to the *Laibacher Deutscher*.

Neither the primary sources nor the scholarly literature provide a unified conception of the phenomenon of the German Dance, giving the impression of a historical disconnection between this dance form and the earlier sixteenth-century *Allemande*. Of course, the German Dance has evolved significantly over the centuries, but the roots of the *Deutscher* appear to be traceable to the sixteenth century, or perhaps to an even earlier period. The fact that the term *Deutscher Tanz* has often been used generically also causes confusion and misunderstanding: it was used as a superordinate term for a range of dances from the German-speaking

1 Joan Rimmer, "Allemande, Balletto and Tanz," *Music & Letters* 70, no. 2 (1989): 226, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ml/70.2.226>.

2 "Als Deutscher Tanz wird heute im allgemeinen ein dreischlägiger Gesellschaftstanz bezeichnet, der von der zweiten Hälfte des 18. bis zu Beginn des 19. Jh. vorwiegend in der städtischen Gesellschaft des süddeutschen Raumes und in Österreich gebräuchlich war." Walburga Litschauer and Walter Deutsch, "Deutscher Tanz," in *MGG Online*, accessed June 30, 2021, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/12484>.

area, whether *Deutscher*, *Dreier* (*Drehtanz*), *Ländler*, *Schleifer*, *Steirisch* (*Steirer*), *Straßburger*, *Schwäbischer Tanz* and, just as importantly, the waltz.

The term *Allemande* also appears in this context, but this is not meant to refer to the instrumental musical form of the eighteenth century, nor to the *Allemande*, a French dance of the eighteenth century. On the contrary, the *Allemande* is merely a more genteel name which also found favour on the broad European music market.³ This extreme flexibility and openness in titling of dance compositions is a common cause for incertitude and misapprehension.⁴

Choreographic Elements of the German Dance

Dancers previously trained in the steps of the minuet and the complex sequence of figures of the contredanse apparently mastered the *Deutscher* swiftly and effortlessly, requiring no special instruction. The *Deutscher* is thus not explained in dance manuals. Brief references to choreographic structures are occasionally found in dance treatises, but these seldom originate from the geographical environment or time period in question and thus rarely prove useful.

Some brief pointers are given, for example, in the *Erweiterung der Kunst nach der Chorographie zu tanzen* [...], published in 1772 by Carl Joseph von Feldtenstein, a dancing master in Braunschweig. It is clear from the description that, contrary to a minuet or contredanse, the *Deutscher* did not need dance instruction, a “supple and loose knee” being sufficient for the execution of its basic step “in three parts.” The *Deutscher’s* double step was easy to capture with three-part music, which Feldtenstein likened to the three blows of a blacksmith’s hammer. The performance in the space was to be unrestricted and at the discretion of the dancing couple, meaning that it was not guided or otherwise regulated by the dancing master: “Each male dancer can steer his female partner according to his own liking, with circular turns and rounds.”⁵ For the

3 E.g. Joseph Haydn, *Six Allemandes à plusieurs Instrumens: Composées par Joseph Haydn à Vienne chez Artaria Comp. N^o. 76* [1787], Hob. IX:9. The same dances are even referred to as *Menuettini Tedeschi* in the transcription by the copyist Johann Nepomuk Rainprecht (Salzburg, Erzabtei St. Peter, Musikalienarchiv). See RISM ID no. 600501145.

4 Here are just three examples of ambiguous titles on the covers of music prints by the Viennese publisher Artaria & Comp.: the 1811 print by Ignaz Moscheles is labelled 10 *Deutsche* or *Walzer*, the 1812 edition by Mauro Giuliani is entitled 16 *Ländler* or *Valses autrichiennes*, and the 1814 edition by the same composer is labelled 12 *Ländler* or *Walzer*. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s German Dances KV 536 and KV 567 were also published as *XII Walzer pour le Piano-Forte avec Flute ou Violon* by Nikolaus Simrock in Bonn around 1802. Under a similar title (*Douze walzes*) Mozart’s *Deutsche* were issued by the London publisher G. Walker around 1817. The first edition of these dances by the publisher Artaria in Vienna (1789) is entitled 12 *Deutsche-Taenze*.

5 “Jeder Tänzer kann seine Tänzerin nach eigenen Gefallen, durch Cirkelwendungen und Touren in Bewegung setzen.” C. J. von Feldtenstein, *Erweiterung der Kunst nach der Chorographie zu tanzen, Tänze zu erfinden, und aufzusetzen; wie auch Anweisung zu verschiedenen National-Tänzen; Als zu Englischen, Deutschen, Schwäbischen, Pöblnischen, Hannak-Masur-Kosak- und Hungarischen; mit Kupfern; nebst einer Anzahl Englischer Tänze* (Braunschweig: [s. n.], 1772), 100.

sake of safety on the dance floor, the couples were merely required to maintain order, i.e. to move without jostling or overtaking other couples: “Also, each couple, especially in the German Dances, must remain in the order in which they begin. Dancing outside the initial circle is not allowed [...]”.⁶

An example of a similar performance of the *Deutscher* was described by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in his 1774 novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*). Goethe describes a sequence of dances at the dance party attended by young bourgeois society at a country estate (*Lusthaus*) on 16 June 1771.⁷ Dances began with a group minuet followed by contredances and ended with a *Deutscher*, the latter holding special significance for couples in love, as it provided them with an opportunity for closeness while dancing.⁸ Goethe described Werther and Lotte’s dance as a German Dance consisting of a figure where the arms are interlocked in various ways (*Straßburger*), followed by the spinning of the couples (*Walzen*) and concluding with a few turns through the hall at a walking pace in order to rest.⁹

Slightly closer in time and place to the *Laibacher Deutscher* is Georg Link’s dance booklet printed in 1796 by the printer Franz Joseph Jenko in Celje, then at the southern border of Styria. The work is entitled *Vollkommene Tanzschule aller Kompagnien und Bällen vorkommenden Tänzen*¹⁰ and contains twelve new English contredances (*Contre-Tänze*) with notations of pathways and figures, which are also graphically depicted on the accompanying copperplates. The *Deutscher* is not described by Link, but in his English contredances he mingled the figures of

-
- 6 “Auch hat jedes Paar, besonders bei denen Deutsch-Tänzen in dieser Ordnung, in welcher angefangen wird, zu verbleiben, und wird insbesondere verboten, ausser seinem angefangenen Kreise hinaus zu tanzen [...]” *Ball-Ordnung für die Faschingszeit 1793*, Wien. Quoted in Verena Brunner, *Contredances: Tanzvergügen der Mozart-Zeit; Kontraltänze, Tanzbeschreibungen, Historisches* (Boppard am Rhein: Fidula-Verlag, 2014), 74. A similar statement can be found in Christian Länger, *Terpsichore: Ein Taschenbuch der neuesten gesellschaftlichen Tänze, worin zugleich Anweisung gegeben wird, wie man 40 Touren und 76 Tänze ohne orchesigraphische Zeichnungen und ohne Lehrer erlernen kann: Zum Nutzen und Vergnügen für Freunde der Tanzkunst* (Würzburg: Etlinger, 1824), 179: “When spinning, no dancing couple may cross the lines; also, the dancing line, especially if there are many, may not move all at once, but 2, 3, at most 4 couples separate from the stationary row to rejoin on the other side, and wait until the row rejoins them.” (“Beim Walzen darf kein tanzendes Paar die Reihen überschreiten; auch darf die tanzende Colonne, besonders bei großer Anzahl, sich nicht auf einmal fortbewegen, sondern 2, 3, höchstens 4 Paare trennen sich von der stillstehenden Reihe, um sich auf der andern Seite wieder anzuschließen, und abzuwarten, bis die Reihe wieder an sie gelangt.”)
- 7 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (Leipzig: Weygandsche Buchhandlung, 1774), 26–44.
- 8 Reingard Witzmann, “Magie der Drehung – Zum Phänomen des Wiener Walzers von der Aufklärung zum Biedermeier,” in *Zur Frühgeschichte des Walzers*, eds. Thomas Nußbaumer and Franz Gratl, *Schriften zur musikalischen Ethnologie* 3 (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2014), 18.
- 9 Reingard Witzmann, *Der Ländler in Wien* (Wien: Arbeitsstelle für den Volkskundatlas in Österreich, 1976), 37.
- 10 Georg Link moved to Prague from Denmark with his brother Johann Peter. They worked as dancers in ballet companies in Vienna, Graz, Bratislava, Salzburg and finally Innsbruck. Pia Brocza and Marko Motnik, “Georg Link und seine Tanzschule von 1796,” *De musica disserenda* 10, no. 2 (2014): 33–39.

the contredances with those of other dances. In contredanse no. 10, for instance, he added two distinctive figures of the *Deutscher*, namely the Strasbourg figure of the interlacing arms above the head and the promenade in a circle.

Even more instructive is the English contredanse no. 11, where Link combined the minuet step and the two aforementioned *Deutscher* figures with those of the contredance, but with the difference that instead of the usual promenade he prescribed a German turn (*deutsche Tour*) in a circle with spinning of the couples (*Walzen*). There is no music included in Link's manual, but the example of contredanse no. 11 shows that at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century the minuet step was easily replaced by the waltz step during the dance. It is also clear from Link's description that he understood "*Deutsch*" in two different contexts: the Strasbourg figures with the promenade (couples walking in a circle) and the Strasbourg figures with the German turn, which is performed by spinning in a circle.¹¹ Link's choreography strongly resembles Goethe's description, although his choreographic elements are described in brief and condensed form, whereas Goethe's text undoubtedly contains longer, free-standing dance passages.

Although no precise choreographic descriptions are available, a variety of sources permit us to identify some characteristic features of early *Deutscher*, before 1800. It is a social dance, in pairs, and possesses at least three characteristic elements: a promenade or circling of the couple, interlacing of arms (*Straßburger*), and spinning (*Walzen*). The relative openness of the form is characteristic, as the choreographic structure of the dance was not standardised. More numerous and eloquent than the choreographic descriptions are the critiques and moral concerns regarding German Dances.¹² The sources are full of warnings, prohibitions, and expressions of distaste. Critics were disturbed by the morally questionable close physical proximity of the dancing couple and what they considered to be wild dancing, especially spinning, deemed unhealthy. Although many of these concerns seem trivial and excessive today, the fact remains that the *Deutscher's* character differed significantly from the graceful, refined and elegant salon dances of the time, and was even further removed from the restrained and rigid minuet, whose every aspect was strictly regulated.¹³

The *Deutscher* in Vienna

Research surrounding the dynamic evolutionary processes of German Dances shows that the evaluation of a single source does not lead to clear results.

11 By the term *Deutsch*, Link describes the combination of a Strasbourg figure with a promenade or waltz, performed in a dance circle. The four-part English contredanse consists of a sequence of two minuet figures, two consecutive *Deutscher* figures and four contredanse figures. Witzmann, *Der Ländler in Wien*, 34.

12 See e.g. *Neuestes Sittengemälde von Wien* (Wien: Anton Pichler, 1801), 109.

13 See e.g. Bernard Specht, *Ueber Anstand, Schönheit und Grazie im Tanz: Nebst einem Vorschlage zur allgemeinen Balltracht* (Prag: [s. n.], 1789), 32–33.

Clearer lines of development only emerge through the synthesis of a wide variety of documents, as, for example, the studies of the researcher Reingard Witzmann. Witzmann was able to establish that references to the *Deutscher* as a specific dance form began to appear more frequently in Vienna shortly after 1760, whereas in other parts of the Habsburg Empire, mentions of the *Deutscher* increased in number only after 1800. Both in Vienna and beyond, the sources clearly associate *Deutscher* with the bourgeois milieu.¹⁴ From the end of the eighteenth century onwards, the characteristic image of the *Deutscher* took shape in the cities, where numerous composers, some still known to us today and others fallen into oblivion, catered to the needs of a dance-hungry society with fresh, new compositions.

In his notes dating around 1760, the Viennese linguist Valentin Popowitsch (Popovič), a native of the Celje area, distinguished between two forms of German Dances: the *Deutscher*, which he equates with the *Steirisch*, and a group of dances he calls the *Ländlerische Tänze*. Despite the misleading name, the latter are in fact the so-called *Walzen* (“danser à la Allemande”). They are characterised by jumping and spinning (“Hüpfen und Drehen”), which was also popular among the nobility in Popowitsch’s time. However, the term “Steyrisch tanzen” was avoided by the upper classes as it did not sound sufficiently genteel. Couples did not circle in the *Steyrisch* in question, but rather, the female dancer moved in front of her male partner, who followed her, jumping and stamping his feet.¹⁵ By *Steyrisch*, Popowitsch probably meant a more “folk” version of German Dances, whereas his *Ländlerische Tänze* were bourgeois dances.¹⁶ These same dances were called *Deutscher* by sources a few years later.

In the last decades of the eighteenth century, and especially after the reforms of Joseph II, dance events were opened up to the wider society and enthusiasm for dancing consequently increased among the general population. The *Deutscher* then became one of the most fashionable and, in fact, one of the few dances at dance events, alongside the minuet and the contredanse. In line with the ideas of the Enlightenment, the strict regulations in dance halls were relaxed and every individual felt called upon to dance.¹⁷

14 Reingard Witzmann, “Der sogenannte ‘Deutsche Tanz’: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Choreographie des Ländlers,” *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Volksliedwerkes* 25 (1976): 100–108; Witzmann, *Der Ländler in Wien*, 46–81.

15 Johann Siegmund Valentin Popowitsch, *Vocabula Austriaca et Stiriaca: Nach der Abschrift von Anton Wasserthal herausgegeben*, ed. Richard Reutner, *Schriften zur deutschen Sprache in Österreich* 23, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), 1: 670 and 1: 724.

16 In 1767, the ballet master Noverre also described the rural form of the German Dance as a lovely and natural folk dance, danced in the open air around a tree or a pillar in a common circle, with the coordination and skill of the dancing couples. He emphasised the characteristic spatial figure of the couples dancing in a common circle. Jean Georges Noverre, *Lettres sur la Danse, et sur les Ballets, par M. Noverre, Maître des Ballets de Son Altesse Sérénissime Monseigneur le Duc de Wurtemberg, & ci-devant des Théâtres de Paris, Lyon, Marseille, Londres, &c.* (Lyon: Aimé Delaroché, 1760), 357–358.

17 Witzmann, “Magie der Drehung,” 13.

The speed of the *Deutscher*, especially while spinning, increased: from a leisurely pace soon after 1780, it gradually developed into the so-called *Langaus* in the years between about 1790–1810¹⁸ and later into a waltz. These dances, which were also called *Deutsche* by the literati at the time of the Congress of Vienna (1814), are therefore nothing more than an independent element of the couples' spinning at an extremely fast tempo. Already in the *Langaus*, the dancing couple separated themselves from the precisely defined and regulated order of the group's choreography. The dance thus lost its representational character and became a source of entertainment. While the older form of the *Deutscher* around 1760 still shows the initial position of the couple side by side, in the *Langaus* and later in the waltz, the position of the couple is closed, the female dancer and her partner standing facing each other.

In Vienna, the *Deutscher* seems first to have lost the figure of interlocking arms (*Straßburger*) soon after 1770, and subsequently the previously characteristic promenade of couples in a circle. The spinning became the only choreographic element of this dance.¹⁹ The expression *Deutscher* was dropped once the circular path of the spinning couples also lost its significance, giving way to the practice of rotating around freely on the dance floor; the name *Wiener Walzer* thus appeared and replaced the *Deutscher*. However, the *Deutscher* did not completely vanish once the waltz flourished: it remained in the shadow of the waltz at least until the early 1830s, and the two dances continued to coexist for a considerable period.²⁰

From today's perspective, it is clear that it was the figure of spinning that had the greatest dance potential and therefore became independent and thrived on its own as the waltz. Rotation, which has been mentioned in connection with German Dances for centuries,²¹ is an integral element of the *Deutscher*, but unlike the waltz, it is not its only figure. The transition between the two dances is smooth and subtle, which may explain why the dance compositions often appear

18 Erich Schenk, "Der Langaus," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 3, no. 1 (1962): 301–316.

19 Johann Friedel wrote as early as 1784 that German dancing (*Deutschtanzen*) is nothing but continuous spinning. Johann Friedel, *Galanterien Wiens, auf einer Reise gesammelt, und in Briefen geschildert von einem Berliner* ([Wien]: [s. n.], 1784), 1: 144. Friedrich Nicolai, a visitor to Vienna, expressed himself in a similar vein, saying that Austrian dancing is far calmer than is usually imagined in the North and consists only of spinning: "Er besteht bloß aus fortgehendem Walzen von einer Anzahl tanzender Paare." Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz, im Jahre 1781: Nebst Bemerkungen über Gelehrsamkeit, Industrie, Religion und Sitten* (Berlin and Stettin: [s. n.], 1784), 3: 559.

20 Wolfram Tuschner, "Von den Linzer Tänzen zum Wiener Walzer: Landler – Deutsche – Harbe Tanz," *Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter* 46, no. 2 (1992): 220.

21 Rotation, for example, was mentioned as early as 1569 by Florian Daul in his polemical treatise. Florian Daul von Fürstenberg, *Tantzteuffel: Das ist/ wider den leichtfertigen/ vnuerschempten Welt tantz/ vnd sonderlich wider die Gottß zucht vnd ebrvergessene Nachttänztze* (Frankfurt am Main: Martin Lechler, 1569), facsimile, ed. Kurt Petermann (München: Heimeran, 1978), fols. 22r, 37v, 91r, 101r, and 106v.

in the sources under both names. Although the *Deutsche* were probably already often danced as waltzes in the final phase of their existence, it is important not to be tempted by simplistic explanations of this complex historical phenomenon.²²

The question of whether the *Deutscher* originated in the countryside or in the bourgeois environment is answered by scholars in various ways.²³ Witzmann believes that it developed in Vienna and spread from there to the countryside, where it is still locally preserved in a fairly intact form.²⁴ The bourgeoisie by no means invented the dance, but they gave it a representative and socially acceptable form for the urban way of life.

What has been repeatedly overlooked in the research is that the *Deutscher* phenomenon may also be perceived as a response by German-speaking countries, especially Austria, to the French minuet. It was in the decade following the French Revolution that Franco-Austrian relations became more tense, reaching an all-time low during the War of the First Coalition (1792–1797). The period of the Napoleonic Wars also saw a rise in patriotism in Austria, reflected not least in the popularity of the German Dance.²⁵ To a certain extent, the *Deutscher* as a musical form takes its cue from the minuet, adopting the trio as its most obvious element.

The first printed sets of German Dances began appearing in Viennese publishing houses in the 1780s, the earliest being published by Christoph Torricella (from 1782 onwards), while performances of German Dances at Carnival balls in the *Redoutensäle* at the Vienna Hofburg are mentioned at least as early as the mid-1770s.²⁶ A look at the advertisements for printed music of Viennese publishers shows individual variations from publisher to publisher, but the trends regarding dance music on offer are clear: the *Deutscher*-waltz relationship is still dominated by the former in the first decade of the nineteenth century. After the Congress of Vienna, the ratio reverses in favour of the waltz. This is true, for example, of the publishing houses of Artaria and Giovanni Cappi (see Figures 1–2),²⁷ but not, for instance, of the publisher Sigmund Anton Steiner, where the *Deutscher* and the waltz were more equally represented at least until the end of the 1820s. Viennese publishers served the entire market of the Austrian Empire and therefore did not necessarily reflect the situation of the city. The earliest

22 Witzmann, “Der sogenannte ‘Deutsche Tanz,’” 102.

23 Peter Petersen argues that the origins of the *Deutscher* are to be found in the countryside. Peter Petersen, “Nochmals zum Tanz-Quodlibet im ersten Akt-Finale des Don Giovanni,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 65, no. 1 (2008): 3.

24 Witzmann, “Der sogenannte ‘Deutsche Tanz,’” 108.

25 Tuschner, “Von den Linzer Tänzen,” 221.

26 Günter Thomas, Studien zu Haydns Tanzmusik,” *Haydn-Studien* 3, no. 1 (1963): 9.

27 The data are based on Alexander Weinmann, *Vollständiges Verlagsverzeichnis Artaria & Comp.*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages 2, vol. 2 (Wien: Musikverlag Ludwig Krenn, 1985); Alexander Weinmann, *Verlagsverzeichnis Giovanni Cappi bis A. O. Witzendorf*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages 2, vol. 11 (Wien: Universal Edition, 1967).

independent waltzes were not offered by Viennese publishers until the first years of the nineteenth century. The popularity of the waltz continued to grow in Vienna at least until the end of the 1820s, reaching its first peak with the appearance of the *Tanzkapellen* of Joseph Lanner and Johann Strauss. It was only at this time that the *Deutscher* really disappeared from the dance and musical culture of Vienna. In the cities on the periphery of the Empire, including Ljubljana, its presence was established and its popularity grew only once it had begun its decline in Vienna, never subsiding until the early 1830s.

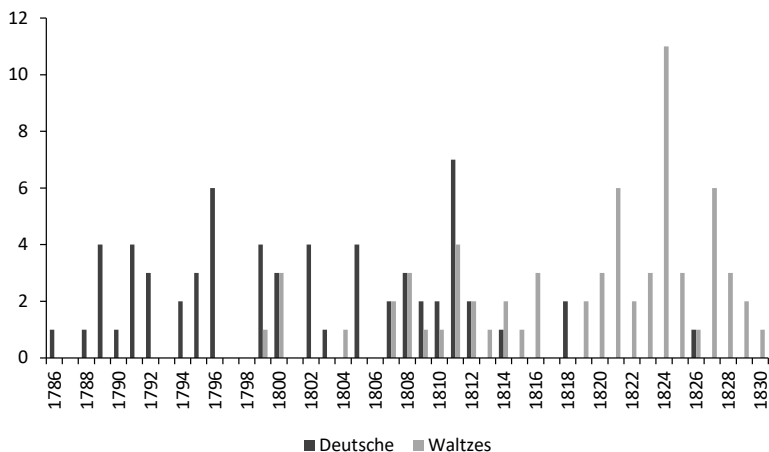


Figure 1: Music editions of *Deutsche* and waltzes published by Artaria & Comp. in Vienna (1786–1830).

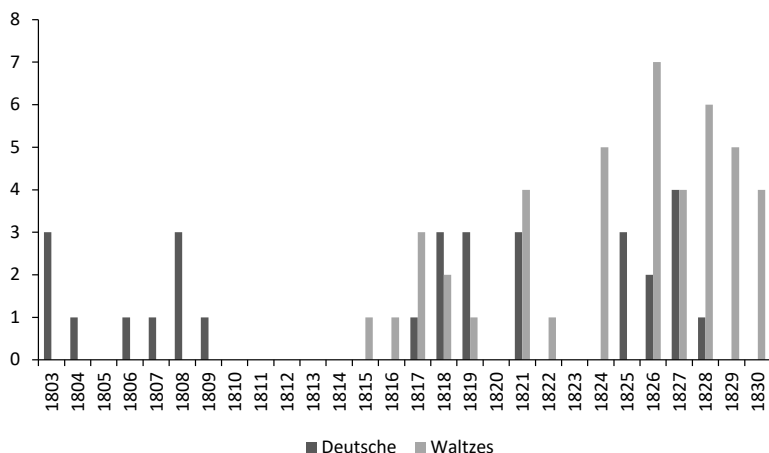


Figure 2: Number of sheet music editions of *Deutsche* and waltzes published by Giovanni Cappi in Vienna (1803–1830).

The *Deutscher* during and after the Congress of Laibach

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ljubljana was a town on the outer limits of the Austrian Empire. The biting remark by the soon-to-be Chancellor Metternich, who at the beginning of his presence at the Congress of Laibach in January 1821 described the town as the front room of a comfortable apartment, is understandable from the perspective of a prince accustomed to the bustling pulse of Vienna,²⁸ but nevertheless, social life in Ljubljana was not exactly desolate. There is no doubt that during the Congress of the Holy Alliance in 1821, Ljubljana came alive as never before, and virtually overnight, became the centre of Europe, at least for a few months. The young financial clerk Heinrich Costa, later to become a famous figure of Ljubljana's social and political life, began his Congress diary with the words:

*The history of Carniola has seen many shining moments, but the chronicles do not show a time matching that of the first five months of the eternally memorable year 1821, in which by the grace and mercy of the most benevolent monarch the greatest men of their century were gathered in the most important affairs of state in the capital of Carniola.*²⁹

From 10 January to 22 May 1821, the Congress of Laibach brought together Emperor Francis I of Austria, Tsar Alexander I of Russia, King Ferdinand of Naples, Francis IV, Duke of Modena, and diplomats from various countries, together with a large entourage. The congress was directed and coordinated by Prince Klemens Wenzel Lothar von Metternich. Similarly to the Congress of Vienna in 1814, Ljubljana offered the diplomats, visitors, and locals a rich array of social events, including balls, concerts, and opera performances. Operas were almost exclusively devoted to the works of Gioachino Rossini, who, after the premiere of his *The Barber of Seville* in 1816, went on to take Europe by storm. In addition to this very opera, the Ljubljana Theatre, with the Italian singers of Antonio Cuniberti's opera company, also offered Rossini's *L'inganno felice*, *L'Italiana in Algeri*, *La Cenerentola*, and *Eduardo e Cristina*.³⁰ On 26 March, his opera *Othello* was staged in German. Furthermore, several concerts (known as academies) of the Philharmonic

28 "Laibach ist gleichsam die Antichambre eines confortablen Appartements," in *Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren: Friedens-Aera 1816–1848*, eds. Richard Metternich-Winneburg and Alfons v. Klinkowström (Wien: Wilhelm Braunmüller, 1882), 3: 421.

29 "Die Geschichte Krains hat wohl der Glanzpunkte viel, aber eine Zeit wie die der ersten fünf Monate des ewig denkwürdigen Jahres 1821, in welchen die Huld und Gnade des allergütigsten Monarchen die größten Männer ihres Jahrhunderts, und in den wichtigsten Staatsangelegenheiten in der Hauptstadt Krains versammelte, haben die Jahrbücher nicht aufzuweisen." Eva Holz, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821* (Ljubljana: Nova revija, 1997), 157.

30 Jože Sivec, "Rossinijeve opere na odru Stanovskega gledališča v Ljubljani," *Muzikološki zbornik* 1 (1965): 40–47.

Society³¹ as well as numerous dance events were hosted in Ljubljana during the Congress, as this happened to coincide with Carnival season, always a livelier period in the city's social life.

During the Congress, a number of dance events took place in the *Redoutensaal* of Ljubljana, although Costa only mentions a few of them explicitly in his diary.³² Metternich's oft-quoted citation of the remark, which he had heard as early as mid-January, namely that dance events in Ljubljana were boring, should certainly not be taken literally.³³ After all, sources testify to Metternich himself having danced a *Polonaise* in the company of ministers, deputies and other members of the diplomatic corps at a gala ball in the *Redoutensaal* on 25 February 1821.³⁴

The mere presence of the imperial couple in Ljubljana over a period of several months instilled new confidence in the established socio-political order and strengthened the loyalty of the inhabitants to the monarchy. The repressive and authoritarian political stance and the attempt to impose stability are clearly reflected in the words with which Emperor Francis I is said to have addressed the professors of Ljubljana's educational institutions during his visit:

Stick to the old, for it is good; and our ancestors did well by it, why should we not? There are new ideas in the air now, which I cannot and never will approve. Abstain from these, and stick to the positive; for I do not need scholars,

31 See Primož Kuret, "Kongresno leto 1821 in Gašpar Mašek," in *Maškov zbornik*, ed. Edo Škulj (Ljubljana: Družina, 2002), 27–39.

32 *Soirées dansantes* on 29 January, 5 and 20 February and *Freiball* on 25 February 1821, for which 650 tickets were reportedly sold. Holz, *Ljubljanski kongres*, 164, 166–167, and 170–171.

33 "We even have public entertainments, such as two masquerade balls a week, the first of which, it is said, was not very amusing; among forty-five men there was a woman who had fallen asleep in a corner of the hall, which does not do much credit to the gallantry of those gentlemen." ("Wir haben sogar öffentliche Vergnügungen, wie z. B. zwei Maskenbälle in der Woche, deren erster, wie man behauptet, nicht sehr lustig war; unter fünfundvierzig Männern befand sich eine Frau, die in einer Ecke des Saales eingeschlafen war, was die Galanterie jener Herren nicht viel Ehre macht.") Metternich-Winneburg and Klinkowström, *Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren*, 425.

34 "The ball was very splendid; all the high lords and ministers present, with the sole exception of the sovereigns, glorified the ball. It was truly a most delightful sight to see all the high lords in festive attire, adorned with their decorations, and no less pleasing was the cheerfulness that prevailed at the ball and the condescension with which the distinguished guests anticipated the citizens of the city. Almost all the ministers, envoys and other present diplomatic persons, even Prince Metternich, joined in a *Polonaise*." ("Der Freiball fiel sehr glänzend aus; alle anwesenden hohen Herrschaften und Minister, mit einziger Ausnahme der Souveraine, verherrlichten den Ball. Es war wahrlich ein hochentzückender Anblick, alle die hohen Herrn in festlicher Kleidung, mit ihren Ordenzeichen behangen, zu sehen, und nicht minder erfreulich war der Frohsinn, der auf dem Balle herrschte, und die Herablassung, mit welcher die hohen Gäste den Bürgern der Stadt zuvor kamen. Fast alle Minister, Gesandte und die übrigen gegenwärtigen diplomatischen Personen, ja selbst Fürst Metternich, danzten eine *Polonaise* mit.") Holz, *Ljubljanski kongres*, 171.

*but good, righteous citizens. It is not for you to approve of the youth. Whoever serves me must teach what I command; whoever cannot do so, or comes to me with new ideas, he can leave, or I will remove him.*³⁵

These words may not be authentic, but they nevertheless clearly reflect the spirit of the attitude of the monarchical authorities of the time, which, since the French Revolution and the defeat of Napoleon, had been trying to re-establish and consolidate the old political order. Which of the social dances, apart from the *Deutscher* – the German national dance – could better express the political ideas of the time? The consolidation of Austrian national consciousness is thus reflected in dance, especially among the population on the periphery of the Empire. While the waltz was still considered a fairly new dance craze, the French *Quadrille* had been pushed aside and the French minuet had long been losing its former glory: from this point of view, it is not surprising that it was the *Deutscher* that became the most widely represented in the 1820s and, at least for a decade after the Congress, the most popular dance of social events.

Unfortunately, the dance schedules of the public dance events during the Congress of Laibach have not been preserved or remain undiscovered. From the advertisements of the composer Caspar Maschek (Gašper Mašek) in the *Laibacher Zeitung*, it is possible to glean a rough idea of the repertoire played at dance events. In fact, Maschek offered in his piano scores the very music for the dances that resounded in the ballrooms during the Congress. First, he cites four sets of *Deutsche Tänze*, adapted from themes from Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (*The Barber of Seville*), a work that had just been staged in Ljubljana, and *La gazza ladra* (*The Thieving Magpie*). The advertisement is followed by a series of fashionable dances, mostly group dances: waltz, *Monferine*, *Polonaise*, *Contradanse*, *Mazur*, *Cotillon*, *Ecossaise* and *Tempête*.

35 “Halten Sie sich übrigens an das Alte; denn dieses ist gut; und unsere Vorfahren haben sich dabei gut befunden, warum sollten wir es nicht? Es sind jetzt neue Ideen im Schwung, die ich nicht billigen kan und nie billigen werde. Enthalten Sie sich von diesen, und halten Sie sich an das Positive; denn ich brauche keine Gelehrte, sondern brave, rechtschaffene Bürger. Die Jugend zu solchen zu billigen, liegt Ihnen ab. Wer mir dient, muß lehren, was ich befehle; wer dis nicht thun kann, oder mir mit neuen Ideen kommt, der kann gehen, oder Ich werde ihn entfernen.” *Allgemeine Zeitung* [München], February 7, 1821, 152. See also Andrej Rahten, Gregor Antolčić, and Oskar Mulej, eds., *Ljubljanski kongres 1821: Diplomatska študija Vladimírja Šenka – znanstvenokritična izdaja*, *Studia diplomatica Slovenica*, Monographiae 5 (Celovec [Klagenfurt], Ljubljana, and Dunaj [Wien]: Mohorjeva založba, 2020), 14.

Musikalien = Nachricht.

In der deutschen Classe Nr. 187, im 2. Stocke sind zu haben:
Clavier = Auszüge

aller Länge, welche in der Carnevals - Zeit während des Congresses in Laibach,
im Jahre 1821 aufgeführt wurden, und zwar:

1. Deutsche Tänze sammt Trio's, nach Rossini's Barbier von Sevilla, von G. Maschek	1. Theil	30 fr.
2. ditto	2	30 "
3. ditto	3.	30 "
4. Deutsche Tänze aus: der diebischen Gester (la gazza ladra)		20 "
5. Walzer und Nonfrain		20 "
6. Polonaise und Contratanz		20 "
7. Masur und Cotillon		20 "
8. Drey Cecosais's und Tampetes		20 "

Ungeführte Tänze sind auch für das Forte-Piano zu 4 Händen, für Flöte mit
oder ohne Guitare = Begleitung, wie auch für andere Instrumente zu haben.

Figure 3: A selection of dance pieces by Caspar Maschek in *Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*.³⁶

Although the *Deutscher* was already known in Ljubljana before the Congress, composers had not yet named pieces written before 1821 *Laibacher*.³⁷ The earliest *Deutsche* from the Music Collection of the National and University Library (Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica – NUK) in Ljubljana are anonymous. The oldest example, probably dating back to the end of the eighteenth century, consists of a set of twelve *Deutsche* with trios and is preserved in an undated manuscript and simply called *Teütsche*.³⁸ These are followed by *Wiener Deutsche* and *Grazerische Deutsche* from 1808.³⁹ The *Wiener Deutsche* is a set of five and the *Grazerische Deutsche* is a set of twelve anonymous *Deutsche* with trios. Another set of seven anonymous *Deutsche* with trios from 1809,⁴⁰ called *Redout-Deutsche*, has survived. A further set of six *Deutsche für das Piano-Forte*, worthy of comparison with Franz Schubert's *German Dances*, is among the

36 *Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 26, March 30, 1821, 410. Digital Library of Slovenia, dLib.si, with kind permission.

37 Among the earliest compositions are probably the extant manuscripts 6 *Redout Deutsche* by Valentin Clementschitsch, Slovenian Klemenčič (see Appendix 2, no. 9). The manuscript cannot be precisely dated and the identity of the composer remains unclear. It is certain that he was a citizen of Ljubljana and a member of the Philharmonic Society from 1817 to 1823. See Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, "Posvetila na sklodbah kot izhodišče za razpoznavanje kulturne zgodovine 19. stoletja na Slovenskem," *Kronika* 56, no. 3 (2008): 476. A set of *Deutsche* by Martin Schuller has been preserved under the title *Redoutt Deutsche für's Piano Forte*, NUK, Music Collection. In a piano arrangement by the oboist Wenzel Setwin, the same collection holds *Redout Deutsche mit Introduzion, Trios und Coda von J. Bapt. Schiedermayer, uebersetzt für das Piano Forte von Wenzel Setwin, Hoboist*. Johann Baptist Schiedermayer is recognised as the composer of several sets of *Deutsche* for the *Ständischer National Redouten-Saal* in Linz. The NUK Music Collection also holds an undated print of his *VIII neue Deutsche für das Piano-Forte*, Op. 48, from the publishing house of Cajetan Haslinger in Linz.

38 *Teütsche für Clavi Cembalo*, NUK, Music Collection.

39 *Wiener Deutsche* (1808); *Grazerische Deutsche* (1808), NUK, Music Collection.

40 *Redout-Deutsche von Jahr 809 für das Piano Forte*, NUK, Music Collection.

earliest surviving compositions of this kind.⁴¹ For the violin part alone, the *Deutsche vom Jahre 1807* in a set of twelve,⁴² a set of eleven with coda named *Linzer Deutsche* and a set of nine entitled simply *Deutsche* have been preserved. Two sets of *Deutsche* by Carl Handschuh, *Kapellmeister* of the Reuss von Plauen Seventeenth Infantry Regiment, stationed in Ljubljana, date from 1819.⁴³ They were arranged for the piano by the oboist Wenzel Setwin, who was probably active in this *Militärkapelle*.⁴⁴ Handschuh may have intended his compositions for dances hosted for the military.

The year 1821 was a turning point for the *Laibacher Deutscher*. The surviving musical sources show beyond doubt that the awareness of belonging to the city only matured during and after the Congress. From then on, advertisements for printed and manuscript sets of dance music appeared regularly in the newspapers, and by the early 1830s it was the *Deutsche* that dominated among them. Interestingly, the first set of the so-called *Laibacher Deutsche* to be offered on the music market was actually by the composer Ferdinand Kauer, who, according to the available information, did not even visit Ljubljana but was active in Vienna. What is even more unusual is that in this case it is not a musical print, but manuscript copies that the composer offered to interested parties in his apartment in Josefstadt, then still a suburb of Vienna (see Appendix 2, no. 12). Were these dances intended for performances in Ljubljana, or did the Congress serve as a trigger, heightening Vienna's interest in Ljubljana?

Among the approximately fifteen composers, some foreign but mostly local, whose work contributed to this dance-musical form, Caspar Maschek's prominence was facilitated by his theatrical background. Maschek, who had moved to Ljubljana from Prague via Bratislava (Preßburg) and Graz, arrived in Ljubljana as *Kapellmeister* of the Estates Theatre at the beginning of the 1820/21 opera season, just a few months before the start of the Congress. Most of his

41 A comparison of the incipits in the RISM online catalogue revealed the authorship of Karol Scholl (1778–1854) in connection with his set of twelve *Deutsche* entitled *Balli Tedeschi per il Piano Forte a quadro mani* of 1809 (RISM ID no. 550402397). The Ljubljana transcription is a selection of six *Deutsche*, but not in the original order.

42 Part of a composite manuscript marked "A. W. Mozart, Walzer," NUK, Music Collection.

43 The presence of Carl Handschuh in Ljubljana is demonstrated by a vocal and instrumental concert given by the Philharmonic Society on 18 December 1818 under his direction. Dragotin Cvetko, *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1959), 2: 169. On the concert sheet still preserved, the composer is named as "Kapellmeister des hier garnisonirenden löblich. K. K. Infanterie-Regiments Fürst Reuß-Plauen," NUK, Music Collection, Philharmonic Society Archive, concert leaflets.

44 NUK, Music Collection holds: *Redout Deutschen Für das Carneval 1819: Componirt von Carl Handschuh, Kapellmeister löbl. k. k. Prinz Reus Blauen [sic] Inf. R[e]gim[en]t; Uibersetzt für daß Piano Forte von Wenzl Setwin Hoboist mp; and further Redout Deutsche pro Anno 1819: Componirt von Carl Handschuh Kapellmeister bey löbl. k. k. Prinz Reus Blauen [sic] Inf. R[e]gim[en]t; Uibersetzt für daß Piano Forte von Wenzl Setwin Hoboist mp*. Another undated manuscript entitled *Redoutt Deutsche fürs Piano-Forte von Carl Handschuh* is preserved in the same collection. The unknown copyist of this manuscript is also the author of the identically titled manuscript *Redoutt Deutsche* by Martin Schuller.

dances are adaptations of operatic songs, mostly from Rossini's operas.⁴⁵ The mention of this famous opera composer, and featuring him on the covers of *Deutsche*, can be interpreted as a distinct marketing ploy to increase profitability.⁴⁶

Unlike other composers, Maschek did not publish his dances in print, but supplied the local music market with transcriptions, apparently employing professional copyists. He did not offer exclusively his own compositions in advertisements, but also works by other composers.⁴⁷

While most of the surviving or now only attested sets of *Deutsche* were intended for dance events in the *Redoutensaal*, the Estates Theatre, or at the *Laibacher Schießstätte* (Ljubljana Shooting Range), they were also performed regularly during intermissions of operas and theatre performances.⁴⁸ That this was not just a short-lived phenomenon is also shown by the record of the performance schedule at the Estates Theatre as late as 14 January 1836: "During intermissions, new *Redout-Deutsche* are performed by the entire orchestra."⁴⁹ It seems that the performances served as a kind of background music and entertainment in the theatre and, of course, also as a promotion of the latest fashionable dances and their composers. Despite the oddity, such performances between the acts of theatre plays were not entirely unique in Ljubljana and were at least occasionally mentioned in other cities as well.⁵⁰

45 *Il Barbiere di Sevilla* (1821), *La gazza ladra* (1821), *La Cenerentola* (1822), *Eduardo e Cristina* (1822), *Zelmira* (1823). In addition to the set with adaptations from Rossini's operas, further two sets of Maschek's *Deutsche* have been documented: *Il Crociato in Egitto* (1825) and *Fra Diavolo* (1832). *Il Crociato in Egitto* by Giacomo Meyerbeer was first performed in Ljubljana only a few years after the publication of the *Deutsche*, namely in January 1830. The opera *Fra Diavolo* by D.-F.-E. Auber, however, saw a record number of performances in Ljubljana in the 1831/32 season. See Jože Sivec, *Opera na ljubljanskih odrih od klasicizma do 20. stoletja: Izbrana poglavja*, eds. Metoda Kokole and Klemen Grabnar (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2010), 80–81 and 106. Of Maschek's named compositions, only the *Deutsche Tänze aus Rossini's Eduard und Christine für den Carneval 1822*, NUK, Music Collection, has survived (see Appendix 2, nos. 13, 15, 16, 22, 30, and 55).

46 See Emily H. Green, *Dedicating Music, 1785–1850* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2019), 160–168.

47 Maschek offered *Deutsche* by the following composers in his advertisements: D. Weber (*Deutsche* based on the opera *Don Juan*, 1822; probably Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, performed in Ljubljana in the 1821/22 season), a set of the so-called *Glöcklerl-Deutsche*, by a certain K. W. S. (1822); Eduard Hysel's *Deutsche* (1822), and two sets by Joseph Wilde after the operas *La Molinara* (G. Paisiello, 1822) and *Freischütz* (C. M. von Weber, 1822). See Appendix 2, nos. 15–16.

48 Such performances are recorded regularly in the so-called 'Comedien-Zettel Sammlung', kept in the National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana (hereafter referred to as NMS), shelf-mark III 13085. See Appendix 2, nos. 1–8, 16, 17, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 31, 34, 39, 41, 43, 54, and 57–60.

49 "In den Zwischenakten werden neue Redout-Deutsche vom sämmtlichen Orchester-Personale aufgeführt werden." NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1835/36, January 14, 1836.

50 For example, at the Estates Theatre in Klagenfurt German Dances by the Kapellmeister Görgl, the violinist Alois Merk and, lastly, a certain actor and singer, Miller, were performed during intermissions of theatre plays on January 7, 14, and 16, 1830. Merk's "*Cotillons*" (eigentlich *Deutsche*) were reportedly performed with full orchestra. *Carinthia: Zeitschrift für Vaterlandskunde, Belehrung und Unterhaltung*, no. 3, January 16, 1830, 16, and *ibid.*, no. 4, January 23, 1830, 20. In Graz in January 1826 a performance of *Höfners Redout-Deutsche* in the Estates Theatre at the end of the play is mentioned. *Steyer-märkisches Intelligenzblatt zur Grazer Zeitung*, no. 9, January 16, and no. 10, January 17, 1826.

In Ljubljana, apart from Maschek few other professional musicians composed *Deutsche*. Among these it is worth mentioning Leopold Ferdinand Schwerdt (c. 1770–1854),⁵¹ who composed dances between 1815 and 1828, and probably also much earlier than that, after his arrival in Ljubljana (c. 1806). In fact, only one undated set of six *Deutsche* by Schwerdt survives in manuscript, but it is not titled as *Laibacher* and lacks the designations *Redout-* or *Schießstatt*.⁵² In regard to their musical conception, these Schwerdt dances resemble the earlier *Deutsche*, and it is assumed that they were written for the Carnival dances (*Theater-Bälle*) at the Estates Theatre, or that they were also played there for self-promotional purposes between the acts of theatre performances.⁵³

Another professional musician was Georg Micheuz (Jurij Mihevec) (1805–1882), who composed one of his first musical pieces in his sixteenth year at the time of the Congress of Laibach.⁵⁴ He contributed sets of six *Deutsche* for the 1824–1827 Carnival dance seasons at the *Laibacher Schießstätte* and also for the 1825 and 1826 seasons for the *Laibacher Redoutensaal*.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Micheuz, already active in Vienna, published his *Original Laibacher Schießstatt Deutsche* for the year 1825 in the Lithographic Institute (Lithographisches Institut nächst der Burg), and in 1826 with the Vienna publisher Cappi & Comp. The latter are dedicated to the then Mayor of Ljubljana, Johann Nepomuk Hradeczky, who was considered a supporter of the Ljubljana Shooting Range.⁵⁶ The composer dedicated his *VII neue Schießstatt-Deutsche*, advertised in transcriptions, to the same person as early as 1824. Micheuz regularly added the label *Original* to his compositions, perhaps to emphasise that they were original creations and that the dances did not include borrowed musical motifs from operas.

The majority of the *Deutsche* sets that have survived or have been documented come from the pens of amateur musicians, so-called dilettantes. Most of them were public officials from the nobility and the bourgeoisie. Some were active in one way or another in the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society. The first to be mentioned is the official Leopold Cajetan Ledenig (c. 1795–1857), who was most productive as a composer of *Laibacher Deutsche* exclusively for the *Redoutensaal*. His editions with sets of six dances are documented between

51 Zoran Krstulović, “Značilnosti kompozicijskega stavka L. F. Schwerda s posebnim ozirom na njegove maše” (Masterthesis, Univerza v Ljubljani, 1998), 15–19.

52 *Deutsche für das Piano Forte vom Schwerdt* is part of a composite manuscript marked “W. A. Mozart, Walzer” in the NUK, Music Collection.

53 See Appendix 2, nos. 2, 17, 23, and 41.

54 *Der beliebte Laibacher Congress Marsch: Bey Gelegenheit des im J. 1821 gehaltenen Congresses von dem löbl. k. k. Inf.-Regimente; Fürst Gustav Hohenlohe-Langenburg N°. 17 (ehmals Reuss von Plauen) aufgeführt; Componirt und für das Piano-Forte zu 4 Händen eingerichtet von Georg Micheuz*. Wien: Pietro Mechetti qm Carlo, no. 1915 [c. 1829]. Another edition of this composition was published in Paris in 1851 under the title *Marche militaire*.

55 See Appendix 2, nos. 11, 27, 31, 34, and 37.

56 Cigoj Krstulović, “Posvetila na sklodbah,” 475.

1823 and 1831, but only the 1824 edition (in manuscript) and three beautifully designed lithographs from the Graz publishers Johann Franz Kaiser and Ignaz Hofer (1827, 1828, 1830) remain. The 1829 edition was marked by Ledenig as the eighth volume, the 1830 edition as the ninth volume and his last known set of *Deutsche* from 1831 as the eleventh volume. The latter should probably have been marked as the tenth volume. If this numbering is correct, Ledenig published the first volume as early as 1822, but no mention of this has so far been found in the sources (see Figure 4).⁵⁷



Figure 4: Leopold Cajetan Ledenig, *VI Laibacher Redout-Deutsche samt Trios* (1827), title page.⁵⁸

Among the prolific composers of the *Laibacher Deutsche* was also Baron Louis (Ludwig) Lazarini, who contributed five volumes of *Redout-Deutsche* (1822–1825 and 1830) and two volumes of *Schießstatt-Deutsche* (1827 and 1830).⁵⁹ Among the members of the extended Lazarini family, this baron has so far not been identified beyond doubt, but it was probably Ignaz Ludwig von Lazarini-Zobelsberg (1799–1888), active in Graz as “K. K. Kämmerer

57 See Appendix 2, nos. 21, 25, 29, 33, 36, 39, 45, 49, and 53.

58 Digital Library of Slovenia, dLib.si (with kind permission).

59 See Appendix 2, nos. 14, 19, 20, 24, 28, 35, 48, and 57.

und Gubernialsekretär” and the owner of estates in Carniola. Another possible match could be Ludwig von Lazarini-Jablanitz (1798–1856).⁶⁰

Individual sets of *Redout-Deutsche* were also contributed by the clerk Franz Seraphin Nepozitek (1828),⁶¹ Carl Fischer von Wildensee (1828–1829),⁶² the commander and later Major in the Prince Hohenlohe Infantry Regiment, the public official Joseph Bosizio (1831),⁶³ and in 1831 also the later Colonel Julius Fluck von Leidenkron (1813–1897).⁶⁴

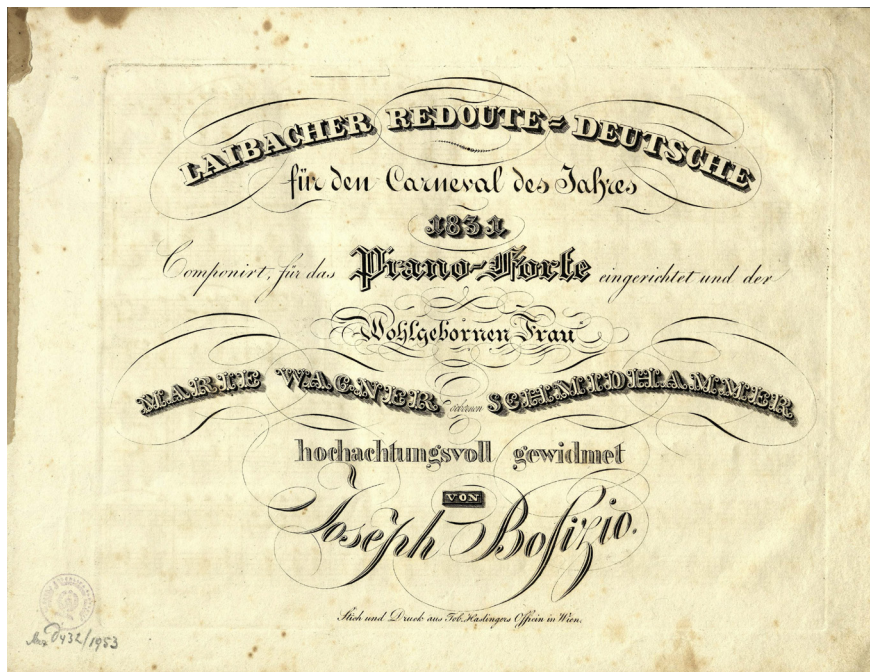


Figure 5: Joseph Bosizio, *Laibacher Redout-Deutsche* (1831), title page.⁶⁵

60 *Schematismus von Krain und Kärnten vom Jahre 1826* (Laibach: Leopold Eger, [1826]), 322; *Gothaisches genealogisches Taschenbuch der Freiherrlichen Häuser* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1911), 69: 529–533.

61 The advertisement of Nepozitek's set of *Deutsche* in the *Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 17, February 9, 1828, 74 states: "Die von dem Herrn N_k hinterlassenen [...]" (see Appendix 2, no. 40). The word *hinterlassenen* means that the composer died shortly before publication. For probably the same reason, it is mentioned that the proceeds of the sale go to charity.

62 See Appendix 2, nos. 38 and 44. Wildensee's set *VI Laibacher Redout-Deutsche* for the 1828 Carnival has been preserved in manuscript. NUK, Music Collection.

63 See Appendix 2, no. 51.

64 Appendix 2, no. 52; Miha Preinfalk, "Genealoška podoba rodbine Zois," *Kronika* 51, no. 1 (2003): 42.

65 Digital Library of Slovenia, dLib.si (with kind permission).

Among the composers of *Schießstatt-Deutsche*, the names of Carl Suppantšitsch (Zupančič) (1826 and 1828) and S. T. Thomaschovitz (1829) also appear.⁶⁶ A special feature worth mentioning is an advertisement in the *Laibacher Zeitung* in which the Ljubljana music merchant Leopold Paternolli offered, in addition to the *Deutsche* by Leopold Ferdinand Schwerdt, transcriptions of Carniolan dances in German style, namely *6 Krainer mit Trio's (im deutschen Styl)* in editions for piano, two violins, two violins and bass, and for orchestra by a certain Joseph Schwerd.⁶⁷

The question of whether the production of dance music in Ljubljana in the 1820s was in any way coordinated and whether the compositions of the *Deutsche* may have been commissioned by organisers of balls remains unclear due to the lack of sources. At least some of the sets were certainly created on the composers' own initiative, responding with their compositions to the demand and needs of the music market.

The surviving transcriptions and music publications of the *Laibacher Deutsche* often have artistically designed covers, most probably motivated by a desire to increase the representativeness and prestige of these publications. The dedications to certain persons or societies, be it the Ljubljana Hunters' Society or, more often, to ladies of the Ljubljana nobility and prominent bourgeoisie, also enhanced the significance of the sheet music editions.⁶⁸ Their names occupy the most prominent and often the most carefully designed central part of the covers. The dedication may derive from a variety of personal inclinations of the composer or publisher, but it often also has a clearly identifiable commercial value. Dedications to amateurs and ladies – extremely common in dance music releases in particular – are not only a tribute to a chosen person, but also a signal to the public that the works are suited to the musical tastes and performance abilities of this most numerous commercially valuable target audience. At the same time, works with such dedications were a priori exempt from public critical scrutiny.⁶⁹ By being chosen for dedication, the person to whom the work was dedicated in a sense also assumed responsibility for the quality and

66 See Appendix 2, nos. 33, 42, and 46. The Slovenian form of the surname Thomaschovitz is not entirely clear, probably it is Tomažovic. The Slovenian biographical lexicon mentions the composer Simon Tomaževic in a short entry, who is said to have worked in the *Hofburgkapelle* in Vienna and later in St. Petersburg. In any case, the composer published several Lieder and some dance compositions in Vienna around 1840 under the name S. T. Tomashoviz. His *Gräfenberger Krisis-Polka*, Op. 8, and a mention in the newspaper *Oesterreichisches Morgenblatt* 6, no. 132, November 4, 1841, 547, suggest that he was active in Gräfenberg (today Jeseník, Czech Republic). See "Tomaževic, Simon (1805–?)," *Slovenska biografija* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2013), accessed July 10, 2021, <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi704239/#slovenski-biografski-leksikon>.

67 *Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 6, January 15, 1828, [24].

68 The persons to whom the works are dedicated are described in more detail in Cigoj Krstulović, "Posvetila na skladbah," 474–481.

69 Green, *Dedicating Music*, 148.

usefulness of the music, and at the same time the public was given the impression of a kind of review, as if the dedicatee had already heard and appraised the work before it was published (see Figure 5).⁷⁰

The rather consistent labelling of the *Deutsche* as *Redout-* and *Schießstatt-*, in addition to naming the location of the ballroom, was also a way of showing the social affiliation of the creators, since the *Redoutensaal* was maintained by the Regional Estates of Carniola, while the *Schießstätte* was the domain of the city and its inhabitants. The *Laibacher Redoute*, built in 1784, had its premises on the site of a former Jesuit school building,⁷¹ which had been destroyed or at least badly damaged by fire a decade earlier. After 1786, a ballroom was erected in this building, and it was often also used to host concerts.⁷² The building of the Shooting Society (*Schützenverein*), the so-called *Schießstätte*, situated in the then suburb of Poljane below the castle hill, also provided a venue for dance events.⁷³ The wooden building, dating back to 1737, was replaced by a brick edifice in 1804, which also provided the members of the *Schützenverein* with first floor premises for the annual Carnival dances. The building remained in use until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ The organisation of the Carnival balls in the *Redoutensaal* was apparently the responsibility of the directorate of the Estates Theatre; alternately, balls were held at the theatre itself.⁷⁵

In Ljubljana the *Deutscher* was already equated with the waltz in its final period. For example, there is an interesting case of lithographed *Laibacher Redout-Deutsche* (if this is indeed an identical source) listed in the pre-order advertisements for Julius Fluck's *Deutsche* from 1831, while the cover of the print reads *Six Valses avec Trio*.⁷⁶ The last advertised set of *Laibacher Deutsche* from 1832 are also actually waltzes by Johann Strauss the Senior. His opuses 47, 48 and 49 were published in Vienna explicitly as waltzes,⁷⁷ but were

70 Ibid., 153–154.

71 Today the Janez Lovec Centre on the Levstik Square. The building was removed after the Ljubljana earthquake in 1895.

72 Jože Suhadolnik, *Stari trg, Gornji trg in Levstikov trg: Arhitekturni in zgodovinski oris mestnih predelov in objektov, lastniki biš ter arhivsko gradivo Zgodovinskega arhiva Ljubljana* (Ljubljana: Zgodovinski arhiv, 2003), 30–31.

73 The name Streliška ulica (Shooting Range Street) is still a reminder of the place today.

74 Peter von Radics, *Geschichte der Rohrschützen-Gesellschaft des k. k. priv. Landes-Hauptschießstandes Laibach unter dem hohen Protectorate Sr. k. k. Hoheit des durchlauchtigsten Herrn Erzherzogs Ernst: Festschrift zur 600jährigen Jubelfeier der Zugehörigkeit Krains zu Österreich* (Laibach: Ig. V. Kleinmayr & Fed. Bamberg, 1883), 12–18.

75 The usually six and occasionally up to eight masquerade balls per season in the theatre building and alternately in the *Redoutensaal* are documented by the preserved leaflets at the NMS (Comedien-Zettel Sammlung).

76 See Appendix 2, no. 52. The only surviving but unfortunately incomplete copy is held by NUK, Music Collection.

77 Max Schönherr and Karl Reinöhl, *Johann Strauß Vater: Ein Werkverzeichnis* (London, Wien, and Zürich: Universal Edition, 1954), 74–78. See also the advertisement in Appendix 2, no. 56.

offered to the Ljubljana audience by the music dealer Paternolli as *Laibacher Redout-Deutsche*.⁷⁸ Strauss himself never used the title *Deutscher* for his dance compositions, preferring the name *Walzer* from the very beginning of his career. In the early 1830s, the *Deutscher's* popularity declined and it is mentioned less and less in the sources. For the 1833 Carnival season in Ljubljana, Paternolli offered only the latest waltzes by Strauss, Morelly, Lanner and Fahrbach.⁷⁹ The fact that the dance label, at least, was retained in Ljubljana for a few more years is also proved by a record in the archives of the local theatre directorate, which still in the 1838/39 season listed copying costs for the new *Deutsche* among the accounts of the dance events.⁸⁰

This looseness in naming is also evident in the examples which, even before 1821, refer to other related music and dance forms as *Walzer*. In the same handwriting as the two sets *Redoutt Deutsche fürs Piano Forte* by Carl Handschuh and Martin Schuller,⁸¹ two more examples have survived in the National and University Library in Ljubljana, which show a broad rather than a definite use of the designation. The anonymous set *Walzer fürs Piano Forte* with five waltzes,⁸² are most probably *Ländler*. The *Strasburger Walzer fürs Piano Forte* by the *Kapellmeister* Handschuh, however, is an interesting example of a set of five eight-bar melodies most reminiscent of the *Steirische*.⁸³

Judging by the preserved music of the *Laibacher Deutsche*, they certainly cannot be equated with waltzes. A prominent and recognisable element of the representative bourgeois *Deutscher* for performances at public dance events is the trio, which is rarely found in the waltz.⁸⁴ The set of dances *Quatre vales*, which Maschek intended for a *soirée dansante* in February 1829 are probably the earliest original set of *Laibacher Walzer* judging by their form without the added trios and by their more melodious phrasing.⁸⁵

78 See Appendix 2, no. 56.

79 *Amtsblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 9, January 19, 1833, 49.

80 "Copiatur neuer Deutschen," Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, AS 13. Višja gledališka direkcija v Ljubljani, Uibersicht Ball-Ertragnis 1838/39.

81 See footnote 44.

82 The five anonymous waltzes are followed by a dance called *Budschaner* with a trio.

83 This may be the music that accompanied the typical dance figure of the *Steirisch*, the woman spinning below the man's arm, which is called the Strasbourg figure in earlier sources, including the above-mentioned work by Georg Link. The figure is also reminiscent of the reference to the "Obersteyrisch, mit ein und zwei Damen", which was advertised in 1828 by Scio, the dancing master of the Carniolan Provincial Estates. See Figure 4.

84 There are a few exceptions. In the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, waltzes with trios were occasionally published in Vienna, for example by Carl Steinacker (1811–1813), Josef Wilde (1816), Johann Peter Pixis (1818–1822), Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1821), Moritz von Dietrichstein (1825–1826), Josef Hüttenbrenner (c.1826), and Karl Stein (1828).

85 *Quatre vales pour le piano-forte composées a l'occasion d'une soirée dansante le 8. Fevriér 1829*, NUK, Music Collection. For more about this set of waltzes see Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, "Med sentimentom in razumom: K zgodovini in pomenu valčka za klavir v 19. stoletju na Slovenskem," *Muzikološki zbornik* 46, no. 2 (2010): 41–42.

Sets of *Deutsche* are most often preserved in versions for piano, but the advertisements often mention other instruments (piano for four hands, string trio, orchestra, guitar, solo instruments with accompaniment). It is not possible to determine which of the versions are original and which are arrangements. The piano version has proved to be the most convenient and versatile, while the ensemble or orchestral versions have not been financially viable on the music market, neither for composers nor publishers. Dance and music lovers were often introduced to the latest dances at the piano in their home environment even before the start of the dance season. Dance music was not played on the piano for entertainment and leisure only. Sources often mention small dance gatherings with family and friends,⁸⁶ where the company danced to the piano accompaniment.⁸⁷

Although *Deutsche* are the most numerous of the surviving dance music from Ljubljana of the 1820s, this was certainly not the only popular dance of the time. At the annual public Carnival dances, an important addition to the evening was an entertaining dance game called *Cotillion*, performed to the music of the *Ländler*. For example, *13 Laibacher Redout Laendler zu Cottillions für das Piano Forte* by Louis Lazarini, dedicated to the wellborn lady Wilhelmina Pruhl, have been preserved in manuscript in the National Library in Vienna.⁸⁸ The National and University Library in Ljubljana, however, holds a transcription of the set *9 Ländler zu Cottillions* by the same composer.⁸⁹ Apart from *Deutsche*, it is the *Ländler* that are most frequently mentioned in newspaper advertisements for new dance music.

In 1828, the dancing master of the Carniolan Provincial Estates, Franz von Scio, published an advertisement in the *Laibacher Zeitung* inviting the nobility,

- 86 Heinrich Costa wrote in his diary on 29 February 1824: "Today there are many private balls, hosted by Baron Zois, Oblack, Hoinig, Gelbling etc., then there is a closed society of 70 people at the Kircker's, also today there is the usual ball at the theatre, which starts at 7 o'clock." Cornelia Schollmayr-Costa, "Alte Tagebücher," *Laibacher Zeitung* 111, no. 121, May 28, 1892, 1033–1034. See also Holz, *Ljubljanski kongres*, 125. On 23 January 1828, Valentin Češko also wrote a letter from Prague to his sister and a prominent Ljubljana lady, Jožefina Terpinč, asking her which dances were currently being danced most widely in Ljubljana. He assumes that the Terpinčs will continue to hold small dance meetings this year, as they have a large room at their disposal: "What kind of dances are being danced at present in Ljubljana? You will probably also give a little dance entertainment this year, since you have a large room. How sorry I am not to be able to be there." Nataša Budna Kodrič, *Korespondenca Jožefine in Fidelija Terpinč (1825–1858)*, Objava arhivskih virov 41 (Ljubljana: Arhivsko društvo Slovenije, 2018), 145.
- 87 Even for public dance events organised in 1835 by the then still young Ljubljana Casino (founded in 1834), there are reports of dancing with piano accompaniment. Cf. Walter Šmid, "Aus Alt Laibach," *Carniola: Mitteilungen des Musealvereins für Krain* 2, nos. 3–4 (1909): 149.
- 88 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung (A-Wn), L18. Kaldeck Mus.Hs.23622. The cover bears the name of the copyist Kestler mp. and the former owners Tiny and Elise Lehn. The series of thirteen *Ländler* is completed by the *Einzugs-Galopp* by Johann Strauss, Op. 35, notated on the reverse of the manuscript. The piece by Strauss was published by Tobias Haslinger in Vienna in September 1830, which can therefore be considered the terminus post quem of Lazarini's *Ländler*. Schönherr and Reinöhl, *Johann Strauß Vater*, 56.
- 89 *9 Ländler zu Cottillions für's Pianoforte mit Begleitung einer Violine componirt und gewidmet der Hochwohlgebohrnen Baronesse Cecille von Lichtenberg, gebornen Baronesse von Billichgratz, Sternkreutz Ordensdame von Baron Louis Lazzarini*, NUK, Music Collection. The violin part is not preserved.

military personnel and prominent citizens of Ljubljana to take dancing lessons.⁹⁰ It is rather strange that among the various forms of minuet and types of group dances, he also offered lessons in “Deutsch oder Walzer,” since the *Deutscher* hardly appears elsewhere in the dancing masters’ syllabuses. It is not entirely clear from the advertisement whether two different dances are meant, or whether Scio had already equated *Deutscher* and waltz in 1828. The other dances in this offer show that the dance repertoire at the end of the 1820s was quite varied and extensive. Also interesting is Scio’s later advertisement for dance lessons in 1839, in which he still places the minuet first. This is followed by the “Walzer auf drei und zwei Schritte,” whereas the *Deutscher* disappeared from the list. In 1839, Scio also offers the *Steirisch*, while in 1828 he lists the “Obersteirisch, mit ein und zwei Damen.”⁹¹

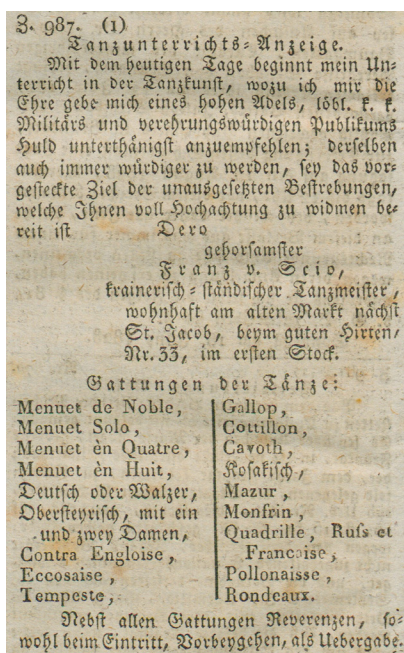


Figure 6: Advertisement for dance lessons by the dancing master of the Carniolan Provincial Estates Franz von Scio in *Amtsblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*.⁹²

90 See Figure 6. In 1830, Marie Börnstein, a visiting actress and dance teacher in Ljubljana, advertised ballroom dance classes for children and young women in twenty lessons, including the *Deutsch*, *Mazur*, *Eccossaise*, *Galoppe*, *Monferine*, *Quadrille*, *Tempête*, *Menuette*, and *Gavotte*. NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1830/31, October 2, 1830; October 3, 1830.

91 *Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 135 [recte no. 144], November 30, 1839, 912. More on both advertisements Lidija Podlesnik Tomášiková, “Plesni mojstri Kranjskih deželnih stanov v 18. in 19. stoletju,” *Muzikološki zbornik* 47, no. 1 (2011): 129–130, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.47.1.113-140>.

92 *Amtsblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 94, August 5, 1828, 716. Digital Library of Slovenia, dLib.si, with kind permission.

A Digression: the *Deutscher* in Graz

The appearance of the *Deutscher* in Ljubljana in the 1820s is not unique within the Austrian Empire at that time. While the dance had long ceased to attract much interest in Vienna, it enjoyed a similar popularity in neighbouring Graz, Klagenfurt and probably elsewhere. While the situation in these towns needs to be studied in more detail, a brief glance at the sources shows that performances of *Deutsche* by local artists at the annual Carnival balls in Graz predate Ljubljana by several years. The *Grazer Zeitung* began to publish advertisements for new sheet music editions on a regular basis no later than 1815. Given the geographical proximity and the close socio-cultural contacts between the capitals of Styria and Carniola, it seems likely that this fashion came to Ljubljana from Graz. The fact that a considerable number of editions of the *Laibacher Deutsche* were printed by the Graz lithographer Joseph Franz Kaiser also testifies to the contacts between the two cities.

One may conclude that the contemporaries in Ljubljana were very familiar with the dance music of Graz and the fashion trends there. Nataša Cigoj Krstulović has already pointed out that Maschek moved to Ljubljana from Graz, where he met the already established and popular *Deutsche*.⁹³ From time to time, advertisements for sheet music of the *Grazer Deutsche* appear in the *Laibacher Zeitung*.⁹⁴ Among the most prolific composers of the *Deutsche* for the *Redoutensaal* and Casino in Graz were Eduard Hysel (1770–1841),⁹⁵ the director of the Graz Theatre, and the priest Martin Schuller.⁹⁶ Their sets of the *Grazer Deutsche* were also sold and copied in Ljubljana. The printing of

93 Cigoj Krstulović, "Med sentimentom in razumom," 40.

94 The bookseller Paternolli repeatedly offered *Grazer Deutsche* in Ljubljana at the end of the 1820s, e.g. in the *Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 6, January 15, 1828, [24]: "Grätzer-Redout-Original-Deutsche für 1828, für Piano-Forte, von Grafen Christoph Bathyani"; further *Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 16, February 7, 1828, 66; *ibid.*, no. 7, January 15, 1829, 28; *ibid.*, no. 21, February 18, 1830, 82.

95 The NUK, Music Collection holds prints of Hysel's *Deutsche Tänze en potpourri* from Franz Ferstl's publishing house, performed at the ceremonial installation of the Regional Governor Ignaz Count von Attems on 17 January 1821 in Graz, and the first part of the *Grätzer-Redout-Deutsche* for the Carnival of 1823 (Ferstl). The composite manuscript in the NUK, Music Collection marked "W. A. Mozart, Walzer" also contains a transcription of Hysel's *Deutsche aus der Schweitzer-Familie*, i.e. dances to motifs from Joseph Weigl's Singspiel. Also Maschek offered transcriptions of Hysel's *Deutsche* in his advertisement in the *Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 7, January 22, 1822, 102 (see Appendix 2, no. 16).

96 Schuller served as a military chaplain. In 1828 he became an honorary member of the Musical Association for Styria. See Susanne Flesch, "Die Ehrenmitglieder des Musikvereins für Steiermark," in *Im Jahrestakt: 200 Jahre Musikverein für Steiermark*, eds. Michael Nemeth and Susanne Flesch (Wien, Köln, and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2015), 250.

Schuller's 1821 volume⁹⁷ and two manuscript volumes⁹⁸ have been preserved in Ljubljana to this day. Schuller contributed a set of six *Deutsche* specifically for the *Laibacher Redoutesaal* in 1825⁹⁹ and, on the other hand, Baron Lazarini, well known in Ljubljana, intended at least one set of dances for performances in Graz.¹⁰⁰ The cultural links between Graz and Ljubljana were indeed numerous.

The Distinctive Sound and Music of the *Laibacher Deutsche*

The *Laibacher Deutsche* are preserved exclusively in piano scores and not in versions for other ensembles mentioned in the advertisements. The orchestral voices existed only in manuscripts and were soon lost, as the dance music was topical and in use for only a short period of time. Year after year, the music market demanded the production of new compositions.

It is possible to get closer to the original sound by means of the instrumental markings, which are written in certain places in some of the piano scores, such as “mit 2 Klappentromp.” in the trio of the fifth *Deutscher*, or “mit 4 Tromp.” in the sixth *Deutscher*, where Lazarini accentuated the final dance of his 1827 *Schießstatt-Deutsche* by a four-part chordal sound of booming natural trumpets.¹⁰¹ Natural trumpets were rarely used as solo instruments due to the limitations of their tonal range.¹⁰² The fashionable keyed trumpet¹⁰³ offered the possibility of performing melodies with chromatic tones, as exemplified in the above-mentioned Lazarini's fifth trio in the chromatically descending tones of the melody D–C#–B#–B–A and its third doubling (F#–E–D#–D–C#). The sound of the keyed trumpet was reminiscent of the oboe or clarinet, and critics often disliked the instrument. Felix Mendelssohn even described its sound as “like a trumpet castrato, so dull and unnatural.”¹⁰⁴ The instrument was also used solo by Ledenig in the 1827 season in his third trio and fourth *Deutscher* (*VI Laibacher Redout Deutsche samt Trios*), and after the solo opening, after

97 *Redout Deutsche aus weiter Ferne für den Carneval des Jahres 1821: Als Zeichen herzlichster Erinnerung an die Bewohner von Grätz Ihrem Vergnügen erfurchtsvoll gewidmet von Schuller fürs Piano-Forte; Grätz: In Kommission bey Franz Ferstl*, NUK, Music Collection.

98 *Gretzer Redout Deutsche für den Carneval 1817 für das Piano-Forte von Schüller* and the already mentioned *Redout Deutsche für's Piano Forte von Martin Schuller* [n. d.], NUK, Music Collection.

99 See Appendix 2, no. 32.

100 *VI Allemandes avec Trios de l'année [sic] 1819 du noble Casino de Gratz pour le Piano-Forte composées et dédiées A Madame le Comtesse de Mazzuchelli née d'Ejyderý par Louis Baron de Lazarini: Partie I; Graz au Magazin de Musique chez Ferstl*. A–Wn M.S.11271.

101 Lazarini, *Sechs Laibacher Schiessstatt Deutsche mit Trios*, 1827.

102 Beverly Jerold, *The Complexities of Early Instrumentation: Winds and Brass*, Musical Treatises 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 104.

103 The keyed trumpet (*Klappentrompete*) is a late eighteenth-century invention that lasted only until around 1840, bridging the transition from the original natural trumpet to the modern valve trumpet. Its sound was softer and less penetrating. See Jerold, *The Complexities of Early Instrumentation*, 104.

104 *Ibid.*, 105.

eight bars, he added the marking “Orchester”. Like Lazarini, he concluded the sixth trio of his set with the marking “zwey Klappentromp.” The trumpets were therefore not only typical of the *Schießstatt-Deutsche*, they were also in use in the *Redoutensaal* (see Appendix 1, nos. 4–5).

The given examples of Lazarini and Ledenig suggest that the representative *Laibacher Deutsche*, with brass and wind instruments, sounded louder and quite different from the later waltzes of Lanner or Strauss, where the strings took the lead in the orchestral sound. It seems that the *Laibacher Deutsche* have preserved the original sound of this music and dance form from the time of its heyday in Vienna. Johann Pezzl, in his literary sketch of Vienna (1787), described the carnival madness in the ballrooms in his description of the imperial *Redoutensäle* and mentioned the characteristic contrasting sound of dance music: “[...] one’s ears are enchanted and captivated by fanfares of trumpets and drums, intermingled with the softer tone of a hundred musical instruments.”¹⁰⁵ The larger halls in Vienna also had several orchestras per dance evening, and it would be interesting to know whether the organisers of public dances in Ljubljana could afford a similar luxury.

In the sets of *Deutsche* for the 1828 and 1830 seasons, Ledenig also mentions the trombone and the post horn (*Posthorn*), besides the keyed trumpet, whereas in Johann Carl Fischer’s 1828 account the record of “Clar. in F” (clarinet in F or alto clarinet) appears. References to instruments in piano scores can also be found in Micheuz, who mentions a post horn in his undated set of *Deutscher*, and three trumpets and a horn in 1827. The question of whether the dance music of the *Laibacher Deutsche* might have been performed by military brass bands consisting of wind, brass and percussion instruments remains unanswered for the time being, but the markings of the instruments suggest that it was indeed the *Militärkapellen* that performed the music at the dances.¹⁰⁶ In this context, it is also interesting to note that in Ljubljana in 1826–1828, at the newly founded Philharmonic Society’s music school there was much more interest in the lessons of wind instruments than in those of strings.¹⁰⁷

In terms of form, the surviving *Laibacher Deutsche* consist of a set of six *Deutsche* with trios, with the exception of one, which contains seven.¹⁰⁸ The *Laibacher Deutsche* occasionally have an eight-bar introduction at the beginning,

105 “[...] Timpani and trumpet sounds, blended with the softer tones of a hundred musical tools, stir the delighted ear.” Johann Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien* (Wien and Leipzig: Krausische Buchhandlung, 1787), 4: 515. Quoted in Eric McKee, *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz: A Study of Dance-Music Relation in ¾ Time* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 85–86.

106 Cvetko, *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti*, 15.

107 The wind section, headed by Johann Wagner, enrolled 27 students, while the string section, headed by Josef Beneš, had 16. Cvetko, *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti*, 134–135.

108 Fischer, *Laibacher Redout-Deutsche*, 1829.

marked *Eingang*,¹⁰⁹ *Introduction*¹¹⁰ or *Entrata*¹¹¹ (see Appendix 1, no. 1). In only one case does the set end with a coda.¹¹² Without a special marking, the *Deutsche* sets by Micheuz¹¹³ and Fluck begin with a shorter four-bar introduction. This serves as preparation for the dance, and arouses anticipation in the dancers. The independent introduction, quite often mentioned in foreign music prints of *Deutsche*, is not to be found in the Ljubljana sets. On the contrary, the coda as the conclusion of the set and a clear sign to the dancers that the dance is coming to an end is mentioned, at least in the advertisements of the *Laibacher Deutsche* sets, more often than it is actually represented in the extant examples.

The *Deutscher* is characterised by diversity (see Appendix 1). Its melodic, rhythmic and formal structure is anything but uniform.¹¹⁴ While this fact complicates the analysis, it is its musical content rather than its form that determines the recognisability of the (*Laibacher*) *Deutscher*. Unlike the *Ländler* or the waltz, whose musical course is uniform and flows steadily from beginning to end, in the *Deutscher* it is constantly changing and shifting. The non-uniformity is obviously a reflection of the choreographic flow, which constantly encourages dancers to alternate between the two natural principles of tension and relaxation. This duality, in its physical realisation of the *Deutscher* in the nineteenth century, was composed of two permanent choreographic figures: the spinning of the couples in a closed posture and the promenade of the couples in an open posture.¹¹⁵ The *Deutscher's* musical mood therefore fluctuates and transitions from one state to the other. The impermanence – perhaps a remnant of the *Sturm und Drang* movement of the late eighteenth century – is in fact its most distinctive characteristic.

The *Deutscher* can be described as a highly performative musical genre. The choreographic form is not standardised and varies from case to case and obviously also depends on the external circumstances of the specific performance (size of the hall, number of dancing couples, etc.). It is crucial that any changes in the choreographic flow be acoustically clearly identifiable,¹¹⁶ which often leads to excessive explicitness. For example, calm melodies are often stopped

109 Micheuz, *Sechs neue brillante Original Laibacher-Schiessstatt-Deutsche*, 1826; Micheuz, *Original Laibacher Schiessstatt Deutsche, 1. Abteilung*, 1827.

110 Lazarini, *Sechs Laibacher Schiessstatt Deutsche*, 1827.

111 Ledenig, *VI Laibacher Redout Deutsche*, 1827.

112 Micheuz, *Sechs neue brillante Original Laibacher-Schiessstatt-Deutsche*, 1826.

113 Micheuz, *Original Laibacher Schiessstatt Deutsche*, 1827.

114 Walter Deutsch, "Der 'Deutsche'," in *Tanzmelodien aus München um 1800: 61 Deutsche und Ländler in einer Handschrift der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, eds. Bezirk Oberbayern and Die Landeshauptstadt München (München: Bezirk Oberbayern, 1999), 43.

115 Whether the promenade in the *Laibacher Deutscher* remains free in terms of space or coordinated with the leading dance couple around the circle of the hall remains an unsolved riddle.

116 Given this variety and the non-standardised choreographic form, it seems highly likely that dancers performed the *Deutscher* under the guidance of a lead dancer (*Vortänzer*).

by a *sforzando*, chromatic melodic progressions, or diminished chords before their conclusion. The waltz's recognisable "oom-pah-pah" accompaniment suddenly stops and resumes with full chords, modifying the flow. At times, the sonic fullness of the chords is also brusquely interrupted by one-note octave progressions, as if the boisterous sound and choreographic spinning needs to be quelled (see Appendix 1, no. 3). The *Deutscher's* music-dance dramaturgy is based on contrast, which also emerges from the music, with its constant alternation of piano-forte dynamics. The gentler melodies in the trio (often marked *dolce, con amore, con sentimento, or leg[g]ermente*) are interrupted by the more boisterous passages indicated by the *tutta forza* marking.¹¹⁷ The sudden change of structure very often appears right at the beginning of the trio's second part (see Appendix 1, nos. 3, 6–9).

The melody and rhythm of the *Deutscher* often use stylised *Ländler*-type and old-waltzlike melodic elements. *Ländler*-like melodies are easily recognisable by the fragmented rhythmic progression of the quavers, which mostly have a characteristic harmonic sequence in the first part of the eight-bar period (T–T–D–T/T–T–D–T) as well as in the following part (D–T–D–T/T–T–D–T) (see Appendix 1, nos. 7–8). Waltzlike melodies are recognisable by the characteristic initial rhythm of the minim with a crotchet (see Appendix 1, nos. 10–11). Walter Deutsch describes the variety of melodic structures in the *Deutscher*, which can resemble *Ländler*, minuet or waltz, as the most characteristic moment of this dance: "The 'reminiscences' of the *Ländler*, minuet and waltz were probably the link that supported the diversity of the *Deutscher*, a diversity in which ever new expressions of firmly established musical ideas are being realised."¹¹⁸ Deutsch points out, however, that the similarities in melodic structures and formal elements cannot be considered a typological correspondence or any evidence of evolutionary processes in which one dance form developed from another, but rather a reflection of the general musical style at the time of their appearance: "Occasional occurrences of similarities in melodic shape and form between minuet, *Deutscher*, *Ländler* and waltz can only be explained by the style of the time and cannot be interpreted as typological agreement."¹¹⁹

The fanfare introductions, which occasionally appear in the transitions, give the music and dance form an air of grandeur, gravitas and sometimes pomposity, and in their musical content they refer to the tradition of the minuet. Mozart's

117 Lazarini, *VI Laibacher Redout Deutsche*, 1830.

118 "Die 'Reminiszenzen' an Ländler, Menuett und Walzer waren wohl das Bindeglied, das die Mannigfaltigkeit des Deutschen stützte, eine Mannigfaltigkeit, in der immer wieder neue Ausprägungen festgefügt musikalischer Ideen verwirklicht werden." Deutsch, "Der 'Deutsche'," 25.

119 "Fallweises Auftreten von Ähnlichkeiten in Melodiegestalt und Formverlauf zwischen Menuett, Deutschem, Ländler und Walzer kann nur aus dem Zeitsstil erklärt werden und nicht als typologische Übereinstimmung gedeutet werden." Deutsch, "Der 'Deutsche'," 23.

experience of writing dance music for the Viennese *Großer Redoutensaal* had already led him to realise that in a large hall with a crowd of people, the minuets and *Deutsche* had to be louder¹²⁰ and, above all, had to signal the beginning of the dance with a more percussive and resounding introduction. In the trio of the minuet and later the *Deutscher*, a more elegant dance character comes to the fore, as the *Deutscher* has adopted from the minuet practically all the elements that have proved useful and effective in ballroom dance practice.

The upbeat cannot be described as a hallmark of the *Deutscher*, but all *Laibacher Deutsche* begin with it. It varies according to the basic character and melodic structure of the given phrase. An upbeat may consist of a crotchet, two quavers, three quavers, or a quaver triplet.

From the surviving examples of the *Laibacher Deutsche*, it is clear that the entire set was performed as a series at dance events. The tonalities of the individual dances in the set are often carefully chosen for tonal affinity, often in the order of the circle of fifths. Even throughout the set, there is a deliberate dramaturgy in the flow, as the basic character of the individual dances changes and develops, from the usually chordally accentuated and boisterous first and last dances, to the slightly more lyrical intermediate movements, with the emphasis on a more tuneful melody or, for example, a *Ländler*-like harmony with prevailing broken chord melodic passages.

It is not possible to discern from the surviving music the number of repetitions of individual dances. The composers probably left this decision to the performers and the circumstances of the moment. That there were several repetitions of one dance before the beginning of the next is suggested, for example, by Ledenig in his *Redout-Deutscher* of 1830. At the end of the first trio he wrote: “Each repetition of the first *Deutscher* starts from the *Entrata*.”¹²¹

From today’s perspective and the aural familiarity of the minuets often performed in modern times, it seems self-evident that the first part should be repeated after the trio and that the *Deutsche*, like the minuets, were performed in the sequence A–B–A. Was this also a given for nineteenth-century musicians, dancers and listeners? Except in the case of Micheuz’s *Schießstatt-Deutsche*

120 Johann Pezzl says that while the *Redoutensäle* in Vienna were better attended when they were founded, in recent years people prefer private dance events and picnics. Nevertheless, the *Redouten* are still quite glamorous, especially in the last weeks of the carnival season: “Wenn nur tausend Personen da sind, ist es zu einsam. Anderthalbtausend Köpfe machen eine bequeme Redute, in diesem Fall ist eben noch Raum genug zum tanzen. Zweitausend verstellen den Tänzern schon den nöthigen Platz [sic]. In den letzten Tagen, wenn sich die Freudenjäger bis gegen dreitausend einfinden, dann ist man in der Presse.” Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien*, 516. (“If only a thousand people attend, it feels too lonely; 1,500 dancers make a nice *Redout*, and with that number there is still enough room to dance. With 2,000 there is no longer room to dance properly, and in the last few days, when there may be up to 3,000 pleasure seekers, it is a real squeeze.”) Quoted in McKee, *Decorum of the Minuet*, 85–86.

121 “Bey jeder Wiederholung des 1^{ten} Deutschen wird von der *Entrata* angefangen.” Ledenig, *VI Laibacher Redout Deutsche* (1827), 1.

of 1825, where the end of every *Deutscher* was marked with *fine* and *da capo* (A–B–A) came at the end of each trio, this kind of sequence is not really apparent in the notated music. In fact, the trio often has a different tonality to the *Deutscher*, most often the two parts are in a dominant relationship, but the trio is often also in a tonal relationship with following *Deutscher* and the transition to the next dance also makes sense. In Lazarini's *Redout-Deutscher* of 1830, the *fine* marking can only be found at the end of the last trio, and Bosizio's *Deutscher* of 1831 even has these markings in the central part of the trio.

Mozart's handwritten note in the autograph of his German Dances KV 509 of 1787 may help clarify the standard sequence of repeats in the *Deutscher*. On the reverse, Mozart wrote that each *Deutscher* had its own trio or – as he called it – *Alternativo*. After the *Alternativo*, he repeats the *Deutscher* and then plays the *Alternativo* again before the next *Deutscher* follows.¹²² The standard form of the *Deutscher* would then be A–B–A–B. This is certainly feasible and plausible for most of the *Laibacher Deutscher*, but it seems that a different sequence of repetitions is also possible. Even within a single set, the dances often differ from each other in the length of the periods, the placement of the repeat signs and the places marked *da capo* and *fine*.

Is the number of bars or the length of a piece at all indicative of the choreographic flow? It seems that the choreographic segmentation in the *Deutscher* does not coincide with that of the music, just as, for example, in the minuet, the six-bar choreographic Z- or S-figure does not correspond to the eight-bar periods in the music. However, the analysis of the music with its contrasting parts shows that the spinning of the *Deutscher* was probably performed at short but frequent intervals.

To summarise, the music of the *Laibacher Deutscher* shows a remarkable variety of musical ideas and compositional practices. The music may seem simple at first sight, yet its most important quality is precisely the functionality, which had to prove its usefulness on the ballroom floor.

Conclusions

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Slovenia witnessed a remarkable rise of national ideas, which in the twentieth century escalated into an extreme aversion to anything that might resemble the once flourishing German culture. These ideas led to the rejection of the German Dance of the 1820s, which quickly faded into oblivion. To this day, the *Laibacher Deutscher* has not

122 "Jeder teutsche hat sein Trio, oder vielmehr Alternativo; – nach dem Alternativo wird der teutsche wieder wiederhollet, dann wieder das Alternativo; dann geht es durch den Eingang weiter in den folgenden teutschen." By *Eingang*, Mozart probably means *Übergang*, as he linked the dances together by transitions. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie IV: Orchesterwerke, Werkgruppe 13: *Tänze und Märsche*, vol. 2, ed. Marius Flothius (Kassel, Basel, and London: Bärenreiter, 1988), 24.

attracted much interest among researchers of the musical past, although, for various reasons, it proves to be an extremely interesting phenomenon when studied in more detail.

The dance form of the bourgeois *Deutscher* took shape and reached its peak of popularity at the end of the eighteenth century in Vienna. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as the waltz became increasingly vogue in the imperial capital and interest in it waned, the *Deutscher's* popularity in other parts of the Habsburg lands, most notably in Graz, grew. Ljubljana could not have adopted this dance fashion from Vienna, but was probably inspired by the Styrian capital. The *Deutscher* came to life in Ljubljana at the latest in the spring of 1821, immediately after the Congress of Laibach. The *Laibacher Deutscher* is a late phenomenon in the wider context, and Ljubljana was probably one of the last cities where this dance flourished.

The *Laibacher Deutscher* can be characterised as a cultural product of a specific diplomatic event, the Congress of Laibach – it is certainly evident that it represents a direct socio-cultural response to the political situation of that time. The *Deutscher*, the most fashionable dance of the 1820s in Ljubljana, also served ideological purposes in the decade following the Congress, thus reinforcing the allegiance to German culture and the old political order.

The name *Laibacher Deutscher* in the 1820s also sounded like a trademark to promote the city and the composers active there. This dance further reflects the vibrant cultural and social pulse of the city and also the increasingly diverse music market. The new compositions offered each year by various composers did not only serve as dance music for public dance events, but their use was in fact much more varied. For example, they were performed for entertainment during intermissions of comedies staged in the theatre, and amateur musicians played them in their own homes on the piano or in small chamber ensembles for amusement and entertainment. No doubt, there was often dancing to this music in private homes.

The production of *Deutscher* music is also an interesting phenomenon from a social point of view, since at first sight it seems simple, functional music, where no in-depth knowledge of the musical phrase is required. At the same time, the form has clear regularities and character, the knowledge and mastery of which is essential for composition. *Deutsche* were not only composed by professional musicians, but also, and above all, by many amateurs from the bourgeoisie and the lower nobility.

Although there are no descriptions of the choreographic structure of the *Laibacher Deutscher*, a study of the wider context and, above all, an analysis of the music clearly shows that this dance form was by no means identical to the waltz. However, the waltz, which became increasingly popular over time, certainly played a decisive role in the decline of the *Deutscher* and also erased its traces in Ljubljana.

A large number of sets of *Deutsche*, created in Ljubljana in the 1820s, are known today only from the advertisements of music publishers in the newspapers of the time. This genre of functional music, originally intended for one carnival season at most, has often been lost over time. Finally, the paper aims to draw attention to the array of preserved manuscripts and printed dance music, today part of the rich collection of this period, held in the Music Collection of the National and University Library in Ljubljana, but so far poorly researched by scholars and barely acknowledged by the general public.

Translated by Marjana Benčina

Abbreviations

A-Wgm: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Archiv

A-Wn: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung

A-Wst: Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Musiksammlung

GZ (SIB): *Steyermärkische Intelligenzblätter zur Grätzer Zeitung*

GZ: *Grätzer Zeitung*

LZ (AB): *Amtsblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*

LZ (Anh.): *Anhang zur Laibacher Zeitung*

LZ (IB): *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*

LZ: *Laibacher Zeitung*

NMS: Narodni muzej Slovenije / National Museum of Slovenia

NUK: Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Glasbena zbirka / National and University Library, Music Collection (SI-Lng)

WZ: *Wiener Zeitung*

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Appendix 1:

Music examples featuring some characteristic elements of composition

1. An introduction with fanfare.

Eingang
f

Georg Micheuz, *Sechs neue brillante Original Laibacher-Schiessstatt-Deutsche* (1826), “Eingang,” bars 1–8.

Introduction
f
con tutta forza

Louis von Lazarini, *Sechs Laibacher Schiessstatt Deutsche* (1827), “Introduction,” bars 1–8.

2. A chord progression with fanfare in a typical dotted rhythm and with contrasting forte-piano dynamics between the *Deutscher* and the Trio.

f
pp
f

Georg Micheuz, *Sechs neue brillante Original Laibacher-Schiessstatt-Deutsche* (1826), *Deutscher* no. 1, bars 17–24.

3. A transition in double octaves interrupting the melody of the “waltz”.

The musical score for example 3 is a piano piece in 3/4 time, B-flat major. The right hand plays a melody with a transition in double octaves, marked with *sf* and *ff*. The left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes. The score is divided into two systems.

Leopold Cajetan Ledenig, *Sechs Laibacher Redout Deutsche* (1828), Trio no. 2, bars 7–23.

4. Chromatic descending steps in thirds played by two keyed trumpets.

The musical score for example 4 is a piano piece in 3/4 time, D major. The right hand plays a melody with chromatic descending steps in thirds, marked with *mit 2 Klappentromp.*. The left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes.

Louis von Lazarini, *Sechs Laibacher Schiessstatt Deutsche* (1827), Trio no. 5, bars 1–8.

5. A chord progression with trombone and a posthorn signal.

The musical score for example 5 is a piano piece in 3/4 time, B-flat major. The right hand plays a melody with a chord progression, marked with *f* and *Posthorn*. The left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes, marked with *Trombone* and *Trio da Capo*.

Leopold Cajetan Ledenig, *Laibacher Redout-Deutsche* (1830), Trio no. 4, bars 13–20.

6. Sforzato on an unstressed beat.

Johann Carl Fischer von Wildensee, *Laibacher Redout-Deutsche* (1829),
Trio no. 6, bars 9–16.

7. A *Ländler*-like melody in fragmented rhythmic progression of quavers and a harmonic sequence T–T–D–T, with an inserted four-bar unison passage and chords in contrary motion in the soprano and bass lines.

Franz Seraphin Nepozitek, *Laibacher Redout Deutsche* (1830), Trio no. 2,
bars 1–16.

8. A *Ländler*-like melody in fragmented rhythmic progression of quavers and a harmonic sequence of T-T-D-T-T (part 1, bars 1–8) and D-D-T-D-D (part 2, bars 13–16) with two inserted four-bar chord transitions and an accentuated bass line in octaves (bars 9–12 and bars 17–20).

Georg Micheuz, *Sechs neue brillante Original Laibacher-Schiessstatt-Deutsche* (1826), Trio no. 1.

9. A *Steirisch*-like melody with a shift of rhythmic accent to the 4th quaver in bars 1 and 5 and a harmonic progression T-T-D-T.

Franz Seraphin Nepozitek, *Laibacher Redout Deutsche* (1828), Trio no. 6, bars 1–10.

10. A waltzlike melody with the characteristic rhythm of a minim and a crotchet and an “oom-pah-pah” accompaniment.



Georg Micheuz, *Sechs neue brillante Original Laibacher-Schiessstatt-Deutsche* (1826), Trio no. 2, bars 1–10.

11. A waltzlike melody with a variation of the basic rhythm of a dotted minim.



Georg Micheuz, *Original Laibacher Schiessstatt Deutsche* (1827), 2nd part, *Deutscher* no. 2, bars 1–8.

12. Perhaps a quotation of a “folk” song in thirds played in a lovely intermittent staccato.



Georg Micheuz, *Sechs neue brillante Original Laibacher-Schiessstatt-Deutsche* (1826), Trio no. 3, bars 1–12.

Appendix 2:

Advertisements and preserved copies of the *Laibacher Deutsche* (1815–1836)

1. 1815 [Author not named]

Zwischen den Akten werden die diesjährigen Redout-Deutsche probirt.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1814/15, 10 Jan 1815.

2. 1815 Leopold Ferdinand Schwerdt

Zwischen den Akten werden neue deutsche Tänze componirt von Herrn Schwerdt produziert werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1815/16, 31 Dec 1815.

Copy: *Deutsche für das Piano Forte vom Schwerdt*. NUK (Ms.).

3. 1817 Martin Schuller

[...] künftigen Freytag als den 26ten Dezember wird, Johann von Calais gegeben, wobey während den Zwischenakten neue Deutsche, die während der Anwesenheit Sr. Maj. unsers allergnädigsten Monarchen in Grätz von Herrn Martin Schuller komponirt wurden, vorgetragen werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1817/18, 21 Dec 1817; 26 Dec 1817.

Copy: *Redoutt Deutsche fürs Piano-Forte von Martin Schuller*. NUK (Ms.).

4. 1817 [Carl Handschuh?]

Zwischen den Akten werden die von einem Herrn Dilletanten und dem Herrn Capellmeister des hiesigen löbl. k. k. Regiments componirten neuen Redoute-Deutschen vorgetragen werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1817/18, 28 Dec 1817.

Copy: *Redoutt Deutsche fürs Piano-Forte von Carl Handschuh*. NUK (Ms.).

5. 1818 [Author not named]

In den Zwischenackten werden ganz neue Redout-Deutsche produziert.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1818/19, 21 Dec 1818.

6. 1819 [Author not named]

In den Zwischenackten werden ganz neue Redout-Deutsche produziert.

Source:: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1818/19, 2 Jan 1819; 7 Jan 1819; 9 Jan 1819.

7. 1819 [Author not named]

In den Zwischenakten werden ganz neue Redout-Deutsche, von der Composition eines hiesigen Musikfreundes produziert werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1819/20, 18 Dec 1819.

8. 1820 [Author not named]

In den Zwischenacten werden ganz neue Redout-Deutsche produziert.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1819/20, 2 Jan 1820.

9. c. 1820 Valentin Clementschitsch

Copy: *6 Redout Deutsche Componirt und Gewidmed [sic] Der Hochgebohrnen Frau Gräfin von Auersperg geborenen Freyin von Wolkenperg von V. Clementschitsch.* NUK (Ms.).

10. 1820 [Author not named]

Es sind im Stiche die in dem hiesigen Redouten-Saale produziert werdenden neuen Deutschen mit Introd. und Coda, dann die 6 Original-Ländler für das Forte-Piano eigens gesetzt zu haben. Das Nähere ist täglich im sogenannten Schweitzer'schen Kaffeuhause zu erfragen. Die Deutschen kosten 48 kr. Die Ländler 30 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 1 Feb 1820, 92; 4 Feb 1820, 117; 8 Feb 1820, 130.

11. c. 1821–1824 Georg Micheuz

Copy: *Laibacher Deutsche für's Piano-Forte von Georg Micheuz.* NUK (Ms.).

12. 1821 Ferdinand Kauer

Zwölf neue Laibacher Deutsche sind beym Unterzeichnetem im Manuscript zu haben. Erstens: Für ein volles Orchester á 10 fl. W.W. Zweytens: Für Haufsbälle, dreystimmig, 5 fl. Drittens: Für das Pianoforte zu 4 Hände 5 fl. Viertens: Für dasselbe zu 2 Hände 3 fl. Ferd. Kauer, Compositeur, wohnt in der Josephstadt Kaiserstrasse Nr. 103.

Source: WZ, 9 Feb 1821, 128; 12 Feb 1821, 136.

13. 1821 Caspar Maschek

In der deutschen Gasse Nr. 187, im 2. Stocke sind zu haben: Clavier-Auszüge aller Tänze, welche in der Carnevals-Zeit während des Congresses in Laibach im Jahre 1821 aufgeführt wurden, und zwar: 1. Deutsche Tänze sammt Trio's, nach Rossini's Barbier von Sevilla, von C. Maschek, 1. Theil 30 kr. 2. detto 2. Theil 30 kr. 3. detto 3. Theil 30 kr. 4. Deutsche Tänze aus: der diebischen Elster (la gazza ladra) 20 kr. [...] Angeführte Tänze sind auch für das Forte-Piano zu 4 Bänden [Händen], für Flöte mit oder ohne Guitarre-Begleitung, wie auch für andere Instrumente zu haben.

Source: LZ (IB), 30 Mar 1821, 410; 3 Apr 1821, 436; 6 Apr 1821, 440.

In der deutschen Gasse Nro. 187 im 3. Stock ist zu haben: [...] Deutsche Tänze sammt Trio's, nach Rossini's Barbier von Sevilla, für die Carnevals-Zeit während des Congresses in Laibach; 3 Theile, für das Piano-Forte, wie auch für verschiedene andere Instrumente.

Source: LZ (IB), 15 May 1821, 632; 18 May 1821, 640; 22 May 1821, 659.

14. 1822 Louis von Lazarini

Bey Herrn Korn, Buchhändler zu Laibach, sind zu haben: die, mit allgemeinem Beyfall aufgenommenen und dem Vergnügen der edlen Bewohner zu Laibach gewidmeten Redout-Deutschen mit Coda, componirt und für das Pianoforte eingerichtet von Louis Baron v. Lazarini, in 2 Abtheilungen, jede á 30 Kreuzer.

Source: LZ (IB), 1 Mar 1822, 280; 5 Mar 1822, 288.

15. 1822 Caspar Maschek / D. Weber / K. W. S.

Bey C. Maschek, nächst der Schusterbrücke Nro. 234 im 3. Stock, ist neu zu haben: Deutsche Tänze für den Carneval 1822: aus Rosini's [sic] Cenerentola, von C. Maschek, für das Fortep. 30 kr. zu 4 Hände 1 fl.; aus Don Juan, von D. Weber für das Fortep. 30 kr. zu 4 Hände 1 fl.; Glöckerl-Deutsche, von K. W. S. für das Fortep. 30 kr. zu 4 Hände 1 fl. Dieselben für Flöte, mit und ohne Begleitung.

Source: LZ (IB), 11 Jan 1821 [=1822], 58; 15 Jan 1822, 66.

16. 1822 Caspar Maschek / Eduard Hysel

Zwischen den 1. und 2. Akte werden die, für den Fasching 1822 im Redouten Saale zu produziierenden deutschen Tänze aus der Rossinischen Oper: Cenerentola, componirt von Herrn Carl Maschek, gemacht werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1821/22, 6 Jan 1822.

Bey C. Maschek, nächst der Schusterbrücke Nro. 234 im 3. Stock, ist neu zu haben: Deutsche Tänze für den Carneval 1822: aus Rossini's Eduard und Christine, für Forte-Piano zu 2 Hände 30 kr. zu 4 Hände 1 fl.; aus Rossini's Cenerentola, [für Forte-Piano zu 2 Hände 30 kr. zu 4 Hände 1 fl.]. Deutsche von Ed. Hysel, für das Forte-Piano [zu 2 Hände 30 kr. zu 4 Hände 1 fl.] Dieselben für Flöte, mit und ohne Begleitung.

Source: LZ (IB), 22 Jan 1822, 102; 25 Jan 1821 [=1822], 110.

Bey C. Maschek, nächst der Schusterbrücke Nro. 234 im 3. Stock, ist neu zu haben: [...] Glöckerl-Deutsche und Deutsche aus Eduard und Christine für einen Czakan à 20 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 12 Feb 1822, 175; 15 Feb 1822, 192.

Copy: *Deutsche aus Rossini's Eduard und Christine für den Carneval 1822 von C. Maschek für das Forte Piano. Laibach zu finden bey C. Maschek. 30 kr. NUK (Ms.).*

17. 1822 Leopold Ferdinand Schwerdt

Zwischen den 2ten und 3ten Akte werden die, für die Theater-Bälle bestimmten Deutschen-Tänze von der Composition des Herrn Leopold Schwerdt, produziret werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1821/22, 7 Jan 1822.

Heute Sonntag den 13. Jänner 1822 wird im Theater der erste maskierte Ball abgehalten werden. Für ein wohlbesetztes Orchester, so wie für ganz neue Tänze

von der Komposition des Herrn Leopold Schwerdt ist gehörig gesorgt worden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1821/22, 13 Jan 1822.

18. 1822 Joseph Wilde

Bey C. Maschek, nächst der Schusterbrücke Nro. 134 im 3. Stock, ist neu zu haben: Cotillions, Redoutdeutsche, für das Fortep. von [Joseph] Wilde, aus den Opern der Freyschütze [C. M. von Weber] und der schönen Müllerinn [G. Paisiello] 1 fl.

Source: LZ (IB), 24 Sep 1822, 1234; 27 Sep 1822, 1240.

19. 1823 Louis von Lazarini

Bey W. H. Korn ist zu haben: VIII Laibacher Redout-Deutsche mit Trio's und Coda, für das Forte-Piano componirt von Herrn Louis Baron v. Lazarini, Lythographirt. 1823. Preis 36 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 24 Jan 1823, 93; 28 Jan 1823, 106; 31 Jan 1823, 118; 7 Feb 1823, 145.

Acht neue Redout-Deutsche für das Pianoforte mit Trios und Coda, auf den Carneval 1823, componirt von Baron v. Lazarini, sind beym Gefertigten um den Preis von 1 fl. 30 kr. WW. zu haben. Joseph Franz Kaiser, zum Kronprinzen von Oesterreich.

Source: GZ (SIB), 18 Jan 1823, [5]; 25 Jan 1823, [10].

20. 1823 Louis von Lazarini

Bey W. H. Korn, Buchhändler in Laibach, sind zu haben: VI Laibacher Redout-Deutsche für das Piano-Forte von Louis Baron v. Lazarini, zweyte Abtheilung. Kostet 30 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 4 Feb 1823, 126; 7 Feb 1823, 142; 11 Feb 1823, 158.

21. 1823 Leopold Cajetan Lednig

In dem Glashandlungsgewölbe auf dem Platze Haus Nr. 264, sind 2 Partien für den Carneval 1823 verfaßte Laibacher Redout-Deutsche mit Trio's von L. C. Lednegg um folgende Preise zu haben: Jede Partie (6 deutsche Tänze enthaltend) kostet: für das Pianoforte 40 kr.; für Flöte und Guitarre 40 kr.; und für 2 Violinen und Baß 1 fl.

Source: LZ (IB), 10 Jan 1823, 32; 14 Jan 1823, 42; 17 Jan 1823, 55.

22. 1823 Caspar Maschek

Bey C. Maschek, nächst der Schusterbrücke Nro. 137 im 3. Stock, ist neu zu haben: Sech deutsche Tänze sammt Trio's nach Rossini's beliebter Oper: Zelmira, von C. Maschek, für die Carnevalszeit 1823, für das Forte-Piano: 40 kr; für das Forte-Piano zu 4 Hände 1 f. 20 kr.; für den Czakan 20 kr.; für Flöte und Guitarre 40 kr., für 2 Viol. u. Baß 1 fl.

Source: LZ (IB), 3 Jan 1823, 4; 7 Jan 1823, 22; 24 Jan 1823, 93; 28 Jan 1823, 106.

23. 1823 Leopold Ferdinand Schwerdt

Zwischen den Akten werden die für diesen Fasching zu den Theater-Bällen von Herrn Schwerdt neu komponirten deutschen Tänze, gemacht werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1822/23, 9 Jan 1823.

Theater-Ball- und Abonnement-Nachricht. [...] Die für diesen Fasching bestimmten Tänze sind ganz neu von Herrn Schwerdt componirt worden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1822/23, 12 Jan 1823.

24. 1824 Louis von Lazarini

In den Zwischenakten werden die für dieses Jahr von Herrn Baron von Lazzarini neu componirten Redouten-Deutsche und Ländler vorgetragen.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1823/24, 1 Jan 1824.

Neue Redout-Deutsche. Es wird bekannt gemacht, daß in der Licht'schen Buchhandlung die heurigen Redout-Deutschen, die erste und zweyte Abtheilung, und auch die Ländler vom Herrn Baron von Lazarini, für das Piano-Forte arrangirt, zu haben sind. Jedes Exemplar Deutsche, so wie auch die Ländler, kosten fehlerfrey copirt 24 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 9 Mar 1824, 349; 12 Mar 1824, 369; 16 Mar 1824, 405.

25. 1824 Leopold Cajetan Ledenig

Neue Redout-Deutsche. Die von L. Ledenig für den Carneval 1824 verfaßten, dem Vergnügen der Bewohner Laibachs gewidmeten 6 neuen Redout-Deutschen mit Trio's, sind vom 19. d. M. angefangen, an gewöhnlichen Tagen in dem Glashandlungs-Gewölbe im Kaufmann Alborgettischen Hause Nro. 265 auf dem Platze, an Sonn- und Feyertagen aber im Apotheker Wagner'schen Hause Nr. 4 auf dem Platze, rein geschrieben gegen nachstehende Preise zu haben: Im Pianoforte Auszüge um 40 kr.; Für Flöte (oder Violin) und Guitarre um 40 kr.; Für Czakan und Guitarre 40 kr.; Für 2 Violinen und Baß um 1 fl.

Source: LZ (IB), 16 Jan 1824, 72; 20 Jan 1824, 82; 23 Jan 1824, 98.

Copy: 6 Deutsche mit Trio's für die Laibacher Redout im Carneval 824, für das Piano Forte von L. C. Ledeneg. Slavic Library Ljubljana (Slovanska knjižnica) (Ms.), Collection Jožefina Terpinč.

26. 1824 Michael Maier

Morgen Sonntag den 10. Januar beginnt in dem hiesigen landständischen Theater der erste maskirte Ball. [...] Zur Eröffnung der Theater-Bälle hat Herr Michael Maier, Kapellmeister des hiesigen ständ. Theaters neue deutsche Tänze componirt.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1823/24, 9 Jan 1824; 11 Jan 1824.

27. 1824 Georg Micheuz

VII neue Schießstatt-Deutsche mit Trio's von Georg Micheuz, für den Carneval des Jahres 1824 verfaßt und dem Wohlgeb. Herrn Johann Nep. Hradeczky, Bürgermeister und ständischen Verordneten zu Laibach ehrfurchtsvoll gewidmet, sind täglich in dem Glashandlungs-Gewölbe im Kaufmann Alborgettischen Hause Nr. 265 auf dem Platze, rein geschrieben um nachstehende Preise zu haben, als: für das Pianoforte um 40 kr., für Flöte (oder Violin) und Guitarre um 40 kr., für zwey Violinen und Baß um 40 kr. Ferner sind zu haben: Sechs Schießstatt-Ländler.

Source: LZ (IB), 17 Feb 1824, 238; 20 Feb 1824, 245–6; 24 Feb 1824, 273.

28. 1825 Louis von Lazarini

Um einem hochverehrten Publikum einen vergnügten Abend zu verschaffen, werden während den Zwischenakten, die diesjährigen neu Componirten Redout-Deutschen Produzirt werden. Erste Parthie, ist von Herrn Baron. v. Lazarini. – Zweyte Parthie, von Herrn Ledenek.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1824/25, 13 Jan 1825.

Während den Zwischenakten wird die zweyte Parthie der Redout-Deutschen des Herrn Baron v. Lazarini, und die neu componirten Redout-Deutschen des Herrn Micheuz, produzirt werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1824/25, 15 Jan 1825.

Die vom Herrn Baron von Lazarini ganz neu componirten und eigens für's Fortepiano eingerichteten zwey Abtheilungen Redout-Deutsche für den Carneval 1825, sind in der Licht'schen Buchhandlung zu haben. Jede Abtheilung kostet 20 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 1 Feb 1825, 180; 4 Feb 1825, 220; 8 Feb 1825, 252.

Copy: 6 Redout Deutsche mit Trio's für den Carneval 825 zu Laybach componirt und für's Piano Forte eingerichtet von Louis Baron von Lazarini. 2^{te} Abtheilung. NUK (Ms.).

29. 1825 Leopold Cajetan Ledenicg

Um einem hochverehrten Publikum einen vergnügten Abend zu verschaffen, werden während den Zwischenakten, die diesjährigen neu Componirten Redout-Deutschen Produzirt werden. Erste Parthie, ist von Herrn Baron. v. Lazarini. – Zweyte Parthie, von Herrn Ledenek.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1824/25, 13 Jan 1825.

Neue Redout-Deutsche. Die Laibacher Redout-Deutschen für das Jahr 1825, von Leopold Ledeneg, (7 Stück), sind von heute an im Clavier-Auszuge täglich in der Landschafts-Apotheke nächst der Schusterbrücke, um den Betrag von 40 kr. zu haben. Für Arrangements auf andere Instrumente beliebe man eben daselbst vorläufig die Bestellung zu machen. Laibach am 18. Jänner 1825.

Source: LZ (IB), 18 Jan 1825, 93; 21 Jan 1825, 107–8; 25 Jan 1825, 142.

30. 1825 Caspar Maschek

Am Platz Nr. 5 ist neu zu haben: 6 neue deutsche Tänze sammt Trio's, nach den beliebten Melodien aus Mayerbaers neuester Oper, Il Crociato in Egitto, im leichten und angenehmen Style für das Pianoforte verfaßt von C. Maschek, zu 40 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 25 Jan 1825, 146; 28 Jan 1825, 169; 1 Feb 1825, 189.

31. 1825 Georg Micheuz

Während den Zwischenakten wird die zweyte Parthie der Redout-Deutschen des Herrn Baron v. Lazarini, und die neu componirten Redout-Deutschen des Herrn Micheuz, produziert werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1824/25, 15 Jan 1825.

In der Licht'schen Buchhandlung in Laibach sind zu haben: Sechs Original-Laibacher-Redout-Deutsche für den Carneval 1825, componirt und für das Pianoforte eingerichtet von Georg Micheuz, 24 kr. Sechs Original-Laibacher-Schießstadt-Deutsche pro 1825, ebenfalls für das Pianoforte eingerichtet von eben demselben, 26 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 18 Jan 1825, 93; 21 Jan 1825, 108; 25 Jan 1825, 142.

Copy: 6 Original Laibacher-Redout-Deutsche für den Carnevall des Jahrs 1825 Componirt dem Verehrungswürdigen Publicum gewidmet und für das Piano Forte eingerichtet von Georg Micheuz. Slavic Library Ljubljana (Slovan-ska knjižnica) (Ms.), Collection Jožefina Terpinč.

Copies: VI Original Laibacher Schiessstatt Deutsche für den CARNEVAL des Jahres 1825 componirt und für das Piano Forte eingerichtet von Georg Miheuz. 1^{tes} Werk. WIEN gedruckt im lithograph. Institute nächst der k. k. Burg N^o 2. A-Wgm XV 50487 (Q19587); NUK (incomplete).

32. 1825 Martin Schuller

Copy: 6 Laibacher Redout-Deutsche mit Trios für den Carneval 825 für das Piano-Forte. NUK (Ms.).

33. 1826 Leopold Cajetan Ledenig / Carl Suppantšitsch

Sechs neue Redout-Deutsche sammt Trio's, für Laibach und Klagenfurt für den Carneval des Jahres 1826, bearbeitet von Leopold Cajet. Ledenig, sind im Pianoforte-Auszuge zu haben in der Landschafts-Apotheke nächst der Schusterbrücke um den Betrag von 40 kr. C.M.

Ebendasselbst sind zu kaufen 6 neue Laibacher Schießstadt-Deutsche sammt Trio's für den Carneval 1826, componirt von Carl Suppantšitsch im Pianoforte-Auszuge um 30 kr. C.M.

Source: LZ (IB), 17 Jan 1826, 107; 20 Jan 1826, 116; 24 Jan 1826, 135.

34. 1826 Georg Micheuz

Während den Zwischen-Akten werden die Laibacher Schießstatt Deutschen für den Carneval 1826. Werden produziert.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1825/26, 6 Jan 1826.

Bey W. H. Korn sind zu haben: Sechs neue brillante Original-Laibacher-Schießstatt-Deutsche mit Coda, für den Carneval des Jahres 1826 componirt, dem Wohlgebornen Herrn Johann Nep. Hradeczky Hochachtungsvoll gewidmet, und für das Pianoforte eingerichtet von Georg Micheuz. Preis 36 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 31 Jan 1826, 214; 3 Feb 1826, 239; 7 Feb 1826, 258.

Copies: Sechs neue brillante Original Laibacher-Schießstatt-Deutsche mit Coda für den Carneval des Jahres 1826. Componirt, dem Wohlgebornen Herrn Joh. Nep. Hradeczky Hochachtungsvoll gewidmet, und für das Pianoforte, eingerichtet von GEORG MIHEUZ. 14^{tes} Werk. Wien, bey Cappi und Comp. No. 79. Pr. 36 x. C.M. / 1 f. 15 x. W.W. A-Wgm XV 50485 (Q19588); NUK.

35. 1827 Louis von Lazarini

Bey Joseph Franz Kaiser ist ganz neu erschienen und zu haben, als: [...] Sechs Laibacher Schießstatt-Deutsche mit Trio's für den Carneval 1827. Componirt, und allen Herren Schützen und Jägern Laibachs hochachtungsvoll gewidmet von Luis Baron v. Lazarini. 30 kr.

Source: GZ (SIB), 20 Jan 1827, [27]; 25 Jan 1827, [26]; 6 Feb 1827, [20]; 10 Feb 1827, [21]; 24 Feb 1827, [26].

Im Zeitungs-Comptoir zu Laibach sind zu 30 kr.C.M. zu haben: Neue lithographirte Sechs Laibacher Schießstatt-Deutsche mit Trio's für den Carneval 1827 componirt und allen Herren Schützen und Jägern Laibachs hochachtungsvoll gewidmet von Ihrem Mitgliede Louis Baron v. Lazarini.

Source: LZ (IB), 16 Jan 1827, 96; 19 Jan 1827, 116; 23 Jan 1827, 130.

Copies: SECHS Laibacher Schießstatt Deutsche mit Trios für den Carneval 1827 componirt und allen Herrn Schützen und Jägern Laibachs hochachtungsvoll gewidmet von Ihrem Mitgliede LOUIS B^{ARON} VON LAZARINI. Lithogra: bey Ios. F. Kaiser in Gratz. A-Wgm XV 4857 (Q19499); NUK.

36. 1827 Leopold Cajetan Ledenig

Pränumerations-Anzeige. Um die, von Leopold Cajet. Ledenig für den Carneval 1827 bereits vollendeten Laibacher Redout-Deutschen mit Trio's wieder im lithographirten Pianoforte-Auszuge liefern zu können, und für die dießfälligen bedeutenden Kosten doch einigermaßen gesichert zu seyn, werden die Liebhaber deutscher Tanzmusik hiermit geziemend eingeladen, hierauf gegen Erlag von 30 kr. C.M. für ein Exemplar in dem hierortigen Zeitungs-Comptoir sich gefälligst pränumeriren zu wollen. Da die Ausgabe der lithographirten Deutschen von der hinlänglichen Zahl der Abnehmer abhängt, so haftet in dem Falle, als dieses Vorhabens wegen der unbedeckten dießfälligen Kosten nicht zu Stande kommen

sollte, für die richtige Zurückgabe der eingelegten Pränumerations-Beträge das Ig. Edel v. Kleinmayr'sche Zeitungs-Comptoir.

Source: LZ, 24 Nov 1826, 2286; 28 Nov 1826, 2270; 5 Dec 1826, 2310.

Es wird hiemit zur Kenntniß gebracht, daß die Pränumeration auf Ledenig's lithographirte Laibacher Redout-Deutsche pro 1827 (im Pianoforte-Auszuge, das Exemplar zu 30 kr. C.M.) im 15 d. M. geschlossen, und später der allgemeine Verkaufspreis mit 40 kr. für das Exemplar bestimmt werden wird.

Source: LZ (IB), 5 Jan 1827, 52; 9 Jan 1827, 60; 12 Jan 1827, 76.

Herrn Ledenig's neue Laibacher Redout-Deutsche sind im lithographirten Pianoforte-Auszuge bereits angelangt. Die (P. T.) Herren Pränumeranten wollen dieselben in den unterzeichneten Zeitungs-Comptoir abholen lassen, und die allenfalls noch unberichtigten Pränumerations-Beträge ebendasselbst bey Empfang gefälligst erlegen. Der nun eintretende Verkaufspreis außer der Pränumeration ist 40 kr. C.M. Zeitungs-Comptoir.

Source: LZ (IB), 19 Jan 1827, 116; 23 Jan 1827, 130; 26 Jan 1827, 136.

Bey Joseph Franz Kaiser ist ganz neu erschienen und zu haben, als: [...] Sechs Laibacher Redout-Deutsche sammt Trios für den Carneval dieses Jahres 1827 verfaßt. Für das Pianoforte eingerichtet, und dem hochgeborenen Fräulein Antoinette Freyinn von Schmidburg, hochachtungsvoll gewidmet von Leopold Cajetan Ledenig. 30 kr.

Source: GZ (SIB), 20 Jan 1827, [27]; 25 Jan 1827, [26]; 6 Feb 1827, [20]; 10 Feb 1827, [21]; 24 Feb 1827, [26].

Copies: VI LAIBACHER REDOUT DEUTSCHE SAMT TRIO'S für den Carneval des Jahres 1827 VERFASST, FÜR DAS PIANO-FORTE EINGERICHTET, UND DEM hochgeborenen Fräulein Antoinette Freyinn von Schmidburg hochachtungsvoll gewidmet von LEOPOLD CAJETAN LEDENIG. Lithograph: bei Joseph Fr. Kaiser. Preis 30 x. C.M. A-Wgm XV 4860 (Q 19501); NUK.

37. 1827 Georg Micheuz

Bey Cappi und Czerny, privil. Kunst- und Musikalienhändlern, am Graben Nr. 1134; sind erschienen, und bey G. Lichtl in Pesth um denselben Preis zu haben: Original Laibacher Schießstatt-Deutsche, für den Carneval des Jahres 1827, componirt und für das Pianoforte eingerichtet von Georg Mibeuz. Erste und zweyte Lieferung zu 1 fl. Wiener-Währung.

Source: WZ, 23 Feb 1827, 228.

Copy: ORIGINAL Laibacher Schiessstatt Deutsche für den Carneval des Jahres 1827 componirt von GEORG MIHEUZ. 1^{te} Abtheilung. (Eigenthum der Verleger) No. 253. Wien, bey Cappi und Czerný, Graben, 1134. Pr. 30 x. CM. A-Wst Mc-20824.

Copy: ORIGINAL Laibacher Schiessstatt Deutsche für den Carneval des Jahres 1827 componirt von GEORG MIHEUZ. 2^{te} Abtheilung. (Eigenthum der

Verleger) No. 254. Wien, bey Cappi und Czerný, Graben, 1134. Pr. 30 x. CM. A-Wgm XV 8861 (Q19590).

38. 1828 Johann Carl Fischer von Wildensee

Copy: *VI Laibacher Redout-Deutsche für das Piano-Forte auf den Carneval des Jahres 1828 componiert und dem wohlgebornen Fräulein ADELE von SCHWARZMANN achtungsvoll gewidmet von Joh. Carl Fischer Edlen von Wildensee.* NUK (Ms.).

39. 1828 Leopold Cajetan Ledenig

Pränumeration auf Ledenig's neue Laibacher Redout-Deutsche, für den Carneval des Jahres 1828. Wer auf die von Ledenig verfaßten, sechs neuen Redout-Deutschen sammt Trio's, welche bis 1. Jänner 1828, im lithographirten Piano-Forte-Auszuge erscheinen werden, mit 30 kr. C.M. für das Stück zu pränumeriren wünscht, wolle sich dießfalls an dieses Zeitungs-Comptoir wenden. Auch können daselbst Bestellungen auf verschiedene Arrangements dieser Deutschen in geschriebenen Exemplaren, als für 2 Violinen und Baß um 1 fl.; für 1 Flöte (oder Czakan) und Guitarre um 40 kr.; für Harmonie von 6 bis 8 Blasinstrumenten um 2 fl. 30 kr. bis 3 fl. mündlich oder in portofreyen Briefen gemacht werden. Der Ladenpreis für die lithographirten Stücke ist mit 1. Jänner 1828, à 40 kr. Conventions-Münze.

Source: LZ (IB), 27 Nov 1827, 1906; 7 Dec 1827, 1906; 11 Dec 1827, 1918. *Heute werden die vom Herrn Leopold Ledenig verfaßten diesjährigen neuen Redout-Deutschen, und zwar vor dem Anfange des Stückes alle sechs ohne Unterbrechung vom gut besetzten Orchester vorgetragen, in den Zwischenacten aber abgetheilt wiederholt werden.*

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1827/28, 3 Jan 1828.

Jene respective Herren, welche auf Ledenig's neue Laibacher Redout-Deutsche, entweder im Zeitungs-Comptoir, oder auf den Separat-Subscriptionsbogen prä[n]umerirt haben, werden um zu den bereits eingelangten lythographirten Piano-Forte-Auszügen leichter und schneller zu gelangen, geziemend ersucht, dieselben in diesem Zeitungs-Comptoir gefälligst abholen zu lassen. Ebendasselbst erliegen auch die bestellten geschriebenen Exemplare für Flöte und Guitarre. Von nun an tritt für die nicht pränumerirten lythographirten Exemplare, welche fortwährend in diesem Zeitungs-Comptoir zu haben seyn werden, der Ladenpreis mit 40 kr. C.M. pr. Stück ein.

Source: LZ (IB), 8 Jan 1828, 12; 10 Jan 1828, 14; 12 Jan 1828, 21.

Bey Leopold Paternolli, am Platz, Nr. 259, in Laibach sind folgende Neuigkeiten zu haben [...] Laibacher-Redout-Deutsche für 1828, für Piano-Forte, von Leopold Ledenig, à 40 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 15 Jan 1828, [24].

Copy: *Sechs Laibacher Redout Deutsche SAMT TRIOS für den Carneval des*

Jahres 1828 verfasst, für das PLANO-FORTE eingerichtet und der wohlgeborenen Frau Marie Wagner geborne Schmidhammer GUBERNIAL-RATHES GATTINN hochachtungsvoll gewidmet von Leopold Cajetan Ledenig. Lith. u. gedr. [in Graz] Bey Ignatz Hofer Feuerbachgasse N^o 831. NUK.

40. 1828 Franz Seraphin Nepozitek

Die von dem Herrn Franz N_k hinterlassenen, dem hochgeborenen Fräulein E. Freyinn von Sch. gewidmeten, bey Kaiser in Grätz lithographirten Laibacher Redout-Deutschen für 1828, im Clavier-Auszuge, deren Ertrag einem wohlthätigen Zwecke gewidmet ist, sind im Zeitungs-Comptoir das Stück zu 40 kr. C.M. zu haben. Edel v. Kleinmayr'sches Zeitungs-Compt.

Source: LZ (AB), 9 Feb 1828, 138; LZ (IB), 9 Feb 1828, 74.

Bey J. F. Kaiser in Grätz, ist neu erschienen, und bey Anton Paterno, Kunsthändler, am neuen Markt Nr. 1064, zu haben: Die beliebten Laibacher Redout-Deutschen für das Pianoforte componirt von Franz Seraph. Nepozitek. Preis 36 kr. Conv. Münze. Der Ertrag ist einem wohlthätigen Zwecke gewidmet.

Source: WZ, 20 Mar 1828, 308.

Copy: LAIBACHER REDOUT DEUTSCHE gewidmet dem hochwohlgeborenen Fräulein Elise FREYIN V. SCHMIDBURG von FRANZ SERAPH NEPOZITEK. Lithographirt bei Joseph Franz Kaiser in Grätz. Der Ertrag ist einem wohlthätigen Zwecke gewidmet. A-Wgm XV 4915 (Q19671).

Copy: LAIBACHER REDOUT DEUTSCHE gewidmet dem hochwohlgeborenen Fräulein Elise FREYIN V. SCHMIDBURG von FRANZ SERAPH. NEPOZITEK. NUK (Ms.).

41. 1828 Leopold Ferdinand Schwerdt

Zwischen den Akten werden Deutsche und Walzer vorgetragen, für die Laibacher bürg. Schießstätte componirt, und den P. T. Herren Schützen gewidmet von L. F. Schwerdt. Diese Tänze sind auf der St. Peters-Vorstadt Nro. 21 im 1sten Stock für alle beliebigen Instrumente zu haben.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1827/28, 6 Dec 1827.

Bey Leopold Paternolli, am Platz, Nr. 259, in Laibach [...] Folgendes aber ist bey ihm in Manuscripten zu haben, als: von Ferd. Leopold Schwerdt, 6 Deutsche mit Trio's für das Piano-Forte, der Schützengesellschaft zu Laibach, für den Carneval 1828 gewidmet, 35 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 15 Jan 1828, [24].

42. 1828 Carl Suppantschitch

Bey L. Paternolli in Laibach, am Platze, Nr. 259, sind folgende Neuigkeiten angelangt, als: [...] Sechs Deutsche sammt Trio's, der Laibacher Schützen-Gesellschaft gewidmet von C. Suppantschitsch, à 30 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 7 Feb 1828, 66; 9 Feb 1828, 68; 12 Feb 1828, 72.

43. 1828 [Author not named]

Vor Anfang des Stückes und in den Zwischenakten werden ganz neue Redout-Deutsche von einem Ungenannten durch ein zahlreich besetztes Orchester executiert werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1827/28, 8 Jan 1828.

44. 1829 Johann Carl Fischer von Wildensee

Im hiesigen Zeitung-Comptoir wird mit 30 kr. pr. Exemplar Pränumeration angenommen auf neue gestochene Redout-Deutsche pro 1829, im Piano-Forte-Auszuge, von J. C. Fischer Edler v. Wildensee.

Source: LZ (Anh.), 28 Oct 1828, 1000; LZ (IB), 23 Oct 1828, 986; 25 Oct 1828, 994; 30 Oct 1828, 646; 1 Nov 1828, 650; 11 Dec 1828, 727; 13 Dec 1828, 731.

Bei Leopold Paternolli, in Laibach am Platze, Nr. 259, sind folgende Neuigkeiten zu haben: [...] Laibacher Redout-Deutsche pro 1829, für das Forte-Piano von Fischer Edlen v. Wildensee, gestochen à 40 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 15 Jan 1829, 28.

Bey A. Pennauer, Kunst- und Musikalienhändler in Wien, am Graben Nr. 1122, ist zu haben, wie auch bey C. Lichtl in Pesth, bey J. Niemirowsky in Lemberg, bey Carl Streidig und Meidinger in Preßburg: Neue Tanz-Musikalien. Fischer, Laibacher Redout-Deutsche sammt Trios für das Pianoforte. Preis 30 kr. C.M.

Source: WZ, 19 Feb 1829, 179; 25 Feb 1829, 206; 2 Mar 1829, 224.

Copies: LAIBACHER REDOUT-DEUTSCHE sammt Trios für den Carneval 1829 componirt für das PLANO-FORTE eingerichtet und dem Wohlgebornen Fräulein WILHELMINE V. PRAHL achtungsvoll gewidmet von J. C. FISCHER Edlen von Wildensee. [Wien: A. Pennauer, no. 412.]

A-Wn M.S.36525; NUK (Ms.).

45. 1829 Leopold Cajetan Ledenig

Sechs neue Laibacher Redout-Deutsche mit Trio's für den Carneval des Jahres 1829. Verfaßt und für das Piano-Forte eingerichtet von Leopold Cajetan Ledenig (Achter Jahrgang.) Auf diese, im schön lithographirten Piano-Forte-Auszuge erscheinenden neuen Produkte, für deren Gehalt die von dem Herrn Verfasser seit 7 Jahren in diesem Fache gelieferten, stets beyfällig aufgenommenen Bearbeitungen sprechen, wird in diesem Zeitungs-Comptoir mit 30 kr. C.M. pr. Stück, Pränumeration angenommen.

Source: LZ (IB), 4 Nov 1828, 654; 6 Nov 1828, 658; 20 Nov 1828, 686.

Nachdem die lithographirten Piano-Forte-Auszüge der neuen Redout-Deutschen des Herrn Ledenig für das Jahr 1829, in den ersten Tagen des kommenden Monates Jänner bestimmt einlangen werden; so bringt das Zeitungs-Comptoir hiermit zur Kenntniß, daß die bereits angezeigte Pränumeration auf diese Deutschen mit 30 kr. pr. Exemplar nur noch bis zum 6. Jänner 1829 dauern,

und in diesem Zeitungs-Comptoir angenommen werde, indem nach Verlauf dieser Zeit der Ladenpreis zu 40. kr. pr. Exemplar eintritt. Laibach am 10. December 1828.

Source: LZ (IB), 13 Dec 1828, 731; 27 Dec 1828, 790; 30 Dec 1828, 794. *Bei Leopold Paternolli, in Laibach am Platze, Nr. 259, sind folgende Neuigkeiten zu haben: [...] Laibacher Redout-Deutsche pro 1829, für das Forte-Piano, von Ledenig, lythographirt à 40 kr.*

Source: LZ (IB), 15 Jan 1829, 28.

Bey F. J. Kaiser in Grätz ist so eben erschienen, und bey Anton Paterno, Kunstbändler am neuen Markte Nr. 1064, zu haben: [...] Ledenig; L. C., Laibacher Redout-Deutsche für das Pianoforte. 30 kr. C.M.

Source: WZ, 9 Feb 1829, 138; 18 Feb 1829, 275; 21 Feb 1829, 189.

46. 1829 S. T. Thomaschovitz

Bei L. Paternolli am Platze, sind 6 neue Schießstatt-Deutsche für den Carneval 1829, im Piano-Forte-Auszuge von S. T. Tomaschovitz, à 40 kr. das Exemplar zu haben.

Source: LZ (AB), 20 Jan 1829, 58; LZ (IB), 22 Jan 1829, 41.

VI Neue Deutsche mit Trios's für den Carneval 1829. Componirt von S. T. Thomaschovitz, sind im hiesigen Zeitungs-Comptoir à 40 kr. zu haben.

Source: LZ (Anh.), 19 Jan 1829; LZ (IB), 21 Feb 1829, 108; 24 Feb 1829, 112.

47. 1829 [Author not named]

Bei Leopold Paternolli, in Laibach am Platze, Nr. 259, sind folgende Neuigkeiten zu haben: [...] Laibacher Redout-Deutsche pro 1829, für Guitarre und Flöte, geschrieben à 40 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 15 Jan 1829, 28.

48. 1830 Louis von Lazarini

Bei Leopold Paternolli am Platz in Laibach, wird Pränumeration angenommen mit 24 kr. für jedes einzelne Stück, und mit 1 fl. C.M. für alle drey zusammen, auf: 6 Laibacher Redout-Deutsche pro 1830, für das Piano-Forte sammt Trio. 6 Laibacher Schießstatt-Deutsche pro 1830, für das Piano-Forte sammt Trio. 12 Laibacher Schießstatt-Ländler zu Cottillions pro 1830, für das Piano-Forte sammt Trio. Alle diese Deutsche sind von dem hochgeborenen Herrn Baron Louis v. Lazarini, componirt und eingerichtet. Die Pränumeration dauert bis zum 15. Jänner; nach Beendigung der Pränumeration tritt der erhöhte Ladenpreis von 36 kr. für jedes Stück ein. Den hiesigen verehrten Musikfreunden ist hinlänglich der hochgeschätzte Herr Autor bekannt, als daß man erst darüber von Seite des Verlegers ein Mehreres sagen zu müssen nöthig hätte; welcher keine Mühe noch Kosten sparen wird, um mit Eleganz das Aeußere, so wie auch das Uebrige auszustatten.

Source: LZ (Anh.), 29 Dec 1829, 1128; LZ (IB), 2 Jan 1830, 4; LZ (AB), 5 Jan 1830, 14.

In der lithographischen Verlags-Handlung des Joseph Franz Kaiser ist neu erschienen, und das Exemplar um 24 kr.CM. zu haben: Gut componirte Deutsche sammt Trio für das Pianoforte, für den Carneval 1830, von Baron von Lazarini, gewidmet der Frau Josephine von Taubenberg. I. Abtheilung.; 6 Deutsche sammt Trio für den Carneval 1830, von Baron von Lazarini, gewidmet der Frau Marie Edlen v. Kreuzberg. II. Abtheilung.; 13 Ländler zu Cottillions für den Carneval 1830, von Baron von Lazarini, gewidmet dem Fräulein Wilhelmine Prabl.

Source: GZ (SIB) 7 Jan 1830, 32; 14 Jan 1830, 63; 19 Jan 1830, 88; 25 Jan 1830, 108; 26 Jan 1830, 120; 18 Feb 1830, 229.

Bei Leopold Paternolli, sind erschienen: Sechs Laibacher Redout-Deutsche, sechs Laibacher Schießstatt-Deutsche und 13 Ländler zu Cottillions, für den Fasching 1830; componirt und für das Piano-Forte eingerichtet von dem hochgeborenen Hrn. Louis Baron v. Lazzarini; der Preis für alle drei Stücke zusammen ist 1 fl. 30 kr., einzeln à 36 kr.

Source: LZ (AB), 19 Jan 1830, 46; 23 Jan 1830, 54; 26 Jan 1830, 59.

Copy: VI LAIBACHER REDOUT DEUTSCHE mit Trios für das Fortepiano für den Carneval 1830 componirt und mit Hochachtung gewidmet der Wohlgeborenen Frau MARIE EDLE VON KREUTZBERG VON LOUIS BARON VON LAZARINI. Gedruckt bei Joseph Franz Kaiser in Graz. Verlegt von Paternolli in Laibach. Zu haben auch in Capodistria und Görz bei Paternolli. NUK.

49. 1830 Leopold Cajetan Ledenig

Einladung zur Pränumeration auf die vom Herrn Leopold Ledenig, für den Carneval des Jahrs 1830 verfaßten 6 Laibacher Deutsche mit Trio's im lithographirten Piano-Forte-Auszüge. (Neunter Jahrgang.) Die besondere Theilnahme, welche Herrn Ledenig's in diesem Zweige seit acht Jahren gelieferte Arbeiten bisher vielseitig gefunden haben, veranlaßt das Zeitungs-Comptoir auch heuer, die Verehrer der deutschen Tanzmusik zur gefälligsten Pränumeration auf diese neuen Producte des Herrn Verfassers mit der Versicherung geziemend einzuladen, daß dieselben weder in Beziehung auf den inneren Werth, noch auf die äußere Ausstattung den bisherigen, stets mit Beyfall aufgenommenen Lieferungen nachstehen werden. Der Pränumerationspreis ist für ein Exemplar 30 kr.C.M. der nachherige Ladenpreis aber 40 kr.C.M.

Source: LZ (IB), 19 Nov 1829, 644; 24 Nov 1829, 650.

Nachdem die lithographirten Piano-Forte-Auszüge der nächstjährigen Laibacher Redout-Deutschen des Herrn L. Ledenig, nächstens hier eintreffen werden: so wird der Termin der Pränumeration auf dieselben zu 30 kr. pr. Exemplar bis inclusive 10. Jänner 1830, mit dem Bemerken festgesetzt, daß der

Ladenpreis zu 40 kr. pr. Exemplar eintrete. Ferner wird zur Kenntniß gebracht, daß in diesem Zeitungs-Comptoir auch noch Exemplare der beliebten Deutschen desselben Herrn Verfassers vom Jahre 1829, zu haben sind.

Source: LZ (Anh.), 29 Dec 1829, [1127]; LZ (IB), 2 Jan 1830, 4; LZ (AB), 5. Jan 1830, 14.

In der lithographischen Verlags-Handlung des Joseph Franz Kaiser ist neu erschienen, und das Exemplar um 24 kr. CM. zu haben: [...] 6 Redout-Deutsche mit Trios für den Carneval 1830, von Ledenig, gewidmet der Freyinn von Schmidburg.

Source: GZ (SIB), 7 Jan 1830, 32; 14 Jan 1830, 63; 19 Jan 1830, 88; 25 Jan 1830, 108; 26 Jan 1830, 120; 18 Feb 1830, 229.

Die lythographirten Piano-Forte-Auszüge der dießjährigen Laibach Redout-Deutschen des Herrn Ledenig, sind bereits eingelangt. Die (P. T.) verehrten Abnehmer, welche sich hierauf entweder in diesem Zeitungs-Comptoir, oder auf dem Roll-Bogen pränumerirt haben, werden sonach ersucht, die bestellten Exemplare in diesem Zeitungs-Comptoir gefälligst abholen zu lassen. In demselben sind derley Exemplare auch ausser der Pränumeration fortwährend zu 40 kr. pr. Stück, so wie auch Exemplare der vorjährigen Deutschen des genannten Herrn Verfasser zu haben. Desgleichen können auf Arrangement der dießjährigen Deutschen für Flöte und Guitarre à 40 kr. pr. Exemplar Bestellungen gemacht werden.

Source: LZ (IB), 19 Jan 1830, 36.

Copy: *Laibacher Redout-Deutsche mit Trio's für das Jahr 1830 verfasst, für das Piano-Forte eingerichtet und dem hochgeborenen Fräulein ELISE Freyinn von Schmidburg hochachtungsvoll gewidmet von Leopold Cajetan Ledenig. (Neunter Jahrgang.) Lithogr. bei Jos. Fr. Kaiser in Gratz. NUK.*

50. 1830 [Author not named]

Bei J. C. Licht, Buchhändler in Laibach sind zu haben: Sechs neue Laibacher Schießstatt-Deutsche mit Trio's für den Carneval des Jahres 1830, im Clavier-Auszuge, das Exemplar à 36 kr. Auch werden allda Bestellungen von diesen Deutschen für alle möglichen Arrangements gegen die billigsten Preise angenommen.

Source: LZ (AB), 22 Dec 1829, 1122; 24 Dec 1829, 1105; LZ (IB), 31 Dec 1829, 706.

51. 1831 Joseph Bosizio

Die vom Herrn Joseph Bosizio für den hiesigen Carneval componirten Redout-Deutschen im Clavier-Auszuge, werden mit Ende dieser Woche in einer eleganten Auflage in Wien bei Haslinger, im Kupfer gestochen, in dem hiesigen Zeitungs-Comptoir und bei Herrn Paternolli zu 30 kr. das Stück, vorrätzig seyn.

Source: LZ (Anh.), 1 Jan 1831, [1]; 4 Jan 1831, [13]; LZ (IB), 8 Jan 1831, 18.

Die in der vorigen Woche vorläufig angekündigten, von dem Herrn Joseph Bosizio für den heurigen Carneval componirten Redout-Deutschen sind bereits im Clavier-Auszuge erschienen, und bei Herrn Paternolli am Hauptplatze, so wie im hiesigen Zeitungs-Comptoir zu haben. Der Preis für ein Exemplar beträgt nur bis Ende des Monats Jänner 1831, 30 kr., und wird seit 1. Februar 1831 auf 40 kr. erhöht.

Source: LZ (Anh.), 18 Jan 1831, [49]; LZ (AB), 20 Jan 1831, 54; 22 Jan 1831, 65; LZ (Anh.), 10 Feb 1831, 49.

Copy: LAIBACHER REDOUTE-DEUTSCHE für den Carneval des Jahres 1831. Componirt, für das Piano-Forte eingerichtet und der Wohlgebornen Frau MARIE WAGNER gebornen SCHMIDHAMMER hochachtungsvoll gewidmet von Joseph Bosizio. Stich und Druck aus Tob. Haslingers Officin in Wien. NUK.

52. 1831 Julius Fluck von Leidenkron

Pränumérations-Anzeige. In diesem Zeitungs-Comptoir wird auf die im lithographirten Piano-Forte-Auszuge erscheinenden Laibacher Redout-Deutschen für das Jahr 1831, von Julius Fluck, Pränumeration zu 30 kr. pr. Exemplar angenommen.

Source: LZ (Anh.), 30 Dec 1830, [1209]; LZ (AB), 1 Jan 1831, 4; LZ (IB), 4 Jan 1831, 7.

Copy: SIX VALSES AVEC TRIO Composées et arrangées Pour le Piano-Forte et dédiées à MADEMOISELLE ALBERTINE NOBLE DE BUZZI par Jules Fluck. Lith. Bey Jos. Fr. Kaiser in Graz 1831. NUK (incomplete).

53. 1831 Leopold Cajetan Ledenig

Pränumérations-Anzeige auf die für den Carneval des Jahres 1831 neu verfaßten Laibacher Redout-Deutschen sammt Trio's von Herrn Leopold Cajet. Ledenig. (Eilfter Jahrgang.) welche im geschmacksvoll lithographirten Piano-Forte-Auszüge erscheinen werden, wird in diesem Zeitungs-Comptoir zu 30 kr. C.M. pr. Exemplar Pränumeration angenommen. Da diese Pränumeration nur bis Ende dieses Monats December offen bleibt, so werden die P. T. verehrten Freunde der bekannt lieblichen Muse des Herrn Verfassers hiermit ergebenst eingeladen, ihre gefälligen Bestellungen noch zur gehörigen Zeit zu machen. Ignaz Edel v. Kleinmayr'sches Zeitungs-Comptoir.

Source: LZ (AB), 4 Dec 1830, 1160; 14 Dec 1830, 1164; LZ (IB), 16 Dec 1830, 648; 18 Dec 1830, 650; 23 Dec 1830, 660; 28 Dec 1830, 668; 1 Jan 1831, 5; LZ (Anh.), 30 Dec 1830, 1212; LZ (AB), 18 Jan 1831, [49].

Die P. T. Pränumeranten auf die dießjährigen Laibacher Redout-Deutschen des Hrn. Leopold Ledenig werden hiermit geziemend ersucht, ihre, entweder in diesem Zeitungs-Comptoir, oder auf dem Rollbogen pränumerirten Exemplare der lithographirten Piano-Forte-Auszüge in dem unterzeichneten Comptoir

gefälligst abholen zu lassen. Zugleich wird zur Kenntniß gebracht, daß noch fortwährend derlei lithographirte Piano-Forte Auszüge der genannten Deutschen, jedoch zu dem Ladenpreise à 40 kr.C.M. pr. Exemplar in diesem Zeitungs-Comptoir zu haben seyn werden. Ignaz Edel v. Kleinmayr'sches Zeitungs-Comptoir.

Source: LZ (IB), 20 Jan 1831, 38; LZ (Anh.), 10 Feb 1831, 49.

54. 1831 [Author not named]

Zwischen dem 1sten und 2ten wie auch zwischen dem 3ten und 4ten Akte, wird eine Parthie neuer, für das Jahr 1831 von einem P. T. Dilettanten komponirter Redout-Deutschen, vorgetragen werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1830/31, 15 Jan 1831.

55. 1832 Caspar Maschek

Pränumerations-Anzeige auf 18 deutsche Tänze für den Carneval 1832 unter dem Titel: Fra Diavolo-Walzer, für das Forte-Piano in drei Theilen. Auswahl des Schönsten und Anmuthigsten aus Auber's beliebter Oper: Fra Diavolo, herausgegeben und gesetzt von C. Maschek. Unter obigem Titel erscheint eine geschmackvolle Auswahl der reizenden Motiven aus oben benannter Oper. – Nur der Kern des Schönsten, Anmuthigsten, und überhaupt des Gefälligsten wurde dazu benützt. Diesen Tänzen gehört der Vorzug, daß sie leicht, einfach, fäßlich und besonders auch zu Anwendung in Familien-Cirkeln für die Jugend wie für erwachsene geeignet sind. Ihre Reichhaltigkeit der Ideen, und der Umstand, daß sie für jede Gelegenheit zur Ausübung berechnet sind, mache sie überaus gemeinnützig. Pränumerations-Preis für alle drei Theile 1 fl. 30 kr.C.M. – Für einen einzelnen Theil 40 kr. Pränumeriert wird bei dem Herausgeber, Gradischka-Vorstadt, Nr. 4, im ersten Stocke, in Laibach. Nebst den Auszug für das Piano-Forte zu zwei und vier Händen, sind benannte Tänze auch für alle andern Instrumente zu haben.

Source: LZ (Anh.), 31 Jan 1832, [82]; LZ (IB), 4 Feb 1832, 67.

Die in den vorigen Zeitungs-Blättern angekündigten 18 deutsche Tänze für den Carneval 1832, unter dem Titel: Fra Diavolo-Walzer, in drei Abtheilungen, sind bereits bei dem Verfasser in Laibach, Gradischka-Vorstadt, Nr. 4, im ersten Stocke, zu haben.

Source: LZ (Anh.), 7 Feb 1832, [93]; LZ (AB), 11 Feb 1832, 99; LZ (IB), 14 Feb 1832, 84.

56. 1832 Johann Strauss

Bei Leopold Paternolli in Laibach sind [...] so eben angelangt, und zu haben: Die neuesten Productionen von Strauß, für den Fasching 1832, welche ihrer Vorzüglichkeiten wegen auch im Laibacher Redouten-Saale aufgeführt werden, nämlich das Werk 47: Viva la Danse, für das Piano-Forte eingerichtet, à 30 kr.;

dann das Werk 48: Heiter auch in ernster Zeit, für das Piano-Forte, à 30 kr.; und das Werk 49: Das Leben ein Tanz, der Tanz ein Leben, für das Piano-Forte allein, à 45 kr.; für eine Flöte 15 kr.; für eine Guitarre 30 kr.; für einen Czakan 15 kr.; für das ganze Orchester 2 fl.; für drei Violinen und Baß 1 fl.; für Violine und Piano-Forte 45 kr.

Source: LZ (IB), 14 Jan 1832, 26; 17 Jan 1832, 32.

Bei Paternolli in Laibach ist es eben angelangt: [...] empfiehlt er sich mit den Straußschen Laibacher Redout-Deutschen für 1832. Werk 47., 48. und 49., sowohl für das Piano-Forte als auch für mehrere andere Instrumente eingerichtet.

Source: LZ (IB), 26 Jan 1832, 52; 28 Jan 1832, [53]; 31 Jan 1832, 60.

57. 1834 Louis von Lazarini

In den Zwischenakten wird die zweite Parthie von den heurigen Redout-Deutschen, von Baron Louis von Lazarini, aufgeführt.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1833/34, 12 Jan 1834.

58. 1834 Johann Strauss

In den zwischen-Akten wird die erste Parthie von den heurigen Redouten-Deutschen unter dem Titel „Der Frohsinn, mein Ziel“, von Johann Strauß, aufgeführt. Benannte Redout-Deutsche: „Der Frohsinn, mein Ziel“, sind im Clavier-Auszuge à 45 kr. an der Kasse, oder in der Wohnung der Unternehmerin [Amalia Maschek] in der Gradischa-Vorstadt Nro. 4, zu haben.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1833/34, 8 Jan 1834.

59. 1835 Adolph Müller

Zwischen dem ersten und zweiten Akte werden neue Deutsche, vom Kapellmeister Müller, vorgetragen.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1835/36, 17 Nov 1835.

60. 1836 [Author not named]

In den Zwischenakten werden neue Redout-Deutsche vom sämtlichen Orchester-Personale aufgeführt werden.

Source: NMS, Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 1835/36, 14 Jan 1836.

POVZETEK

Laibacher Deutscher po ljubljanskem kongresu

Neposredno ob ljubljanskem kongresu (1821) je v Ljubljani zaživela oblika nemškega plesa z imenom *Laibacher Deutscher* in se približno eno desetletje obdržala v specifično lokalni obliki kot priljubljen ples meščanskih krogov. Slovensko poimenovanje tega plesa se ni nikoli ustalilo in ustrežna oznaka v slovenščini manjka še danes. Ljubljanski *Deutscher* je mogoče opisati kot epilog enega najstarejših evropskih družabnih plesov, hkrati pa tudi kot poskus restavracije starega družbenega reda in utrjevanja pripadnosti nemški kulturi.

Ne primarni viri ne sodobna literatura nemškega plesa ne pojmujejo enotno, zato nastaja vtis zgodovinske nepovezanosti te plesne oblike z alemando šestnajstega stoletja. Številne nejasnosti pri razumevanju povzročajo dejstvo, da se je oznaka nemški ples (*Deutscher Tanz*) uporabljala kot nadpomenka. Bila je v rabi za vrsto plesov iz nemškega govornega prostora (npr. *Deutscher, Dreier, Ländler, Schleifer, Steirisch, Straßburger, Schwäbischer Tanz* in tudi valček). Pojavlja se tudi oznaka *allemande*, s čimer pa ni mišljena ne instrumentalna glasbena oblika ne francoska plesna *allemande* 18. stoletja, temveč za evropski glasbeni trg privlačnejše poimenovanje *Deutscherja*.

V plesnih učbenikih *Deutscher* ni obširneje opisan, saj zaradi enostavnosti koraka in koreografskega poteka poglobljen pouk ni bil potreben. Omembe koreografskih struktur je med drugim mogoče najti v delu *Erweiterung der Kunst* Carla Josepha von Feldtensteina (1772), izvedbo tega skupinskega družabnega plesa pa je opisal tudi *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe* v romanu *Trpjenje mladega Wertherja* (1774). Bliže ljubljanskemu *Deutscherju* je plesna knjižica Georga Linka z naslovom *Vollkommene Tanzschule*, natisnjena leta 1796 v Celju. Link *Deutscherja* natančneje ne opisuje, a je v svoje skupinske družabne plese vpletel tudi koreografske elemente prav tega plesa.

Meščanska oblika *Deutscherja* se je izoblikovala na Dunaju v zadnjih desetletjih 18. stoletja. Tam se je hitrost plesa, predvsem pri figuri vrtenja, od lagodnega tempa vedno bolj stopnjevala in se okoli leta 1790 razvila v tako imenovani *Langaus* ter ob dunajskem kongresu (1814) v valček. Na Dunaju se je po letu 1770 izgubila figura prepletanja rok (*Straßburger*), kmalu pa tudi značilni obhod parov v krogu. Ob vzponu valčka pa *Deutscher* ni izginil. V njegovi senci se je v plesnih dvoranah obdržal vsaj še do zgodnjih tridesetih let 19. stoletja. Podobno kot v Ljubljani je bil priljubljen tudi v Gradcu, Celovcu in drugih mestih Avstrijskega cesarstva.

Deutscher je bil v Ljubljani znan že pred kongresom, a pred letom 1821 nastalih skladb skladatelji niso označevali kot *Laibacher*. Glasbo za te priljubljene in na plesnih prireditvah v Redutni in Streliški dvorani izvajane plese so prispevali poklicni in ljubiteljski skladatelji iz vrst ljubljanskega plemstva in uglednega meščanstva (Mašek, Mihevec, Ledenig, Lazarini in drugi) ter tudi tujci.

Ljubljanski *Deutscherji* so ohranjeni izključno v klavirskih izvlečkih, vrsta objavljenih nizov pa je znana le še po oglasih v tedanjem časopisju. Oblikovno so sestavljeni iz niza šestih *Deutscherjev* s trii. Njihova melodična, ritmična in oblikovna struktura je očitno odraz koreografskega poteka in je vse prej kot enotna, vsekakor pa se jasno razlikuje od takratnega valčka. Ples je prepoznaven po izpostavljenem zvoku trobil. Ljubljanski *Deutscher* se v širšem družbeno-kulturnem kontekstu in političnem ozadju izkaže za izjemno zanimiv fenomen.

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O AVTORJIH

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Lyudmila Ivanovna Shestakova, née Glinka: The Younger Sister of the Genius

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the life and work of Lyudmila Ivanovna Shestakova (1816–1906), the younger sister and faithful companion of the Russian composer Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka. The focus is especially on her activities after her brother's death, which were motivated by the wish to honour his memory and to spread his music and fame.

Keywords: Lyudmila Ivanovna Shestakova, Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka, nineteenth-century Russian music

IZVLEČEK

Članek opisuje življenje in delo Ljudmile Ivanovne Šestakove (1816–1906), mlajše sestre in zveste spremljevalke ruskega skladatelja Mihaila Ivanoviča Glinke. Poudarek je predvsem na njenih dejavnostih po bratovi smrti, ki jih je gnala želja, da bi počastila spomin nanj in širila njegovo glasbo in slavo.

Ključne besede: Ljudmila Ivanovna Šestakova, Mihail Ivanovič Glinka, ruska glasba 19. stoletja

The name of Lyudmila Ivanovna Shestakova (1816–1906) is well known to many admirers of nineteenth-century Russian music, but her personality and contribution to Russian culture are still overlooked.¹ As Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka's sister and his best friend, she spent the last years of his life with him. A lover of Russian music, she later befriended members of the Mighty Handful and other musicians who looked up to her as the sister of an admired genius. It became her destiny to spread Glinka's music with the help of her friends in musical circles and to nurture her brother's legacy after his death.

Lyudmila Ivanovna was born on 17 November 1816,² in the village of Novospasskoye, as the tenth child³ of retired captain Ivan Nikolayevich Glinka and Yevgenia Andreyevna née Glinka (despite the same surname, according to Shestakova there was no family relationship between the parents).⁴ During Mikhail's later visits home, he taught his younger siblings and played with them. He tutored Lyudmila science, geography, and music, and this teacher-student relationship led to their further rapprochement.⁵ In 1835, at her mother's request, Lyudmila married a neighbour, Vasily Illarionovich Shestakov, a retired naval officer. Mikhail Ivanovich also married in the spring of 1835. The marriages took place in the same year and unfortunately neither marriage was happy, which brought the siblings even closer together. Shestakova had two sons with her husband, but both died in 1849.⁶ After separating from his wife, Mikhail Ivanovich returned home and spent the winter at the turn of 1847 and 1848 in Smolensk, which was not far from Novospasskoye. Shestakova

- 1 The number of studies on Shestakova is negligible; more often she is mentioned only in texts about her brother. For example, David Brown in his biography *Mikhail Glinka* barely mentions Shestakova, although he has taken information from her memoirs. Ekaterina Lobankova wrote more, though not in detail, about Shestakova and her activities during and after her brother's death in her book *Glinka*, which represents one of the latest Russian-language books on this composer. The following study is based primarily on Shestakova's memoirs, data and other facts are presented in compliance with them. David Brown, *Mikhail Glinka: A Biographical and Critical Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974); Ekaterina Lobankova, *Glinka: Zhizn' v epokhe, Epoha v zhizni* (Moskva: Molodaya Gvardiya, 2019).
- 2 Unless otherwise stated, dates are given according to the Julian calendar (which was in use in Russia at the time and differed by twelve days from the Gregorian calendar in use in Europe) or both variants are given.
- 3 The Glinkas had thirteen children. Perepelkina states that Lyudmila was the ninth child. Vladimir Stasov, "Biograficheskie zametki o L. I. Shestakovoy," in *Byloe M. I. Glinki i ego roditeley*, Lyudmila I. Shestakova (Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskikh Sankt-Peterburgskikh teatrov, 1864), 35; Zoya Perepelkina, "L. I. Shestakova – sestra, drug i hranitel'nica naslediya M. I. Glinki," in *Kul'turnoe nasledie Zemli Smolenskoj*, accessed June 1, 2021, <https://nasledie.admin-smolensk.ru/personalii/glinka-mihail-ivanovich/novospasskij-sbornik-vypusk-vtoroj/3-m-perepelkina-1-i-shestakova-sestra-drug-i-hranitelnica-naslediya-m-i-glinki/>.
- 4 Lyudmila Ivanovna Shestakova, *Byloe M. I. Glinki i ego roditeley* (Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskikh Sankt-Peterburgskikh teatrov, 1864), 4.
- 5 Lyudmila Ivanovna Shestakova, "Glinka v vospominaniyah ego sestry," in *Glinka v vospominaniyah sovremennikov*, ed. Aleksandra A. Orlova (Moskva: Muzgiz, 1955), 47.
- 6 Stasov, "Biograficheskie zametki," 40.

spent all the time with him there until his departure for Warsaw at the end of February 1848. After the death of her children, Shestakova took care of her mother who had lost her sight. Yevgenia Andreyevna died in May 1851, during Glinka's stay in Warsaw. After the death of his beloved mother, Glinka never returned to Novospasskoye again.⁷ At this time, Lyudmila unofficially separated from her husband, whom she did not love, but she never completely cut off contact with him.⁸

At the beginning of July 1851, Lyudmila visited Mikhail in Warsaw and her presence helped him greatly in terms of his physical and mental health. They remained together in Warsaw until the end of August 1851, when Glinka was to go abroad.⁹ However, he unexpectedly returned to St. Petersburg, and only a week after arriving home Lyudmila received his letter asking her to come to St. Petersburg at once, as he was ill. His wish did not go unheard. She remained with him from October 1851 until May of the following year, when she had to return home and Glinka left for Paris. During her stay in St. Petersburg she patiently cared for Glinka, managed his household, and organized musical evenings with friends.¹⁰ By this time she was already making efforts to disseminate his music. In April 1852, for example, she arranged with the conductor Karl Schubert for her brother's works to be performed in a concert at which Glinka heard some of them for the first time.¹¹

Even when the siblings lived apart, they kept in touch, and Glinka found his sister's absence very difficult. Until 1854, however, Lyudmila was unable to leave her home, as she initiated the building of a new church, took care of the household, and gave birth to Mikhail's goddaughter Olga,¹² with whom she wanted to spend at least the first year of her life in the fresh country air. In April 1854 Lyudmila Ivanovna and her daughter went to Tsarskoye Selo, where Glinka joined them in May.¹³ Here Mikhail Ivanovich spent the time playing with his niece and, at Shestakova's suggestion, writing down his memoirs *Zapiski (Notes)*. He did not compose anything new during this time, but he did orchestrate some of his works. At the end of August, at Glinka's insistence, they moved to St. Petersburg, and Glinka began to toy with the idea of devoting more time to church music.¹⁴ At his sister's request he wrote smaller compositions, but he was unable to complete

7 Shestakova, *Byloe M. I. Glinki*, 21–23.

8 Perepelkina, "L. I. Shestakova."

9 Stasov, "Biograficheskie zametki," 40 and 41.

10 Shestakova, "Glinka v vospominaniyah," 48 and 49.

11 Perepelkina, "L. I. Shestakova."

12 According to diary notes of musicologist Nikolai Findeisen, Vladimir Stasov told him that Olga was the daughter of his brother Dmitry. Nikolai Findeisen, *Dnevnik: 1892–1901* (Sankt-Peterburg: Dmitri Bulanin, 2004), 164.

13 Shestakova, *Byloe M. I. Glinki*, 24 and 25.

14 Lyudmila Ivanovna Shestakova, "Poslednie gody zhizni i konchina M. I. Glinky, (Vospominaniya sestry ego, L. I. Shestakovoy)," *Russkaya starina* 1, no. 2 (1870): 611–615.

large-scale works; he was unable to finish either the symphony *Taras Bulba* nor the opera *Dvumuzhbnica (The Bigamist)*.¹⁵

In May 1855, Shestakova had to return to her native village, leaving her brother behind. Although he was well cared for in St. Petersburg, his letters became increasingly bitter. In August he asked her to come to him at once and accompany him to Warsaw. Lyudmila complied with his request directly, but two days after her arrival he decided to stay in St. Petersburg until spring. Glinka eventually changed his plan to move to Warsaw and chose Berlin as his next destination, where he would study church music with the musicologist and his former teacher Siegfried Dehn. Before Glinka's departure, Vladimir V. Stasov conceived the idea of making a new portrait of the composer. This idea was implemented by Shestakova, and his last photograph was taken by the photographer Sergey Levitsky.¹⁶ In April 1856, Glinka went to Berlin where he felt very much at home, and intended to stay until May 1857. Lyudmila was to join him in May 1857, and together they would decide where to live.¹⁷ However, these plans were thwarted by the composer's death in February 1857.

After the death of her beloved brother, Shestakova remained in St. Petersburg to care for her daughter Olga, who died of diphtheria in December 1863. Lyudmila Ivanovna then broke off all contact, which she was slow to resume. According to her, she was revived by Miliy Balakirev and Vladimir V. Nikolsky¹⁸ when they began to give music and science lessons to children at her house. Shestakova herself later joined them and had a small school until about 1877, when she stopped teaching for health reasons.¹⁹ In the second half of the 1860s, members of the Mighty Handful and other St. Petersburg musicians met frequently in her salon.

In October 1871, she suffered a stroke which considerably reduced the mobility of the right side of her body, but in about two years she recovered sufficiently to take part again in public life in St. Petersburg.²⁰ Towards the end of her life, Shestakova shut herself off from the rest of the world. In May 1903, she attended the laying of the cornerstone of the Glinka Monument in St. Petersburg, after which she rarely left her apartment and was eventually confined to bed by her illness. Lyudmila Ivanovna died after a long illness shortly before the unveiling ceremony of the M. I. Glinka monument on 18 January 1906, at half past six in the evening and was buried next to her brother.²¹

15 Shestakova, "Glinka v vospominaniyah," 51.

16 Shestakova, "Poslednie gody," 618–621.

17 Ibid., 623–624.

18 Russian historian, philologist, and literary scholar.

19 Shestakova, "Glinka v vospominaniyah," 51 and 52.

20 Lyudmila Ivanovna Shestakova, "Moi vechera," in *Ezhegodnik Imperatorskikh Teatrov* 4, Prilozhenie 2, season 1893–1894 (Sankt-Peterburg: Imperatorskie teatry, 1895): 125 and 126.

21 Nikolai Findeisen, "Pamyati L. I. Shestakovoy," *Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta* 13, no. 6 (1906): 152.

Shestakova's Merits for Glinka's Music during His Life

Shestakova took care of her brother and provided a pleasant working environment; moreover, at her request Glinka wrote the aforementioned autobiography *Zapiski*. It is thanks to her that a complete collection of his romances (songs) was created:

After moving to the city to Tomilov's house in Ertelev Lane, I began to take care of my brother's music. I began by putting my brother's romances in order. This was fraught with great difficulty; my brother remembered that he had written in the Caucasus, in Moscow, abroad, and in Little Russia, but he did not know whom exactly to ask about these works. I managed to gather almost everything. My brother himself made a list of what year he had written what, and in my book all the romances are arranged according to his instructions, and there are also a few lines written by his hand confirming that I have arranged them.²²

The title page of Lyudmila's collection of romances has a statement in Glinka's own hand:

This book contains a collection of romances and songs by M. I. Glinka, carefully collected and put in a probable order by L. I. Shestakova, to whom this book belongs.²³

One of her most significant contributions during Glinka's lifetime was the commissioning of two copies of the orchestral scores of *Ruslan and Lyudmila* and *A Life for the Tsar (Zhizn za carya)*. Until then, only a few manuscripts existed, and they also had many errors. She decided to do this after the scores of both operas had burned at the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow (1853), and Glinka feared that a similar incident might happen in St. Petersburg, where the last copies of the full orchestral scores were located. Had it not been for the new copies, the beloved *Ruslan* would have been lost forever, for it burned in the fire of the Mariinsky Theatre in 1859. The copies were sent to Vladimir Stasov and to Siegfried Dehn in Berlin.²⁴

22 "По переезде в город в дом Томилова, Эртелев переулок, я принялась заботиться о музыке брата. Начала я с того, что вздумала привести в порядок романсы брата. Это было связано с большими затруднениями; брат помнил, что он писал и на Кавказе, и в Москве, и за границей, и в Малороссии, но у кого именно нужно было спрашивать эти сочинения, — он не знал. Мне удалось собрать почти все; брат сам составил список, в котором году он что сочинял, и у меня в книге все романсы расположены по его назначению, и там же его рукой написано несколько строк, которыми он подтверждает, что это приведено в порядок мною." Shestakova, "Glinka v vospominaniyah," 50.

23 "Эта книга содержит в себе собрание романсов и песен М. И. Глинки, тщательно собранных и приведенных в возможный порядок Л. И. Шестаковой, коей и принадлежит сия книга." As cited in Perepelkina, "L. I. Shestakova."

24 Stasov, "Biograficheskie zametki," 39 and 41.

Transport of Glinka's Remains from Berlin to St. Petersburg

Glinka sent his last letter to Shestakova from Berlin in January 1857, informing her that he was not well. Another letter (dated 30 January / 11 February)²⁵ was written at Glinka's request by the composer Vladimir Kashperov, who was also in Berlin at the time, stating that Glinka had a bad cold but that his condition was not serious. Thereafter, on 12 February, Shestakova received news of Glinka's death at 5 a.m. on 3/15 February and of the subsequent funeral at the local cemetery.²⁶

*On February 3, 1857, Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka died and the lifework of his sister, Ludmila Ivanovna, began. From that moment till her death in 1906 at the age of eighty-eight, every hour of Ludmila's life was dedicated to Glinka's interests, to keeping his name warm and alive, to giving encouragement and friendship to those musicians he would have helped, to bringing order into the piled-up disorder that "my dear brother" left behind him.*²⁷

Shestakova immediately decided that her brother's mortal remains should be transferred to St. Petersburg. For this she needed the consent of the Tsar (at that time Alexander II). She obtained this with the help of Vladimir Stasov and the politician Ivan M. Tolstoy.²⁸ In addition, the Tsar ordered that all expenses be paid by the state first, so that Shestakova would have time to pay them back. After receiving the sad news, Shestakova wrote to Dehn and Kashperov asking them to describe Glinka's last days.²⁹ In the letter from Dehn, who spent every day with Glinka during his illness, there is a very interesting account of the composer's cause of death (to this day it is often claimed that he died of a cold or pneumonia, which the following lines and the medical report³⁰ refute):

25 Julian calendar / Gregorian calendar. In this chapter, both calendar variants are given in the context of Berlin.

26 He was buried on February 6/18 at the Dreifaltigkeitsfriedhof evangelical cemetery in Berlin. Meyerbeer, Dehn, Kasperov and several other musicians were present at the modest funeral. Shestakova, "Poslednie gody," 629.

27 The author of this text has known Shestakova all his life because his parents were friends with her, but his recollections are incorrect in many respects. For example, in the quoted text Shestakova's age at the time of her death is given as 88, but in reality she was 89. Serge Bertensson, "Ludmila Ivanovna Shestakova – Handmaid to Russian Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (1945): 331.

28 Stasov described his talks with Tolstoy in a letter to Shestakova. Lyudmila Ivanovna Shestakova, "Novye materialy dlya biografii M. I. Glinki," *Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta* 5, no. 12 (1898): 1022–1023.

29 Shestakova, "Poslednie gody," 624–625.

30 This report, which indicates enlarged liver as the cause of death, was published in the Russian translation in the article: Shestakova, "Novye materialy," 1022.

17 (5.) *the corpse was dissected in the presence of a physician, in compliance with all legal regulations. Glinka demanded this often and persistently, made it my duty, and made me promise to do it. The dissection revealed that Glinka had died of an excessive development of the so-called fatty liver disease and that under these circumstances he did not have long to live.*³¹

In the same letter Dehn wrote:

*Following your wish, I put a temporarily simple monument on his grave, made of Silesian marble, with the inscription: Michail von Glinka. Kaiserlicher russischer Kapellmeister. Geb. 20 Mai zu Spasskoe, Gouv. Smolensk. Gest. 15 Februar 1857 zu Berlin.*³²

Vasily Pavlovich Engelhardt, an astronomer and friend of Glinka, came to Berlin to arrange for the exhumation and subsequent transfer of the remains to Russia. The exhumation took place at 4 a.m. on 14/26 May. In his letter of 16/28 May, Engelhardt recounted the resting place and the procedure of the exhumation to Glinka's sister:

*There was no smell, but none of us dared to lift the sheet and look at the body, only the undertaker had the courage and then said "Das Gesicht sieht böse aus". According to him, it was impossible to distinguish any features because the whole face was covered with a white substance, like a layer of cotton wool.*³³

Dehn described that Glinka's grave was not located directly in the cemetery, but outside of it behind the wall where the new cemetery was laid out. The grave was poorly built and its outer part was dilapidated. Along with the letter, Engelhardt sent several flowers from Glinka's grave.

On May 21, Shestakova, accompanied by some of Glinka's friends, left for Kronstadt, where the steamer carrying Glinka's body arrived the next

31 "17 (5-го) тело, с соблюдением всех законных формальностей, в присутствии врача анатомировано. Глинка часто и настойчиво этого требовал, поставив мне это в обязанность и взял с меня в том обещание. Диссекция указала, что Глинка умер вследствие чрезмерного развития, так называемого ожирения печени и что при этих условиях он, ни в каком случае, не мог долго жить." Shestakova, "Poslednie gody," 628–629.

32 "Сообразно с вашим желанием, я поставил временно простой памятник на его могиле из силезского мрамора с такою надписью: Michail von Glinka. Kaiserlicher russischer Kapellmeister. Geb. 20 Mai zu Spasskoe, Gouv. Smolensk. Gest. Februar 15, 1857 zu Berlin." Ibid., 629.

33 "Запаха никакого не было, но никто из нас не решался приподнять простыню и посмотреть на тело, только гробощик имел столько смелости и сказал 'Das Gesicht sieht böse aus'. По его словам, нельзя уже было различить ни одной черты, ибо все лицо было покрыто каким-то белым веществом, как-бы слоем ваты." Shestakova, "Novye materialy," 1023.

day. That evening his remains were transferred to the Lazarus church in St. Petersburg, and on May 23 the coffin was taken to the Dukhovskaya church, where a funeral ceremony was held the following evening. Glinka was buried in the Alexander Nevsky Lavra in the Tikhvin cemetery. Above his new grave, Shestakova had a monument erected, designed by academician Ivan Gornostayev. The tombstone on Glinka's Berlin tomb was preserved even after the exhumation at her request.³⁴

Printing of Scores

In addition to transporting Glinka's remains, Engelhardt had another task in Berlin. Following Shestakova's instructions, he had the scores of the overtures of *A Life for the Tsar*, *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, *Noch v Madride* (*Summer Night in Madrid*), and *Aragonskaya khota* (*Jota Aragonesa*) printed. These overtures were dedicated to Meyerbeer, Liszt, Berlioz, and Dehn. All these musicians spoke very highly of Glinka's music and, naturally, Shestakova's aim in taking this step was to make her brother's music known abroad. *Jota Aragonesa* was dedicated to Ferenc Liszt, who then wrote to Shestakova:

*I would like to tell you how much I was moved by your letter! I thank you for remembering me as one of the most sincere and zealous admirers of your brother, a magnificent genius, so worthy of high fame precisely because he was above vulgar success. [...] I accept your honourable dedication with sincere gratitude, and it will be my pleasure and duty to promote as soon as possible the diffusion of Glinka's works, for which I have always felt the most sincere and enthusiastic sympathy.*³⁵

Liszt, the then bandmaster of the Weimar Orchestra, performed *Jota Aragonesa* at the New Year's concert in 1858, where, according to his letter to Engelhardt, it met with great success and was very popular among the members of the orchestra, too.³⁶

After Glinka's death, Shestakova became the heiress of all his tangible and intangible assets, but she renounced everything in favour of her sisters, retaining only the musical rights, though not for material reasons (much of his

34 Shestakova, "Poslednie gody," 632.

35 "Я желал бы высказать вам, как меня тронуло ваше письмо! Благодарю вас за то, что вы вспомнили обо мне, как об одном из самых искренних и ревностных поклонников великолепного гения вашего брата, столь достойного высокой славы именно потому, что он стоял выше вульгарных успехов... Я принимаю с истинною благодарностью почетное ваше посвящение, и для меня это будет удовольствие и обязанность, как только возможно, содействовать распространению созданий Глинки, к которым я питал всегда самую искреннюю и восторженную симпатию." As cited in Stasov, "Biograficheskie zametki," 45.

36 Ibid., 45.

work, including the two operas, had been previously sold by Glinka himself).³⁷ In order to better disseminate Glinka's work, Shestakova decided to publish the scores of his operas. She reached an agreement with the prominent publisher and editor Fyodor Stellovsky,³⁸ who already owned many of Glinka's works, and sold him all the previously unsold works for a symbolic 25 rubles. In addition, she gave his publisher a thousand rubles, knowing that publishing Glinka's scores was not a profitable venture for him. However, after Stellovsky took no steps to print the scores, Shestakova asked permission to print operas abroad. Stellovsky initially gave his consent, but instead of providing Balakirev with the necessary scores, he initiated a lawsuit against Shestakova in 1866, which she won in 1867 with the help of Dmitri Stasov.³⁹ Nevertheless, Stellovsky was still the owner of the operas, and the possibility of printing them was not in sight.⁴⁰

Towards the end of his life Stellovsky suffered from mental illness and died in April 1875. After his death, the publishing house passed into the inheritance of his sister, who authorised the lawyer F. A. Gake, with whom Shestakova eventually arranged to print the scores. In 1876, under conditions favourable to the publisher, she obtained consent to print *Ruslan* in Leipzig. The conditions were as follows: She received permission to print one hundred copies of the score of *Ruslan*, fifty of which she could give to anyone she wished, the remaining fifty going to Stellovsky's publishing house. Gake undertook to publish 50 copies of the score of *A Life for the Tsar*, of which he gave 25 to Shestakova. In order to print the scores, which was a very expensive affair, Lyudmila Ivanovna sacrificed her last possessions and also had to borrow money from Nikolsky.⁴¹ Having raised the necessary sum, she commissioned Balakirev, who asked Rimsky-Korsakov and Lyadov for help, to prepare the score for printing. The printing and the necessary proofreading were accompanied by a number of worries and inconveniences, and Shestakova had to borrow additional money:

The money I had borrowed was not enough, I borrowed more, and finally, on 10 November 1878, I received the first printed edition of the score of Ruslan from Leipzig. There are no words to express what I felt when I held that copy in my hands! I forgot all the difficulties, all the hard times, and was

37 Glinka sold many of his works to his friend Pyotr Gurskalin, who owned the Odeon publishing house, and Fyodor Stellovsky bought the rights to Glinka's music (incl. both operas) from this company during Glinka's lifetime. Shestakova, "Poslednie gody," 631.

38 Stellovsky was not only a music publisher; he also published the first collections of writers such as Lev Tolstoy or Fyodor Dostoevsky.

39 According to Lobankova, the lawsuits lasted until 1870. Lobankova, *Glinka*, 524.

40 Shestakova, "Poslednie gody," 631.

41 Shestakova, "Glinka v vospominaniyah," 53.

completely happy. On the evening of the next day I invited those who had made this possible to my house, placed my brother's bust on the dais, lit it, decorated it with flowers, and spread the score of Ruslan near the bust; after dinner, with a glass in my hand, I said with a joyful feeling in my soul, "Mi-sha, today I can drink a glass to your memory with a clear conscience and a pure soul. Your wish is fulfilled, the printed score of Ruslan lies at your feet."⁴²

A month later she received the rest of the scores, which she distributed to major European and Russian libraries, theatres and conservatories, and gave some away to prominent people and art lovers.⁴³ The score of *A Life for the Tsar* was printed in Leipzig in 1881.

Ruslan and Lyudmila in Prague

At the time when it was impossible to print the scores of Glinka's operas because of Stellovsky, Shestakova decided to make Glinka's music known in other ways. When she learned that Prague was extremely friendly to Russian music and that *A Life for the Tsar* was to be performed there, she took this opportunity to make an offer to the Provisional Theatre in Prague to perform Glinka's beloved opera *Ruslan and Lyudmila*. To make the necessary arrangements, she visited Prague herself at the end of October 1866.⁴⁴ After successful discussions, she ordered costume and scene designs at her own expense from the artist Gornostayev, the designer of Glinka's tombstone, which she then sent to Prague.

The Stellovsky case dragged on, and there was no thought of printing the scores. But I wanted to do something for my brother's music, and so, having learned that the Czechs were very friendly to Glinka's music and were staging A Life for the Tsar in Prague, I asked Miliy Alexeyevich Balakirev to travel there and take the score of Ruslan with him. Balakirev travelled for quite a long time, but could do nothing, for it was the time of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. In September 1866, after the end of the war, I pursued my idea of staging Ruslan in Prague and travelled there [...] The matter of

42 "Занятых мною денег оказалось недостаточно, я заняла еще и, наконец, в 1878 году, 10-го ноября, я получила первый печатный экземпляр партитуры *Руслана* из Лейпцига. Что почувствовала я, взяв этот экземпляр в руки, нет слов выразить! Я забыла все неприятности, все тяжелые часы и была совершенно счастлива. На другой же день я пригласила к себе вечером всех сотрудников, поставила бюст брата на возвышении, осветила, украсила его цветами и близ бюста разложила партитуру *Руслана*; за ужином, с бокалом в руках, с радостным чувством в душе, сказала: – Миша, сегодня с чистой душой и совестью могу выпить бокал в память твою. Твое желание исполнено, – печатная партитура *Руслана* у ног твоих." Shestakova, "Glinka v vospominaniyah," 53–54.

43 Ibid., 54.

44 According to the Gregorian calendar.

*staging Ruslan was settled within ten minutes, so that on the very day I returned from the theatre I wrote to Balakirev in St. Petersburg.*⁴⁵

After visiting Prague, Shestakova remembered the Czechs with respect. She made friends during her stay, for example with Josef Kolář, a Slavist and translator with whom she later corresponded. Her letters to him reveal that *Ruslan's* score was kept in Prague and that Shestakova had to press for its return because Stellovsky died and the printing of scores was again on the agenda. Based on her note from the letter of 8 February 1875, the score in Prague was probably one of the copies made at her request after the Bolshoi Theatre fire:

*[...] moreover, these are the only copies reviewed and corrected by the brother himself, and the scores should be printed according to them.*⁴⁶

Balakirev visited Prague for the first time in August 1866, when he was to negotiate a performance of *Ruslan*, but because of the ongoing Prussian-Austrian War he soon had to leave the city. Six months later he returned, and on 16 February 1867,⁴⁷ he famously conducted *Ruslan and Lyudmila*. This opera and its conductor earned general esteem there. The Russian press, as well as V. Stasov,⁴⁸ for example, wrote about Prague as the place where Balakirev and *Ruslan* received the recognition they deserved, despite minor disagreements and problems Balakirev had in Prague, a recognition this opera had to wait for in Russia. This great success in Prague was also one of the impulses that led to the opera *Ruslan and Lyudmila* being reassessed there when it was performed again at the Mariinsky Theatre in 1871.

Monuments and Museum

On 20 May 1885, the day of Glinka's birthday, his bronze statue, financed by voluntary donations, was unveiled in Smolensk. Shestakova played an important role in this event as well. At her expense, an iron and copper fence

45 Shestakova, "Glinka v vospominaniyah," 52 and 53.

46 "[...] к тому же это единственные экземпляры просмотренные и исправленные самым братом, и понятно, что по ним должны печататься партитуры." Lyudmila Ivanovna Shestakova, "A letter to Josef Kolář," February 2, 1875, Museum of Czech Literature, Josef Kolář fonds (no. 818).

47 According to the Gregorian calendar.

48 Stasov wrote a comprehensive article about this opera on the fiftieth anniversary of the premiere of *Ruslan*, where he also mentioned the Prague performance. Vladimir Stasov, "Ruslan i Lyudmila M. I. Glinki: K 50-letiyu etoy opery na scene," *Ezhegodnik Imperatorskikh Teatrov* 2, season 1891–1892 (1893): 289–333.

with musical motifs from Glinka's works was erected around the statue.⁴⁹ This statue was the first ever monument to Glinka and the first monument to a Russian composer in Russia.⁵⁰

On the day of the fiftieth anniversary of the premier of *Ruslan*, 27 November 1893, thanks to the efforts of Shestakova and other friends, the name of Nikolskaya Street leading to the Mariinsky Theatre was changed to Glinka Street in honour of the composer. The house where he lived in St. Petersburg was decorated with a memorial marble plaque.⁵¹

On the occasion of the five hundredth performance of *A Life for the Tsar*, on 28 November 1879, Shestakova received a sum of 2,500 roubles, which she was to dispose of as she saw fit. She did not keep any part of the money. She donated a thousand rubles to the Free School of Music, which had been close to her heart since its foundation, and decided to give 1,500 rubles as an "Olga scholarship" (in memory of her deceased daughter) to a girl of her choice who was studying at a girls' grammar school.⁵²

On 27 November 1892, a celebratory performance of *Ruslan and Lyudmila* took place at the Mariinsky Theatre to mark the fiftieth anniversary of its production. At this performance, Shestakova was given a place of honour in the auditorium. Upon her arrival in the auditorium, she was greeted with applause and a bouquet of flowers by members of the opera. During the intermission, a delegation led by V. V. Stasov came to her and presented her with a wreath in the form of a star with the inscription "for 50 years of service to her brother" on the ribbon.⁵³ On that day, thanks to the initiative of V. V. Stasov, an exhibition museum was set up in the foyer of the theatre, where objects related to Glinka and his fairy-tale opera were displayed. The list of objects that were in the museum and a description of their location can be found in the *Ezhebodnik Imperatorskih teatrov*⁵⁴ and in more detail in the *Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta*,⁵⁵ where Stasov's letter describing his motives for setting up the exhibition was also published.⁵⁶ After this performance, the opinion began to prevail that the composer Glinka deserved a permanent museum. Shestakova, who was nearly eighty years old, was aware of this.

49 Stasov, "Biograficheskie zametki," 46.

50 Lobankova, *Glinka*, 525.

51 Stasov, "Biograficheskie zametki," 46.

52 Ibid., 47.

53 "Obozrenie deyatelnosti Imperatorskih scen v sezon 1890–91 g.," *Ezhebodnik Imperatorskih Teatrov* 3, season 1892–1893 (1894): 199.

54 "Muzey Glinki v foye Mariinskogo teatra v den' prazdnovaniya 50-ti-letiya opery Ruslan i Lyudmila," *Ezhebodnik Imperatorskih Teatrov* 3, season 1892–1893 (1894): 551–555.

55 The described exhibits did not become part of the new Glinka Museum. Nikolai Findeisen, "Muzey Glinki," *Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta* 3, no. 12 (1896): 1525–1536.

56 Vladimir Stasov, "Muzey Glinki v foye Marrinskogo teatra, (Pismo k N. F. Findeisenu)," *Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta* 3, no. 12 (1896): 1519–1524.

In November 1895, she approached the Russian Musical Society with the idea of establishing a Glinka Museum in the building of the Conservatory, which was still under construction (it had been created by the reconstruction of the Bolshoi Theatre in St. Petersburg). This project met with a positive response in the Conservatory, and a separate room was set aside for the museum. Shestakova set the opening day on the symbolic date of 27 November 1896, when the premiere of *A Life for the Tsar* turned 60.⁵⁷ Shestakova herself donated exhibits for the museum and made a financial contribution to it. The museum's catalogue was also prepared at her expense. The proceeds from the sale of the catalogues were intended for the support of the poor students of the conservatory.⁵⁸

The significance of the museum lay not only in the fact that it was the first permanent Glinka museum, but also the first institution of its kind dedicated to a single musician in Russia.⁵⁹ Musicologist Nikolai Findeisen, later the author of Glinka's biography, whom the composer's sister met shortly after the aforementioned anniversary of *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, helped Shestakova set up this museum.⁶⁰ He later published the list of exhibits in an article "Muzey Glinki" in his journal *Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta*.⁶¹ According to his diary entries, at the time of its opening the museum was "still very poor and unattractive" and the exhibition at the Mariinsky Theatre was "splendid compared to this museum."⁶²

Conclusion

Shestakova herself wrote several memoirs describing her brother's life, which are an invaluable source of information about Glinka and his life. The present study also draws on them. These include *Byloe M. I. Glinki i ego roditeley*, "M. I. Glinka v vospominaniyah ego sestry" and "Poslednie gody zhizni i konchina Mihaila Ivanovicha Glinki." She was also the author of the memoir *Moi večera*, in which she reminisces about the composers of the New Russian School and their meetings, among other things. Since she wrote these memoirs many years after the events described, there are some inaccuracies. Shestakova, the Stasovs and Engelhardt donated documents about Glinka, his letters and autographs to the Imperial Public Library (now the Russian National Library), which to this day houses the most extensive collection of Glinka.⁶³

57 In 1917 the Glinka Museum was closed; today most of the documents from this museum are at the Russian Institute of Art History. Lobankova, *Glinka*, 519 and 525.

58 Ol'ga Gavrilina, "Komnata Glinki: Pochemu zakrylsya muzey kompozitora v Peterburge?" *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti*, May 5, 2019, https://spbvedomosti.ru/news/nasledie/komnata_glinki_pochemu_zakrylsya_muzey_kompozitora_v_peterburge/.

59 Findeisen, "Muzey Glinki," (1896): 1525.

60 Findeisen, "Pamyati L. I. Shestakovoj," 149.

61 According to this article, there were 98 exhibits in the museum after its opening. Nikolai Findeisen, "Muzey Glinki," *Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta* 4, no. 1 (1897): 119–126.

62 Findeisen, *Dnevnik: 1892–1901*, 180.

63 Lobankova, *Glinka*, 519.

Lyudmila Ivanovna devotedly cared for her brother and his legacy, and her merits are undeniable. Thanks to her, we can still hear the opera *Ruslan and Lyudmila* today, which would have been lost forever without her involvement in the transcription of the opera scores. She also collected her brother's romances, and it is possible that without her efforts some of them would not have been preserved for future generations. She tried to make Glinka's music known abroad and thus promote Russian music in general, and she played an important role in the lives of many musicians of the time. She urged Glinka to write his autobiography *Zapiski*, and she herself wrote several texts about her brother's life, which are an important source of information about Glinka. After her brother's death, she also played a certain role in the publication (and censorship) of his letters and *Zapiski*. Together with Vladimir Stasov, she helped to create a kind of cult, the composer's "second life", which fundamentally influences the way Mikhail Glinka, the father of Russian music, is perceived to this day.

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POVZETEK

Ljudmila Ivanovna Šestakova, roj. Glinka: genijeva mlajša sestra

Ljudmila Ivanovna Šestakova (1816–1906) je bila mlajša sestra ruskega skladatelja Mikhaila Ivanoviča Glinke (1804–1857). Za časa njegovega življenja, predvsem pa v njegovih zadnjih letih, je predano skrbela zanj in ga podpirala. Prav zaradi njene podpore je Glinka napisal svojo avtobiografijo *Zapiski*, prav tako pa je poskrbela za to, da sta se partituri obeh njegovih oper ohranili. Po bratovi smrti (in zaradi svoje nesrečne usode) si je zadala življenjski cilj, da poskrbi za njegovo zapuščino in širi njegovo glasbo. Takoj po bratovi smrti je (s pomočjo prijateljev) začela urejati prenos njegovih posmrtnih ostankov iz Berlina, kjer je Glinka umrl, v St. Peterburg. V slednjem je organizirala pogreb na pokopališču Tikvin. Pozneje je pomagala širiti njegovo glasbo, s tem da je, denimo, dala natisniti partiture njegovih uvertur in oper (tisk oper je zapletel sodni spor z glasbenim urednikom Fjodorjem Stelovkijem). Prav tako je igrala pomembno vlogo pri izvedbi ljube mu opere *Ruslan in Ljudmila* v Pragi (1867), ko je bila ta tam prvič uprizorjena zunaj Rusije. S tem si je prizadevala zlasti za promocijo Glinkovega dela v tujini. Ljudmila Ivanovna Šestakova je bila tudi pobudnica ustanovitve Glinkovega muzeja v St. Peterburgu (1896), prvega muzeja v Rusiji, posvečenega posameznemu skladatelju. Vedno so se je spominjali in jo slavili kot sestro čaščenega genija. Poleg tega, da je širila bratovo glasbo, je bila pomembna osebnost sanktpeterburške glasbene scene, saj je prijateljevala z mnogimi glasbeniki tistega časa (npr. s skladatelji Ruske peterke, Vladimirjem V. Stasovim in Nikolajem Findejznom). Napisala je številne spomine o bratu in prijateljih, sanktpeterburških glasbenikih, ki predstavljajo neprecenljiv vir informacij o Glinkovem življenju in družini, izoblikovanju nove ruske šole in tedanjem glasbenem življenju v Sankt Peterburgu. Ko je umrla, so jo pokopali ob bratu.

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Grieg and Violins: An Immersion into the String Orchestra

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ABSTRACT

Violin was Edvard Grieg's favourite orchestral instrument. This affinity expanded to other string family instruments and a string orchestra. The article aims to characterise Grieg's two-movement cycles of miniatures for string orchestra, emphasizing the features of their orchestration. The analysis revealed that these cycles should be considered as original and creative orchestral compositions where the composer efficiently employs the possibilities of string instruments.

Keywords: Edvard Grieg, string orchestra, orchestral miniatures, two-movement cycles, orchestration

IZVLEČEK

Violina je bila najljubši orkestralni instrument Edvarda Griega, naklonjen pa je bil tudi drugim inštrumentom iz družine godal in godalnemu orkestru. Članek želi opredeliti Griegove dvostavčne cikluse miniaturnih skladb za godalni orkester, s poudarkom na značilnostih njihove orkestracije. Analiza je pokazala, da bi te cikluse morali obravnavati kot izvirne in ustvarjalne orkestralne kompozicije, pri katerih skladatelj učinkovito izkorišča možnosti, ki jih ponujajo godalni instrumenti.

Ključne besede: Edvard Grieg, godalni orkester, orkestralne miniaturne, dvostavčni ciklusi, orkestracija

Introduction

Edvard Grieg considered orchestration a very important component of his music. His articles and letters contain, although sparse, yet insightful outgivings about the orchestration of other composers, such as Johan Svendsen, Richard Wagner, Richard Strauss, and Claude Debussy.¹ But almost throughout all of his creative life, Grieg complained about the lack of his own orchestration knowledge. He referred to the Leipzig conservatoire (Grieg studied there in 1858–1862) as the first and foremost culprit of such imperfection. In his autobiographical essay, *My First Success*, Grieg wrote:

In my last year at the Conservatory I had lessons in composition from Carl Reinecke. [...] As an illustration of how things went on in these lessons, I will mention just the following: I, who had presented myself as one who did not have the slightest understanding of either musical form or of string technique, was immediately required to write a string quartet. [...] What Reinecke failed to teach me I tried to pick up from Mozart and Beethoven, whose quartets I diligently studied on my own initiative.²

Further experience was even more perplexing:

After the negative success that proved to be the lot of my first string quartet, Reinecke said: "Now write an overture!" I, who had no knowledge of orchestral instruments or of orchestration, was supposed to write an overture! [...] It seems incredible, but there was no class at the Conservatory in which one could get a grounding in these things. [...] It was fortunate for me, however, that in Leipzig I got to hear so much good music, especially orchestral and chamber music. This made up for the knowledge of compositional technique which the Conservatory failed to give me.³

It can be stated that Grieg was self-educated in the sphere of orchestration. Yet this education was grounded on music by the greatest European masters.

Only occasional remarks about individual musical instruments appear in Grieg's writings. Violin is the only exception: numerous pages written by Grieg

1 See Finn Benestad and William H. Halverson, eds., *Edvard Grieg: Letters to Colleagues and Friends* (Columbus, Ohio: Peer Gynt Press, 2000). See also Edvard Grieg, "Johan Svendsen's Concert," 280–283; id., "My First Success," 67–89; id., "Richard Wagner and The Ring of the Nibelung," 290–320, all published in *Edvard Grieg: Diaries, Articles, Speeches*, eds. Finn Benestad and William H. Halverson (Columbus: Peer Gynt Press, 2001).

2 Grieg, "My First Success," 83.

3 *Ibid.*, 84.

are devoted to this instrument.⁴ But an affinity for violin was overshadowed by the lack of self-confidence concerning his skills in writing for it. Grieg mentions his assumed inability to compose for the violin even in the mature period of his creative life. In 1878 he wrote to violinist Robert Heckman: “Just think if I had been able to play the violin a little!!! Damn that Leipzig Conservatory! What I am able to do I did not learn there – that is a fact.”⁵ Of course, this outburst of emotions cannot be taken as a manifestation of undisputed truth, however, Grieg’s words once again certify that Leipzig conservatoire staff neglected orchestration discipline. Such lack of self-confidence in writing for strings lasted for many years and had its positive side: Grieg made every attempt to gain knowledge of writing for violin and other string instruments, and eventually, his mastery in this field became prominent. Perhaps string parts in Grieg’s scores could be treated as the most obvious indicator of his progress in orchestration technique.⁶

It appears natural that Grieg’s fondness for violin extended to other string family instruments. Consequently, this liking evidently manifested in a) chamber compositions for strings, b) treatment of the string section of a symphony orchestra, and c) compositions and arrangements for string orchestra.

Subtle individuality of string instruments technique and expression is vividly implemented in *chamber compositions for strings*. Grieg wrote five such works: three violin sonatas (op. 8, 1865; op. 13, 1867; op. 45, 1886–1887), Cello Sonata (Op. 36, 1882–1883) and String Quartet No. 1 in G minor (Op. 27, 1877–1878). In a letter to Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (16 January 1900), Grieg noted that his violin sonatas could be treated as landmarks of his creative biography: “[...] these three works are among my best compositions and represent periods in my development: the first, naive, reflecting many antecedents; the second, national; and the third, with its wider horizons.”⁷

The place of the String Quartet among Grieg’s chamber works is equally important. In his letter to Gottfred Matthison-Hansen (13 August 1877) referring to String Quartet Grieg once again expressed doubts in his ability to write for string instruments: “The next composition that you will see from me will be a work for string instruments. I’m in the middle of it, but God knows when I will finish. Just now I am once again experiencing numbing incompetence that

4 Affinity for violin (and string instruments in general) likely came to Grieg in his early years. The world-famous violinist and a relative of Grieg’s mother Ole Bull had a significant and diverse influence on the future composer. Grieg admired Bull as a virtuoso violinist and as a performer of Norwegian folk melodies. However, the instrumental folk music performed on Hardanger fiddle is a specific chapter in Grieg’s creative legacy and will not be discussed here.

5 Benestad and Halverson, *Edvard Grieg: Letters*, 371.

6 It seems strange that Grieg mentioned woodwind and brass instruments very seldom and never complained about insufficient knowledge of these instruments.

7 Benestad and Halverson, *Edvard Grieg: Letters*, 137.

must be violently attacked.”⁸ But the work on *Quartet* became a significant step towards successful handling of strings and a higher self-confidence in composing for them. The intention to accomplish all technical details of his *Quartet* perfectly is reflected in Grieg’s correspondence with German violinist Robert Heckmann. This correspondence discloses how diligently and particularly Grieg worked on every part. Heckmann’s consultations were helpful from a practical point of view and psychologically encouraging. The violinist was very fond of the *Quartet* and expressed his high opinion concerning Grieg’s competence in composing for string instruments: “[...] one can hardly talk in terms of failure of your power of inventive imagination, such as for example any lack of experience in handling string instruments. You have a correct sense of the various instruments’ tone-colour that is the main thing; practical considerations, bowing and the like, can easily be adjusted.”⁹

Namely, the work on the *String Quartet* preceded a creative period during which many of Grieg’s compositions for string orchestra were created. In a letter written to Heckmann on 4 July 1878, Grieg made a remark, which discloses an important feature of his manner in writing for strings: “It irritates me that the chords in the whole pizzicato passage have to be played *arpeggio*. If I had been writing the piece for string orchestra, I would have divided the parts (*divisi*).”¹⁰ This remark is important for understanding the specificity of another important layer of Grieg’s creative legacy – his *compositions for string orchestra*.

The further analysis is focused on Grieg’s miniatures (piano pieces and songs) arranged for the string orchestra and merged into two-movement cycles.¹¹

General Characteristics of String Orchestra Two-movement Cycles

String orchestra was not a very widely used medium in the nineteenth century. In this regard, Grieg stands out against the majority of contemporary composers. The share of compositions for string orchestra in Grieg’s creative legacy is significant. Some of Grieg’s contemporaries, late-Romantic composers, created occasional works for string orchestra. For example, at least five composers of that time – Pyotr Tchaikovsky, Antonín Dvořák, Edward Elgar, Carl Reinecke (Grieg’s teacher at Leipzig conservatoire) and Mieczysław Karłowicz composed cyclic works named *Serenade for Strings*. However, compositions for string orchestra by Grieg’s contemporaries

8 Ibid., 500.

9 Bjarne Kortsen, “Grieg’s *String Quartet* and Robert Heckmann,” *Music & Letters* 49, no. 1 (1968): 22.

10 Benestad and Halverson, *Edvard Grieg: Letters*, 370.

11 The usage of the string section in symphonic creations is a specific subject and will not be discussed in this article. Also, the most important string orchestra work, suite *From Holberg’s Time* will not be analysed: this suite would demand special attention because of its scope and exceptional stylistic features.

appear as solitary experiments within their vast musical legacy. Meanwhile, Grieg was much more attracted to string orchestra by its multiple possibilities: technical flexibility, variety of timbre tinges, and at the same time, homogeneous sounding of the whole.

Grieg's first compositions for strings were "Aase's Death," "Anitra's Dance," and "Solveig's Cradle Song" (scored for voice, strings, and harp) from *Peer Gynt*, Op. 23, (1875); also, a short cantata *The Mountain Thrall*, Op. 32 (1878) composed for string orchestra, two horns, and baritone. These works already manifest orchestration features peculiar to Grieg's compositions of later years. The most significant creations for string orchestra were composed between 1878 and approximately 1895.¹² Suite *From Holberg's Time*, Op. 40 (1885) is the largest-scale work for the string orchestra of this period and Grieg's legacy in general. Accompaniments for two out of *Six Songs with Orchestra*, EG 177 (1895) are also scored exclusively for strings. The orchestral version of "Shepherd's Boy" (1905) that became the first movement of *Lyric Suite* (four orchestrated movements from *Lyric Pieces V*, Op. 54, 1891) is scored for strings and harp: this is the latest Grieg's composition for string orchestra.

Four two-movement cycles of songs and piano pieces arranged for string orchestra (opuses 34, 53, 63, and 68) were created between 1880 and 1898. The first cycle, *Two Elegiac Melodies*, Op. 34 (1880), contains pieces "The Wounded Heart" and "Last Spring," which are the transcriptions of Grieg's songs on poems by Aasmund Vinje. The cycle *Two Melodies for String Orchestra*, Op. 53 (1890), is also based on transcriptions of two songs: the first piece called "Norwegian" is an arrangement of a song *The Goal* (text by Vinje) meanwhile the second piece retains the actual name of the song "The First Meeting" (text by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson). Cycle Op. 63 (1895), is titled *Two Nordic Melodies*. Its first movement, "In Folk Style," is a composition based on a melody that Grieg received from Swedish-Norwegian ambassador Fredrik Due.¹³ The second movement consists of two pieces: "Cow Call and Peasant Dance" is based on Grieg's piano pieces "Cattle Call" (No. 22) and "Comic Dance" (No. 18) from his cycle *25 Norwegian Folk Songs and Dances*, Op. 17. This cycle could be treated as an original composition but not an arrangement: there is no predecessor (piano piece or song) of the first movement. On the other hand, themes of the second movement were significantly elaborated and thus became more complex than short pieces on folk tunes from Grieg's early work op. 17. *Two Lyric Pieces* for piano from album IX Op. 68, "Evening in the Mountains" (its score includes oboe and horn) and "At the Cradle," were orchestrated in 1899.

12 Rytis Urniežius, "The Development and Periods of Edvard Grieg's Orchestral Style," *Studia UBB Musica* 2 (2018): 165–186, <http://studia.ubbcluj.ro/download/pdf/1190.pdf>.

13 Benestad and Halverson, *Edvard Grieg: Letters*, 643.

Table 1: Compositions for string orchestra by Edvard Grieg¹⁴

Name of the composition	Created	Orchestrated	Instrumentation
<i>Peer Gynt</i> , incidental music to Ibsen's drama, Op. 23.	1875		"Aase's Death" and "Anitra's Dance" are scored for string orchestra, "Solveig's Cradle Song" for strings and harp.
<i>The Mountain Thrall</i> , Op. 32.	1878		Baritone, string orchestra, and two horns.
* <i>Two Elegiac Melodies for String Orchestra</i> , Op. 34.	1880**		String orchestra.
<i>From Holberg's Time</i> , Op. 40.	1884	1885	String orchestra.
* <i>Two Melodies for String Orchestra</i> , Op. 53.	1890**		String orchestra.
<i>Six Songs with Orchestra</i> , EG 177.	1894–1895**		Accompaniments of songs arranged for string orchestra ("Solveig's Cradle Song" – from Op. 23, No. 26).
* <i>Two Nordic Melodies</i> , Op. 63.	1895**		String orchestra.
* <i>Two Lyric Pieces</i> from <i>Lyric Pieces IX</i> , Op. 68.	1898–1899	1899**	String orchestra (the score of the first piece "Evening in the Mountains" includes oboe and horn).
"Shepherd's Boy" from <i>Lyric Pieces V</i> , Op. 54.	1891	1905	The first movement of the <i>Lyric Suite</i> (1904–1905), for strings and harp.

American musicologist Henry Theophilus Finck describes Grieg's compositions for string orchestra as works of exceptional orchestration:

*There are several other works in which Grieg has revealed his rare gift for refined orchestral colouring. They are Two Elegiac Melodies for String Orchestra ("The Wounded Heart" and "Last Spring"), Op. 34; Two Melodies for String Orchestra, Op. 53 (versions of his songs "Norwegian" and "First Meeting"); and Two Nordic Melodies for string orchestra, Op. 63 ("Im Volkston" and "Cowkeeper's Tune and Peasant Dance"). These songs have become more widely known in their beautiful orchestral garbs than Lieder, yet they ought to be played ten times oftener in concert halls than they are. There is more substance and beauty in them than in most symphonies.*¹⁵

14 The dates in the third column indicate the instances when the original work was initially not composed for orchestra and was orchestrated later. The dates of the works orchestrated immediately after the creation of the piano version coincide with the date of their creation (second column). – *Cycles analysed in this article are marked with an asterisk. – **Two asterisks mark the date when the orchestral cycle was created: the predecessors of these cycles (piano pieces or songs from various opuses) were composed earlier in different periods.

15 Henry Theophilus Finck, *Edvard Grieg* (New York: John Lane Company, 1906), 94–95.

Strangely, Finck did not mention op. 68 that had been already composed before he wrote his book about Grieg. Also, it is arguable if the original song *The First Meeting* is now less popular than its orchestral transcription: this song is among Grieg's best-known vocal compositions. But in general, Finck's assertions seem correct even nowadays.

As early as 1888, the anonymous author of *The Musical Times* specified the *Elegiac Melodies* as an expressive conveyer of the Nordic spirit: "There is in it a sombre northern tone, a grave northern utterance which, somehow, appears to bring up before us the pineclad hills and deep-shadowed fiords of Norseland."¹⁶ Obviously, even during Grieg's lifetime, these compositions attracted not only Norwegian but also foreign (English in this particular case) musicologists.

On 17 October 1883, Grieg wrote to Frantz Beyer about the great success of "The Wounded Heart" and "Last Spring" in Weimar. According to Grieg, Franz List, who attended the concert, expressed strong satisfaction while listening to the compositions.¹⁷ Grieg described the same performance in a letter to Johan Christie (28 December 1883) more explicitly and personally:

*The first time I conducted this music for a German audience was in Weimar, and I do not remember many times in my life when I have been so moved. I hardly knew where I was, in the palace theatre in Weimar or out in the sombre, brooding Norwegian mountains. The truth is that I was in neither of these places but rather on the ethereal wings of harmony in outer space. And what a performance! The eyes of the musicians followed my every movement, and I saw this strangely supportive cast in their expression that let me know what they were thinking and feeling.*¹⁸

Obviously, Grieg was very fond of these arrangements and willingly included them in his concert programmes. In a letter to Finck (17 July 1900) Grieg characterised the same *Two Elegiac Melodies*:

*Of the songs I have mentioned, No. 38, "Spring" [Op. 33, No. 2] and No. 39, "The Wounded One" [Op. 33, No. 3] have also been published in a version for string orchestra under the title Two Elegiac Melodies (Op. 34). In this form they have achieved wide popularity outside my homeland. The profound wistfulness in these poems is the background of the solemn character of the music, and this led me in the arrangements for string orchestra, where the poems are not readily at hand, to clarify their content by giving them more expressive titles: "Last Spring" and "The Wounded Heart."*¹⁹

16 "Edvard Grieg," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 29, no. 540 (1888): 73–76. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3359405>; <https://doi.org/10.2307/3359405>.

17 Benestad and Halverson, *Edvard Grieg: Letters*, 34.

18 *Ibid.*, 194.

19 *Ibid.*, 232.

Presented comments show that Grieg himself highly estimated his mini-cycles for strings; other prominent musicians and the audience also were fond of them. The advantages of these pieces are grounded in their orchestration manner alongside other means of expression.

Features of Texture and Orchestration

Louis Coerne briefly and precisely characterized Grieg's orchestration: "Grieg's instrumentation is not conspicuously influenced by modern tendencies. Though he cannot be ranked as a great orchestrator, his writing for strings alone is of surpassing beauty, nor does his deployment of larger forces lack novelty and effectiveness."²⁰ Indeed, Grieg's music is seldom represented in earlier and modern orchestration textbooks. Their authors usually took scores of prominent masters of orchestration (Berlioz, Wagner, Rimsky-Korsakov, Richard Strauss, Ravel, and others) as examples. However, Henry Theophilus Finck indicated that Ebenezer Prout presented at least two examples from Grieg's works in his treatise *The Orchestra* (1899).²¹ Prout noted two versions of the "Prelude" from *Holberg Suite* as a demonstrative example of idiomatic writing for both piano and string orchestra and of accommodation of the texture to the specificity of each medium: "a comparison of two versions will show how much alteration may sometimes be necessary in orchestral transcription of pianoforte music."²² Prout characterized a climax passage from "Aase's Death" in another chapter: "Here we have five-part harmony; and a strange and very unusual effect is obtained by the *f* and *ff* of the muted strings. The mutes are almost invariably employed only for quiet passages. [...] the volume of tone, even with a large orchestra, will be very greatly diminished, first by the division of the parts, and secondly by the employment of the mutes."²³ "Aase's Death" is the first piece created by Grieg for purely string orchestra however it appears as an already mature attempt of writing for strings.

The Mountain Thrall is another Grieg's early work in which the features of his string orchestra manner began to reveal themselves. The division of string parts, which later became an indispensable trait of Grieg's string orchestra works, is fully represented. The texture is diverse and freely handled. As Beryl Foster noted, "The string writing throughout, as so often with Grieg in this medium, is excellent, and the *divisi* chords [...] are particularly effective."²⁴

20 Louis Adolphe Coerne, *The Evolution of Modern Orchestration* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908), 180.

21 Finck, *Edvard Grieg*, 86–87.

22 Ebenezer Prout, *The Orchestra* (London: Augener, 1903), 2: 254.

23 *Ibid.*, 20–21.

24 Beryl Foster, *The Songs of Edvard Grieg* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2007), 120.

Grieg exploits string orchestra in diverse ways. His works reflect most achievements of orchestration technique and variety of expression of string instruments in the nineteenth century. First of all, the means of creating texture are remarkable: all grades of textural richness from the exposition of the theme in a single voice to dense combinations of multiple layers can be found even within one composition (“In Folk Style,” “Evening in the Mountains”). Homophonic texture is certainly predominant in Grieg’s creations,²⁵ but in some episodes voices are fairly individual and move by conditionally independent lines (Example 1). Changes in the texture are dynamic and flexible: episodes of polyphonically combined melodic lines are in many cases followed by progressions of chords (“In Folk Style,” successive episodes from measure 63). Thus, although the general sounding of Grieg’s string orchestra is predominantly homogeneous, the flexible contexture of parts is lively and expressive in many places.

The image shows a musical score for two violins. The tempo is marked as [Andante] with a quarter note equal to 69. The key signature has one flat. The first staff is for Violins 1 and the second for Violins 2. Both start with a piano (pp) dynamic. The Violins 1 part features a melodic line with some grace notes and a dynamic shift to fortissimo piano (fp) later. The Violins 2 part features a more rhythmic accompaniment with triplets and also shifts to fp. The score is divided into two systems of four measures each.

Example 1: Edvard Grieg, “In Folk Style” from *Two Nordic Melodies*, Op. 63, mm. 63–66.

In his scores, Grieg concentrates the melodic voices mostly in one particular tessitura. The most common conveyers of melody are the first violins: they play either in unison or are divided in octaves. In the latter case, the upper voice (sometimes the lower as well) of the divided second violins often interferes between the melody octave, but in all cases, melody in the first violins remains concentrated and prominent (Example 2).

25 Fin Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg: The Man and the Artist* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 401.

[Andante ♩=69]

Violins 1
pp l' arco nel modo ordinario

Violins 2
pp l' arco nel modo ordinario

Viola
pp

Viola
pp

Example 2: Edvard Grieg, “Last Spring” from *Two Elegiac Melodies for String Orchestra*, Op. 34, mm. 43–46.

Melodies in cellos appear much less frequently and are usually not doubled in an octave (an exception could be seen in measures 49–52 of “In Folk Style”). The usual role of violas and second violins is filling the middle voices (often fairly expressive), short episodes of the main melody appear only in “In Folk Style.” These middle voices are usually distributed according to tessituras by juxtaposing divided second violins parts over divided violas parts. The practice of dividing the parts of the second violins to play in octave and interlock with violas parts (similarly doubled in octave) is not typical. As a result, middle parts are most often placed in similar registers of instruments thus increasing the cohesiveness of the texture and homogeneity of the whole.

Grieg was not fond of appointing the main melody to the first violins in octave with cellos – an expressive mean well-liked by many other composers (e.g., Sibelius). There are only several short passages of such doubling: in “Norwegian,” measures 35–46 and in climax episode of “In Folk Style,” measures 94–97. The melody of first violins in octave with violas appears only in several measures of “Peasant Dance.” But violas, second violins, and cellos are employed as parallel voices of the violins’ melody at different intervals.

Intense tuttis are often interchanged with transparent sections of divided violins (rehearsal mark B in “The Last Spring,” central episode of “The First Meeting”). “Peasant Dance” contains a short but vigorous violin solo. Altogether different, soft, and smooth solos of *con sordino* violin and violoncello succeed one after another in the middle episode of “Norwegian.” Grieg

efficiently employs the possibilities of the string orchestra: effective crescendos from soft *pianissimo* to powerful *fortissimo* appear during a short period of 2–3 measures (e.g., “The Wounded Heart,” mm. 10–12 and 39–41). Sometimes *crescendo* is achieved by crystallization of the texture, adding parts one after another in descending order, thus covering lower tessituras step by step from violins to double-basses (“Last Spring,” episode from measure 35) or in the opposite direction (first measures of “Norwegian,” see Example 3).

Allegro risoluto ♩ = 100

The musical score for Example 3 is a condensed score for the first four measures of Edvard Grieg's "Norwegian" from *Two Melodies for String Orchestra, Op. 53*. The tempo is marked **Allegro risoluto** with a quarter note equal to 100 beats per minute. The score is in 2/4 time and G major. It features five parts: Violins 1, Violins 2, Violas, Violoncellos, and Double Bases. The dynamics start at *p* (piano) in measure 1 and progress through *p* in measure 2, *cresc.* in measure 3, and *f* (fortissimo) in measure 4. The texture crystallizes as instruments enter in descending order: Double Bases (measure 1), Violoncellos (measure 2), Violas (measure 2), Violins 2 (measure 2), and Violins 1 (measure 2). Each instrument part includes a *cresc.* marking and a *f* dynamic in the final measure.

Example 3: Edvard Grieg, “Norwegian” from *Two Melodies for String Orchestra*, Op. 53, mm. 1–4. Condensed score.

Means of timbre expression are also diverse. Dark, sombre mood demands low strings, e.g., sustained low G of the second violin and low strings of all other instruments at the beginning of “The Wounded Heart.” The darker hue of the second sentence of the theme is deepened by indicating *sul G* in measures 8–11 of “The First Meeting” (also see melody *sul G* in violas, measures 3–6 of “In Folk Style”). On the contrary, the subtle soft colouring of “At the Cradle” is enhanced by applying *con sordino* for instruments playing in middle and

higher registers. Eight measures of *sul ponticello* in the “Last Spring” provide the melody with a chilly Nordic hue (mm. 35–42). *Sul ponticello tremolo* of accompanying second violins divided into four parts is equally effective (“Norwegian,” rehearsal mark D, mm. 87–108). Of interest is the fact that although Grieg frequently used string tremolo in his symphonic creations, “Norwegian” is the only composition among all four mini-cycles (measures 25–28, 30–33 and 87–108) containing tremolo. It could be explained by the character of the piece that it is the most energetic and goal-oriented (remember the title of the original song!) of all movements of mini-cycles. Grieg uses tremolo not only in *forte* level: he employs sweeping crescendo and *subito piano* (slight diminuendo is used only once), thus creating effective dynamical waves.

Luxuriant means of expression used in Grieg’s creations for string orchestra demanded a large number of players. Bjarte Engeset indicates that Grieg’s “string works were conceived for a large group of musicians, around 60, with the special fullness, fusion, power and depth of sound this brings.”²⁶ These expectations are reflected in numerous letters to concert organizers. Before the upcoming performance of *Two Elegiac Melodies* in Warsaw, Grieg corresponded with the director of the Warsaw Philharmonic Alexander Rajchmann to ensure a sufficient quantity of strings:

*“their discussion turned to the makeup of the string orchestra for the 22 April concert, which according to Rajchmann included fourteen violins I, ten violins II, eight violas, seven cellos, and seven contrabasses. Evidently, Grieg preferred a different distribution: in his response on 20 March, he added two each additional violins I, violins II, and violas, as well as one each additional cello and bass.”*²⁷

Grieg understood that dividing of each part into two or even more voices diminishes the strength and intensity of each of these voices. Consequently, only a large number of performers could ensure sufficient massiveness and expressiveness. Obviously, Grieg’s compositions for string orchestra would not have the intended impact if played by a “chamber” orchestra.

Division of each part (except double-basses) in two and even more voices is an especially characteristic trait of Grieg’s orchestration for strings. Louis Coerne wrote that “his writing for strings alone is of surpassing beauty, with its multiple division of parts, its polyphonic voice-leading, and its impassioned deployment of violas and violoncellos.”²⁸ In the *forte* episodes, multiple stores

26 Bjarte Engeset, “Edvard Grieg’s Orchestral Style: Conductor’s Point of View,” Keynote Presentation at the Grieg Conference in Copenhagen, August 13, 2011, 3, <http://griegsociety.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Paper-Bjarte-Engeset-2011.pdf>.

27 Anna E. Kijas, “A Suitable Soloist for My Piano Concerto: Teresa Carreño as a Promoter of Edvard Grieg’s Music,” *Notes* 70, no. 1 (2013): 57, http://opencommons.uconn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1053&context=libr_pubs.

28 Coerne, *The Evolution*, 151.

of *divisi* create a broad multi-layer texture. For example, in measures 59–60 of “Norwegian,” the number of simultaneous sounds is thirteen; multiple stops add even more density (Example 4). In most scores, each string orchestra section (the first and second violins, violas, and cellos) is supplied with two staves from the beginning. This fact does not imply that these parts are always divided. However, if any of them merges into unison, the notation is not changed to one staff. It shows that *divisi* is an inherent quality of the composer’s concept but not a temporary deviation from the usual assignment of parts.

[Allegro risoluto $\text{♩} = 100$]

The musical score is presented in a standard orchestral layout. It features five main sections, each with two staves:

- Violins I:** Two staves in treble clef, showing a dense texture of notes.
- Violins II:** Two staves in treble clef, mirroring the texture of the first violins.
- Violas:** Two staves in alto clef, contributing to the multi-layered sound.
- Violoncellos:** Two staves in bass clef, playing a similar rhythmic pattern.
- Double Basses:** Two staves in bass clef, providing the lowest layer of the texture.

Each staff begins with a dynamic marking of *fff* and includes various articulation marks such as accents and slurs. The notation is highly detailed, with many notes and rests, demonstrating the complexity of the texture.

Example 4: Edvard Grieg, “Norwegian” from *Two Melodies for String Orchestra*, Op. 53, mm. 59–60.

Grieg was concerned about the particularity of the performance. Preparing for the concert in Paris in 1903 and being aware that only one rehearsal with the orchestra would be available, Grieg wrote to the French conductor Édouard Colonne: “I would be very grateful if you would arrange to have my bowings marked in the orchestral parts and used in the preliminary rehearsals.”²⁹ Apparently, Grieg’s experience in writing for strings and his consultations with Robert Heckmann while writing *String Quartet* helped him develop a deep understanding of string instruments’ specificity.

Relationship with Original Compositions

String orchestra versions of analysed compositions differ from original piano pieces and songs in various aspects. Not only texture and timbre but also harmony and form of the pieces are sometimes modified compared to original compositions. For example, in measures 19–21 of the “Cattle Call,” the piano original (measures 15–17) is reconsidered and diversely elaborated, including modification of harmony (see Examples 5a and 5b; measure numbers in these two excerpts do not coincide because of the four-measure introduction composed for the string orchestra version).

[Andante con moto]

Piano

[mp]

dim.

Example 5a: Edvard Grieg, “Cattle Call,” No. 22 from *25 Norwegian Folk Songs and Dances*, Op. 17, mm. 15–17.

29 Benestad and Halverson, *Edvard Grieg: Letters*, 202.

[Andantino ♩ = 126]

Violin 1
Violin 2
Viola
Vlc.

f *ben ten.* *ff* *ffz*

Example 5b: Edvard Grieg, “Cow Call and Peasant Dance” (“Cow Call”) from *Two Nordic Melodies*, Op. 63, mm. 19–21.

In most cases, the form of string orchestra versions is modified. In “The Wounded Heart,” there are three differently scored stanzas, while the original song contains two stanzas with almost identical material. The single stanza of “The First Meeting” is expanded to two differently orchestrated stanzas. Other pieces are also expanded and sometimes complemented with additional conjunctive and conclusive episodes. “Peasant Dance,” “Evening in the Mountains,” and “Norwegian,” in general, correspond to the structure of originals. Indicated features of Grieg’s string orchestra arrangements of his piano compositions and songs show that these works should be regarded as creative transcriptions but not as merely orchestrations of piano and vocal pieces.

Probable Influences and Relationships

Likely, complex texture, multiple divisi, and some other features of orchestration in Grieg’s works for strings emerged and developed under Johan Svendsen’s influence. Grieg’s constant interest in Svendsen’s music and particularly in his orchestration began early and was confirmed more than once. As early as 1867, in his essay *Johan Svendsen’s Concert*, Grieg mentioned the performance of Steenberg’s *Minuet* arranged by Svendsen, who “allows the full string orchestra to sing out the beautiful, melodic secondary theme.”³⁰ This concert (as well as many other occasions to hear and admire Svendsen’s orchestration for strings) had a significant impact on Grieg’s manner. Svendsen’s *Two Icelandic Melodies* for string orchestra were composed in 1874, i.e., approximately a year before

30 Grieg, “Johan Svendsen’s Concert,” 282.

Grieg finished *Peer Gynt*.³¹ It is most likely that he was familiar with these pieces and took them as an example of proper string orchestra style. Merging compositions for string orchestra into mini-cycles was perhaps also influenced by Svendsen's "pairs" – *Two Icelandic Melodies* (1874) and *Two Swedish Melodies* (1876–1878). Of course, Grieg's mini-cycles could be regarded merely as a manifestation of the general Romantic tendency to merge miniatures into cycles. Yet, it was difficult to identify any other predecessors of Grieg's two-movement opuses except Svendsen's analogue. Svendsen divided each part of string orchestra (except double basses) in the same way Grieg later did in his scores. Delicate four-voice texture passages of divided violins typical of Grieg's scores can be found, for instance, in Svendsen's first *Icelandic Melody*, the second *Swedish Melody*, and arrangement of *The Herdgirl's Sunday* by Ole Bull (1879).³²

When comparing Grieg's "In Folk Style" and the first of *Two Icelandic Melodies*, similar features can be traced (despite a time gap of twenty years that separates these cycles). Both pieces are composed in the form of variations on a sustained melody. Neither Grieg nor Svendsen modulates the theme: all five expositions of Grieg's melody are in D minor; similarly, Svendsen's melody is constantly in A minor (with a strong flavour of the Phrygian mode). The sombre colouring that conforms to the general mood of melodies is created by using low tessitura and low strings of instruments. Similar traits of Svendsen's *Icelandic Melodies* and Grieg's "In Folk Style" allow presupposing the influence of the former upon the latter. However, Grieg's piece is more variably elaborated using polyphony, rhythm, and harmony.

It would be interesting to compare the compositions for string orchestra by Grieg with the works for the same medium written by his contemporaries. For example, *Serenade for Strings*, Op. 22 by Antonin Dvořák was composed in 1875.³³ Thus, Grieg could have quite possibly been acquainted with this work before writing his first mini-cycle op. 34 in 1880. Some similitude between music by these two composers can be indicated: both preferred homophonic style and both were outstanding creators of expressive melodies. Yet, the manner of orchestration does not show any influence. Dvořák's orchestral polyphony usually manifests as simultaneous juxtapositions of the melodies or imitative responses. Grieg usually superimposes the main melody over the accompaniment based on reservedly polyphonic (and therefore dynamic) but essentially homophonic voice leading. Dvořák applied multiple divisi mostly in episodes of complex texture (both *forte* and *piano*) and climaxes, whereas other episodes contain

31 However, it is most likely that the effect of *forte tutti con sordini* (also noted by Prout) was "invented" by Grieg himself.

32 The arrangement of the folk song *Last Year I was Tending the Goats* (Op. 31, 1874) and also the arrangement of *Evening Song* by Robert Schumann (1892?) are also examples of Svendsen's orchestration for string orchestra.

33 *Nocturne* Op. 40 for string orchestra was composed in the same year.

many succeeding measures of transparent texture spread out in the usual five-stave score. This is especially typical of the fast tempo episodes. Grieg, in turn, used multi-layers even in his pieces of lively character (“Norwegian,” “Peasant Dance”). Finally, Dvořák usually did not appoint separate staves for divided parts at the beginning of the composition, while this was customary for Grieg. Grieg thus preferred dense sounding versus light. Apparently, serenades and other string orchestra works by Dvořák (as well as by Tchaikovsky, Elgar, and Reinecke) could be performed by smaller orchestras than Grieg’s compositions.

Tracing how Grieg’s string orchestra treatment influenced contemporaries and successors is problematic. The scoring technique for string orchestra and the string section of a symphony orchestra eminently developed at the end of the nineteenth century – orchestration of other composers of that time (especially those considered virtuosos of orchestration) was more noticeable and influential than Grieg’s.

Conclusion

*Grieg’s special talent was such that it was precisely in small piano pieces, songs and short orchestral works – preferably with some connection to folk-music idioms – that he himself experienced the greatest satisfaction. The simple and concise – which nonetheless allow room for formal nuances of a most delicate kind – are embodied in these genres, and with such works he aroused a powerful response in his listeners.*³⁴

Works by Grieg composed for piano and later arranged for symphony orchestra are predominantly compositions of a larger scale (e.g. *Old Norwegian Melody with Variations*, Op. 51). Works for the theatre stage (*Peer Gynt*, *Olav Trygvason*) or related to it (*Bergliot*, Op. 42) were initially composed for piano but conceived as compositions for symphony orchestra: they would have sooner or later become orchestral. Meanwhile, small-scale piano compositions and songs, which Grieg decided to convert into orchestral pieces, are scored for string orchestra. The exception is *Lyric Suite*, yet three out of its four small-scale movements are re-orchestrated versions of earlier created Anton Seidl’s scores.³⁵ The fourth movement – “Shepherd’s Boy” – was orchestrated

34 Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg: The Man*, 396.

35 The Austro-Hungarian conductor Anton Seidl (1850–1898) worked as Richard Wagner’s copyist in Bayreuth and conducted at several European opera theatres. Since 1885 Seidl became a conductor of the German opera company in New York and later at the New York Philharmonic. Approximately in 1895, Seidl created orchestral versions of four movements from Grieg’s *Lyric Pieces V*, Op. 54. This cycle was called *Norwegian Suite*. In 1904–1905 Grieg reconstructed the cycle naming it *Lyric Suite*. For more data see Rytis Urniežius, “Two Orchestral Embodiments of *Three Pieces* from Op. 54 by Edvard Grieg,” *Muzikološki zbornik* 56, no. 1 (2020): 101–132, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.56.1.101-132>.

only by Grieg; Seidl's version of this piece does not exist, which is why it is not surprising that it was orchestrated only for strings and harp. Here Grieg remained faithful to his principles: to orchestrate miniatures for string orchestra. For Grieg, the string orchestra (sometimes supported by oboe, horn, or harp) was the most suitable medium for small-scale pieces, personal, lyrical landscapes. Yet, the question of why Grieg chose these particular piano pieces and songs to orchestrate for string orchestra is intriguing but difficult to answer.

Paradoxically, Grieg envisioned these small compositions to be performed by a large string orchestra. Only a medium that is of considerable size and contains a large number of performers would ensure a sufficiently powerful sound to convey the expression of Grieg's creations. Thus, Grieg's works for string orchestra are designed rather for a string section of a large symphony orchestra than for a chamber string group. In other words, these pieces could be treated as compositions for symphony orchestra, excluding the wind instruments.³⁶

Modifications and complements of music material Grieg made while arranging songs and piano pieces for string orchestra do not expand these pieces to the category of large form compositions. Presumably, these complements were necessary to make original short piano pieces weightier and proportionate for performances by a large string orchestra. For example, "Cow Call and Peasant Dance" is a kind of "mini-cycle inside mini-cycle": merging these two melodies allowed displaying folk tunes of different moods inside one composition that is more voluminous than each of these melodies taken separately. The renewed and complemented structure of Grieg's string orchestra arrangements endorses the viewpoint that these works should be regarded as creative transcriptions, not merely as orchestrations of piano and vocal pieces.

Grieg's string orchestra compositions are deeply profound in many senses. They contain broad, lush textures and multi-voice layers. The episodes of moderate polyphony serve as a complement to a generally homophonic entirety. These compositions, of course, cause a significant emotional effect. It seems that Grieg treated string orchestra as a kind of peculiar piano with expanded technical abilities. It is generally monochrome but embraces a wide range of subtle timbre nuances. It can produce continuous sound, increase it in crescendo and expand the texture far beyond the capabilities of a pianist's ten fingers, thus filling all tessituras with the necessary quantity of voices. Idiomatic writing for strings and attention to their technical details reveal a deep absorption into the peculiarity of the medium. Grieg's mastery in writing for strings developed as years passed and ultimately manifested itself as fully mature and impressive art.

36 It can be assumed that Grieg's most significant work for strings, suite *From Holberg's Time*, also demands a similar type of string orchestra. Therefore a common practice of performing this work by chamber string orchestras seems disputable.

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POVZETEK

Grieg in violine: poglobitev v godalni orkester

Violina je bila najljubši orkestralni inštrument Edvarda Griega. Vse svoje ustvarjalno življenje si je po svojih najboljših močeh prizadeval kar se da dovršeno skladati za violino. Naklonjen je bil tudi drugim inštrumentom iz družine godal. Njegovo ustvarjalnost so seveda spodbujale tudi godalne sekcije simfoničnih orkestrrov in godalni orkestri kot samostojni medij.

Članek želi opredeliti Griegove dvostavčne cikluse miniaturo za godalni orkester, s poudarkom na značilnostih njihove orkestracije. Te kompozicije sicer ne spadajo med skladateljeva najbolj priljubljena dela, kljub temu pa velja omeniti njihova raznolika in učinkovita izrazna sredstva, izvirnost in umetniško vrednost. Griegovi ciklusi za godalni orkester odražajo dosežke orkestracije v 19. stoletju; po drugi strani pa ponazarjajo posebnosti Griegovega glasbenega jezika.

Analiza je pokazala, da teh ciklusov ne bi smeli obravnavati zgolj kot priredb Griegovih klavirskih del in skladb, temveč kot izvirne in ustvarjalne orkestralne kompozicije, pri katerih skladatelj učinkovito izkorišča možnosti, ki jih ponujajo godala. Umetniška izrazna sredstva v teh delih so raznolika. Partiture vsebujejo obširne in razkošne teksture ter večplastne glasove. Zmerna polifonija služi kot obogatitev sicer homofone celote. Sredstva za ustvarjanje teksture so izjemna: v eni sami kompoziciji lahko najdemo vse stopnje teksturne bogatosti, od enoglasne ekspozicije teme do zgoščenih kombinacij mnogih plasti. Grieg na genialen način izkorišča registre inštrumentov in specifičnost njihovih zvočnih barv. In, seveda, ta dela sprožijo močne čustvene odzive.

Grieg si je zamislil, da bi te skladbe izvajali veliki godalni orkestri. Le zasedba z mnogimi nastopajočimi bi zagotovila takšno jakost zvoka, da bi lahko prenesla izraznost Griegovih stvaritev. Grieg je svoja dela zasnoval za godalni orkester, ne pa zgolj za sekcije velikih simfoničnih orkestrrov ali manjše zasedbe. Griegovo mojstrstvo v skladanju za godala se je skozi leta razvijalo in kulminiralo v idiomatskem pisanju za godala, prav tako pa se je izmojstril v tehničnih podrobnostih, kar kaže na skladateljevo razumevanje specifičnosti godalnih inštrumentov.

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O AVTORJU

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The Subject of *Holodomor* in the Ukrainian Artistic Space: Historical Projections of the Art of Contemporary Composers

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ABSTRACT

The Great Famine (*Holodomor*) is man-made famine that convulsed the Soviet republic of Ukraine in the 1930s. Since 2006, the *Holodomor* has been recognized as a genocide of the Ukrainian people carried out by the Soviet government. The article aims to highlight specific historical, cultural and social conditions that contributed to the dynamics of the *Holodomor* theme in music. It focuses especially on the musical compositions of this historical tragedy performed at the Kyiv Music Fest Competition. We can observe the linguistic and musical semantics of the opus of tragic imagery, along with the ethnic motifs of the Ukrainian cultural space, including musical rhetorical figures of the Baroque period, Christian symbolism of suffering and salvation, infernal stylistics.

Keywords: Ukrainian composers, tragic imagery, music dramaturgy, commemorative festivals

IZVLEČEK

Velika lakota (*holodomor*) je eno izmed temnih poglavij ukrajinske zgodovine 30. let 20. stoletja. Številne države so *holodomor* uradno priznale kot genocid sovjetske vlade nad ukrajinskim narodom. Cilj članka je opredeliti določene zgodovinske, kulturne in družbene pogoje, ki so prispevali k dinamiki teme *holodomorja* v glasbi. Poseben poudarek velja skladbam na to temo, ki so bile prvič izvedene na posebnem skladateljskem natečaju Kijevskega glasbenega festivala. Opazna je jezikovna in glasbena semantika opusa tragičnih podob, skupaj z narodnimi motivi iz ukrajinskega kulturnega prostora, ki vključuje glasbene retorične figure iz baroka, krščansko simboliko trpljenja in odrešenja ter motivika pekla.

Ključne besede: ukrajinski skladatelji, tragične podobe, glasbena dramaturgija, spominski festivali

Introduction

The *Holodomor* or Great Famine is a genocide of the Ukrainian people. The term “Holodomor” emphasizes the specially created conditions and deliberate aspects of the starvation, such as isolation and the impossibility of receiving external aid from other countries, as well as the confiscation of all food. The murder of millions of Ukrainians by man-made famine was the result of deliberately destructive socio-economic policies of totalitarian power over the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1931–1933.

In the extensive scientific research, the subject of Holodomor has been dealt with in detail only in terms of historical and social studies. In historical perspective, we point to the so-called canonical discourse of Holodomor by Stanislav Kulchytsky.¹ It is based on the basic concepts of communist terror, formed by scholars James Mace and Robert Conquest. In the terms of social analysis, Raphael Lemkin’s theory of the genocide’s impact on the integrity of traditional culture as a nation’s mental foundation is of considerable importance. He argued that the Soviet totalitarian system aimed at willingly starving the Ukrainian people by eradicating the traditional foundations of the oppressed culture and imposing a national culture of oppressors.² It should be noted that these ideas dominate in the compositions’ conceptions of the composers on the subject of Holodomor.

The concept of carrying out genocide against a nation by deliberately creating unfavourable living conditions (famine) was formulated by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948. The Article of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide from 9 December 1948, provides the basis for the introduction of the term Holodomor into scientific and social sphere. In the thirties of the twentieth century, British journalist Gareth Jones, who visited Soviet Ukraine three times during the “Great Famine,” first used it in the Western press.³ Raphael Lemkin, the author of the above-mentioned Convention, first used this term in legal documents in 1953, to define it as a crime of a totalitarian state. The murder of millions of Ukrainians by a man-made famine was the result of a deliberately destructive socio-economic policy of totalitarian power over the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1931–1933.

In Soviet times, the true cause of artificial hunger was deliberately hidden from society and distorted in historical scientific research. As an artistic subject, the topic of Holodomor was heavily censored, surviving in literary and musical

1 Stanislav Kulchytsky, “*Holodomor* of 1932–33: How and Why?” *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2015): 93–116.

2 Serbyn Roman, “Lemkin on the Ukrainian Genocide,” *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 7 (2009): 123–130.

3 Gareth Jones, “The Great Famine-Genocide in Soviet Ukraine (Holodomor),” *The Financial Times*, April 13, 1933, accessed November 30, 2021, <http://www.artukraine.com/famineart/jones4.htm>.

folk traditions.⁴ It became a subject of discussion in the Soviet-Ukrainian immigrant circles and works of dissident writers. In the Independence era, the topic was actualized and revealed in the public consciousness, inspiring Ukrainian writers, painters, movie and theatre directors, and composers to explore and creatively interpret the theme of Holodomor.

The literary works of Vasylyl Barka, Oles Honchar, Yevhen Gutsalo, Anatoly Dimarov, Vasily Zakharchenko, Ivan Onishchenko, Todos Osmachka, Mykola Ponedilok, Mykhaïlo Potupeyko, Ulas Samchuk, Ivan Stadniuk, Mikhail Stelmakh, Vasil Trubai, and Vasil Chaplenko referred to the important topic of the “Great Famine” of 1932–1933. In the twentieth century, painting the Holodomor theme has been presented in the work of such distinguished Ukrainian masters as painter and sculptor Valery Franchuk, graphic artist George Shanaev, monumental painter and graphic designer Ohrym Kravchenko, graphic artist Mykola Hnatchenko, artist and theatre decorator Victor Tsymbal, painter Nina Marchenko, lyre-, kobza- and bandura-player Ivan Novobranets, folk painter Ivan Marchuk, and many others.

In cinematography of the twentieth century, the theme of Holodomor has been presented in many talented works. Among them are the documentaries *33rd, Eyewitness Testimony* (1989, directed by Mykola Loktionov-Stezenko), *Under the Sign of Trouble* (1990, directed by Konstantin Krainyi), *The Big Break* (1993, directed by Sergei Lysenko), and *Time of Darkness* (2003, directed by Serhiy Dudka), a feature film *Hunger 33* (1991, directed by Oles Yanchuk), a movie-requiem *Pieta* (1993, directed by Mykola Mashchenko), and a drama *The Guide* (2014, directed by Oles Sanin). In modern moviemaking, the topic of man-made hunger in Ukraine stays relevant, gaining worldwide resonance. The 2019 feature film *Mr. Jones* by the Polish director Agnieszka Holland tells the story of Gareth Jones, a Welsh journalist who travels to the Soviet Union in 1933 and uncovers the terrifying truth about the Holodomor. According to UK-based critic Wendy Ide, the arrival of the film was a high-profile event in world cinema, and the biographical thriller has been selected to compete for the Golden Bear prize at the 69th Berlin International Film Festival.⁵

Among the theatrical dramas dedicated to the topic is the production by the Royal Shakespeare Theatre Company of the play *The Grain Store* by the Ukrainian writer Natalia Vorozhbit. Many Holodomor-themed musical compositions have had successful world premieres. They were written by many outstanding modern Ukrainian composers, including Virko Baley, Valentyn Bibik, Levko Kolodub, Gennady Lyashenko, Lesya Dychko, Gennady Sashko, Yuri Lanyuk,

4 Tetiana Kononchuk, *Zatemnennya ukraïnyns'koho sontsya, abo Tragediya holodomoru 1932–1933 rokiv u fól'klori Ukraïny* (Kyiv: Tvim inter, 1998).

5 Wendy Ide, “Mr Jones Review – Gripping Stalin-era Thriller with James Norton,” *The Guardian*, February 10, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2020/feb/09/mr-jones-james-norton-stalin-thriller>.

Oleg Kiva, Yevhen Stankovych, Myroslav Skoryk, Ivan Karabyts, Igor Shcherbakov, Oleksandr Yakovchuk, Bohdana Frolyak, Viktor Stepurko, and many others. Their compositions on the tragic theme of an artificial famine as a result of the crime of a totalitarian state attract the attention of researchers and art critics.

Literature Review

The Holodomor subject in the works of Ukrainian art is an extremely important topic for understanding the processes in the World culture of the twentieth century. The tragic theme of artificial hunger is widely represented in art but has not been systematically studied. Here are just a few important articles about different types of art that depict the Holodomor.

Film critic V. Syvachuk examines the socio-cultural aspects of Holodomor theme interpretation in documentary and fiction cinematography from different angles: as an artistic embodiment of a civic position; as a dynamic process of the search for historical truth; and as an artistic reflection of the epic tragedy of the Ukrainian people.⁶ The importance of his research lies in the observation of the peculiarities of the artistic method, drama, and cinematographs. D. Darewych,⁷ an art critic, explores the problem of Holodomor in the paintings of Kazimir Malevich and other Ukrainian artists. Philologists have thoroughly studied various artistic aspects in literary works on the Holodomor theme. An exemplary study is, for example, the monograph by N. Tymoshchuk.⁸

So far, there have been no scientific studies in Ukrainian musicology dedicated to the history of the implementation of Holodomor theme in music. There are only numerous works of scholars on individual pieces of music. We will note valuable nonfictional materials by L. Oliinyk⁹ and special scientific articles by Ukrainian musicologists between the years 1993–2020. In 1993, Halyna Stepanchenko analyses the composers competition of Kyiv Music Fest 1992.¹⁰ In 2003, Olha Vilchynska analyses the history of creation, features of the genre and dramaturgy of Ivan Karabyts' cantata *Prayer of Kateryna*.¹¹ In 2012, Olha Kramarenko analyses *A Funeral for the Dead from Hun-*

6 Vira Syvachuk, "Vidobrazhennya trahediyi *Holodomoru* v suchasnomu ukraïns'komu kinematohrafi," *Naukovyi visnyk Kyïvs'koho natsionalnogo universytetu teatru, kino i telebachennia imeni I. K. Karpenka-Karob* 15 (2014): 99–105.

7 Daria Darewych, "Images and Evocations of the Famine-Genocide in Ukrainian Art," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 47, no. 3 (2003): 345–373.

8 Nataliia Tymoshchuk, "Antytotalitarny pafos ukraïns'koyi prozy XX stolittya: Problema Holodomoru," *Aktualni problemy slovianskoi filologii. Seriya: Linhvistyka i literaturoznavstvo* 9 (2004): 417–424.

9 Lesia Oliinyk, *Muzyka ukraïnskykh kompozytoriv Pamiati Holodomoru*, broadcast on December 5, 2008 on Radio Svoboda.

10 Halyna Stepanchenko, "Trahichni akordy Rekvieimu," *Narodna tvorchist ta etnografiia* 5–6 (1993): 243–245.

11 Olha Vilchynska, "Ivan Karabyts. *Molytva Kateryny*: Istoriia stvorennia, osoblyvosti zhanru ta

ger by Yevhen Stankovych, the concert, “A Dream” by Igor Shcherbakov, and *Stabat Mater* by Yuri Lanyuk.¹² In 2013, Hanna Karas analysed Virko Baley’s opera *Red Earth: Hunger*.¹³ In 2013, Zoya Lavrova examined the tragic imagery of the oratorio about Yuri Lanyuk’s Holodomor *Skorbna maty (The Sorrowful Mother)*.¹⁴ In 2013, Olha Kushniruk analysed Oleksandr Yakovchuk’s symphonies in the context of postmodernism of Ukrainian music culture.¹⁵ In 2015, Kateryna Babkina examines the dramaturgy and semantic concept of the Spiritual Requiem-Concert “A Dream” by Igor. V. Shcherbakov.¹⁶ In 2020–2021, Olha Vasylenko studied commemorative tradition¹⁷ and main compositions among which are *Stabat Mater* by Anatoly Haydenko and Gennady Sasko’s choral concert of 1993 *Duma about 1933* for mixed choirs and soloists is addressed through the stylistics of the folk *duma* genre.¹⁸

Our article aims to highlight specific social and historical and cultural conditions that contributed to the dynamics of Holodomor theme in music. Particular emphasis is placed on illuminating the ways of integrating this theme into the artistic space by the forces of the world Ukrainian community.

Socio-cultural Context

In the given perspective, it is interesting to consider the socio-cultural context of Ukrainian composers’ creativity of the late twentieth century. The emergence of a subject which was extremely difficult for the musical embodiment – the subject of Holodomor – in the works of Ukrainian composers was initiated by the activities of the diaspora representatives. Thus, the formation of the renowned academic festival Kyiv Music Fest is linked to the creative drives of American Ukrainian activists Virko Baley and the family of Marian and

dramaturhiia,” *Naukovyi visnyk natsionalnoi muzychnoi akademii im. Chaikovskoho* 31 (2003): 162–166.

- 12 Olha Kramarenko, “Tema Holodomoru u vokalno-khorovii tvorchosti suchasnykh ukrainskykh kompozytoriv,” *Mystetstvoznavchi zapysky* 22 (2012): 92–97.
- 13 Hanna Karas, “Tema Holodomoru 1932–1933 rokov v Ukraini v konteksti muzyky postmodernu: Na prykladi opery Virko Baleia,” *Kultura i suchasnist: Naukovyi almanakh* 2 (2013): 102–107.
- 14 Zoya Lavrova, “Dramaturhiya oratoriyi Y. Lanyuka *Skorbna maty*,” *Kyivske muzykoznavstvo: Kulturolohiia ta mystetstvoznavstvo* 47 (2013): 161–170.
- 15 Olha Kushniruk, “Symfonicnyi dorobok O. Yakovchuka v postmodernomu konteksti ukrainskoi muzychnoi kultury,” *Visnyk Natsionalnoi akademii kerivnykh kadrov kultury i mystetstv* 4 (2013): 156–160.
- 16 Kateryna Babkina, “Duhovnyj koncert-rekviem ‘Son’ I. V. Shcherbakova: Dramaturgiya i semanticheskaia koncepciya,” *Naukovyi visnyk natsionalnoi muzychnoi akademii im. Chaikovskoho* 116 (2015): 44–51.
- 17 Olha Vasylenko, “Diyal’nist’ myttsiv diaspory v aspekti vprovadzhennya temy *Holodomoru* u muzyku suchasnykh ukrayins’kykh kompozytoriv,” *Art Museum: Past and Present; Collection of Scientific Articles* 6 (2020–2021): 4–13.
- 18 Olha Vasylenko, “Tema Holodomoru u khorovykh tvorakh ukrainskykh kompozytoriv XX–XXI stolit,” in *Culturology and Art History: Points of Contact and Prospects for Development; Ca’ Foscari, University of Venice, Italy, November 27–28, 2020, Conference Proceedings* (Venice: Baltija Publishing, 2020), 204–208, <https://doi.org/10.30525/978-9934-26-004-9-122>.

Ivanna Kots. A New York University graduate, Marian Kots was born and died in Lviv, but lived most of his life outside the territory of his native Ukraine. As the Head of the Association of Holodomor Researchers, he did everything possible to reveal the terrible historical facts of the Great Famine, hidden by the totalitarian regime of the Soviet Union.¹⁹ Marian Kots has funded a considerable number of scientific and popular science projects devoted to the history of Ukraine. Thousands of memories of Holodomor were collected by the activists of the Association of Holodomor Researchers in Ukraine during the nineteen years of its existence. The composers competition with works on the subject of Holodomor, within the framework of the Kyiv Music Fest named after Ivanna and Marian Kots was first held on the initiative of its sponsors. According to Marianna Kopytsia-Karabyts,²⁰ at that time the festival was a large-scale musical action that actually performed the creative tasks of the painfully dying official Union of Composers of Ukraine.

Since 1990, the festival has started a large-scale action presentation of the achievements of contemporary Ukrainian music of the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries. The first Kyiv Music Fest was initiated with the creative and organizational support of the prominent American musician Virko Baley. The son of a well-known public figure, publicist, political scientist, and writer Peter Baley was born in the town of Radekhiv Lviv region. Subsequently, in 1949, Virko emigrated to America. For the first time, Baley performed music of prominent Ukrainians as a conductor in the United States. Promoting creativity of V. Sylvestrov, L. Grabovsky, M. Skoryk, E. Stankovych, I. Karabyts, V. Zagortsev and others is his outstanding contribution to the native culture. Oksana Harmel, a scholar, points out:

*In V. Baley's compositions one can find clear examples of works in which he turned to the sharply dramatic topics that constitute the traumatic zones of Ukrainian history, the traumas of cultural memory – this is the chamber opera Hunger (Hunger, 1985, 1995–97, 2011–13) on the libretto of the poet Bohdan Boychuk (1927–2017), in which the tragedy of nation is conveyed as a deeply lived personal drama.*²¹

In the 1990s, the paths of the families of Kots, Virko Baley and Ivan Karabyts intersected in Kyiv, and this fact directly influenced the integration of Holodomor theme into the music of prominent Ukrainian composers.

19 Oleksandra Veselova, "Viddanist Ukraini: Trudy i dni Mariana Kotsia," *Problemy istorii Ukrainy: Fakty, sudzhennia, poshuky* 20 (2011): 325–334.

20 "Materialy, Prohramy, Istoriia," in *Mizhnarodnyi muzychnyi festyval 'Kyiv Miuzyk Fest' – epokha v istorii*, ed. Marianna Kopytsia-Karabyts (Kyiv: Tsentrinform, 2004).

21 Oksana Harmel, "Fenomen diaspori v aspekti pamiaty kultury (na prykladi tvorchosti Virka Baleia)," *Naukovyi visnyk natsionalnoi muzychnoi akademii im. Chaikovskoho* 121 (2018): 13.

Implementation of the Holodomor Theme into the Music of Ukrainian Composers

Music festivals of various composers and masters of the performing arts associated with the Holodomor regularly begin in large cities of Ukraine, primarily in Lviv and Kiev with the support of philanthropists from the diaspora. In 1992, the third Kyiv Music Fest competition for composers was directed by its organizers and sponsors to cover the Holodomor theme in music in Kiev. Ivanna and Marian Kots had initiated a musical panorama in memory on the sixtieth anniversary of tragedy in Lviv. Then the music of Lviv composers Myroslav Skoryk, Viktor Kaminsky and Yury Lanyuk was presented.

Thus, with the support of diaspora figures, the festivals focused on the introduction of the subject of Holodomor into musical compositions. These tragic topics have played a special role in consolidating the nation and improving the moral climate of the Ukrainian intellectual elite.

The first competition was held from 3rd to 10th October 1992, and was commissioned by the Association of Researchers of Holodomor Genocide in 1932–1933. That determined the subject of the academic compositions written for the competition – the Holodomor. The American composer Virko Baley was appointed as the coordinator. An Ukrainian jury, headed by the Odessa composer Oleksandr Krasatov, evaluated the works of the first round. In the second round, the jury was international: Theodor Kuchar (Australia), Walter Zimmerman (Germany), Olgerd Pisarenko (Poland), Lovell Lieberman (USA), Miroslav Skoryk (Ukraine). Twenty compositions were selected from the second round, including: *Spectrum* by John Lennon (USA), Volodymyr Runchak's *Con mesto sereno, Pro memoria* by Gennady Lyashenko, *Scorched Mallow* by Galina Ovcharenko, *Threnody* by Zbigniew Baginski (Poland), and *Crying and Prayer* by Valentyn Bibik. Zbigniew Baginski won the third prize, Valentyn Bibik the second, and the first prize was not awarded at all.

The Theme of Holodomor in the Repertoire of the First Concerts of Kyiv Music Fest in the 1990s

The historical truth of the twentieth-century famine tragedies already had a certain tradition of artistic interpretation, such as in the Requiems or commemorative works of the composers of the 1920s Mykola Leontovych, Kiril Stetsenko, dedicated to the victims of the First Famine of 1921–22. In the second half of the twentieth century, there was Kyiv Music Fest by Ivan Karabyts. The tragic events of the Second (Artificial) Famine of the year 1933, even in the years of censorship, were covered in the Orchestra Concerto no. 3 “Lamentation”. The composition was performed twice – at the first (1990) and the second Kyiv Music Fest (1991). The appeal in symphonic music to *lamentoso*

intonations as a sign of the tragic in music is conditioned by the composer's desire to comprehend the folklore genre of lamentation as a common musical symbol of the dramatic era of Ukrainian history. This approach has established a new way of grasping the genre of crying in contemporary symphonic composition.

Principles of Interpretation of the Theme of Holodomor in the Works of Ivan Karabyts

At the Third Kyiv Music Fest (1992), Ivan Karabyts presented the cantata *Prayer of Kateryna* for a reader, children's choir, and a large symphony orchestra on Kateryna Motrych's poems. At its premiere, the cantata suffered an unfortunate performance due to the conflict of performers (orchestra director and choir director). Therefore it was only performed at the festival concert and was not nominated as a competition piece. In three parts of the cantata the images of death, moral and spiritual catastrophe of Holodomor, in particular the tragedy of cannibalism, are revealed with incredible power. The author entrusts the choir party to children. It is the image of the child which, for the composer, personifies purity and innocence of the Ukrainian people. A striking force in music is the juxtaposition of two worlds: "Ukraine on earth" and "Ukraine in heaven." The first image depicts the tragic realities of a devastated country. Here the chaos of orchestral aleatoric, amplified by the choral glissando, is realized: the slipping of the sounds is like falling into the abyss. The score's powerful autonomous orchestral and vocal layers are unified by an authentic folklore modal organization. The double harmonic minor is associated with Ukrainian ethnic music, it is the main key in the composer Ivan Karabyts' system of thought. The process of imitation of holding the melody of the child's prayer request makes the development more dynamic. Of great importance for music is the symbolism of the theme of the cross, which acquires particular infernal expressiveness in the low register of various musical instruments. There is an impression of moaning, crying, and tension. The culmination of this imaginative sphere is a poignant account of the infanticide and madness of a peasant woman called Hanna, in whose personal destiny the composer sees more profound analogies: "And blind with grief, bruised, gray, half-blissful, She stood, propped up the sky with her torture, glowingly looking around, Mother Ukraine, crucified on a giant cross."²²

The second musical image that emerges from the lyrics of Kateryna Motrych and is reflected in the music is a kind of Paradise, is an image of a happy Heaven Ukraine. The souls of the children turned into cranes, flew into

22 Ivan Karabyts, *Molytva Kateryny*, autograph score (National Library of Ukraine, Natsionalna biblioteka Ukrainy imeni V. I. Vernadskoho, Muzychnyi fond no. 1, opys 1, odynytsia kolektsii 517, 1992), 32.

the sky, and became the stars of the Milky Way. White shadows from Heaven Ukraine sit down to the funeral supper to mourn and sing the unburied, as Earth Ukraine has turned into a solid grave. Orchestral music is lit up, pastoral singing is concentrated in high register. The final mourning episode in the sound of the brass quartet is perceived as singing at a memorial service for the starving dead. After the last words of the reader, the music dissolves in the air (the composer again resorts to aleatoric music).

Valentyn Bibik's Diptych *Cry and Prayer for Symphony Orchestra*

Within the framework of the mentioned competition, the work of the prominent Kharkov citizen Valentyn Bibik (1940–2003) was presented, and he received the second prize (the first prize was not awarded). An author of eleven symphonies and an extraordinary personality of Ukrainian music named his composition in memory of Holodomor: *Cry and Prayer for the Symphony Orchestra* (1992, op. 89). The *lamentoso* intonation of the silent lament consolidates the melody-independent instrumental layers and unfolds during the first part of the symphonic diptych, being the meaningful embryo of all melody lines of woodwinds. The instrumental crying reaches its dynamic climax – the peak of emotional tension, the roar, the cry and the tears. The composer counterbalances this tragic break with the acoustic signs of the funeral service (bells are heard in the orchestra, an allusion to the theme of brass instruments playing a melody from the funeral mass of the Orthodox Christians *Rest with the Saints*). The second part of the diptych – “Prayer” – uses genre signs of psalmody, recitation, and instrumental imitation of choral singing, which are successfully reproduced in the instrumental layer of the composition.

The Theme of Holodomor in the Choral Concerts by Gennady Sasko and Larisa Donnik

The history of Holodomor of the 1930s has been reflected in other large-scale compositions performed at the Kyiv Music Fest in different years. The theme of Holodomor in Gennady Sasko's choral concert of 1993 (*Duma about 1933* for mixed choirs and soloists) is addressed through the stylistics of the folk *duma* genre. *Dumas* and historical songs were written and sung in the cities of Ukraine by blind lyricists and *kobzars*. Blind folk singers and epic storyteller *kobzars* are the narrators of Ukrainian epic. They play the *kobza* – an ancient lute, a string plucking instrument. There is a series of documentary evidence of the persecution of *duma* performers about the dead from starvation by a violent death in the years 1932 and 1933. All Ukraine knew about the destruction of hundreds of *kobzars* who wrote and sang the horrors of the First Holodomor of the 1920s. The *kobzars* were forcibly taken to the “congress” in Kharkiv and shot, and their musical instruments were destroyed.

The brave singers of the historical tragedies of the Stalinist regime are reflected in the contemporary music on the Holodomor. It is worth mentioning the musical composition by the Kharkiv citizen Larisa Donnik *Little Slobid Poems*, the second part of which is entitled: “On the Dedication of the Kobzars Executed in Kharkiv Oblast in 1929.” The allusive title of Sasko’s choral concert thus appeals to a well-known fact of history: the violent extermination of folk singers. In Gennady Sasko’s choral concerto the style of the epic genre of Ukrainian music was used: choral instrumental background for the epic narrative, the music is made with the use of crying vocal improvisations in the style of a lamento. Mykola Tkach is the author of a poetic text. Poetic text of Gennada Sasko’ choir concert is full of symbols. The image of a black hook in the sky, typical of the folk *duma*, symbolizes the Soviet invasion. It is a sign of distress, a sinister symbol of war, famine, and death, and particular the destruction of the kobza culture of Ukraine. Gennady Sasko’s choir also sounds in the traditions of Ukraine’s funeral singing – memorial services for the executed kobzars. The music synthesizes the intonation of a memorial church prayer (baritone solo) with the stylistics of a kobzar virtuoso instrumental sound and a bourdon in the bass layer of the score (imitating the virtuoso part of the choir). The peculiar *Duma-Requiem* for those killed in the Holodomor ends with an allusion to the funeral march from Sonata No. 2 by Frederic Chopin, voiced by Mykola Tkach: “Disturb the memory! Revive up memory with words with the word!”

Theme of Holodomor in a Spiritual Concert-Requiem “A Dream” by Igor Shcherbakov

The subject of Holodomor is decided in the contemporary musical stylistics of large-scale instrumental and choral works of the early twenty-first century in modern concert programs of Kyiv Music Fest. The spiritual Concert-Requiem “A Dream” for a tenor, reader, children’s and mixed choirs, a large symphony orchestra and an organ by Igor Shcherbakov was written in 2008 and performed at the 21st International Music Festival Kyiv Music Fest. The composer is himself involved in the writing of the libretto. He combines the Latin text of the Requiem with the poetry of his contemporary Ukrainian poet Yuriy Plaksyuk – a contemporary witness to the terrible days of the Holodomor. Following Britten’s example, the librettist-composer inserts the poetic texts into the canonical parts of the Requiem.

A part of *Dies irae*: “Eternal Pain” combines the text of a Latin sequence from the Mass of the Dead with Plaksyuk’s poems. Similarly constructed are *Lacrimosa*: “Hell’s Tears,” the crying Benedictus, and Agnus Dei: “In a Dream and in a Waking,” as well as *Crucifixus*: “The Atonement of Despair.” Vocal and choral sections are intertwined with dramatically important instrumental

interludes – “The Ghost of Death” and “Healing.” The fifth, central part uses Mykhailo Vorobyov’s poems *The Snow of Sorrow*. The piercing pain of autobiographical confessions of the Ukrainian poets, who in the early childhood lived through the tragic events of Holodomor, echoes in every line of poetry. It is this bundle of painful emotions that has been embodied in the expressive music of the composer through use of the avant-garde techniques (these being the elements of quasi-dodecaphony, micropolyphony, regulated aleatorics, and sonoristics).

In choral episodes of music by Igor Shcherbakov, the motive reminiscences and micro quotes of all the outstanding requiems of the world music culture can be heard, and in solo voices the style of the kobza free improvisational singing and recitative is conveyed. Between each of the composition’s numbers there are small inserts with recited poems or a children’s choir. Organic motifs are based on the symbolic themes of the cross; the musical material is clearly imbued with the rhetorical figure of catabasis, representing in European music images of suffering, hellish anguish, death. The musical conciliar performance of Igor Shcherbakov’s work convincingly conveys, on the one hand, the tradition of Christian singing of the dead. On the other, expressionist stylistics painstakingly portrays the dreaded dream of oblivion, of death, of the hellish hunger tortures. Elements of vocal lamentation, apocalyptic picture of the past in the finale dissolve in chords of a choral psalm. The cathartic idea of Igor Shcherbakov’s composition and the use of musical rhetorical figures is similar to the dramatic concept of Bach’s majestic Masses.

Yevhen Stankovych, *Funeral Service for the Dead from Famine as Dedication to the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Tragedy of Holodomor*

Since 1993, a massive opus on the Holodomor sounded every five years as a part of the country’s official events to commemorate the anniversary at the Shevchenko National Opera and Ballet Theatre. The sixtieth anniversary of the Ukrainian people tragedy was marked by the performance of Yevhen Stankovych’s composition *Funeral for the Dead from Hunger* on Dmytro Pavlychko’s poem. A monumental composition of fifteen movements for two different choirs (academic and folk), soloists, and a large symphony orchestra was created within a month in Vorzel in 1992. Interestingly, the composer learned about the Holodomor during his two-month stay in Canada, reading the historical materials and memoirs of witnesses for the first time. He was greatly impressed by the theme of this historical tragedy. Thus, Yevhen Stankovych’s music became music of the cross-country path of Ukraine of the twentieth century and a super-emotional imprint of those terrible memories: “The heavy snows of 1933 sank over the expanses of Ukraine, presenting the world corpse

stench, apocalyptic visions, commensurate only with the paintings of the Last Judgment.”²³

Another tragic piece, *Black Elegy* on the topic of the Chernobyl tragedy, by Yevhen Stankovych was performed by the Canadian orchestra Canadian Sinfonietta and a choir named after Oleksandr Koshytz.

Performers of the 1993 premiere were the National Choir Dumka with the artistic director Yevhen Savchuk, G. Verevka National Folk Choir with the artistic director Anatoly Avdiyevsky, the Symphony Orchestra of Shevchenko National Opera and Ballet Theatre with the conductor Volodymyr Kozhuhar, and the soloists Nina Matvienko (folk voice) and Constantine Klein (bass). *Funerals* multi-layered genre is due to the principle of combining the canon of the ritual funeral church service and the artistic images of Dmytro Pavlychko's poetic text. The conflicting dramaturgy of the Stankovych-symphonist brings together, in the space of the work, the relentless progress of the death of the Soviet people and praying for the pardon of the souls of the people who have been starved with incredible force. The musicologist Elena Zin'kevych points out: “The dramaturgical unfolding of a memorial service takes place in two simultaneous movements of two ‘plots’: the church funeral service and the human memory of the terrible tragedy of Holodomor.”²⁴ Both coexist in different temporal and spatial dimensions: in the enclosed space of the temple and in the open space of Ukrainian history. Complex dramaturgy of the work skilfully conveys a colossal degree of the tragedy of *Funeral* music by Yevhen Stankovych.

The Fourth Symphony-Requiem “Thirty-Third” by Oleksandr Yakovchuk (for the Seventieth Anniversary of Holodomor)

At the beginning of the third millennium, large-scale compositions of major oratorical and vocal-symphonic genres of Ukrainian composers encompassed the cultural space of many events initiated by the Institute of National Memory. The fourth Symphony-Requiem “Thirty-third” by Oleksandr Yakovchuk, written in 1990, was performed on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of Holodomor in 2003 at the Shevchenko National Opera and Ballet Theatre. Emotionally insightful poetry of Vasyl Yukhimovich, who personally experienced these terrible events at the age of ten, became the literary basis of the musical composition. The composition has six parts, in which the composer combines the artistic principles of modern symphony with the traditions of the Funeral Mass. The concept of the fourth

23 *Trydtsyat' tretiy: Holod; Narodna Knyha-Memorial*, comp. Lidiya Kovalenko and Volodymyr Maniak (Kyiv: Radyans'kyi pys'mennyk, 1991), 15.

24 Elena Zin'kevych, *Simfonicheskie giperboly: O muzyke Evgeniya Stankovicha* (Uzhhorod: Lyra, 2002), 176.

Symphony-Requiem – the commemoration of millions of lives lost because of artificial famine, repentance for the crimes of power, is complemented by the idea of exposing the evils and phantom ideals of totalitarian states. Their musical portraits serve as parodies of fascist and Soviet bravura marches, which in the collage fabric of Yakovchuk's Symphony-Requiem are mixed with the lamentoso motives of anguish, pity for the dead, and reveal the special significance of the funeral rite.

The Musical-text Model *Stabat mater* in the Memorial Compositions of Academic Composers

On the commission by the state, Yuri Lanyuk created a theatrical oratorio to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Holodomor called *The Sorrowful Mother* (poetic text by Pavlo Tychyna). Oratorio score includes a large symphony orchestra, two choirs (mixed and children's) and two soloists (soprano and baritone). The composition was performed under the guidance of conductor Volodymyr Sirenko twice: in 2008 in Kyiv and in 2009 in Lviv. Director and producer Vasyl Vovkun worked with the composer to create the libretto.

At first, the composition was conceived as a requiem, but in the process of comprehending the literary source as a genre model Stabat mater by the composer, the composition became a type of the allegorical oratory. The contextual concept of the requiem in the oratorio is related to the tragic fate of the artists of the "Shot Renaissance," to whom the composer Pavlo Tychyna also refers; the timbre of the folk lyre, which sounds in the open source of the oratorio, became a kind of memorial to the Ukrainian kobzars and lyricists shot in the 1930s.²⁵

The genre of the music-text model *Stabat mater* in the memorial compositions of academic composers lifts the indigenous traditions of the Ukrainian lamentation and mourning to the level of high philosophical generalizations of an idea where the tragic fate of a woman, a mother, reflects the fate of the whole Ukraine and is compared with suffering. The horrific tragedy of the martyrdom of starving children becomes Christian. A similar "Marian" theme is clearly resolved in the composition of Anatoly Haydenko (poetic text by Vasyl Zabashtanskyi), who dedicated his requiem for a mixed choir a cappella *Stabat mater* to the seventieth anniversary of the tragedy of the 1930s.

25 Lavrova, "Dramaturhiya oratoriyi," 163–164.

***Ukrainian Lemkivsky Requiem* by Oleksandr Kozarenko – A Synthesis of the Model Catholic Requiem Model with the Ukrainian Ethnic Culture**

The subject of the Holodomor is embodied in different confessional genres: the Catholic requiem and the Orthodox memorial service of contemporary Ukrainian composers. Quite often, the mourning of victims in such musical compositions reflects the theme of the destruction of the Ukrainian ethnic culture. And the consequences of the crime of totalitarian power are equated with the forced resettlement of national minorities. Oleksandr Kozarenko dedicated his *Ukrainian Requiem* to the memory of the victims of the 1933 Holodomor and the deportation of the Lemkiv Ukrainians. The *Ukrainian Requiem*, with the subtitle *Lemkivsky*, was written in 2008 and first performed during the 14th International Music Festival Contrasts. Later it was also performed in Kyiv in the National House of Organ and Chamber Music, during the official commemoration of the victims of the Holodomor by the Borys Lyatoshynsky Ensemble of Classical Music. The second edition of the piece (2010) was performed in May 2011 in Kyiv during the festival Music Premieres of the Season and was broadcast and recorded by the National Radio Company of Ukraine.

The ethnic space stated in the name of the *Lemkivsky Requiem* is clearly reflected in the performance of the composition. The requiem was written for a choir, soloists and two different orchestras at once – a symphony orchestra and an orchestra of folk instruments. Both European and folk instruments are heard at the same time: violins, violas, dart, and cymbals. The *Lemkivsky Requiem* consists of twelve parts and combines Western European traditions with authentic layers of Ukrainian folklore. At the heart of the composition stands the burial mass in the cult Latin, the text of which is artfully crafted by Lviv poet Nazar Fedorak. His poems paint canonical prayers with Ukrainian tragic folk imagery. This allows Ukrainian composer Kozarenko to create a kind of equivalent to the *Polish Requiem* by Krzysztof Penderecki in modern music – a composition about the tragic events of the history of European peoples in the twentieth century.

The tragic theme of Holodomor, presented in a large number of multifaceted compositions of large and chamber formats, has today found a worthy place in the commemorative traditions in Ukraine and worldwide.

Conclusions

To summarize, we can conclude that the theme of Holodomor first appeared in the outstanding musical composition of composers in the 1990s in the important era of *Nezalezhnosti* (Independence) of Ukraine. At that time, the official ban on the discussion about the Holodomor was abolished and

the attention of the artists was confined to the opening of the tragic pages of Ukrainian history. Ivan Karabyts was one of the first artists to embody the tragedy of Holodomor in symphonies, cantatas, and oratories. With the support of the diaspora artists Virko Baley and Marian Kots, an academic festival of contemporary music Kyiv Music Fest was founded, with a thematic competition of composers with compositions on the subject of historical tragedies of Ukraine.

In the period 1992–1995, the subject of Holodomor was integrated into the academic music of Ukrainian composers. At the same time, the foundations of the eponymous commemorative tradition were laid in the music space. The educational activities of diaspora figures served as a catalyst for numerous cultural events (festivals, thematic music venues) to commemorate the anniversary of the tragedy. This supported the interest of Ukrainian artists in the extremely complex and morally traumatic theme of the Holodomor. Internal creative intentions in the development of the theme were directed by the deep mechanisms of cultural memory, which overcomes the tragic spheres of life in this way, and, according to Oksana Harmel, “[...] comprehends the traumas of Ukrainian history, the traumas of cultural memory.”²⁶

These tragic topics have played a special role in the consolidation of the nation and the formation of a new generation of intellectual elite in our country. The striking compositions written by Ukrainian composers on the subject of Holodomor depicted and exposed the crimes of communist leaders, which created an artificial famine that led to a large number of victims, loss of national culture and tradition, and destruction of natural cycles. The criminal acts of the authorities in the 1930s eradicated the foundations of Ukrainian material and spiritual culture: traditional ethnic space, economy, religion, and customs that govern the natural cycles of the universe. Ways to overcome the apocalyptic tragedy in the dramaturgy of musical compositions on the subject of Holodomor are usually reduced to catharsis, a state of humility, and spiritual purification.

Two *topoi* of all musical compositions – mournful lamentoso intonation and expressive energy of *Holosinnya* (lament) in the artistic concept of symphonies, cantatas, concerts of Ukrainian composers depict the tragic fate of children, women, peasants, and executed kobzars crippled by hunger with incredible power. The images of evil carriers – party leaders, communist-lovers, functionaries, are revealed by parody marching themes, fragments, or expressive means of the masculine military complex in music (aggressive orchestral sound forms). The sound landscapes of the dead earth, devastated nature, that is, “landscape themed complexes,” have at their core a specific cruciform melodic outline, and they usually sound in an out-of-space frozen music space.

26 Harmel, “Fenomen diaspori,” 11.

The picture of traditional ideas about the universe and the Ukrainian cosmos has been deformed. In the popular consciousness there are two parallel universes: Earth Ukraine – dead earth, it ceased to exist. All the souls of those who were executed by famine were transported to the Heaven Ukraine – a flowering picturesque paradise garden. Similar paintings in program compositions are resolved spatially, as a kind of dialogue between low and high registers with opposition to tragic and enlightened themes.

The themes of death and hunger, delusions, devilish attacks, suffering and salvation, Marian themes and imperatives of protest are embodied in compositions of different genres. Usually, these are requiems, memorial services, choral concerts, symphonic poems, and orchestra concerts. The distinctive features are scale of form and posterity of expression; the fresco of the interior space of the composition, where each image is rendered in a spreading horizontal space and inscribed in vertical coordinates “earth” – “heaven”. The peculiarities of genre and style transformation of the iconic commemorative compositions on the subject of Holodomor are the saturation of European musical canons with Ukrainian ethnic stylistics, and the textual component – the poems of Ukrainian poets.

Composer Ivan Karabyts stated in his explanation to the composition of commemoration of Holodomor victims: “Between the past and the present, between those who live today and those who have gone to Eternity, our Memory appears – without it, there is no future; there is a continuation of everything in it.”²⁷

Translated by Irene Okner

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27 Yuliia Hozhyk, “Monolohy na vidstani,” *Dzerkalo tyzhnnya*, January 26, 2001.

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POVZETEK

Tema *holodomorja* v ukrajinskem umetniškem prostoru: zgodovinske projekcije umetnosti sodobnih skladateljev

Velika lakota (*holodomor*) je eno izmed temnih poglavij ukrajinske zgodovine tridesetih let 20. stoletja, ki je bilo v številnih državah uradno priznano kot genocid nad ukrajinskim narodom. Sovjetski totalitarni režim v času Josipa Stalina je želel z lakoto narediti konec ukrajinski nacionalni neodvisnosti, izkoreniniti zatirano kulturo in uveljaviti lastno.

Resnico o razlogih za hudo lakoto v Ukrajini so v obdobju Sovjetske zveze prikrivali. Šele v času ukrajinske samostojnosti je tema znova postala aktualna, del javne zavesti in predmet ustvarjalnosti ukrajinskih skladateljev. Po zaslugi (s podporo) ameriških in kanadskih filantropov se Kijevski glasbeni festival začne s kompozicijami skladateljskega natečaja, ki razkrivajo tematiko te zgodovinske tragedije. To je pri ukrajinskih umetnikih spodbudilo zanimanje za izredno zapleteno in moralno travmatično temo holodomorja. Ustanovitelj in vodja Kijevskega glasbenega festivala, posvečenega sodobni ukrajinski glasbi, je bil izjemni ukrajinski skladatelj Ivan Karabic, ki je v 80. letih med prvimi vključil v svoje ustvarjanje tragično temo vsiljene organizirane lakote. Od tedaj je tragika holodomorja celovito obravnavana v vrhunskih glasbenih delih ukrajinskih umetnikov.

Namen članka je dokumentirati družbeno-zgodovinske in kulturne okoliščine, ki so prispevale k dinamiki teme holodomorja v glasbi. Poseben poudarek je na načinih, kako ukrajinska skupnost po svetu to tragično temo vključuje v svoj umetniški prostor. Fenomen travme v zgodovinskem spominu umetnikov v diaspori se izraža v njihovih ustvarjalnih idejah in poskusih, da bi širili zgodovinsko resnico o zločinu totalitarne sovjetske oblasti. Prav z njihovo podporo se je tema holodomorja uveljavila na festivalih sodobne glasbe, kot je Kijevski glasbeni festival. Kontrasti in Lvovski virtuozni, in različnih glasbenih panoramah ukrajinskih mest.

Pomembna zbirka kompozicij, posvečenih spominu na žrtve holodomorja, je v članku obravnavana v skladu z zgodovinsko verodostojnostjo, saj so se te teme dotaknile številnih ukrajinskih umetnikov iz druge polovice 20. stoletja in začetka tretjega tisočletja. Različni žanri opusov v spomin žrtev holodomorja razgrinjajo široko paleto del, od kompozicij za komorne (solo sonata, kantata) kot tudi za velike zasedbe (simfonija, opera, maša, rekviem). Umetniška analiza nekaterih simfoničnih in kantatno-oratorijskih del razkriva poseben slog, ki temelji na tradicijah klasičnih vzorcev glasbe svetovnih akademskih skladateljev. Opazna je jezikovna in glasbena semantika opusa tragičnih podob, skupaj z narodnimi motivi iz ukrajinskega kulturnega prostora. To vključuje glasbene retorične figure iz baroka, krščansko simboliko trpljenja in odrešenja ter motiviko pekla. Sklepi tega članka bodo omogočili bolj poglobljeno razumevanje pomembnega, a malo raziskanega področja ukrajinske glasbene umetnosti.

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O AVTORICAH

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The Contribution of Anton Pogačar and Vida Matjan to the Music Culture of Montenegro

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ABSTRACT

The prominent Slovenian musicians Anton Pogačar and Vida Matjan made an exceptional contribution to the development of the music culture of Montenegro in the second half of the twentieth century. The paper aims to highlight the most important segments of their professional activities in this context and present them to the wider musicological public.

Keywords: Anton Pogačar, Vida Matjan, state music schools, music culture, Montenegro

IZVLEČEK

Ugledna slovenska glasbenika Anton Pogačar in Vida Matjan sta zaslužna za izjemen prispevek k razvoju glasbene kulture v Črni gori v 2. polovici 20. stoletja. Članek želi v tem kontekstu osvetliti najbolj pomembna poglavja njune poklicne dejavnosti in jih predstaviti širši muzikološki javnosti.

Ključne besede: Anton Pogačar, Vida Matjan, državne glasbene šole, glasbena kultura, Črna gora

Introduction

The music culture of Montenegro began to develop in systematic terms after the Second World War, and this process was helped to a considerable degree by Slovenian musicians Anton Pogačar (1913–1995), and Vida Matjan (1896–1993). Their arrival in Montenegro was a consequence of a range of differing circumstances. Vida Matjan arrived in Kotor as a mature and experienced musician, following the bombing of Belgrade in 1941, the town in which she had lived with her family for the previous eleven years.¹ Her role in developing the musical life of Kotor was emancipatory, and she will be most fondly remembered for her works on musical fairy tales. Not long after the end of the war, in 1946, Anton Pogačar arrived in Montenegro, having been sent by the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Slovenia, to act as an expert advisor, aiming to help organise and develop public musical education there.² Given the context of his work, both in terms of the times and the cultural environment, Pogačar can be considered the founding father of Montenegrin musical education. Vida Matjan settled in Montenegro for the rest of her life, while Anton Pogačar moved to Pula (in Croatia) in 1963, where he remained until his death in 1995.

The impact and influence of musicians from more advanced regions is a defining feature of the cultural development of Montenegro from as early as the second half of the nineteenth century, and as such the role played by these Slovenian musicians can be seen as a continuation of this tradition into the second half of the twentieth century.³ Acting as versatile music pedagogues, conductors and composers, they left an important mark on the musical life of

- 1 The reason for Vida Matjan to choose Kotor as the place where she and her husband Alojz and daughter Sonja took refuge due to the war was the business contacts that Alojz Matjan, an engineer, had made in Montenegro from as early as 1936, as well as their earlier, occasional stays in this city. The biographical facts related to Vida Matjan are taken from the testimony of Miloš Milošević, her long-time friend and colleague. Miloš Milošević, "Vida Matjan," in *Muzičke teme i portreti* (Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1983), 125–137.
- 2 Anton Pogačar, "Iz života i rada Srednje muzičke škole Njegoš," in *Deset godina Srednje muzičke škole Njegoš Cetinje – Kotor 1946/47–1956/57. Almanah*, ed. Pero Šegota (Kotor: Srednja muzička škola, 1957), 59–99.
- 3 The most prominent foreign musicians who were active in the musical life of Montenegro as performers, music educators and composers were: Anton Schultz, Franjo Wimmer and Robert Tollinger. A special mark on the musical life of Kotor was left by the Italian composer Dionisio de Sarno San-Giorgio (1856–1937). During his stay in Kotor (1886–1892), de Sarno took part in the launch of the first music school, within the *Gradanska muzika* (Civic Music), orchestra he led at the time. Miloš Milošević, "Dionizije de Sarno San Đorđo," in *Muzičke teme i portreti* (Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1983), 83–117. Special attention was paid to music education at the Girls' Institute (1869/76; 1878/1913), which was founded in Cetinje under the auspices of the Russian Empress Maria Alexandrovna. Classes were conducted according to the curricula that were in use in educational institutions of this type in Russia. 112 girls, including Slovenian women, were educated at this institution. Music was also taught as an integral part of the program in gymnasiums and Bogoslovija (1869), the orthodox school in Cetinje. Jelena Martinović Bogojević, "Views of Elementary Music Education in Montenegro and Slovenia," *Javno glasbeno šolstvo na Slovenskem: Pogledi ob 200-letnici – Glasbenopedagoški zbornik Akademije za glasbo v Ljubljani*, 25, thematic issue (2016): 306.

two cultures, Slovenian and Montenegrin. Today, their work and influence are insufficiently examined and remain unknown to the wider music audience.

In order to gain new insights, alongside consulting the scarce literature and partially preserved archival material,⁴ a series of interviews were conducted with their former students and associates, and the methodology of combining public and private data was used.

The Establishment of the System of State Music Schools in Montenegro

In the years between the two world wars, the musical life in Montenegro rested on music societies, city orchestras, and the activities of individual musicians. The first initiative to establish a music school within Pjevačko društvo Njegoš (Njegoš Singing Society, 1871–1940) in Cetinje was launched by the composer and conductor Jovan Milošević,⁵ who returned to Montenegro in 1922. The school started operating in 1932.⁶ In terms of the organisation of the work of the school and the teaching process, he was helped in no small measure by a Czech musician, the pianist Bohuslav Šula, and the Croatian composer Milo Cipra who wrote his orchestral work, *Sinfonietta*, during this period (1934).⁷

Immediately after the First World War, Pjevačko društvo Branko (Branko Singing Society) was formed in Podgorica, led by Aleksa Ivanović.⁸ In 1931, he formed a chamber orchestra, which originated from the Vojni muzički orkestar (Army Music Orchestra) (1907), led by the Czech musician Karl

4 This especially refers to Anton Pogačar, while the opus of Vida Matjan is preserved as her legacy in the *Historical Archive* in Kotor.

5 Jovan Milošević (1895–1959) was a Montenegrin composer and conductor who completed his studies in 1922 at the Prague Conservatory. After returning to Cetinje, he was a music teacher at the Cetinje Gymnasium and the choirmaster of the Njegoš Singing Society up to 1926. He was also engaged in collecting Montenegrin folk songs and arranging them for choral performance. Vukašin Vlahović, “Presjek razvoja muzičkog stvaralaštva Crne Gore,” in *Udruženje kompozitora Crne Gore: 25 godina*, ed. Marko Rogošić (Podgorica: Udruženje kompozitora Crne Gore, Kulturno-prosvjetna zajednica Podgorica, 1996), 27.

6 Manja Radulović Vulić, “Muzička kultura u Crnoj Gori,” in *Crna Gora*, eds. Olga Perović, Sreten Perović, Stanislav Vujošević, and Čedo Vuković (Titograd: Organizacioni odbor dana Crne Gore, 1981), accessed February 15, 2021, http://www.montenegrina.net/pages/pages1/muzika/muzicka_kultura_u_cg_m_radulovic_vulic.htm.

7 Vlahović, “Presjek razvoja,” 27.

8 Aleksa Ivanović (1888–1940) was a music pedagogue, composer, and conductor. After acquiring music education within the Orkestar Druge vojne muzike (Orchestra of the Second Military Music) in Cetinje he graduated from the Prague Conservatory in 1911. Upon his return to Montenegro, he was a music teacher at the Gymnasium in Cetinje, and a choirmaster and chaplain of the tamburitza section of the Workers’ Society. He led the Njegoš Singing Society, and after the first world war (from 1922) he led the singing societies named Branko, Njegoš, Naprednik and Gajret in Podgorica. He is credited with the development of music education and music culture in Montenegro in the inter-war period. According to Milica Gajić, “Aleksa Ivanović,” in *Srpski biografski rečnik*, IV: I–Ka, ed. Čedomir Popov (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2009), also valuable is the website <http://montenegrina.net/fokus/milica-gajic-biografije-ivanisevic-jovana-ivanovic-alekse-i-jovovic-spiridona-spira/>, accessed February 17, 2021.

Herring.⁹ Ivanović must be viewed as one of the most important creators of the musical life of Montenegro. His dynamic activities included the founding of Muzička škola Branko (Branko Music School) in 1937, which operated until 1940.¹⁰ In the Bay of Kotor, under the influence of Austro-Hungarian culture,¹¹ there were numerous artistic and cultural societies.¹² Within these societies, informal musical education was provided to the local population by certain musicians with an inclination for music teaching.

In the decade after the Second World War, the development of music education was marked by the creation of a common system of music education across the former Yugoslavia. It was necessary, due to the varying characteristics and circumstances of music education in the individual Yugoslav republics, to form a certain type of consensus, which was characterised by the creation of an umbrella document called “Bledski dogovor” (the Bled Agreement, 1949). It defined the state concept of music education, which consisted of the vertical of the lower (i.e., primary), secondary and higher educational levels. The status of music schools was regulated by regulations in each republic, which were harmonised at the state level, and which determined the function and duration of music education, as well as the expected competencies of students after their graduation.¹³

One of the basic strategies of the Montenegrin educational policies was the establishment of state music schools. Based on the decision of the Ministry of Education of the Federal Republic of Montenegro from November 1946, the

9 Vesna Ivanović, “O prošlosti/About the Past,” in *Montenegrin Symphony Orchestra: The first decade 2007—2017*, eds. Žarko Mirković and Jelena Jovanović-Nikolić (Podgorica: Muzički centar Crne Gore, 2017), 51–53.

10 Cvjetko Ivanović, “Muzika u Crnoj Gori nekad i sad,” in *Udruženje kompozitora Crne Gore: 25 godina*, ed. Marko Rogošić (Podgorica: Udruženje kompozitora Crne Gore, Kulturno-prosvjetna zajednica Podgorica, 1996), 11–29.

11 The Bay of Kotor was controlled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1814 to 1918.

12 Gradska muzika (City Music, 1886) in Herceg Novi, Gradska muzika (Civic Music, 1925) in Tivat, and in Kotor Gradska muzika (City Music, 1842), and Srpsko pjevačko društvo Jedinstvo (Unity Serbian Singing Society, 1839).

13 The system of lower (primary) music schools was designed so that they were not compulsory, and students attended them in parallel with compulsory primary school. The curriculum consists of musical subjects (i.e., instrument, solfeggio, choir singing). High schools of music were specialised schools that students enrolled in, preparing them for professional music practice. Studies at the high music school lasted for four years, and the curriculum consisted of specialised music and general education subjects. After graduating from high music school, students continued their higher education at the university level (i.e., at various music academies). The system of public music education was free of charge, which was one of the democratic values of the educational policies of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The system has retained its basic characteristics to this day in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. More about the system of music education in the SFRY can be found in Branko Rakijaš, “Muzičko školstvo u Jugoslaviji,” in *Muzička enciklopedija*, II, ed. Krešimir Kovačević (Zagreb: Jugoslovenski leksikografski zavod, 1974), 654.

first state music school, named Državna muzička škola Njegoš¹⁴ was founded. It was located in the Biljarda¹⁵ building in Cetinje until 1951. The school started working as a primary level music school in January 1947, and from the school year 1948/49 it grew into a music boarding school at secondary level. The first Principal of the school was Anton Pogačar, who remained in that position until his retirement in 1963. In 1951, the authorities decided to temporarily move the school to Kotor, where it operated for the next seven years, after which it was moved to Titograd (now Podgorica) as the capital of the Republic of Montenegro.¹⁶

Immediately after the war, in 1945, Vida Matjan, as a piano teacher, founded her private music school in Kotor. With the consent of the state authorities, this school operated until 1 April 1947, when it merged with the newly established Državna škola za osnovno muzičko obrazovanje (State School for Primary Music Education) in Kotor. Officially, from 1949, Vida Matjan became the Principal, and remained in that position for the next twenty years, until her retirement in 1969.¹⁷

In addition to Cetinje and Kotor, during the first post-war years, primary level music schools were established in other Montenegrin cities: in Nikšić (1948), Pljevlja (1948), Ivangrad (now Berane; 1949), and Herceg Novi

14 The school was named after Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851), the Prince-Bishop of Montenegro and a Montenegrin poet and philosopher.

15 Biljarda (Billiard House) is the name of the former residence of Petar II Petrović Njegoš. It is located in the city centre of Cetinje and dates from 1838. It was named after the billiard table that Njegoš brought from Vienna, which at that time was the first and only billiard table in Montenegro.

16 Decision of the Executive Committee of the Federal Republic of Montenegro of March 21, 1958 (Podgorica, Arhiv Umjetničke škole za muziku i balet).

17 At the beginning of the 1950s, after completing his studies at the Academy of Music in Belgrade, another Slovenian musician, Rudolf Zakrajšek moved to Kotor. Rudolf (Rudy) Zakrajšek (1915–1994) was born on 25 February 1915 in Trebnje (in Slovenia). He graduated from the Academy of Music in Belgrade in composition, conducting, and double bass playing. After moving the school from Kotor to Titograd, Rudolf Zakrajšek would work as a teacher, and then as the long-term principal of the Vasa Pavić State Primary Music School. During his mandate, in 1972, a ballet school was also founded. After 1980, Rudolf Zakrajšek taught the subject Methodology of the Teaching General Music Education at the newly established Academy of Music (1980) for eight years. He was the co-author of a textbook package for music education for the third and fourth grades of primary school titled *Muzičke radosti (Musical Joys)*, (1983). He was an active member of the Association of Music Artists of Montenegro and one of the founders of the Association of Composers of Montenegro, of which he was president twice, from 1981 to 1982, and from 1984 to 1986. He was also active as a conductor of the Symphony Orchestra of the Radio Television of Montenegro. As a composer he wrote *Piano Miniatures*, *Theme with Variations for Violin and Piano*, and further orchestral works *Paraphrases* and *Orchestral Meditations*. Rudolf Zakrajšek was awarded the Lifetime Achievement Award by the Association of Composers of Montenegro in 1981. He died in Podgorica on 12 December 1994. The biographical facts are taken from Manja Radulović Vulić, "In Memoriam: Rudolf Zakrajšek: Crnogorski Slovenac," *Pobjeda* (private archive of his grandson Zoran Zakrajšek, accessed March 1, 2021).

(1949).¹⁸ From then on, music education continued to develop, and future teaching staff began to be educated at the Academy of Music¹⁹ which was founded in 1980 as one of the nineteen university units at Univerzitet Veljko Vlahović (Veljko Vlahović University)²⁰ in Titograd (now Podgorica). Thus, Montenegro was the last of the Yugoslav republics to establish a tertiary level institution for music education.²¹

Anton Pogačar – The Visionary Founder of Music Education in Montenegro

The significance of Anton Pogačar for music education in Montenegro can be compared with the significance that the Slovenian composer Davorin Jenko (1835–1914) had in terms of the development of music life in Serbia in the second half of the nineteenth century. Anton Pogačar came to Montenegro as an educated musician, having first been educated at the Vojna muzička škola (Military Music School) in Vršac (1920–1941), after which he worked as a military musician in Ljubljana. He would continue his education at the Ljubljana State Conservatory (1926–1939) where he completed his studies in the class of the composer Slavko Osterc (1895–1941). Before coming to Montenegro, he worked as a teacher in the music school in his native town Celje.²²

Upon his arrival in Cetinje, Pogačar, in addition to the position of the principal of the Njegoš State Music School taught theoretical music subjects and the violin. Pogačar's wife Zdenka (Leskovec) Pogačar was a piano teacher. The school began operating on 1 January 1947, and the teaching staff was mostly composed of foreign musicians (Spaček, Santamario, Mazzoleni, Bohuslav Šula).²³

The founding of the school attracted significant interest from among the local population, far surpassing the original expectations of the founders (as many

18 Today, there are fourteen music schools in Montenegro, of which thirteen are state run, and one is a private-state school. Five schools in Montenegro operate as schools for primary and secondary music education. "Mužičke škole," in *Školska mreža*, accessed May 14, 2021, <http://www.skolska-mreza.edu.me/muzicke-skole/>.

19 After a fire at its temporary home in February, in which a great number of instruments and documents were lost, the Academy of Music was moved to Cetinje (old royal capital of Montenegro) in October 1996, in the building of the former British Embassy, where it is still located today.

20 The University was founded under this name in 1974. In 1992 it became the University of Montenegro.

21 For more on the development of the Academy of Music, see Sonja Marinković, "Mužička akademija na Cetinju: Pogled na osnivanje, razvoj i sadašnji rad najviše obrazovne institucije u Crnoj Gori," in *Mužičko školstvo u Crnoj Gori – dometi i perspektive*, 144, no. 43, ed. Žarko Mirković (Podgorica: CANU, 2018), 83–94.

22 Vukašin Vlahović, "Anton Pogačar," *Mužički glasnik*, no. 4 (1988): 30–31, accessed February 20, 2021, http://www.montenegrina.net/pages/pages1/muzika/anton_pogacar.htm.

23 From the archive of the Vasa Pavić Art School for Music and Ballet in Podgorica.

as 746 candidates applied to study at the school, of which 156 were enrolled).²⁴ The great enthusiasm for musical education on the part of the staff is demonstrated by the number of public performances by the pupils of the school in its first year of operation. However, the development of the school to include secondary music teaching, in the 1948/49 school year, caused various issues. Pogačar stated that, due to the lack of interest among pupils in professional music training, it became necessary to go from house to house, assessing the musical talent of potential pupils and persuading the parents to send them to the boarding school in Cetinje, in order to train them as professional musicians. There were also a number of war orphans among the intake of pupils, whose musical talents had been recognised by the teaching staff. In total, the first intake of the secondary school numbered forty-nine students. Under the direction of Pogačar, from the second year of its existence, the school had gained a widespread reputation, with the pupils and teachers performing a series of concerts, including an open-air concert and performance for the workers who built the Omladinska pruga Nikšić-Titograd (Nikšić-Titograd Youth Railway). The concert tour of Albania in April 1948, with performances in Shkodra and Tirana, is also particularly noteworthy, not least for its success among the local audience.

Despite the relative lack of qualified teachers, the school offered the full range of specialisations, including solo-singing which was taught by Kornelija Ninković-Grozano (1897–1986), the former *prima donna* of Beogradska opera (Belgrade Opera House). The school also took on responsibility for courses for music teachers at primary school level, so as to improve the generally poor quality of music teaching, through the elementary development of basic professional competencies.

The school attracted particular attention and affirmed the relevance and quality of their work through their involvement in the jubilee celebrations of the centenary of the death of Petar II Petrović Njegoš, which took place in 1951. Anton Pogačar was on the Organising Committee of this event. The work of the school was highly rated by evaluators sent from Belgrade, among whose number we find such eminent figures as the composer and conductor Oskar Danon (1913–2009) and the Serbian composer Petar Konjović (1883–1970). However, the school suffered from a lack of support and understanding on the part of the government, which would not provide increased financial support for the development of better material conditions at the school, and this led to a reduction in the already limited number of qualified teachers.²⁵

Due to poor conditions in the Biljarda building in Cetinje, the government ordered that the school be moved to Kotor temporarily in 1951. One

24 A timeline of the development of the school is presented in Pogačar, "Iz života i rada," 59–99.

25 For instance, the cellist Camilo Mazzoleni was offered a position at the Ljubljana Philharmonic and left the school in 1950. With the moving of the school to Kotor, the composer Jovan Milošević, who was head of the woodwind section of the school, decided to leave for personal reasons. *Ibid.*, 70.

positive consequence of this was that the school, together with Kulturno-umjetničko društvo Nikola Đurković (Nikola Đurković Cultural and Artistic Society), founded the Symphony Orchestra (1953/54) led by composer Ilija Lakešić. After the orchestra ceased operating in 1956, the school founded its own orchestra whose public performances made a substantial impact on musical life in the Bay of Kotor, until the school moved to Titograd in 1958.²⁶ Young Slovenian musician Rudolf Zakrajšek, who had originally trained as a double bassist and conductor, acted as conductor for a number of the concerts, while Pogačar led the mixed choir of the music school, which quickly gained a significant reputation. At this time, Vida Matjan was the principal of the State School for Primary Music Education in Kotor, and was actively engaged in organising its musical activities, including arranging public performances of her musical fairy tales by the students of the school.

The pedagogical mission of Anton Pogačar can be considered a success from the very start, thanks to the first class of students who completed their secondary music education, and among whom there were future prominent musicians who continued their education at various music centres across the former Yugoslavia.²⁷

26 The continuity of the Njegoš State High Music School endured after moving to Titograd, where, in 1978, the school was integrated into the Vasa Pavić School of Primary Music Education, which at that time was headed by Rudolf Zakrajšek, forming a new primary and secondary music education institution under the umbrella name Centar za muziku i balet Vasa Pavić (Vasa Pavić Centre for Music and Ballet). Since 2005, the school has been called Umjetnička škola za muziku i balet Vasa Pavić (Vasa Pavić Art School for Music and Ballet). "70 godina škole: Koncert 'Susret Generacija' povodom jubileja škole: Program," in *J. U. umjetnička škola za muziku i balet 'VASA PAVIĆ'* (June 5, 2017), accessed May 18, 2021, <http://kipodgorica.me/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/program-Koncert-Susret-generacija-5.pdf>.

27 Among the first students to complete their studies, we find the following musicians: Tripo Simonuti (violin), Mirko Bratičević (piano), Boro Tamindžić (composer), Cvjetko Ivanović (conductor), Konstantin Ivanović (double bass), Svetozar Purko Aleksić (clarinet), and Julio Marić (conductor). Musicians from Montenegro mostly continued their education at the Music Academy in Belgrade, as the capital of Yugoslavia, while there were also those who completed their studies at the music academies of Sarajevo and Zagreb. A smaller number of students went to Ljubljana, presumably because of the language barrier.



Figure 1: The students of the first graduating class of the Njegoš High School of Music in 1950.²⁸

In order to complete out impression of Anton Pogačar, both as a teacher and a personality, we should consider the evidence offered by his former pupils. According to the recollections of Julio Marić,²⁹ Pogačar was a born teacher, who often personally financed the students' food and helped poor students and their families. Marić remembers him as someone who was adept at equipping the school with materials and instruments that were difficult to find at the time. Marić offers the following account of Pogačar's personality and approach in recalling his own first days as a pupil at the school in Cetinje:

One day at 9 o'clock in the morning they tested my musical abilities, and already at 11 o'clock they took me to Cetinje. I was 13 then. I wanted to play the piano, but due to my extraordinary pitch ear, Pogačar insisted that I start learning the violin. Dissatisfied, after fifteen days I ran home from Cetinje,

28 Accessed March 3, 2021, <http://www.cetinje-mojgrad.org/2010/08/srednja-muzicka-skola-na-cetnju-konstantin-ivanovic/>.

29 Julio Marić, a conductor, composer, and university professor was born in 1937 in Dubrovnik. He completed his studies at the Njegoš State High Music School in Kotor in 1956. He then studied conducting and composition at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo, also in 1956, and graduated with a master's degree two years later. Subsequently, he taught at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo, and during the 1990s was a professor at the Academy of Music of the University of Montenegro. "Bivši učenici: Julio Marić," in *Škola za osnovno muzičko obrazovanje Herceg Novi* (2015), accessed May 12, 2021, <http://muzickahercegnovi.com/page/12/>. Julio Marić shared his memories of Anton Pogačar: Julio Marić, personal conversation with authors, February 14, 2021.

in a truck. However, during the day, the police came to look for me and they made me return to the music school in Cetinje. The same thing happened again after about ten days, I ran away again, but this time, when I got home, Pogačar and the police were already waiting for me, and they sent me back to school. This time the Principal relented and allowed me to study both piano and violin. When I went to Novi Sad to further my education, Pogačar lent me his violin, which I later returned to him.³⁰

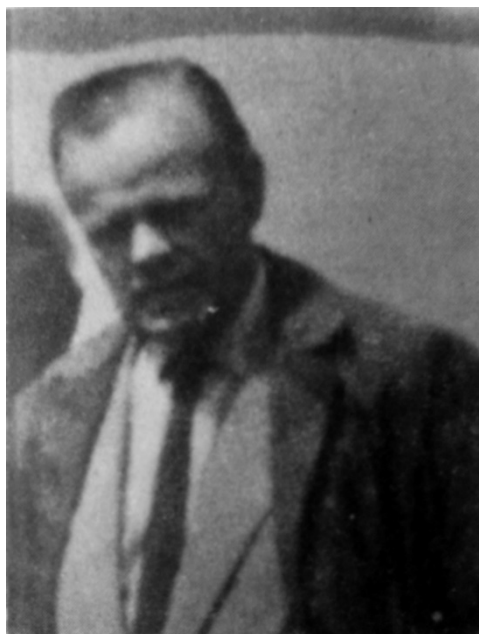


Figure 2: Anton Pogačar.³¹

Among the first students to complete their studies at the secondary school, we find the renowned Yugoslav violinist Tripo Simonuti, who was quick to credit Anton Pogačar with a key role in encouraging him to take up music professionally, recalling the advice he received to continue studying music in Belgrade. Simonuti's memory of his departure from the school is particularly vivid, with Pogačar giving him the violin he later used, and one of the two suits he owned, in order that he could be dressed appropriately for the journey to Belgrade. This memory on the part of Tripo Simonuti shows us the almost parental sensibility that Pogačar felt towards the students he had taught at

30 Marić, personal conversation.

31 Rogošić, *Udruženje kompozitora Crne Gore*, 31.

the boarding school, since they often came from poor families. In particular, Simonuti highlighted the quality of the competencies he acquired as a result of Pogačar and his teaching, which meant that adjusting to the high standards expected of him in his new learning environment posed no real difficulty.³²

In addition to initiating music pedagogy, Anton Pogačar recognised certain specific Montenegrin cultural and musical needs, and thus he worked diligently as an organiser of musical life, and was actively involved in the establishment of the first music associations, most notably as the president of the management board of *Asocijacija produktivnih i reproduktivnih umjetnika Crne Gore* (Association of Productive and Reproductive Musicians of Montenegro, 1949), and as the secretary of *Udruženje muzičara Crne Gore – UMCG* (Association of Musicians of Montenegro, 1955).³³

In order to support the further development of music teaching, Pogačar published a manual *Muzički priručnik za nastavu pjevanja u srednjim školama* (*Music Manual for Teaching Singing in High Schools*; 1948) with illustrations provided by the Slovenian artist Lojze Perko (1909–1980).³⁴ The manual covered basic musical theory, elementary explanations of the anatomy of the vocal apparatus, and also a section featuring a selection of choral compositions, which were specially adapted to the repertoire of school choirs. This was the first organised manual for music teachers to be published in Montenegro. As one of the key figures in the organisations of musical life of the time, Pogačar published number of articles in which he analysed and highlighted certain specific features, critically engaging with the development of future strategies for the development of music teaching in Montenegro.³⁵

Traces of the Musical Works of Anton Pogačar

We lack sufficient information on the compositions of Anton Pogačar. Before coming to Montenegro, he had published two collections in Slovenia. Their titles suggest that they consisted mainly of musical arrangements. The first one was a collection of 100 practice pieces for the accordion, based on folk songs and partisan songs from the Second World War (*Pionir na harmoniko: 100 vaj*

32 Tripo Simonuti, "Spavao sam sa violinom," interview by Slavko Trošelj, *Politika*, April 22, 2007, accessed February 25, 2021, <http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/1966/>.

33 Marko Rogošić, "Osnivanje prvih muzičkih udruženja u Crnoj Gori 1947–1957," in *Udruženje kompozitora Crne Gore: 25 godina*, ed. Marko Rogošić (Podgorica: Udruženje kompozitora Crne Gore, Kulturno-prosvjetna zajednica Podgorica, 1996), 30–33.

34 Anton Pogačar, *Muzički priručnik za nastavu pjevanja u srednjim školama* (Cetinje: Narodna knjiga, 1948).

35 Information on these activities is held in the digital database of the Đurđe Crnojević National Library of Montenegro in Cetinje. The articles were published in the magazines *Ovdje, Prosvjetni rad*, and in the newspaper *Pobjeda*.

za začetnike, 1946).³⁶ The other one was a collection of melodies from the operetta *Povodni mož* (*The Water Man*), based on the ballad of the same name by the most significant Slovenian nineteenth-century poet France Prešeren (1800–1849).³⁷ Pogačar composed the operetta before arriving in Montenegro (1946). His known works also include the musical score for a play, based on the traditional fairy tale *Čardak ni na nebu, ni na zemlji* (*A Tower neither in Heaven nor on Earth*), which was performed at Narodno pozorište u Kotoru (National Theatre in Kotor).³⁸ In Montenegro, he published seven works with the publisher Narodna knjiga in Cetinje between 1946 and 1950. However, number of significant works, including the cantata *Spomenik* (*The Monument*), for which he received an award in 1960, have never been published, and the manuscripts of these works have not yet been discovered in the available archives in Montenegro.

Pogačar's clear interest in the specific nature of the Montenegrin folklore led initially to the creation of the first series of harmonized treatments of folk songs for choirs, and then appeared later in new creative works, into which the original folkloric melody tradition was incorporated in a holistic and authentic manner. Notable examples of choral compositions which show these features include *Sa Lovčena vila kliče* (*The Maiden Sings out from Lovćen*), arranged for women's and children's choir, *Durmitor* and *Poljem se vije* (*Fluttering in the Field*).³⁹ Pogačar uses the original folk melody, achieving expressiveness through occasional chromatic movements and rich harmonisation. In the collection *Zvuci iz Crne Gore* (*Sounds from Montenegro*), Pogačar collected four songs for children's and four for mixed choir, among which we find arrangements of the folk songs *Crnogorski biseri* (*Montenegrin Pearls*), *Ponosita lovčenska planina* (*Proud Mount Lovćen*) and a song he composed based on Njegoš's verses *Bješe oblak sunce uhvatio* (*There was a Cloud that Caught the Sun*). It is thought that these choral compositions were specifically written for the school choir he conducted and intended as part of the music programme which marked the centenary of Njegoš's death which was held in 1951. Of Pogačar's instrumental compositions, the miniature *Romansa* (1949), written for cello and piano, is also preserved in National Library of Montenegro.

36 Anton Pogačar, *Pionir na harmoniko: 100 vaj za začetnike; Narodne in partizanske pesmi za klavirsko harmoniko* ([S. l.]: [s. n.], 1946).

37 Anton Pogačar, *Venček melodij (Ouvertura): Iz operete "Povodni mož" po istoimenski Prešernovi baladi; Priredba za klavir* ([S. l.]: [s. n.], 1946).

38 Pogačar, "Iz života i rada," 60.

39 In the "Đurđe Crnojević" National Library of Montenegro in Cetinje, the following works by Anton Pogačar are preserved: *Pjesme za pionire: Zbirka dječijih borova* (1950); *Motiv iz Crne Gore* (1949); *Romansa za violončelo i klavir* (1949); *Zvuci iz Crne Gore: Crnogorskoj omladini; Dječiji i mješoviti borovi* (1947); *Muzički priručnik: Za nastavu pjevanja u srednjim muzičkim školama* (1948); *Pjesma omladinskoj pruzi Nikšić – Titograd* [s. d.]; *Pjesma graditeljima pruge Titograd – Nikšić* [s. d.]. The works are classified in the COBISS database, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://plus.cg.cobiss.net/opac7/bib/search?q=anton+poga%C4%8Ddar&db=cobib&mat=allmaterials&start=0>.

Pogačar wrote music for the theatre play *Gorski vijenac* (*The Mountain Wreath*) based on the poem by Petar II Petrović Njegoš, which was performed in 1960 at the Titograd National Theatre. The play, adapted and directed by the Montenegrin theatre director Nikola Vavić (1924–2019), was also premiered in Zagreb, on the occasion of the centenary of Hrvatsko narodno kazalište (Croatian National Theatre) on 11 December 1960. In this play, music acted as a striking constructive element, so that we might define the work as a kind of combined musical-dramatic presentation, which featured numerous choral recitals, as was suggested by the review of the premiere which appeared in the Zagreb newspaper *Vjesnik*.⁴⁰

Pogačar's particular feeling for Montenegrin folk elements is also evident in his miniature for violin and piano *Motiv iz Crne Gore* (*Motif from Montenegro*, 1949), which in a descending melody contains certain characteristic intervals of the major and minor seconds.

The image shows the initial bars of the composition 'Motiv iz Crne Gore' for Violina and Piano forte. The score is divided into two sections: 'Largo' and 'Andante'. The Violina part starts with a forte (f) dynamic, and the Piano forte part starts with a forte (f) dynamic. The 'Andante' section begins with a mezzo-forte (mf) dynamic. The score includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Figure 3: Initial bars of the composition *Motif from Montenegro*.⁴¹

40 Milovan Radojević, "Prve dvije decenije Crnogorskog narodnog pozorišta," *Matica* (2013), 364.

41 Anton Pogačar, *Motiv iz Crne Gore* (Cetinje: Narodna knjiga, 1949), 2.

Pogačar generally wrote choral compositions with themes that were typical of the period after the Second World War, including ideas of struggle and renewal, but also created pioneer songs written for children's choir.⁴²

For his entire work in the field of music culture, as well as for the cantata *The Monument*,⁴³ Anton Pogačar received the highest Montenegrin recognition, Trinaestojulska nagrada (Thirteenth of July Award). After retiring, he left Montenegro in 1963 and settled in Pula, where he died on 23 November 1995.⁴⁴ The position of principal of the High School of Music in Titograd was subsequently held for many years by people who were not musicians, which also influenced the lack of a strategy for educating future instrumentalists, a situation which continued until the 1980s.

Vida Matjan – Remarkable Currents in Music Pedagogy

Vida Matjan has a special role in the development of music culture in Montenegro, as a person of broad culture, who turned her multiple artistic talents to music pedagogy. The city of Kotor, which has a long musical tradition and rich cultural heritage, was an open and stimulating environment in which Vida Matjan realised her creative musical ideas.

Vida Matjan⁴⁵ (*née* Hribar) was born on 6 May 1896, in Ljubljana into a family that belonged to the ranks of civil society. She gained her first musical knowledge from her mother Antonija (*née* Učak), a dramatic soprano, who acquired her music education at Glasbena matica, where she was taught by Fran Gerbič (1840–1917). Her father did not agree with her desire to become a musician. However, after finishing the third grade of high school with great success, he approved her enrolment at Glasbena matica in 1911, where she was taught piano by Anton Trost (1889–1973). After receiving a scholarship, she enrolled in piano studies in Vienna, but her studies were interrupted by the First World War, and the death of her mother in 1913, and she returned to Ljubljana.⁴⁶ In 1917, she married Alojz Matjan, who was a student of

42 Pogačar's adaptation of the song *Teče Tara* (1948) for mixed choir belongs to partisan songs from Montenegro, which is still performed today.

43 The score has not been found in Montenegro.

44 The data was obtained from the Registry Office of the City of Pula, February 22, 2021.

45 Biographical data of Vida Matjan are cited from Miloš Milošević, her long-time friend and colleague. Milošević, "Vida Matjan," 125–137.

46 Biographical data of Vida Matjan has been presented to the Slovenian audience in the following articles: Ervina Dabižinović, "Vida Matjan – 'duša svega', uspešna Slovenka u Crnoj Gori," *Slovenika: Časopis za kulturu, nauku i obrazovanje* 4 (2018): 53–80, <https://doi.org/10.18485/slovenika.2018.4.1.2>; Vedrana Marković, "Influence of Slovenian Culture and Music Pedagogy on the Development of Music Education in Montenegro through Work of Vida Matjan," *Mostovi med formalnim in neformalnim glasbenim izobraževanjem – Glasbenopedagoški zbornik Akademije za glasbo v Ljubljani*, 31, thematic issue (2019): 161–167; Martinović Bogojević, "Views of Elementary," 307; Ivana Miladinović Prica, "Skladateljice v Črni gori: Zgodovina nekega razmerja,"

technical studies, but also a good organist, pianist, and amateur painter. Vida Matjan made her earliest contact with dramatic art by playing in performances organized by the Slovenian writer Marija Kmet (1891–1974). Thus, she became acquainted with dramatic expression, which she would later apply in her multimodal approach to music pedagogy.

In 1930, she began a higher piano degree⁴⁷ at Srednja muzička škola Stanković (Stanković High School of Music) in Belgrade, being taught by the eminent Czech pianist and professor Emil Hayek (1886–1974).⁴⁸ At that time, she taught a large number of private piano lessons, especially to Slovenes who lived in Belgrade. She also developed her skills in painting on silk, wood, porcelain, and clay, which she perfected with the academic painter and violinist Saša Šantel (1883–1945). She would demonstrate this gift most especially when creating costumes for opera performances commissioned by opera houses in Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Zagreb, and also very clearly in the preparation of the stage performances of her musical fairy tales for which she created and prepared the costumes.⁴⁹ She arrived in Montenegro at the start of the war in 1941, after her house had been destroyed in the bombing of Belgrade.

After the war years, she began to educate children at her Privatna muzička škola Vida Matjan (Vida Matjan Private Music School), which merged, two years later (1947), with the newly established State School for Primary Music Education in Kotor, which she ran for the next twenty years. In addition to piano lessons, at the elementary music school as well as at the Njegoš High School of Music, she taught solfeggio to the lower grades. From 1946, she organised and conducted the choir of the Women's Antifascist Front (which had thirty-two members), subsequently leading the Pioneer Choir of 105 members, and various folklore and drama groups. Her work with the school choir was also significant, and with her as conductor they won first prize in certain national competitions. Her ongoing interest in the folklore of Boka Bay was

in *Ženskost v glasbi skladateljic po 1918: Pogledi nekaterih manjših glasbenih kultur Evrope*, eds. Leon Stefanija and Katarina Bogunović Hočevar (Ljubljana: Oddelek za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 2018), 73–90, <https://doi.org/10.4312/9789610601388>; Katarina Zadnik, "Primary Music School Education in Slovenia and Montenegro," *Muzikološki zbornik* 55, no. 1 (2019): 195–210, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.55.1.195-210>.

- 47 This degree was equivalent to the final year of study at the later Academy of Music in Belgrade.
- 48 Emil Hayek (1886–1974) was a Yugoslav pianist and piano teacher of Czech origin. He also studied composition with Antonin Dvořák at the Prague Conservatory. From the founding of the Music Academy in Belgrade in 1937 until 1963, he was a full professor of piano and head of the piano department. He is considered the founder of the Belgrade piano school.
- 49 According to the testimony of her former student Smilja Đuranović, who took part in performing musical fairy tales, a fashion designer from Kotor Trifona Zanutti and her sister helped to make costumes for Vida Matjan. In those years of poverty, there were no textile materials, so the costumes were imaginatively made of crepe paper. Smilja Đuranović, a retired teacher of French language and literature, shared her memories of Vida Matjan with the authors. Smilja Đuranović, e-mail correspondence with authors, March 1, 2021.

reflected in the fact she collected authentic folk songs and dances, and that she recorded the customs of the region. This collected material was published in 1984 in the ethnomusicological study *Igre i pjesme Dobrote i Škaljara (Dances and Songs of Dobrota and Škaljari)*, in which she described such things as local wedding customs and the characteristic steps of folk dances, giving a complete picture of the whole cultural and ethnographic context.⁵⁰



Figure 4: Vida Matjan.⁵¹

Vida Matjan's vision of music education was not solely tied to piano teaching. The multimodal approach, which is today recognized as an important segment of the interdisciplinary connection of music with other forms of artistic expression, was a basic characteristic of her work with children. We can be certain that this encouraged musical creativity, through a holistic approach which fitted the way in which children learn about the world around them.⁵²

50 Out of gratitude, she dedicated this valuable publication to the city of Kotor.

51 Archive of the Vida Matjan Music School.

52 Jackie Wiggins, "Creative Process as Meaningful Music Thinking," in *Creativity and Music Education*, eds. Timothy Sullivan and Lee Willingham (Toronto, CA: Britannia Printers, 2002), 78–88.

According to the testimonies of her students, Vida Matjan had an emancipatory role in the life of post-war Kotor.⁵³ Her former pupil, the French language teacher Smilja Đuranović,⁵⁴ who enrolled in music school as an eight-year-old girl, played the piano and performed in her musical adaptations for stage performing, described Matjan in the following terms:

Vida Matjan was a very respected, authoritative person who knew how to evaluate the musical qualities of her students. She was not only a piano teacher, but also a pedagogue and a well-educated person who knew how to guide her pupils not only in music, but also in life situations. [...] I remember Ms. Matjan as my music pedagogue, always well-groomed, serious, and demanding when she felt she could reach to higher level. She also held classes on good manners and dress and taught us how to organise our time. When she moved to Kotor with her family, she rented an apartment that included a large room that she used for ballet classes that the children gladly accepted. At the end of the school year, she organised events for students and parents, which were enthusiastically attended.⁵⁵

Vida Matjan showed her professionalism, but also empathy towards her student. Marija Vujović,⁵⁶ a blind music teacher, came to Vida Matjan's piano classes in the late 1950s as a seven-year-old girl. Musically talented children from Dom za slijepe (Home for the Blind) in Risan came to the music school in Kotor with their music teacher, Ivan Odobašić, who was also blind himself. Vida Matjan held piano lessons for these children once a month, gave instructions and systematically supervised their musical development. They received a diploma on completing primary music school, which opened the possibility for these children to continue their music education at the secondary level.

Vida Matjan enjoyed great respect, especially among her colleagues, some of whom were also her former pupils. Marina Dulović,⁵⁷ who talks about her late years and the respect Matjan received from the staff of the music school in Kotor, also testifies to this:

53 Vida Matjan had a large number of pupils, among them later renowned musicians, who always emphasised the valuable experience of working with her. These figures include the conductor Darinka Matić Marović, the conductor Miroslav Homen, the pianist Tamara Jovičević, the conductor and composer Julio Marić, as well as the intellectual, linguist and pastor of the church of St. Eustachia in Dobrota, Don Branko Sbutega (1952–2006).

54 Đuranović, e-mail correspondence.

55 Ibid.

56 Marija Vujović, in conversation with authors, Cetinje, February 2, 2021 (transcript of the conversation).

57 Marina Dulović, a piano teacher and the long-time director of the Music School in Kotor. Marina Dulović, e-mail correspondence with authors, February 17, 2021.

Since 1985, every May 6th, on her birthday, the staff of the music school, of which I was a member, went to Mrs. Matjan's house in the Muo neighbourhood of Kotor. The appropriate gift would be given to her by the principal Nikša Čučić, her former student. [...] She approached each of us with devotion and talked about the teaching process, students, class, programmes, methods and problems. She would often play a piano piece that she had rehearsed in those days. [...] The memories remain of a woman who left a deep mark in the field of music culture, working diligently on the tasks of shaping musical life, and of developing and advancing culture and education.⁵⁸

On the occasion of the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the school (2007) it was decided that the school should be named after her. Marina Dulović, as the Principal of the Music School, launched this initiative, which gained widespread support, both among the local population and the music societies of Kotor Bay. Today, the music school in Kotor bears the name School for Primary and Secondary Music Education "Vida Matjan". Since 2009, cooperation has been established with Glasbena šola Franca Šturma (Franz Šturm Music School) in Ljubljana, and until 2015, every May 6th, on the day when Vida Matjan was born, students and professors of the Vida Matjan Music School held notable performances.⁵⁹

Vida Matjan's Musical Opus for Children

Vida Matjan's compositions for children began with piano and vocal works, notably through musical choreography, and the adaptation of various works of literature for children (being dramatic adaptations accompanied by piano): *Slike iz dječijih priča* (*Images from Children's Stories*, 1950), *Ježeva kućica* (*Hedgehog's Cottage*, 1951) adapted from the work by Branko Ćopić, and a puppet show based on Ivan Minatti's opus *Slamni vočić* (*The Little Straw Bull*, 1955) for which she herself created the puppets. Her approach to writing musical fairy tales evolved from simple piano accompaniment into a rich, child friendly range of performative approaches, incorporating Orff instruments, in combination with strings, woodwind and choirs, solo performance and ballet. In 1963, she created her most famous musical fairy tale *Besana šumska noć* (*The Sleepless Forest Night*) based on a lyric by Miloš Milošević, which was performed at the Kongres saveza uruženja muzičkih pedagoga Jugoslavije (Congress of the Union of Music Teachers of Yugoslavia) held on 24 April 1964 in Kotor. Vida Matjan was responsible for the music, the performance direction, and the choreography.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

Further musical fairy tales followed. These included *Zamčić Čardacić* (*The Little Castle*, 1966) based on the work by S. Maršak, *Klinika Lutaka* (*The Dolls' Clinic*, 1967), which was based on the text by Jovan Aleksić, and *Vučko* (*The Little Wolf*, 1968), following the work by Vojmil Labadan. In her later years, showing great vitality and an innovative approach, she wrote an opera for children in four acts, with a libretto by Miloš Milošević, entitled *Ususret ribama* (*To Meet the Fish*, 1989), which she dedicated to the young people of Kotor.⁶⁰ Her complete musical works included works for the piano and chamber music, vocal and vocal-instrumental pieces and a textbook encompassing teaching methodology, called *Muzička početnica* (*A Music Primer*, 1981), which was also written with Miloš Milošević.⁶¹

If we wish to understand the origin of the very innovative approach to music education which she provided for her pupils, then Vida Matjan offers a clear definition herself:

*I paid attention to rhythmic games, small recitations often with musical accompaniment and acting. Through frequent contact with parents and educators and through endless work with the children, I got a clear idea of how to compose for children. This was the beginning of my personal development phase that led me to today's level of dealing with this form of educational work.*⁶²

We cannot speak of Vida Matjan as having a particular musical role model, nor of her as following a pre-existing method of teaching, but rather of her approach to music teaching as emerging very specifically from her deep understanding of the psyche of the child, as well as her instinctive recognition of musical ability and her unerring approach to developing talent.

For the musical fairy tale *The Sleepless Forest Night*,⁶³ together with the author of the lyrics, Miloš Milošević, she received the highest Montenegrin award, the Thirteenth of July Award in 1965. Among other numerous awards she received, we find Zlatna medalja Saveza kompozitora Jugoslavije (Gold Medal of the Yugoslav Composers' Association), which was awarded in 1970, and Plaketa Saveza muzičkih umjetnika Jugoslavije (Plaque of the

60 A list of works by Vida Matjan is provided in Ivana Antović, "Vida Matjan, veliki muzički pedagog i stvaralac druge polovine XX vijeka," *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje: Časopis za pedagošku teoriju i praksu*, no. 4 (2009): 155–169; Dabižinović, "Vida Matjan – 'duša svega'," 74–75; Milošević, "Vida Matjan," 134–135.

61 The legacy of Vida Matjan is kept in the Historical Archives in Kotor (Državni arhiv Crne Gore, Istorijski arhiv Kotor, Muzička zbirka V, Vida Matjan (kompozicije, razno)).

62 Vida Matjan, *Razgovor s povodom*, radio interview, Radio Titograd, 1993, in Dabižinović, "Vida Matjan – 'duša svega,'" 67.

63 For more on musical fairy tales by Vida Matjan, see Marković, "Influence of Slovenian Culture," 165.

Association of Music Artists of Yugoslavia) on the occasion of twenty years of its existence (1950–1970).⁶⁴ She was a member of Udruženje kompozitora Crne Gore (Association of Composers of Montenegro) from its founding in 1969, and a Lifetime Achievement award was presented to her in 1980. The most significant achievement at a Yugoslav level, and the crowning glory of her career was Orden zasluga za narod sa srebrnim zracima (Special Medal of Honour with Silver Rays) which she received from the president of the Republic of Yugoslavia in 1976.⁶⁵

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a string quartet. At the top left, the number '29' is written. To its right, the title 'Ples zečica' is written in cursive. Below the title, the word 'Wood' is written, followed by 'Allegro' and 'Allegretto'. The score consists of four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'f' and 'mf'. The handwriting is clear and professional.

Figure 5: Vida Matjan: “Ples zečica” (“Dance of the Rabbits”) from the manuscript of the musical fairy tale *The Sleepless Forest Night*.⁶⁶

64 Dabižinović, “Vida Matjan – ‘duša svega,’” 75.

65 “Predsjednik Republike odlikovao je Vidu Matjan [The President of the Republic honoured Vida Matjan],” *Politika*, Belgrade (May 15, 1976), taken from Antović, “Vida Matjan,” 156.

66 Vida Matjan, *Besana šumska noć* (manuscript, Kotor, 1963), 29, Državni arhiv Crne Gore, Istorijški arhiv Kotor, Muzička zbirka V, Vida Matjan (kompozicije, razno), 1.1.

Vida Matjan's Approach to Initial Musical Education

The manuscript entitled *A Music Primer*, authored by Vida Matjan and Miloš Milošević,⁶⁷ was created in 1962, and the final version of the manuscript from 1981 can be found in the Historical Archives in Kotor. It was the first methodical manual for initial music teaching that was written in Montenegro. The manuscript is a methodical manual for music teachers, intended for those working with children in the first grade of primary school and in the preparatory grade of music school, i.e., ages 6–7. It contains clear methodical instructions for the teacher, includes seventeen of the author's songs adapted to the needs of initial teaching, instructions for listening to music, work in the field of rhythm, and playing Orff percussion instruments.

Vida Matjan paid special attention to working with the youngest age-group in the preparatory class. Her approach was based on the creation of visual impressions through carved figures on a flannelgraph as a didactic tool and with certain musical examples.⁶⁸ The flannelgraph itself is a 122 cm long and 67 cm wide hard-board, covered with white flannel or, as the authors say, "some other rough fabric." Given the fact that in the literature, the flannelgraph is not often mentioned as a didactic tool, it can be considered that Vida Matjan founded its use in the teaching of solfeggio in music schools. The scenery and figures are made of cardboard, and they are painted according to marked numbers, and according to the legend of the provided colours. On the back of the made figures, a piece of sticky paper is glued with which the figures can stand on the flannelgraph. The methodological path is based on the author's knowledge that painting and the visual experience are especially successful in helping to work with the youngest age-group. She designed drawings of figures and backdrops,⁶⁹ for each song intended for processing, since she also had an exceptional gift for artistic expression. The authors describe in detail for each song what the scenery looks like and how the figures are set. It is stated that the teacher in the simplest way presents the content of the verses that will be memorised and sung in class, setting up a figure or backdrop that is being talked about at that moment. The figures are arranged by numbers, as shown in the picture for each class, with the final appearance of the flannelgraph. In addition to its predominant role in the process of learning the text, the flannelgraph was also

67 Vida Matjan and Miloš Milošević, *Muzička početnica* (Kotor, 1981), Državni arhiv Crne Gore, Istorijški arhiv Kotor, Muzička zbirka V, Vida Matjan (kompozicije, razno), 13.1/2. For more information see: Vedrana Marković and Andrea Čoso-Pamer, "Muzička početnica – tragom jednog rukopisa," in *Zbornik XX Pedagoškog foruma scenskih umetnosti*, ed. Milena Petrović (Beograd: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2018), 21–32.

68 In music pedagogical practice, flannelgraph is not considered a common didactic tool in the teaching of solfeggio. Thanks to the pedagogical work of Vida Matjan, the flannelgraph can be included in the teaching aid that was used in the past in the teaching of solfeggio.

69 The original flannelgraph used by Vida Matjan is kept in the Historical Archive in Kotor. In a special box, there are interesting figures that she designed, with very vivid colours (Državni arhiv Crne Gore, Istorijški arhiv Kotor).

used for graphical representation of the rhythmic flow, where the size of the symbol clearly indicates longer or shorter rhythmic values.⁷⁰

The importance of Vida Matjan's work was recognised beyond the borders of Montenegro, as demonstrated in an article written by Stella Čolaković in the Croatian journal *Glazba i škola* (*Music and School*):

*Professor V. Matjan, however, is not only a kind of innovator in music pedagogy, but also the author of an original music primer who, through visual impressions and adequate children's texts, introduces beginners to the complex world of music very easily and interestingly.*⁷¹

To our knowledge, Vida Matjan had no significant contact with her contemporary music pedagogues. The use of Orff instruments, creating arrangements, connecting music with movement, and involving students in the processes of performing works, can certainly be connected with the tradition of Slovenian music pedagogy, in which the influence of Orff's methodological concept and Dalcroze's Eurythmics is obvious.

Although she played a very important role in the development of the cultural scene in the Bay of Kotor, her pedagogical ideas and methodological approach were not recognised in the broader context of the development of music pedagogy in Montenegro, nor did they influence the formation of specific directions or the establishment of a method, based on her pedagogical principals.

Conclusion

The development of music education in Montenegro as supported by the active work of the Slovenian musicians Anton Pogačar and Vida Matjan has an upward trajectory to its development. Although they managed the first state music schools, they tried to contribute to the overall development of Montenegrin music culture with intensive activities that included conducting, working on didactic literature, and composing.

Anton Pogačar faced the professional challenge of running the first Njegoš State Music School touring Montenegro and looking for talented children to whom he was fully dedicated, giving them the necessary attention that they could not get at the boarding school from their parents and sharing with them the difficulties of the post-war years. The fact that many important musicians for Montenegro graduated from this school confirms the success of his mission.

Vida Matjan remains a person of particular note in Montenegrin music pedagogy. Having said that, her method of work, which was based on a multimodal

70 Representation of musical durations and movements of melodies with graphic symbols, before learning of musical notation, is a common methodological procedure in modern textbooks.

71 Stella Čolaković, *Muzika i škola* 3 (1966): 95, as cited in Antović, "Vida Matjan," 160.

and holistic approach, remains characteristic of herself, and future researchers will have the task of researching the methods she applied in music education. In this paper, we have pointed out only some aspects of that rich musical experience, through the presentation of her didactic work, *Muzička početnica*.

It is noteworthy that both Pogačar and Matjan showed significant interest in the musical folklore of Montenegro. Anton Pogačar incorporated it into his own compositions and wrote a specific score for the theatre production of *The Mountain Wreath*, which particularly marked out this achievement. Vida Matjan was deeply invested in the collecting of songs, dances, and customs of the Boka, which were collected in her ethnographic study *Dances and Songs of Dobrota and Škaljari*. The majority of her works have been left as a bequest to the city of Kotor, in whose Archive her neatly arranged manuscripts are stored, waiting to be rediscovered by the musical public, most especially the children for whom she wrote the majority of her works.

This paper aimed to present these musicians as dedicated artists, pedagogues, and visionaries, both to the Slovenian music public and to those who want to grasp as fully as possible the permeations and influences of different cultures and identities on the development of music education in the second half of the twentieth century in the former Yugoslavia, as a shared cultural space.

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POVZETEK

Prispevek Antona Pogačarja in Vide Matjan k črnogorski glasbeni kulturi

Članek prikazuje vlogo in pomen dveh slovenskih glasbenikov, ki sta se po drugi svetovni vojni ustalila v Črni gori in s svojo dolgoletno dejavnostjo ključno prispevala k razvoju tamkajšnje glasbene kulture. To sta Anton Pogačar (1913–1995) in Vida Matjan (1896–1993). Posebna pozornost je namenjena vplivu, ki sta ga imela na razvoj glasbenega izobraževanja med ustanavljanjem prvih državnih glasbenih šol v Črni gori. Dejavnost sta bila kot glasbena pedagoga, dirigenta in skladatelja, pa tudi kot ustanovitelja in člana glasbenih združenj. Pogovori z njunimi nekdanjimi učenci in sodelavci so prispevali k osvetlitvi njunih osebnosti kot tudi njunih pedagoških procesov. Glasbene pravljice Vide Matjan, ki so bile namenjene otrokom in po katerih je bila znana ter zanje nagrajena v nekdanji Jugoslaviji, niso bile niti objavljene niti uprizorjene, kar bi lahko predstavljalo enega od pristopov k nadaljnjemu raziskovanju njenega bogatega ustvarjalnega opusa. Vido Matjan lahko imamo zaradi njenega multimodalnega pristopa in umetniškega sinkretizma – od dramskega uprizorjanja glasbe in ustvarjanja koreografij do uporabe otrokom ljubih besedil – za vizionarko in inovatorko v glasbeni pedagogiki. Ob tem raziskava posebno pozornost posveča opisu *Glasbenega priročnika* (1962), prvega metodološkega učbenika za solfeggio, ki ga je napisala z Milošem Miloševićem. V učbeniku, ki še zmeraj ni bil objavljen in ki ga hranijo v Zgodovinskem arhivu Kotor, Vida Matjan sinkretično in celovito pristopa k začetnemu glasbenemu izobraževanju otrok, pri čemer je kot še posebej inovativen pripomoček za poučevanje solfeggia uporabila flanelograf. Članek obravnava tudi črnogorsko folkloro, predvsem z vidika Vide Matjan, ki je popisovala ljudske pesmi in plese, in Antona Pogačarja, ki jo je uspešno vključil v svoje kompozicije. Namen članka je združiti doslej znane podatke z izsledki novih raziskav, širši glasbeni in strokovni javnosti predstaviti pomen obeh glasbenikov in spodbuditi nadaljnje muzikološke raziskave.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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VEDRANA MARKOVIĆ (vedranam@ucg.ac.me) graduated from the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, gaining her PhD in 2015. She has been employed at the Academy of Music in Cetinje as an Assistant Professor since 2009. She participates actively in scientific gatherings in Montenegro and the wider region. She has published one monograph, exercises for solfeggio

teaching, book sets for the first, second and third grades of music school, and around thirty other studies. Her particular area of interest includes the musical education of children with visual impairment, as well as the implementation of examples from Montenegrin music heritage in music education, especially in solfeggio teaching. She has also published papers in the field of musicology concerning the historical development of music pedagogy in Montenegro.

O AVTORICAH

JELENA MARTINOVIĆ BOGOJEVIĆ (jelena.bo@ucg.ac.me) je izredna profesorica na Akademiji za glasbo Univerze v Črni gori. Doktorirala je na Akademiji za glasbo Univerze v Ljubljani s področja glasbene pedagogike. Je avtorica več znanstvenih in strokovnih člankov in urednica ter avtorica dveh monografij o glasbeni pedagogiki in metodah poučevanja klavirja. Je članica Odbora za glasbo na Črnogorski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti (CANU) in soustanoviteljica *Mednarodnega simpozija glasbene pedagogike* (SIMPED), ki poteka v Cetinju (Črna gora). Jelena Martinović Bogojević je nacionalna koordinatorica za Črno goro pri Evropskem združenju za glasbo v šolah (EAS).

VEDRANA MARKOVIĆ (vedranam@ucg.ac.me) je diplomirala na Fakulteti za glasbo v Beogradu, kjer je leta 2015 tudi doktorirala. Od leta 2009 je kot docentka zaposlena na Akademiji za glasbo v Cetinju. Aktivno se udeležuje srečanj znanstvenikov v Črni gori in širše v regiji. Doslej je izdala monografijo, vaje za poučevanje solfeggia, vrsto učbenikov za prvi, drugi in tretji razred glasbene šole in približno trideset drugih raziskav. Posveča se predvsem glasbenemu izobraževanju otrok z okvarami vida kot tudi implementaciji primerov črnogorske glasbene dediščine pri glasbenem izobraževanju, še posebej pri poučevanju solfeggia. Objavila je tudi več člankov s področja muzikologije, in sicer na temo zgodovinskega razvoja glasbene pedagogike v Črni gori.



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The Music of Larisa Vrhunc: Inspiration, Process and Form

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ABSTRACT

The Slovene composer Larisa Vrhunc has pursued an adventurous and impressive range of music, unashamedly modernist in its techniques and constantly innovative, with new techniques deriving from varied sources of inspiration.

Keywords: Larisa Vrhunc, Slovenia, chamber music, spectral music, textural music

IZVLEČEK

Slovenska skladateljica Larisa Vrhunc se loteva pustolovske in občudovanja vredne palete glasbenih zvrsti, ki so v svojih tehnikah drzno modernistične in nenehno inovativne, pri čemer so njene nove tehnike vznikale iz različnih virov.

Ključne besede: Larisa Vrhunc, Slovenija, komorna glasba, spektralna glasba, teksturna glasba

* My very great thanks to Larisa Vrhunc for answering at length numerous questions and for generously providing the superbly crafted and laid out scores of her unpublished works.

The composer Larisa Vrhunc (b1967) is one of a small number of Slovene composers, mostly born in the 1960s, who have created an adventurous and impressive range of music, unashamedly modernist in its techniques and always with something new or interesting to say.¹ Not only that, but there is now an increasing awareness, among those familiar with the latest compositions, of the subtle and intriguing methods that support the vividly sonic character of her music. These techniques vary in detail from work to work, but always indicate a single-minded approach to carry the music from inspiration through to the completed composition in a completely convincing manner.

Vrhunc pursued her early studies from 1990 at the Ljubljana Academy of Music with musical education in 1990 and then composition in 1993 with the relatively unknown composer Marijan Gabrijelčič (1940–1998), who guided her composition work effectively, but in a rather unorthodox fashion. The composer elaborates on the situation:

Because he had personal problems at the time he was teaching me, I wasted a lot of hours, and most of the time we talked about other things than my pieces. He told me about his view of the world, brought various books, either theoretical (even in Polish, which I do not know, but said I would find out myself) or fiction. I remember particularly Hesse's Peter Camenzind.² For the most part, he didn't tell me what I was supposed to learn from these books, so I asked myself this question even more intensely. He also recommended some pieces to me, sometimes lending me scores if he had them. Scores of more modern works were a rarity at the time, as the library was rather poorly stocked and unorganized, and there was no internet yet.³

During the same years she was attracting attention with awards and prizes: in 1991 a student Prešeren award for two songs was followed in 1994 with an award for an organ piece. In 1995 came another award from Amiens and the following year one from Geneva, and in 1997 one from the Netherlands, for the choral work *O–A*. Visits abroad in the years 1998–2002 added to her exposure to the broader European contemporary music scene.

1 Even in 2009, Vrhunc was clearly one of a small number of composers who were extending the scope and character of new Slovene music into the twenty-first century. Niall O'Loughlin, "Slovene Music in the later 20th and early 21st centuries: An External Perspective," *Muzikološki zbornik* 45, no. 1 (2009): 5–16; Niall O'Loughlin, "The Recent Development of the Slovene Avant-Garde," in *Slovenski glasbeni dnevi – 30 let Glasbe / Slovenian Music Days – 30 Years of Music*, ed. Primož Kuret (Ljubljana: Festival, 2016), 77–91.

2 This novel is particularly relevant to the composer's own position. In the book the main character is searching for a spiritual personal identity possibly by means of his art.

3 Larisa Vrhunc, personal communication with author, April 14, 2021.

From Tradition to Innovation

This was a period of working from tradition, but always moving forward to innovation. The processes employed in this compositional adventure were varied, but applied with great care and sensitivity. This was a time of controlled experimentation, but the results were never haphazard or random. Received music was often used, but treated not in a traditional way, rather as a source of inspiration. One of the traditional methods is using pre-existing music as the basis of a new work. For example, the techniques of the *cantus firmus* with the superimposition of new melodies above and below Gregorian and other chants was so imbedded in the musical minds of composers such as Pérotin, Léonin and Machaut that they thought of virtually no other way of creating their sacred music. The techniques of the *cantus firmus* dominated the composition of sacred music throughout the Renaissance in the music of such composers as Dufay, Ockeghem, Josquin, Obrecht and many others.⁴ While different methods were embraced by composers of the Baroque, Classical and Romantic periods, the idea of reusing or reworking music that had already been composed was frequently encountered in large numbers of works in numerous ingenious ways. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries the techniques of re-use have blossomed.

In this context we can see two early works by Vrhunc that fit into this pattern and show an imaginative exploration of the implications of the originals. All through the twentieth century and across many countries of Europe, folk song was thought to give music the character of that country. Larisa Vrhunc's *Dve ljudski temi (Two Folk Themes)* for violin and piano provides a good insight into the techniques of extending original folk songs into something much more substantial and, of course, different. Because of the complexity which the composer has developed from the original, the music itself becomes a highly sophisticated new composition, almost like, but a great development from the traditional "variations on a theme." Another important point is the fact that, although this work would not appear to be an important one in the composer's output, it shows how newer techniques could be tried out, for example, note-clusters, arpeggio triplet groupings, even a very free "cadenza," and then preserved for future use. A further point is the way that the original melody is modified, increasingly fundamentally, each time it is repeated, while the contributions of the respective instruments are not necessarily synchronised around the reappearances of the folk melody.

The first piece is developed from the song "Gora štokelj" ("Stork Mountain"), whose melody uses two arch-shaped phrases (F major with a flattened 7th) including a slow, drawn-out descent back to the opening pitch.

4 The technique is covered in detail by Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963).

The added parts, variations, counterpoints, and modifications then take the music a long way from the originals. First, note-by-note clusters are built up from a C sharp played *pianissimo*, are irregularly spaced out and are then placed against repeated triplet arpeggios. Harmonies are built up from clusters with clashes between violin and piano. Hints of A flat major carry the second part of the theme in the bass. Gradually the texture is pulled apart by the sharing of the notes of the theme, with a cadenza in which the violin releases the pent-up energy in the only loud passage of the piece. The final statement returns the melody to the violin with parallel sliding added-note harmonies. At every stage the listener is led by the work's continuity, but all the time surprised by the outcome. To call this a theme and variations, while strictly true, completely hides the subtlety, variety, and imagination of the piece.

The second piece begins as if it is going to be simpler; the folksong "Enkrat je vsega konč" ("Some day everything's over") uses simple (almost) repetitive phrases in the piano which anticipate some of those of the original song. The work is built up with a series of developing motives constantly infiltrated into the texture, with triadic harmonies, not always in root position, which move up or down chromatically. As in the first piece the violin erupts in a cadenza of great fantasy. This was not the normal treatment of folksong in Slovenia at the time, which generally kept to a modest style.⁵

Also using part of her Slovene heritage as an inspiration for another work, *À Kogoj* takes as its starting point a selection from Kogoj's amazing collection of 22 miniature piano pieces called *Malenkosti* (*Bagatelles*). Kogoj's original pieces were studied in depth by Ivan Klemenčič⁶ who noted their strange and homophonic quality. To simplify his arguments, one notes that various counterpoints are added to the mainly harmonic ones in a way that shows that he is moving away from a romantic idiom to something more abstract. Of Kogoj's 22 pieces Larisa Vrhunc uses six, one for each of the five movements of her piece except for the third which derives its materials from two of the originals. The piano is silent in the fourth. The whole is set for violin, cello and piano. The originals themselves are surprising in their character, even taking into account the startling opera *Črne maske* (*Black Masks*) of 1927. Kogoj in the 1990s was still seen as an amazingly advanced composer and his influence is still felt in the musical community today.

5 Some of the normally encountered treatments of folksong in Slovene art music can be found in my paper: Niall O'Loughlin, "Slovenian Crosscurrents with Folk Music," in *Ljudska in umetna glasba v 20. stoletju v Evropi / Volks- und Kunstmusik im 20. Jahrhundert in Europa*, ed. Primož Kuret (Ljubljana: Festival, 1990), 80–86.

6 Detailed analytical studies of melodic and harmonic aspects of Kogoj's piano music can be found in Ivan Klemenčič, "Melodika v klavirskih skladbah Marija Kogoja," *Muzikološki zbornik* 9 (1973): 68–86, and Ivan Klemenčič, *Kompozicijski stavki v klavirskih skladbah Marija Kogoja* (Ljubljana, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1976).

The work is not a literal transcription, although some passages appear superficially similar to the original. For example, the last movement “Alla marcia” begins to sound like the Kogoj version even if Vrhunc’s version has some subtle reordering of the rhythmic patterns and harmonies, especially on the return. The melodic interweaving in the central section with its amorphous pulse, however, completely contradicts the strong regular rhythmic shapes of the main theme. The previous movement, scored for violin and cello only, departs from Kogoj’s music very quickly with fast ripples of sound within a small range, usually spanning only a minor third, and short flourishes. The central movement takes as its surprising point of departure *two* of Kogoj’s *Malenkosti* in ingenious combinations.

Dve ljudski temi and *À Kogoj* lead very naturally into a work which uses or quotes music from an earlier age. Joseph Haydn regularly headed his orchestral scores with the words “In nomine Domini” – “In the name of the Lord,” as a gracious acknowledgement for the inspiration for the work. Taking her cue from this, Larisa Vrhunc used extracts from two of Haydn’s “Paris Symphonies” (Nos. 84 in E flat and 85 in B flat) to make a four-movement work called *In nomine...* that is not a symphony, although it takes some of its features. It brings into focus the difference between the Haydn quotations and the new music of a totally different style. The transformations are made very subtly with carefully worked out transitions from the one style or idiom to the other. Some of the music charts a midway course that blends the styles very subtly. One good example is of the opening of the Allegro of the first movement of Symphony No. 84 is gradually transformed from one style to the other. This technique is found extensively in another contemporary work, Luciano Berio’s *Rendering* for orchestra. Although Berio is doing something quite different, that is “completing” an unfinished work, by juxtaposing different styles, he is doing something similar to *In nomine...*⁷

The New Phase

Larisa Vrhunc’s next work, *Gratis 0–6* (1996), which she has described as her “opus 1,” stands as a watershed in her compositional development. It comes at the time of her contact with the work of Brian Ferneyhough, who at the time was “principal composition teacher at the Fondation Royaumont annual composers’ course,” which took place at Asnières-sur-Oise in Northern France.⁸ Vrhunc, who was then living in Geneva, talks about *Gratis 0–6*:

7 David Metzger explores the connections between the unfinished Schubert symphony and Berio’s additional material. David Metzger, “Luciano Berio’s ‘Rendering’ and John Cage’s ‘Europera 5,’” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 125, no. 1 (2000): 93–114, esp. pp. 95–103.

8 Lois Fitch, *Brian Ferneyhough* (Bristol: Intellect, 2013), 24.

I think this is the first work in which the influences of Brian Ferneyhough's teaching are clearly felt. Perhaps this is the first time I have found a balance between the new techniques I was learning, parameter organizing systems, and my intuition. It was composed in 1996, between my first and second visits to Royaumont and at the end of my studies in Geneva, where I was completely overwhelmed by culture shock. In Lyon, I was still in a period of intense knowledge of everything 'missed', it was all so overwhelming that I could not absorb everything myself at the time. This process of taking it in began somehow at and after the end of my studies in Lyon.⁹

Gratis 0–6 consists of six miniatures (see Table 1) each of which focuses on a very specific idea without preamble or extensive elaboration and with a total duration of less than nine minutes. Although scored for the unusual combination of flute, clarinet and double bass, the music makes great play with actual pitches in common between instruments, a big problem for the double bass. The first of the six is slow and quiet with an emphasis on the differing colours of the instruments. No notes are sounded simultaneously, but the mostly long notes overlap throughout. The second is a rhythmic teaser with many triple-note groupings conflicting between the parts and often extended. Nothing is ever predictable. The third piece features separate florid groups connecting with each other on notes of common pitch. The fourth is like a march, but rhythmically irregular, while the fifth returns to the overlapping long notes and adds woodwind multiple sounds. In the sixth the rhythmically irregular clarinet waves in the highest register are followed by a return to the rhythmic patterns of the fourth piece with a semiquaver running bass that hints at and then contradicts the tonality. Despite its brevity *Gratis 0–6* begins to explore instrumental sonorities, anticipating the sounds found in later chamber pieces. The rhythmic complexities also give a foretaste of those to follow. Although the work falls into six separate movements, all between one and two minutes long, it has a carefully planned continuity.

Table 1: Layout of movements with pages from the published score and durations from the RTV Slovenija (Radio-Television Slovenia) recording of *Gratis 0–6*

Movement	1	2	3	4	5	6
Pages	1	2–4	5	6–7	8	9–10
Duration	1' 56"	1' 09"	1' 05"	1' 04"	1' 38"	1' 18"
Tempo	Lento	Animato	Andante	♩ = 60 ca.	Adagio	♩ = 76 ca.

9 Vrhunc, personal communication, April 14, 2021.

The consequences of this work are considerable, with the release of a wide variety of invention in a number of delicate but superbly imagined instrumental chamber pieces. Four of these from 1998 and 2000 illustrate the new developments. The first of these pieces, *Open Rite* of 1998–1999, takes its inspiration from music of the past but, unlike some of its predecessors, it does not quote any earlier music. The title is an anagram of the name of Pérotin whose 4-part organum *Viderunt omnes* acts as a model for the new work. Instead of the three florid parts (*quadruplum*, *tripulum* and *duplum*) and the slowly moving *tenor*, it is scored for a large ensemble of thirteen players. The original parts mostly work in a narrow vocal range with very repetitive phrases moving mostly by step within phrases. Something of the sense of the original work remains, although the often widely spaced intervals are completely different from those in the original Pérotin organum. The long opening section is an exhilarating *tour-de-force* of rhythmic contradiction with crotchets subdivided into four by the strings, five by the brass and six by the woodwind. There is a strong sense of repetition, not so much of the melodic material, but of the textures. The appearance of the harp in seemingly erratic staccato semiquaver patterns with interjections from the guitar breaks the spell, as the strings, then brass and finally woodwind add to the texture. This gradual builds up with the staccato patterns and rising scales takes us after a quiet section¹⁰ and a return to something of the opening music in a modified form. The transformation from the Medieval original to the new work is complete as the new work has taken on a new life.

From 1999, *Spirale (Spirals)* for chamber ensemble shows the stylistic transformation in full. A series of unorthodox sounds are required of all the instruments (flute, clarinet, violin, cello piano, percussion), with the violin leading the ensemble. The violin introduces a number of constantly changing counterpoints, chords and other interjections which have a distant relationship with each other, until the players achieve a form of equality with the violin. The metrical structure is strictly controlled, but there is very little synchronisation of the beginnings of notes, except in a number of passages in which the flute and clarinet are clearly linked even if the contradictory subdivision of crotchet beats diffuses the sound. A short passage of staccato sounds in an untypically coordinated and synchronised section leads to a return of the opening fragmentary textures. The spiral acts as the route to the final resolution, involving a return of the opening elements, not in a ternary structure, but in a totally transformed way. All the musical elements found in the beginning of the piece (representing the centre of the spiral) reappear later on in the piece in different forms, combinations and density.

10 The composer says that the middle part is based on a projection of choral singing. Vrhunc, personal communication, April 14, 2021.

Celo (*Even*) for wind quintet is even more striking, but the idea behind it is straightforward. Many different and contradictory pieces are gradually put together, creating a sense of perfection. *Celo* is anonymously subtitled, in the CD listings but not in the score, “looking for perfection, putting pieces (of instruments) together, successfully?”¹¹ This does not last but dissolves into fragmentation. In the music at first the players use only parts of their instruments, e.g., reeds alone or mouthpiece only, and step by step assemble the instruments into the correct configuration, until they can then play uniformly in a traditional sense. At this point, the climax, the instruments are matched in their tone colours, symbolising the harmony, something that may have been anticipated in the earlier *Gratis* 0–6. Once this is achieved it does not last, but with the appearance of the flute playing low notes on a didgeridoo the music breaks off into disconnected fragments with each instrument dropping out one by one.

A trio with the elaborate title *Satelitov trop nam zvezde kraj oznani – čas hiti* (*Pack of Satellites Announces the Star's Place – Time Hastens*) for violin, horn and piano takes its title from a verse of a poem by 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. The pack of satellites is introduced by the cloud of harmonies, which shrinks to only a few notes, then just one note, or even just an echo, so to one spot that represents a star shining through the cloud. This process is repeated in different combinations – balanced out by a contrasting second part where the time hastens and then vanishes.

The overall feature of these four works is surprise, much of which is derived from the use of the instruments. *Spirale* is particularly notable in this way with the violin contrasting with the other players' unusual techniques and sounds, while in *Celo* the sounds are fragmented at first and then drawn together, a technique developed from the earliest of the *Gratis* 0–6 pieces. In a clear sense the process defines the form.

Orchestral Developments

At this point it may be appropriate to see how these techniques were developed on a larger scale. The orchestral *Hologram* (2001) and *Med prsti zven podobe II* (*Sound Images Between Fingers II*) (2011) show how this scattering of sounds can sound completely different when the textures are opened up. While *Hologram* and *Med prsti zven podobe II* are totally different works, composed ten years apart, they have a number of features in common. They are both texturally conceived and cast as single movements. Despite the continuous scheme they both fall into a number of sections (see Figures 2 and 3). Where the two works fundamentally differ is in the source of inspiration.

11 Larisa Vrhunc, *Open Rite*, Larisa Vrhunc, Edicije ZKP RTV Slovenija 106200, CD, 2000.

Hologram is a fascinating work and a significant composition in Vrhunc's output because it shows how various constantly evolving textures can act as a foil to irregular and unpredictable "motifs" of more clearly defined character. Its inspiration and genesis are typically imaginative and can be transferred to musical ones. The beginning of the process is a painting by Paul Klee called *Überblick* meaning "view" or "overview". Like many of Klee's paintings the meaning is not immediately obvious, but deeper reflection on its meaning continues to give an ambiguous interpretation. As the composer writes in the score:

*The painting itself is ambiguous: it can either be an imaginary landscape reproducing a three-dimensional image, or a staring face – a two-dimensional one.*¹²

Transferring this idea from an artistic to a scientific context in the form of a hologram can in simple terms be seen as a number of things depending on the angle of the viewer's vision. It is this concept which informs the musical techniques involved. *Hologram* contains many textural passages which act without melody or clearly defined rhythm, but alongside them there are numerous short fragments which appear like shining lights against them. Although the work is played continuously without a break and with very carefully composed and subtly joined transitions, one can note nine sections which are marked in the score with double bars. These indicate reference points to the activity in the score and the change in the relationship between the textural passages and the "motifs" which emerge (see Table 2).

1. The long opening bass E with D and F sharp above, the sustained brass notes and the scatterings of flickering woodwind form the foundation of the short first section. There is no melody and very little rhythm, but rather, duration.
2. Much shorter sustained notes act as "punctuation" with short interjections.
3. Arpeggiated woodwind flourishes, held string notes/chords appear followed by repeated phrases on harp and keyboards.
4. Substantial heart of the work. Shorter held notes/chords lead to woodwind and brass tutti with falling and rising semitones. Then a faster more rhythmic section leads to a climax with rising scales and the collapse of normal tempo.
5. Strongly rhythmic, the percussion leads followed by strings; irregular rhythms.
6. Twelve short regular chords are played mostly by the strings.

12 Larisa Vrhunc, *Hologram*, Edicije DSS 1584 (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 2001), 6.

7. Fragments in the bass of strings gradually become more elaborate, with held notes infiltrated. Rising scales gradually develop from lower string phrases. A climax leads into next section.
8. All previous motifs interact.
9. Coda – this is a winding down with short held notes and chords, and little fragments.

 Table 2: *Hologram* sectional scheme

Section	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bars	1–8	9–22	23–36	37–77	78–102	103–5	106–42	143–61	162–84
Pages	1–4	4–7	7–10	11–18	18–23	24	24–33	34–39	39–44
Duration (approx.)	0'34"	1'13"	1'03"	2'52"	1'21"	0'15"	2'42"	1'21"	1'13"
Tempo	♩=60	♩=60	♩=60	♩=50/42/ 86/72/124/ 104/60	♩=60/50/ 86/72	♩=60	♩=50	♩=50	♩=72

Hologram is an outstanding exercise in the manipulation of textures and motifs. The careful regulation and combination of all of these features is very impressive, not only individually in each of the sections listed in Table 2, but also in the overall structure with its extensive development in the central section, and in the climax before the return of something of the opening textures. The transformation from the original idea to the completed orchestral work is clearly recognisable, but this process is always informed by an artistic flexibility that changes the result from a rigid formulaic structure into a living artistic creation.

Med prsti zven podobe II is based on the poem by Andrej Medved. This is not a programmatic or semantic connection, but rather a linguistic one in which the words symbolise various features in the work. The poem itself has a number of very interesting aspects, notably the use of the letter “v” at the beginning of a number points which do not always correspond with the beginning of the lines:

*V zavesti vzniknejo studenci in predejo
med prsti zven podobe; v drgetu valovijo
k svetlobi in strmoglavijo v bleščanju
strele. V dlaneh se zlomijo, v lase poniknejo,
v grmovje; z želom se dotikajo tišine.*

*In one's mind springs bubble up spinning
sound images between fingers
with a shudder rolling
towards light and plunging in a flash
of lightning. In one's palms, they break
up, disappearing
in the hair; in the thicket; with their sting
they touch silence.¹³*

Revised layout showing and emphasising in bold the letter **v** at the beginning of each line, except the second and last:

V zavesti vzniknejo studenci in predejo
med prsti zven podobe;
v drgetu valovijo k svetlobi in strmo-
glavijo
v bleščanju strele.
V dlaneh se zlomijo,
v lase poniknejo,
v grmovje;
z želom se dotikajo tišine.¹⁴

In one's mind springs bubble up spinning
sound images between fingers
with a shudder rolling towards light and
plunging
in a flash of lightning.
In one's palms, they break up, disappearing
in the hair;
in the thicket;
with their sting they touch silence.¹⁵

The composer has taken the points of the letter “v” to mark new sections (1–6) to form a structure within which to articulate the interactions between the various materials. The final section is marked in the poem by the letter “z”.

A simple description of events in each section indicates the overall form (see Table 3):

1. The chord, B, F on tubular bells, and C and F sharp on crotales, triggers double basses divided into four parts weaving around each other occasionally punctuated by the percussion, woodwind, brass and upper strings.








13 English translation by Andrej Rijavec. See Larisa Vrhunc, *Na robu tišine / On the Edge of Silence*, Edicije DSS 2016107 (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 2016).

14 Layout and emphasis by the composer. Larisa Vrhunc, *Vplivi spektralne glasbe na slovensko kompozicijsko ustvarjalnost zadnjih desetletij* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2018), 229–236.

15 Translation by Andrej Rijavec adjusted to the composer's new layout. N.B. In line 2, the pairs of words in English are the reverse of the Slovene.

2. The same chord now with additional notes introduces a conflict between long sustained chords and small-range faster note patterns and indistinct rhythmic sounds. This process is interrupted by string glissandos and rising woodwind scalic phrases that fade away, followed by fast repeated percussion bursts.
3. The chord – now a cluster on the piano – is followed by developing clusters, with sharp accented chords on lower strings, then woodwind single-note scatterings and low cello overlapping phrases.
4. Chord played by piano with woodwind and brass *sfz*, then low disjointed piano part.
5. Piano plays chord thinned down, with wind notes swelling and fading.
6. Piano chord (ten notes) Brief section with falling string glissandos.
7. No chord (letter “z”). Hesitant xylophone melody with indistinct string sounds, and a brief suggestion of the very opening double bass passage, ending with the opening chord in its original scoring surrounded by falling string glissandos.

 Table 3: *Med prsti zven podobe II* sectional scheme

Section	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bars	1–43	44–74	75–88	89–102	103–114	115–122	123–142
Pages	1–6	6–14	14–16	16–18	18–19	20	20–22
Duration (approx.)	2'45"	1'44"	0'36"	0'55"	1'04"	1'00"	0'36"
Tempo	 =66	 =66	 =66	 =66	 =66	 =66	 =66

Both these orchestral pieces display not only a skilful manipulation of textures and motifs, but also at the same time a subtle moulding of the elements of form. In *Hologram* the speed of movement increases towards the central point, then gradually eases. This basic arch shape is constantly coloured and modified by the activity within each section. *Med prsti zven podobe II* is different in that the form is to some extent determined by the associated poetry, but also by the transformations of the “motto” chord within each of the sections. The speed of movement is more steady than in *Hologram*, with the contrasts in each of the sections controlled more by sonority and texture than tempo, rhythm or dynamics.

Spectral Music

The composer has written extensively on the subject of spectral music and especially its appearance and position within Slovene music. Because *Med prsti*

zven podobe II, which features prominently in her book on spectral music,¹⁶ shows numerous characteristics of its techniques, it is a suitable moment to consider briefly the extent of the influence of such composers as Tristan Murail and Gérard Grisey. Both these composers have provided an elaborate apparatus to explain their compositional methods, but the more straightforward presentations of the term “spectral music” by Viviana Moscovich,¹⁷ Joshua Fineberg,¹⁸ and Julian Anderson¹⁹ give clear pointers to the essence of the technique. These include, on the one hand, the use of what might be described as “textural thematicism” and a focus on the nature and use of sonorities, and, on the other hand, an avoidance or at least reduction of traditional melodic and rhythmic elements. Texture and sonorities are closely linked as Julian Anderson makes clear in the entry in *The New Grove Dictionary*. Larisa Vrhunc does identify certain features in her own music that are spectral in nature and are informed by a complex series of acoustic connections that are beyond the scope of this study.

Chamber Ensembles

Returning to chamber music combinations in the years 2001–2004, Larisa Vrhunc continued to show a vivid imagination in works that show a new subtlety of instrumental colour, to make increasing demands of instrumental techniques and to introduce innovations in form and structure. Combining a mezzo-soprano with horn and piano is not unknown, but in *Nekoč podnevi, ko se je znočilo* (*Sometimes during the Day when It Was Nightfall*) the manner of doing so is unusual. The words chosen are taken from four poems by French surrealists of the 1920s, parts of poems by Robert Desnos and Philippe Soupault, a madrigal by Louis Aragon and extracts by Paul Elouard. The four sections of the piece are framed by the opening and closing sections (Desnos and Elouard) with the singer often using phrases of very small range including quarter-tones and accompanied by tuned glasses and the piano's pedalled strings sketchily activated by surrounding sounds. The central sections (Soupault and Aragon) are dominated by an amazing virtuoso performance from the horn. Closely connected with this work is a trio for flute, saxophone and piano called *Leseni*

16 Vrhunc, *Vplivi spektralne glasbe*, 227–242. In an earlier article she spelled out the connections of spectral music on a series of Slovene composers. Larisa Vrhunc, “Nekaj misli o prenosu spektralnih idej v slovenski glasbeni prostor,” *De musica disserenda* XIV/1 (2018): 7–21. See also Primož Trdan, accompanying notes to *Na robu tišine / On the Edge of Silence*, Larisa Vrhunc, edicije DSS 2016107, CD, 2016.

17 Viviana Moscovich, “French Spectral Music: An Introduction,” *Tempo, New Series*, no. 200 (1997): 21–27.

18 Joshua Fineberg, “Spectral music,” *Contemporary Music Review* 19, no. 2 (2000): 1–5.

19 Julian Anderson, “A Provisional History of Spectral Music,” *Contemporary Music Review* 19, no. 2 (2000): 7–22; Julian Anderson, “Spectral Music,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 24, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 166–167.

kamni (Wooden Stones),²⁰ which is an almost literal instrumental transcription of *Nekoč podnevi, ko se je znočilo*. Again the tuned glasses accompany what was the vocal line, now played by the flute in the outer sections. The difficult horn part in the central sections is played by the saxophone, whose part is suitably adjusted. Unusual instrumental techniques are freely used, pizzicato-like sounds on the wind instruments, the use of wine glasses for special effects, with the contrasts between the different instruments especially emphasised. Whistling and singing are extensively used as well as percussive use of the keys. Much of the piano playing takes place inside the instrument including physical contact with the strings using the fingers or a coin. The inspiration and the atmosphere clearly come from the surrealist poems of *Nekoč podnevi, ko se je znočilo*, but now the words are absent. The other work is *Red and Blue* (2002) for violin, bassoon and piano. The colours have symbolical meaning (in the composer's words): "the red stands for fiery impulses in the form of accents whereas the blue represents the vault of the skies, i.e. the dying away of sharp chords."²¹ The progress of the piece is clear: starting with loud short well-spaced sounds (red), more lyrical phrases (blue) are infiltrated into the texture, reaching a wild climax, a brief violin cadenza and a resolution with the lyrical phrases subduing the "red" ones.

What followed naturally from this group was a pair of atmospheric works for larger ensemble. The increased forces made possible a wider range of instrumentation and tone colour something that the composer had been experimenting with in the previous works. The first takes its title, *Where the Moonbeam Fell* composed in 2002, from the second version of a poem by Edgar Allan Poe called *Fairy-Land*.²² Scored for flute, bassoon, trumpet, piano, viola and cello and unusually for Vrhunc it is planned in three separate movements, each concentrating on particular characteristics suggested by the vivid moon and moonlight imagery of the poem. The first, called "Moon Ray," is dominated by fragmentary and highly suggestive sounds, punctuated by silences, which appear in no predictable pattern. The second, entitled "Wax" is mostly quiet with almost indefinable sounds and some very short, unexpected outbursts. It

20 The title is taken from the words of the second line of *Nekoč podnevi, ko se je znočilo*, "Leseni kamni zlate žice in neprekrizán križ" ("Wooden Stones of Golden Wire and an Uncrossed Cross"), translated from the original French words of Robert Desnos.

21 Trio Pro musica nova, *Zvočni pogovor v treje / Sonic Conversation a tre*, Edicije DSS 200445, CD, 2004.

22 Edgar Allan Poe wrote two versions of *Fairy-Land* (also known as *Fairy Land* or *Fairyland*), the first a richly suggestive description of a moonlit night, the second one the same with a romantic dimension superimposed, using some but not all of the words of the first version. In his article Russell Brickey argued that Poe questioned the validity of the Romantic sensibility of the first version by producing a second sentimentalised, satirical version. Russell Brickey, "The Trouble With Fairyland: Two Versions of Poe's Sarcastic Sublime," *The Edgar Allan Poe Review* 13, no. 1 (2012): 18–40.

is followed by “Wane” in which the ideas of expanding and decreasing are explored either musically (crescendo and diminuendo) or visually. The techniques used here stretch the abilities, especially of the wind players, to the limits, notably in terms of glissandi, multiphonic sounds and extreme range, to say nothing of the metrical intricacies required of all the players. The second ensemble piece, *Močvirni gozd* (*Swamp Forest*) of 2004 for ten players, is similarly atmospheric and suggestive of a forest. The opening *pianissimo* duo between low register trumpet and high register trombone involves carefully worked out scatterings of staccato notes with occasional held glissandi and later lower string “mutterings” before the dramatic appearance of ten chords from the piano. At first these chords have five notes but the number of notes is increased by one each time the chord sequence appears. These represent trees like pillars but they gradually disappear. The music becomes less focussed, with a brief appearance of the trumpet and trombone duo, later taken up by the glockenspiel and piano in the highest register.

An Operatic Adventure

The next work represents a new departure in Larisa Vrhunc's work. *Doors*: from *Seven Attempted Escapes from Silence* by Jonathan Safran Foer for singers and orchestra²³ is her first operatic adventure. It arose in 2004 when the composer received a commission to participate in a large-scale operatic project involving seven composers from different backgrounds using different musical techniques and styles, composing seven operas but with one libretto, although this condition was later modified. The seven operas would be performed in a converted warehouse in Berlin next to the opera house Unter der Linden. *Doors* is about fifteen minutes in length, a short dramatic scene in a closed and oppressive world inhabited by guards and prisoners. Nothing changes. The prisoners live in a community whose rules the guards do not understand and are constantly trying to escape. Prompted by prisoners a guard opens doors but immediately closes them, realising that he may have opened too many.

Leading the vocal contribution is the counter-tenor who represents the guard. His part starts with normal speech, but develops into rhythmic chanting, *Sprechstimme*, and, for a long section in the centre of the work, disjointed sung phrases, normally with large dissonant intervals which would appear to represent his unstable state of mind. The other vocal parts, marked as soprano, mezzo-soprano, baritone and bass, are largely complementary to the counter-tenor with onomatopoeic sounds, individual vocalic sounds often performed in rhythmic patterns,

23 At the time of the first performance in Berlin in 2005, the composer spoke at length about this work in an interview with the newspaper critic Marijan Zlobec. Some information in the present paragraph is taken from this source. Marijan Zlobec, “En libreto, sedem skladateljev in sedem režiserjev: pogovor z Lariso Vrhunc,” *Delo* 47, no. 257, November 7, 2005, 9.

both regular and irregular. The instrumental parts support and add to the vocal lines. Much of this music is texturally scattered and atmospheric, emphasising the claustrophobic and oppressive environment in which we are placed. In its relatively short span *Doors* raises a number of issues, both musically and dramatically, but one must remember that it is only one part of a large group of seven dramas of similar length which focus on the idea of imprisonment.

Chamber Music

It becomes apparent with this survey of her music that Larisa Vrhunc is happy in composing music in which individual voices can be heard most clearly. This can be recognised in a pair of works from 2005 and 2007 and another group from 2010 to 2013. The first from 2005 *Considerant deux pages du journal* (*Considering Two Pages from a Diary*) for flute, clarinet, violin, viola, and percussion has a very unusual genesis. The composer selected just two miniatures from a series already created day-by-day. The first uses short fragments repeated across the pitched instruments, at first moving up and down by semitones, but later expanding to a major third and then larger more irregular intervals. These have a discernible, but irregular rhythmic pattern. The second part synchronises the parts in an almost march-like manner, but soon breaks up into short fragments and sustained notes.

The other work, *Na robu tišine* (*On the Edge of Silence*) from 2007 is scored for a much larger ensemble of seventeen players, including piano, accordion and two percussionists. It derives inspiration from a poem by Marina Tsvetaeva that prefaces the score (see below). This takes a number of “impressive” things, a trumpet, a storm, and wings, but suggests that one should really appreciate the simpler things, grass, birds, and the future.

Iz cikla *Učenec*

*Vsa veličastnost
trobent – je samo šepetanje
trav – pred teboj.*

*Vsa veličastnost
nevihť – je samo ščebetanje
ptic – pred teboj.*

*Vsa veličastnost
kril – je samo trepetanje
vek – pred teboj.*

23. april 1921²⁴

From the cycle *Student*

*All the grandeur
trumpet – is just a whisper
grass – in front of you.*

*All the grandeur
storm – is just a twitter
bird – in front of you.*

*All the grandeur
wings – is just a quiver
age – in front of you.*

23 April 1921

24 From the collection of poems by Marina Tsvetaeva, *Marina Cvetajeva*, transl. Tone Pavček, Lirika 77 (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1993), as given in the score of Larisa Vrhunc, *Na robu tišine*.

Two important pieces in the music from the years 2010 to 2013 are a trio and a quartet: *Fabula* (2012) for clarinet, viola, and piano and *Hitrost razpadanja* (*The Rate of Decay*) of 2013 for two horns and two percussionists. The inspiration for *Fabula* came from a traditional source, Schumann's similarly scored *Märchenerzählungen* (*Fairy Tales*) Op. 132 of 1853. The original is in four distinct movements, while Vrhunc's work is laid out in a continuously performed fourteen minutes in six sections, which like in some of her earlier pieces each concentrate on specific parameters. Primož Trdan pinpoints these concisely:

[...] *the introductory stringing together of short arcs, separated by soft or calm bars; the second section is zealous, motoric; the third brings materials as fragments; the fourth unfolds over a kind of flexible pedal tone in the viola; the fifth is lively, with spiky virtuosity; while in the last section a pedal tone in the piano is calmly punctuated by the tiny noises, explosions and notes of the viola and clarinet.*²⁵

The connection with Schumann is very selective and transformed in a subtle manner, a long way from the metamorphosis of music by Haydn found in the composer's earlier orchestral *In nomine ...* of 1996, already discussed. The earlier work is totally different in that it quotes Haydn literally in sections separate from the transformations, while *Fabula* makes no such quotations.

The quartet *Hitrost razpadanja* does not draw its inspiration from the musical past, but rather from a literary source, a poem of the same name by Boris A. Novak (see below). Its scoring, two horns and two percussionists on a wide variety of instruments, has a completely modern feel. It is an incredible piece, on the one hand a virtuoso exercise for two horns and on the other the slow disintegration of the music. The processes in the piece are signalled by the words of the poem. The fast excited duo for the horns is gradually infiltrated by long notes, modified sounds then short bursts of the opening until the final decay.

25 Trdan, accompanying notes, 16.

Hitrost razpadanja

Hitrost razpadanja sveta je strašna.

Hitrejša od razpadanja teles

v prst, prsti v prah, prahu v dah.

Hitrejša od razpadanja besed

v glas, glasu v sled, sledu v led.

Hitrost razpadanja besed v glas.

Hitrost razpadanja teles je čas.

Hitrost razpadanja sveta sem jaz.

The Rate of Decay

The rate of decay of the world is terrible.

Faster than the decay of the body

in the soil, soil in the dust, dust in the breath.

Faster than the decay of the word

in the voice, voice in trace, trace in ice.

The rate of decay of words in a voice.

The rate of decay of bodies is time.

The rate of the decay of the world is me.

Literary influence is also found in the chamber ensemble work *Med prsti zven podobe I* (*Sound Images Between Fingers I*). This is from a different part of the poem by Andrej Medved connected with *Med prsti zven podobe II* for orchestra which was discussed earlier. Both works are approximately the same length (eight and a half minutes). In both, the attention is focussed on sound images, but emphasised in *Med prsti zven podobe I* by the particular scoring, alto flute, bass clarinet, trombone, percussion, piano, viola and cello. Passages of indistinct and scattered sounds are interrupted at first by short bursts of *fortissimo* sounds whose crotchet beats are subdivided differently in each of the parts, creating some merging of sound, then a long, loud passage that develops the motifs and figurations (Example 1). The energy of this passage dissipates into the earlier textures with interruptions before the final burst.

Grajska (*A Castle Air*) of 2013 for large ensemble including voice dates from a six-week stay in a castle in Umbria in the company of various artists. The work is very atmospheric in its concentration on the evocative sonorities. The music features a strong contrast between the opening slow, irregularly repeated crotchet-minim low piano cluster (F, G and A) and the much faster scattering of wide-interval short staccato motifs. These rhythmic patterns appear more strongly after a slowly moving section. These two types of material interact in the rest of the work.

The image shows a musical score for a chamber ensemble. The score is for a piece titled "Med prsti zven podobe I", bars 16–19. The instruments listed are G.A.F.I., B♭ B.C.I., Tbn., Perc., Pno., Vla., and Vc. The score is in 3/4 time and features complex rhythmic patterns and dynamics such as sfz, p, and f. The percussion part includes cimbalas, wood block, and tom-tom. The piano part has a p (piano) dynamic. The strings (Vla. and Vc.) have p (piano) and sfz (sforzando) dynamics. The woodwind parts (Tbn.) have sfz dynamics. The brass parts (G.A.F.I. and B♭ B.C.I.) have sfz dynamics. The score is marked with a 16 at the beginning of the first staff.

Example 1: *Med prsti zven podobe I*, bars 16–19.

This group of small-scale works continues to show the composer’s vivid imagination in taking unusual ideas which are then transformed into satisfying forms. While *Considerant deux pages du journal* takes purely musical ideas which are manipulated or developed into something new, *Fabula* is a modern chamber piece drawing in elements from the Schumann work. In both of them there is a careful working out of the progress or unfolding of the music. This feature is also particularly evident in *Grajska*, which has an excellent pacing of the entries of the various musical materials. The new works which then follow from 2015 draw on this dramatic sense in a way that allows expansion of scale and at the same time a continued control of the formal processes, notable in *Za Nino (For Nina)*, *Drobtine časa (Crumbs of Time)*, *Kaj (What)*, and above all, *Navpično (Vertical)*.

Wider Dimensions

Navpično of 2015 breaks new ground in Larisa Vrhunc’s output, branching out in a number of ways, yet keeping faith with the experience of the previous chamber ensemble pieces. It prefaces a stream of varied new works, using several combinations to great effect. On the one hand we have the solo works, *Za Nino* for piano (2018) and *Pietà* for guitar (2019), and the duos *Mirno trajajoče stvari (Peaceful Things)* of 2016 for oboe and harp and *Kaj* of 2021 for oboe and saxophone. On the other hand there are the pieces for larger groups, *In če ne*

(*And if Not*) of 2015 for ensemble, *Sledi (Traces)* of 2017 for wind quintet and *Drobtine časa* of 2020 for saxophone quartet, as well as two choral works, *Par koroških (A Pair of Carinthians)* from 2011 and *Nesmisel (Nonsense)* of 2018, and a work for puppet theatre, *Mizoginija (Misogyny)* from 2019.

The present study focuses on four compositions from this rich harvest: *Za Nino*, *Kaj*, *Drobtine časa* and *Vertical*. *Za Nino*²⁶ for piano was specially composed for the very gifted pianist Nina Prešiček whose precise articulation of great rhythmic complexities helps to characterise and distinguish the distinctive musical material of the piece. Thus, this playing ability forms the inspiration of the work, which falls broadly into four sections featuring these “textures”. The first consists of a rich chord full of seconds and thirds, played twice, first short then long, followed by eight bars of bars of disjointed melody full of grace notes often jumping in large leaps. This is repeated, but never literally, with the melody varying in length and the chords becoming increasingly merged with the melody. The next section takes the chords now in staccato jabs in an almost symphonic mix before dying away with fragments of the materials. The process involving extension, contraction and juxtaposition is brilliantly achieved.

The duality found in *Za Nino* is horizontal, focussing on successive materials, while in *Kaj* it has a clear vertical temporal dimension in the relationships between the two players. The composer gives her thoughts on the processes involved in the piece:

*In the piece Kaj, I deal with the flow of thought. When we can perceive, we usually find that it begins neutral, with self-observation, and at some point, thoughts are focused on a specific topic that is more clearly articulated. A mental investigation follows again and again with a leap to a particular thought that is drawn more clearly. And what is it already where the thoughts came from to this point? The musical idea is based on the sound of such a mental stream consisting of jumps between the more articulate states and those where we only stop and observe, the intertwining of these states and the final exhalation of all tensions, which are created in the process.*²⁷

The work thus proceeds through a number of dialogues, at times almost frighteningly difficult for the two performers. Sometimes the point of departure of one player is followed with a careful and sympathetic response from the

26 This was originally composed as a piece for solo piano and first performed by Nina Prešiček at a solo recital in the Mini teater, Ljubljana on 16 April 2018. It is this version which is discussed here. The composer later added an electronic layer for a second version, with the title *...stekleno nebo, svila... [...Glass Sky, Silk...]*.

27 Larisa Vrhunc, “Kaj,” in *Koncertni atelje Društva slovenskih skladateljev*, programme booklet, prep. Društvo slovenskih skladateljev and RTV Slovenija, RTV Slovenija: Studio 13, May 19, 2021.

other. In another a frantic outburst from the saxophone is met with a very cool and uninvolved reply from the oboe. After another attempt, this develops into a fruitful discussion. These interactions happen all through the piece until in the last stages a series of quiet multiple sounds from both instruments (thirds in the saxophone, fourths and fifths on the oboe) bring it to a conclusion, with a final joking comment from the oboe. The work is superbly conceived formally and contained within a mere ten minutes.

Drobtine časa for saxophone quartet explores the sound capabilities of the saxophones right to the limits of their techniques. Extra-musical inspiration on the one hand comes from *Ten Haiku* by Boris A. Novak, published under the title “Crumbs of Stars” in his work *Oblike duha: Zakladnica pesniških oblik* (*Shapes of the Spirit: A Treasure of Poetic Forms*), reflecting ten mental states, and from Wassily Kandinsky’s painting *Heavenly Blue* (1940), on which the colour seems to be more important than the abstract floating objects which Kandinsky painted on his blue sky. The work, lasting about eleven minutes, is almost all quiet and slow, with only a short outburst two-thirds of the way through. Long notes provide the starting point from which other players move upwards and downwards. Rhythmic motifs appear occasionally but the lasting impression is of a constantly evolving slow moving sound mass, which is only occasionally interrupted. As the composer says about the ten crumbs of the title which represent the haiku: “These ten “crumbs” touch on various mental states, momentary flashes arranged between morning and night.”²⁸

The core of *Navpično* is the contribution of the string quartet to which is added an optional “concerto grosso” group.²⁹ The optional players (called ripieno) precede the first appearance of the quartet, then follow the first section of chord/texture conflict and appear later after the “development”. For the first part of the piece (until bar 67), the quartet plays the (not exactly) same chord many times, which is the “vertical” of the title (Example 2). The chord itself, constantly modified slightly each time it appears, cuts across silence or an indistinct or undefined texture. The chords are mostly played quietly, but the textures are always played at a low volume, while these two elements are constantly interacting with and contradicting each other. A short section breaks the synchronism of the chords before the music returns to the conflict between the chords in their original form and the undefined textures which are now constantly developing. These chords act as a strong unifying factor in the progress of the work, whose duration is some 25 minutes, much longer than many of the composer’s earlier works.

28 Larisa Vrhunc, “Drobtine časa,” in *Ljubljana New Music Forum 2020: Telesna ura*, festival booklet, ed. Gregor Pompe (Ljubljana, 2020), 31–32, accessed March 17, 2021. <https://ljinmf.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/NMF2020-Knjizica-8B.pdf>.

29 The addition of the ripieno group has the attraction of involving the other players in the performance, a bonus that helps the understanding of the music.

The Perspective

The inspiration that has stimulated Larisa Vrhunc in her music has been very varied. The sources are vivid and have been clearly presented by the composer. They are relatively straightforward to explain, but they conceal the mystery of creation, particularly if the inspiration is transferred from one medium to another. One can note those numerous works whose ideas derive from literary sources, such as the two *Med prsti zven podobe* pieces, *Satelitov trop nam zvezde kraj oznani – čas biti*, *Where the Moonbeam Fell*, *Hitrost razpadanja* and *Drobtine časa*. The literary, linguistic, and narrative points are clear. The transformation is something that happens in some part quite consciously and deliberately, but in other respects it is completely unconscious and instinctive. Works with visual influences draw in a well studied range of connections and transformations from artists such as Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee, in works like *Hologram* and in some important ways *Drobtine časa*. Some of Vrhunc's music can be said to derive in fairly direct ways from other composers' music, for example in *Dve ljudski temi*, *A Kogoj*, *In nomine...* and *Fabula. Gratis 0–6* also arose from a response, perhaps indirectly, from the music of another composer, Brian Ferneyhough. In the same way with spectral music, the ideas of Tristan Murail, Gérard Grisey and others were absorbed by Vrhunc gradually almost without knowing, but her music never became like theirs or adopted copies of their composing methods. She took only what she needed for her music. We can see that the stimulus to create *Za Nino* was the dedicatee's brilliant piano technique. The important point is that while these various influences or inspirations stimulated her creativity, the musical materials that resulted from them could then be worked into convincing, organised forms by the traditional combination of insight and hard work, both of which Vrhunc has in good measure. The finished results are remarkable for their formal clarity.

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POVZETEK

Glasba Larise Vrhunc: navdih, proces in oblika

Po študiju glasbe in kompozicije pri Marijanu Gabrijelčiču je slovenska skladateljica Larisa Vrhunc (roj. 1967) študirala v Švici in Franciji. Njeni zgodnji ključni skladbi *Dve ljudski temi* in *À Kogoj* kažeta rabo glasbe preteklosti, prva tako, da dopolnjuje in modificira slovensko ljudsko glasbo, druga pa preoblikuje Kogojeve klavirske *Malenkosti* za klavirski trio. Poučevanje in glasba Briana Ferneyhougha sta navdihnili pomembno skladbo *Gratis 0–6* in široko paleto srednje dolgih komornih del, ki so glasbene parametre postavila na glavo in njeno glasbo približala raziskovanju zvočnosti in ritmične kompleksnosti. Orkestralni deli *Hologram* iz leta 2001 in *Med prsti zven podobe II* iz leta 2011 sta občutno razširili njeno glasbeno teksturo v malodane »tematskost«, pri čemer se je pokazal vizualni in literarni navdih, spominjajoč na spektralno glasbo nekaterih francoskih skladateljev. Ko si je leta 2005 drznila na odrske deske z enodejanko *Doors* 2005, je nakazala tudi svoje operne sposobnosti. Številna daljša komorna dela, nastala med letoma 2005 in 2013 in ki segajo od del za trie do del za velike orkestre, so okrepila prejšnje tendence – z rabo široke palete zvočnosti in nemelodičnega teksturnega gradiva. V skladbi za godalni kvartet *Navpično* iz leta 2015 je skladateljica uporabila jasno definiran akord, ki se variiran nenehno ponavlja in tako kljubuje teksturnemu gradivu. Delo je bilo izvedeno tudi s *concertom grossom*, ki je sicer opcijski, kar mu je dodalo še eno dimenzijo. V naslednjih letih je skladateljica skomponirala še vrsto izjemnih del, za katera je navdih črpala iz različnih virov in ki gradivo obravnavajo izrazito formalno.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

NIALLO'LOUGHLIN (N.Oloughlin@lboro.ac.uk) studied at the Universities of Edinburgh and Leicester and was Director of the Arts Centre at Loughborough University. He has specialised in the 20th- and 21st-century music of Slovenia, the United Kingdom and Poland. His book *Novejša glasba v Sloveniji* (*Newer Music in Slovenia*) was published in Ljubljana in 2000. He has written over 30 papers for Slovene Music Days symposia, given many other conference papers, written various articles for *The Musical Times*, *Muzikološki zbornik*, *Tempo*, *De musica disserenda* and other periodicals, chapters in books, and a large number of entries in various editions, including on-line, of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music*. In 2007 he was elected Corresponding Member of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

O AVTORJU

NIALLO'LOUGHLIN (N.Oloughlin@lboro.ac.uk) je študiral na Univerzah v Edinburghu in Leicesteru in bil direktor Umetniškega centra na Univerzi v Loughboroughu. Specializiral se je za glasbo 20. in 21. stoletja v Sloveniji, Združenem kraljestvu in na Poljskem. Leta 2000 je v Ljubljani izdal knjigo *Novejša glasba v Sloveniji*. Napisal je več kot 30 prispevkov za Slovenske glasbene dneve, predaval na več konferencah in pisal raznovrstne članke za *The Musical Times*, *Muzikološki zbornik*, *Tempo*, *De musica disserenda* in druge periodične publikacije, poglavja za monografije in je avtor številnih gesel v različnih izdajah slovarja *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, vključno s spletno izdajo. Leta 2007 je bil izvoljen za dopisnega člana Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti.



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Reprezentacije inštrumentalne ljudske glasbe v slovenskih zvočnih množičnih medijih v obdobju med svetovnima vojnama

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek predstavlja spremembe, ki jih je inštrumentalna ljudska glasba doživljala med svetovnima vojnama skozi razvoj novih zvočnih medijev – gramofonskih plošč z 78 o/min in radia. S predstavljanjem inštrumentalne ljudske glasbe v medijih, njeno popularizacijo in komercializacijo se je oblikovala splošno veljavna podoba t. i. slovenske inštrumentalne ljudske glasbe, ki je reciprocno vplivala tudi na ustvarjanje ljudskih godcev.

Ključne besede: inštrumentalna ljudska glasba, radio, gramofonske plošče z 78 o/min, množični mediji, predvajana glasba

ABSTRACT

The article presents the changes that traditional instrumental music experienced between the two World Wars through the development of new audio media – 78 rpm gramophone records and radio. With the presentation of traditional instrumental music in the media, its popularization and commercialization, “Slovenian” traditional instrumental music gained general recognition, which also reciprocally influenced the creative work of traditional musicians.

Keywords: traditional instrumental music, radio, 78 rpm records, mass media, played music

* Prispevek je nastal v okviru usposabljanja za mlade raziskovalce (50580) ter raziskovalnega programa Folkloristične in etnološke raziskave slovenske ljudske duhovne kulture (P6-0111), ki ju sofinancira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

Uvod

Dvajseto stoletje je čas hitrega razvoja novih tehnologij, množičnih medijev in z njimi povezanih družbenih sprememb. V obdobju med svetovnima vojnama so se med ljudi dodobra razširili zvočni mediji, najprej gramofon in gramofonske plošče, ki jim je sledil radio. Glasba, ki so jo predvajali omenjeni množični mediji, je dosegla širši krog poslušalcev kot kadarkoli prej. Med drugimi so mediji predstavljali tudi produkcijo glasbenikov iz polja instrumentalne ljudske glasbe.

V nadaljevanju predpostavljam, da je glasba, ki je bila navzoča v množičnih zvočnih medijih, postala reprezentacija¹ vse instrumentalne ljudske glasbe in da se je uveljavila splošno veljavna podoba ljudske glasbe, ki so jo soustvarjali in širili prav množični mediji. Ta podoba je bila dostopna vsem, ki so lahko dostopali do nje prek tehnoloških posrednikov, torej tudi tistim, ki dotlej z ljudsko glasbo niso imeli stika in so poslušano glasbo lahko sprejeli kot slovensko in kot ljudsko. Zvočni mediji so domnevno vplivali na razširjanje repertoarja, dojemanje glasbe in glasbeni okus in tudi soustvarjali glasbeno podobo nekega časa, hkrati pa v času med obema svetovnima vojnama pomembno prispevali tudi k popularizaciji in komercializaciji slovenske ljudske glasbe. Pri tem je potrebno upoštevati, da med ljudskoglasbenimi praksami v realnem okolju in konstruirano komercialno podobo ljudske glasbe, ki je bila predvajana v množičnih medijih, ni vselej jasne ločnice. Vloga ljudskih godcev je bila vedno povezana z upoštevanjem glasbenega okusa poslušalcev in plesalcev ter vpeljavo novih glasbenih trendov, zato je potrebno razumeti instrumentalne ljudskoglasbene prakse kot stalno spreminjajoč se fenomen in ne kot nespremenljiv produkt, izoliran od zunanjih vplivov.

Raziskava o vplivu množičnih medijev na splošno veljavno podobo instrumentalne ljudske glasbe prve polovice dvajsetega stoletja se opira na arhivske vire. Pri tem predstavlja pomemben zvočni in metapodatkovni vir Digitalna zbirka gramofonskih plošč, ki jo hrani Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU (v nadaljevanju GNI DZGP). Omenjena zbirka vključuje digitalizirane metapodatke in dostopne posnetke gramofonskih plošč z 78 o/min (obradi na minuto) s posneto slovensko glasbo, ki so nastali v Ljubljani že v prvem desetletju dvajsetega stoletja, kot tudi tiste, ki so jih slovenski izseljenci posneli v tujini. Velik delež slednjih je bil posnet v dvajsetih in tridesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja v Združenih državah Amerike, kamor so se na prelomu stoletja Slovenci množično izseljevali. Pomemben del glasbe, posnete na gramofonske plošče, je povezan z instrumentalnimi ljudskoglasbenimi praksami. Na podlagi omenjene zbirke je bilo že opravljenih nekaj raziskav, zbranih v tematski številki revije *Traditiones* 43, št. 2 (2014), in monografiji *Glasba z obeh strani* Rebeke in Draga Kuneja.² Zvočnih

1 Izraz reprezentacija razumem kot predstavljanje in obenem zastopanje v tem primeru instrumentalnih ljudskoglasbenih praks.

2 Drago Kunej in Rebeka Kunej, *Glasba z obeh strani: Gramofonske plošče Matije Arka in Hoyer tria* (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612548506>.

posnetkov z radia iz obravnavanega časa ni na voljo, saj so nastopi glasbenikov potekali v živo ali pa so v programu predvajali gramofonske plošče. V pomoč pri ugotavljanju, kakšna je bila podoba ljudske glasbe na radiu v času med obema svetovnjima vojnama, so mi bili objavljeni sporedi Radia Ljubljana, takrat edinega radia v slovenskem prostoru, in dela, v katerih so že zbrani in obravnavani podatki o delovanju Radia Ljubljana in na njem predvajani glasbi.³

Prispevek odgovarja na zastavljena raziskovalna vprašanja: kakšne družbene spremembe, povezane z izvajanjem in poslušanjem glasbe, je prinesel razvoj množičnih medijev; katera glasbila in instrumentalne zasedbe so bila največkrat predvajana v zvočnih medijih in katera so mediji izpostavili kot pomembna za kulturne identifikacije; kakšen vpliv so imeli obravnavani zvočni mediji na splošno podobo ljudske glasbe in kako je ta podoba vplivala na ljudskoglasbene prakse.

Tehnološki razvoj in njegovi vplivi na navade poslušalcev v dvajsetem stoletju

Okoli leta 1900 je tehnična reprodukcija dosegla raven, ki ni omogočala le reprodukcije vseh posredovanih umetniških del in s tem najglobljih sprememb v njihovem vplivu na javnost, ampak je pridobila tudi svoje mesto med umetniškimi procesi.⁴ Razvoj tehnične produkcije in reprodukcije je, kot je v tridesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja ugotavljal Walter Benjamin, posegel v vse veje ustvarjalnosti. Ne le, da so novi tehnološki postopki olajšali reprodukcijo zvoka ali slike, omogočili so tudi nastanek več enakih izdelkov. Tehnološki razvoj na področju komunikacijskih tehnologij je v začetku dvajsetega stoletja povzročil revolucijo tudi na področju množičnih medijev, ki delujejo s pomočjo zvoka. Razvoj snemalnih naprav je med drugim omogočil snemanje in predvajanje glasbe na gramofonskih ploščah, z odkritjem in razvojem radiofonije je nastal radijski sprejemnik, ki je govor in glasbo lahko tudi neposredno predvajal.⁵

3 Ljudmila Bezljaj Kregel, *Halo, tu Radio Ljubljana! Katalog k razstavi Tehniškega muzeja Slovenije ob sedemdeseti obletnici ustanovitve Radia Ljubljana* (Ljubljana: Tehniški muzej Slovenije, 1998); Matjaž Brojan, *Začetki radia na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Modrijan, Radio Slovenija, 1999); Leon Stefanija, »Radio Ljubljana and its Music Policies 1928–1941,« *Muzikologija/Musicology*, št. 21 (2016); Katarina Bogunović Hočevar in Ana Vončina, »Radio Ljubljana v prvem desetletju svojega delovanja – medij, institucija in ideologija v luči glasbe,« v *Nova glasba v 'novi' Evropi med obema svetovnjima vojnama*, ur. Jernej Weiss (Ljubljana, Koper: Založba Univerze na Primorskem, 2018).

4 Walter Benjamin, »Umetnina v času, ko jo je mogoče tehnično reproducirati,« v *Izbrani spisi*, Walter Benjamin, prevedel Stane Jerman (Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 1998), 149.

5 Več in podrobneje je o razvoju snemalnih naprav in gramofonskih plošč z 78 o/min, predvsem v povezavi s slovenskimi posnetki in glasbenim izročilom, pisal Drago Kunej, o razvoju radiofonije in radia pa Matjaž Brojan. Prim. Drago Kunej, »Slovenski posnetki na gramofonskih ploščah z 78 o/min,« *Traditiones* 43, št. 2 (2014), <https://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-QTCY-WKM9>; Drago Kunej, »Leto 1908 – začetek diskografije slovenske glasbe,« *Traditiones* 43, št. 2 (2014), <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2014430203>; Drago Kunej, »Gramofonske plošče – vez med ljudskim in komercialnim,« v *Historični seminar 13*, ur. Katarina Šter in Mojca Žagar Karer (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2018); Brojan, *Začetki radia na Slovenskem*.

Nova tehnologija in z njo povezan razvoj novih zvočnih medijev v globalnem pogledu sta ustvarila novo kategorijo v poslušanju glasbe – poslušanje predvajane glasbe,⁶ ki se je razvilo ob dotlej poznanem poslušanju žive izvedbe. Radio je odgovoril na družbeno potrebo biti na kraju dogajanja kar od doma, na daljavo v realnem času. Poslušanje glasbe se je s pomočjo predvajane glasbe premaknilo iz javnega v intimni prostor ljudi; seveda je to veljalo predvsem za tiste, ki so si nakup gramofona s ploščami ter kasneje radijskega sprejemnika lahko privoščili, saj sta napravi predstavljali statusna simbola.

Novi način poslušanja glasbe, ki ni bil povezan z navzočnostjo izvajalcev in poslušalcev na (glasbenem) dogodku, je prinesel marsikatero spremembo v percepciji glasbe. Walter Benjamin je izpostavil spremembe, ki so se zgodile s tehnično reprodukcijo umetnine,⁷ izmed katerih omenjam tiste, ki veljajo za radio in gramofonske plošče. Temeljna razlika med živo glasbeno izvedbo in predvajano (tj. tehnično reproducirano) glasbo je, da pri slednji odpade njen »tukaj« in »zdaj«, kar Benjamin poimenuje avra.⁸ Tehnična reprodukcija (npr. predvajanje sočasnega ali vnaprej posnetega glasbenega dogodka) lahko postavi posnetek v položaj, ki za izvirnik ni dosegljiv, predvsem tako, da ga približa poslušalcem, ki niso bili udeleženi na dogodku. Poslušanje predvajane glasbe ne zahteva sočasne navzočnosti izvajalcev in poslušalcev, kar velja za živi glasbeni dogodek. Posnetek, ki ga poslušalec posluša bodisi po radiu ali z gramofonske plošče, je ločen od »tukaj« in »zdaj« glasbenega dogodka, pa tudi od morebitnih drugih (npr. obrednih, razvedrilnih) funkcij glasbe. Enkratnost umetnine je povezana z njeno vpetostjo v družbene in zgodovinske okoliščine,⁹ kar še posebej velja za ljudskoglasbene prakse, ki so bile sestavni del obredov, šeg ali družabnih (plesnih) dogodkov. Razkroj enkratnosti glasbene izvedbe je še posebej očiten v primeru gramofonskih plošč, ki jih je mogoče poslušati znova in znova. V procesu tehnične produkcije, ki omogoča izdelavo večjega števila gramofonskih plošč, se ne izgubi le enkratnost – pri množični produkciji glasbenih posnetkov celo težko govorimo o izvirniku, saj so vsi posnetki med seboj enaki.

6 Izraz 'predvajana glasba' je prevzet po: Kurt Blaukopf, *Glasba v družbenih spremembah: Temeljne poteze sociologije glasbe* (Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 1993), 230–231 – delo je prevedel Štefan Vevar. Prvi ga je uporabil Bernhard Winzheimer za fenomen neposrednega radijskega prenosa. Za novo kategorijo glasbe, ki je nastala zaradi novih načinov rabe (posnete) glasbe, omenja Rajko Muršič izraza 'prenašana glasba' (*transmitted music*) po Helmutu Rosingu in 'posredovana glasba' (*mediated music*) po Charlesu Keilu. Rajko Muršič, *Trate vaše in naše mladosti: Zgodba o mladinskem in rock klubu* (Ceršak: Subkulturni azil, 2000), 153.

7 Walter Benjamin piše o umetnini, ki jo navadno razumemo v pomenu (avtorskega) dela, ki je del t. i. visoke, umetnostne kulture. Vendar njegov koncept ne zajema le t. i. visoke kulture, pač pa so v nadaljevanju prispevka omenjene spremembe glasbene recepcije vidne tudi na področju popularne ali ljudske ustvarjalnosti; Benjamin med drugim izpostavlja primer gramofonskih plošč. Benjamin, »Umetnina v času,« 151.

8 Prav tam.

9 Prav tam, 153.

Glasbeni dogodek kot živa izkušnja kljub pojavu novih možnosti poslušanja glasbe ni izgubil ali izgubil svojega pomena. Poleg tega, da glasba iz radijskega sprejemnika ali gramofona ni mogla nadomestiti »tukaj« in »zdaj« oziroma t. i. avre glasbenega dogodka, kot jo doživi poslušalec, so bili plesni dogodki z živo glasbo tudi javni prostor medsebojnega druženja. Množičnega druženja in novih poznanstev pa poslušanje glasbe v zasebnih prostorih vendarle ne omogoča. Za poslušalce je bila dobrodošla predvsem nova možnost, da so predvajano glasbo lahko poslušali kjerkoli, kadarkoli in kolikorkrat so želeli, do neke mere pa so lahko tudi vplivali na izbor glasbe; pri nakupu gramofonskih plošč so izbirali v okviru nabora posnete glasbe, na radio pa so lahko posredovali glasbene želje, ki so bile predvajane v določenem terminu. Pri poslušanju predvajane glasbe na radiu so bili ljudje še vedno vezani na čas poslušanja, kot ga je določal spored radijskega predvajanja, ne pa tudi na prostor. Predvajana glasba je ljudem poenostavila poslušanje in približala glasbo, ki jim dotlej iz različnih razlogov ni bila dostopna. Raymond Williams je dodal:

[v]se nove tehnologije kinematografije, radiodifuzije, gramofonskih plošč in kaset [...] namreč na različne načine utelešajo sisteme dostopa, ki so neposredni vsaj v tem smislu, da so kulturno dosegljivi v okviru normalnega družbenega razvoja, brez vsake oblike selektivnega kulturnega uvajanja.¹⁰

Podobno kot je Benedict Anderson (na primeru časopisa in skupnosti bralcev časopisa) izpostavil pomen medijev za ustvarjanje in razvoj nacionalnih identitet kot zamišljenih skupnosti,¹¹ o predvajani glasbi razmišlja Rajko Muršič:

Doba medijev je pač doba namišljenih skupnosti. Potrošniki medijsko posredovane glasbe niti nimajo predstave o tem, da sodelujejo pri nečem skupnem, toda ob poslušanju določene pesmi vendarle nekako participirajo v poslušanju (in doživljanju) kot skupnost. Poznavanje repertoarja in sočasno poslušanje (ali gledanje) določenih oddaj vzpostavlja imaginarne skupnosti skozi vsakdanjo življenjsko prakso.¹²

Muršič obenem poudarja, da ljudje nimajo več predstave o obstoju teh skupnosti, vendar pa imajo, ne da bi to opazili, skupno življenjsko izkušnjo.¹³ V obdobju med svetovnim vojnama, ko je bil razvoj zvočnih množičnih

10 Raymond Williams, *Navadna kultura: Izbrani spisi*, prevedel Borut Cajnko (Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 1998), 127.

11 Benedict Anderson, *Zamišljene skupnosti: O izvoru in širjenju nacionalizma* (Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 2007).

12 Muršič, *Trate vaše in naše mladosti*, 161.

13 Prav tam.

medijev še v zgodnji fazi in so bili v gospodinjstvih radijski sprejemniki oziroma gramofoni še redkost, pa je bilo poslušanje glasbe, ki je prihajala iz radijskega sprejemnika ali gramofona, pogosto skupinsko. Tednik *Radio Ljubljana* je leta 1933 navedel podatek, da v Angliji obstaja okoli šeststo skupin, večinoma brezposelnih in socialno šibkejših, ki skupno poslušajo radio.¹⁴ Podobno je verjetno veljalo tudi v slovenskem prostoru – skupnosti ljudi, ki doma niso imeli gramofona ali radijskega sprejemnika, so poslušale radijske prenose ali glasbo z gramofonskih plošč v gostilni ali hiši, ki je imela te naprave. V takih primerih je skupnost poslušalcev predvajane glasbe v okviru manjših lokalnih skupnosti pomenila dodatno okrepitev povezanosti lokalnih prebivalcev.

Predvajana glasba v slovenskem prostoru

Slovenci so prvič prišli v stik s predvajano glasbo z gramofonskih plošč v začetku dvajsetega stoletja. Prve plošče z 78 o/min so slovenski glasbeniki posneli kmalu po prelomu stoletja v Ljubljani in bližnjih večjih mestih (npr. Dunaj, Zagreb), pomembno obdobje snemanja in poslušanja gramofonskih plošč s slovensko vsebino pa je bilo med svetovnimi vojnami. Takrat je nastalo veliko število gramofonskih plošč z 78 o/min, med katerimi so za Slovence poleg plošč, posnetih v Ljubljani in bližnjih mestih, pomembne predvsem plošče, ki so jih slovenski izseljenci posneli v Združenih državah Amerike. Na te plošče je bila posneta glasba, ki je bila povezana s slovenskim glasbenim izročilom, z vključevanjem elementov iz ameriške popularne glasbe pa se je v dvajsetih letih razvila v novo popularnoglasbeno zvrst, polka glasbo. Gre za zvrst, ki se je oblikovala in razvila med evropskimi priseljenci različnih narodnosti (Slovencev, Poljakov, Nemcev itd.). Ti so iz stare domovine v novo prinesli glasbo, ki so jo poznali pretežno v ruralnem okolju, in jo začeli prepletati s popularno glasbo, ki so jo slišali v novem okolju. Med Slovenci, ki jih je bilo največ v Clevelandu, je bilo veliko aktivnih glasbenikov, ki so pripomogli k razvoju t. i. *Cleveland Style* ali *Slovenian Style*. Ta vključuje tako plesne melodije¹⁵ s področja ljudske glasbe kot ljudske pesmi, ki so jih Slovenci poznali iz domačega okolja. V nadaljevanju se pri omembah polka glasbe sklicujem na segment te glasbe, ki so ga izvajali slovenski glasbeniki.

Ljudsko glasbo so gramofonska podjetja hitro prepoznala kot uspešno tržno nišo, saj so jo izseljenci povezovali z domačim okoljem in jo identificirali kot svojo »domačo«, »narodno« glasbo. Slovenci so, med drugimi priseljenci iz Evrope, za glasbeno industrijo predstavljali pomemben potencial za nakup plošč, zato so gramofonska podjetja začela snemati

14 *Radio Ljubljana* 5, št. 15 (1933): 173.

15 Čeprav izraz polka glasba asociira na plesni tip polke, omenjena glasbena zvrst vključuje tudi druge plesne tipe, kot npr. valček, mazurko, sotiš, tramplan. Ščasoma sta v ospredje prišla predvsem polka in valček.

t. i. 'etnično glasbo' oz. glasbo za 'tujejezične' kupce. Najprej so zanje izdajali posnetke nacionalnih himen in drugih znanih evropskih pesmi, ki so jih posneli ob spremljavi studijskih orkestrrov, pozneje pa so se jim pridružili posnetki popularnih in ljudskih pesmi ter instrumentalnih skladb z ljudskimi glasbili.¹⁶

Izseljencem je »domača« glasba predstavljala stik in spomin na primarno domovino, pa tudi skupno točko z drugimi Slovenci v novem okolju.¹⁷ Plošče, ki so se vsebinsko navezovala na ljudsko glasbo slovenskega prostora, so jim pomenile predmet nacionalne identifikacije – verjetno bolj kot Slovincem, ki so ostali v domovini.

Leta 1928 je – kot tretja v Evropi¹⁸ in prva v slovenskem prostoru – začela oddajati radijska postaja Radio Ljubljana.¹⁹ Ker je delovanje radijskega sprejemnika povezano z električnim omrežjem in dostopnostjo signala, se je ta medij po slovenskem prostoru razširjal postopoma in dolgotrajno, pač glede na širjenje električnega omrežja in oddajniške mreže. Del zahodnega slovenskega prostora je npr. ostal tudi po drugi svetovni vojni t. i. »bela lisa« brez radijskega sprejema.²⁰ Matjaž Brojan navaja, da je imel Radio Ljubljana poseben nedeljski termin za oddaje, ki so bile namenjene Slovincem na Goriškem in Koroškem,²¹ ni pa podrobneje navedeno, od kdaj in kje so bile dostopne.

Središče oddajanja programa je bilo v Ljubljani, po kateri se je radijska postaja imenovala, tam pa se je pripravljala tudi vsebina programa. Med letoma 1929 in 1941 je izhajal tednik *Radio Ljubljana: Tednik za radiofonijo*, v katerem so bili objavljeni tedenski spored ter z vsebino in radijsko tehnologijo povezani članki, leta 1934 pa je kot opozicija uradnemu radijskemu časopisu nastal še časopis *Naš val*,²² tednik za radio, gledališče in kino, ki je izhajal do leta 1940.

16 D. Kunej, »Gramofonske plošče,« 161–162.

17 Glej Marija Klobčar, »Oj lušno je res na deželi! Percepcija ljudske pesmi in ljudskega pri izdajah gramofonskih plošč pred drugo svetovno vojno,« *Traditiones* 43, št. 2 (2014): 144, <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2014430207144>.

18 Za uradni začetek javnega radia v Evropi šteje oddajanje družbe BBC 14. novembra 1922.

19 Radio je deloval v upravi Prosvetne zveze, ki je bila krovna kulturna organizacija vseh katoliško usmerjenih društev, razen med letoma 1933 in 1935, ko je bil v državni upravi. Uprava Radia Ljubljana je delovala na Tyrševi (danes Slovenski) cesti, radijski studio pa na Bleiweisovi (danes Prešernovi) cesti. Radijski oddajnik je bil postavljen v Domžalah. Več glej Bezljaj Krevcl, *Halo, tu Radio Ljubljana!*, 24–27.

20 Avtorica ne navaja, od kod do kod je segala »bela lisa,« le da je po drugi svetovni vojni začela delovati oddajna postaja v Ajdovščini, leta 1949 pa oddajnik na Belem Križu. *Ibid.*, 101.

21 Brojan, *Začetki radia na Slovenskem*, 51.

22 Programski tednik *Naš val* je bil plod centralistične politike Beograda, ki je prevzela tudi program Radia Ljubljana. Revija *Naš val* so izdajali in tiskali v Beogradu s težnjo, da bi prevzela vodilno vlogo in izrinila obstoječi programski tednik *Radio Ljubljana*, ki je izhajal v Ljubljani. Glej Stefanija, »Radio Ljubljana and its Music Policies,« 128; prim. Bogunović Hočvar in Vončina: »Radio Ljubljana v prvem desetletju,« 282. Beograjska centralistična politika se je odražala tudi v reviji *Radio Ljubljana*, ki je od začetka leta 1934 do jeseni 1935 med sporedi na prvo mesto uvrstila radijski program za Beograd, šele nato program za Ljubljano; prvemu, ki je bil pisan v cirilici, je

Ker je bil radijski spored vnaprej objavljen, je bilo tudi poslušanje vnaprej organizirano in so poslušalci lahko sledili njegovi strukturi, ustvarjeni neodvisno od njih (»od zunaj«). Radijski program je bil vsebinsko deloma prilagojen uredniški politiki, posebni, npr. praznični tematiki, v manjšem deležu pa tudi glasbenim željam poslušalcev.

Radio je pogosto izpostavil nacionalno komponento svojega programa, tudi z navedbami, kot npr. da je »dolžnost vsakega zavednega Slovence, da se uvrsti med radijske naročnike pri radiofonski oddajni postaji v Ljubljani.«²³ Omejena radijska postaja naj bi poslušalca seznanila s slovensko glasbo: kot navaja prva številka programskega tednika *Radio Ljubljana*, »uvrščamo v spored kolikor najbolj možno slovensko glasbo.«²⁴ Uredništvo Radia Ljubljana je v začetku oddajanja zapisalo tudi:

*Zapela je po vsem svetu slovenska pesem, tista, ki je v njej bogastvo naše besede in vsa globina naše duše, ki je naših očetov dediščina, naših mater spomin in vaških večerov odmev. [...] A tudi naših mojstrov pesem: od najstarejših do najmodernejših, preko Adamiča do Kogoja in Osterca. [...] Kakor naša Univerza, je naš Radio simbol naše svobode, simbol naše kulturne dejavnosti, simbol tistega, kar nam je sveto, česar tisoč let sužnosti ni moglo ubiti in česar še toliko izdajic ni moglo uničiti, – simbol slovenstva!*²⁵

Težnja po krepitvi nacionalne identitete ni bila omejena le na poslušalce v slovenskem prostoru, pač pa je segala, do koder je seglo oddajanje radia.

*V tem brezupnem, mrakobnem narodnostnem ozračju je radio pravzaprav edini naš glas, ki lahko ujame in objame vse rojake tostran in onstran meja. Tu se začinja njegovo veliko narodno poslanstvo in njegova združevalna, slogo in enotnost porajajoča naloga.*²⁶

Novi množični mediji so imeli svojevrstne prednosti, ki so mnogim Slovincem, ki so odšli v tujino ali živeli na drugi strani političnih meja, omogočale stik s primarno domovino in kulturo, s katero so se identificirali. To velja tako za možnost hitrega prenosa glasbe in govora na daljavo na radiu, na katerem so lahko poslušali slovenski program, kot gramofonske plošče, ki so jih lahko naročili na dom in na katerih je bila posneta glasba, ki so jo prepoznali kot svojo »domačo«.

bilo namenjenega tudi več prostora na račun programa za Ljubljano. Strokovni članki, povezani z radijsko tehnologijo, ki so bili del revije že od njenega nastanka, so bili v tem času v srbohrvaškem jeziku. Glej *Radio Ljubljana* 6, št. 1–46 (1934) in *Radio Ljubljana* 7, št. 1–22 (1935).

23 *Radio Ljubljana* 10, št. 46 (1938): 2.

24 *Radio Ljubljana* 1, št. 1 (1929): 7.

25 *Radio Ljubljana* 1, št. 1 (1929): 1–2.

26 *Radio Ljubljana* 10, št. 1 (1938): 1.

Podoba instrumentalne ljudske glasbe na gramofonskih ploščah z 78 o/min

Digitalna zbirka gramofonskih plošč, ki jo hrani Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, nudi vsaj delni vpogled v produkcijo nekaterih izvajalcev slovenskega rodu in percepcijo slovenske glasbe prve polovice dvajsetega stoletja. Predpostavljam, da so bile plošče, posnete bodisi na evropskem bodisi na ameriškem tržišču, za katere imamo ohranjene posnetke in metapodatke, med tistimi, ki so bile najboljše prodajane. Gramofonska podjetja so se odločala za snemanje glasbe, ki je šla dobro v promet, med posnetimi izvajalci pa so imeli prednost med poslušalci prepoznavni glasbeniki, zato menim, da te plošče vsaj do določene mere razkrivajo glasbeni okus poslušalcev oziroma kupcev gramofonskih plošč v obravnavanem obdobju.

Na gramofonske plošče z 78 o/min iz omenjene zbirke so bile posnete tako skladbe s področja umetnostne glasbe domačih in tujih skladateljev v izvedbi predvsem manjših instrumentalnih zasedb in priznanih slovenskih pevcev do priredb ljudskih pesmi in viž ter glasbeno-govorjenih komičnih skečev. Ljudske pesmi so večkrat »izvajali operni pevci in igralci ter manjše vokalne zasedbe, ki so imele izkušnje s klasično zahodno[evropsko] glasbo. Zato izvajalska estetika in glasbeni aranžmaji pogosto sledijo pravilom zahod[oevropsk]e glasbe.«²⁷

Za mojo raziskavo je med posneto glasbo zanimiva instrumentalna glasba, povezana z ljudskim izročilom. Gramofonske plošče s to vsebino so v Ljubljani nastale že pred prvo svetovno vojno.²⁸ Za gramofonske plošče, ki so bile v obravnavanem obdobju – med obema svetovnima vojnama – posnete v Ljubljani ali drugih bližnjih večjih mestih (Zagreb, Dunaj), ni veliko zanesljivih podatkov, saj posnetki nekaterih zasedb nimajo pripisanih podatkov o kraju in času nastanka. Oznako »posneto v Evropi« imajo predvsem plošče s posnetki godb (Mestna godba, Velika godba, Godba Dravske divizije, Kmečka godba, Vojaška godba ipd.) ter »harmonike« in »harmonike z orkestrom«, podatki o času nastanka teh plošč pa niso dodani, zato jih ne morem zanesljivo umestiti v obdobje med svetovnim vojnama. V tem obdobju je v Ljubljani zagotovo delovala Godba Dravske divizije, zato predvidevam, da so v tem času tudi snemali gramofonske plošče. Pod vodstvom kapelnika Josipa Čerina, ki jo je ustanovil in vodil, je veljala za kvalitetno zasedbo in je veliko nastopala tudi z repertoarjem simfonične in drugih zvrsti umetnostne glasbe. Repertoar večine godb je bil soroden, sestavljen iz koračnic (posebej veliko je posnetkov *Sokolske koračnice*) in drugih, z nacionalnim nabojem obarvanih skladb (npr. *Naprej, zastava slave, Slovenec sem*), ki so v poslušalcih vzbudile nacionalnoidentifikacijske občutke. Ker je bilo več od omenjenih zasedb vojaških godb, sklepam, da so s tem repertoarjem tudi sicer nastopale na glasbenih dogodkih. Poleg narodnoprebudniških skladb pa so posneli tudi nekaj repertoarja, ki se je navezoval na ljudsko glasbo: Godba Dravske divizije je npr. posnela cikel plošč z naslovom *Dolenjske narodne pesmi*. V medvojnem obdobju je

27 D. Kunej, »Slovenski posnetki,« 20.

28 O snemanju prvih gramofonskih plošč v Ljubljani glej D. Kunej, »Leto 1908,« 51–73.

verjetno nastala tudi gramofonska plošča s posnetkoma 'Povuštrov' ples in Kmečki tramblan v izvedbi Posavske kmečke godbe, ki se nedvoumno navezujeta na inštrumentalne ljudskoglasbene prakse.

Medtem je v tudi različnih krajih v Ameriki²⁹ v tem obdobju, ko je tamkajšnja gramofonska industrija doživela razcvet, nastalo veliko posnetkov priredb ljudskih pesmi in instrumentalnih skladb, ki so izhajale iz ljudskega izročila. Posneli so jih Slovenci, ki so se na začetku dvajsetega stoletja izselili v različne kraje Združenih držav Amerike, ter njihovi potomci. Kot piše Rebeka Kunej, je glede na repertoar, posnet na gramofonskih ploščah, »jasno, da je skupaj s slovenskimi glasbeniki v Ameriko emigrirala tudi ljudska glasba.«³⁰ Komercialni posnetki, ki so nastali v Združenih državah Amerike v obravnavanem obdobju, so pomenili tamkajšnjim izseljencem, tudi slovenskim, nosilce nacionalne identitete. Izvajalci, ki so bili slovenskega rodu, so za različna gramofonska podjetja posneli tudi veliko glasbe, povezane z ljudskoglasbenimi praksami, ki so jo povezovali z ohranjanjem nacionalne identitete. Plošče s to glasbo so bile dobro prodajane, zato je marketinška politika podjetij spodbujala snemanje te zvrsti. Posneta vsebina je bila odvisna od povpraševanja, delno pa tudi od snemalne tehnologije, ki je bila predvsem na zgodnejših snemanjih primerna za pevce, manjše instrumentalne in vokalne zasedbe in prirejene godbe na pihala.³¹

Najnovije in druge Columbia gramofonske plošče.

Moški kvartet "Jadrani"	pejo:	2500—Terno ul. akordeo.	Dora Karadulca, solistka.
2509—Prviti ba. veseljad	Zdravljici Koroške.	2501—Slovenski valček, s harmoniko	Madona polka, s harmoniko
2517—"Naj, naj, naj"	Za stvarci je živ!	2503—Slovenska narodna, tamburisti	Slovenska polka, tamburisti
2505—Ljubane in veseljad	Slovenska dala.	2504—Slovenska narodna, vol. polka	Čevla korakata, vol. polka.
2502—Na polju v stari kralj. I. del.	Na polju v stari kralj. II. del.	2505—Vesela vesela, vol. polka.	Vsi maršurci, vol. polka.
2507—Smeti je polka.	Smeti, stari kraljina	2506—Tiroški valček, I. del. citra.	Tiroški valček, II. del. citra.
Tretet rojaka Hojterja (harmonika):	2505—Mazalica.	2507—Slovenska narodna, harmonika	Peter, narodna, harmonika polka.
2505—Mazalica.	Pirca obost.	2509—Slovenski valček, Levin, harmonika.	Stajevka, Levin, harmonika.
2504—Čakarska harmonika.	Triglavski valček.		
2502—Polka Koroške.	Polka Koroške.		
2511—Veseli veseljad, harmonika.	Smeti spomni, Valček.		
2508—Marec valček.	Polarska polka.		
Razni glasbeni komadi:	2508—Na travniškem gori, polka.		
2502—Dobri v gori, valček, orkester.	Veseli valček, akordeo.		
	3 plošče posnjeno za \$2.50		
	5 plošč posnjeno za \$4.00		
	10 plošč posnjeno za \$7.50		
	Kdor naroči 20 plošč, dobi eno zastojno za darilo.		
	Z vsakim naročilom od 5 ali več plošč posnjeno 50 igel zastojni.		
	Vsaka igla igra 10 komadov.		
	V katalogu imamo še mnogo drugih plošč. Pišite po cenah in si oglejte nazaj.		
	JUGOSLAV AMERICAN CORP.		
	455 West 42nd Street,		New York, N. Y.

Slika 1: Časopisni oglas za gramofonske plošče s posnetki slovenskih izseljencev.³²

29 Med kraji, kjer so slovenski izvajalci največkrat snemali, so New York, Cleveland, Chicago in Camden.

30 Rebeka Kunej, »Stare gramofonske plošče kot etnokoreološko gradivo,« *Traditiones* 43, št. 2 (2014): 131, <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2014430206>.

31 Glej D. Kunej, »Gramofonske plošče,« 163–164.

32 *Nas dom* 4, št. 1 (1927): 3.

Gramofonska podjetja so v skladu z ugotovitvijo, da so izseljenci radi kupovali plošče svojih rojakov (s področja t. i. etnične glasbe), na labele³³ dodajala oznake, ki so poslušalce nagovarjale, da posneta glasba sodi v kategorijo slovenske (ljudske) glasbe, npr. *Slovenian-Krainer* (to oznako je podjetje Okeh (Odeon) uporabljalo tako za evropske kot ameriške plošče), *Slovenian Folksong*, *Slovenian Polka*, *Slovenian Waltz*. Kot tako so jo oglaševali tudi časopisni oglasi podjetij ali trgovcev z gramofonskimi ploščami (npr. slovenske gramofonske plošče, novi slovenski komadi, plošče rojaka Hojerja). S to glasbo, ki jim je bila ponujena kot slovenska »domača« glasba, so se ameriški Slovenci identificirali in jo prepoznali kot glasbo svojega naroda. Med bolj prodajanimi so bile predvsem vokalne priredbe ljudskih pesmi, včasih aranžirane tudi z instrumentalno spremljavo, kar sicer za takratne slovenske ljudskoglasbene prakse ni bilo značilno, ter plesna instrumentalna glasba s harmoniko kot solističnim ali glavnim glasbilom v instrumentalni zasedbi. Ker so bile v skladu s tradicijo instrumentalne glasbe v slovenskem prostoru namenjene spremljavi plesa, je posneti repertoar predstavljala glasba iz plesnega izročila, največkrat valček in polka, pa tudi drugi, npr. zibensrit, tramplan, mazurka, koračnica. Ime plesnega tipa je bilo pogosto navedeno tudi na labeli kot sestavni del naslova skladbe (npr. *Lovec mazurka*, *Štajerska-polka*).



Slika 2: Primera label gramofonskih plošč z 78 o/min s posnetki slovenskih izseljencev, na katere so dodane oznake Slovenian oziroma Slovenian Krainer.³⁴

33 Izraz labela je poslovenjena oblika angleškega izraza *label*, ki označuje blagovno znamko ali nalepko s podatki v sredini plošče.

34 Vir: GNI DZGP.

Med slovenskimi glasbeniki v Ameriki, ki so gramofonske plošče snemali solistično, izrazito prevladujejo harmonikarji. Zakonitost, ki jo za narodnozabavno glasbo ugotavlja Mojca Kovačič, namreč, da ta zvrst brez harmonike³⁵ ne obstaja,³⁶ velja tudi za v Ameriki priljubljeno (inštrumentalno) polka glasbo. Harmonikarji so nastopali in snemali bodisi solistično, občasno tudi v duetih, bodisi v različnih inštrumentalnih zasedbah. Ob harmoniki so v različnem številu in kombinacijah inštrumentalne zasedbe sestavljala še druga glasbila: bendžo, klarinet, kitara, kontrabas, trobenta, tuba, pozavna, saksofon, violina, klavir in tolkala. Čeprav večina omenjenih glasbil ni značilna za ljudskoglasbene prakse v slovenskem prostoru, so nanje igrali plesni repertoar, ki je izhajal iz ljudskoglasbenih praks in je bil navzoč v slovenskem prostoru. Med zasedbami, ki so snemale gramofonske plošče v času med svetovnjima vojnama, so npr. Hoyer trio (harmonika, bendžo in kitara), Rudy Deichman's Orchestra (harmonika, klarinet, bendžo, na nekaterih ploščah sta v zasedbi tudi tuba in trobenta), Štrukelj trio (harmonika, violina in bendžo) in Račič-Foysova godba (violina, bas, klarinet, saksofon, klavir, tolkala); slednja je ena redkih zasedb, v kateri ni bilo harmonikarja. Kako pomemben člen so predstavljali harmonikarji, razkriva tudi poimenovanje inštrumentalnih zasedb prav po njih, npr. Hoyer trio po Mattu Hoyerju, Štrukelj trio po Antonu Štruklju, Rudy Deichman's Orchestra po Rudyju Deichmanu (Dajčmanu).

Predvsem tisti glasbeniki (večinoma gre za harmonikarje), ki so se igranja naučili še v primarni domovini,³⁷ pred emigracijo v Ameriko, so bili vsaj sprva bližje načinu izvajanja in repertoarju, ki so ga na Slovenskem poznali v ruralnih okoljih, od koder so izseljenci večinoma tudi izhajali. Ker pa so snemali tržno naravnano glasbo, so morali slediti drugačnemu in hitro spreminjajočemu se okusu poslušalcev. Ljudsko izročilo, ki je prišlo s Slovenci iz primarne domovine, se je vse bolj začelo prepletati z elementi ameriške popularne glasbe (country, jazz). Z razvojem nove popularnoglasbene zvrsti – polka glasbe, ki je nastala z združevanjem elementov slovenske ljudske in ameriške popularne glasbe, so v svoje skladbe začeli dodajati okraske, besedilo in tudi glasbila, ki v slovenskem prostoru takrat niso bila navzoča, temveč so jih prevzeli iz ameriške glasbe (npr. bendžo). Sčasoma sta se od raznolikega nabora ljudskih plesnih tipov ohranila predvsem polka in valček s prepoznavnima dvo- in tridobnim metrumom in ritmičnim obrazcem; oznake teh plesnih tipov so ostale zapisane tudi v naslovih skladb na labelah.

35 Harmonika je del inštrumentalne tradicije v slovenskem prostoru od druge polovice devetnajstega stoletja, na začetku dvajsetega stoletja pa je začela zamenjevati druga glasbila in postala prevladujoče glasbilo v spremljavi za ljudske plesne prakse. Tako kot na gramofonskih ploščah, je tudi na področju ljudske glasbe nastopala bodisi kot solistično glasbilo (tovrstni posnetki so v zvočnem arhivu Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta med najštevilnejšimi) bodisi v inštrumentalnih zasedbah.

36 Mojca Kovačič, »V deželi harmonike – nacionalizacija harmonike v slovenskem kontekstu,« v *Venček domačih: Predmeti, Slovincem sveti*, ur. Jernej Mlekuž (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2015), 93.

37 Med njimi so bili denimo Frank Lovšin, Louis Špehek in domnevno tudi Matt Hoyer.

Ameriški Slovenci so konstrukt slovenske instrumentalne ljudske glasbe, sestavljen iz ljudskoglasbenih praks in omenjenih sprememb, ki so jih prinesli popularnoglasbeni žanri, sprejeli kot slovensko »domačo« glasbo. Glasbo, posneto na ploščah v slovenskem oziroma evropskem prostoru, so Slovenci prav tako vzeli za svojo, vendar pri tej nacionalne identifikacije niso tako poudarjene kot pri glasbi, ki so jo posneli izseljenci in je imela posebno simbolno sporočilnost. Plošče, ki so jih posneli Slovenci v Ameriki, pa niso soustvarjale le imaginacije slovenskega glasbenega prostora v Ameriki, temveč so »ustvarjale tudi transnacionalne povezave in celo povratno vplivale na glasbeno okolje v Sloveniji.«³⁸ Številni posnetki, nastali v Ameriki, so bili namreč ponatisnjeni v Evropi in prodajani na slovenskemu tržišču, redno pa so jih predvajali tudi na radiu; domnevamo lahko, da so torej ti posnetki vsaj delno vplivali tudi na glasbeni okus in ljudskoglasbene prakse tistega časa na Slovenskem.³⁹

Podoba instrumentalne ljudske glasbe na Radiu Ljubljana

O glasbi na Radiu Ljubljana v obdobju med svetovnjima vojnama je znanega manj kot o glasbi na gramofonskih ploščah z 78 o/min. Posnetkov iz obravnavanega obdobja namreč ni na voljo, saj so glasbeniki na radiu v tem času nastopali v živo. O predvajani glasbi lahko sklepamo na podlagi ohranjenih radijskih sporedov, ki vsebujejo podatke o izvajalcih in deloma o repertoarju.

Glasbeni program je sicer predstavljal skupno 60 % programa.⁴⁰ V letu 1929 je radijski program kategoriji »narodna glasba« namenil 95 ur, kar je znašalo 4 % vsega programa, do leta 1940 pa se je s povečanjem števila ur oddajanja programa povečalo tudi število ur »narodne glasbe« na 260, kar je ustrezalo 8 % programa.⁴¹

Poleg radijskega orkestra, ki je igral popularno in umetnostno glasbo, so iz radijskega studia prenašali nastope gostujočih glasbenikov. Med temi so bili tudi glasbeniki s področja ljudske glasbe; pogosti gostje so bili harmonikarji, slišati je bilo tudi ustno harmoniko, citre in tamburaške zборе ter »razne godbe na pihala kot vojaška godba, dalje godba 'Sloge', 'Zarje', 'Sokola' in nekaj podeželskih godb.«⁴² V prvem letu oddajanja je na Radiu Ljubljana npr. zaigrala znana godčevska zasedba Mihovi godci z Ojstrega vrha nad Železniki v sestavi dveh klarinetov, trobente, harmonike in baritona.⁴³ Po prvem nastopu harmonikarja Avgusta Stanka leta 1930, »pravega ljudskega vižarja,« kot ga je označil

38 D. Kunej, »Gramofonske plošče,« 167.

39 Prav tam.

40 Brojan, *Začetki radia na Slovenskem*, 52.

41 *Radio Ljubljana* 10, št. 46 (1938): 8; Bezljaj Krevcl, *Halo, Radio Ljubljana!*, 85.

42 *Radio Ljubljana* 5, št. 44 (1933): 2.

43 Igor Cvetko, *Zvoki Slovenije: Od ljudskih godcev do Avsenikov*, razstava, 22. november 2007–september 2008 (Ljubljana: Slovenski etnografski muzej, 2007), 42.

France Marolt,⁴⁴ je ta postal redni glasbeni gost in »skoraj ni bilo oddaje, v kateri Stanko ne bi 'v živo' zaigral vsaj nekaj skladb.«⁴⁵ Ta glasba je bila navzoča tudi v drugih, neglasbenih oddajah:

Te (komične) nastope sta večinoma spremljala glasba in petje. Nekateri se še spominjajo nastopa pevke ljudskih pesmi Lovšetove, nastopov Mirka Jelačina, na harmoniko pa je vsa leta igral Avgust Stanko. Delež ljudske glasbe na radiu Ljubljana je bil v tem obdobju [v drugi polovici tridesetih let] precej velik, saj je povezovala vesele nastope radijskih humoristov.⁴⁶

Radio je večkrat prenašal tekmovanja instrumentalistov, predvsem harmonikarjev. S tovrstnimi prenosi so lahko spodbujali glasbenike k igranju harmonike in javnem predstavljanju. Harmonika je imela, tako kot na gramofonskih ploščah, tudi na radiu posebno mesto. V ohranjenem zapisu besedila, ki je bilo prebrano v oddaji ob drugi obletnici radia in stoletnici nastanka harmonike, je med drugim zapisano:

Instrument, ki ga ogromna večina naših poslušalcev tako strastno rada posluša – naša harmonika, je pravzaprav že mimo stoletnice svojega nastanka. [...] Na omejenem prostoru ne moremo orisati razvoja tega instrumenta, ki je tudi pri nas našel nekako svojo domovino in postal skorajda naš narodni instrument.⁴⁷

Ob ugotovitvi, da je harmonika doživela preporod v pomenu prodora »iz zakotnih krčem v sijaj in blesek jazz orkestrrov,«⁴⁸ pa je ostala nespremenjena

simpatija najširših krogov za ta res ljudski instrument. Prav je zato, da se spomnimo njegove stoletnice in pri tem tudi s ponosom ugotovimo, da imamo Slovenci svoje harmonikarje virtuozne. Naš radio je ponesel njih igro širom sveta in številna priznanja so za to došla postaji od povsod.⁴⁹

V anketi ob prvi obletnici delovanja radia, v kateri je uredništvo poizvedovalo o zadovoljstvu poslušalcev glede na posamezne glasbene kategorije, so bila med glasbili izpostavljena harmonika, citre in tamburice.⁵⁰ Odstotek poslušal-

44 Prav tam, 44.

45 Prav tam.

46 Brojan, *Začetki radia na Slovenskem*, 77. Glasbeni vložki v teh oddajah morda niso bili zajeti v statistiko, po kateri je bilo »narodne glasbe« nekaj več kot 10 % vse glasbe.

47 Prav tam, 55.

48 Prav tam.

49 Prav tam.

50 *Radio Ljubljana* 1, št. 21 (1929): 1.

cev, zadovoljnih s predvajanjem omenjenih glasbil, je bil podoben kot pri drugih glasbenih kategorijah (tj. reproducirani glasbi, prenosih cerkvene glasbe, zborovskem petju, solističnih nastopih, operi in opereti ter glasbi radijskega orkestra), okoli 90 %. Nastopi glasbenikov in zasedb so bili občasno pospremljeni z oznakama domača ali narodna glasba, ki sta veljali za sopomenki ljudski glasbi. Repertoar, ki so ga igrali, pa je bil pogosto sestavljen iz ljudskih melodij (tako plesnih melodij kot priredb ljudskih pesmi za instrumentalno zasedbo) in avtorskih skladb s področja umetnostne glasbe.

Navajam nekaj primerov napovedanih nastopov glasbenikov s področja ljudske glasbe v sporedu tednika *Radio Ljubljana*:

Nedelja, 5. marec 1933:

*Koncert pevskega in tamburaškega odseka obrtnih vajencev in vajenk: [...] Tamburaški zbor: Valček (Waldteufel), Pridi Gorenje[c], (Narodna), Usoda mornarja, Koračnica, Valček.*⁵¹

Nedelja, 3. februar 1935:

*Duo-koncert ustne harmonike (orgelce), izvajata Anton Pišek in France Petan: Na planincah – En hribček bom kupil – Barčica – Sem deklica mlada vesela – Pa sem rajtov študiraj [študirat] – Pa tista bo moja – Dekle zakaj tajiš – Hribčki ponižajte se – Ko psi zalajal [zalajajo] – Vsi so prihajali – Lipa zelenela je – Glejte že solnce zahaja – Polje. Vmes poje kuplete g. Bajde.*⁵²

Petek, 7. oktober 1938:

*Orglice in harmonika (gg. Fr. Petan in A. Stanko): Delaj dekle pušelj (orglice solo). Bledi mesec. Megla iz jezera. Lepo je spomlad živeti. Cej so tiste stezice. Pridi Gorenje[c]. Al me boš kaj rada imela, (solo orglice). Ko sem k njej pršov (solo orglice). V davnih starih časih. Kaj mi nuca planinca. Pastirček. Lipa zelenela je. Večerni zvon. Rože je na vrtu plela (orglice solo).*⁵³

Nedelja, 6. november 1938:

*Kmečki trio: Gregorc: Svojim prijateljem, koračnica. Kjer narcise cveto, valček. Janezek, polka. Zvedel sem nekaj novega, valček. Kranjska gora, koračnica. Na Gorenjskem je fletno, mazurka. Kmečka obcet, polka. Za dobro voljo, koračnica.*⁵⁴

51 *Radio Ljubljana* 5, št. 10 (1933): 118.

52 *Radio Ljubljana* 7, št. 5 (1935): 9.

53 *Radio Ljubljana* 10, št. 41 (1938): 13.

54 *Radio Ljubljana* 10, št. 46 (1938): 9.

Petek, 7. oktobra

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11.00: Šolska ura: V Carigradu; predav. in recit., (vodi gđc. J. Šušteršič).

12.00: Iz naših logov in gajev (plošče): Juhe, pojedmo v Skufeče (sekstet iz Brnce). Moja ljubca mi je pošto posvava (isti). Triglavska koračnica (tambur. ork.). V hribih se dela dan (isti). Jaz pa no kajžico imam (sekstet iz Brnce). Je na Dravci meglica (Akad. p. kvintet). Pleničke je prala (isti). Sem šel čez gmajnico (isti). Volarič: Otožnost (M. Rus). Jenko: Dve utvi (isti). Savin: Skala v Savinji (V. Janko). Ipavec: Ti črna ciganka Marija (isti.)

12.45: Poročila.

13.00: Napovedi.

13.20 Opoldanski koncert Radijskega

orkestra: Thomas: Mignon, uvertura. Flotow: Marta, fantazija. Kalman: Cirkuška princesa, potpuri.

14.00: Napovedi.

18.00: Orglice in harmonika (gg. Fr. Petan in A. Stanko): Delaj dekle pušeljce (orglice solo). Bledi mesec. Megla iz jezera. Lepo je spomlad živet. Cej so tiste stezice. Pridi Gorenjci. Al me boš kaj rada imela. (solo orglice). Ko sem k njej pršov (solo orglice). V davnih starih časih. Kaj mi nuca planinca. Pastirček. Lipa zelenela je. Večerni zvon. Rože je na vrtu plela (orglice solo).

18.40: Prosvetni spored prihodnjega leta (g. V. Zor).

19.00: Napovedi, poročila.

19.30: Nacionalna ura.

20.00: Lahkih nog naokrog (plošč):

— 13

Slika 3: Odlomek iz sporeda Radia Ljubljana, ki napoveduje nastop glasbenikov Franceta Petana in Avgusta Stanka v petek, 7. oktobra 1938.⁵⁵

Ob izpostavljanju določenih glasbil in zasedb, ki so dobile mesto v radijskem programu, ter izboru glasbenikov, ki so veljali za reprezentativne, se je ustvarjala javna podoba ljudske glasbe, ki ni bila nujno enaka tisti, ki so jo dokumentirali raziskovalci na terenu. Med inštrumentalnimi zasedbami, ki so bile dokumentirane na terenu, je opaznejša raznolikost glasbil, pri nekaterih inštrumentalnih zasedbah pa tudi drugačen repertoar (repertoar tamburaških zborov, ki so nastopili na radiu, je npr. bližje umetnostni glasbi kot ljudskoglasbenim praksam, ki so jih dokumentirali raziskovalci). V radijskem sporedu so med glasbili največkrat navedeni tamburaški zbori, citre, godbe, harmonika in ustna harmonika; zadnji dve pogosto v duetu. Nekateri so bili redni glasbeni gostje, nekateri so morda nastopili le enkrat; domnevam, da je imela poleg kvalitetne izvedbe nekaj vpliva tudi mobilnost nastopajočih in so večkrat nastopili tisti iz manj oddaljenih krajev.⁵⁶ Marsikateri od nastopajočih glasbenikov so nastopali tako na radiu kot v kontekstu ljudskoglasbenih praks, uredništvo radijskega programa pa je lahko odločalo, koga so povabili k igranju v živo. Člani uredništva so prihajali iz vrst izobražencev, kar je verjetno vplivalo na razumevanje in izbor ljudske (»narodne«) glasbe. Ker je bilo predvsem za poslušalce v mestih predvajanje izbranih ljudskoglasbenih praks edini stik s to zvrstjo, so ta konstrukt tudi sprejeli.

55 *Radio Ljubljana* 10, št. 4 (1938): 13.

56 V sporedu je le izjemoma navedeno, od kod prihajajo nastopajoči glasbeniki. Redek primer je napoved t. i. ohcetne godbe Magistrov izpod Šmarne gore, ki so bili glasbeni gostje v pustnem času. *Radio Ljubljana* 5, št. 2 (1933): 16.

Preplet dveh zvočnih medijev: gramofonske plošče v radijskem prenosu

Oba zvočna medija sta predvsem v tridesetih letih sobivala in se v navadah poslušalcev prepletala. Iz radijskih sporedov lahko razberemo, da je t. i. reproducirana glasba zavzemala pomemben delež programa, v prvih letih oddajanja okoli 20 %. Na radiu so predvajali gramofonske plošče z različno vsebino,⁵⁷ med drugim tudi glasbo, povezano z ljudskim izročilom, ki so jo posneli Slovenci doma in v tujini. Posnetki npr. Hoyer tria, ki velja za enega od znanilcev polka glasbe, so bili redno na sporedu. Ali je predvajanje gramofonskih plošč na radiu spodbudilo poslušalce k nakupu le-teh, mi ni znano, je pa možno, da so si jih poslušalci želeli zavrteti tudi doma, z ozirom na to, da se je pri radijskem predvajanju izgubilo nekaj kvalitete. Četudi je bilo z reproducirano glasbo v anketi Radia Ljubljana zadovoljnih 92 % poslušalcev, pa je zaslediti tudi kritike. Neznane avtorja⁵⁸ prispevka, naslovljenega »Vprašanje slovenskih plošč,« je zmotila zlasti odvisnost od gramofonskih plošč tujih podjetij, saj slovenske produkcije v času njegovega pisanja še ni bilo.

Da inozemske tvrdke pač nimajo ne vpogleda v naše razmere, ne kakšnega posebnega smisla za estetsko vrednost posameznih posnetkov, bo pač razumljivo. [...] Da pa prvovrstne stvari niso poceni in da »gredo« raje slabe stvari ('kič') kot pa dobre, je tudi jasno. Pri današnjem resnično še nezadostnem številu vsaj približno odgovarjajočih plošč pa je razumljivo tudi to, da 'gre' prilično vse. In rezultat tega je, da je stanje slovenske gramofonske in s tem naše radijske reproducirane glasbe nezadovoljivo.⁵⁹

Kaj so domači poslušalci menili o glasbi, ki je bila predmet kritike – šlo je predvsem za plošče izseljencev, ki so bile posnete v Ameriki in priljubljene med tamkajšnjimi poslušalci – ni znano, saj so bile tudi v anketi v razdelek reproducirana glasba vključene vse predvajane gramofonske plošče, torej tudi tiste z umetnostno in popularno glasbo, ki je bila med ljudmi precej priljubljena. Verjetno so bili odzivi mešani, saj avtor omenjene kritike v nadaljevanju piše, da se nekateri zgražajo, predvsem nad pevci in njihovo izgovorjavo slovenskih besedil, drugi pa v tem uživajo. Leta 1935 so izdelovalci gramofonskih plošč določili visoke letne pavšale, ki bi jih morale za dovoljenje predvajanja plošč plačati uprave radijskih postaj, zato se je marsikatera radijska postaja namesto kupovanja tujih usmerila v produkcijo lastnih plošč.⁶⁰ Istega leta je neznani

57 V sporedu ni vedno navedeno, katere gramofonske plošče bodo predvajane. Pogosto so označene le kot reproducirana glasba, plošče ipd.

58 Rebeka Kunej meni, da bi lahko šlo za Franceta Marolta, ob upoštevanju dejstev, da je bil v letih po nastanku tega besedila sodelavec Radia Ljubljana, ter da je v svojih prizadevanjih večkrat prirejal ljudsko glasbo in popravljal terenske zapise. R. Kunej, »Stare gramofonske plošče,« 126.

59 *Radio Ljubljana* 5, št. 5 (1933): 193.

60 Bezlaj Krevcl, *Halo, tu Radio Ljubljana!*, 40.

avtor tako razmišljal o odnosu med obema medijema in ponovnem vzponu pomena gramofonskih plošč:

V radiu je s kvalitetno glasbo tako kakor – pazite, prosim! – z radijem: da ga pridobiš en gram, porabiš nekaj ton razne rude. [...] Čez dalje bolj se pojavlja gramofon kot sveža oaza, kot pribežališče, kjer je ljubitelj glasbe sam zase in doma. Tisoči in tisoči radijskih poslušavcev, ki jih je glasba prevzela, se bodo lepega dne zatekli h gramofonu! To bo neizogibno. Če si danes še pomišljajo, jih plaši zgolj še – strošek. Gramofon pa se ne uveljavlja na škodo radija, kakor se je radio svoj čas na škodo gramofona. Geslo prihajajočega časa je namreč: Gramofon in radio ali pa obratno, kakor hočete.⁶¹

Gramofon in radio sta, kot je predvideval avtor navedenega prispevka, sočasno obstajala kot enakovredna zvočna medija tudi v prihodnje. Tako je bilo vse do konca osemdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja, ko so gramofon in gramofonske plošče (format plošče z 78 o/min je sicer leta 1948 prepustil svoje mesto long play (LP) plošči) nadomestili sodobnejše naprave in zvočni nosilci.

Vpliv reprezentacije instrumentalne ljudske glasbe v medijih na ljudskoglasbene prakse

Zvočni mediji, ki so z uredniško politiko in sledenjem novim trendom razširjali svoj konstrukt ljudske glasbe, so močno vplivali na ljudskoglasbene prakse: »Naprerek je v slovenske vasi prinesel tudi radio in v času med vojnama je bil ta dosegljiv v večini vasi. Mnoge muzikante so prestrašili visoki tehnični dosežki [...], ki jih posredujejo množična občila.«⁶² Tako poslušalci kot glasbeniki (godci)⁶³ so prvič prišli v stik z glasbo, ki ni bila le del njihovega okolja. S pomočjo radija in gramofonskih plošč so spoznali slovensko in tujo glasbeno produkcijo popularne in umetnostne glasbe, ki dotlej ni prišla v njihovo kulturno okolje. Spoznavanje lokalnih in tujih novitet jim je odprlo nove glasbene perspektive, ki so se kmalu začele odražati v praksi. Godci so se začeli z gledovati glasbi, ki so jo spoznali prek medijev, v svoj repertoar pa so vključili nove skladbe in slogovne značilnosti.

61 *Radio Ljubljana* 7, št. 5 (1935): 4.

62 Mira Omerzel - Terlep, »Zvočna identiteta slovenstva včeraj in danes,« v *Zgodovinske vzporednice slovenske in hrvaške etnologije*, ur. Ingrid Slavec in Tatjana Dolžan (Ljubljana: Slovensko etnološko društvo, 1988), 95. Navedba, da je bil radio v času med svetovnima vojnama dosegljiv v večini vasi, je verjetno nekoliko pretirana, če upoštevam, da je bila prej omenjena »bela lisa« brez radijskega sprejema na zahodnem delu slovenskega prostora, podobno je bilo npr. v Prekmurju in Tratah, ki ju je radijski sprejem dosegel v drugi polovici dvajsetega stoletja, in še kje. Glej Muršič, *Trate vaše in naše mladosti*.

63 Glasbeniki tudi pred prihodom zvočnih medijev niso bili omejeni le na vplive svojega ožjega okoliša, saj so nekateri potovali in nastopali na širšem območju, kjer so se seznanili z glasbo drugih glasbenikov. Zvočni mediji so jim vseeno lahko ponudili širši nabor zvrsti (predvsem popularne in umetnostne glasbe) iz različnih območij, tudi najbolj oddaljenih.

Elektronski mediji niso zelo vplivali le na glasbeni okus navadnih poslušalcev (čeprav so bili ti prepričani, da po radiu še vedno poslušajo domačo muziko), temveč tudi na repertoar domačih godcev in muzikantov. Domači godci so precej hitro začeli posnemati skladbe, ki so jih slišali po radiu.⁶⁴

V kolikor je med ljudskimi godci prenos glasbenega znanja prej potekal preko neposrednega poslušanja žive izvedbe, ta s pojavom predvajane glasbe ni bila več nujna za učenje novega repertoarja in novih izvajalskih načinov. Možnost večkratnega poslušanja je godcem olajšala in omogočila natančnejše posnemanje slišane. Obenem pa je ta možnost skupaj z željo čim bolj se približati slišnemu zmanjšala lastno improvizacijo in spreminjanje slišane, kar je bila posledica pomanjkljivega spomina. Ker so ljudje poslušali določen nabor glasbe, ki so ga ponujale gramofonske plošče in radio, je prišlo tudi do zmanjšanja raznolikosti repertoarja in izvajalskih načinov med različnimi godci. Igor Cvetko ugotavlja, da je radio »svojim poslušalcem želel predvajati čim bolj različno glasbo, s čimer je bistveno prispeval k poenotenju prej raznolikega kulturnega prostora, po drugi strani pa je skomercializiral glasbeno ponudbo in pasiviziral ljudi, da so se začeli iz prej aktivnih udeležencev spreminjati v poslušalce.«⁶⁵

Množični mediji, kot so gramofonske plošče in radio, so vplivali na godce še v enem pogledu: ker so bile za godce pomemben prostor nastopanja gostilne, še posebej ob osebnih in drugih praznikih in družabnostih, gostilničarji pa so bili tudi med prvimi in najpomembnejšimi odjemalci gramofonskih plošč, so slednje začele jemati delo in zaslužek godcem. Za nakup plošče je bilo potrebno plačati le enkrat, vrteli pa so jih lahko večkrat, medtem ko je bilo godcem potrebno plačati za vsak nastop. Podobne posledice za godce je imel radio:

Pred pustom je naša postaja dobila dolgo vrsto prošenj naših gostilničarjev, v katerih prosijo, naj postaja za predpust in zlasti za pusta poskrbi za obilno plesno glasbo, kriza se torej pozna v tem, da si vsakdo hoče prihraniti stroške za godce. A kaj porečejo godci?⁶⁶

To je pomenilo tudi, da so ljudje namesto na živo izvajano plesno glasbo, ki se je prav tako spreminjala in sledila okusu občinstva, vendar z drugačnim tempom, plesali na glasbo, ki sta jo kot konstrukt ljudske glasbe ponujala radio in gramofon. Mediji so le tehnološki posrednik glasbe in ne omogočajo

64 Muršič, *Trate vaše in naše mladosti*, 159. Navedeni citat se sicer nanaša na obdobje po drugi svetovni vojni, vendar menim, da ga vsebinsko lahko navežem tudi na zgodnejše obdobje; tako glasbeniki kot poslušalci so bili vedno in so še danes dovtetni za novosti, ki jih spoznajo prek množičnih medijev.

65 Cvetko, *Zvoki Slovenije*, 42.

66 *Radio Ljubljana* 5, št. 11 (1933): 122.

dvosmerne komunikacije med poslušalci in glasbeniki, ki je pri živi izvedbi plesne glasbe ključnega pomena, zato so se morali plesalci prilagoditi ritmu, hitrosti, obliki in trajanju predvajane glasbe in ne obratno. Podoba ljudske glasbe, ki so jo soustvarili in ponujali množični mediji, je postala precej priljubljena med ljudmi. Ti so svojo priljubljeno glasbo zahtevali tudi od godcev, zato so se ji morali začeti približevati tudi oni. To je posledično privedlo do večje homogenosti glasbenega okusa, glasbenih značilnosti in repertoarja, ki je bil le-temu podrejen. Raziskovalci ljudskoglasbenih praks so imeli zato do množičnih medijev in popularnoglasbenih žanrov negativen odnos, češ da ne le spreminjajo, ampak tudi razvrednotijo ljudske izvajalske prakse; dojemali so jih kot odmik od ljudske glasbe in s tem svojega raziskovalnega področja.⁶⁷ Glasbeniki pa so novosti vzeli kot razširitev svojega obstoječega repertoarja. Tako radio kot gramofonske plošče so pomagale nekaterim glasbenikom pri uveljavitvi in ustvarile prave zvezdnike, kot so bili npr. harmonikarja Avgust Stanko in Matt Hoyer ter pevci Fantje na vasi.⁶⁸ Posledično je redna zastopanost v množičnih medijih glasbenikom zagotavljala tudi večje povpraševanje po nastopih na plesnih dogodkih, koncertih in drugih prireditvah.

Zaključek

Množični mediji, kot so gramofonske plošče in radio, so prinesli pomembne spremembe načina poslušanja in percepcije glasbe. Glasba ni bila več omejena na prostor in čas, poslušalci so jo lahko poslušali sami ali v družbi. Predvajana glasba je dosegla širši krog poslušalcev kot dotlej, ko so bili glasbeniki omejeni na neposredno navzoče udeležence družabnega dogodka; hitreje kot dotlej je glasba lahko prehajala regije, države in tudi kontinente. Ker so svojo glasbo na radiu in ploščah predstavljali tudi glasbeniki s področja ljudske glasbe, se je s tem ustvarjala tudi javna podoba »slovenske ljudske glasbe.« Ta podoba je dosegla poslušalce tako urbanih kot (vsaj v določeni meri) ruralnih območij. Predvsem prvi, ki sicer niso imeli veliko stika z ljudskoglasbenimi praksami ruralnih področij, so to podobo sprejeli kot »pravo« ljudsko glasbo.

Omenjena medija sta pripomogla tudi k razvoju novih popularnoglasbenih žanrov, npr. polka glasbe v Ameriki, ki so jo tam živeči Slovenci prepoznali kot svojo, »domačo« (ljudsko) glasbo. Temeljila je na ljudskoglasbenih praksah, ki so jih izseljenci prinesli s seboj, hkrati pa vključevala nekatere novosti kot npr. vokalno-instrumentalne izvedbe in ritmične in melodične okraske. Izmed različnih plesnih tipov s področja ljudske glasbe sta sčasoma prevladala valček in polka. Vzpostavila se je dominacija določenih glasbil, najbolj harmonike,

67 Glej npr. Omerzel - Terlep, »Zvočna identiteta slovenstva,« in Julijan Strajnar, »Ljudska glasba v radijskem programu,« *Glasnik Slovenskega etnografskega društva* 13, št. 4 (1972).

68 Omenjeni glasbeniki so se uveljavili in dosegli močno priljubljenost v času med svetovnima vojnima.

ki je bila – bodisi samostojno bodisi v instrumentalni zasedbi – največkrat izpostavljena v povezavi s kulturnimi identifikacijami. Tudi v instrumentalnih zasedbah se je postopno standardizirala vključenost določenih glasbil, kot so bili npr. klarinet, kitara, trobenta, v Ameriki tudi bendžo. Standardizacija glasbil in glasbenih značilnosti izvajanja je privedla do večje homogenosti glasbenega okusa poslušalcev, repertoarja in glasbene izvedbe glasbenikov ter veljave in splošne priljubljenosti določenih glasbil, posebej (diatonične) harmonike. Interpretacija in improvizacija glasbe nista bili več toliko v domeni glasbenika, pač pa se je ta vse bolj prilagajal dominantni različici izvajanja.

Podoba ljudske glasbe, konstruirana skozi razvoj novih popularnoglasbenih žanrov, je postala priljubljena v širokem krogu poslušalcev. Ljudski godci, ki so svojo glasbeno izvedbo vselej prilagajali željam poslušalcev oziroma plesalcev, so svoj repertoar prilagodili glasbenemu okusu. Da bi ugodili novim estetskim kriterijem, ki jih je postavila predvajana glasba, so začeli vanj vključevati elemente v slogu novih zvrsti, v katerih sta se prepletali popularna in ljudska glasba. Tako na primeru polka glasbe v Ameriki kot po drugi svetovni vojni aktualne narodnozabavne glasbe v Sloveniji še danes lahko ugotavljamo, da ju ljudje prepoznavajo kot slovensko in kot »domačo« glasbo (izraza domača in narodna glasba imata med ljudmi večkrat enak pomen kot ljudska glasba). Popularnoglasbeni žanri, ki so nastali na temeljih ljudske glasbe, so tudi prevzeli funkcijo in prostor instrumentalne ljudske glasbe, tj. veselice, poroke, praznovanja in druge družabnosti, ki vključujejo ples. Javna podoba instrumentalnih ljudskoglasbenih praks je bila zgrajena tudi ali predvsem po zaslugi množičnih medijev. Slednji so v času med svetovnima vojnama pomembno prispevali k popularizaciji in komercializaciji instrumentalne ljudske glasbe,⁶⁹ ki se je vsebinsko in funkcijsko nadaljevala in razmahnila po drugi svetovni vojni z narodnozabavno glasbo.

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SUMMARY

Representations of Instrumental Traditional Music in Slovenian Audio Mass Media in the Period Between the Two World Wars

The twentieth century was a time of rapid development of new technologies, mass media, and related social changes. In the period between the two World Wars, audio media spread widely among the people, first the gramophone and 78 rpm gramophone records, followed by the radio. New media has changed music listening practices and music perception. A new category of music was introduced – the so-called played music – which was no longer limited to space and time. The played music reached a significantly wider circle of listeners than before when musicians were limited to the directly present participants of the music event; it was able to cross regions, countries, and even continents faster than before. As musicians from the field of traditional music also presented their music on the radio and records, the construct of “Slovenian traditional music” was built.

The music presented in the mass media became a representation of all instrumental traditional music. Its public image, which was co-created and spread by the mass media and which people identified as Slovenian and traditional, was accessible to all who could access it through technological intermediaries, including those who had not had direct contact with traditional music before. Listeners in urban areas in particular, who did not have any contact with the traditional music practices of rural areas, accepted this image as traditional music. Audio media had a significant impact on the less diversity of the repertoire, the perception of music, and musical taste.

These media have also contributed to the development of new popular music genres, e.g. polka music in America in the period between the two World Wars, which Slovenes living there recognized as “genuine” Slovenian (traditional) music. It was based on the folk tradition that the emigrants brought with them, and at the same time included some novelties, such as vocal-instrumental performances, melodic ornaments, and standardized rhythmic patterns, mostly derived from polka and waltz. The standardization of musical instruments, rhythm, meter, and also the tempo of performance has led to the greater homogeneity of the musical taste of listeners, musical characteristics, repertoire and musical performance of musicians, and the validity and general popularity of certain instruments, especially (diatonic) accordion.

The image of traditional music, constructed with the help of new popular music genres, has become popular with a wide circle of listeners. Traditional musicians, whose musical performance is subordinated to the wishes of the listeners, have adapted their repertoire to the musical taste. To meet the new aesthetic criteria set by the played music, they began to include elements in the style of new genres, in which popular and traditional music were intertwined. Both in the case of the polka music in America and pop-folk music in Slovenia after the Second World War can still be seen today that people recognize them as Slovenian and as traditional (“domestic”) music. This image was also built thanks to the mass media, which in the period between the two World Wars significantly contributed to the popularization and commercialization of Slovenian traditional music.

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From a Yugoslav to a Balkan Star and Back: Lepa Brena's Public Figure in Transition

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ABSTRACT

In this article, I deal with the public figure of the singer Lepa Brena in the context of the cultural and music politics in socialist Yugoslavia and in the war and post-war times, by focusing on her transition from a "genuine" Yugoslav star, through the period in which the Yugoslav label was not desirable, to the singer's recent transformations in which she has been involved in the process of commodifying Yugonostalgia for repositioning her public figure in a new context.

Keywords: Yugoslav popular music, politics of music, Lepa Brena, Yugonostalgia

IZVLEČEK

V tem članku obravnavam javno podobo pevke Lepe Brene v kontekstu kulturne in glasbene politike v socialistični Jugoslaviji med vojno in po njej, pri čemer se osredotočim na njen prehod od »pristine« jugoslovanske zvezde, v obdobju, ko oznaka »jugoslovanski« ni bila zaželena, do pevkinih nedavnih preobrazb, ki so se odvijale v procesu komodifikacije jugonostalgije, znotraj katerega je svojo javno podobo umestila v nov kontekst.

Ključne besede: jugoslovanska zabavna glasba, politika glasbe, Lepa Brena, jugonostalgija

Introduction

In this article I deal with a singer who is recognized as one of the legends of Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav popular culture – Lepa Brena (the Beautiful Brena). Her political potential has been constructed in the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav public sphere on the basis of her national and social background and her official labeling, firstly as a typical Yugoslav star and symbol of the socialist era, and secondly as a Balkan star. In order to identify the contextual framework for the interpretation of her public figure as a relevant part of the current cultural scene in the post-Yugoslav spaces, it is essential to point out the political and affective potential of Yugoslav popular music after the dissolution of Yugoslavia and Brena's position in this context.¹

As discussed elsewhere, various practises of Yugoslav folk music did not disappear after the dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Rather, music has become a means of redefining borders in the post-Yugoslav context.² It could trigger new discussions about the contested past or a place for consolidation and new beginnings, both in concert venues and in virtual spaces such as forums, social media, and the like. After the Yugoslav wars, listening to Yugoslav popular music was understood as a choice charged with political meaning, a symptom of Yugonostalgia, and a statement in the context of nationalist discourses in post-Yugoslav states. Even though the music market has been redefined and reshaped after the wars, it can still be a platform where the political and affective potential of Yugoslav music, as well as Yugoslav music stars, can provoke emotional reactions from the audience and a specific (pro- or contra-Yugoslav) reception from the public. It is often concluded that although Yugoslavia has ceased to exist and is often labelled as “departed”³ and “late”,⁴ popular culture is seen as its cultural heritage and as something that is still somehow “alive”. Moreover, Yugoslav popular music shows that the continuity of Yugoslav popular cultures and markets is still relevant. Thus, certain personalities, groups, and even songs remained powerful Yugoslav symbols even after the country's dissolution.

- 1 Yugoslav musical market was divided between pop, rock and roll, and folk music industries, including divergent centres, institutions and recording companies accordingly. Even though there were several different currents in the Yugoslav music scene, and many genres developed during Yugoslav era, by the term “Yugoslav popular music” I here simply refer to the music practices that were popular in the socialist Yugoslavia and are today commonly associated with that country.
- 2 See, for instance, Catherine Baker, *Sounds of the Borderland: Popular Music, War and Nationalism in Croatia Since 1991* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010); Ana Hofman, *Glasba, Politika, Afekt: Novo življenje partizanskih pesmi v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2015); Ana Petrov, *Jugoslovenska muzika bez Jugoslavije: Koncerti kao mesta sećanja* (Beograd: Fakultet za medije i komunikacije, 2016).
- 3 Ante Perković, *Sedma republika: Pop kultura u Yu raspadu* (Beograd and Zagreb: Službeni glasnik and Novi liber, 2011).
- 4 Mitja Velikonja, “Povratak otpisanih: Emancipatorski potencijali jugonostalgije,” in *Zid je mrtav, živeli zidovi: Pad Berlinskog zida i raspad Jugoslavije*, ed. Ivan Čolović (Beograd: XX. vek, 2015), 366–398.

It is from the perspective described above that the discussion of problematic and unproblematic figures should be conducted, including that relating to the public figure of Brena, which has recently undergone a transformation that has provoked new reactions. As is common knowledge, she was born in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Her repertoire is based on so-called newly composed folk music,⁵ and she also sang songs related to Yugoslavia. Public figures from the Yugoslav era have changed since the dissolution of the country in which they made their careers. Some of them take advantage of the fact that Yugoslav popular culture can still be an important element for success in post-Yugoslav markets. Others, however, saw the Yugoslav element as a potential threat to their reputation. Brena went through both of the aforementioned scenarios and initially tried to distance herself from the Yugoslav past. At a time when Yugonostalgia has become one of the trends in post-Yugoslav popular culture, she decided to reposition herself in a new context.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia affected the entire music market, which disintegrated and created a tension between newly formed national musical identities created through the prism of “otherness” – the prism discursively manifested in the division between “us” and “them”.⁶ In the 1990s, musical practices in the divided post-Yugoslav territories were shaped by numerous political measures. Certain genres were associated with official nationalist politics, while others were commonly regarded as supposedly neutral. Moreover, some of the musical activities of artists who came to Serbia (and vice versa) from war-affected areas (Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina) were sometimes seen as provocative, potentially making the concerts risky events. However, the music practices eventually blurred the newly created “borders” between national music practices and markets and became a means to cross them.⁷ It is also important to point out that certain musicians were implicated in different media politics after the disintegration of Yugoslavia due to their ethnicity, place of origin or family affiliation, spoken dialect and the like.⁸

5 Newly composed folk music is a commercial music genre that emerged in the mid-1960s. It was rooted in Yugoslavia's folk music and was developed into a commercially successful genre in the 1970s, while retaining its grassroots, working-class associations with *kafana* (tavern) entertainment. It began to dominate Yugoslav music market in the 1980s. As Nenić points out, the *novokomponovana* (meaning “newly composed”) label was commonly used pejoratively by urban audiences, who sought to distinguish their aspirational middle-class values constructed around *zabavna* – pop and rock music – from the negatively referenced peasant (*seljačko*) connotations frequently ascribed to *novokomponovana* music audiences. Iva Nenić, “My Yuga, My Dearest Flower: The Yugoslav Legacy of Newly Composed Yugoslav Music Revisited,” in *Made in Yugoslavia: Studies in Yugoslav Music*, eds. Danijela Š. Beard and Ljerka V. Rasmussen (London: Routledge, 2020), 133.

6 Baker, *Sounds of the Borderland*, 175.

7 Ana Petrov, “The Songs We Love to Sing and the History We Like to Remember: Tereza Kesovija's Come Back in Serbia,” *Southeastern Europe* 39, no. 2 (2015): 192–214.

8 Catherine Baker, “The Afterlife of Neda Ukraden: Negotiating Space and Memory through Popular Music after the Fall of Yugoslavia, 1990–2008,” in *Music, Politics and Violence*, eds. Susan Fast and Kip Pegley (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2012), 60–82.

All these are essential elements to position Lepa Brena's public figure in the context of cultural and musical politics in socialist Yugoslavia and in the war and post-war period. The issue of Lepa Brena has hardly been discussed in scholarship (partly due to a rather negative labelling of the genre she represents). I will point to how her public figure can be problematized in the Yugoslav and especially in the post-Yugoslav context. In particular, I will focus on her transition from a genuine Yugoslav star, through the period when the Yugoslav label was undesirable, to the singer's recent changes, involving her in the process of commercialising Yugonostalgia in order to reposition her public figure in a new context.

Keeping in mind the mentioned, the article will entail the following problematic sections: constructing Yugoslav diva, neutralising traces of Yugoslavia, and repackaging the residuals of Yugoslavia. The analysis focuses on the publicly available testimonials on and by Lepa Brena that seem to be crucial for the discursive construction of her figure in the public spheres of Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav cultures. Furthermore, when necessary, the analyses of the songs and their receptions are also included.

Constructing Yugoslav Diva

In order to understand the position of her public figure in Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav cultural politics, it is necessary to contextualise the singer against the background of Yugoslav history.

Fahreta Živojinović (*b*Jahić, 1960), known by her stage name Lepa Brena, grew up in Brčko, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and has lived in Belgrade, Serbia, where she began her career, since the 1980s. Brena began singing with a band called Lira Show (later Slatki greh, meaning the Sweet Sin) in 1980, and soon after she and Slatki Greh recorded their first studio album *Čačak, Čačak* (1982). This was the beginning of the period in which she became arguably the most famous singer in the former Yugoslavia. A number of factors accelerated her almost immediate success and fame. Firstly, in the same year that the first album was released, Lepa Brena and her band appeared in the film *Tesna koža* (literally *Tight Skin*, i.e. *Jumped out of Skin*), which soon became one of the most popular Yugoslav films. Secondly, in 1983 they won the Yugoslav selection for the Eurovision Song Contest with the song *Sitnije, Cile, sitnije*,⁹ which was very controversial as it belonged to the aforementioned genre of newly composed folk music, which was highly unusual for a pop contest. Thus, in the first years of her career, Lepa Brena became both highly popular and highly controversial due to her performances, the genre she contributed to, and the quick and colossal success she achieved.

9 The title is a wordplay combining the Italian word for Yes (*si*) and the name of the guy (*Cile*). The first verse opens with "Si, Cile, si".

In the mid-1980s, Brena recorded the song *Živela Jugoslavija* (*Long Live Yugoslavia*), together with another popular folk singer Miroslav Ilić. This was the time when she was perceived as a true Yugoslav star due to her success and widely popular (albeit controversial) genre. Moreover, the song reflected Brena's political stance on Yugoslav unity, which she would represent in the years to come. In the 1980s, it was not uncommon to sing songs about Yugoslavia, but combined with Brena's captivating performances and enormous popularity, she soon became one of the most popular public figures in Yugoslavia, a musician with the highest sales figures, and a figure considered a true Yugoslav star, representing the realisation of the idea of constructing a typical Yugoslav pop figure that would be widely accepted and an equivalent to top Western-oriented star musicians. In the following years, she recorded three films. The Brena Barbie doll was manufactured. She held several records for the number of concerts. She was also a great success in other socialist countries, such as Bulgaria and Romania.¹⁰

In view of what has been said, it is important to point out two aspects of the phenomenon of Lepa Brena. Why was she a typical Yugoslav figure, and why can it be argued that the phenomenon was contrived? The singer attracted so much interest not only because she brought certain innovations to the Yugoslav music scene, but also because her activities coincided with arguably the most fascinating period in Yugoslav history: the peak of Yugoslav cultural production in the 1980s, the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, and its afterlife in the 2000s. This allowed her (and many other public figures from the Yugoslav era) to achieve even greater symbolic potential than they might have had under different circumstances.

One of the reasons why Brena was fascinating in Yugoslavia was that she contributed to a certain genre, which was a mixture of pop and folk. Since the demand and search for a type of music that would be recognised as a "typical" Yugoslav sound characterised the entire Yugoslav era, Yugoslav music was often changed so that each decade in the second half of the twentieth century was specific to certain trends in music policy. Thus, in the 1950s, Yugoslav popular music was generally characterised by imitations and adaptations of Western popular music genres (such as Italian *canzone*, French *chanson*, and German *Schlager*); in the 1960s, rock and roll dominated; in the 1970s, disco influenced the style and repertoire of many pop musicians, while the 1980s brought new wave currents as well as various types of blends of pop and folk sounds. Since pop and especially rock music culture was perceived as an urban phenomenon,

10 Lepa Brena and Slatki Greh held more than 350 concerts yearly and would often hold two concerts in one day. They set a record by holding thirty-one concerts consecutively at Dom Sindikata, and seventeen concerts consecutively at the Sava Center. On 24 July 1990, Brena was lowered with a helicopter at Levski stadium in Sofia, Bulgaria, and held her then-most-attended concert with an audience of more than 90,000 (perhaps even 100,000) people.

while folk was associated with the rural parts of the country, the combination of folk-like melodies and pop sound combined with provocative verses and an often Western-looking outfit and performance, made Brena a unique feature in Yugoslav culture.¹¹

As Yugoslavia underwent a profound transformation from a rural to an urban country after second World War, the entire politics of genre became a complex issue in Yugoslav music politics. At the same time, there was a dichotomy between folk music, which was considered reserved for country people, and pop and especially rock music, which was seen as a kind of “high culture.” There was also a tendency to break down class barriers and create a new typically Yugoslav culture that would represent class unity. From this perspective, Brena had just the right potential to become what Yugoslav culture needed at that time – a unique combination of cultural practises that were previously considered different, but were expected to be united to be a means of overcoming class barriers that were not desired in the socialist country.

Apart from cultural and musical politics in Yugoslavia, her origins, and the specific moment she emerged in Yugoslav culture, Brena obviously contributed to a practice of using (and eventually becoming one of) explicitly Yugoslav symbols, namely recording songs about Yugoslavia and publicly professing to be Yugoslav. One of her biggest hits from the late 1980s is called *Jugoslovenka* (*Yugoslav Woman*), sung with three other singers – Danijel Popović, Vlado Kalember, and Alen Islamović. Since they were from different parts of socialist Yugoslavia and used different dialects of the official Serbo-Croatian language,¹² they gave the song symbolic power in multiple ways (which indeed became evident after the disintegration of Yugoslavia). Furthermore, the video for the song was shot in different parts of Yugoslavia; the verses refer to the relationship between the beauty of Yugoslavia and the woman the song is about; and Yugoslav flags were used abundantly in the song, making it one of Yugoslavia’s unofficial pop anthems.¹³

11 Another similar phenomenon on the Yugoslav scene was the case of the band Bijelo dugme (“White Button”), which also contributed to the context of mixing genres and tendencies, and also soon became one of the Yugoslav symbols, despite the fact that it also was often labelled as problematic and controversial.

12 Croatian pop star Vlado Kalember, Montenegrin pop star Daniel Popović, and Bosnian Muslim rock star Alen Islamović – along with Brena herself, who was born in Bosnia and Herzegovina but lived in Belgrade, Serbia.

13 In the narrative of the song, each of the three men asks Brena different questions, such as: “Where are you from, you beautiful girl? Where are you from, you unknown woman? Where do you dance so freely? What place did you steal the sunshine from? Where did you get these beautiful spring flowers? Where do you drink honey wine, love so sweetly?” Her answer is the chorus, ending with a euphoric “I am Yugoslavian” every time. On the Yugonostalgic potential of the song see, for instance, Jasmina Tumbas, “Yugonostalgia,” *Art Monthly* 425 (2019), accessed February 3, 2020, <https://www.artmonthly.co.uk/magazine/site/issue/april-2019>.

To sum up, Brena's life story, the transition from lower to upper class, her origin, the genre she contributed to, and the actual socio-historical moment when she joined the Yugoslav scene made her one of the typical Yugoslav public figures. Her biography stands for the context of a typical Yugoslav story: the singer's origin from a "typical Yugoslav" family, the standard of living, the fact that she came from a Bosnian working-class family, etc. Moreover, the social context is relevant to make her a typical Yugoslav: she appeared on the Yugoslav stage at one of the most critical moments in the history of socialist Yugoslavia, such as the death of Josip Broz Tito, and at a time when a narrative about the social change that took place in the country after the second World War, namely the migration from the countryside to the cities and the urbanisation process, needed to be refreshed as the country was going through severe social and economic crises. Brena's first hit *Čačak*, *Čačak* is a typical example of the combination of pop and folk genres. It is often interpreted as the result of the emancipation process of the working-class.¹⁴ In the film *Nema problema (No Problem)*, Brena's performance is presented as the choice of the workers. Because she was easily associated with different social, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, contributed to a particular genre that was both very popular and very controversial, and also publicly declared and referred to herself as a Yugoslav, Brena quickly became arguably the most popular figure of the Yugoslav era.

Neutralising Traces of Yugoslavia

As mentioned above, in scholarly contexts Lepa Brena is mainly considered in the context of the discussion of the genre to which she contributed.¹⁵ There are, however, certain analyses of her public figure in a broader cultural context. Indeed, it has been shown that her public figure is a vehicle for an "emotional continuity of the past that derives primarily from sentimental attachments to her music."¹⁶ From this perspective, Lepa Brena's public appearances have been

14 In Brena's hit *Mile voli disko (Mile Loves Disco)*, 1982): the "conventional" world of Serbian peasant Mile meeting the modern discotheque, epitomised in an effort of the Serbian folk accordion to play disco music. What used to be perceived as antagonistic counterparts in modern reality suddenly became non-contradictory in music: mixing urban and rural, contemporary and traditional. And while this music was practiced with its standard themes of love, family, homeliness, and patriotism, it was also possible to interpret it as "a product of acculturation, indicating a process of cultural impoverishment caused by the migration of rural populations to the cities." Ljerka Vidić Rasmussen, "From Source to Commodity: Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia," *Popular Music* 14, no. 2 (1995): 241. Brena's song announced the radical break with the nostalgic pathos of the homeland; the return to "rural" roots was no longer in question.

15 For instance, Milena Dragičević-Šešić, *Neofolk kultura: publika i njene zvezde* (Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 1988).

16 Ana Hofman, "Lepa Brena: Repolitization of Musical Memories on Yugoslavia," *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU*, 60, no.1 (2012): 22.

analysed, among other things, as “strategies of navigation through intersecting discourses of the Yugoslav past” and their perception by the public.¹⁷ Lepa Brena’s association with Yugoslavia is more than clear, as she represented a project of mainstream Yugoslav cultural politics and was the biggest Yugoslav and the first big Balkan star.¹⁸ However, as her statements in the media as well as the research on the subject in the 2000s showed, Brena did not mean to refer to Yugoslavia. Hofman shows, for example, how Brena even tried to “escape her image of the Yugoslav star” during the promotion of the Ex-YU 2009 tour and concerts in Ljubljana, Sarajevo, and Zagreb, Sofia, Timisoara, and Tirana.¹⁹ She tried to avoid talking about socialism and not using terms like socialist or Yugoslavian. During the promotion for the 2009 tour, Brena tried to distance herself from the image of the Yugoslav star, and she rarely expressed any kind of longing for the past. She managed to do this by being careful not to use terms like socialist or Yugoslavian, but more neutral phrases like “earlier times,” “our times,” “old times.” The reference to Yugoslavia was always indirect or non-existent. As Hofman explains, Brena was “particularly careful not to give any reason for her statements to be interpreted as Yugonostalgic, and she also tried to distance herself from any political or committed stance, especially explicit patriotism or nationalism,”²⁰ which was no easy task, given the aforementioned songs with explicit Yugoslav and socialist content. Despite the more than transparent Yugoslav background, she even insisted in interviews in the 2000s that even her song *Jugoslovenka* was only a “love song” and not a patriotic one.²¹ However, even though Brena tried to distance herself from the past in certain interviews and public appearances, especially when she commented on the controversial song, there are some interviews in which she did not want to adapt to the new post-Yugoslav national politics, calling herself neither Serb nor Croat, but still Yugoslav.²² From this perspective, it can be concluded that her position was somewhat ambivalent in the 2000s.

However, Brena was more than just a Yugoslav star even before the end of Yugoslavia. The highlight of her career was probably the spectacular performance at Sofia’s Vasil Levski stadium in 1990: she was brought on stage by helicopter and sang for three hours in front of 100,000 spectators. This event

17 Ibid.

18 I will not go into the details here of what the complex adjective “Balkan” can mean in general musical practice. I use it here only as a discursive label officially applied to Brena’s music and her public figure, often as a label referring to the singer’s larger (or possibly different) role in the public sphere than the Yugoslav one.

19 Ibid., 24.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., 25.

22 “Lepa Brena: Nisam ni Hrvatica ni Srkinja, ja sam Jugoslovenka,” in *IndexHR*, accessed March 1, 2020, <https://www.index.hr/magazin/clanak/lepa-brena-nisam-ni-hrvatica-ni-srkinja-ja-sam-jugoslavenka/412754.aspx>.

also reflected one crucial political moment in Bulgaria: the fall of the “Iron Curtain.” The significance of Brena’s performance in Sofia has been compared to Pink Floyd’s (*The Wall*) concert in Berlin in 1989. The paradox is that Brena’s performances in Yugoslavia were perceived as Eastern and Oriental, while in Bulgaria and other socialist countries this music played the role of liberating sound coming from the West, but spiced with the local flavour of the Balkans. As Donna A. Buchanan shows, “Bulgarians preferred Serbian ethnopop because it was at once more ‘Western’ than anything produced locally, and yet ‘closer to home’.”²³ From this perspective, the transition of the label (both by Brena herself and by the media in the post-Yugoslav context) from the greatest Yugoslav to one of the greatest Balkans star is not such an unexpected step under the circumstances in the 1990s and 2000s, as she was indeed both a Balkan and a Yugoslav phenomenon. Moreover, the transitional processes shaped many careers during this period, especially those of musicians with mixed ethnic backgrounds or who were otherwise considered typically Yugoslav performers, while some were seen as transnational and not so problematic figures.²⁴ By using supposedly more neutral terms such as “region,” “Balkan,” “Western Balkan” or simply “our spaces,” Brena somewhat blurred her relationship to the contested Yugoslav past. In this way, she was able to redefine her position in the new post-Yugoslav societies, where she continued to be popular in all parts of the former Yugoslavia and the diaspora.

One of the reasons why she became exceptionally provocative during the war in Yugoslavia is to be found in one controversial episode. Namely, the media reported that she supported the military forces of the so-called Republika Srpska, one of the entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the early stages of the war in Bosnia and Hercegovina, Lepa Brena appeared dressed in military uniform (which she later claimed to be a “safari suit”) in the company of Bosnian Serb soldiers, causing strong adverse reactions outside Serbia.²⁵ In

23 Donna A. Buchanan, “Bulgarian Ethnopop along the Old Via Militaris: Ottomanism, Orientalism, or Balkan Cosmopolitanism,” in *Balkan Popular Culture and the Ottoman Ecumene: Music, Image, and Regional Political Discourse*, ed. Donna A. Buchanan (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2007), 233. See also: Ewa Mazierska and Zsolt Györi, “Introduction: Crossing National and Regional Borders in Eastern European Popular Music,” in *Eastern European Popular Music in a Transnational Context: Beyond the Borders*, eds. Ewa Mazierska and Zsolt Zsolt (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019), 8.

24 For instance, Đorđe Balašević and Momčilo Bajagić Bajaga were the musicians from the former country who has often been recognized as “transnational” musical figures. Catherine Baker, “The Politics of Performance: Transnationalism and its Limits in Former Yugoslav Popular Music, 1999–2004,” *Ethnopolitics* 5, no. 3 (2006): 275. Furthermore, certain musicians declared that they would never cross newly formed borders after the wars and thus provoked huge reactions when eventually they changed their minds. Petrov, *Jugoslovenska muzika bez Jugoslavije*, 9–40.

25 For dealing with the topic in the newspaper discourses, see, for instance, “Lepa Brena u Brčkom 1994. godine,” in *Otisak.ba*, accessed April 10, 2019, http://www.otisak.ba/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9190:lepa-brena-u-brkom-1994godine-foto&catid=31:bih&Itemid=46.

addition to the mentioned, Brena's political potential was also constructed in the after-war public sphere due to her national and social background (she is from a poor Bosnian family) and her official label as a typical Yugoslav star, even a symbol of the time. She represented a Yugoslav mainstream culture policy project, having been born in Bosnia and Herzegovina, having repertoire based on so-called newly composed folk music (marked as undesirable in Croatia after the breakdown of Yugoslavia)²⁶ and singing songs related to Yugoslavia (which was commonly done by numerous musicians during the Yugoslav period). Most of the opposition against her, especially in Croatia, can also be seen as connected with specific politics of genre, i.e. with public disapproval of listening to (Serbian) folk music and the politics of sentiments attached to her music its association with Yugoslavia.²⁷

However, after the war and the transitional period in which she tried to distance herself from both Yugoslav and the war past, she was soon to revitalise and regain her old recognisable label as a genuine (post)Yugoslav star. She even explicitly discussed the controversial episode from the war and openly referred to Yugoslavia on several levels in her albums and public appearances.

Repackaging: Lepa Brena as a Yugoslav Symbol after Yugoslavia

Three decades after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, it has been rather evident that Lepa Brena is one of the representative residuals of the past times. In fact, it has hardly been arguable that she is one of the Yugoslav symbols nowadays. In *Leksikon YU mitologije (Lexicon of YU Mythology)*,²⁸ the singer is unequivocally marked as fundamentally connected to Yugoslavia in all its aspects, geographically, culturally and symbolically. It is stated that the concert in Sofia was especially relevant since there Brena, "like Mick Jagger, standing on a crane in front of 100,000 people with their arms up in the air, stopped and sang

26 Baker, *Sounds of the Borderland*.

27 See: Baker, "The Politics of Performance," 275–293; Hofman, "Lepa Brena," 21–32.

28 *Lexicon of YU Mythology* is a web site and a book containing the explanations about the most well-known features in Yugoslav popular culture. The idea about writing such a document was made in 1989 by Dubravka Ugrešić, a writer and critic, and a few journalists from Zagreb, but it was basically opened to anyone, since the editors made an open call for contributions. In the aftermath of the wars, the *Lexicon* became a controversial document. It has been criticized for its Yugo-nostalgic implications and an approach to Yugoslav popular culture as to a subject for nostalgic, supposedly utopist emotional recollections on the past. The project was designed to involve all citizens who wanted to contribute to the compilation and thus become a part of a process of articulating Yugoslav popular culture. Since the project was realized as a web site during the 1990s, the original goal was eventually changed. As Bošković notices, "while at the start the goal of the *Lexicon* was to provide an account in published form that would represent the memories of lived experience in a particular culture, by post-1990 it had become a political statement by ex-Yugoslavs who did not wish their social and cultural history to be erased from public memory." Aleksandar Bošković, "Yugonostalgia and Yugoslav Cultural Memory: Lexicon of YU Mythology," *Slavic Review* 72, no. 1 (2013): 56. See also: <http://www.leksikon-yu-mitologije.net/>, accessed March 2, 2020.

Long live Yugoslavia, whereas the whole stadium exploded from amazement.”²⁹ It is further pointed out that “the slaves that lived in the darkness in our neighbourhood saw our country as freedom and Tito’s name as her symbol.”³⁰ Finally, it is said that the formulation “Ja sam Jugoslovenka” (“I am a Yugoslavian Woman”) eventually became a statement that no one believed in anymore, so that the fall of Yugoslavia is somewhat connected to the fall of Brena. As stated, “Brena was at her career’s culmination when the country she essentially belonged to broke up [...] her life afterwards became a tragic epilogue. [...] For us today, it is enough to say just the following: Lepa Brena is the greatest star in the history of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.”³¹

However, the fact that she has been recognised as the greatest Yugoslav star could not necessarily mean the singer herself would see her position in the same fashion. But she did eventually decide to give in to the perennial Yugoslav label to which she adhered. It is intriguing to notice the singer’s recent transformation that started in 2017. She embarked on a new project – releasing a new album, a documentary movie, and a post-Yugoslav concert tour, all of these being explicitly pro-Yugoslav. She achieved the pro-Yugoslav orientation through her selection of new songs, her image and the visual solutions for the videos, and especially the discourse she promoted, all of which was made as a contribution to retro culture (such as some of her videos), the reconciliation paradigm after the wars she promoted with her affirmative discourse on the past, and the promotion of the core ideology of Yugoslav socialism: the ideology of “brotherhood and unity”³² that she addressed in her title song on the album *Zar je važno da l’ se peva ili pjeva?* (*Does it Matter if you Say “peva” or “pjeva”?*).

The answer is actually positive, since it really does matter which word we choose because behind the difference in what seems to be a simple word-play lays politics of national identity in post-Yugoslav spaces.³³ Hence, the

29 Đorđe Matić, “Lepa Brena,” in *Leksikon Yu mitologije*, accessed March 1, 2010, <http://www.leksikon-yu-mitologije.net/lepa-brena/>.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 This ideology was founded on the presumption that all the nations living in Yugoslavia, including national minorities, are equal groups coexisting in the federation, promoting their similarities, but also their differences, and having the right to declare themselves as Yugoslavs.

33 The official language of Yugoslavia was Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian. It was the language spoken in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro, except for the Macedonian language spoken in Macedonia and Slovenian in Slovenia. The language was in fact standardized in the nineteenth century, even before the establishment of The Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Differences between the Serbian and Croatian standards have always existed and the language also includes several dialects. Since the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the language issue has become deeply politicized and the formerly unique language has undergone new processes of standardization (based on ethnic and political reasons), including the designation of new languages (essentially based on divergent dialects) from what used to be simple variations of one language. Ranko Bugarski and Celia Hawkesworth, eds., *Language in the Former Yugoslav Lands* (Bloomington: Slavica Publishers, 2006).

singer's cover song (which is also the cover of her ongoing concert tour), is unequivocally a political statement: the promulgation of the language of the peoples of former Yugoslav republics as being one. In other words, the songs' message is: it does not matter which dialect you speak; we understand each other since we speak the same language. The song can be interpreted as provocative because the difference in how the words are pronounced could actually be significant for many people during and after the war. Despite having a clear political message, the song is allegedly just a love song. Certain parts could be understood as an emotional message given by a woman to someone she loved. Among other things, it stated that "many years have passed, we should let it go, and let us love each other," which is the title of one of Brena's greatest hits, as well as the title of her movie series from the 1980s. In the post-Yugoslav context, it can be understood as a message of reconciliation, peace, and love after the wars. In addition to the song, there was a video filmed in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia, and starring the actors from different parts of former Yugoslavia. Also, the affirmative and explicit stance on Yugoslavia is also present in a TV documentary about Brena premiered on Serbian Prva TV in January 2018. In the film, the songs on Yugoslavia were abundantly played and referred. To mention some of the representative statements, for instance, Brena stresses how these songs "belong to this country."³⁴

Another strategy used for regaining the Yugoslav label can be found in Brena's concert tours on the territory of former Yugoslavia and also in the diaspora. For example, she started the new pro-Yugoslav image on the stage in USA tour in 2018, where she regularly sang her song *Jugoslovenka*, while putting the Yugoslav flag on the scene, which provoked the comments on "spreading of love and brotherhood and unity" in media.³⁵ Using explicit Yugoslav symbols and regularly singing the famous song is a new component of her concerts since it had not been a regular part of her repertoire after the wars. In 2018 and 2019 she gave concerts in Belgrade and Zagreb, both of which had the same scenography and the repertoire, which meant that the Yugoslav component was not excluded anywhere anymore. The scenography that might be understood as a reference to the Yugoslav symbolism entailed a star on which the singer descended on the stage at the beginning of the concert. Even though it was not a red star but a golden one (and as such could

34 The fact that a speaker's ethnical background could be identified just by the dialect that they use, can be troublesome. Hence, in 1990s especially but also in present day, it is definitely not unimportant if you say the word "sing" as "peva" (Ekavian) or "pjeva" (Ijekavian). See: Ana Petrov, "Yugonostalgia as a Kind of Love: Politics of Emotional Reconciliations through Yugoslav Popular Music," *The Journal of Humanities* 7, no. 4 (2018), <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/7/4/119>.

35 "Lepa Brena širi bratstvo i jedinstvo," accessed December 15, 2019, https://www.kurir.rs/stars/3031301/video-lepa-brena-siri-bratstvo-i-jedinstvo-folk-diva-na-turneji-po-americi-rasirila-zastavu-sfrj-i-zapevala-jugoslovenku?ref=related_box.

be also interpreted as a symbol of Brena herself being like a proper Hollywood star), it certainly provoked reactions and was seen as being related to the socialist past. This symbolism was especially relevant in the case of the Zagreb concert, where both the star and the performance of *Jugoslovenka* triggered specific reactions. Whereas in 2009 potentially controversial songs were not sung, including *Čačak*, *Čačak* and *Jugoslovenka*, in 2019 the times had changed. In two concerts, each with 20,000 people in the audience, the songs were successfully performed, without incidents. Moreover, the audience showed their approval of Brena's choice of singing *Jugoslovenka* by singing all the verses from the problematic song, thus pointing to the fact that the song is well known and remembered.

After the concert, the media reported about the Croatian military generals' disapproval of this act, labelling it as "an attack to Croatian sovereignty" and "national embarrassment,"³⁶ referring to Brena's mentioned controversial appearance during the war among the military forces of Republika Srpska. In addition, the fact that a representative of Yugoslavia performed in Zagreb during the advent and just before the elections for the new president of Croatia was also marked as highly provocative. In one of the articles reporting about the issue, the song itself is labelled as "a Yugoslav patriotic genre."³⁷ Despite the open letter the generals wrote and circulated in public in the days after the concert, the so-called incident did not influence much on the general reception of the concerts. It remained an isolated reaction that did not coincide with the reception of the concert audience and the broader public. Most of them concluded that times have changed and we can now sing the songs that were once considered controversial.³⁸

Finally, a recent example from Belgrade cultural scene bears witness to another repackaging of Brena's public figure, again in the Yugoslav context. In late 2019 the Belgrade Bitez teatar (Bitez Theatre) produced a play *Lepa Brena prodžekt* (*Lepa Brena Project*) by Olga Dimitrijević and Vladimir Aleksić, in which the singer is interpreted as a symbol that transcends Yugoslavia and its dissolution. Also, Brena in the play seems to be a specific figure through which numerous social issues in post-Yugoslav times can be addressed. As it was announced, Brena is seen as the greatest Yugoslav star, but also as a symbol of the Yugoslav show business, as well as the prosperity of the country. Since her career started in the turbulent 1980s, it followed

36 "Jugoslovenka u areni: Publika oduševljena, generali zgroženi," accessed March 9, 2020, <https://www.mojevrjeme.hr/magazin/2019/12/jugoslovenka-u-areni-publika-odusevljena-generalizgrozeni-brena-narusava-hrvatski-suverenitet/>.

37 Ibid.

38 "Jugoslovenka u Zagrebu: Da li je bilo rano za ovu pesmu," accessed March 1, 2020, <https://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/11/region/3779440/jugoslovenka-u-zagrebu--da-li-je-bilo-rano-za-ovu-pesmu.html>.

all socialist and post-socialist cultural, political, and economic transformations. The main argument in the play is to be found in the claim that the changes of Brena's public figure and interpretations of it coincided with the social transformations. In this figure, the following themes were inscribed: the capitalism logic in the socialist country, the transition to capitalism after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and finally, nostalgia for the past times.³⁹ At the same time, Brena is seen as a figure through which personal histories and lived experiences can be read. There are five Brenas on the stage, each telling their own stories about different aspects of personal and/or historical past (Brena of the song, Brena of the architecture, Brena the Yugoslavian woman, Brena of the sexuality, and Brena the businesswoman). Brena is openly proclaimed as a symbol of the past times and the past of our personal lives. In other words, the play argues that we are all Brena one way or the other, since we can hardly escape the Yugoslav past in which we grew up, or the post-Yugoslav present in which the meanings that are connected to this figure are still present, still apparently controversial, and still uniting divergent entities in newly divided societies.⁴⁰

Concluding Remarks

There is one symptomatic replica one of Brenas said in the play – she said that Zdravko Čolić and herself were the only ones that have never “changed sides.” Thus, she alluded to the fact that they have always been Yugoslav stars. The play is announced and vastly understood as being about Brena as a symbol, and not about her personally. However, Brena herself was contacted for approval of the play, and she was present at the premiere, which in fact points to that the play is actually about both Brena the singer and Brena the symbol. The peculiarities from her personal life were chosen to comply with the overall nostalgic atmosphere in the play, not including the perspective that would shed light on Brena's current life. It is interesting to notice that the character of Brena the architect testifies about the grandeur of the architecture but also working-class awareness in Yugoslavia. Also, she refers to the project of Belgrade Waterfront, a controversial luxurious block of buildings made in the centre of Belgrade, implying that Brena herself and the symbol were connected to a more “normal” life oriented towards the needs of the working-class. The play, however, does

39 https://teatar.bitef.rs/Predstave/545/LEPA-BRENA-PRODzEKT.shtml/lang_type=lat, accessed December 30, 2019.

40 It is interesting to mention that, in addition to a highly Yugonostalgic and pro-Yugoslav atmosphere, the play also triggered old debates about the genre Brena represents. Some of the comments of the virtual audience refer to the issue of her being “kitsch” that is now incorporated in the “high culture”. See, for instance: “Slika društva kroz fenomen Lepe Brene,” in *N1 info*, accessed March 10, 2020, <http://rs.n1info.com/Kultura/a551738/Slika-drustva-kroz-fenomen-Lepe-Brene.html>.

not refer to the information about Brena herself buying and moving to the controversial block.⁴¹

From this perspective, I argue that the symbolism of Brena has had tremendous potential that nowadays tends to be overused. As the journalist Jovana Gligorijević observes regarding the so-called incident in the Zagreb concert, it is in fact not a scandal at all. The song is sung by the generations that were taught about Yugoslavia as the “dark times.” The fact that the verses are well-known does not show that the post-Yugoslav times are over Yugoslav issues, but rather that the song is “empty of meaning,” and just one of many Brena’s hits. Yugoslavia is gone, but also Brena and the public as we used to know. Gligorijević claims that “*Jugoslovenka* was annulled” during the performance in Zagreb, since it has been over-interpreted and imbued with too many meanings so that it eventually lost its potential to provoke.⁴² Similarly, it appears that the play that tends to treat Brena as a symbol of post-Yugoslav transition brings the singer to a null phase of meaning, where this public figure can be connected to copious aspects of our lives and histories. Still, it neglects to critically shed light on the position the singer has in current culture. At the same time, it adequately contributes to numerous transformations of meanings and ambiguities Brena has always had.

In other words, the singer did change sides, trying to adjust to turbulent social shifts in the past forty years. Many controversies about the Yugoslav past are now over. The word “Yugoslavia” is not controversial as it used to be, and it is sometimes trendy in certain public discourses. Brena has become a multifaceted symbol. That symbol imbued another layer of meanings: the layer in which Yugoslav history is supposedly critically observed but is simultaneously commodified.

41 In fact, the peculiarities from her personal life were chosen so that they can comply with overall nostalgic atmosphere in the play, and not including the perspective that would shed light to Brena’s current life. For example, it is interesting to notice that the character of Brena the architect, that testifies about the grandeur but also working-class awareness in Yugoslavia, in fact makes a reference about the project of Belgrade Waterfront, a controversial luxurious block of buildings made in the centre of Belgrade, implying that Brena herself and the symbol were connected to a more “normal” life oriented towards the needs of a working-class person. From this perspective, it is interesting that the play does not refer to the information about Brena herself buying and apparently moving to the controversial block. “Lepa Brena kupila stan u Beogradu na vodi,” accessed March 10, 2020, <https://mondo.rs/Zabava/Zvezde-i-tracevi/a1293520/Lepa-Brena-kupila-stan-u-Beogradu-na-vodi-za-450.000-evra.html>.

42 Jovana Gligorijević, “Imam pesmu da vam pevam,” *Vreme*, December 26, 2019, accessed March 2, 2020, <https://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1742999>.

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POVZETEK

Od jugoslovanske do balkanske zvezde in nazaj: Lepa Brena v očeh javnosti

V tem članku obravnavam pevko, ki velja za eno največjih legend jugoslovanske popularne kulture – Lepo Brena. Njen politični potencial se je v jugoslovanski in postjugoslovanski javni sferi izoblikoval zaradi njenega nacionalnega in socialnega porekla ter njene uradne oznake kot tipične jugoslovanske zvezdnice in simbola socialističnega obdobja, nenazadnje pa tudi balkanske zvezdnice. Rodila se je v Bosni in Hercegovini, njen repertoar temelji na t. i. novokomponirani narodni glasbi, poleg tega pa je prepevala pesmi, ki so se navezovale na Jugoslavijo. Vse to so pomembni elementi za umestitev javne podobe Lepe Brene v kontekst kulturne in glasbene politike v socialistični Jugoslaviji ter v vojnem in povojnem obdobju.

Tozadevno prikažem, kako je njeno javno podobo mogoče problematizirati v jugoslovanskih in postjugoslovanskih kontekstih. Posvetim se tudi odnosom med najpomembnejšimi problematikami, povezanimi z njenimi glasbenimi praksami, in podobi, s katero se je pevka predstavljala javnosti skozi različna obdobja svoje kariere, poleg tega pa predstavim tudi načine, kako sta bila koncept jugoslovanstva in Balkana uporabljena pri strategijah pozicioniranja pevke na različnih točkah njene kariere. Posebno pozornost namenim njenemu prehodu od pristne jugoslovanske zvezde, v obdobju, ko oznaka »jugoslovanski« ni bila zaželeno, do pevkinih nedavnih preobrazb, ki so se odvijale znotraj procesa komodifikacije jugonostalgije in s katerimi je svojo javno podobo umestila v nov kontekst.

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ANA PETROV (ana.petrov@fmk.edu.rs), muzikologinja in sociologinja, je izredna profesorica na Fakulteti za medije in komunikacijo v Beogradu. Je avtorica več knjig, vključno z *Rethinking rationalisation: Evolutionism and Imperialism in Max Weber's Discourse on Music* (Na novo misliti racionalizacijo: Evolucionizem in imperializem v diskurzu Maxa Webra o glasbi; Hollitzer, 2016), *Jugoslovenska muzika bez Jugoslavije: Koncerti kao mesta sećanja* (*Jugoslovanska glasba brez Jugoslavije: Koncerti kot kraji srečevanj*) in *Sociologije nostalgija* (*Sociologije nostalgije*). Trenutno se ukvarja z jugoslovanskim in postjugoslovanskim kulturnim prostorom, s poudarkom na politiki spomina in nostalgije ter jugoslovanski zabavni glasbi kot tudi družbenih teorijah o nostalgiji.

