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‘Slovenian Music History’ or
‘History of Music in Slovenia’?
With respect to the Role of Czech
Musicians on Musical Culture
in Slovenia in the 19th and the
beginning of the 20th century
»Slovenska glasbena zgodovina« ali »Glasbena
zgodovina na Slovenskem«? Z ozirom na
vlogo čeških glasbenikov v glasbeni kulturi
na Slovenskem v 19. in začetku 20. stoletja

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

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

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

It is quite understandable for differences to exist between music of different provenances; individual musical works are therefore not only distinguished by their chronological sequence and related changes in style, but also by different geographic or sociological (class, cultural, and even ethnic) backgrounds.¹ Yet the clarity of these characteristics varies, for they cannot be perceived in precisely the same way or observed with the same degree of reliability in a musical work.² In this respect, the national component causes considerable difficulties. This not only involves determining the specific styles of individual ethnic groups. These can be felt in European art music at least from the 13th century onward. A major shift occurs in the 19th century, after the French Revolution, when nationalism becomes a major form of thinking. The previously distinguishable style characteristics of a specific ethnos suddenly begin to serve the ruling ideology, to which the art aesthetics adapts and creates a new major category – the principle of nationality.

The above-mentioned period was therefore marked primarily by the efforts of ‘nonhistorical’³ nations of Central Europe to create a new national (id)entity, as well as by the tendencies of individual nations to round off their territories according to the national key. National awakening was a period in which nations emerged through national identification. In the case of Slavic nations, it was primarily constituted through the national language.⁴ From the latter emerged a romantic and national legitimation of the existence of a nation as a special entity within the Slavic family. Those nations nurturing a tradition of spiritual culture are entitled to have national, and later also political and economic requirements, and are left to exist as independent and original entities.

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

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

1 Matjaž Barbo, „Domači duh“ kao poetska kategorija – nacionalni preporodi u hrvatskoj i slovenskoj glazbenoj romantici“, in: Vera Katalinić (Ed.), *Ferdo Wiesner Livadič: život i djelo*, Zagreb 2003, 21-27.

2 Alfred Einstein, *Nationale und universale Musik: Neue Essays*, Zürich & Stuttgart 1958, 256.

3 Igor Grdina, *Slovinci med tradicijo in perspektivo: Politični mozaik 1860-1918*, Ljubljana 2003, 104.

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

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

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

Other significant differences appeared primarily on the institutional level. In the 19th century the Slovenes did not have any institutions comparable in size and significance to Czech institutions. Within their ethnic territory, the Slovenes did not have a university-level institution comparable to Karl's university⁸ in Prague, which would be capable of educating a cultural elite such as the one that had formed in the Czech Republic and which was in reality capable of 'conceiving a nation'.

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

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

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

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

9 Stane Granda, *Slovenija: Pogled na njeno zgodovino*, Ljubljana 2008, 153.

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

Until the beginning of the constitutional period in the Habsburg Empire,¹¹ cultural ties between the Czech and Slovene nations were primarily focused on contacts between individual key figures of the emerging young Czech and Slovenian cultures. In the beginning of the constitutional period, the Slovenian national movement was primarily based on informal matters (friends, acquaintances, professional issues etc.).¹² It should be emphasized that the Czech mass meetings or 'tabori' (rallies),¹³ which, on the basis of historical law, called for the unity of provinces under the crown of St. Václav (Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia), were equally irrelevant in the eyes of the government as those rallies in support of the then still inexistent 'United Slovenia'¹⁴ in the Styria, Carniola and Carinthia regions and in the Austrian-Illyrian coastal region.¹⁵

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

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

The Italian and German influences dominating Slovenian music in the past thus slowly began to be replaced in the second half of the 19th century predominantly with Czech¹⁸ elements as above all the consequence of Czech musicians in Slovenia. From

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

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

13 These were envisioned as demonstrations of power against the government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The activities of predominantly well-educated Czech musicians were already of utmost importance in the music culture of the first half of the 19th century in Slovenia. In this period, Czech musicians significantly contributed to improving the music culture of Slovenia in the areas of music reproduction (Gašpar Mašek, Josef Beneš), music education (Josef Mikš, Franc Sokol, Jan Slavik), musical craft²² (Andrej Ferdinand Malahovski) and, last but not least, composing (František Josef Benedikt Dusík, Venčeslav Wratny). Some of their compositions even represented an initial contribution to the tradition of individual musical genres in Slovenia.²³ Through their tireless work in the period of major political events, such as e.g. the Ljubljana Congress in 1821 and afterwards,²⁴ they maintained a more or less high level of music reproduction. It is in particular these musicians who deserve the merit for the high quality level of philharmonic concerts, as well as the organizational work and staging of certain performances in the Estate Theatre in Ljubljana. Already in the initial decades of the 19th century, such concerts and opera performances introduced audiences in Ljubljana to some of the most recent compositions, among others also Beethoven's symphonies.²⁵ Although equal importance cannot be attributed to all educational achievements of Czech musicians in the first half of the 19th century in Slovenia, they nevertheless contributed decisively to the education of the emerging generation of composers, music reproducers and teachers in Slovenia. Nor should one overlook their valuable contributions in individual local communities, where many of them worked as choir-masters, organists, organ masters and music teachers, and in this way helped to raise the music culture of these areas.

As in the first half of the 19th century, the functioning of certain major music institutions in Slovenia in the period between 1861²⁶ and 1914²⁷, which saw the arrival of an increasing number of Czech musicians, practically cannot be imagined without Czech musicians. Most of these newcomers were well-educated, as they generally had the possibility of acquiring the best university-level music education at the leading Czech university-level music institutions, such as the Prague National Conservatory of Music²⁸ and the Organ

22 Specially in connection with organ building.

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

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

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

26 The implementation of the constitutional regime.

27 The beginning of the first World War.

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

School in Brno²⁹. Some of them had enriched their extensive musical knowledge in various fields in their own Czech provinces before arriving in Slovenia. It therefore comes as no surprise that they brought with them a considerable amount of highly applicable musical knowledge, methods and techniques which they were then able to put to practical use in the establishment of some of the most important music institutions in Slovenia.

There should be stressed that Czech musicians in Slovenia collaborated with all music institutions operating in Slovenia between 1861 and 1914, regardless of their national character. Without musicians such as Anton Nedvčed³⁰, Jan Lego or Henrik Korel, the establishment and subsequent operation of reading halls in Ljubljana, Trieste or Maribor simply cannot be imagined.³¹ One could also hardly speak of the beginnings and subsequent operation of the Dramatical Society,³² the Musical Society³³ or, later on, the Caecilian Society³⁴ without Anton Foerster³⁵, who undoubtedly played one of the leading roles in these institutions. Just as inconceivable is the functioning of the so called 'German' Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana without such Czech music directors as Anton Nedvčed and Johann (Hans) Gerstner, who largely contributed to the quantitative and qualitative rise of both music-reproduction and music-education activities of this institution. In the area of music-organizational work, mention should be made of Julius Ohm Januschowsky and a number of other Czech musicians, such as Karl Hoffmeister and Josip Procházka, who contributed to the functioning of the Music School of the Ljubljana Musical Society. Also deserving mention are the valuable institutional endeavours of Czech musicians in the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

field of church music. In particular Anton Foerster, much like Peregrin Manich in Maribor, considerably reformed the music activities of the Ljubljana Cathedral as its *regens chori*. Without Czech musicians such as Václav Talich, Peter Teplý or Ciril Metoděj Hrazdira, it would have been hard to imagine the aspirations emerging at the beginning of the 20th century for the establishment and functioning of a professional orchestra such as the Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra which, in the field of orchestra music, succeeded in replacing the previously predominant army bands.³⁶ Czech musicians working in Slovenia in the first half of all the 19th century naturally participated in the musical performances of the leading Slovenian opera institutions: the Estate Theatre (later known as the Provincial Theatre), as well as the previously mentioned Dramatical Society and the Slovenian Provincial Theatre established in 1892.³⁷

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

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

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

37 The last-mentioned is reputed as the first Slovenian Opera House.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In comparison with other migrants in Slovenia, Czech musicians are by all means the most numerous, and made the most important contribution to raising the level of music culture in Slovenia. Of a similar intensity were the migrations of Czech musicians to some areas outside the Habsburg monarchy. In Serbia, for example, the migrations of Czech musicians to the northern part of the then Serbian provinces were particularly characteristic, although they were also present in southern parts of Serbia as well. This is quite surprising given the fact that only the northern part of the then Serbian territory formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire⁴⁰. A very similar situation regarding Czech musicians also existed in some other provinces in southeastern Europe. An increased migration flow of Czech musicians into Bosnia and Herzegovina was observed in particular after 1878, when the Bosnian and Herzegovian provinces were also officially annexed to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Like in Slovenia, Czech musicians played

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

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

The arrival of such a large number of Czech musicians after the implementation of the constitutional regime of 1861 was thus not only characteristic of nations within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy although the majority of them could be traced inside the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.⁴³ Similarly to the southern, non-Hapsburgian part of Serbia, Czech musicians also markedly influenced the music culture of Bulgaria.⁴⁴

As regards the representation of Czech musicians in individual Slovenian provinces, it is difficult to say in which of these provinces they were most influential in terms of institutional forms of activity. However, the province hosting the largest number of Czech musicians was none other than the central Slovenian historical province of Carniola. It was in Carniola, more specifically in its capital Ljubljana, that one was able to observe the continuous activities of Czech musicians, who worked in almost all the leading music institutions in Ljubljana from the establishment of its reading hall in 1861 until the dissolution of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society in 1919. A slightly smaller number of Czech musicians can be traced in the bordering provinces, particularly in the southernmost province of Primorska, which is probably attributable to the increased cultural influence of the neighbouring Italian and Austrian provinces on the local cultural activities. For this reason no increased numbers of Czech musicians arriving in Slovenia were observed in the Primorska region after 1861.⁴⁵

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

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

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

42 Sanja Majer-Bobetko, „Djelovanje stranih glazbenika u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj“, *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, Zagreb 1991, 455.

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

44 Emiliya Desislava, *Českitе kapelmajstori i primosept na Bulgarija*, Sofia 1978, 53-68.

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

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

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

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

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

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

46 E.g. Dragotin Cvetko, *Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru*, Ljubljana 1991, 335.

47 Ibidem.

48 I deliberately use a term 'music history in Slovenia' and not 'Slovenian music history'.

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

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

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

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

POVZETEK

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

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

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