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Chapter · March 2018

DOI: 10.2307/j.ctv6jm9wd.5

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“CROATNESS” IN MUSIC:
SONGFULLY ITALIAN, SOLIDLY GERMAN,
A LITTLE BIT “ORIENTAL”,
AND ABOVE ALL SLAVIC

Abstract. The nineteenth-century Croatian national activists, gathered around the Illyrian Revival movement (1835–1848), proclaimed the birth of national music in 1846, after the premiere of the first national opera *Ljubav i zloba* (Love and malice) by Vatroslav Lisinski (Ignatius Fuchs, 1819–1854) based on the libretto by Dimitrija Demeter (Dimitrios Dimitrou, 1811–1872). The term is by no means understood in an essentialist way, although refers to similarly invented terms in music terminology (Czechness and Russianness, for instance) speaking for characteristics of constructed music national “identity”. The “identity is understood here in its re-conceptualized meaning in accordance with Stuart Hall’s theory. The aim of the study is to disclose the strategies of construction and persistent promotion of certain resources of “Croatness”, which were accepted and approved as a sound of the nation.

Kao što je klima naše zemlje nešto posrednjega medju talijanskom i
němačkom, isto tako je i u ovom dēlu talijanska slast i vatra s němačkom
silom i učenostju, nu na slavjanski naćin zajedno slivena.¹

¹ The quotation is given in the original, that is, the older orthography form, as it was published in 1846. The author, Jakob Frass, who changed his name to Slavicized Stanko Vraz, was a Slovenian poet, who joined the Croatian national movement. See Anonym. [Stanko Vraz], “Pārva izvorna ilirska opera ‘Ljubav i zloba’ od Vatroslava Lisinskoga”, part 1, *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska* 12/14 (1846), 55.

As one of the Illyrian activists, Vraz supported the idea of importance of folk heritage. Moreover, he collected hundreds of Slovenian and Croatian folk songs and melodies and published 115 (Slovenian) of them in *Narodne pēsni ilirske, koje se pēvaju po Štajerskoj, Kranjskoj, Koruškoj i zapadnoj strani Ugarske* (Illyrian folk songs sung in Styria, Carniola, Carinthia and the western part of Hungary) in Zagreb, 1839. He was also interested in Bulgarian folk songs. Due to his work, Stanko Vraz is considered “one of the most important and most deserving folklorists of his time, not only in Croatia and Slovenia, but also in the entire Slavic territory”. Andrea Sapunar Knežević and Mirjana Togonal, “Stanko Vraz kao folklorist. Vrazov doprinos poznavanju hrvatske i slovenske usmene književnosti”, *Croatica et Slavica Iadertina* 7/1 (2011), 193–218, here 218.

(As the climate of our land is between the Italian and German, in this work the Italian delight and passion and the German vigour and scholarliness are perfectly united – but in a Slavic way.)

With these words, one of the prominent members of the Croatian national movement, the poet Stanko Vraz (Jakob Frass, 1810–1851), greeted the premiere of the first “authentic” (*izvorna*) Croatian opera *Ljubav i zloba* (Love and malice), 1846, by Vatroslav Lisinski (Ignatius Fuchs, 1819–1854) after the libretto by Dimitrija Demeter (Dimitrios Dimitrou, 1811–1872). The opera premiered on 28 March 1846, in the Gradsko kazalište (the City Theater) known as Stankovićevo kazalište (Stanković’s Theater, 1834–1860)² in Zagreb, approximately one year after it was written, having been delayed as a result of political turmoil.

Lisinski’s stage work is accepted not only as the first national opera, but as the very first work where the sound of “Croatness” appeared.³ Moreover, the quotation on the opera shown above, is an excerpt from “the first genuine music review in Croatian”.⁴ The term “Croatness” I am going to apply to music here, refers to similarly invented terms in music – mainly in opera studies – terminology such as Czechness, Russianness, or Irishness and Scottishness speaking for characteristics of national music peculiarities. However, it is by no means understood in an essentialist way in this study, but as a term that symbolizes the Croatian music “identity” as it was constructed by nationalist promoters, in its redefined meaning as Stuart Hall elaborated it. The rhetoric of nationalist activists gathered around the Illyrian movement⁵ strongly

2 This was the first theater house in Zagreb, named after its founder, the Serbian merchant from Zagreb, Kristofor Stanković, who invested his winnings from the lottery in Vienna in this project.

3 The idea of “Croatness” (*hrvatstvo*) in music has not yet been defined. It was mentioned in relation to identity, politics and literature, not always as a positive connotation of *petite bourgeois* mentality or radical nationalism. See, for instance: Daphne N. Winland, *We are now a nation. Croats between “home” and “homeland”* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Miroslav Krleža, “Hrvatstvo i zakon državne tromosti”, *Radio Gornji Grad. Regionalni časopis za književnost, kulturu i društvena pitanja u prijelomu epohe*, <https://radiogornjigrad.wordpress.com/2014/06/08/miroslav-krleza-hrvatstvo-i-zakon-dusevnetromosti/> (last accessed: 29 November 2015).

4 Sanja Majer Bobetko, “Words on music in northern Croatia and Slavonia during the 19th century and until World War I”, *IRASM* 38/2 (2007), 197–216, here. 204.

5 The Illyrian Movement is the name of the Croatian National Revival, during the period 1835–1848, which “signaled the birth of a patriotic awareness and a belief in the worth of one’s own nation and the greatness of Slavs [...] It affected all areas of cultural life, including music, which was seen as a powerful medium for stimulating and strengthening political awareness, and for helping the Croats gain cultural recognition through the creation of an authentic or unique Croatian music”. Zdravko Blažeković, “Political implications of

supported the reception of certain resources in literary and musical works in order to construct their own vision of “national” art. In other words, consideration of the “Croatness” is aimed to define the resources invented, defined and accepted as “national” in the first half of the 1840s.⁶

By posing the question “Who needs ‘identity’?”, that is, by challenging the concept of identity proper, Stuart Hall redefined it in the space between the notion that it should not be completely abandoned and awareness of its limitations. First of all, it was necessary to overcome its essentialist nature by challenging the homogeneous, unchangeable, stable, unified nature traditionally related to the concept of identity: instead of essentialist, it is a strategic and positional concept. In other words, identities are “never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation”.⁷ Further on, identities emerge from “the narrativization of the self” and, as such, they are “produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies” in relation to specific modalities of power.⁸ This theoretical position leads to the key point of Hall’s understanding of identities: he concludes that they are based on using the resources “of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being [...], how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves”.⁹ In the context of this study it will be

Croatian opera”, in *Music-cultures in contact. Convergences and collisions*, ed. By Margaret J. Kartomi and Stephen Blum (Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1994), 48–58, here 49. The claim on “authentic and unique Croatian music” obviously assumed the existence of “Croatness” in music.

In the years prior to the 1848 revolution, the Illyrian movement was in full bloom, through the activities of linguists, authors and musicians, when the Austrian Chancellor Metternich forbade its name in public by Royal Order in 1843. The Illyrians, however, did not cease their work on building a national culture until the revolution.

6 The cult of Vatroslav Lisinski – still living today – founded after the first national opera, was built up in the Independent State of Croatia, the Nazi puppet state of Germany (1941–1945), as the first Croatian feature film *Lisinski* (1944, dir. Oktavijan Miletić, music Boris Papandopulo) shows.

7 Stuart Hall, “Who needs ‘identity’?”, in *Question of cultural identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul de Gay (London et al.: Sage Publications, 1996), 3.

8 *Ibid.*, 4.

9 *Ibid.* Precisely this idea was a departure point of the actual theoretization of the concept of cultural identity by the French philosopher and sinologist François Jullien, who suggested resources as the focus of the theory which denies cultural identity completely. More about the theoretical context of cultural resources in musical culture, based on interpretation of Jullien’s theory, I discussed in the forthcoming book dedicated to emerging of national opera

discussed how the strategic use of specific chosen resources in music led to emergence of the first national opera. As a form of representation, the opera was promoted and accepted as the newly born sound of nation, the “Croatness”. Accordingly, identities were constructed within the opera as a form of representation. To conclude, the concept of identity is constructed within discourse, representation and difference.

CROATIAN SELF-PRESENTATION: BETWEEN IMPERIAL (HABSBURG) AND NATIONAL

In 1527, after the Battle of Mohács (1526), the Croatian Diet in Cetingrad elected the Habsburg emperor Ferdinand as the Croatian king, and with this act Croatia became part of the Habsburg lands until their dissolution in 1918. In 1868, one year after the foundation of the dual Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Croats reached an agreement with the Hungarians about a mutual state and legal relations, and the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia were united. The Kingdom of Dalmatia was denied as the third part of the Triune Kingdom, as Croatian nationalists had proposed; it remained a separate unit of the Cisleithanian half of the dual Monarchy. Croatia retained its independence in legislation, administration, legal matters, education and religious issues, while all other decisions were reached jointly. In 1918, it entered the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which was later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929–1941). As they belonged to the Habsburg Empire, the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia’s national self-presentation did not necessarily exclude an imperial context. The national ideology of the well-integrated Slavic communities from the western Balkans in the empire, such as the Croatian, was signified by the shared cultures of the Germanic and Italian tradition, the long established German language, a foreign intellectual elite and the Catholic religion. Therefore they certainly did not feel under threat within the Austrian Empire. In other words, in accordance to Autroslavism,¹⁰ loyalty to the Emperor and rising nationalism were not contradictory at the outset. A national culture was built in the context of the cultural life of the empire, through the process of cultural appropriation.¹¹ In that way, the construction of “Croatness” in

traditions in southeast Europe. See François Jullien, *Il n’y a pas d’identité culturelle, mais nous défendons les ressources d’une culture* Paris: Éditions de l’Herne, 2016).

10 For definition of Austro-Slavism see Joep Leerssen, “Pan-Slavism”, in *Encyclopedia of Romantic nationalism in Europe*, <http://ernie.uva.nl/viewer.p/21/56/object/122-159682> (last accessed: 5 September 2017).

11 Cultural appropriation, broadly defined as “the use of a culture’s symbols, artifacts, genres, rituals, or technologies, by members of another culture, is inescapable when cultures

music and other artistic areas, began in the Habsburg context, initiated by Illyrian Movement members, by adjusting the appropriated imperial forms to local needs. If we accept the statement of the most significant south Slavic and Croatian music historian and national ideologist, Franjo Ksaver Kuhač's (Franz Xaver Koch, 1834–1911), that this opera was the first embodiment of Croatian musical nationalism, thanks to the nobleman Alberto Ognjen Štriga (1821–1897) and Vatroslav Lisinski, then it is necessary to define how the cultural resources as the Italian early-Romantic opera style, as well as Germanic harmony and orchestration techniques, were adjusted for Croatian ears, and how the process of transculturation developed, unified with the Slavic musical tradition, and resulting in musical “Croatness”.

In 1776, when Josef II proclaimed *Schauspielerfreiheit*, numerous German-speaking theater troupes held guest performances in Zagreb, as in other places with south Slavic populations in the Habsburg Monarchy. Since the end of the eighteenth century, German theater had been dominant in Croatia, as well as in Slovenia, and allied with this domination were many German-speaking and Italian opera companies.

From Tallinn in the North (where the popular German playwright August von Kotzebue stimulated German theatre activity) to Ljubljana, Zagreb and beyond in the South, German language theatre dominated the region around 1800. Theatres in the native language had to struggle for money and audience. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, theatres in the vernacular proliferated, and new National Theatres became important conduits of the national sentiments, though they could be built and formally named so only in nations that had a degree of political independence.¹²

Continuing institutionalization took place, with the aim of promoting (south) Slavic cultures. The process of nationalizing the arts, including music, lasted two or three generations¹³ and passed through several phases, starting with

come into contact, including virtual or representational contact. Cultural appropriation is also inescapably intertwined with cultural politics. It is involved in the assimilation and exploitation of marginalized and colonized cultures and in the survival of subordinated cultures and their resistance to dominant cultures”. Richard A. Rogers, “From cultural exchange to transculturation: A review and reconceptualization of cultural appropriation”, *Communication Theory* 16 (2006), 474–503, here 474.

12 John Neubauer, “General introduction”, in *History of the literary cultures of east-central Europe: Junctures and disjunctures in the 19th and 20th centuries*, vol. 3: *The making and remaking of literary institutions*, ed. by Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007), 7.

13 It is obvious from the fact that, although the national tradition of Croatian opera was

self-identification with the imperial Habsburg context of the Catholic Slavs, or the denying of the imperial Ottoman context of the Orthodox Slavs, as well as Pan-Slavism. There was a specific Slavic network, including the institutions in both the Austrian, that is Austro-Hungarian, and the Ottoman provinces of Slavs: the literary societies called reading rooms (*čitališta*, *čitaonice*, *čitalnice*), the cultural centres called *maticas*,¹⁴ and the choral and *sokol* (gymnastic) societies.¹⁵ They were built on amateur involvement, which made them widespread even in towns and villages. This set of institutions, characteristic of all of the Slavic community, was signified by Pan-Slavism, which was reflected in their repertoire too, along with works by German Romantic composers.

The aforementioned first theater house in Zagreb, the Gradsko kazalište (City Theater), was opened on 4 October 1834, on the occasion of the name day of the Emperor Francis I. “Until the opening of the newly-built Hrvatsko narodno kazalište [Croatian National Theater] in 1860, the City (*varoški*) Theater – as the Gornjogradsko or Stanković’s Theater was called by people – was central Zagreb’s cultural institution and the only means for spreading cultural education of Croatian citizens, the majority of whom were illiterate at that time”.¹⁶

Soon after the opening of the theater, a letter presenting the institution was sent to the editorial board of the journal *Agramer politische Zeitung*:

Das Agramer Theater ist wirklich von nationalem Interesse; und es lohnt die Mühe, das Augenmerk dahin zu richten; denn hier ist das einzige stabile und organisirte Theater in Kroatien; hier ist eine Bühne, welche das ganze Jahr hindurch offen steht [...] hier ist ein neu gebautes, freundliches Haus, mit überraschend schönen Dekorationen geziert, welches wohl bei tausend Menschen sassen mag, aber leider oft leer bleibt, selten gänzlich angefüllt wird; hier ist eine Unternehmung, für welche bis jetzt gar kein Zuschuß, wie anderwärts, von Seiten der Landstände oder bürgerlichen Kommunität ausgemittelt war, ja die nicht einmal von 57 Logen, welche alle der Eigenthümer des Gebäudes vermiethet, eine

established in 1846, the repertoire was dominated by Italian Romantic opera due to the regular *stagioni* that were held between 1843 and 1869. The national opera production and performance practice continued up until 1870.

14 The oldest one was Serbian (1826), followed by Bohemian (1831), Illyrian (1842, renamed to Croatian in 1874), Dalmatian (1861) and many others.

15 Besides choral societies, certain authors mentioned the schools, the church, the army, charities and women’s organizations. See Krisztina Lajosi and Andreas Styren, eds., *Choral societies and nationalism in Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

16 Danijela Weber-Kapusta, “Društvena struktura i kulturni identitet zagrebačke publike između 1834. i 1860. godine”, in *Dani Hrvatskoga kazališta. Gradja i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu* 42/1 (2016), 28–54, here 29.

einzig zu ihrer Disposition hat; hier ist eine komplette Gesellschaft für Schauspiel, Oper und Posse, welche in einzelnen Individuen ercellirt, im Ganzen genüget; hier ist ein Publikum – (ich nenne dieß aus Bescheidenheit zuletzt, weil ich selbst dazu gehöre) in der Zahl der gewöhnlichen Theaterbesucher sehr beschränkt, aber im Urtheile streng, zur Nachsicht täglich weniger geneigt, und größtentheils nur deßhalb nicht befridiget, weil es die Forderungen fast nach dem höchsten Maßstabe stellt und darin viel weiter geht, als die Soutenirungsmittel reichen.¹⁷

Starting with Theodor Körner’s play *Zrinyi* (1812), this theater was, until 1860, the institution in which German travelling companies performed. However, it hosted the performance of the first theater play – and soon after that, the first national opera – in the Croatian language.

It is noteworthy that Croatian ideas of national theater came from foreigners, who also formed the majority of the founders and representatives of the National Revival movement, and in many cases Croatized their names.¹⁸ Therefore, it is not surprising in the given context, that the initiative to introduce the Croatian language on the stage came from Heinrich Börnstein (1805–1892), the director of Stanković’s Theater. His appeal *Über die Begründung einer illyrischen National-Bühne* (On the foundation of the Illyrian national stage, 1839) was translated by Ljudevit Gaj (1809–1872), and published in Croatian in his *Danica ilirska* on 16 December 1839. Börnstein stressed the significance of language for every national culture and praised the Slavic “tribes” for their achievements in this field. As he concluded, there is no better mediator of the highest level of a mother tongue than theater.¹⁹ Later, Börnstein even suggested which play could be performed first in the Illyrian language: “since we already have a theater, adornments, costumes, chorus and orchestra, we could try some national (*domorodni*) play too”, for instance, Kukuljević’s “beautiful drama” *Juran i Sofija*.²⁰ Doubtlessly, Börnstein’s suggestion did not come from his patriotic feelings for Croatian theater, but out of his awareness that drama in the national language could significantly raise audience interest and consequently garner financial

17 Benevolus, “Agramer Theater (Eingesendet)”, *Luna. Beiblatt zur Agramer politischen Zeitung* 37 (1835), 148–151, here 149.

18 Among them are mentioned Dimitrija Demeter (Dimitrios Dimitrou), Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (Franz Xaver Koch), Vatroslav Lisinski (Ignatius Fuchs), Adolf Veber Tkalčević (Adolfo Weber), Stanko Vraz (Jakob Frass), Ferdo Livadić (Ferdinand Wiesner). Some of them of Croatian origin, like Count Janko Drašković, used the German language more frequently before the decision to promote the vernacular language.

19 Heinrich Börnstein, “O utemeljenju ilirskoga narodnoga kazališta”, transl. Ljudevit Gaj, *Danica ilirska*, 16 November 1839, 181–182, here 181.

20 *Ibid.*, 182.

success. Indeed, only a few months later, the Serbian theater troupe *Leteće dilantansko pozorište* from Novi Sad, renamed *Domorodno teatralno društvo*, received a contract and played in the City Theater for the next eighteen months. During their visit, the company performed plays by Croatian, Serbian, German and other authors, resulting all together in fifty premieres. Among them, was the aforementioned Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski's (1816–1889) drama *Juran i Sofia ili Turci kod Siska* (*Juran and Sofia or the Turks under Sisak*), that was performed on 10 June 1840. As being one more example of cultural appropriation, this heroic play is based on Lorenz Gindl's drama *Thomas Erdödy, Ban von Kroatien* (1826),²¹ and is dedicated to the historical Battle of Sisak (1593), well-known for the victory of the Habsburg army over the much larger Ottoman force, which halted the march towards central Europe. Interestingly enough, it was originally written in German and, after the translation to Croatian, was performed for the first time in 1839 in Sisak, and one year later in Zagreb.

Overwhelming enthusiasm characteristically connected national and imperial attitudes: “Every expression, every word, which is related to nation (*rod*), language, emperor and homeland, was followed by thunderous applauding and joyful acclamations, which has never been heard in that theater”.²² The great success of Sakcinski's play in the vernacular inspired the idea of a national theater: the poet and politician Mirko Bogović (1816–1893), who belonged to the Illyrian Movement, wrote that the foundation of a national theater “for [the] development of our spiritual life would [be] endlessly useful”; it could enable even illiterate and non-educated people to enjoy the precious national literature. Bogović concluded that the time had come to establish a national theater “because there are wishes everywhere to wake up our sleepy people from lethargy and provide the school of life – theater”.²³ The depiction of Croatia as “a heroine who, tired of the fierce fight lasting for centuries against the great enemy of the Christianity, fell asleep finally with a bloody sword in her hand”²⁴ became a *topos* in different narratives. She was then awakened by the

21 See Davor Dukić, “Das Türkenbild in der kroatischen literarischen Kultur vom 15. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts”, in *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa* (=Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, vol. 24), ed. by Reinhard Lauer and Hans Georg Majer (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 157–191.

22 See *Danica ilirska*, 6/24 (1840), 94.

23 Mirko Bogović, “O utemeljenju narodnoga kazališta”, *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska* 11/18 (1845), 70–71. This vision was implemented with the legislation by the Croatian Parliament in 1861. According to it, the Croatian National Theater is defined as a national institution, partially financed from the national budget. It even recommended the foundation of the national opera, which was opened a decade later, in 1870.

24 Anonym., “Prva izvorna ilirska opera ‘Ljubav i zloba’ od Vatroslava Lisinskoga”, part 1, *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska* 12/14 (1846), 53.

new, national culture, due to the authors – who did not make efforts for their own glory and material benefit as in western Europe, which had established her glory long ago, as it was stressed – and the composers of national music (embodied in singing), who did it “for the honor of their backward homeland”. In that way Croatians took a step closer to the cultured and educated nations.²⁵ Only some years later, the national language was heard sung from the stage, and the sound of the nation was “recognized” and strongly promoted. The sound that supported building the nation of the Slavs was vocal,²⁶ embodied by a united group of unison voices, accompanied by westernized harmonization – a chorus. With its communicative role to the fore, it was also the most accessible form for a mass movement of amateurs’ performance practice. The rich tradition of choral singing in promoting national movements was of key importance for the establishment of a national sound in Croatia too. Importantly, the united collective singing was often organized and led by nationalist activists. The composers of the most popular songs, who were sometimes also the authors of the first national operas, were the most highly-praised national composers. Vatroslav Lisinski is one of them. The dream of a truly national opera was fulfilled by the performance of his opera, as the most significant achievement of the Illyrian movement.

NATIONAL OPERA AS AN ILLYRIAN PROJECT

The first work to be recognized as a “national opera” in Croatia – *Love and malice* by Vatroslav Lisinski – was written in 1845 and performed one year later, around twenty-five years before the Opera House was established in Zagreb. The second opera in Croatian, also by Lisinski and Demeter, was composed between 1848–1850, but its impact failed at that time: due to the political situation after the 1848 revolution, it was performed only in 1897. For that reason, the mature national opera was not Lisinski’s *Porin ili Oslobođenje Hrvata ispod franačkog jarma* (Porin, or The liberation of Croats from the Frankish invasion), as music historiographers later posited, but rather *Nikola*

25 Vraz, “Prva izvorna ilirska opera ‘Ljubav i zloba’ od Vatroslava Lisinskoga” (as note 1), 54.

26 It is especially related to the Orthodox Slavs (Russians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Macedonians), former members of the Byzantine commonwealth, for the church service includes exclusively vocal music, a *cappella* unison singing with the *ison*. The Catholic practice (Czechs, Croatians, Slovenians, Slovaks) assumes vocal music, but also organ playing, with a possibility to include other instruments. Nevertheless, the vocal sound, and group singing, is present in both practices. It is interesting to mention that in the old Slavic languages now in use in Croatian, the term for music is “glazba” coming from “glas” or voice. In all other official languages of the Balkan states there are different versions of the term “music” proper.

Šubić *Zrinjski* by Ivan Zajc (Giovanni von Zaytz, 1832–1914), performed in the year of the Balkan crisis.²⁷ This opera, which was in certain respects inspired by *Porin*, brought to the vigorous sound of the nation a more stressed oriental aspect, since it was dedicated to the historical hero who lost his life in the Siege of Szigetvár (1566) against the much bigger Ottoman army led by Suleiman the Magnificent, stopping their progress to Vienna. The military *topos*, heroic choruses, harem dances, and Verdian music with oriental flavor were all resources in the mentioned sense that provided a spectacle which was understood as the main national opera, based on elaborated signifiers of “Croatness” as they were defined in the opera by Lisinski.

Russian, that is, Mihail Ivanovič Glinka’s (1804–1857) operas, were taken as an inspiration for Croatian national opera. The premiere of Glinka’s opera *Жизнь за царя* (*A Life for the Tsar*) in December 1836 strongly echoed among Croatian nationalists gathered around the weekly *Danica ilirska*, edited by the leader of the National Revival, Ljudevit Gaj. In accordance with the movement’s idea about uniting south Slavs, this journal reported regularly on music and other arts to the entire Slavic community, so it is not surprising that the news of musical life in Russia was one of the topics. In an article providing a kind of survey of contemporary composers in Russia, Glinka is mentioned as the main Russian composer, whereby precisely the qualities of his first opera which were of key importance for “Croatness” several years later, were stressed: the richness of melodic line, the “authentic”, original and unique vocal line that makes the first Russian and Slavic national operas completely different from all other European operas.²⁸ Thanks to the melodious richness, as it was reported, the majority of the opera melodies “live in the mouth of the [Russian] nation” and the audience could not have had enough of listening to it.²⁹ Glinka’s opera was based upon the intonations of Russian folk melodies in the framework of early-nineteenth-century Italian opera. It is noteworthy to mention the letter (15 February 1841) that Glinka wrote to his mother, emphasizing the Italian and German/French influence on his music: “Art, this joy given to me by heaven, perishes here [in Russia] from the murderous indifference to everything that is beautiful. Had I not spent several years abroad, I would not have written *A life for the Tsar*. Now I am completely convinced that *Ruslan* can only be completed in Germany or France”.³⁰

27 The way it embodied Croatness is discussed by Tatjana Marković, “Memorizing battle musically: The Siege of Szigetvár (1566) as an identity signifier”, *LiThes* 10 (2014), 5–17.

28 Anon., “Muzika u Rusii”, *Danica ilirska*, 1841, 194–195, here 194.

29 Ibid.

30 See Yuri Olkhovsky, *Vladimir Stasov and Russian national culture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 56.

The news that the first Slavic national opera was born, moved Alberto Ognjan Štriga, one of the main ideologists of the Croatian national movement, to immediate action. He convinced Vatroslav Lisinski to compose the opera that would have the honor of being the first Croatian national stage work. As in some other cultures, the expectations for a national opera were so great that the promoters of nationalism were searching for a candidate who could compose it. Thus, the hope that Ferdinand (Wiesner) Livadić, as the only music professional at that time in Zagreb, could do for Croatians the same as “Glinka did for the Russians and Tomašek for the Czechs, because he is full of musical imagination and knowledge” and make a special gift to “all Slavic brothers and all music lovers”³¹ was expressed by the count Janko Drašković after the first concert of Illyrian music. This task was, however, fulfilled by Vatroslav Lisinski.

Lisinski’s career – and even some life decisions such as the Croatization of his name when he was twenty-two (Ignatius Fuchs to Vatroslav Lisinski) – was directed by his friend Alberto Štriga, the lawyer, amateur baritone singer, and great organizer of musical and cultural life in Zagreb. Štriga was mentioned as the initiator of the Croatian national opera and the organizer of its performances. His main medium for establishing, supporting and directing his “new idea on nationhood (*narodnost*)”³² was, by no means coincidentally, the voice. He often sang folk songs in public and private spaces, and his mission to promote national ideas started by gathering academic youth in Zagreb to sing the same repertoire “in the chorus of a hundred throats”.³³ With Vatroslav Lisinski, whom he met at the beginning of the 1840s and who became his close friend, Štriga founded the first national choral society Prvo ilirsko glazbeno društvo (The First Illyrian Music Society). The members were “young intelligent Croatians” and they sang only Croatian and other Slavic songs – this was considered important to stress, because “to sing in a cosmopolitan way and in Croatian is not one and the same”.³⁴

Since the young composer understandably hesitated before accepting the suggestion to write the opera, considering it a too demanding task for him (as he was not yet a professional composer)³⁵ Štriga even ordered a libretto from

31 Anon., “Ilirska muzikalna zabava”, *Danica ilirska*, 1838, 63–64, here 64.

32 Franjo Kuhač, “Alberto Ognjan pl. Štriga”, part 1, *Vienac zabavi i pouci*, 17/43 (1885), 682–684, here 682. As the author explained in a footnote, for writing this text, he also used the manuscript about Štriga by the late university professor Armin Šrabec.

33 Ibid., 683.

34 Ibid.

35 In order to provide professional music education for Vatroslav Lisinski, Štriga suggested studies in Prague in 1847 and financially supported his studies there. Since Lisinski’s age was

the amateur poet Janko Car (1822–1876)³⁶ and, when the composer accomplished the opera, and his Zagreb teacher Juraj Karlo (Georg Karl) Wisner von Morgenstern (1783–1855) orchestrated it, Štriga performed the main role (Alberto, or Obren in the second version of the opera). Ultimately, however, that libretto did not suffice and Štriga obtained an improved version from Dimitrija Demeter, the leading author in Croatia during the Illyrian period. As mentioned, on Demeter’s initiative the Croatian Parliament established the Hrvatsko narodno kazalište (Croatian National Theater) in Zagreb, where Demeter was a dramatist. The concert performance with fragments from the first act of the new version of the opera *Love and malice* took place in March 1845, and the premiere was a year later, delayed due to the dramatic political events remembered as the “July victims” event.³⁷

THE OPERA *LOVE AND MALICE* AS A SOUND OF “CROATNESS”

The first Croatian national opera is based on a love story, which could seem contradictory at first glance, to the general assumption that – if not an episode from national history – then the story has at least a background topic

an obstacle for him to enter the Conservatory in Prague, he studied counterpoint with Karel František Pitsch at the Organ School, and composition and instrumentation with Jan Bedřich Kittl as a private student. During this period Lisinski composed his second opera *Porin*.

36 Moreover, Janko Car “has never seen any opera libretto, and asked for several librettos of the popular Italian and German operas in order to educate himself and to learn the ‘craft’ at least in haste”. Vladimir Švacov, “Libreti i libretisti *Ljubavi i zlobe*”, in: Janko Car/Dimitrija Demeter, *Libreti opera Vatroslava Lisinskog*, red. by Vladan Švacov, Nikola Batušić, Martina Aničić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1999), 133.

37 The local elections for the government of Zagreb County were marked by the struggle between two main political groups, the Hrvatsko-ugarska stranka (Croatian-Hungarian Party) or *madjaroni* (due to their support to Magyarization) and Narodna stranka (People’s Party or Illyrian Party). Upon the announcement of the victory of the former party (whose win was due to voter fraud), the member of the latter started protests at St. Mark’s Square in the centre of Zagreb, so that Franz Haller, the then Croatian Viceroy (*banus*), asked the Austrian army for help to prevent wider public protests. The clashes between the protesters and the army resulted in numerous members and supporters of the People’s Party being assassinated or severely injured.

Among the injured protesters was Franjo Stazić (Franz Steger, 1824–1911), the opera singer who was engaged for the role of the Dalmatian nobleman Vukosav, which added one more reason to postpone the premiere of *Love and malice* until the following year, on 28 March 1846. Beside Steger, the first performers of the opera roles were young and successful: Sidonija Rubido Erdödy as Ljubica, Alberto Štriga as Obren, Kamilo Livadić as Duke Velimir, and Ljudevit Pihler as Ljudevit. The five performances of the opera in 1846, and two more in 1847, became not only the main cultural events in Zagreb, but were later considered to have been the highest point of the entire Illyrian Movement.

concerning the self-identification of the nation. A love story of two young men in love with the same girl, whose father forbids her relationship with the one she loves and chooses without any clearly given reason the other one, an evil man and a political enemy, is thwarted so that love wins at the end – does not really inspire great patriotism or the celebration of nation. There are some other nineteenth-century cases of simple love – sometimes comical – stories, that are accepted as nationalistic – like, for instance, *Prodaná nevěsta* (The bartered bride, 1863–1866) by Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884) or *Gorenjski slavček* (The nightingale from Upper Carniola) by Anton Foerster (1837–1926). This proves the fact that (the first) national opera became “national” through its reception, not because of its own characteristics. However, the opera – based on a simple love story with rather monochrome characterization – did obtain a patriotic and heroic sound that was not closely related to the libretto. In other words, the music only provided patriotically intoned self-identification in the “Slavic” choral numbers and fierce part of Vukosav.

At the time when he composed his first opera, Vatroslav Lisinski was still an amateur composer. His knowledge of the opera literature could have included the aforementioned information on Glinka’s opera, and the repertoire of the guest opera troupes in Zagreb which included stage works by Wolfgang A. Mozart (1756–1791), François-Adrien Boieldieu (1775–1834), Conradin Kreutzer (1780–1849), Daniel F. Auber (1782–1871), Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826), Louis J. Ferdinand Hérold (1791–1833), Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868), Saverio Mercadante (1795–1870), Gaetano Donizetti (1797–1848), Albert Lortzing (1801–1851), Vincenzo Bellini (1801–1835), and Luigi Ricci (1805–1859).³⁸ The main influence on him was undoubtedly Italian.

As previously mentioned, there are two versions of the libretto, as well as of the opera. Comparing the original libretto and its revision, it is possible to follow different kinds of changes, ranging from the content proper to the language and spelling of certain words. The differences between these two versions show, in a certain sense, the gradual refinement of the national ideology. After discussing the question of national language, more light will be shed on new aspects included in Demeter’s libretto as related to the setting and characters.

As noted earlier, the sound of nation in southeast European cultures was produced through the voice. Voices of the nations were embodied in four-part choral ensembles, and also in the vernacular language, before they were united in the performances of national operas. For that reason, language is tak-

38 Lovro Županović, *Vatroslav Lisinski (Zagreb, 1819.–Zagreb, 1854.): Život i djelo. Uz 150. obljetnicu njegove smrti* (Zagreb: Graphis, 2003), 316.

en as a sound of nation too, as the first half of the nineteenth century was the period of establishing, defining and coding national languages, and also the time when they could be heard emerging in art music. In the case of the southeast Slavic peoples, it was a complex question, since there was the shared legacy of the national recensions of Old Church Slavonic. It is therefore understandable why the vernacular language was the resource in the sense Hall defined it of a foremost importance in the building Pan-Slavic and afterwards national (musical) cultures.

The members of the National Revival in Croatia had a vision of a united south Slavic culture, assuming also a mutual language. For instance, the *Društvo zagrebačkih kazališnih dobrovoljaca* (Society of the Zagreb Theater Volunteers, 1847) worked in accordance with the Rules (1851) defined by Demeter and Štriga. The aim of the Society was to spread a “pure” national language, to awake a love of the homeland and “everything that is national[ly] Slavic”, as well as national pride, offering a pleasant scholarly entertainment for Croatian citizens and the foundation of the permanent national theater.³⁹ The significance of the vernacular language’s sound echoed in opera too, as the Croatian opera proves. It was composed in a period when the question of language was prevalent and was being widely discussed.

The leader of the Illyrians, Ljudevit Gaj, in his *Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskog pravopisanja* (Brief basics of the Croatian-Slavonic orthography, 1830), defined a unique orthography in order to overcome the inconsistencies stemming from the lack of all the specific sounds in the Latin script, and a common use of the Hungarian alphabet. His model was the Serbian Cyrillic alphabet, standardized by the linguist living in Vienna, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864), some years before. Afterwards, the linguist Djuro Daničić (1825–1882) replaced digraphs from Gaj’s orthography with single letters, in his *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (Dictionary of Croatian or Serbian language, 1880). The motto was that there is one letter for every sound. In this way, Serbo-Croatian was established by the mutual effort of, first of all, Serbian and Croatian linguists. The agreement on using the Serbian language for all south Slavs,⁴⁰ however, remained an unrealized idea.

39 Nikola Andrić, “Spomen knjiga Hrvatskog zemaljskog kazališta pri otvaranju nove kazališne zgrade”, *Narodne novine*, 1895, 27.

40 This agreement, known as Bečki književni dogovor (Vienna Literary Agreement, 1850), was signed by the Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian national ideologists, including linguists and authors Djuro Daničić, Dimitrije Demeter, Vuk Karadžić, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Ivan Mažuranić, Franc Mikolišić, Vinko Pacel i Stefan Pejaković. The Vienna Literary Agreement was a subject of numerous studies, among them see, for instance, Robert D. Greenberg, *Language and identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and its disintegration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 24–29.

The slightly different spelling and orthography are obvious in the two versions of the libretti for Lisinski’s opera *Love and malice*.

By (dis)placing the action into Dalmatia three centuries earlier, that is, to sixteenth-century Spalato (today’s Split), Demeter hinted to his reasons for entitling the opera “Illyrian”, or, of all Illyrian lands: as Franjo Kuhač clarified, the opera was called Illyrian because it unifies musical characteristics of all the Illyrian areas (*pokrajina*).⁴¹ This was certainly a reference to the vision of the Triunite Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. Demeter even included references to Dubrovnik literature.⁴²

There are also significant differences between the two libretti in relation to the characters. Whilst in the first version the main male characters are Alberto and the nobleman Vezalić, in the second they are Obren and Count Velimir, the former Duke of Split. Subsequently, the groups of characters are also transformed from villagers, farmers and citizens to additional social groups such as gardeners, soldiers, Velimir’s servants, Vukosav’s *hajduks* and Ljudevit’s peasants. Further on, whilst in the first libretto Alberto and Ljubica are passive – they love each other and suffer but are not doing anything in order to overcome the obstacles and be together – Obren, from the second libretto, is more active, struggling for his love against Vukosav and Ljubica’s father’s will, so that the happy end might be seen as more logical.

The only female role is of a passive and obedient young woman, who does not have any strength to resist her father’s will, even if it causes her unhappiness. She also does not make any effort to be with Obren, but instead only waits without hope. Her main – as a matter of fact, her only – sound sphere is the soloistic vocal embellishment in Bellinian *bel canto* style. Such vocal lyricism is also typical for Obren, a man deeply in love, who at the end is going to the uprising not because of his patriotic feelings, but as a result of disappointment (A-flat minor!) after mistakenly thinking that he has been betrayed by Ljubica.

Vukosav, his servant Branko and the *hajduks* are negative characters, but nevertheless the most successfully depicted. Vukosav is a passionate young man and, although evil (representing the “malice” from the opera’s title), very eager to fulfill his personal and political aims by strongly motivated action. Consequently, his musical sphere was the most delightful for a wider audience, as it dealt with rising excitement and patriotic feelings.

41 Anonym., “Prva izvorna ilirska opera ‘Ljubav i zloba’ od Vatroslava Lisinskoga”, part 2, *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska* 12/15 (1846), 59.

42 Dubrovačka književnost, or Dubrovnik literature, is a term referring to the literature of the Republica Ragusina in the period of its existence, from the Byzantine Ragusa in the fourteenth, to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it was conquered by Napoleon.

The music-dramatic concept of the entire opera is not quite successful, first of all due to the weaknesses of the libretto, but also because of Lisinski's lack of experience. Janko Car's libretto suffers from a sequence of not always firmly connected events, the lack of clear phases of dramatic action, an unclear plot, and a stressed moral message that "good ones will be rewarded, and the bad ones will be punished" without the psychological development of characters and their actions. The second version by Dimitrija Demeter partially sharpened the focus of the story, included more direct action through direct communication among the characters instead of description in arias, and gave clearer motivation to the characters' behavior. However, since Demeter did not profoundly change, but only rearranged the first version of the libretto, the main weaknesses of the story remained.

It seems that the main perceived weakness is related to the "inadequate" musical setting. Only in the last part of the opera is it revealed that both Ljudevit and Vukosav are politically engaged on opposite sides, and that both plan an uprising, the former with peasants and the latter with *hajduks* from the urban environment. This dimension of the story sheds light on the rivals, who are also political enemies. In this light, the rather patriotic exclamations in a fiery duet between Vukosav and Obren ("let's go to struggle", "bloody war", "we are struggling as lions and one of us has to be defeated") comes to be more than only an offensive dialogue between two rivals in love with the same girl.

Further on, sometimes quite elaborate, ornamented vocal lines and orchestration written by Wisner Morgenstern, especially the *tutti* moments, serve to overcome the rather poor content of the opera, and generally banal dialogues. Yet all of the shortcomings certainly did not deter delighted and enthusiastic audiences and critics, who were first and foremost overwhelmed with pride to be able to enjoy the first national opera.

THE FIRST CROATIAN OPERA AS A NETWORK OF DISCOURSES

Lisinski's *Love and malice* is an opera in two acts, as was characteristic for Bellini's and other early-Romantic Italian operas, with an Overture and seventeen units: these include either a single number, or a greater number of shorter musical numbers. There are ten recitatives, seven arias, two ariosos, three duets, one quintet, one sextet and eight choruses. As a matter of fact, the composer was inspired by early-Romantic Italian opera to follow the text in accordance with a given point in the dramaturgy, for instance:

Scene 1 in the libretto includes: a shorter prayer as an opening male Chorus of Gardeners (No.1), a recitativo and an aria by Ljubica (No.2) and another recitativo by her (No.3);

Scene 2 in the libretto: the second part of the same musical number, concluded by the first short dialogue between Ljubica and Obren (No.3);

Scene 3 in the libretto: the Chorus of Harvesters, starting as a male chorus and continuing as a mixed chorus (No.4) and an aria by Obren (No.5).

Lisinski obviously composed numbers departing from the scene structures defined in the libretto. These include three-part song-form and strophic song and he used thoroughly homophonic textures, either as melody and accompaniment or as a sequence of homo-rhythmic chords (in some choral numbers). In most cases, the numbers are clearly divided by cadences.

As in his *Lieder*, Lisinski composed the opera *Love and malice* as an Italian-(German-)-Croatian amalgam,⁴³ whereby the Croatian was at that time “under construction”. Additionally, another resource which was strategically used in the opera as representative – the choral *budnice* (rousing songs), numerous in the opus of Illyrian composers of the 1830s and early 1840s, anticipated the music of the patriotic scenes in national operas with the same characteristics:

They have texts which emphasise rebellion for national emancipation, and tie existence in the unity of Slaves *Oj, Ilirijo, oj veselo nam stoj* [Oh, Illyria, oh, be joyfull]; *Uviek složno treba poći* [It should always go joining]). Some of the songs hold the political message that is covered in their verses, as for example, one of the most popular *Prosto zrakom ptica leti* [The bird flies free in the air]. These texts [...] glorify national culture, patriotism and the beauties of Croatian countryside.⁴⁴

There are three discourses related to the first Croatian national opera, formulated in word, sound and picture: the Slavic, the “oriental” and the patriotic. Judging by the reactions of contemporary critics, starting from the premiere

43 Here is this expression used in the same way as Marina Frolova-Walker uses the expression “Italian-Russian amalgam” when considering Mihail Ivanovič Glinka’s opera *Life for the Tsar*. Moreover, in both operas we can talk about the cultural appropriation of Bellini’s operatic style as a significant resource for constructing national opera. Cf. Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian music and nationalism: From Glinka to Stalin* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 82.

44 Zdravko Blažeković, “The nineteenth-century Croatian rousing songs: From composer’s desk to the oral tradition and back”, in *Schladminger Gespräche zum Thema Musik und Tourismus*, ed. by Wolfgang Suppan (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1991), 41–48, here 44.

in 1846, there was no strict border between the music understood as national and as Slavic, which was related mainly to – unsurprisingly – the choruses. In the opera *Love and malice* the amalgam was the embodiment of love, as well as the vocal embellishment of Bellinian type.

The most appealing aspect of the opera is its melodic component. Vocal melody is developed, often melismatic and – in the lyric love arias of Ljubica, sometimes of Obren too, or in their duets – includes some *coloratura* short passages, most often at the beginning of musical phrases, as can be found in Bellini's arias. It is interesting to observe that Countess Sidonija Rubido Erdödy, who performed Ljubica's role in Lisinski's opera, was praised for her distinguished *bel canto*. At the aforementioned first concert of Illyrian music, when she sang an aria from Bellini's opera *La sonnambula* (1831) in the vernacular, it was noticed that the Italian aria in the Illyrian language sounds “with sweetness like in Italian”.⁴⁵

The elaborate vocal melody is mainly announced by an instrumental introduction, and the instrumental accompaniment contains – in the majority of cases – strings, often performing ostinato figures, and sometimes with oboe or flute. As already noted, before he accepted Alberto Štriga's persuasion to write the opera, the composer was dedicated to writing vocal miniatures. It is evident that he chose Ljubica's arias, in particular, to express his gift of writing richly-ornamented, captivating melodies.

The “Slavic sound” is “recognized” mainly in the choruses. The first Lisinski's biographer, Antonija Kassowitz-Cvijić (1856–1936), pointed out how precisely Stanko Vraz known as “the strictest and the most righteous critic” was happy to hear – especially in the choruses – the music from all “Illyrian south lands”, meaning “Croatian, Serbian, Styrian, Carniolan” music motifs.⁴⁶ As Vraz claimed, the “Slavic sound” is evident in the Introduction of the opera, including the instrumental introduction and the Chorus of Gardeners, remarkable for its “quite new voices, although nevertheless known”, as everyone in Croatia has been listening to them for generations. This is, as the reviewer believed, the best sign that the composer had figured out the national spirit.⁴⁷ “Equally superb” in this respect is the Chorus of Harvesters in Act I: in this number, “part after part [is] Slavic, peasant (*seoski*), but nevertheless all [is] artistic, written strictly after the rules of counterpoint”.⁴⁸ This was considered “one of the most beautiful numbers of the opera” of Slavic nature that had

45 Anon., “Ilirska muzikalna zabava” (as note 24), 63.

46 Antonija Kassowitz-Cvijić, *Vatroslav Lisinski u kolu Ilira* (Zagreb: Hrvatski štamparski zavod, 1919), 120.

47 Vraz, “Prva izvorna ilirska opera ‘Ljubav i zloba’ od Vatroslava Lisinskoga” (as note 1), 55.

48 Ibid.

been heard at that time. The Introduction and the Chorus of Gardeners, which encircle Ljubica’s first aria (No.2) and her dialogue with Obren as a recitative (No.3), share musical material and in this way build formal unity in a freely ABA form. The instrumental introduction (*Allegro moderato*, 4/4, E-flat major) is, thus, based on the material of the Chorus of Harvesters.

The orchestral beginning, as well as the chorus, starts with a unison melody of strings and male vocal ensemble. This kind of monophony of united voices obviously had a strong affect. It starts in E-flat major, but soon – in the Chorus of Harvesters at the end of the first four-bar phrase – a minor subdominant (minor sixth) appears, either in chromatic suspensions in flutes and clarinets (dominant – diminished sixth – dominant) or in vocal chords. The result is the scale with an augmented second between the sixth and seventh tones. According to Nikolaj Rimskij-Korsakov (1844–1908), all scales that include an augmented second are “harmonic”, and this one he called the “harmonic major”.⁴⁹ It was characteristic in Romantic music, and Franz Schubert (1797–1828) used it in several of his piano sonatas (such as D. 537 A minor and D 959 C minor), as did Frédéric Chopin (1810–1849) and Antonín Leopold Dvořák (1841–1904) among others. The harmonic E-flat major is also present in the first movement of Symphony No. 3 by Ludwig van Beethoven.⁵⁰ The scale was used by Glinka in his opera *Ruslan i Ljudmila*: moreover, it was characteristic of “Russian-Eastern (*russko-vostočnyj*) oriental colour” along with the harmonic minor or melodic major with the Phrygian second tone.⁵¹ The scale does not sound “oriental” in the same way in the Croatian opera though, but obviously contributes to the “Slavic sound” along with the approach to texture and other musical means. The “oriental” sound is nevertheless related to this number – not through the sound proper, but through iconography.

The practice of changing tones, resulting in different scales with the same tonic (such as E-flat major versus E-flat harmonic major) is referring to the *peremennyj lad* (переменный лад), a term taken over from Russian music theory. Additionally, it also means an oscillation between the parallel major and minor, or some other result of changing the tonal gravity (tonic) within the same scale. It is usually achieved by avoiding dominant harmony with the leading tone. The *peremennyj lad* is used in some other south Slavic nineteenth-century operas and, as such, can be also understood as a signifier of the Slavic tone.

49 See Николай Римский-Корсаков, *Практический учебник гармонии* (С. Петербург: Издательство Беляева, 1886).

50 See Mathew Riley, “The ‘harmonic major’ mode in nineteenth-century theory and practice”, *Music Analysis* 23/1 (2004), 1–26.

51 See http://www.lafamire.ru/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=570&Itemid=252 (last accessed: 6 August 2017)

The second part of the Introduction, the short Chorus of Gardeners called “Molitva” (Prayer) is announced by the church bells at the end of the instrumental introduction. The 15-bar Prayer for male chorus is of meditative character (*Andante sostenuto*, 6/8, B-flat major), and continues in the same fashion as that of the *premennyj lad* – B-flat major and B-flat harmonic major. It also contains chromatic auxiliary tones, although only the diminished sixth is present in all vocal parts, wherein the augmented second in the melodic line is systematically avoided. It is characteristic that the melody of the first tenors mainly stays at the dominant tone (F), also in the cadence, but is harmonized mainly as the fifth of the tonic chord.

The opera *Love and malice* by Vatroslav Lisinski explicates the main identity signifiers in Croatian nation building through music within an imperial framework: religion (Catholic Christianity) and the resulting suppressed role of women. Religious feelings are so deeply rooted in the individuals, except the rationalist Ljudevit (who instead only mentions “heaven” twice), that literally all of them use the word “God” quite frequently. In the second version of the libretto, the Chorus of Gardeners is a prayer, continued by Ljubica’s individual prayer. The Chorus of Harvesters, who follow, are thankful for their bread.

The emphasized Slavism is, as a matter of fact, a revived idea taken from the “autochthon Slav” discourse derived from Renaissance times, when it was linked to the ancient construct of an indigenous Illyrian population. The early modern Slavic/Croatian writers in Dalmatia elaborated upon this idea in their works and it became especially inspiring for the Illyrian movement in the nineteenth century. This explains Demeter’s decision to displace the story of the opera to sixteenth-century Dalmatia. “This discursive construct [...] tried to articulate Croat and South Slav claims on the past through the construction of continuity with antiquity. [...] The idea that Croats and other South Slavs migrated into Illyricum as a single group inside an essentially single ‘nation’ or ‘race’ has been present from the renaissance and early humanistic times in Poland and Bohemia”.⁵²

The “oriental” discourse is first of all related to the iconography of the opera, based on contemporary observation. As was the case with some other south Slavic national operas, as well as celebration concerts of the prominent choral societies, the singers wore national costumes that very often showed Ottoman influence in the area which was under Ottoman rule. On the occasion

52 Danijel Dzino, *Becoming Slav, becoming Croat. Identity transformations in post-Roman and early medieval Dalmatia* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 16–17.

of the premiere of the opera *Love and malice*, the costumes, the scenery and the stage design, were presented “at the highest possible level in the given circumstances”, due to the financial support of Alberto Štriga.⁵³ It caused great ardor amongst the audience, for the iconography of the opera fully contributed to the performance to be recognized as “national”. As a matter of fact, the costumes were partially borrowed from old noble families and partially tailored after the model from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁴ The performers wore shining, colorful “half-oriental Dalmatian” national costumes made of silk, embroidered with gems and *kadifa* and red long caps.⁵⁵ The male costumes were also very interesting: the *hajduks’* long red caps, *ječermas*⁵⁶ of the same colour as the shiny buttons, blue trousers (with a white strip aside), red *opanci*,⁵⁷ and a red female small cap *toka*. They had a weapon inserted into the belt; this was a characteristic way of wearing a *yathagan* or a small gun *kubura* or the Ottoman flintlock. “How much more refined were these clothes than the products of Parisian and Viennese tailors which the educated world, in spite of the common sense, adores!”, were Stanko Vraz’s delighted words.⁵⁸ The clothes identical to the described costumes have been documented in the nineteenth-century international travelogues of the same time and also referred to as “almost Oriental”. One example of such an account, written by William Wingfield on his tour to Dalmatia in 1853, claims: “The men wore the national costume (with some exceptions), which looked picturesque, and almost oriental with their blue jerkins, bag breeches, scarlet caps, and bright scarlet slippers, or ‘papatze’, with their sharp-pointed toes turned upwards”.⁵⁹

The “oriental” world of the Middle East was a part of the cultural space of southeast Slavs due to the presence of the Ottoman Empire. It was not understood as exotic in the way that it was considered in western Europe, where the “orient” was unknown and only imagined. On the contrary, in southeast

53 Županović, *Vatroslav Lisinski* (as note 30).

54 Kassowitz-Cvijić, *Vatroslav Lisinski u kolu Ilira* (as note 45), 121.

55 Stanko Vraz, “Prva izvorna ilirska opera ‘Ljubav i zloba’ od Vatroslava Lisinskoga”, part 2, *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska* 12/15 (1846), 58. “Kadifa” is a Turkish loanword (Turk. kadife) for silk velvet.

56 The Turkish loanword “ječerma” in Dalmatia, especially Split, and “dječerma” in central Serbia and Hercegovina means a part of national costume, a type of sleeveless coat, in these regions.

57 “Opanak” or plural “opanci” is a kind of peasant shoe with “sharp-pointed toes turned upwards”, as described by William Wingfield, *A tour in Dalmatia, Albania, and Montenegro. With an historical sketch of the Republic of Ragusa, from the earliest times down to its final fall* (London: Richard Bentley, 1859).

58 Vraz, “Pārva izvorna ilirska opera ‘Ljubav i zloba’ od Vatroslava Lisinskoga” (as note 44), 58.

59 William Wingfield, *A tour in Dalmatia, Albania, and Montenegro* (as note 58), 101.

Europe it was a part of the same cosmos due to their longer coexistence. It is hence not surprising that numerous south Slavic literary works were related to the Ottomans or, as it was incorrectly assumed in Europe – the Turks. As mentioned, the first Croatian national drama by Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Juran i Sofija*, among others, was a reminder of the historical Austrian-Ottoman battle. Understandably, numerous operas were also inspired by various historical events or love stories related to the Ottoman world. Some of the national ideologists, gathered around the Illyrian movement, however expressed a negative attitude to that practice: Adolfo Weber Tkalčević pointed out that “if we always remain with the Turks, it could happen to us that one reprimands that we are closer to barbarism than to civilization”.⁶⁰ Authors and composers did not accept this suggestion and, as mentioned, the most celebrated Croatian opera, *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* (1876), like many others, depicted the dichotomy of national/Habsburg and Ottoman worlds.

The patriotic music-dramatic discourse in the opera is, strangely enough, related to “malice” and opposed to “love”. The reason is that the characterization of the negative figures, especially Vukosav, is much more lively and genuine in both libretto and music. It is not surprising that the tenor Vukosav’s triumphal aria *Pobeda! Pobeda!* (Victory! Victory!) about revenge, his duet with Obren, and the choruses of *hajduks* generated the greatest enthusiasm from the audience. As the critic of the first opera performances witnessed, at the third performance of the opera, during the “combat duet”, a wreath fell from a loge to the stage in front of Stazić and Štriga, followed by exclamations from the entire audience. Later, the choruses were said to be the most successful numbers of the opera. Masculinity is presented through the patriotic-military music *topoi*, including rich orchestration, with frequent *tutti*, syncopated rhythmic figures interrupted with short breaks, and a dramatic melody of wider range.

The *tutti* orchestra in the most dramatic moments shows that Wisner von Morgenstern’s models for the opera’s orchestration were Beethoven’s symphonic works, such as, for instance, Symphony No. 7, but he also drew influence from early-Romantic German composers. Vukosav’s appearances in arias and ensembles, as well as the negative side of the action he is representing with Branko and *hajduks*, are often accompanied by wind instruments, in some moments even *tutti*. In that way the two worlds from the title, love and malice, are sounded in two different – Italian and German – ways.

60 See Miroslav Šicel, “Programski spisi hrvatskog narodnog preporoda”, in *Programski spisi hrvatskog narodnog preporoda*, ed. by Miroslav Šicel (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1997), 9–25, here 25.

The Overture includes “beloved” national melodies,⁶¹ as well as fragments, or entire themes, from No.16 Vukosav’s aria, No.6 Duet Ljudevit and Obren, No.14 Chorus of *hajduks* no.14, and No. 17 Finale. The composer unified the musical flow through the repetition of short sound-timber inflections in different numbers, as well as musical references that could perhaps, in some cases, be called motifs in the traditional sense.

“In Western Europe, modern nationalism was the work of statesmen and political leaders [...] In Central and Eastern Europe, it was the poet, the philologist, and the historian who created the nationalities”.⁶² This was precisely the case of the National Revival, whose members indeed were authors, poets, philologists, historians, and also lawyers and composers, who defined the national music in opera.⁶³ They have – as the case study of Croatia exemplifies – used the considered resources in order to point “not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from’, so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves”.⁶⁴ In spite of the fact that the understanding of the musical “contexture” of “Croatness” was not once redefined, the mentioned resources – Italian vocal melodiousness, German harmony and orchestration, general Slavic character, often connected or juxtaposed with “oriental” flavour – remained basically unchanged during Romanticism.



By choosing to explore the emergence of a Croatian national voice in the early 1840s (when it was still under construction in the Habsburg imperial context) as a present to Zdravko Blažeković, I would like to express my gratefulness for the endless inspirational discussions we have had during the last decades. Many years passed since they began, many things have happened around and to us, our homeland ceased to exist, and we live and work in borderless spaces respectively, unifying east, west and especially – where Zdravko’s newer interest for music archeology leads him – the Mediterranean south.

61 Vraz, “Prva izvorna ilirska opera ‘Ljubav i zloba’ od Vatroslava Lisinskoga” (as note 1), 54.

62 See John Neubauer, “Introduction to Part I: Literary nodes of political time”, in *History of the literary cultures of east-central Europe: Junctures and disjunctures in the 19th and 20th centuries*, vol. 3: *The making and remaking of literary institutions*, ed. by Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007), 34.

63 See Zdravko Blažeković, “Glazba u vrijeme hrvatskog narodnog preporoda”, in *Hrvatski narodni preporod 1790–1848. Hrvatska u vrijeme ilirskog pokreta* (Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1985), 114–134.

64 Hall, “Who needs ‘identity?’” (as note 7), 4.