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**‘CZECH-SLOVENE’ MUSICIANS?
ON THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY
IN SLOVENE MUSIC AT THE TURN OF THE 19TH
TO THE 20TH CENTURY**

Abstract: In this article, the author observes and discusses the questions of national identity in the context of Czech and Slovenian music at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. The Italian and German influences dominating Slovenian music in the past began from the mid 19th century onward to be replaced by predominantly Czech elements as the consequence of the numerous Czech musical immigration in Slovenia. Many of Czech musicians were naturalized in Slovenia and can therefore be included among Slovenian musicians. Although they actively supported the building of a Slovenian national style, they did not feel the need for the repeated aesthetic evaluation of traditional frames.

Key words: Czech-Slovenian musicians, identity, nationalism, pan Slavism, historicism

It is quite understandable for differences to exist between music of different provenances; individual musical works are therefore not only distinguished by their chronological sequence and related changes in style, but also by different geographic or sociological (class, cultural, and even ethnic) backgrounds. Yet the clarity of these characteristics varies, for they cannot be perceived in precisely the same way or observed with the same degree of reliability in a musical work.¹ 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’ nations of Central Europe to create a new national (id)entity, as well as by the tendencies of individual nations to

¹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nationaloper und ästhetische Authentizität, Kosmopolitismus und Nationalismus in der Oper des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Bayreuth 1985, 2. See also: Alfred Einstein, *Nationale und universale Musik, Neue Essays*, Zürich & Stuttgart 1958, 256.

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.² 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.³ 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. This identification was also indirectly realized through individual musical works. The composed cycle *Zwölf böhmische Lieder* by Jakub Jan Ryba represented a turning point in Czech music at the turn of the 18th to the 19th century.⁴ 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

² And of course through literature, and via these two, through an imagined entity.

³ 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.

⁴ This cycle was written in 1797, and published in 1800. Ryba composed the music for a cycle of Lieder with piano accompaniment for the leading personality of the first new Czech school of poets. The cycle designates the beginning of new Czech Lied creativity and the recognition of the Czech language as a representational language of musical composition. Jiří Borkovec, *Jakub Jan Ryba*, Praha 1995, 81–85. See also: Marta Ottlová, *Milan Pospíšil, Bedřich Smetana a jeho doba*, Praha 1997, 266.

bourgeoisie was bilingual (German-Slovenian) at least until the end of the 19th century.⁵

Other significant differences appeared primarily on the institutional level. In the 19th century the Slovenes did not have any institutions comparable by size and significance to Czech institutions. Within their ethnic territory, the Slovenes did not have a university-level institution⁶ comparable to Karl's university 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. 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.⁷ The significance of the Czech provincial nobility in the development of the Czech awakening and the related consciousness

⁵ 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 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. Jonatan Vinkler, *Posnemovalci, zavezniki in tekmeči: Češko-slovenski in slovensko-češki kulturni stiki v 19. stoletju*, Koper 2006, 240.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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 *Premc* from the German *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.

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?

Until the beginning of the constitutional period in the Habsburg Empire,⁸ 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).⁹ It should be emphasized that the Czech mass meetings or ‘tabori’ (rallies),¹⁰ which, on the basis of historical law, called for the unity of provinces under the crown of St. Václav (Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia), were equally irrelevant in the eyes of the government as those rallies in support of the then still inexistent United Slovenia in the Styria, Carniola and Carinthia regions and in the Austrian-Illyrian coastal region.¹¹

It was the appearance of ‘bésede’ (words) in the 19th century,¹² 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),¹³ theatrical performances and other

⁸ 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. Igor Grdina, *Slovenci med tradicijo in perspektivo: Politični mozaik 1860–1918*, Ljubljana 2003, 13.

⁹ The creation of a network of ‘trustworthy men’ is most accurately described by Josip Vošnjak. Josip Vošnjak, *Spomini*, Ljubljana 1982, 99.

¹⁰ These were envisioned as demonstrations of power against the government.

¹¹ Peter Vodopivec, *Kulturni boj in njegove posledice, Slovenska novejša zgodovina 1: Od programa Zjedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije, 1848–1992*, Ljubljana 2005, 66–71.

¹² Slovenian patriots found models for them in the Czech Republic.

¹³ 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.

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 [reading halls, 'Slovenska matica' (Slovenian Reading Society), 'Dramatično društvo' (Dramatical Society)] continued at an undiminished rate ['Glasbena matica' (Slovenian Music Society)] in the 1870's, 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).¹⁴

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 Dramatical Society and, from 1892 onward, by the first Slovenian Opera house. In 1872, one of the most prominent Czech musicians in Slovenia, Anton Foerster,¹⁵ wrote 'Gorenjski slavček' (The Nightingale of Upper Carniola) at the request of the Drama Society. This composition soon became the most popular and most frequently performed Slovenian musical-stage work. The attributes of the 'national' or the 'Slovenian *Prodana nevesta* (The Bartered Bride), with which Foerster outlined the directions of the Slovenian national opera',¹⁶ were an expression of euphoria by the then extremely nationalist-oriented publi-

¹⁴ Dragotin Cvetko, *Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru*, Ljubljana 1991, 343.

¹⁵ 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 Organist School, was a co-founder of the magazine *Cerkveni glasbenik* (Church Musician) and its long-time editor (1878–1908). Andrej Rijavec, 'Foerster, Anton', *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, Ljubljana 1989, 129.

¹⁶ As written in 1937 in *Gledališki list* (Theatre Bulletin), published by the National Theatre in Ljubljana.

cists and management of the opera house. The definition of *The Nightingale of Upper Carniola* as a 'national' opera was undoubtedly enhanced by the discovery that Foerster was driven in his composing by a desire to create the first Slovenian national opera. With the use of certain Slovenian national and popular melodies, Foerster supposedly attempted to 'strike a domestic Slovenian tone' in his melodies.¹⁷

The Italian and German influences dominating Slovenian music in the past thus began to be replaced in the 19th century by predominantly Czech elements as the consequence of Czech musicians working in Slovenia,¹⁸ many of whom were naturalized and can therefore be included among 'domestic' creators. From the mid 19th century onward, thus the initially predominant German element began to be replaced, due to pan Slavic enthusiasm,¹⁹ by Czech musicians, who were numerous and worked as composers, reproducers, music teachers and publicists.²⁰

¹⁷ The question of the national authenticity of opera is nevertheless present. This cannot be attained by drawing from folklore tradition, as Smetana had already discovered, because folk songs preserved in one language do not only contain national, but also local, regional and international features. Vladimir Karbusicky, Gorenjski slavček – Prepad med domovino in tujino, *Foersterjev zbornik*, Ljubljana 1998, 104–106. See also: Vladimir Karbusicky, Gorenjski slavček: Der Zwiespalt zwischen Heimat und Fremde, *Kunst Gespräche: Musikalische Begegnungen zwischen Ost und West*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1998, 208–214.

¹⁸ Later on, this was primarily the result of Slovenian musicians studying in Prague. Johann Branberger, *Das Konservatorium für Musik in Prag*, Praha 1911. See also: Vlastimil Blažek (ed.), *Sborník na paměť 125 let konservatoře hudby v Praze*, Praha 1936.

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. Jonatan Vinkler, *Posnemovalci, zavezniki in tekmeči: Češko-slovenski in slovensko-češki kulturni stiki v 19. stoletju*, Koper 2006, 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). Nevertheless, Slovenian political leaders did not abandon the idea of entering into more or less platonic alliances with the Czechs, Croatians, Serbs and Russians. Irena Gantar Godina, *Neoslavizem in Slovenci*, Ljubljana 1994.

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.

The first sign of the arrival of more contemporary views in Slovenian music was the growing popularity of historicism. Traces of historicism can first be found in the essays of a descendant of Czech musicians, Kamilo Mašek.²¹ In his review, *Caecilia*,²² which was the first music magazine in Slovenia, he drew attention to the importance of one of the most prominent Slovenian composers Jacobus Handl (Gallus) and, with his demonstrated reserve towards the church compositions of Haydn and Mozart, became one of the heralds of the new historical aesthetics. The new ideal of church music gradually penetrated into musical practice wherever the ability of performing powers allowed. For example, historicism prevailed in the Ljubljana Cathedral only after 1868, when the above-mentioned Anton Foerster became choirmaster of the Cathedral choir. Historicism in Slovenia had a smaller impact on the work of composers in this period, when only sparse and compositionally much too weak attempts were recorded.

The popularization of new aesthetic ideals primarily in Slovenian church music led to an unusual position in Slovenia. With Slovenian intellectuals being burdened by the general feeling that their nationality was threatened, every novelty was viewed by the Slovenian public as an attack on its national identity. The attempts of leading church musicians to create a historical repertoire that would replace the popular Slovene church songs dating from the early 19th century met with resistance from both political poles – liberal and conservative. The opposers of the new music – who attacked in particular its foreignness – happened to overlook the fact that popular Slovenian church songs had also been created with musical elements that were not of national origin, but were generally widespread in the Central European environment. The great dispute about 'true' Slovenian church music thus sooner appears to be a conflict between old and new, than between domestic and foreign.²³

²¹ Kamilo Mašek (Ljubljana, 11 July 1831 – Stainz, 29 June 1859), composer. From 1850–52 he studied music in Vienna; from 1852–54 he was domestic music teacher to Count Strachwitz in Šebetov, Moravia. In 1854 he returned to Ljubljana and took the position of teacher at a music school in a Ljubljana elementary school. From 1854–55 he was choirmaster of the Men's Choir of the Philharmonic Society. Manica Špendal, 'Mašek, Kamilo', *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, Ljubljana 1993, 17.

²² He published this magazine in the period from 1858–59.

²³ It even seems that Slovenian church music of that time was – owing to specific cultural and historical circumstances – a highly distinct element of European and Central European flows. Aleš Nagode, *Die Rolle des mitteleuropäischen Raumes in der Entwicklung der slowenischen Kirchenmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, *Muzikološki zbornik*, Ljubljana 2004, Vol. XL, 257–258.

The first sign of the subsequently unrelenting competition between domestic and foreign, more precisely, between Slovenian and German music societies, appeared in 1862, when, subject to the pressures of the 'German' Philharmonic Society, one of the most all-round Czech musicians in Slovenia, Anton Nedvĕd,²⁴ had to resign as Music Director of the Ljubljana reading society. This is a solitary case of actual intervention in the functioning of a competitive institution. Until the establishment of the central Slovenian musical institution, 'Glasbena matica',²⁵ in 1872, Slovenian societies did not seriously threaten the functioning of the Philharmonic Society.²⁶ Many distinguished Slovenian musicians were members of the Philharmonic Society, including the above-mentioned Anton Nedvĕd, who was its Music Director, and numerous Slovenian politicians and economists.

The reason for the difficulties and slow development of 'Glasbena matica' should primarily be sought in the fact that its programme and gradual realisation brought an entirely new concept of music culture to Slovenia.²⁷ A music culture imbued with nationalism was, until then, absolutely unimaginable to the bilingually educated Slovenian bourgeoisie. Though it was aware of the need to perform stage music productions and vocal works with Slovenian texts, the bourgeoisie was reluctant to accept the idea that the Slovenian side must compete with the 'ancient' Philharmonic Society in the performance of other genres, and in this way prove the equality of Slovenian music culture. Such a concept required distinguished citizens and musicians to take steps that were in many re-

²⁴ Anton Nedvĕd (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 choir and a male choir. He was one of the founders of the 'Glasbena matica' and its committee member until 1880. Primož Kuret, 'Nedvĕd, Anton', *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, Ljubljana 1993, 349.

²⁵ Its founding committee, comprised of the most distinguished Slovenian musicians and politicians, was presided over by Anton Nedvĕd. Even after the establishment of the Cecilia Society, Nedvĕd remained a committee member of the 'Glasbena matica' and was in 1880 named a honorary member of this body.

²⁶ Primož Kuret, *Ljubljanska filharmoniĕna druŕba: 1794–1919: kronika ljubljanskega glasbenega ŕivljenja v stoletju meŕĕanov in revolucij*, Ljubljana 2005.

²⁷ Aleŕ Nagode, *Prvih dvajset let Glasbene matice – zgodovinska podoba in resniĕnost, 130 let Glasbene Matice: zbornik prispevkov s Strokovnega posveta ob 130-letnici Glasbene Matice v Ljubljani*, Ljubljana 2003, 31.

spects risky, and above all called for renouncement on their part.²⁸ In that time, the Philharmonic Society was the meeting point of music enthusiasts, and membership in this society contributed to a citizen's public reputation. Its repertoire was modern and presented on a quality level, which the Slovenian side would not be able to attain for some time to come.

For the above reasons, in the initial years of their existence, Slovenian societies were more of a supplement than a centre of musical life. Their problems stem from the fact that, in that time, societies operated in an environment that was unaware of permanent and substantial state subsidies. Given the politically unreliable and modest municipal, provincial and state support, societies primarily relied on earnings (admissions and tuitions) and supporting members. A citizen, including a Slovenian citizen, naturally selected the institution which offered him more and better. He preferred to enroll his child in a school with a long tradition, a permanent and more qualified teaching staff, and with stable financing. Any possible lessons in the Slovenian language did not seem relevant given the fact that the same child had attended German-speaking schools – from secondary school to university – all his life. Considering the advantages, such decisions were also made by numerous Czech musicians active in Slovenia: in 1862 Anton Nedvĕd remained Music Director of the Philharmonic Society for existential reasons, while Anton Foerster participated in almost all important societies of the time in Slovenia, irrespective of their national origin.

A more pronounced shift in the direction of musical autonomy did not appear in Slovenian music until the beginning of the 20th century. It seems that the national component in Slovenian music was only then replaced by an idea that was much more relevant on a Western European scale, i. e. the idea of musical progress,²⁹ which, as an exclusively Slovenian product, wished to penetrate the European music market as an equal partner. On behalf of the latter, all even slightly suspicious political emi-

²⁸ Among others, also the renouncement of new music forms – solo performances, light salon music and waltzes –, which in the beginning of the 19th century became the trademark of the bourgeoisie respectively Biedermeier art.

²⁹ As early as in 1907, Ferruccio Busoni wrote in his *Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst* the following: 'The task of a creator is above all to set the laws and not to follow them. He who only follows the given laws ceases to be a creator.' Ferruccio Busoni, *Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, Frankfurt am Main 1974, 40. A similar opinion was expressed a good decade later (1919) by Paul Bekker in his essay about *Neue Musik*: 'It is characteristic of new music not to cling to existing laws, but to start criticizing their foundations.' Paul Bekker, *Neue Musik*, Stuttgart & Berlin 1923, 95.

grants were excluded in advance, as the idea of progress for the assessment of artistic achievement was a sometimes more and sometimes less significant aesthetic criterion. Immediately after the end of the First World War, one of the most influential Slovenian composers, Anton Lajovic, together with supporters, strongly endeavoured for the absolute sovereignty of Slovenian music, which could only be protected from the 'poison of German music' in this way.³⁰ For this reason, it was necessary to create authentic Slovenian music from the music in Slovenia as soon as possible, and to partly change the music-historical memory. It was urgent to break with everything from the past and to lean solely on Slovenian achievements. This basically quite avant-garde way of thinking soon degenerated into a romantic dividedness between the ideal and reality, even among the most ardent advocates of the 'new'. Contemporary compositional-technical models thus had to be imported as soon as possible from other nations with similar ideals. Of particular importance for Slovenian music culture at the turn of the century were contacts with numerous Czech musicians in Slovenia, who brought with them the creative achievements of music culture in Czech provinces at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century.

Gojmir Krek, Editor-in-Chief of the leading Slovenian music magazine at the turn of the century, *Novi akordi* (New Chords), remarked half-jokingly upon the issue of its first edition in 1901, that one can notice, particularly in recent times, 'a strange apparition of Czech-Slovenian musicians.'³¹ Krek ensured the diversity of published compositions by additional letters to those composers who had a better command of compositional-technical problems. And since there were not many such persons among domestic creators, he also endeavoured to obtain other Slavic creators. Predominant among them were Czech composers working in Slovenia: Anton Foerster, Emerik Beran, Karl Hoffmeister, Julij Junek and Josip Procházka.³² He therefore invited Slovenian as well as Czech and Croatian, i. e. Slavic, creators to participate, and almost all of them were happy to accept his offer and sent him some of their compo-

³⁰ After World War I, Anton Lajovic made an exceptionally dangerous, opinioned 'step' forward; he believed that for Slovenians, the music of German composers contained the lethally dangerous poison of Teutonic strangeness, which is why it should not only be disregarded, but radically suppressed on concert stages south of the Karavanke mountains. Igor Grdina, Hugo Wolf in Josip Ipavec – skica primerjalne biografije, *Hugo Wolf – sodobniki in nasledniki*, Slovenj Gradec 2001, 104.

³¹ Gojmir Krek, *Novi akordi*, Ljubljana 1901, 14.

³² Of 44 submitted compositions by Czech composers in Slovenia, altogether 41 compositions were published in *Novi akordi*, Anton Foerster (2), Emerik Beran (2), Karl Hoffmeister (4), Julij Junek (4) and Josip Procházka (29). Glasbena zbirka NUK, *Notni arhiv Novih akordov*.

sitions for publication.³³ The circle of contributors of *Novi akordi* thus expanded quickly and above all premeditatedly. Among them were no names of German composers, and the compositions of pro German political sympathizers were sooner an exception than a rule.³⁴ In spite of the fact that *Novi akordi* had been edited since 1904 from a safe distance in Vienna, both sides generally 'forgot' about one another in their letters.³⁵ How can one therefore understand 'the true desire of the editors for all composers of any art movement to find their place under the flag of *Novi akordi*'?³⁶ If Krek's demand for compositional-technical perfection can be welcomed as highly significant, then we may have more difficulty with his understanding of progress in the function of strengthening national identity.³⁷ Were not the endeavours for Slovenian musical autonomy in the early 20th century completely irrelevant, as the composers had already created the beginnings of their own tradition? The

³³ Of 43 compositions sent by Croatian creators, only 19 compositions were published in *Novi akordi*. The composers with the largest number of compositions were Vjekoslav Rosenberg-Ružić (12) and Ivan Zajc (3). Any notices sent to creators from other parts of the later common state are not known. Glasbena zbirka NUK, *Notni arhiv Novih akordov*. See also: Fatima Hadžić, Češki muzičari u Bosni i Hercegovini, *Muzika*, Sarajevo 2006, Vol. 10, 68–87; Roksanda Pejović, Czech Musicians in Serbian Musical Life (1844–1918) 1–2, *New sound*, Belgrade 1996, Vol. 8, 57–64; 1997, Vol. 9, 64–75; Katarina Tomašević, Contribution of Czech Musicians to Serbian Music in the 19th Century, *Muzikološki zbornik*, Ljubljana 2006, Vol. XL/1, 127–137.

³⁴ In a similarly unenviable situation on the other side were Slovenian composers-dissidents. In around 1900, an artist in Graz could be doomed to failure only because he was cheered by Slavs. Josip Ipavec feared, for example, that during the premiere of the operetta 'Princesa Vrtoglavka' (The Dizzy Princess) in the Styrian capital, the loud shouts of enthusiasm expressed by his co-patriots would anger the Germans. Igor Grdina, Hugo Wolf in Josip Ipavec – skica primerjalne biografije, *Hugo Wolf – sodobniki in nasledniki*, Slovenj Gradec 2001, 108.

³⁵ Primož Kuret, Deutsches Kulturschaffen in Krain vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg, *Deutsche Musik im Osten*, Sankt Augustin 1997, 533–534.

³⁶ Gojmir Krek, *Novi akordi*, *Ljubljanski zvon*, Ljubljana 1901, 576. Before the First World War, Krek wrote, among other things, about the music of Slovenia-born Hugo Wolf, which is such that '[...] the majority of the Slovenian musical public cannot even dream of.' Gojmir Krek, Hugo Wolf in Slovenci, *Novi akordi*, Vienna 1910, 20.

³⁷ Despite his clearly expressed paroles supported by the slogan 'forward', and his statement that 'precisely such compositions need to be brought to light, if we are to truly contribute to the development of Slovenian musical literature' (Gojmir Krek, *Novi akordi*, *Ljubljanski zvon*, Ljubljana 1901, 576), Krek published in *Novi akordi*, from among 5 compositions sent to the editor by the 'Slovenian Schönberg', Marij Kogoj, only the mixed choir *Trenotek* (*Novi akordi*, Vienna 1914, 4). Glasbena zbirka NUK, *Notni arhiv Novih akordov*. Krek rejected them, saying they were otherwise fresh and original, but not perfected.

existing conditions therefore offered ‘protection’, ‘enabled the affirmation of experientialism’, and ‘allowed safe entry into the personal world of music’.³⁸

Though it seems that, for example, the ‘condensation of evolution processes’ in the Song in Slovenia had brought Slovenian music into the context of contemporary musical events across Europe, the desired Sloveneness could still be felt in this genre. Even in the beginning of the 20th century, the composers of Songs in Slovenia were obliged, in order to ensure their existence, to subordinate the more or less clearly defined aesthetic criteria to the collective conscience, and contribute to the strengthening of national identity in line with the cultural-political reality.³⁹ One must confess that at the start of the 20th century, actuality in Slovenia was more of a conceptual than a creative category, even among the ‘most advanced’ circles of *Novi akordi*.⁴⁰

It seems that a major shift in music in Slovenia occurs when the perception of national characteristics becomes essential for the observation of a composer’s work, or when the style characteristics that were neutral until then acquire a distinctive national character. After shifting to the national component, a series of more or less talented amateurs appeared in Slovenian music, who began to set new aesthetic standards. The historical memory was thus broken in art music. The demand for originality as one of the most important aesthetic categories of the time was taken off the agenda, and domestic production began to circulate within its own self-sufficiency.

Although Czech musicians in Slovenia actively supported the building of a Slovenian national style, they were able, in contrast to their mostly less educated Slovene contemporaries, to lean on solid compositional-technical bases. On the one side, they did not feel the need for the

³⁸ Marija Bergamo, ‘Življenje zmožni’ zgodnji samospevi Lucijana Marije Škerjanca, *Glasba in poezija*, Ljubljana 1990, 194.

³⁹ Even at the beginning of the 20th century, the majority of the Slovenian public considered the Reading Society’s forms of singing at public festivities to be the most attractive musical forms, singing societies and individual amateur singers to be the most active part of Slovenian music reproductions of that time.

⁴⁰ The dynamics of development, i. e. the ease or suppression of development processes most often depends on the interventions of the ‘social structure’. In this way, ‘evolutionary suppression’ may be the consequence of ‘overburdening with what is outside of esthetics, e. g. national function’, alongside which one’s ‘own development dynamics’ cannot develop. Marija Bergamo, ‘Življenje zmožni’ zgodnji samospevi Lucijana Marije Škerjanca, *Glasba in poezija*, Ljubljana 1990, 194. To exist, it appeared necessary to remain understandable to the masses. The cultural-political realist thus forced many a fanatic opposer to accept a compromise in the adoption of domestic music culture. Vladimir Karbusicky, *Ideologie im Lied – Lied in der Ideologie*, Köln 1973, 24–25.

repeated aesthetic evaluation of traditional frames, nor were they interested in the then so topical destruction of assumed formal and other categories. Inside them was a deeply rooted tradition which, to them, was the only significant guide in composing. In this they saw a guarantee of historical continuity, and above all sufficient possibilities for selection in the network of compositional-technical procedures.

In spite of the above-mentioned, they were far from being indifferent to the signs of the times. Like the majority of 'Masarykovci' in Slovenia,⁴¹ they believed in progress not only in pragmatic life, but also in art. By its emancipation from the former nationalism, the latter is not only changing, but also improving. As professional musicians, they were unable to fully assert their creative qualities, as they were forced to adapt to the existing circumstances in Slovenia, which, from a development perspective, were less favourable than in the Czech provinces.

The national movement in Slovenia constantly emphasized the national-affirmative and the national-defensive significance of culture, including music culture. Yet today it nevertheless seems that such music can no longer be evaluated solely on the basis of national-awakening criteria, but should rightfully be subjected to autonomous music criteria. And value measured by indicators of autonomous music is – and this one must confess – quite small. Yet its historical weight in the formation of a special Slovene national style remains incontestably high.

One of the smallest nations in Europe has, in a region shaken by the continuous workings of the avid forces of great interests, always lived with concerns which the larger nations surrounding it have never known. It now appears to have given much too careful attention to every trace of foreign influence that could have destroyed its conception of national identity. Nevertheless, this nation has always been turned towards Europe, using European criteria to regulate its own criteria with fearful respect.

It is interesting to note that the problem of national identity is again in the forefront today, and the significance of culture is in some areas still evaluated from the aspect of its national-defence function. With respect to the expansion of the European Union to the east, the new states entering this community are asking questions not only about national interests, but also about national and cultural identity. Dealing with identity issues in recent times primarily appears to be the result of the sensitivity of intellectual and political potentials of a nation that has found itself in a completely new political, social and economic reality.

⁴¹ Janez Cvirn, Masarikovci, *Slovenska kronika 20. stoletja, 1900–1941*, Ljubljana 1995, 23.

Owing to this fact, the problem of identity has acquired new historical substance and weight. Once again, this time in a highly expanded context, a debate is opening about identity and culture, which seems to be a condition for penetrability and recognizability in today's globalized world.

Јернеј Вајс

‘ЧЕШКО-СЛОВЕНАЧКИ’ МУЗИЧАРИ?
ПИТАЊЕ НАЦИОНАЛНОГ ИДЕНТИТЕТА У СЛОВЕНАЧКОЈ
МУЗИЦИ НА ПРЕЛОМУ XIX И XX ВЕКА
(Резиме)

Чини се да се главна промена у словеначкој музици догодила онда када је опажање националних обележја постало битно за посматрање композиторског дела, или када су стилске карактеристике, дотад неутралне, задобиле специфична национална својства. После ове промене у правцу националних одлика, низ више или мање талентованих аматера појавио се у словеначкој музици, и они су почели да постављају нова естетичка мерила. Тако је историјска меморија у уметничкој музици била прекинута. Захтев за оригиналношћу као једној од најзначајнијих естетичких категорија онога времена, био је повучен, а домаће стваралаштво почело је да кружи унутар сопствене самодовољности.

Иако су чешки музичари у Словенији активно допринели изградњи словеначког националног стила, они су били у могућности – за разлику од својих углавном мање образованих словеначких савременика – да се ослоне на солидну композиционо-техничку основу. С једне стране, они нису осећали потребу за поновљеном естетичком проценом традиционалних начела, нити су били заинтересовани за у оно време тако актуално рушење претходних формалних и других категорија. У њима је постојала дубоко укоревљена традиција, и она им је представљала једино важно мерило у компоновању. У њој су нашли јемство историјског континуитета, и, изнад свега, довољно могућности за избор унутар мреже композиционо-техничких поступака.

С друге, пак, стране, а упркос горепоменутом, они су били далеко од равнодушности према знацима свога времена. Као и већина „Масариковаца“ у Словенији, веровали су у напредак – како у практичном животу, тако и у уметности. Захваљујући њиховом ослобођењу од пређашњег национализма, овај се не само мења, већ и унапређује. Као професионални музичари они нису били кадри да у потпуности потврде своје креативне способности, јер су били приморани да се прилагоде постојећим околностима у Словенији. А ове су, посматрано са становишта развоја, биле мање повољне од оних у чешким покрајинама.

(Са енглеског превео Александар Васић.)

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