

UR. JERNEJ WEISS

GLASBENA DRUŠTVA
V DOLGEM 19. STOLETJU:
MED LJUBITELJSKO
IN PROFESIONALNO
KULTURO

MUSIC SOCIETIES
IN THE LONG
19TH CENTURY:
BETWEEN AMATEUR
AND PROFESSIONAL
CULTURE

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in profesionalno kulturo

*music societies in the long
19th century: between amateur
and professional culture*

ur. Jernej Weiss



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Uredniški odbor • Matjaž Barbo (Ljubljana), Helmut Loos (Leipzig), Wolfgang Marx (Dublin), Lubomír Spurný (Brno), Leon Stefanija (Ljubljana), Michael Walter (Graz), Jernej Weiss (Ljubljana/Maribor)

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In memoriam zasl. prof. dr. Primož Kuret (1935–2022)

Znanstveno monografijo z naslovom *Glasbena društva v dolgem 19. stoletju: med ljubiteljsko in profesionalno kulturo* posvečamo ustanovitelju Slovenskih glasbenih dnevov in dolgoletnemu vodji mednarodnega muzikološkega simpozija zasl. prof. dr. Primožu Kuretu, ki je v letu 2022 sklenil svojo bogato življenjsko pot.

Leta 1954 je maturiral na Klasični gimnaziji v Ljubljani, leta 1959 diplomiral na Akademiji za glasbo (glasbena zgodovina) in Filozofski fakulteti (umetnostna zgodovina) ter leta 1965 promoviral na Filozofski fakulteti, pozneje pa deloval kot profesor za svetovno zgodovino glasbe in zgodovino slovenske glasbe na Akademiji za glasbo v Ljubljani. Večkrat je bil predstojnik oddelka za glasbeno pedagogiko, med letoma 1993 in 2001 pa tudi prodekan Akademije za glasbo. Velik del življenja je posvetil profesuri, ki jo je leta 1978 začel na Akademiji za glasbo in tam ostal do upokojitve leta 2005. Vzgojil je vrsto glasbenikov, delujočih v domala vseh slovenskih glasbenih ustanovah.

Bil je tudi pobudnik simpozijev v organizaciji Akademije za glasbo ter pobudnik za nastanek in razvoj *Glasbeno-pedagoškega zbornika* Akademije za glasbo v Ljubljani, s katerim je spodbujal študente podiplomskega magistrskega in doktorskega študija, akademski podmladek ter univerzitetne učitelje, delujoče na različnih glasbenih področjih, k snovanju prispevkov o pomembnih glasbenih temah, s katerimi je stroka pridobila nove ugotovitve in dejstva. Štiri leta je deloval kot predsednik Slovenskega muzikološkega društva, vrsto let urejal revijo Glasbene mladine Slovenije, več let vo-

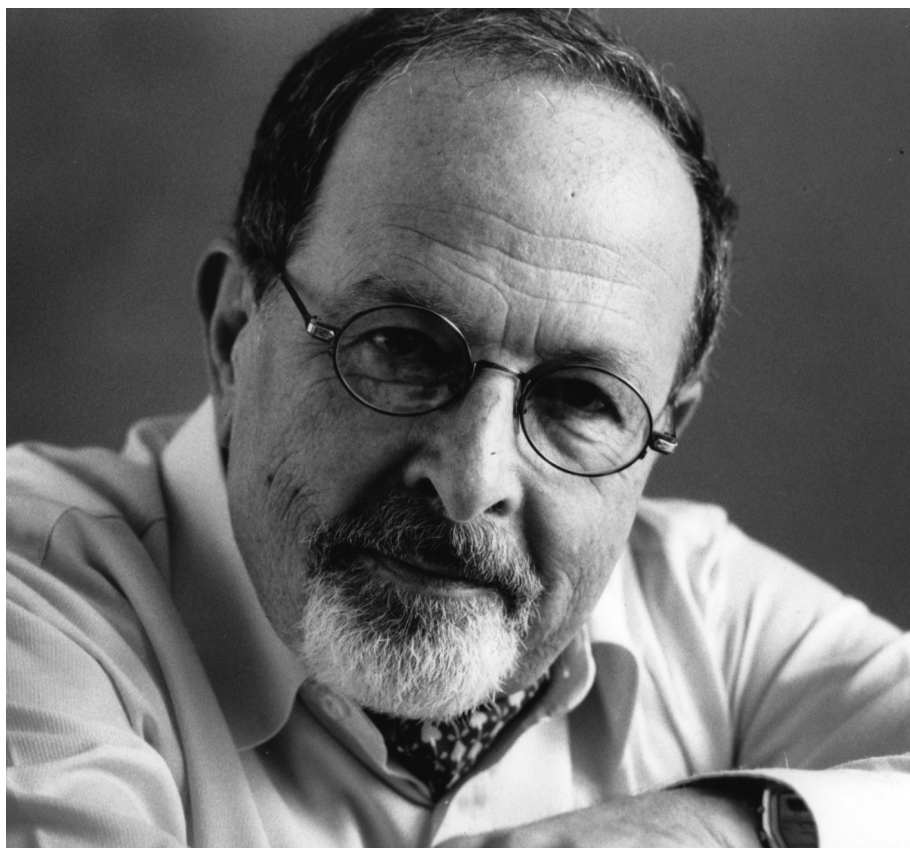


Foto: Tihomir Pinter

dil odbor za kulturo mesta Ljubljana in bil vodja nacionalne komisije za vsebinsko prenovo glasbenega šolstva. Ob tem je vsestransko deloval kot kritik, prevajalec, urednik, recenzent in pisec.

Kot *spiritus agens* je skupaj s skladateljem Milanom Stibiljem leta 1986 ustanovil in vodil *Slovenske glasbene dneve*, katerih član programskega odbora je ostal vse do smrti. V treh desetletjih Kuretovega vodstva omenjenega praznika slovenske glasbe je bilo izvedenih več kot 220 krstnih izvedb novih slovenskih del. Kot skrbni vodja mednarodnega muzikološkega simpozija v okviru Slovenskih glasbenih dnevov je poskrbel, da je simpozij postal eden izmed osrednjih muzikoloških dogodkov v tem delu Evrope. S tehtno izbranimi tematikami ni le spodbudil domače in tuje muzikološke stroke k raziskovanju in širjenju muzikoloških obzorij, temveč pokazal pot, kako enakovredno vključiti slovensko glasbo v evropski prostor.

Kot eden izmed največjih poznavalcev glasbene zgodovine Ljubljane je posebej natančno osvetlil delovanje ljubljanskih filharmonij in vsestransko dopolnil védenje o mladem Gustavu Mahlerju ter številnih drugih velikanih ljubljanske glasbene preteklosti. Bil je avtor številnih monografij ter urednik več kot štiridesetih znanstvenih publikacij. Med njimi je tri desetletja urejal publikacijo prispevkov mednarodnega muzikološkega simpozija Slovenskih glasbenih dnevov, ki jo je leta 2017 nasledila pričujoča serija znanstvenih monografij (*Studia musicologica Labacensia*).

Za svoje dosežke je prof. Kuret prejel nekatere najuglednejše nagrade ter priznanja, kot so Betettova listina (2002), častno članstvo Accademie Filarmonica di Bologna (2002), nagrada RS za življenjsko delo v vzgoji in izobraževanju (2005), Herderjeva nagrada (2005), avstrijski častni križ za znanost in umetnost I. reda za zasluge na področju muzikologije (2005), Mantuanijeva nagrada za življenjsko delo (2006), častno članstvo Slovenske filharmonije (2008), red za zasluge RS (2012) itd.

Posebej velja omeniti njegovo intenzivno mednarodno delovanje, ki je med drugim prineslo marsikateri stik s kolegi z nekaterih najbolj eminentnih tujih univerz. Žal so nekateri od njih prav v minulih letih zapustili naše vrste. Posebej ga je prizadela izguba dobrega prijatelja prof. Petra Andraschkeja, ki je poleg prof. Hartmuta Kronesa z dunajske in prof. Helmuta Loosa z leipziške univerze spadal v najožji krog njegovih zaupnikov. Skupaj z njimi je sodeloval na več kot 300 mednarodnih simpozijih doma in v tujini ter tudi na ta način širil glasbeno zavest o umeščenosti slovenske glasbe v širši evropski prostor.

V naši zavesti bo ostal zapisan kot izjemen kolega, ki je do zadnjega, kolikor mu je zdravje še dopuščalo, sledil dosežkom stroke in prispeval, kjerkoli je bilo treba. Predvsem pa kot nekdo, čigar zasluge še zdaleč niso bile omejene le na slovenski prostor. Tako se zdi njegova pot v prvi vrsti pot evropskega muzikologa. Nedvomno je spoštovani kolega Kuret s svojim ugledom ter vsestranskim delovanjem bistveno prispeval k bogatitvi slovenske muzikološke srenje in širše glasbene kulture, s svojo karizmo in znanstveno širino pa navdušil številne mlajše kolege za nadaljnji razvoj muzikološke stroke.

Počivaj v miru, dragi Primož.

Darko Brlek
Jernej Weiss

Monografije zasl. prof. dr. Primoža Kureta

- 1973: *Glasbeni inštrumenti na srednjeveških freskah na Slovenskem* (knjižna izdaja);
- 1979: *Kurt Pahlen, Poslušam in razumem glasbo* (izdaja knjižnega prevoda);
- 1983: *Kurt Honolka, Svetovna zgodovina glasbe* (izdaja knjižnega prevoda);
- 1985: *Besede skladateljev: od Mozarta do Gershwina* (izdaja knjižnega prevoda);
Glasbena Ljubljana v letih 1899–1919 (knjižna izdaja);
- 1988: *Umetnik in družba. Slovenska glasbena misel po prvi vojni* (knjižna izdaja);
- 1990: *Günter Hausswald, Slog v glasbi* (izdaja knjižnega prevoda);
- 1992: *Karl H. Wörner, Zgodovina glasbe* (izdaja knjižnega prevoda);
- 1994: *Ipavci* (knjižna izdaja);
- 1997: *Mahler in Ljubljana: 1881–1882* (knjižna izdaja);
Od Academiae philharmonicorum do prve Slovenske filharmonije (knjižna izdaja);
- 2001: *Mahler in Laibach: Ljubljana 1881–1882* (izdaja knjižnega prevoda);
Slovenska filharmonija / Academia philharmonicorum: 1701–2001 (knjižna izdaja);
- 2002: *Ulrich Michels, Glasbeni atlas* (izdaja knjižnega prevoda);
- 2004: *Zgodbe o glasbi in glasbenikih* (knjižna izdaja);
- 2005: *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794–1919: kronika ljubljanskega glasbenega življenja v stoletju meščanov in revolucij* (knjižna izdaja);
Slovenski skladatelji v portretih Saše Šantla (knjižna izdaja);
Sto slovenskih opernih zvezd (knjižna izdaja);
- 2008: *100 let Slovenske filharmonije* (knjižna izdaja);
- 2011: *Mahler in Ljubljana: 1881–1882* (ponatis knjižne izdaje);
Zanesenjaki in mojstri (knjižna izdaja);
- 2021: *Iz parterja: nekaj spomina* (knjižna izdaja spominov);
- 2022: *Čarobne palice: veliki dirigenti Josef Zöhrer, Václav Talich in Fritz Reiner v Ljubljani v luči sodobne kritike* (knjižna izdaja).



In memoriam Prof. Emeritus Primož Kuret, PhD (1935–2022)

The academic monograph entitled *Music Societies in the Long 19th Century: Between Amateur and Professional Culture* is dedicated to the memory of the founder of the Slovenian Music Days and the long-time director of the International Musicological Symposium, Prof. Emeritus Primož Kuret, PhD, who concluded his rich life in 2022.

In 1954 he passed the matura exam at the Classical Grammar School in Ljubljana, in 1959 he graduated from the Academy of Music (history of music) and the Faculty of Arts (art history), received his doctorate from the Faculty of Arts in 1965, and later became professor of world music history and the history of Slovenian music at the Ljubljana Academy of Music. He was head of the Music Pedagogy Department on a number of occasions, and from 1993 to 2001 was also the vice-dean of the Academy of Music. Kuret devoted a large portion of his life to his professorship, which he began in 1978 at the Academy of Music, staying there until his retirement in 2005. He trained many musicians who are now employed in almost all of Slovenia's musical institutions.

He was the initiator of symposia organised by the Academy of Music and instigated the foundation and development of the *Glasbeno-pedagoški zbornik* (*The Journal of Music Education*) published by Ljubljana's Academy of Music, with which he encouraged postgraduate master's and doctoral students, young academics and university professors active in different fields of music to write articles about important musical subjects, thereby leading to new findings. Kuret was active for four years as the president

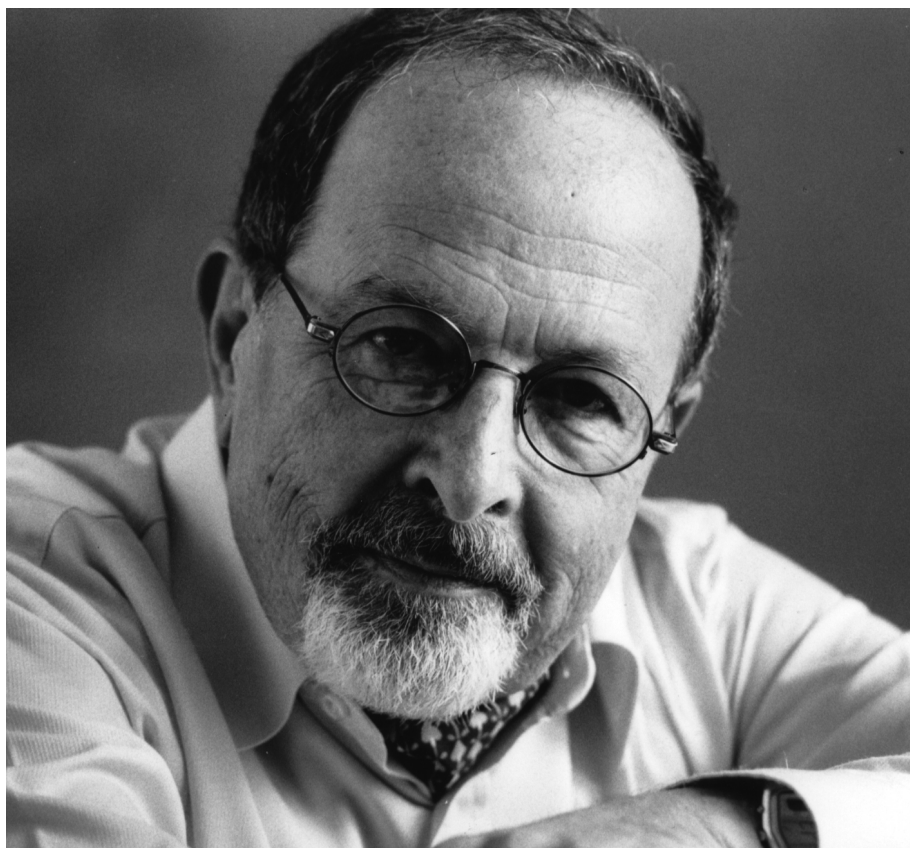


Photo: Tihomir Pinter

of the Slovenian Musicological Society, and for a number of years he edited the *Jeunesses Musicales Ljubljana* review. He was also head of Ljubljana's culture committee and of the national committee for the substantive overhauling of musical education. In addition, he has also worked as a critic, translator, editor, reviewer and author.

Operating as the *spiritus agens*, he founded and directed the Slovenian Music Days together with the composer Milan Stibilj in 1986, and remained a member of the programme committee until his passing. In the three decades that Kuret directed this celebration of Slovenian music, more than 220 new Slovenian works were premiered. As an attentive head of the international musicology symposium that is a part of the Slovenian Music Days, he ensured that the symposium became one of the main musicological events in this part of Europe. With his carefully chosen topics he not only encour-

aged Slovenian and foreign musicologists to conduct research and expand musicological horizons, but also showed how Slovenian music can find its place on an equal footing alongside that from other parts of Europe.

As one of the greatest connoisseurs of Ljubljana's musical history, he gave many insights into the functioning of Ljubljana's philharmonic societies and provided us with comprehensive knowledge of the young Gustav Mahler and many other great figures in Ljubljana's musical past. He was the author of numerous monographs and editor of more than forty scholarly publications. Among other things, he edited the publication of contributions to the International Musicological Symposium of the Slovenian Music Days for three decades, whereupon it was succeeded in 2017 by the present series of scholarly monographs (*Studia musicologica Labacensia*).

For his achievements, Prof. Kuret received some of the most prestigious awards and accolades, among them the Betetto Award (2002), honorary membership of the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna (2002), the Lifetime Achievement Award of the Republic of Slovenia for Work in Education (2005), the Herder Prize (2005), the Austrian Cross of Honour for Science and Art, First Class for Merit in the Field of Musicology (2005), the Mantuani Lifetime Achievement Award (2006), Honorary Membership of the Slovenian Philharmonic (2008), and the Order of Merit of the Republic of Slovenia (2012).

Particular mention should be made of his intensive international field of operation, which also led to many close contacts with colleagues from some of the most eminent foreign universities. Unfortunately, some of them have left us in recent years. He was particularly affected by the loss of his good friend Prof. Peter Andraschke, who, along with Prof. Hartmut Krones from the University of Vienna, and Prof. Helmut Loos from the University of Leipzig, was one of his closest confidants. With them, he participated at over 300 international symposia in Slovenia and abroad, and this was also one of the ways in which he spread awareness of the place Slovenia's music has in Europe.

He will undoubtedly be remembered as an outstanding colleague who pursued the achievements of the profession to the end, as far as his health permitted, and who contributed wherever necessary. Above all, he was someone whose merits were far from being limited to Slovenia. His path, then, seems to have been first and foremost that of a European musicologist. There is no doubt that our esteemed colleague Kuret, with his reputation and his far-reaching work, significantly enriched Slovenia's musicological community and musical culture in general. With his charisma and

scientific breadth he persuaded many younger colleagues to continue developing the musicological field of study.

Rest in peace, dear Primož.

Darko Brlek

Jernej Weiss

Monographs by Prof. Emeritus Primož Kuret, PhD

- 1973: *Glasbeni instrumenti na srednjeveških freskah na Slovenskem* (book edition);
- 1979: *Kurt Pahlen, Poslušam in razumem glasbo* (book translation edition);
- 1983: *Kurt Honolka, Svetovna zgodovina glasbe* (book translation edition);
- 1985: *Besede skladateljev: od Mozarta do Gershwin* (book translation edition);
Glasbena Ljubljana v letih 1899–1919 (book edition);
- 1988: *Umetnik in družba. Slovenska glasbena misel po prvi vojni* (book edition);
- 1990: *Günter Hausswald, Slog v glasbi* (book translation edition);
- 1992: *Karl H. Wörner, Zgodovina glasbe* (book translation edition);
- 1994: *Ipavci* (book edition);
- 1997: *Mahler in Ljubljana: 1881–1882* (book edition);
Od Academiae philharmonicorum do prve Slovenske filharmonije (book edition);
- 2001: *Mahler in Laibach: Ljubljana 1881–1882* (book translation edition);
Slovenska filharmonija / Academia philharmonicorum: 1701–2001 (book edition);
- 2002: *Ulrich Michels, Glasbeni atlas* (book translation edition);
- 2004: *Zgodbe o glasbi in glasbenikih* (book edition);
- 2005: *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794–1919: kronika ljubljanskega glasbenega življenja v stoletju meščanov in revolucij* (book edition);
Slovenski skladatelji v portretih Saše Šantla (book edition);
Sto slovenskih opernih zvezd (book edition);
- 2008: *100 let Slovenske filharmonije* (book edition);
- 2011: *Mahler in Ljubljana: 1881–1882* (reprint of a book edition);
Zanesenjaki in mojstri (book edition);
- 2021: *Iz parterja: nekaj spomina* (memoirs, book edition);
- 2022: *Čarobne palice: veliki dirigenti Josef Zöhrer, Václav Talich in Fritz Reiner v Ljubljani v luči sodobne kritike* (book edition).

Glasbena društva v dolgem 19. stoletju: med ljubiteljsko in profesionalno kulturo

Jernej Weiss

Univerza v Ljubljani / Univerza v Mariboru

Znanstvena monografija z naslovom *Glasbena društva v dolgem 19. stoletju: med ljubiteljsko in profesionalno kulturo* namenja pozornost delovanju glasbenih društev, brez katerih si glasbenega življenja v omenjenem obdobju ne moremo predstavljati. V ospredju zanimanja tokratne monografije je širše društveno delovanje v dolgem 19. stoletju. Med najpomembnejša glasbena društva na Slovenskem prištevamo Glasbeno matico Ljubljana, katere častitljivi 150-letni jubilej smo zaznamovali leta 2022.

Kot v svoji, doslej najbolj celoviti raziskavi delovanja Glasbene matice Ljubljana (*Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina: ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne*) zapiše Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, je društvo vse od ustanovitve leta 1872 razvilo pomembne silnice glasbenega življenja Slovencev: imelo je največjo slovensko glasbeno založbo in koncertno poslovalnico, odbor je spodbudil ustanovitev prvega civilnega koncertnega orkestra (prve Slovenske filharmonije; 1908), glasbenega konservatorija in Folklornega inštituta. Glasbena matica je v svojih vrstah združevala ljubiteljske in poklicne glasbenike, med društvene člane so že ob ustanovitvi pristopile pomembne osebe slovenskega javnega življenja, ugledni ljubljanski meščani, pa tudi kulturniki iz drugih slovenskih krajev, s pomočjo katerih je društvo nadvse pomembno sooblikovalo tako glasbeno kot širšo kulturno podobo Slovencev.

S pomočjo prispevkov domačih in tujih raziskovalcev šesta monografija serije *Studia musicologica Labacensia* osvetli delovanje primerljivih glas-

benih ustanov doma in v tujini. V ospredje zanimanja postavlja odnos med ljubiteljsko in profesionalno kulturo, ki je ne le pri nas, temveč tudi drugod odločilno zaznamoval glasbeno institucionalno delovanje v dolgem 19. stoletju. Friedhelm Brusniak (Würzburg) predstavi izjemen pomen enega izmed osrednjih nemških pevskih društev Nemške pevske zveze (DSB), ustanovljene leta 1862 v Coburgu, Hartmut Krones (Dunaj) v svojem prispevku opozori na politične razlike med »levimi« in »desnimi« amaterskimi zbori in njihovimi političnimi cilji v 19. stoletju na Dunaju, serijo člankov, ki svojo pozornost namenjajo v 19. stoletju nadvse razširjenemu zborovskemu delovanju v nemško govorečih deželah, pa s svojim prispevkom o kulturnem in političnem pomenu nemških moških pevskih zborov zaokroža Helmut Loos (Leipzig).

Vprašanj, povezanih z nacionalnimi identifikacijami, ki v drugi polovici 19. stoletja vse bolj zaznamujejo do tedaj izrazito transnacionalno srednje- in vzhodnoevropsko kulturno okolje, se dotikajo prispevki ukrajinske kolegice Lube Kijanovske (Lvov) ter poljskih kolegov Terese Mazepe (Rzeszów) in Mirosława Dymona (Rzeszów), Danutė Petrauskaitė (Vilna) ter Michala Ščepána (Bratislava). Prispevka Lane Šehović (Sarajevo) in Nade Bezić (Zagreb) obravnavata nekatera osrednja glasbena društva v Sarajevu in Zagrebu. Posebno pevsko društvo Kolo je bilo tesno povezano z Glasbeno matico Ljubljana. Tako med 20 ustanovnimi člani, ki jih sestavljajo slovenski politiki, glasbeniki in drugi rodoljubi, najdemo tudi omenjeno zagrebško društvo. Tesne povezave med tedanjimi slovanskimi društvi so v ospredju zanimanja Viktorja Veleka (Ostrava), ki se v svojem članku posveča delovanju Mateja Hubada v okviru glasbenega življenja slovanskih društev na Dunaju. Mednarodni okvir društvenega delovanja pa s slikovitim opisoma dopolnjujeta prispevka Nialla O'Loughlina (Loughborough) in Wolfganga Marxa (Dublin), ki natančneje izrišeta okvire društvenega delovanja v Londonu oz. na Irskem.

Drugi del monografije se posveča društvenemu delovanju na Slovenskem, s posebno pozornostjo na delovanje Glasbene matice Ljubljana. Katja Škrubej (Ljubljana) v svoji nadvse temeljiti obravnavi formalnopравnih okvirov društvenega delovanja prikaže nekatere kontinuitete in prelome v povezavi z ustavnimi in zakonskimi spremembami v Habsburški monarhiji po marčni revoluciji (med njimi Zakona o lokalni samoupravi, Zakona o društvenem pravu itd.). Podrobnejšo sliko o delovanju posameznih društev si lahko bralec ustvari po skrbni obravnavi ptujskih glasbenih društev v drugi polovici 19. stoletja ter njihovem vplivu na Glasbeno matico Ptuj, ki

ga izdatneje osvetli Darja Koter (Ljubljana). Luisa Antoni (Trst) pa se v svojem prispevku osredotoči na delovanje nekaterih glasbenih ustanov v multinacionalnem tržaškem kulturnem okolju dolgega 19. stoletja. Dva izmed člankov namenjata svojo pozornost mariborskemu društvenemu delovanju: Vlasta Stavbar (Maribor) z natančnim zgodovinskim orisom z vključitvijo nekaterih doslej manj znanih virov podrobno predstavi začetke delovanja Slovanske čitalnice v Mariboru, Manja Flisar Šauperl (Maribor) pa pozornost nameni vsestranskemu delovanju Glasbene matice Maribor med letoma 1919 in 1948. Delovanja omenjenih glasbenih društev seveda ne bi bilo brez prispevka pomembnejših glasbenih osebnosti. Še posebej izdaten je bil v tem pogledu prispevek nekaterih tujih glasbenikov pri nas, kar v svojih prispevkih prikažejo raziskovalci projekta ARRS z naslovom *Pri-tok glasbenikov na Slovensko v dolgem 19. stoletju – njihov vpliv in integracija*: Maruša Zupančič (Ljubljana), Jernej Weiss (Ljubljana / Maribor) in Matjaž Barbo (Ljubljana). Doslej manj raziskano področje delovanja Glasbene matice Ljubljana, razvoj glasbenoteoretičnih predmetov vse od ustanovitve glasbene šole in Konservatorija pri Glasbeni matici Ljubljana do vključno ustanovitve Akademije za glasbo v Ljubljani, pa je v svojem prispevku podrobneje obravnava Katarina Zadnik (Ljubljana).

Tako se pričujoča monografija ne osredotoča le na posamezne segmente delovanja Glasbene matice, temveč želi z na različna področja segajočimi raziskavami uveljavljenih slovenskih in tujih raziskovalcev povleči vzporednice s primerljivim društvenim delovanjem v mednarodnem prostoru. Posebno pozornost namenja prispevku nekaterih osrednjih glasbenih osebnosti, ki so bile v vse bolj razgretem ozračju s konca 19. stoletja sposobne prestopiti rubikon društveno-ideoloških delitev in v praksi združiti sicer konkurenčno delovanje omenjenih ustanov. Tovrstne povezave namreč pod vprašaj postavljajo še en precej trdovraten koncept polpreteklega slovenskega glasbenega zgodovinopisja, in sicer polarizacijo društvenega delovanja na nacionalni osnovi. To pogosto slika predvsem nekatera starejša glasbenozgodovinska literatura, pa vendar praktični zgledi, poleg za tisti čas značilnih nasprotovanj, izkazujejo tudi številne tesne društvene vezi, tako v poustvarjalnosti kot na drugih področjih glasbenega delovanja. Prav s tovrstnim požrtvovalnim, na številna področja segajočim delom, značilnim za takrat v večini amatersko glasbeno kulturo, je posameznim glasbenikom pri nas v 19. stoletju uspelo postaviti temelje institucionalnim okvirom društvenega delovanja in tako pomembno prispevati k postopni profesionalizaciji glasbenega življenja na Slovenskem.



Music societies in the Long 19th Century: Between Amateur and Professional Culture

Jernej Weiss
University of Ljubljana / University of Maribor

This monograph entitled *Music Societies in the Long 19th Century: Between Amateur and Professional Culture* deals with the activities of music societies, without which musical life in the 19th century would not have been possible. The focus of this monograph is on the broader activities of the societies in the period under consideration. Among the most important music societies in Slovenia is *Glasbena matica Ljubljana*, whose 150th anniversary was celebrated in 2022.

As Nataša Cigoj Krstulović writes in her most comprehensive study to date of the activities of the *Glasbena matica* society (*Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina: ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne*), since it was founded in 1872, the society has developed important forces for the musical life of Slovenes, it being the largest Slovene musical publishing house and concert organiser. Its organising committee encouraged the founding of the first civil concert orchestra (the first Slovene Philharmonic; 1908), musical conservatory and Folklore Institute. *Glasbena Matica* brought together amateur and professional musicians alike. Important figures in Slovene public life and distinguished citizens of Ljubljana became members as soon as it was founded, along with people active in cultural fields from other Slovene areas, with whose help the society made a very important contribution to shaping the musical and cultural image of Slovenians in general.

With the help of contributions from domestic and foreign researchers, this sixth monograph in the series *Studia musicologica Labacensia* sheds light on the activities of comparable musical institutions in Slovenia and abroad. The focus is on the relationship between amateur and professional culture, which decisively shaped institutional musical life in the long 19th century not only in this country but also elsewhere. Friedhelm Brusniak (Würzburg) presents the outstanding importance of one of the main German choral societies, the *Deutscher Sängerbund* (DSB), founded in Coburg in 1862, while Hartmut Krones (Vienna) discusses the political differences between 'left-wing' and 'right-wing' amateur choirs and their political goals in the 19th century. Helmut Loos (Leipzig) concludes his series of articles on the cultural and political importance of German male choirs with his contribution on the dissemination of choral music in German-speaking countries in the 19th century.

The contributions of the Ukrainian colleague Luba Kijanovska (Lviv) and the Polish colleagues Teresa Mazepa (Rzeszów) and Mirosław Dymon (Rzeszów), Danutė Petrauskaitė (Vilnius) and Michal Ščepán (Bratislava) deal with questions of national identification, which the now strongly transnational cultural environment of Central and Eastern Europe faced in the second half of the 19th century. The contributions by Lana Šehović (Sarajevo) and Nada Bezić (Zagreb) deal with some of the central music societies in Sarajevo and Zagreb. In particular, the choral society *Kolo* maintains close relations with *Glasbena matica Ljubljana*. This Zagreb society is thus also found among the 20 founding members, consisting of Slovenian politicians, musicians, and other patriots. The close connections between the Slavic societies of that time are in the foreground of the interest of Viktor Velek (Ostrava), who in his article highlights the activities of Matej Hubad in the context of the musical life of the Slavic societies in Vienna. The international context of societies' activities is complemented by vivid descriptions in the articles by Niall O'Loughlin (Loughborough) and Wolfgang Marx (Dublin), who explain the context of societies' activities in London and Ireland.

The second part of the monograph deals with the activities of the societies in Slovenia, in particular the activities of *Glasbena matica Ljubljana*. Katja Škrubej (Ljubljana), in her very thorough treatise on the legal and formal framework of the societies' activities, points out some continuities and ruptures related to the constitutional and legal changes within the Habsburg monarchy in the period after the March Revolution (includ-

ing the Local Self-Government Act, the Company Law Act and others). A more detailed picture of the activities of the individual societies emerges from a careful study of the Ptuj music societies in the second half of the 19th century and their influence on *Glasbena matica Ptuj*, presented by Darja Koter (Ljubljana). Luisa Antoni (Trieste) focuses in her contribution on the activities of some musical institutions in the multinational cultural environment of Trieste in the long 19th century. Two of the contributions deal with the activities of societies in Maribor: Vlasta Stavbar (Maribor) sheds light on the beginnings of the Slovanska čitalnica (Slavic Reading Room) in Maribor in a detailed historical outline that also includes some hitherto less known sources, while Manja Flisar Šauperl (Maribor) looks at the diverse activities of *Glasbena matica Maribor* between 1919 and 1948. The activities of these societies would not exist without the contribution of individual great musical personalities. In this respect, the contribution of some foreign musicians to Slovenia was particularly rich, as shown by the contributions of the researchers of the ARRS project *Influx of musicians to the Slovene Lands during the long 19th century – their impact and integration*: Maruša Zupančič (Ljubljana), Jernej Weiss (Ljubljana–Maribor) and Matjaž Barbo (Ljubljana). In her contribution, Katarina Zadnik (Ljubljana) presented in detail the hitherto less researched area of activity of the *Glasbena matica Ljubljana*, the development the music theory subjects, from the establishment of a music school and a conservatory within *Glasbena Matica in Ljubljana*, to the establishment of the Academy of Music in Ljubljana.

This monograph thus not only focuses on individual segments of the activities of *Glasbena matica*, but aims to draw parallels with comparable activities of societies in the international field through the research of renowned Slovenian and foreign researchers in various fields. Special attention is paid to the contribution of some central musical figures who, in the increasingly heated atmosphere of the late 19th century, managed to cross the Rubicon of socio-ideological divisions and unite in practice the otherwise competing activities of the above-mentioned institutions. Such alliances challenge another quite persistent concept of Slovenian music historiography from the middle of the last century, namely the polarisation of social activities on a national basis. This is often portrayed, especially in the older music history literature, but practical examples show not only the contradictions typical of the time, but also many close ties between societies, both in the field of recreation and in other areas of musical activity. Through this kind of self-sacrificing, far-reaching work, which was typi-

cal of the largely amateur musical culture of the time, individual musicians in 19th century Slovenia succeeded in laying the foundations for the institutional framework of society activity and thus made an important contribution to the gradual professionalisation of musical life in Slovenia.

Die Gründung des *Deutschen Sängerbundes* (DSB) 1862 und das „Österreich-Problem“: Anmerkungen zu neuen Tendenzen in der historischen Chorforschung

Friedhelm Brusniak
Univerza v Würzburgu
Universität Würzburg

In der Diskussion über die historische Bedeutung der Reichsgründung 1870/71 wird nach 150 Jahren auch den Massenorganisationen der Turner, Sänger und Schützen im 19. Jahrhundert erhöhte Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. So fand 2020 in Greifswald eine internationale wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum Thema „*Das Große Deutsche Sängerfest 1861 in Nürnberg und seine Komponisten. Akteure, Medien, Inszenierungen*“ statt, bei dem Hartmut Krones einen instruktiven Eröffnungsvortrag zu diesem wegweisenden Sängerfest aus österreichischer Perspektive hielt.¹ 2021 widmete sich die *Landeszentrale für politische Bildung von Sachsen-Anhalt* in Zusammenarbeit mit der *Friedrich-Ludwig-Jahn-Gesellschaft e.V.* in einer Online-Tagung der Frage „*Des Reiches Stützen? Zur politischen und gesellschaftlichen Rolle der Turner, Sänger und Schützen in der Reichsgründungsära und im Kaiserreich (1860–1918)*“, zu der Historiker des jeweiligen Forschungsfeldes zu Vorträgen über den „Einheitsgedanken“ bei Mitgliedern und Anhängern von Turner-, Sänger- und Schützenverbänden eingeladen wurden.² Die folgenden Ausführungen stützen sich in erster Linie auf ge-

- 1 Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald, 21.–23. Oktober 2020, Wissenschaftliche Leitung: Dr. Martin Loeser. Ich danke Herrn o. Univ.-Prof. em. Dr. Hartmut Krones, Wien, für die freundliche Erlaubnis, aus seinem Vortragsmanuskript „[...] Gewerbe und Kunst sich einen zu Genossen. Nürnberg 1861: Das ‚deutsche Lied‘ als Fanal für die deutsche Einheit“ zitieren zu dürfen.
- 2 Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Sachsen-Anhalt, Friedrich-Ludwig-Jahn-Gesellschaft e.V., „Des Reiches Stützen? Turner, Sänger und Schützen in der Gründungsära und im Kaiserreich (1864–1918)“, Online-Veranstaltung, YouTube, 23. Ja-

druckte Quellen und Publikationen in Deutschland und sollen dazu anregen, das Thema auch aus anderen Perspektiven, vor allem aus Österreich, aber auch aus der Schweiz, in den Blick zu nehmen.

In der Geschichte der Sängerbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert stellt die Gründung des *Deutschen Sängerbundes (DSB)* 1862 in Coburg eine musikalisch-politische Wegmarke dar. Zu den Gründungsmitgliedern zählten auch Deputierte des *Niederösterreichischen Sängerbundes*, des *Oberösterreichischen Sängerbundes* und sowie des *Salzburger Sängerbundes*, von denen der Hof- und Gerichtsadvokat Dr. Josef Bauer aus Wien in den Gesamtausschuss des *DSB* gewählt wurde.³ Eine wesentliche Änderung des Satzungsentwurfs sollte für die künftige Entwicklung der *DSB*-Mitgliedsverbände und der mit dem *Deutschen Sängerbund* kooperierenden Chorverbände bis in das 20. Jahrhundert hinein eine entscheidende Rolle spielen, da die vom Sängertag beschlossene Fassung, wie 1912 festgestellt wurde, „vor allem an dem unsicheren oder, richtiger gesagt, damals mehr denn unsicheren Ausdrücke Deutschland, belastet mit der Zwitterstellung Österreichs,“ litt.⁴

Im Folgenden soll auf dieses wirkungsmächtige „Österreich-Problem“ in drei Schritten näher eingegangen werden, indem erst die folgenreichen Beschlüsse aus der Perspektive des *Großen Deutschen Sängertages* in Nürnberg 1861 in den Blick genommen werden, um dann die problematischen Formulierungen und Satzungsänderungen näher zu betrachten und abschließend weitere Forschungsperspektiven aufzuzeigen.

Das Große Deutsche Sängertage in Nürnberg 1861

Wenige Wochen nach dem *Ersten Deutschen Turn- und Jugendfest* am 17.–19. Juni 1860 in Gotha fand in Coburg nach zwei *Sängertagen* 1851 und 1855

nuar 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B5rM7dQB1ko>. Zusammenfassungen der Vorträge über die Sänger- und die Schützenbewegungen sind bereits erschienen: Friedhelm Brusniak, „Zum großen Bau der deutschen Einigkeit sei dieses Fest ein Stein!‘ Zum Einheitsgedanken der deutschen Sängervom ‚Großen Deutschen Sängertage‘ in Nürnberg 1861 bis zur Reichsgründung 1871“, *Jahn-Report* 52 [Ausgabe Juni] (2021), 28–32; Stefan Grus, „Üb Aug und Hand fürs Vaterland!‘ Die Haltung der Schützen zur Reichsgründung von 1871“, *Jahn-Report* 53 [Ausgabe Dezember] (2021): 22–6. Der Vortrag von Josef Ulfkotte, „... daß alle sich fühlen als Brüder, als Kämpfer für eine große Sache, für’s Vaterland ...‘ Der Einheitsgedanke in der Turnbewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Reichsgründung (1870/71)“ ist noch unpubliziert.

3 Otto Elben, *Protokoll des ersten deutschen Sängertags zu Coburg am 21. September 1862* (s. l.: Deutscher Sängerbund, 1862), 21, 23.

4 Gesamtausschuß des Deutschen Sängerbundes, Hrsg., *Der Deutsche Sängerbund 1862–1912* (s. l.: Deutscher Sängerbund, 1912), 38.

am 21.–24. Juli 1860 der *Dritte Coburger Sängertag* statt, bei dem die Teilnehmer beschlossen, im folgenden Jahr die Tradition der überregionalen „allgemeinen deutschen Sängertage“ im Vormärz in Würzburg 1845, Köln 1846 und Lübeck 1847 wieder aufzunehmen und in Nürnberg vom 20. bis 23. Juli 1861 ein *Großes Deutsches Sängertage* zu veranstalten.⁵ Es verdient aus nationalpolitischer Sicht Beachtung, dass das Nürnberger Sängertage eine Woche nach dem Schützenfest und der Gründung des *Deutschen Schützenbundes* am 11. Juli 1861 in Gotha stattfinden sollte.⁶

Der Impuls aus Coburg überrascht nicht, galt doch Herzog Ernst II. von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha (1818–1893) nicht nur als Schirmherr des 1859 gegründeten *Deutschen Nationalvereins* und als Förderer der Turner und Schützen, sondern als komponierender Musikliebhaber in besonderer Weise auch der Sänger. Im Rahmen des *Dritten Coburger Sängertages* war seine „Hymne für Männerchor mit Begleitung von Blechinstrumenten“ nach einem Text von Friedrich Konrad Müller von der Werra (1823–1881) mit großem Applaus aufgeführt worden.⁷ Dass es jedoch bei diesem Sängertage 1860 nicht allein um die Beförderung des vereinsmäßig organisierten Männergesangs ging, lässt die Grußbotschaft von Theodor Georgii (1826–1892), dem Präsidenten des *Deutschen Turnerbundes* (gegr. 1848) und Festpräsidenten des *1. Deutschen Turn- und Jugendfestes* in Gotha 1860, erkennen, der das gemeinsame Anliegen von Turnern und Sängern beschworen hatte, ein „*einig festes Band / Mit Liedern und mit Thaten*“ für das deutsche Vaterland zu schmieden.⁸

Bemerkenswert erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang, dass auch bei diesem *Dritten Coburger Sängertage* durch die Teilnahme des Komponisten Jakob Eduard Schmölzer (1812–1886) ein Österreicher vertreten war –

5 Friedrichhelm Brusniak, *Das große Buch des Fränkischen Sängerbundes* (München: Schwingenstein, 1991), 86–101; Samuel Weibel, *Die deutschen Musikfeste des 19. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen musikalischen Fachpresse* (Kassel: Merseburger, 2006), 172–3.

6 Grus, „Üb Aug und Hand“, 24.

7 Friedrichhelm Brusniak, „Bin mit ganzem Herzen bei den Sängern“. Herzog Ernst II. von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha als Protektor der deutschen Sängerbewegung“ in *Herzog Ernst II. von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha (1818–1893) und seine Zeit. Jubiläumsschrift im Auftrag der Städte Coburg und Gotha*, Hrsg. Harald Bachmann (Augsburg: Maro, 1993), 157–68; Hartmut Wecker, „Unmusikalisches Behagen und deutsches Empfinden. Herzog Ernst II. von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha als Komponist und Mäzen“, *Jahrbuch der Coburger Landesstiftung* 38 (1993): 115–40.

8 [Friedrich Konrad] Müller von der Werra, Hrsg., *Fest-Album des dritten Coburger Sängertages* (Coburg: Festausschuss, 1860), 45.

Grund genug für die Veranstalter, die österreichische Flagge zu hissen.⁹ Der „steirische Liedervater“ Schmölzer, der 1858 den *Mürzthaler Sängerbund* gegründet hatte, hatte sich in seiner Heimat gegen Missgunst und Denunziantentum zu wehren und nutzte in Coburg die Gelegenheit, sich mit gleichgesinnten Sängerefreunden, darunter der Dichter Müller von der Werra, auszutauschen.¹⁰

Das große deutsche Sängerefest des Jahres 1861 ist ein Kind des mächtig erwachten Einheitsdranges des deutschen Volkes, welcher auch die Sängerewelt erfaßte und zu festerem Aneinanderschließen trieb,

resümierte der Chronist des *Deutschen Sängerebundes*, Otto Elben (1823–1899), 1887 in der Zweitauflage seiner Darstellung *Der volkstümliche deutsche Männergesang*, und verwies darauf, dass der Gedanke des Festes „allgemein in deutschen Landen“ zündete und mindestens 245 Vereine mit über 5000 Sängern dem Ruf folgten.¹¹ Die Festveranstaltungen waren geprägt durch den Einheitsgedanken, der in vielfältigen Schrift- und Bildquellen, vor allem in Festzeitschriften, Programmen und anderen Kleinschriften in Form von Sängersprüchen, Wahlsprüchen, Festreden und Liedtexten thematisiert wurde.¹² Während der Festpräsident Rechtsanwalt Lindner aus Nürnberg seine Ansprache mit den Worten beendete: „Zum großen Bau der deutschen Einigkeit sei dieses Fest ein Stein und deshalb stimmt ihr Alle mit mir ein: Ein ganzes Deutschland, / Ein enig Deutschland lebe / Hurrah, hoch!!!“, bat der Hauptredner Carl Gerster (1813–1892) in einem „Gebet“ zum Abschluss seiner Festrede den „Herrn der Welt“: „Leit’ uns zur Einheit, wir fürchten nicht Krieg, / Gewähr’ uns die Freiheit, verleiht’ uns den Sieg, / Und hoch, dann hoch im starken Verband, / Hoch das große deutsche Vaterland!“¹³ Demonstrativ wurde die Erinnerung an Emotionalisierungs- und Verbrüderungsszenen bei Vormärz-Sängerefesten aufgegriffen, die durch den gemeinsamen Gesang von Ernst Moritz Arndts

9 Brusniak, *Das große Buch*, 96–7.

10 Ibid., 97. Müller von der Werra war Ehrenmitglied des *Mürzthaler Sängerebundes*.

11 Otto Elben, *Der volkstümliche deutsche Männergesang. Geschichte und Stellung im Leben der Nation; der deutsche Sängerebund und seine Glieder* (Tübingen: H. Laupp’sche Buchhandlung, 21887), 163.

12 Festausschuß, Hrsg., *Gedenkbuch des in der Stad Nürnberg 1861 begangenen Großen Deutschen Sängerefestes* (Nürnberg: J. Zeiser’s Buchhandlung, 1861), 84–116; Julius Rübsam, *Das große Deutsche Sängerefest in Nürnberg den 20., 21., 22. und 23. Juli 1861. Erinnerungsblätter für alle deutschen Gesangesbrüder und Sängerefreunde* (Annaberg: Rudolph und Dieterici, 1861), 17–48.

13 Festausschuß, *Gedenkbuch*, 45, 55; Rübsam, *Das große Deutsche Sängerefest*, 20, 23.

Des Deutschen Vaterland („Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?“) (1813) in der Vertonung von Gustav Reichardt (1797–1884) (op. 7, Nr. 3, 1826) entstanden waren, indem die Botschaft als Gloriole über einer Bildtafel schwebte, auf der die teilnehmenden Vereine mit Wappen und Herkunftsort wie auf einer Ahnentafel festgehalten worden waren.¹⁴ Kein anderes Chorlied als dieses Vaterlandslied aus der Zeit der Befreiungskriege, das nach Kersten Krüger einen „verengten intoleranten Nationalismus“ propagiert,¹⁵ hat in der Komposition von Reichardt eine solche politische Kraft als „heimliche Nationalhymne der deutschen Sängerbewegung bis zur Reichsgründung von 1871“ und bis an das Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs entfaltet.¹⁶ Auch das Motto „Deutsches Banner / Lied & Wort / Eint in Liebe / Süd & Nord!“ auf der Nürnberger Festfahne verweist auf dieses „national-heroische“ Gepräge.¹⁷

Das *Große Deutsche Sängerfest* in Nürnberg war nach Elben „ein Ereigniß in Deutschland: für die Sänger und auch für die Nation“ und bezeichnete „einen Höhepunkt, der später nicht mehr überschritten, kaum erreicht worden“ war.¹⁸ Das galt nach Dietmar Klenke

*in organisatorischer, aber mehr noch in politisch-psychologischer Hinsicht. Ein Gefühlsüberschwang in dieser Intensität ist später nie wieder erreicht worden, auch auf den großen Nationalfesten der Turner und Schützen nicht.*¹⁹

Als sich am 23. Juli 1861 die Direktoren und Vorstände der einzelnen Vereine im Nürnberger Rathaussaal versammelten und der Ruf nach Grün-

14 Exponat in der Dauerausstellung des *Sängermuseums des Fränkischen Sängerbundes* in Feuchtwangen.

15 Kersten Krüger, „Dänemark, Schleswig, Holstein und die nationale Frage“, *Historische Mitteilungen* 32 (2020–2021) [2022], 325.

16 Dietmar Klenke, *Der singende „deutsche Mann“. Gesangvereine und deutsches Nationalbewußtsein von Napoleon bis Hitler* (Münster: Waxmann, 1998), 66–8. Das populäre Chorlied wurde auch noch in das „Kaiserliederbuch“ übernommen: Kommission für das Volksliederbuch, Hrsg., *Volksliederbuch für Männerchor*, Nr. 135 (Leipzig: Peters, 1906), 304–7.

17 Exponat in der Dauerausstellung des *Sängermuseums des Fränkischen Sängerbundes* in Feuchtwangen; Dietmar Klenke, „Das nationalheroische Charisma der deutschen Sängerfeste am Vorabend der Einigungskriege“, in *„Heil deutschem Wort und Sang!“ Nationalidentität und Gesangskultur in der deutschen Geschichte – Tagungsbericht Feuchtwangen 1994*, Hrsg. Friedhelm Brusniak und Dietmar Klenke (Augsburg: Bernd Wißner, 1995), 144–72; Klenke, *Der singende „deutsche Mann“*, 104–22; Friedhelm Brusniak und Dietmar Klenke, „Sängerfeste und die Musikpolitik der deutschen Nationalbewegung“, *Die Musikforschung* 52 (1999): 51–4.

18 Elben, *Der volkstümliche deutsche Männergesang*, 168.

19 Klenke, *Der singende „deutsche Mann“*, 104.



Abbildung 1: Festhalle Großes Deutsches Sängerfest Nürnberg 1861. Außenansicht. Stahlstich. In Gedenkbuch, Nürnberg 1861.



Abbildung 2: Festhalle Großes Deutsches Sängerfest Nürnberg 1861. Innenansicht. Stahlstich. In Gedenkbuch, Nürnberg 1861.

dung eines „*allgemeinen deutschen Sängerbundes*“ erscholl, war es ausgerechnet der später als „*deutscher Sängervater*“ bezeichnete Karl Pfaff (1795–1866) aus Esslingen, der vorschlug, noch ein Jahr abzuwarten, damit mehr regionale Sängerbünde gebildet werden sollten.²⁰

Wie bereits beim 1. *Allgemeinen deutschen Sängerfest* in Würzburg 1845, bei dem der *Wiener Männergesang-Verein* (gegr. 1843) mit einer Abordnung, darunter der Gründer August Schmidt (1808–1891) selbst, vertreten war und mit dieser politischen Botschaft Aufsehen erregt hatte,²¹ war es 1861 erneut der *Wiener Männergesang-Verein*, der nun unter seinem Chormeister Johann Herbeck (1831–1877) mit seinen Darbietungen für Furore sorgte und den Ehrenpreis, einen Silberpokal der Deutschen in Bern, zuerkannt bekam.²²

Die Gründung des Deutschen Sängerbundes in Coburg 1862

Am 21. September 1862 gründeten 68 Delegierte von 41 einzelnen Sängerbünden mit insgesamt etwa 45.000 Mitgliedern in der herzoglichen Reithalle in Coburg unter dem Protektorat von Herzog Ernst II. den *Deutschen Sängerbund* als größten nationalen Dachverband der Sänger nicht nur im deutschsprachigen Raum, sondern in der Welt.²³ Der Jurist sowie Hauptschriftleiter und Verleger des *Schwäbischen Merkur* Otto Elben aus Stuttgart wurde als Präsident des *Schwäbischen Sängerbundes* und damit des fünfköpfigen Geschäftsführenden Ausschusses auch Vorsitzender des insgesamt aus 25 Persönlichkeiten bestehenden DSB-Ausschusses und damit erster Präsident des *Deutschen Sängerbundes*.²⁴ Elben selbst erklärte 1887 rückblickend, die Einigung habe „*in aller Willen*“ gelegen, nur die Form

20 Karl Pfaff, „Das deutsche Sängerwesen in der neuesten Zeit“, in *Taschenbuch für Deutsche Sänger*, Hrsg. Eduard Kral (Wien: Hoffmann & Ludwig, 1864), 307; Karl Pfaff, „Erinnerungen aus meinem Sängelerleben“, in *Zur Erinnerung an Karl Pfaff*, Hrsg. Ausschuss des Schwäbischen Sängerbundes und Ausschuss des Eßlinger Liederkranzes (Eßlingen: F. J. Schreiber, 1867), 104; Elben, *Der volksthümliche deutsche Männergesang*, 169–70; Otto Borst, *Karl Pfaff, der deutsche Sängervater* (Esslingen: Bechtle, 1966), 109.

21 Brusniak, *Das große Buch*, 59–60.

22 Friedhelm Brusniak, „Es lebe die freie Schweiz, im Guten unser Vorbild! Schweizerische Impulse für die Entwicklung der Sängerbewegung im deutschsprachigen Raum von den Anfängen um 1800 bis in die 1860er Jahre“, *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft. Neue Folge* 34/35 (2014/2015 [2017]), 182.

23 Elben, *Der volksthümliche deutsche Männergesang*, 171–6.

24 Arnold Elben, Hrsg., *Dr. Otto Elben. Lebenserinnerungen 1823–1899* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1931), 269–71.

habe Probleme bereitet, da die Sachsen und die Österreicher mit Blick auf ihre Vereinsgesetze Bedenken hinsichtlich eines „*Bund[es] mit Satzungen*“ hatten und für „*Beschlüsse des Sängertags*“ plädierten.²⁵ Was Otto Elben allerdings verschwiegen, war die noch schwieriger zu entscheidende Frage, ob der wichtigste Paragraph der Satzung, § 1, aus dem Entwurf übernommen oder grundlegend geändert werden sollte. Hatte es im Entwurf im ersten Satz noch lapidar geheißen: „*Die Gesamtheit der deutschen Sänger bildet den Deutschen Sängerbund*“,²⁶ entschieden sich die Delegierten nun für eine Berücksichtigung des Einheitsgedankens:

*Der deutsche Sängerbund umfaßt die Sängerbünde Deutschlands und die Sängerbünde und Männergesangsvereine der im Auslande lebenden Deutschen, welche sich ihm anschließen. Sein Streben geht auf die Ausbildung und Veredlung des deutschen Männergesanges. Durch die dem deutschen Liede inwohnende einigende Kraft will auch der deutsche Sängerbund in seinem Theile die nationale Zusammengehörigkeit der deutschen Stämme stärken und an der Einheit und Macht des Vaterlandes mitarbeiten.*²⁷

Das Redaktionsteam der Jubiläumsschrift des *Deutschen Sängerbundes* aus dem Jahre 1912, Bruno Fürchtgott Gellert aus Leipzig, Rudolf Hofmann aus Wien, Erich Joachim aus Königsberg i. Pr., Richard Sauerbeck aus Mannheim und Viktor Ritter von Schmeidel aus Graz, sahen sich veranlasst, hierzu ausführlicher Stellung zu nehmen:

Es läßt sich darüber streiten, ob es wahr sei, daß Gesetze nicht knapp genug sein können, aber es dürfte so ziemlich außer Streit stehen, daß in diesem Falle die erstere Fassung, die knappere, auch die bessere war. Sie drückte aus, daß es nur einen Deutschen Sängerbund geben könne und solle und daß staatliche Grenzen für seine Absicht und seinen Endzweck gar nicht bestünden. Damit war jeder politischen Frage – dem schlimmsten Gaste für deutschen Männergesang – aus dem Wege gegangen und nur der über alle Tagesfragen erhabene geistige Zusammenhang betont, eine Auffassung, auf welcher Lebenskraft und Stärke des Deutschen Sängerbundes beruhen. Die Koburger Fassung dagegen leidet vor allem an dem unsicheren oder, richtiger gesagt, damals mehr denn un-

25 Elben, *Der volksthümliche Männergesang*, 172.

26 Gesamtausschuß, *Der Deutsche Sängerbund*, 38.

27 *Ibid.*, 225.

*sicheren Ausdrücke Deutschland, belastet mit der Zwitterstellung Österreichs; sie leidet aber auch an der Anwendung des Scheidebegriffs Ausland, der dem beim Nürnberger Sängertage des Vorjahres über die Anfrage des Londoner Liederkranzes zum Ausdrucke gebrachten alldeutschen Gedanken widerstreitet, denn überall, wo Deutsche wohnen, ist deutsche Erde. Wenigstens pflegen die Engländer, Franzosen, überhaupt alle Völker mit kraftvollem Nationalbewußtsein es ihrerseits so zu halten.*²⁸

Abgesehen von der Haltung der Autoren der *DSB-Jubiläumsschrift*, die unübersehbar vom deutschen Kolonialismus- und Imperialismusgebarren sowie Nationalismusdenken im Wilhelminischen Kaiserreich geprägt war, war ihre Kritik zumindest in dem Punkte nachvollziehbar, dass die angenommene Satzungsänderung keineswegs dazu führte, dass sich die Hoffnung der österreichischen Delegierten, das Kaisertum würde österreichischen Vereinen rückwirkend die Mitgliedschaft beim *Deutschen Sängerbund* erlauben, erfüllte. Hatte das Ausschussmitglied Ernst Kautetzky aus Salzburg noch bei der ersten Sitzung des Gesamtausschusses nach der Gründung des *DSB* am 15. Mai 1863 in Nürnberg die Auffassung vertreten, dass auch die österreichischen Einzelbünde in Kürze dem *Deutschen Sängerbund* beitreten könnten, musste er schon bald darauf resigniert sein Amt zur Verfügung stellen.²⁹ Über das problematische Verhältnis zu den Sängervereinen und Sängerbänden erstattete der *DSB*-Gesamtausschuss dem zweiten *DSB*-Sängertag in Dresden am 25. Juli 1865 einen Bericht, in dem die schwierige politische Situation ungeschönt beschrieben wurde. Aus diesem Bericht geht hervor, dass der Gesamtausschuss bei der zweiten Gesamtausschusssitzung in Dresden am 25. September 1864 unter dem Eindruck der Tatsache, dass der österreichische Berichterstatter zwar „*noch immer keine entscheidende Mitteilung*“ machen konnte, allerdings von der niederösterreichischen Statthalterei die Erlaubnis erteilt worden war, dass „*der Besuch ausländischer Sängerkonvente von Seiten niederösterreichischer Gesangsvereine und deren künstlerische Beteiligung an denselben keinem Anstande unterliege*“.³⁰ Damit konnte österreichischen Sängerbänden die Teilnahme am *Ersten Deutschen Sängerbundesfest* 1865 in Dresden ermöglicht werden. Die endgültige Lösung des „*Österreich-Problems*“ wurde vertagt, nicht ohne festzuhalten:

28 Ibid., 38.

29 Ibid., 39, 43.

30 Ibid., 43–4.

Wir haben unsererseits nur den Wunsch beizufügen, es möchte bis dahin die einfachste Entscheidung der Frage ermöglicht sein: der freie Beitritt der österreichischen Sängerbünde! Dem deutschen Sängerbunde würde wahrlich ein wesentliches Glied fehlen, wenn er der herrlichen musikalischen Kräfte aus der Heimath der Haydn, Mozart, Franz Schubert entbehren sollte! Bereits sind beinahe über in Oestreich: in Nieder- und Oberösterreich, Salzburg, Tirol, Vorarlberg, Steiermark, Böhmen und Mähren die Sängerbünde zu fröhlichem Leben erblüht; in den Gegenden gemischter Nationalität sind sie ein Sammelpunkt deutschen Wesens geworden. Freuen wir uns inzwischen, daß der Anstoß zu Bildung des deutschen Sängerbundes aus der Sammlung der Liedertafeln in die Einzelsängerbünde auch der Anstoß geworden ist für die Bildung und Konstituierung dieser das deutsche Lied und Wesen pflegenden österreichischen Sängerbünde!³¹

Die Gründung des *Deutschen Sängerbundes* in Coburg 1862 kann rückblickend für die weitere Entwicklung des vereins- und verbandsmäßig organisierten deutschsprachigen Amateurchorwesens nicht hoch genug eingeschätzt werden, wie ein Blick in das *Taschenbuch für deutsche Sänger* aus dem Jahre 1864 von Eduard Kral, Mitglied des *Wiener Männergesang-Vereins*, eindrucksvoll dokumentiert. Als prominentes Beispiel darf auf die Mitteilung der *Philharmonischen Gesellschaft* in Laibach vom Mai 1863 an Kral verwiesen werden. Danach erfolgte nur knapp einen Monat nach Gründung des *DSB* in der „ältesten musikalischen Körperschaft Oesterreichs“, wie es in dem Eintrag heißt, eine bemerkenswerte Umorganisation:

Laibach (Krain). Philharmonische Gesellschaft, gegr. 1702, Venedig ausgenommen die älteste musikalische Körperschaft Oesterreichs, verbunden mit einem Gesangvereine, der seit 1848 von einem eigenen Chormeister geleitet, 1862 als Männerchor der philharm. Gesellschaft, mit Satzgz. vom 19. Okt. 1862 ins Leben trat.³²

Doch genau in dem Jahr, als Kral's *Taschenbuch für Deutsche Sänger* erschien, hatte bereits der Deutsch-Dänische Krieg von 1864 Kritik an Nationalfesten hervorgerufen. Und als der preußisch-österreichische Krieg von 1866 ausbrach, verstärkte sich diese Krise noch, führte zwar wie bei

31 Ibid., 44.

32 Eduard Kral, Hrsg., *Taschenbuch für Deutsche Sänger* (Wien: Hoffmann & Ludwig, 1864), 124.

den Turnern und Schützen auch bei den Sängern nicht zum Bruch innerhalb des Dachverbandes, lähmte jedoch die Aktivitäten des DSB über den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg von 1870/71, die Reichsgründung und den Kulturkampf hinaus, so dass das *Zweite Deutsche Sängerbundesfest* erst 1874 in München veranstaltet werden konnte.³³ Von einer „Sängerbewegung“ im Zeichen des Einheitsgedankens früherer Jahrzehnte war hier allerdings nichts mehr zu spüren. Die Entwicklung der bürgerlichen und der sich neu bildenden Arbeitersängerbewegung im Deutschen Kaiserreich sowie im Kaisertum Österreich und in der Doppelmonarchie Österreich-Ungarn ist ein anderes Kapitel.

Forschungsperspektiven

Die Gründung des *Deutschen Sängerbundes* in Coburg am 21. September 1862 gilt als „herausragender Erinnerungsort“ in der Geschichte der Demokratiebewegung in Deutschland. Als in der Bombennacht vom 2. auf den 3. Januar 1945 in Nürnberg das *Deutsche Sängermuseum* zerstört wurde, befanden sich unter den Verlusten auch sämtliche handschriftlichen Protokolle und andere Originaldokumente des DSB, darunter das „*Goldene Buch*“ mit den Unterschriften aller Gründungsmitglieder. Die historische Chorforschung ist also auf seltene handschriftlich erhaltene, vor allem aber auf spätere gedruckte Quellen, einzeln publizierte oder in Sängerszeitungen und Festschriften veröffentlichte Protokolle und Berichte sowie Erinnerungen von Zeitzeugen angewiesen, die jedoch in der Mitteilung statistischer Daten und Fakten oftmals divergieren.³⁴ Lediglich in der Einschätzung dieses Gründungsdatums von 1862 als eines „*historischen Moments*“ und als „*eines der hervorragendsten Gedenktage des deutschen Männergesanges*“ gibt es völlige Übereinstimmung.³⁵ Gerade aus diesem Grunde sind auch aus Sicht der musikalischen Biographieforschung neue Anstrengungen zu unternehmen, um bisherige Sichtweisen zu korrigieren.³⁶ Dass dies durchaus zu Erfolg führen kann, hat bereits Otto Elben in seinem Nachruf auf Karl Pfaff gezeigt.³⁷

33 Klenke, *Der singende „deutsche Mann“*, 127–32.

34 Dies zeigt sich sehr deutlich etwa beim Vergleich von Teilnehmerlisten vom Würzburger Sängersfest 1845 oder vom Nürnberger Sängersfest 1861.

35 Gesamtausschuß, *Der Deutsche Sängerbund*, 36.

36 Melanie Unseld, „Musikwissenschaft“, in *Handbuch Biographie. Methoden, Traditionen, Theorien*, Hrsg. Christian Klein (Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2009), 358–65.

37 Otto Elben, „Karl Pfaff“, in *Zur Erinnerung an Karl Pfaff*, Hrsg. Ausschuß des Schwäbischen Sängerbundes und Ausschuß des Eßlinger Liederkränzes (Eßlingen:

Der Esslinger Konrektor Pfaff zählte seit den Befreiungskriegen zu den Protagonisten des „organisierten gesellschaftlichen Nationalismus“³⁸ und zu den Leitfiguren der Sängerbewegung.³⁹ Seinen Patriotismus äußerte er schon früh nach seinem „großen Vorbild“ Ludwig Uhland (1787–1862) in vaterländischen Liedern und Freiheitsgesängen, wie in seinem bezeichnenderweise auch so betitelten *Freiheitsgesang. 1813*, der mit folgender Strophe beginnt:

*Mich drängt das Herz, ich kann nicht länger schweigen,
Und mein Gefühl ergießt sich in Gesang:
Heran, heran, ein willig Ohr zu neigen
Des deutschen Sängers Harfenklang.*⁴⁰

Karl Pfaff folgte nach Otto Elben in seiner „Auffassung des Gesangs als eines volksbildenden Elements“ seinem Schweizer Vorbild Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836).⁴¹ Hier wären wichtige, bisher noch nicht näher untersuchte Anknüpfungspunkte im Sinne eines musikkulturellen und bildungspolitischen Kulturtransfers zu suchen.⁴² An wichtigen „Wegmarken“ der Männerchorbewegung fand Pfaff die entscheidenden Worte. So rief er auf dem ersten deutschen „Liederfest“ in Plochingen 1827 den Festgästen die später viel zitierte Botschaft zu: „Niedersinken vor des Gesanges Macht

F. J. Schreiber, 1867), 1–13.

38 Dieter Düding, *Organisierter gesellschaftlicher Nationalismus in Deutschland (1808–1847). Bedeutung und Funktion der Turner- und Sängervereine für die deutsche Nationalbewegung* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1984).

39 Friedhelm Brusniak, „Karl Pfaff. Der ‚deutsche Sängervater‘ und die Gründung des Deutschen Sängerbundes 1862“, in *Musik erleben in Baden –Württemberg*, Hrsg. Staatsanzeiger-Verlag (Stuttgart: Staatsanzeiger, 2010), 22–3; Friedhelm Brusniak, „Der Esslinger Konrektor Karl Pfaff (1795–1866) als ‚deutscher Sängervater‘“, in *Musik an den württembergischen Lehrerseminaren. Bericht der wissenschaftlichen Tagung anlässlich der Gründung des Esslinger Lehrerseminars im Jahre 1811*, Hrsg. Joachim Kremer (Neumünster: von Bockel, 2015), 217–27.

40 Karl Pfaff, „Freiheitsgesang. 1813“, in *Zur Erinnerung an Karl Pfaff*, Hrsg. Ausschuß des Schwäbischen Sängerbundes und Ausschuß des Eßlinger Liederkranzes (Eßlingen: F. J. Schreiber, 1867), 123.

41 Elben, „Karl Pfaff“, 9.

42 Friedhelm Brusniak und Helmke Jan Keden, „Deutscher Laienchorgesang im Fokus kultureller Transformationen. Überlegungen zum Potential eines jungen Forschungsfeldes“, in *Laienchorgesang und kultureller Transfer. Eine Annäherung in Beispielen*, Hrsg. Friedhelm Brusniak und Helmke Jan Keden (München: Allitera, 2018), 8–16; Miriam Roner, *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis. Hans Georg Nägelis Theorie der Musik* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2020).

der Stände lächerliche Schranken.⁴³ Und nach der gescheiterten Revolution von 1848/49 erklärte er als Präsident des unmittelbar darauf gegründeten *Schwäbischen Sängerbundes* auf dem ersten Bundesfest in Ulm 1850:

*Stehen wir auch noch ferne von der politischen Einheit Deutschlands, so soll doch hier ein Band gewoben werden, welches allmählig alle deutsche Bruderstämme umschlingt [...], gegründet werden soll ein großer deutscher Sängerbund.*⁴⁴

Schon Otto Elben kommentierte diese Vision 1867 mit den Worten:

*Man sieht, wie klar Pf[aaff] bei seinem Streben den höheren nationalen Gehalt des volksthümlichen Instituts [i.e. des Gesangvereins; der Verf.] erkannte, wie er das Lied als ein einigendes Band pflegte, wie er damals schon auf einen deutschen Sängerbund abzielte.*⁴⁵

Die wichtigsten „Stationen“ in der Geschichte des DSB bildeten die *Deutschen Sängerbundesfeste* seit 1865 in Dresden; das letzte vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg fand 1937 in Breslau statt. In den Jahrzehnten dazwischen war dem *Deutschen Sängerbund* in der erst verbotenen, dann jedoch ab 1908 im *Deutschen Arbeiter-Sängerbund (D.A.S.)* organisierten, rasch aufblühenden Arbeitersängerbewegung, bei der von Anfang an auch die Frauen gleichberechtigt mitwirkten, eine ernstzunehmende Konkurrenz erwachsen, die dazu führte, dass sich auch der männerbündische DSB Anfang der 1930er Jahre endlich dazu durchrang, ebenfalls Frauen als Mitglieder aufzunehmen. Mit der Auflösung des D.A.S. und seiner Mitgliedsvereine durch die Nationalsozialisten und der Einführung des Arierparagraphen beginnt 1933 eines der dunkelsten Kapitel für die Amateurchorbewegung in Deutschland.⁴⁶ Doch dies gilt es im Vergleich etwa mit Österreich noch intensiver zu untersuchen, wie Hartmut Krones bei seinen zahlreichen grundlegenden Studien, u.a. zu Hanns Eisler (1898–1962), immer wieder betont hat.⁴⁷

43 Elben, „Karl Pfaff“, 8.

44 Ibid., 10.

45 Ibid., 10.

46 Dietmar Klenke, Peter Lilje und Franz Walter, *Arbeitersänger und Volksbühnen in der Weimarer Republik* (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., 1992); Helmke Jan Keden, *Zwischen „Singender Mannschaft“ und „Stählerner Romantik“*. *Die Ideologisierung des deutschen Männergesangs im „Nationalsozialismus“* (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2003).

47 Hartmut Krones, „Wir wollen Alles, was die Chorliteratur Schönes enthält, [...] uns zu eigen machen“ (Josef Scheu). *Zu Geschichte und Ideologie des Arbeitergesanges in Österreich*, in *125 Jahre „Eintracht“ Innsbruck – 125 Jahre sozialdemokratischer*

Wie wichtig solche Beobachtungen sind, hat nicht nur das Beispiel der Zuerkennung des Berner Silberpokals an den *Wiener Männergesang-Verein* beim *Großen Deutschen Sängerfest* in Nürnberg gezeigt, sondern auch die Tatsache, dass der DSB-Gesamtausschuss sich in seiner Sitzung 1864 mit der Anregung der Wiener Sänger befasste, einen „Ehrensold für Erstaufführungen“ zu beschließen, wie ihn der *Wiener Männergesang-Verein* schon lange an Komponisten vergab.⁴⁸ Zweifellos hat sich im 19. Jahrhundert die „soziale Ausstrahlung von Musik“, wie Philipp Ther formuliert, in besonderer Weise in der Sängerbewegung manifestiert, „die in Deutschland vor der Reichsgründung neben den Turnern den mächtigsten Pfeiler der Nationalbewegung bildete“ und wesentlicher Bestandteil kultureller Identität wurde.⁴⁹ Angesichts dieses Befundes erscheint es notwendig, Studien zur Untersuchung lokaler, regionaler und überregionaler Besonderheiten zu fördern und zu kontextualisieren.⁵⁰

Ein eigenes umfassendes Forschungsfeld betrifft nicht nur den musikalischen Kulturtransfer im engeren Sinn, sondern auch wirkungsmächtige Momente in Verbindung mit Literaturgeschichte, so etwa, wenn Jakob Eduard Schmölzer Texte von Müller von der Werra oder Johann Herbeck Gedichte des aus Franken stammenden Georg Scheurlin (1802–1872) vertonen.⁵¹

Hartmut Krones hat in seinem Greifswalder Vortrag von 2020 zu Recht darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die österreichischen Sänger in Coburg besonders herzlich begrüßt wurden, zugleich aber auch darauf hingewie-

Kulturarbeit in Tirol, Hrsg. Gabi Rothbacher, Hartmut Krones und Martin Ortner (Innsbruck: „Eintracht“ Innsbruck, 2009), 61–88; Hartmut Krones, „Hanns Eisler und die österreichischen Arbeitersänger. Seit 101 Jahren eine (bisweilen gestörte) Liebesbeziehung“, *Eisler-Mitteilungen* 70 (2022): 12–9.

48 Gesamtausschuß, *Der Deutsche Sängerbund*, 44.

49 Philipp Ther, „Einführung. Zum Verhältnis von Musik und Nationsbildung im 19. Jahrhundert“, in *Musik und kulturelle Identität*. Band 2, Hrsg. Detlef Altenburg und Rainer Bayreuther (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), 4.

50 Elisabeth Anzenberger-Ramminger, „150 Jahre Wiener Männergesang-Verein“, in *150 Jahre Wiener Männergesang-Verein 1843–1993*, Hrsg. Wiener Männergesang-Verein (Wien: Wiener Männergesang-Verein, 1992), 23–162; Christian Böhm, *Dokumentation der künstlerischen Aktivitäten des Wiener Männergesang-Vereins* (Wien: Wiener Männergesang-Verein, 1992); Christian K. Fastl, *Musikalisches Alltagsleben im südöstlichen Niederösterreich. Zum Gesangsvereinswesen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (St. Pölten: NÖ Institut für Landeskunde, 2012).

51 Friedhelm Brusniak, „Die lange sich vermißt / Und lang gesucht, die Beiden, / Poet und Komponist‘. Georg Scheurlin (1802–1872) und Johann Herbeck (1831–1877)“, *In|takt. Mitteilungsblatt des Fränkischen Sängerbundes* 67, Nr. 4 (2020): 6–7.

sen, dass der auffallend häufige Hinweis auf die „alte Bruderliebe“ damaligen politischen Auseinandersetzungen galt, da es Preußen darum ging, „den unter dem Vorsitz Österreichs stehenden ‚Deutschen Bund‘ zu unterminieren bzw. handlungsunfähig zu machen“.⁵² Krones zitiert aus der *Grazer Tagespost* vom 12. Juni 1862 aus einem Bericht über das Nürnberger Sängerkonferenz die kritische Frage:

*Heute haben [sich] die deutsch-österreichischen Sänger mehr noch als im Jahre 1859 zu bethätigen; es klopft die Mahnung an die Thür: Wollt Ihr deutschen Sänger Deutsch-Österreichs deutsch verbleiben?*⁵³

Und der Wiener Musikwissenschaftler und Chorforscher Krones hat ebenfalls richtig darauf hingewiesen, dass zum *Ersten Deutschen Sängerbundesfest* in Dresden 1865 aus politischen Gründen bereits weniger Vertreter aus Österreich gekommen waren, erst das *4. Deutsche Sängerbundesfest* in Wien 1890 die „historischen Probleme vergessen“ ließ und es „vollends zur Verbrüderung“ wieder beim *10. Deutschen Sängerbundesfest* in Wien 1928 kam.⁵⁴ Doch die Tatsache, dass es Jahrzehnte dauerte, bis sich das Verhältnis der dem DSB angehörenden deutschen und der österreichischen Sänger wieder entspannte, bestätigt die Notwendigkeit einer intensiveren Auseinandersetzung mit dem „Österreich-Problem“.

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„Linke“ und „rechte“ Amateurchöre im Wien des 19. Jahrhunderts und ihre politischen Zielsetzungen¹

Hartmut Krones

Univerza za glasbo in uprizoritveno umetnost na Dunaju

Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien

Das Wiener Amateurchorwesen war im 19. Jahrhundert in vielerlei Hinsicht von politischen Zielsetzungen bestimmt. Zunächst eine Domäne vor allem bürgerlicher Kreise, und hier vornehmlich auf dem Gebiet der repräsentativen Oratorienaufführungen² sowie der Kirchenmusik, erwuchs diesen betont traditionellen Vereinigungen bereits im Vorfeld der März-Revolution von 1848 ein Gegengewicht durch mehrfach entstehende Arbeiterchöre, die sich für soziale Gerechtigkeit und politisch-gesellschaftliche Freiheit einsetzten – und das trotz der von Willkür und diktatorischen Maßnahmen bestimmten Zensur-Tätigkeit der Metternichschen Diktatur. Zudem fanden sich auch die später vor allem deutschnationale Interessen verfolgenden Studentenchöre in einer gemeinsamen Front mit den Arbeiterchören gegen die Diktatur von Kaiser, Adel und Kirche. „Nationale“ Interessen waren später aber auch Triebfedern der von Mitgliedern ethnischer Minderheiten gebildeten Chöre, deren Konzerttätigkeit nicht selten das deutschsprachige Repertoire ganz oder weitgehend ausschloß. Selbst Chöre von Arbeitsverbänden, Betrieben, Berufsgruppen oder auch religiösen Vereinigungen verfolgten politische oder zumindest gesellschaftliche

1 Angesichts der zahlreichen original wiedergegebenen Zitate in alter Rechtschreibung folgt auch der Autor den damaligen Regeln.

2 Hierzu siehe Hartmut Krones, „Die Gewalt der Musik‘. 590 Mitwirkende und 5000 Lauschende. G. F. Händel als Initialzündung für Wiens Musikleben“, *Händel-Jahrbuch* 53 (2007): 79–102.

Ziele.³ Bevor wir diese Vielfalt in ihren Grundzügen darstellen, wollen wir aber gleichsam historisch vorgehen.

Am 29. November des Jahres 1812 versammelten sich um die Mittagsstunde 590 Mitwirkende unter der Leitung des Hofkonzipisten und Komponisten Ignaz Mosel in der kaiserlichen Winterreitschule „am Josephsplatze“, um vor nahezu 5.000 Zuhörern ein Konzert zu absolvieren, dessen Reinertrag der Unterstützung der von den napoleonischen Kriegen besonders betroffenen Bewohner der Gegend von Aspern sowie der durch eine Feuersbrunst geschädigten Einwohner Badens zugedacht war. Auf dem Programm stand das Oratorium „Timotheus, oder die Gewalt der Musik“, also „Alexander’s Feast“ („Das Alexanderfest“), von Georg Friedrich Händel in der (deutschsprachigen) Bearbeitung Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts.⁴

Bevor wir auf musikalische Einzelheiten eingehen, sei hervorgehoben, wer dieses Konzert veranstaltete: Es war die ein Jahr zuvor gegründete „Gesellschaft der adeligen Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen“, und kein einziger Mann hat versucht, diese Aktivität zu stoppen. Dies nur allen jenen ins Stammbuch, die ohne Detailwissen *überall* von der Unterdrückung der Frauen im 19. Jahrhundert sprechen. Unterdrückung fand selbstverständlich auch statt, aber sie ging damals von just jenen adeligen und großbürgerlichen Kreisen aus – und zwar gleichermaßen von den Männern wie von den Frauen –, die Arbeiter und Bauern wie Leibeigene hielten und ihren Reichtum auf deren Fronarbeit begründeten: auf der Fronarbeit von Männern und Frauen, aber auch von Kindern.

Zurück zur Musik: Wir haben genaue Angaben, wie sich die 590 Mitwirkenden dieses Monsterkonzertes verteilten; u. a. spielten 120 Violinen (also jeweils ca. 60 erste und zweite), 33 Violoncelli, jeweils 12 Flöten, Oboen, Klarinetten, Fagotte, Hörner und Trompeten, zudem sangen – schon sind wir bei unserem Thema – 7 Solisten sowie „280 Chor=Sänger und Sängerrinnen“.⁵ Und soweit wir aus den Namenslisten der Mitwirkenden wissen,

3 Hiezu siehe vor allem Hartmut Krones, „Das Aufblühen von Musikvereinen in Wien ab der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts“, in: *Musikfreunde. Träger der Musikkultur in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Hrsg. Ingrid Fuchs (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 2017), 191–204.

4 Vgl. Hartmut Krones, „Die Emporbringung der Musik in allen ihren Zweigen“. 200 Jahre Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien“, in *200 Jahre Uraufführungen in der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*, Hrsg. Hartmut Krones (= *Wiener Schriften zur Stilkunde und Aufführungspraxis*, Sonderband 8) (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2018), 235–46.

5 Moriz Graf von Dietrichstein, „I. Händel’s Oratorium: Die Gewalt der Musik. Aufgeführt von Dilettanten in Wien am 29. November und 3. December 1812“, *Vaterlän-*

waren diese 280 Personen weitestgehend Amateure, wobei zu bedenken ist, daß es damals in adeligen und großbürgerlichen Kreisen zum guten Ton gehörte, privaten Klavier- und Gesangsunterricht zu genießen. Das spricht aber nur für die Qualität des Gesangs, nicht aber für eine versteckte Professionalität im Sinne des Broterwerbs.

Bekanntlich war dieses frühe Monsterkonzert die Initialzündung für die Gründung der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, in deren Verband auch in den nächsten Jahrzehnten riesige Amateur-Chöre auftraten. So wurde ein Jahr später, am 11. und 14. November 1813, Händels „Timotheus“ mit 704 Mitwirkenden wiederholt, wobei niemand geringerer als der Hofkapellmeister Salieri die Chöre einstudierte – sie umfaßten mindestens 70 Personen mehr als 1812, also ca. 350.⁶ Und die Tradition der Monsterkonzerte blieb viele Jahrzehnte aufrecht. Wir springen in das Jahr 1837, als am 5. und 7. November „zur fünfundzwanzigjährigen Jubelfeyer der Gründung der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde“ Joseph Haydns „Schöpfung“ von 1012 Musikerinnen und Musikern aufgeführt wurde – wieder in der „k. k. Winterreitschule“. Der Zuwachs betraf ausschließlich den Chor (1. und 2. Violinen etwa gab es diesmal je 59); der Chor bestand aus 223 Sopranen, 153 Altistinnen, 158 Tenören und 160 Bässen – 694 singenden Amateuren. Wie war das möglich? In einem Dankschreiben der Gesellschaft finden wir die Lösung:

Die vorzüglichsten Künstler und Kunstfreunde Wiens [...] so wie die HH. Capellmeister und Chorregenten der hiesigen Kirchen beilieten sich, theils selbst ihre Mitwirkung anzubieten, theils andere geübte Mitglieder anzuwerben, und wenige Proben genügten zur angemessenen Vorbereitung der Aufführung.⁷

Damit sind wir bei den Kirchenchören, die es in Wien ab 1823 als offizielle, behördlich angemeldete Vereinigungen gab; damals wurde der Kirchenmusikverein Schottenfeld gegründet (vorher waren meist Profis mit einzelnen kirchennahen Amateuren musikalisch tätig); das geschah so spät, weil die Metternichsche Diktatur jedwede Vereinigung als politisch gefährlich ansah. Und so mußten auch Kirchenmusik-Vereinigungen behördlich geprüft und genehmigt werden; zusätzlich aber auch von

dische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat, Nr. 100 (12. Dezember 1812): 597–600, hier 599.

6 *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Nro. 46 (1. Dezember 1813): Sp. 712ff.

7 Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, *Denkschrift zur 25jährigen Jubelfeyer der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des österreichischen Kaiserstaates, durch Aufführung der Schöpfung am 5. November 1837. Von einem Kunstfreunde* (Wien, 1840, o. p.).

der kirchlichen Obrigkeit. Wenn wir bedenken, daß auch hohe Geistliche meist dem Adel entstammten, können wir uns die Unbillen und Ergebnisse dieser Prüfungen durchaus vorstellen. Zur Untermauerung: 1757–1803 war Christoph Anton *Graf* Migazzi Erzbischof von Wien, 1803–1820 Sigismund Anton *Graf* von Hohenwart, 1822–1831 Leopold Maximilian von Firmian. Und der erste bürgerliche Erzbischof, Vincenz Eduard Milde, erließ im Zuge der Revolution von 1848 sogar ein Versammlungsverbot von Priestern und wandte sich gegen die Gründung von katholischen Vereinen. Sein Nachfolger war dann wieder ein Adelige: Joseph Othmar *Ritter* von Raucher. Wollen wir hoffen, daß ihm seine Ritterrüstung nicht zu schwer wurde. – Und eine Bestätigung des bisher Gesagten findet sich in der Tatsache, daß bereits 5 Jahre vor dem ersten katholischen Kirchenmusikverein, nämlich 1818, ein „Evangelischer Singverein“ gegründet und bewilligt wurde.⁸

Wie dem auch sei, jedenfalls gab es 1848 nur 9 katholische Kirchenmusikvereine, und die ausschließlich in Vorstädten, also außerhalb des Rings – weit weg von Hofburg und Stephansdom. Und auch sie hatten gemäß einer Selbstdarstellung nur „Wohllaut und Assonanz“ der Kirchenmusik im Sinn und pflegten ausschließlich deren „Veredelung“,⁹ waren also zumindest offiziell völlig unpolitisch. – In einer Aufstellung sämtlicher Vereine Wiens wurden sie übrigens denjenigen 14 Vereinen zugerechnet, die sich der „Förderung der Wissenschaften“¹⁰ widmeten; Musik war also gar kein primärer Vereinsgrund für die behördliche Zählung. Insgesamt gab es 1845 102 Vereine: 72 davon waren „Humanitätsvereine“, also Beerdigungsinstitute, Kinderspitäler oder Kindergärten, 10 waren „Versorgungsanstalten“, 6 „Aktiengesellschaften“; Schluß. Der existierende „Chorregentenverein“ war eine reine Versorgungsanstalt, ein Pensionsinstitut für Chorleiter und

8 Eine Liste der in Wien (ab 1823) zugelassenen Kirchenmusik-Vereinigungen siehe bei Karl Schütz, „[Zur Geschichte der Chormusik im Gottesdienst] Erzdiözese Wien“, in *Kirchenchöre Österreichs. Ausgabe B mit Dokumentation von Chören der Kirchenprovinz Wien*, Hrsg. Johann Trummer (Graz: Universal, 1987), 109–25, hier 120, sowie bei Elisabeth Fritz-Hilscher, „G. Das 19. Jahrhundert (circa 1790/1800 bis 1918)“, in *Wien. Musikgeschichte. Von der Prähistorie bis zur Gegenwart*, Hrsg. Elisabeth Th. Fritz-Hilscher und Helmut Kretzschmer (Wien, Berlin: Lit, 2011), 271–357, hier 318f.

9 *Kurze Uebersicht des neu entstandenen [...] Kirchenmusik-Vereines an der französischen Nationalkirche zu St. Anna* (Wien, s. n., 1827), 3f, zit. nach: Walter Sauer, „Kirchenmusikvereine im Wiener Vormärz. Kulturarbeit zwischen Bürgertum und kirchlicher Restauration“, in *Musikfreunde. Träger der Musikkultur in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Hrsg. Ingrid Fuchs (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 2017) 175–89, hier 176.

10 *Ibid.*, 177.

ihre Witwen. Aktiv wurden in den Kirchenchören maximal einige Dutzend Personen, dafür gab es zahlreiche unterstützende Mitglieder – bisweilen bis zu 280. Und ergänzt muß werden, daß einige der Vereinigungen auch Musikschulen für Laien unterhielten und „Akademien“ ihrer Schüler veranstalteten. – Ab dem 1867 erlassenen liberalen Vereinsgesetz wurde dann aber in fast jeder Pfarre ein Musikverein ins Leben gerufen.

Kurz sei ein Blick auf die bereits erwähnten Studentenchöre geworfen, deren erster zwar 1828 gegründet wurde, aber lange allein blieb. Einen Aufschwung nahm das Studentenchorwesen erst nach der Gründung des „Wiener Männergesangsvereins“ von 1843 bzw. nach dessen „Genehmigung“ von 1845. Zwei Jahre lang war die Vereinigung den Politikern, und hier wohl insbesondere den adeligen, allzu suspekt gewesen, gehörten ihm doch vor allem „normale“ bürgerliche Menschen an. Schließlich mußte man sich aber doch dem Zeitgeist des allgemeinen Chorwesens beugen. Insbesondere *Fürst Metternich ahnte*, daß die Männerchöre zu einem gefährlichen politischen Machtfaktor werden konnten, und äußerte sich diesbezüglich einmal überaus deutlich: „*Suchen Sie diese Pest Deutschland's mit aller Macht zu unterdrücken*“.¹¹

Auch die Studentenchöre hatten ausschließlich männliche Mitglieder – ein alter Witz besagt, daß trotzdem auch *Tenöre* mitsingen durften. Einige Männerchöre gründeten allerdings sogar kleine Frauenchöre, um fallweise auch den gemischten Chorgesang pflegen zu können; Vereinsmitglieder wurden die Frauen aber nicht. Daß nahezu alle Männerchöre deutschnational eingestellt waren, ist bekannt, wobei man hier nicht mit heutigen Maßstäben messen darf. War Wien doch bis 1806 de iure die deutsche Hauptstadt – nämlich des „*Heiligen römischen Reiches deutscher Nation*“ – und bis 1866 immer noch auf dem Papier: Österreich mit der Hauptstadt Wien hatte den Vorsitz im Deutschen Bund inne, ehe es von Preußen hinausgeekelt bzw. durch einen Krieg hinausgeschmissen wurde („Krieg“ – nicht nur die Russen konnten Bruderkriege anzetteln). Und noch in der Zwischenkriegszeit nach 1918 bekannten sich alle großen Parteien Österreichs zur deutschen Nation,¹² bis ihnen diese (wenn auch nur partiell) von den Nationalsozialisten verleidet wurde.

11 August Schmidt, *Der Wiener Männergesang-Verein* (Wien: Selbstverlag, 1868), 25.

12 So ist im am 29. November 1926 beschlossenen Programm der Christlichsozialen Partei zu lesen: „*Als national gesinnte Partei fordert die christlichsoziale Partei die Pflege deutscher Art und bekämpft die Übermacht des zersetzenden jüdischen Einflusses auf geistigem und wirtschaftlichem Gebiete*“. Und im Programm der Sozialdemokratischen Partei lesen wir: „*Die Sozialdemokratie betrachtet den Anschluß*

Unabhängig davon erlebten Männerchöre wie der „Wiener Männergesangverein“, weiters der 1858 von Couleur-Studenten gegründete, „*nur aus Hörern der Universität und Polytechnik*“ und deren Absolventen bestehende „Akademische Gesangverein“¹³ sowie der 1863 zunächst als „Lehrersängerchor Schubertbund“ gegründete „(Wiener) Schubertbund“ in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts einen großen, auch gesellschaftlichen Aufschwung.¹⁴ Letztlich riefen auch zahlreiche Interessensgemeinschaften bzw. Berufsvereinigungen, ja selbst Handwerkerzünfte Männerchöre ins Leben, abgesehen von den allgemeinen *bürgerlichen* Chören in nahezu allen Bezirken Wiens: So gab es (nach dem Sitz des Probenlokals gezählt) 1876 (neben den drei genannten, im 1. Bezirk ansässigen Chören) im 1. und 12. Bezirk (noch) jeweils 7 (gemeldete) Chöre, im 6. und 7. Bezirk jeweils fünf Chöre, im 4. Bezirk vier Chöre, im 2., 16., 19. und 21. Bezirk jeweils zwei Chöre sowie im 3., 9., 10., 11., 15., 17. und 18. Bezirk jeweils einen (Männer-)Chor, im Schnitt mit 25 bis 40 aktiven Mitgliedern.¹⁵

Daneben existierten 1876 in Wien „offiziell“ (laut Fromme) bereits zwei Arbeitersänger-Vereinigungen (de facto aber mehr) sowie drei nationale tschechische Chöre: „Slawoy“, „Spövácký spolek slowanský“ und „Syrène“.¹⁶ „Informell“ wirkten aber bereits um 1862/63 der „Slawische Gesangsverein“, der am 8. September 1863 „offiziell“ gegründete Chor des Vereins „Pokrok“ sowie der am 18. Februar 1865 gegründete tschechische Chor „Lumír“.¹⁷ 1890 gab es laut „Frommes musikalische Welt“¹⁸ auch ei-

Deutschösterreichs an das Deutsche Reich als notwendigen Abschluß der nationalen Revolution von 1918. Sie erstrebt mit friedlichen Mitteln den Anschluß an die Deutsche Republik.“ Zit. nach Walter Kleindl, Österreich. Zahlen. Daten. Fakten, hrsg., bearbeitet und ergänzt von Isabella Ackerl und Günter K. Kodek (Salzburg: A&M, 2004), 331f. Vgl. Hartmut Krones, „12. Februar 1934 bis 27. April 1945. 4092 Tage Ächtung, Verbot, Vertreibung und Ermordung österreichischer Musik(er)“, in *Geächtet – verboten – vertrieben. Österreichische Musiker 1934 – 1938 – 1945* [= *Schriften des Wissenschaftszentrums Arnold Schönberg*, Band 1], Hrsg. Hartmut Krones (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2013), 13–27, hier 20f.

- 13 Er brachte „jedoch, wenn interessante musikalische Objecte vorliegen, in seinen Concerten auch grosse Tonwerke für gemischten Chor und Orchester“ zur Aufführung. *Frommes Musikalische Welt, Notiz-Kalender für 1876*, Erster Jahrgang, redigirt von Dr. Theodor Helm (Wien: Carl Fromme, 1875), 79.
- 14 Vgl. Krones, „Das Aufblühen“, 197f.
- 15 *Frommes Musikalische Welt* [1876], 79–83.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 83.
- 17 Viktor Velek, *Lumír 150* [Musica Bohemica Viennensia I] (Třebíč, Wien: Apis, 2016), 33–8.
- 18 *Frommes Musikalische Welt, Notiz-Kalender für das Jahr 1890*, Fünfzehnter Jahrgang, redigirt von Dr. Theodor Helm (Wien: Carl Fromme, 1889), 200.

nen ungarischen Chor: „Eisö bécsi magyar dalárda“. 1892 folgte dann der („Sängerchor“) „Tovačovský“,¹⁹ und 1897 schloß sich der „böhmische Gesang- und Vergnügungsverein ‚Hlahol‘ in Wien“ an.²⁰ 1890 existierten übrigens im 6. Bezirk 12 Chöre, im 1. Bezirk neun Chöre, im 16. Bezirk sechs Chöre, im 4., 12. und 21. Bezirk je fünf, im 3. und 7. Bezirk je vier, im 8., 10., 13., 15., 17. und 18. Bezirk je drei, im 2., 5., 9., 11., 14. und 19. Bezirk je zwei Chöre und im 20. Bezirk ein Chor.²¹

Nicht vergessen sei in diesem Zusammenhang, daß der Name des berühmtesten österreichischen Dirigenten und Komponisten von Männerchören Anton Bruckner lautet. – Übrigens gehörten dem 1862 gegründeten Deutschen Sängerbund von Anfang an einige österreichische Männerchöre an, obwohl ihnen das zunächst verboten war; erst das liberale Vereinsgesetz von 1867 gestattete ihnen die offizielle Mitgliedschaft – zum „*Deutschen Sängerbund*“, wohlgemerkt. Und noch ein „übrigens“, ganz wichtig: 1883 gab es in Wien auch schon einen Frauen- nein: Damenchor: den „Lehrerinnen-Damenchor“, und 1885 folgte der „Wiener Damengesangverein“.²² – Erwähnt seien – wegen ihrer schönen Namen – nun einige der im 19. Jahrhundert existierenden Wiener Chöre: der „Männergesangsverein Gersthofer Liedertafel – Sirene 1862“, die „Musikalisch-gesellige ‚Musikgesellschaft Metronom‘“, die „Tischgesellschaft Vogelfreunde gute Waldsänger“ (1894), der „Musik-Verein der Bau- und Betriebsgesellschaft für städtische Straßenbahnen in Wien“ (1895), der „Männergesangsverein der Wiener Fleischhauer“ (1896) oder der „Fechter- und Sängerverband ‚Kornblume‘ des Bundes der Germanen“ (1899).

Ein frühes Gegengewicht zu den zahlreichen Männerchören bildeten die großen, bis heute existierenden gemischten Amateur-Chorvereinigungen, Nachfolger jener frei zusammengestellten Chöre der Monsterkonzerte des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts. 1858 wurden sowohl der „Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde“ als auch die „Wiener Singakademie“ gegründet, ersterer als „Hauschor“ im Musikverein, der zunächst unter der Lei-

19 Jana Koudelková, *Češi ve Vídni. Tschechen in Wien* (Brno: Jihomoravský kraj, 2013), 72 (bzw. 214).

20 Laut einer Aufstellung, die der Autor von Amtsdirektor Reg.-Rat Heinz Placz (Archiv der Republik) erhalten hat. Auf ihr sind die Jahre verzeichnet, in denen die Anmeldung bzw. Löschung von Musikvereinen stattgefunden hat.

21 *Frommes Musikalische Welt* [1890], 197–207.

22 *Frommes Musikalische Welt, Notiz-Kalender für das Jahr 1883*, Achter Jahrgang, redigiert von Dr. Theodor Helm (Wien: Carl Fromme, 1882), 157, sowie für das Jahr 1888: *Frommes Musikalische Welt, Notiz-Kalender für das Jahr 1888*, Dreizehnter Jahrgang (Wien: Carl Fromme, 1887), 189.

tung der jeweiligen Konzertdirektoren der Gesellschaft stand (und somit 1872/73–1874/75 unter Johannes Brahms);²³ erst ab 1927 ernannte man eigene „Chordirektoren“. Zehn Jahre früher, 1863/64, hatte Brahms bereits die „Singakademie“ geleitet, die nach Jahrzehnten freien Konzertierens 1913 zum Hauschor des Wiener Konzerthauses wurde.

Wir kommen zu den großen vereinsübergreifenden Chor-Bünden: dem sogenannten „bürgerlichen“ „Sängerbund“ sowie dem „Arbeitersängerbund“. Über ersteren hat ja bereits mein Freund Friedhelm Brusniak die wichtigsten Details, besser: die größten Probleme referiert. Denn einen österreichischen Sängerbund gab es eigentlich nicht, lediglich Unter-Vereinigungen wie den 1863 gegründeten „Niederösterreichischen Sängerbund“,²⁴ dem (als Beispiel) 1890 82 „Vereine“ angehörten²⁵ (zu Niederösterreich gehörte bis 1920 auch Wien, ehe es zu einem eigenständigen Bundesland aufstieg). 1881 wurde zwar die Gründung eines eigenständigen „Österreichischen Sängerbundes“ angeregt, doch überwogen die Gegenstimmen – man blieb Mitglied des *Deutschen* Sängerbundes. Und in diesem waren die Österreicher schließlich der Kreis XXI, der Wien, Niederösterreich und das Burgenland umfaßte und seinen Namen 1924 in „Ostmärkischer Sängerbund“ änderte.²⁶ Für diese Namensänderung war kein Hitler notwendig, sie erfolgte freiwillig. – Im *übrigen* war dieser Sängerbund ein reiner Männerbund; Frauen wurden erst 1933 in die Vereinigung aufgenommen, allerdings ohne passives Wahlrecht für die Gremien,²⁷ und es dauerte *äußerst* lange, bis sich Frauen- und gemischte Chöre tatsächlich als gleichberechtigt durchsetzten.

Anders war dies in den Chören der Arbeitervereinigungen,²⁸ die im Zuge der Revolution von 1848 gegründet wurden: In Österreich war dies

23 *Geschichte der k. k. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien* [vorgebunden: 1. Abteilung: 1812–1870, verfasst von Richard von Perger] 2. Abteilung: 1870–1912, verfasst von Dr. Robert Hirschfeld (Wien: Selbstverlag, 1912), 147–62.

24 Siehe Paulus Ebner, *Strukturen des Musiklebens in Wien. Zum musikalischen Vereinsleben in der Ersten Republik* (= *Musikleben. Studien zur Musikgeschichte Österreichs*, Band 5), Hrsg. Friedrich C. Heller (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1996), 53.

25 *Frommes Musikalische Welt* [1890], 196.

26 Siehe Ebner. *Strukturen des Musiklebens in Wien*, 53, sowie Hartmut Krones, „Das 20. und 21. Jahrhundert (Vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart)“, in *Wien. Musikgeschichte. Von der Prähistorie bis zur Gegenwart* (= *Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 7), Hrsg. Elisabeth Th. Fritz-Hilscher und Helmut Kretschmer (Wien, Berlin: Lit, 2011), 359–485, hier 453f.

27 Ebner. *Strukturen des Musiklebens in Wien*, 59.

28 Hiezu siehe Hartmut Krones, „Wir wollen Alles, was die Chorliteratur Schönes enthält, [...] uns zu eigen machen“ (Josef Scheu). Zu Geschichte und Ideologie des Ar-

zunächst vor allem der am 28. Juni ins Leben gerufene „Erste Allgemeine Arbeiterverein“,²⁹ der aber ebenso wie alle anderen „linken“ Chöre sofort nach den Oktoberkämpfen verboten wurde. (In Deutschland folgte übrigens Ende August die „Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverbrüderung“, deren Chöre dann – länderspezifisch unterschiedlich – von 1850 bis 1854 dasselbe Schicksal erlitten.³⁰) Wie hart die politische Diskussion damals auch musikalisch ausgefochten wurde, zeigen uns etwa die ersten beiden Strophen einer Kontrafaktur, die zur Melodie der englischen Hymne gesungen wurde – besser: zur Melodie der Kaiserhuldigung „Heil dir im Siegerkranz, Herrscher des Vaterlands“: Der Text lautet: *„Ehrt doch den Handwerksmann | und auch den Bauersmann, arm oder reich! Gleich gebaut, wie auch ihr, und von derselben Zier, darum sind Menschen wir | alle uns gleich.“* Die 2. Strophe lautet: *„Denn ohne beider Stand | wird einst im Vaterland | kein Heil erblühn. Erst, wenn das Volk steht auf, Throne wirft über’n Hauf, schlägt auf die Pfaffen drauf, dann erst wird’s grün.“*³¹

Nach dem allgemeinen Verbot der Arbeiterchöre 1848 konnten sich in Österreich erst ab 1863 einzelne Werkschöre bilden,³² bis das Vereinsgesetz von 1867 in zahlreichen Städten des Landes (also auch in Böhmen, Mähren, Schlesien, Slowenien und Südtirol) zur Gründung von Arbeiterbildungs- sowie Arbeiter-Vereinen führte. (Die Geschichte des 1897 gegründeten, sowohl deutsche als auch slowenische Chöre interpretierenden Laibacher Arbeiter=Gesangsvereines „Vorwärts“ sowie seiner ab 1883 im Rahmen des „Laibacher Arbeiter-Bildungs-Vereines“ tätigen Vorläufer habe ich ja 2005 dargestellt: im 5. Jahrgang des „Glasbeno-Pedagoški Zbornik“ anlässlich

beitergesanges in Österreich“, in *125 Jahre „Eintracht“ Innsbruck – 125 Jahre sozialdemokratische Kulturarbeit in Tirol*, Hrsg. Gabi Rothbacher, Hartmut Krones und Martin Ortner (Innsbruck: Renner-Institut, 2009), 61–88.

29 Kleindel, *Österreich. Zahlen. Daten. Fakten*, 244.

30 Axel Kuhn, *Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2004), 46ff., sowie Frank Lorenz Müller, *Die Revolution von 1848/49*, 3. Auflage (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009), 81. Vgl. Rainer Noltenius, Hg., *Illustrierte Geschichte der Arbeiterchöre* (Essen: Klartext, 1992), 8f.

31 Flugblatt; Archiv des Österreichischen Volksliedwerks.

32 Helmut Brenner, *„Stimmt an das Lied ...“*. *Das große österreichische Arbeitersänger-Buch* (Graz, Wien: Leykam, 1986), 17–20, sowie Hartmut Krones, „Zur Frühgeschichte des Österreichischen Arbeitersängerbundes 1867–1901–1914“, in *Choral music and choral societies, and their role in the development of the national musical cultures. 18. slovenski glasbeni dnevi 2003* [Kongressbericht], Hrsg. Primož Kuret (Ljubljana: s. n., o. J. [2004]), 122–33, hier 124.

des 70. Geburtstages von Primož Kuret).³³ Als dann Dezember 1891 der „Verband der Arbeiterchor-Vereine Niederösterreichs“ (samt Wien) gegründet wurde, gab es bereits sowohl zahlreiche gemischte Chöre als auch Frauenchöre.³⁴ Und bei der Gründung des „Verbandes der Arbeiter=Gesangvereine Oesterreichs“ vom 1. September 1901 stellte der Bundeschorleiter des Verbandes Josef Scheu voll Stolz fest, daß in den 37 Vereinen Niederösterreichs (samt Wien) bereits 20 gemischte Chöre existierten. Und im Gegensatz zu den Funktionären der frauenlosen bürgerlichen Chöre unterstrich er: *„im allgemeinen ist die Form des gemischten Chores [...] zur Lösung künstlerischer Aufgaben mehr geeignet als der Männerchor.“*³⁵

Einige schöne Namen von Arbeiterchören mögen das Referat abrunden: *„Arbeiter-Gesangsverein ‚Liederkranz‘ der Locomotivfabrik Wien XXI. Bezirk“* (1882) [hier gab es ein „bürgerliches Pendant“, den ebenfalls 1882 gegründeten *„Männergesangsverein ‚Liederkranz‘ der Wiener Locomotivfabrik“*], dann *„Gesangsverein der Hutarbeiter- und arbeiterinnen in Wien“* (1886) oder *„Arbeiter-Sängerchor ‚Metallklang‘ des österreichischen Fischerei-Verbandes“* (1890).³⁶ Und wie bei den „bürgerlichen“ Chören ist auch hinter diesen Namen jeweils die politische Gesinnung verborgen, sehr oft aber geben sie auch Auskunft zum jeweilige Beruf bzw. zur Zugehörigkeit der Chormitglieder zu speziellen, und auch hier oft politischen Interessensgemeinschaften.

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- 34 Siehe Hartmut Krones, „Wir gestehen den Frauen dieselben Rechte wie den Männern zu.‘ Arbeiterinnengesang in Österreich“, in *Frauen hör- und sichtbar machen ... 20 Jahre ‚Frau und Musik‘ an der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien* [Festschrift Elena Ostleitner], Hrsg. Sarah Chaker und Ann-Kathrin Erdélyi (Wien: Institut für Musiksoziologie, 2010), 85–105.
- 35 Josef Scheu, „Der gemischte Chor“, *Oesterreichische Arbeiter=Sängerzeitung* II, Nr. 2 (1. Februar 1903): 1.
- 36 Die Namen sind gemäß der Liste von Heinz Placz (Anm. 19) zitiert.

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Zur kulturellen und politischen Bedeutung der deutschen Männergesangsvereine

Helmut Loos
Univerza v Leipzigu
Universität Leipzig

Nach den bahnbrechenden Forschungen zur Männerchorbewegung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts von Friedhelm Brusniak und Dietmar Klenke sind überraschende neue Erkenntnisse nicht zu erwarten, eher geht es um eine weitere Ausgestaltung und Illustration ihrer Geschichtsdarstellung. Für mich waren ihre Ausführungen insofern wegweisend, als sie die nationalreligiöse Richtung des Männergesangsvereinswesens deutlich herausgearbeitet haben.¹ Da sich in den Männerchören die Elite des Musiklebens sammelte, die größten Einfluss auf alle Bereiche nahm, lag der Schluss nicht fern, die starke Tendenz zu einem Verständnis der Ernsten Musik als Kunstreligion der Moderne zu identifizieren. Dass diese Tendenz im 19. Jahrhundert noch nicht so dominierend war, wie es unsere traditionelle Musikgeschichtsschreibung in weiten Teilen glauben machen möchte, ist

1 Friedhelm Brusniak und Dietmar Klenke, Hrsg., „*Heil deutschem Wort und Sang!*“ *Nationalidentität und Gesangskultur in der deutschen Geschichte. Tagungsbericht Feuchtwangen 1994* (Augsburg: Wissner, 1995); Friedhelm Brusniak und Dietmar Klenke, „Sängerfeste und die Musikpolitik der deutschen Nationalbewegung“, *Die Musikforschung* 52, Nr. 1 (1999): 29–54; Friedhelm Brusniak, „Nationalreligiosität in der Sängerbewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts: Das 5. Liederfest des Thüringer Sängerbundes in Eisenach 1847“, in *Musikgeschichte zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa. Kirchenmusik – geistliche Musik – religiöse Musik*, Hrsg. Helmut Loos und Klaus-Peter Koch (Sinzig: Studio Verlag Schewe, 2001), 83–98; Friedhelm Brusniak, „Der Deutsche Sängerbund und das ‚deutsche Lied‘“, in *Nationale Musik im 20. Jahrhundert. Kompositorische und soziokulturelle Aspekte der Musikgeschichte zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa. Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2002*, Hrsg. Helmut Loos und Stefan Keym (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder, 2004), 409–21.

ein weiterer Schritt meiner Überlegungen, die ich – und dies hat mich doch überrascht – auch an den Verbandszeitungen der Männerchöre glaube ablesen zu können.

Als Speerspitze der bürgerlichen Emanzipationsbewegung (zusammen mit Turnern und Schützen) waren die Männerchöre der Vorstellung eines Nationalstaats verhaftet, der sich gegen die alte ständische Ordnung mit ihren geburtsabhängigen Schranken richtete und die Idee eines homogenen, einigen Nationalstaats vertrat. Standesbedingte Konflikte sollten vermieden werden und nur die Leistung des Einzelnen für seine Stellung in der Gesellschaft den Ausschlag geben. Programmatisch für diese Einstellung setzte der Leipziger Bankier Hans Kroch 1928 auf die Front seines Neubaus am Augustusplatz den Spruch „Omnia vincit labor“, der bürgerliche Gegenentwurf zum alten, fürstlichen „Omnia vincit amor“ (beides nach Ovid), das in der Oper beständig gefeiert worden war. Einheit, Freiheit und Brüderlichkeit waren die andauernd beschworenen Ideale der Vereine. Konfessionelle Differenzen wurden bereits im Vormärz aktiv der Nationalidentität nachgeordnet,² was auch die jüdischen Teilnehmer betraf. Spätestens mit der Entstehung der Arbeitersänger brach aber die Standesfrage wieder auf, was Richard Kötzschke 1927 bitter beklagte:

möchte doch der der politische Parteienstreit wenigstens in dem geweihten Tempel der Tonkunst schweigen! Was sollen denn jene Ausfälle gegen die ‚spießbürgerlichen Klimbimvereine‘? Den Arbeitersängern wird damit gar nichts genützt, und den bürgerlichen Vereinen wird nichts geschadet. Wohl aber wird dadurch der Einheit der Volksgemeinschaft, die uns so notwendig, untergraben.³

Dietmar Klenke hat die Zuordnung der Männerchöre zu dem weiten weltanschaulichen Spektrum des 19. Jahrhunderts in bemerkenswerter Klarheit herausgearbeitet.⁴ Als ursprünglich weltliche Institution war das Männerchorwesen zwar unabhängig von den Kirchen entstanden, sah sich jedoch mit seinem Ideal nationaler Einheit in einer noch stark religiös ge-

2 Friedhelm Brusniak, „Männerchorwesen und Konfession von 1800 bis in den Vormärz“, in „Heil deutschem Wort und Sang!“ *Nationalidentität und Gesangskultur in der deutschen Geschichte. Tagungsbericht 1994*, Hrsg. Friedhelm Brusniak und Dietmar Klenke (Augsburg: Wissner, 1995), 123–40.

3 Richard Kötzschke, *Geschichte des deutschen Männergesangs* (Dresden: Wilhelm Limpert Verlag, 1927), 222.

4 Dietmar Klenke, *Der singende „deutsche Mann“*. *Gesangvereine und deutsches Nationalbewusstsein von Napoleon bis Hitler* (Münster [u. a.]: Waxmann, 1998).

prägten Gesellschaft⁵ zu weitgehender Toleranz veranlasst. So sangen Männerchöre ganz selbstverständlich in Kirchen und sogar zum Gottesdienst, auch wenn dies nicht ihr hauptsächliches Betätigungsfeld darstellte und es gravierende regionale Unterschiede gab. Im katholischen Rheinland etwa besaßen die Männerchöre keine nennenswerte Bedeutung. Gerade die römisch-katholische Kirche galt als „transmontan“, was dem Nationalgedanken fundamental entgegenstand.

Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts kamen die ersten Zeitschriften für Männerchöre heraus, und gleich im ersten Jahrgang der *Teutonia* bespricht der Herausgeber Julius Schladebach ein „Concert des Universitäts-Sängervereins“, gegründet 1822 als Universitätsängerverein an der St. Pauluskirche, also als Kirchenchor. Ursprünglich aus 16 Sängern bestehend wuchs der Männerchor schnell, und die Gründungsmitglieder verloren damit einige Privilegien.

*Ebenso verschwand im Laufe der Jahre der oben angedeutete kirchliche Zweck des Vereines immer mehr und mehr, und die Ausübung des weltlichen Gesanges begann die Oberhand zu gewinnen, so dass jetzt die letzte Spur dieser kirchlichen Tendenz sich nur noch in der, alle vier bis sechs Wochen erfolgenden Aufführung eines kirchlichen Gesangstückes in der St. Pauluskirche zeigt, deren jedesmaliger Organist, jetzt Herr Langer, Director des Vereines ist.*⁶

Gleich anschließend rezensiert Julius Schladebach die Ausgabe der biblischen Szene *Das Liebesmahl der Apostel* von Richard Wagner und verißt das Stück vollkommen, vor allem prangert er die „gewährte Selbstvergötterung und eitle Anmassung“ des Komponisten an.⁷ Im nächsten Jahrgang findet sich dann auch eine Bemerkung wie: „Die katholische Religion und die Verdummung begegnen sich sehr oft!“⁸ Dies darf wohl als Entgleisung aus der Frühzeit der Bewegung durchgehen, denn in den 1860er

5 Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866. Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (München: Beck, 1983), hier zitiert nach der broschierten Sonderausgabe (München: Beck, 1998), 403: „Das deutsche 19. Jahrhundert ist noch immer ein christliches, ein kirchlich geprägtes Zeitalter“.

6 Julius Schladebach, „Concert des Universitäts-Sängervereins“, *Teutonia. Literarisch-kritische Blätter für den deutschen Männergesang* 1, Nr. 4 (1846): 59.

7 Julius Schladebach, „Recensionen. Das Liebesmahl der Apostel. Bibl. Scene für Männerstimmen und grosses Orchester, von Richard Wagner“, *Teutonia. Literarisch-kritische Blätter für den deutschen Männergesang* 1, Nr. 4 (1846): 60–3, hier 63.

8 Theodor Hagen, „Ueber die Volksweise und die Volksliedertafel“, *Teutonia. Literarisch-kritische Blätter für den deutschen Männergesang* 2, Nr. 4 (1847): 53–62, hier 59.

Jahren setzt sich ein anderer Tonfall durch, wenn auch nicht ohne Vorbehalte. Das Motto lautet jetzt: „Vorwärts! Schönes Wort! [...] Vorwärts zu immer weiterer Veredlung, Vervollkommnung und Verbreitung des deutschen Männergesanges!“⁹

Zu deutschen National- und Volks-Festen wird ausgeführt:

*Deutscher Katholicismus und deutscher Protestantismus werden recht gut in Frieden neben einander wohnen können, sobald ersterer von allem Nichtdeutschen losläßt und sich von allen Einflüssen befreit, die ihn in einer außerdeutschen und sehr oft Deutschland feindlichen Abhängigkeit halten, um ihn in die strengen vorgezeichneten Bahnen hineinzuzwängen.*¹⁰

Die Vorbehalte gelten dem romtreuen politischen Katholizismus, der dem Antimodernismus anhing und entsprechend vom Liberalismus sowie vom staatskirchlichen Protestantismus insbesondere liberaler Ausrichtung bekämpft wurde. Der Kulturkampf bildete (ab 1871) den Höhepunkt langwieriger Auseinandersetzungen. 1862 wird in der *Deutschen Männer-Gesangs-Zeitung* weiter ausgeführt:

*Wenn der christliche Glaube an sich, [...] von einem jeden Deutschen nach dem Brauche seiner Väter und nach eigener innerer Richtung auf eine treue, ehrenfeste, deutsche Weise gepflegt und getragen wird, dann wird es diese deutsche Eigenthümlichkeit sein, welche auch dabei eine Einigkeit in den Geistern bestehen läßt und alle feindlichen, fanatischen Regungen fortan fern hält.*¹¹

Der folgende Jahrgang (1863) der Zeitung wird gleich wieder mit einem Bekenntnis zum Fortschritt eröffnet:

*Würde doch gar bald der einzelne Rückwärtsstrebende mit dem allgemeinen vorwärts gehenden Strome, wenn auch wider Willen, doch mächtig ergriffen und mit fortgerissen werden! [...] daß ‚Vorwärts‘ ihre Parole sei in Wort und That!*¹²

Das Leistungsprinzip manifestiert sich im Männergesangsvereinswesen im Wettsingen, das durch intensive Probenarbeit vorzubereiten ist. So

9 Anon., „Zum neuen Jahr“, *Deutsche Männer-Gesangs-Zeitung* 3, Nr. 1 (1862): 1.

10 Anon., „Deutsche National- und Volks-Feste“, *Deutsche Männer-Gesangs-Zeitung* 3, Nr. 1 (1862): 46.

11 Ibid., 46.

12 Anon., „Am Neujahrmorgen“, *Deutsche Männer-Gesangs-Zeitung* 4, Nr. 1 (1863): 1.

werden in der Zeitung auch verschiedene Arten des Einstudierens in den Gesangsvereinen erläutert.

*Weiht sich aber der Männergesang, wie das sehr rühmlich heut auch vorkommt, einmal dem Dienste Gottes in seinem Tempel, so hält man wohl auch die Proben in der Kirche und bedient sich des mächtigsten aller Hilfsmittel, der Orgel. Welcher Sänger sollte eine Melodie nicht begreifen, wenn sie ihm vermöge einer scharfen zfachen Mixtur – in die Ohren dröhnt.*¹³

Es ist wohl nicht falsch, in der Bezeichnung einer Kirche als „Tempel“ ein Element der Profanierung zu erkennen, wie überhaupt die gesamte Diktion spöttisch auf die Situation herabzublicken scheint. Ähnlich wird der Terminus „Gott“ begrifflich aufgeweicht und säkularisiert, so dass er in Männergesangswerken und als Motto geradezu beliebig zu verwenden ist, wie etwa im Motto der *Deutschen Männer-Gesangs-Zeitung*, das in jedem Heft auf der Titelseite prangt: „Herz und Lied frisch, frei, gesund, / Wahr’ dir’ Gott, du Sängerbund!“ Diese Form einer Entchristlichung wird immer wieder mit historischen Beiträgen begründet, in denen der Fortschritt der modernen Gesellschaft betont wird. So betont ein Dr. Schwarz in der *Deutschen Männer-Gesangs-Zeitung* 1864 ganz im Sinne fortschrittlicher Wissenschaftsgläubigkeit: „Selbst mancher Jahrtausende alte Glaube mußte sich zurückziehen vor dem zweischneidigen Schwert der Wissenschaft“. Wissenschaftlich meint er die Frage beantworten zu können: „woher kommt nun aber dieser über die ganze Welt verbreitete Glaube von der alles hinter sich lassenden Vortrefflichkeit italienischen Gesanges?“ Nun sei der Kirchengesang von Rom aus durch seine Vertreter als Muster in alle Länder verbreitet worden.

Dies aber ist Niemand anders, als die Kirche selbst und ihre Diener, die Nichts neben sich als gut gelten ließ, auch keinen andern Gesang, als den ihrer eigenen Mutterkirche zu Rom. Mit dem unfehlbaren katholischen Glauben wird so auch der unfehlbare italienische Gesangsglaube verbreitet. – Unfehlbar? Welch ein Wahn! –¹⁴

Die Männergesangsvereine dagegen seien „eine rein deutsche Einrichtung“, und die Deutschen seien „damit allen Nationen vorangegangen; nicht

13 R. C., „Ob Geige, ob Klavier oder keins von beiden“, *Deutsche Männer-Gesangs-Zeitung* 4, Nr. 1 (1863): 11.

14 Anon., „Vortrag des Herrn Dr. Schwarz“, *Deutsche Männer-Gesangs-Zeitung* 5, Nr. 1 (1864): 2.

im Dienste der Kirche, sondern im Dienste der Kunst selbst“.¹⁵ In der Deutschen Gesangsvereinszeitung *Die neue Sängerkirche* führt der BÜrgerschullehrer Belzing in seinem Vortrag über „Das alte deutsche Volkslied“ aus:

*die Germanen [...] schufen Lieder und Melodien, in denen Walhalla, ihre Götter und Göttinnen, gefallene Helden, Becherspiele und Jagd gefeiert wurden. Das Christenthum, welches die heidnischen Altäre stürzte, die Eichenhaine vereinsamte, verwehte leider auch diese Melodien.*¹⁶

Neu entstanden sei dann ein christlich-germanischer Volksgesang. Neben flammenden Plädoyers für Patriotismus enthält dieselbe Zeitung daneben regelmäßig eine, wenn auch kleine Rubrik mit Berichten über Auftritte von Männerchören in Kirchen und im Gottesdiensten. Wie breit die Männergesangsvereine gesellschaftspolitisch aufgestellt waren, beleuchtet schlaglichtartig auch ein Bericht aus Oberschlesien: „*Von den Massengesängen erwähnen wir W. Tschirchs Hymne: Gott, Vaterland und Liebe, Mendelssohn's Hymne: Gruß an die Künstler und Wagner's Pilgerchor aus dem Tannhäuser*“.¹⁷

Repräsentiert die Hymne von Wilhelm Tschirch das nationalreligiöse Weltbild der Männergesangsvereine mit ihrem Glauben an die sozial heilenden Kräfte des nationalen Einigungsprojekts, so apostrophiert der *Festgesang an die Künstler nach Schillers Gedicht* op. 68 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy die gesamtgesellschaftlich zu verantwortende Aufgabe der Künstler zur Bewahrung „der Menschheit Würde“. Komponiert zur Eröffnung des ersten deutsch-flämischen Sängerfestes 1846 in Köln thematisiert sie den hohen Anspruch der Männergesangsvereine auf soziale Führungsposition. Mendelssohn war mit diesem und anderen Stücken wie „Wer hat dich, du schöner Wald“ (Der Jäger Abschied op. 50, Nr. 2) zu einem Lieblingskomponisten der Männergesangsvereine avanciert (dem auch später noch kein Antisemitismus etwas anhaben konnte), dem er sich mit vielen freundlichen Gesten erkenntlich zeigte. Ihn deshalb als Person der fortschrittlichen Auffassung der Männerchöre zuzuordnen, wie es häufig geschieht, ist allerdings ein Kurzschluss, der sich aus der romantischen Mu-

15 Ibid., 3.

16 E., „Chemniker Sängerbund“, *Die neue Sängerkirche. Deutsche Gesangsvereinszeitung für das In- und Ausland* III, Nr. 34 (20. August 1864): 268.

17 W. Karel, „Füllhorn. Aus Oberschlesien“, *Deutsche Männer-Gesangs-Zeitung* II, Nr. 6 (1861): 35. Zu Mendelssohns Festgesang an die Künstler op. 68 siehe auch Klenke, *Der singende „deutsche Mann“*, 7.

sikanschauung ableitet, ein Komponist könne Meisterwerke nur dann schaffen, wenn sie seiner innersten Überzeugung entsprächen. Gleichzeitig mit dem *Festgesang an die Künstler* als künstlerreligiöses Bekenntnis hat Mendelssohn 1846 ein katholisches *Lauda Sion* (MWV A 24) ebenso wie einen *Elias* op. 70 (MWV A 25) in jüdisch-christlich/protestantischer Tradition komponiert, die in der musikalischen Faktur jeweils Erwartungen und sogar Fähigkeiten der Ausführenden berücksichtigen. Dies entspricht dem Verständnis des Künstlers, als Meister seines Faches seine Schaffenskraft in den Dienst der Gesellschaft in ihren verschiedenen Facetten zu stellen und der jeweiligen Situation angemessen zu gestalten, sich eben nicht als weltanschaulicher Prophet einer speziellen Position, dann als Wahrheit apostrophiert, zu verschreiben. Dass in dem Bericht aus Oberschlesien Mendelssohns *Festgesang* dann gerade mit Wagners Pilgerchor aus dem *Tannhäuser* in einem Atemzug genannt wird, also dem demütigen Gesang christlicher Pilger, entbehrt nicht der Ironie. Persönlich blieb Mendelssohn zeitlebens der jüdisch-christlichen Tradition verbunden, während Wagner sich der feuerbachianischen Religionskritik anschloss und dem Germanenkult zuwandte. Nach seinem *Lohengrin*, in dem er noch den Sieg eines hellen Christentums über ein finstere germanisches Heidentum feiert, hat er mit dem *Ring des Nibelungen* die Ausnahmepersönlichkeit, seinen Siegfried, religiös überhöht. Die letzten Worte Brunhildes an den toten Siegfried lauten: „*Ruhe! Ruhe, du Gott!*“

Groß besetzte Männerchorkompositionen mit martialischem Inhalt hat Franz Lachner (1803–1890) geschaffen: 1847 *Kriegers Gebet* für vierstimmigen Männerchor und vollständige Militaire Musik oder Piano-Forte-Begleitung op. 89, Mainz-Antwerpen-Brüssel (B. Schott's Söhne). Der Text beginnt „*Du bist, o Herr mein Stern bei Nacht, du meine Sonn' bei Tage*“. Wird hier in traditioneller Weise der christliche Gott angesprochen, so wählt Lachner 1857 für ein Bardiet (eine von Klopstock geschaffene Bezeichnung für ein vaterländisches Gedicht) von Friedrich Gottlob Klopstock aus dem Stück *Hermanns Schlacht* den germanischen Wodan (oder Wotan) als Schutzherrn aus:

Geschlagen ist die blutige Todesschlacht!
Erkämpft der Sieg!
Der Legionen drohendes Kriegsgeschrei, der Feldherrn stolzes Rufen
Ist stumm wie das Grab.
Wodan hat den hohen Wagen gewandt
hinüber nach Walhalla!

*Wie des Wiederhall's in der Sommernacht war seines Schildes Ton,
 wie des vollen Mondes Glanz!
 Flieget den Flug
 des Kriegswagens Wodans,
 Ihr Seelen, deren edles Blut
 floss in der blutigen Todesschlacht!
 Folget ihm nach mit den Barden Walhalla's,
 in seinen Hain!
 Und singet, wie wir,
 an dem Rauschen der heiligsten Quelle des Hains [den] Siegesgesang!
 Ha! Streiter auf dem donnernden Kriegswagen!
 Sie liegen und schlummern im Thal!
 Ha! Streiter mit dem tausendjährigen Eichenschild!
 Sie liegen und schlummern im Thal!
 Ha! Streiter Wodan!
 Die stolzen Tribunen im Thal! [ab hier verändert]
 Geschlagen ist die blutige Todesschlacht!
 Erkämpft der Sieg! Ha! Streiter Wodan!¹⁸*

Diesen *Siegesgesang* aus „*Hermannschlacht*“¹⁹ komponiert Lachner Al-labreve in h-Moll mit einem Bogen über D-Dur nach H-Dur als typische per-aspera-ad-astra-Dramaturgie zum Sieg. Walhalla, Kriegswagen und Eichenschild sind die typisch germanischen Erkennungsmerkmale. Mit einem weiteren *Kriegsgesang* von Ferdinand Freiligrath nach Thomas More für Männerchor und Orchester kehrt Lachner dann zum christlichen Gott zurück:

*Nun schmücket die Rosse bunt zum Streit,
 nun stoßt in die Trompeten!
 Denn des Ostens Volk soll bluten heut',
 und vom Krieg die Sonn' erröthen!
 Der Helm der Christen ist der Sitz des Sieg's;
 Aus ihren Scheiden zuckt das Schwert,*

- 18 Friedrich Gottlob Klopstock, *Hermanns Schlacht. Ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne* (Hamburg und Bremen: Johann Heinrich Cramer, 1769), 90f, Elfte Szene.
- 19 Franz Lachner, *Siegesgesang* aus „*Hermannschlacht*“ von Klopstock für vierstimmigen Männerchor mit Begleitung von Blas-Instrumenten, op. 104 (München: Josef Aibl, [1857]); Barbara Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds. Musical Constructions of German National Identity 1848–1914* (Woodbridge: [The Boydell Press], 2012), 210, bringt dazu ein Beispiel aus dem Stück von Franz Abt, *Siegesgesang der Deutschen nach der Hermannsschlacht* (Leipzig: C.F.W. Siegels Musikalienhandlung, o. J).

aus Westgewölk ein Blitz,
 Verderben auf die Heiden,
 O selig, wer im Kampfe fällt,
 im Himmel fortan steht sein Zelt!²⁰

Martialische Rhythmen markieren bereits in solistischen Paukeneinleitung das Stück, Trompetensignale von 4 Hörner, 3 Trompeten und 4 Posaunen geblasen geben dem Allegro maestoso seinen militärischen Charakter. Der Text wird in traditioneller Weise rhetorisch umgesetzt mit Sechzehnelverzierung zu „schmücket“, Dreiklangsmelodik der Trompeten hin zu langem Spitzenton mit Oktavsprung abwärts), chromatischer Abwärtsbewegung zu „bluten“, im Mittelteil der dreiteiligen Liedform „Un poco più lento“ wird der Text „selig“ melismatisch ausgeschmückt und der Tod „im Kampfe fällt“ mit einem Seufzer bedacht. Die musikalischen Mittel, die Lachner einsetzt, unterscheiden sich nicht grundsätzlich von seinen anderen Kompositionen, sondern textbedingt in ihrem mengenmäßigen Einsatz. Wie Mendelssohn hat auch Lachner für verschiedene gesellschaftliche Strömungen passend geschaffen.

So Anton Bruckner. Er hat, was in der Rezeptionsgeschichte ziemlich untergegangen ist, für Männerchöre über 30 Werke komponiert, einige mit Instrumentalbegleitung. Dies reicht vom Jahre 1863, einem *Germanenzug* für 4st. Männerchor, Soloquartett und Blechbläser WAB 70, erstmals aufgeführt am 5. Juni 1865 auf dem 1. Österreichisch-Salzburgischen Sängerbundesfest in Linz, bis 1893 zu der mächtigen Chorballetade für 4st. Männerchor und Orchester *Helgoland* WAB 71, für das 50jährige Jubiläum des Wiener Männer-Gesang-Vereins komponiert. Beide Texte hat der österreichische Schriftsteller und Revolutionär August Silberstein verfasst, beide besingen den „Allvater“, als der in den germanische Schöpfungsmythen der mittelalterlichen Edda-Literatur Wotan bezeichnet wird, als eine der spät eingeführten Figuren ursprünglich durchaus in Anlehnung an den christlichen Gott. Im 19. Jahrhundert wird er zur Gegenfigur, Silbereisen macht sich dies zunutze und besingt in *Helgoland* beide gleichzeitig, Allvater und Herrgott. Musikalisch kommt dies nicht nur bei Bruckner dadurch zur Geltung, dass die traditionelle Tonsprache konzertanter Kirchenmusik auf den weltlichen Text angewendet wird. Der Unterschied besteht vor allem darin, dass Kirchenchöre seit dem 19. Jahrhundert in der Regel eine gemischte Besetzung aus Frauen- und Männerstimmen aufweisen.

20 Franz Lachner, *Kriegsgesang von Ferdinand Freiligrath nach Thomas Moore. Chor für Männerchor und Orchester*, op. 181 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1877]).

Germanische Mythen personifiziert in Germania entwickelten sich zum Leitbild einer fortschrittlichen, von traditionellem Glauben emanzipierten, nationalen Gesellschaft. Nicht wenige Männerchöre legten sich den Namen *Germania* zu.²¹ Bruckner belegte 1865 auf dem Sängerbundesfest in Linz mit seinem *Germanenzug* den zweiten Platz hinter Rudolf Weinwurm (1835–1911), der mit seinem Chorwerk *Germania* den ersten Preis errang. Die Bewegung lässt sich vielfach belegen, von Beethovens *Germania* WoO 94 von 1814, dem Schlussgesang aus Friedrich Treitschkes Singspiel *Die gute Nachricht*, über Arnold Schönbergs hinaus, der in seinem Schlachtlied für 4–7st. Männerchor *Der deutsche Michel*²² den „Allvater“ mit dem Zitat des Walhallmotiv aus Wagners *Ring* unterlegt. Ein anderes Beispiel stellt die Kantate *Altgermanisches Julfest* von Ernst Mielck von 1898 dar.

Ernst Mielck (1877–1899), *Altgermanisches Julfest*. Kantate für Bariton-Solo und Männerchor mit Begleitung des Orchesters oder Pianoforte nach einem Gedicht von Hermann Allmers op. 7, Leipzig: Hofmeister 1898.

[Chor] *Hört, wie's schon braust und pocht,
hoch in den Lüften Nacht für Nacht,
Es kündet Wodans wildes Heer
des holden Lichtes Wiederkehr.*

[Solo] *Nun naht des Jules hochheil'ge Zeit.
Auf, rüstet euch, macht euch bereit.
Mit jungem Grün vom Tannenbaum
und Hülsen schmückt der Halle Raum.*

*Den Mistelzweig hängt an die Wand,
den knorrigen Julblock facht in Brand!*

[Chor] *Dann rückt zu mächt'gem Mahl den Stuhl,
so ziemt's zur heil'gen Zeit des Juls.
Die feiert hoch mit Tanz und Glanz
zwölf Tage lang, zwölf Nächte lang.
Und trinkt und schmaust und schmaust und trinkt,
der Eberkopf und Mastkrug winkt,
und Harfenklang und Opferduft
erfülle feierlich die Luft.*

21 Etwa im Jahre 1882 die Altgermanische Markgenossenschaft Männergesangverein als *Germania München e. V.*, weitere in Roth, Lorsch, Fürstenberg/Oder, Finkenwerder, Aubing, Neuwied, Buldern, Werchow, usw.

22 Text von Ottokar Kernstock (1848–1928), einem Dichter, Priester und Augustiner-Chorherrn, komponiert 1900 oder 1914/15)

*Inbrüstig fleht zu Brage nun,
 er lass euch tapfre Taten thun,
 erfüllend euch mit selger Macht,
 bis ihr sie herrlich habt vollbracht.
 Dann schwärmt herum von Haus zu Haus
 mit Tanz und Glanz in Saus und Braus,
 schwärmt bis euch strahlt der Morgenstern,
 die guten Götter sehn's so gern.
 Die bau'n zur Julzeit aus die Brücke
 zum Licht, zum Tanz, zum Liebesglücke.*

Aus letzterem Stück spricht deutlich die Absicht, das christliche Weihnachtsfest durch ein germanisches Julfest zu ersetzen, wobei Anspielungen auf traditionell mit Weihnachten kontierte Ausdrücke wie die hochheil'ge Zeit und der Morgenstern beabsichtigt sind.

Gedruckte Musikalien mit *Germania* im Titel sind im gesamten 19. Jahrhundert zu finden. Das *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* von Hofmeister weist durchgängig bis zu 10 Titel jährlich aus, einen bemerkenswerten Hochstand in den Jahren des deutsch-französischen Krieges 1870/71 mit 34 bzw. 28 Titeln.²³

Werke mit *Germania* im Titel

1830 – IX	1861 – 3X	1869 – 0X	1877 – 2X	1885 – 2X	1893 – 6X
	1862 – 4X	1870 – 34X	1878 – 0X	1886 – 4X	1894 – 8X
1840 – IX	1863 – 2X	1871 – 28X	1879 – 10X	1887 – 6X	1895 – 9 X
	1864 – 10X	1872 – 7X	1880 – 6X	1888 – 10X	1896 – 10 X
1850 – 2X	1865 – 2X	1873 – 4X	1881 – IX	1889 – 4X	1897 – 3X
	1866 – 2X	1874 – 2X	1882 – 4X	1890 – 10X	1898 – 7X
1860 – IX	1867 – 2X	1875 – IX	1883 – 3X	1891 – 10X	1899 – 3X
	1868 – IX	1876 – 5X	1884 – IX	1892 – 5X	1900 – 2X

Unter den ersten Stücken befindet sich 1840 *Germania*, Sammlung von Gesängen für den Männerchor (1stes Heft. Partitur. Zürich, Nägeli geh. 12 Gr.) von Hans Georg Nägeli, der 1810 in Zürich den wohl weltwe-

²³ Friedrich Hofmeister, *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur: oder allgemeines systematisch-geordnetes Verzeichnis der in Deutschland und in den angrenzenden Ländern gedruckten Musikalien, auch musikalischen Schriften und Abbildungen mit Anzeige der Verleger und Preise* (Leipzig: Verlag von Friedrich Hofmeister, 1829–1900). Digitalisiert Hofmeister XIX.

it ersten Männergesangverein gegründet und für die gesamte Bewegung richtungsweisend gewirkt hat. Wie rasant sich die Männerchorliteratur verbreitet hat, zeigt die Anzahl verzeichneter Musikalien für und mit Männerchorbesetzung:

1829–1840 – 84 (jährlich etwa 7)	1891 – 677
1841–1850 – 239 (jährlich etwa 24)	1892 – 606
1851–1860 – 297 (jährlich etwa 30)	1893 – 510
1861–1870 – 717 (jährlich etwa 72)	1894 – 666
1871–1875 – 469 (jährlich etwa 94)	1895 – 621
1876–1880 – 880 (jährlich etwa 176)	1896 – 780
1881–1883 – 633 (jährlich etwa 211)	1897 – 771
1884–1886 – 837 (jährlich etwa 279)	1898 – 762
1887–1888 – 913 (jährlich etwa 457)	1899 – 736
1889–1890 – 944 (jährlich etwa 472)	1900 – 646

Insgesamt ergibt dies folgende Zahlen:

1829–1840 – 84
1841–1850 – 239
1851–1860 – 297
1861–1870 – 717
1871–1880 – 1349
1881–1890 – 3327
1891–1900 – 6775

Zurück zur Musik: Die genannten Beispiele zeigen gut, wie sich in konkreten historischen Situationen weltanschauliche Grundpositionen vermischen und changieren. Dem Anliegen des Männerchorwesens kam dies entgegen und wurde bewusst gefördert: Der nationale Einheitsgedanke sollte alle Differenzen überstrahlen. Die homogene Nation duldet keine Begrenzungen nach sozialem Stand, entsprechend gab es im 1862 gegründeten Deutschen Sängerbund keine ausdrücklichen Zugangsvoraussetzungen (abgesehen von finanzieller Bonität), erst später entstanden der Deutsche Arbeiter-Sängerbund (1877) sowie Zusammenschlüsse konfessioneller (1868 bzw. 1883) und akademischer Gesangvereine (Mitte der 1870er Jahre). Dies hängt mit der veränderten Lage nach Gründung des Deutschen Reiches zusammen. Der Deutsche Sängerbund war besonders betroffen, mu-

ste er sich doch von einem oppositionellen Kampfbund in eine staatstragende Institution wandeln.

Die nationalreligiöse Funktion blieb eine tragende Stütze der Bewegung. *Die Sangerhalle. Allgemeine Deutsche Gesangsvereinszeitung fur das In- und Ausland* feiert den bekannten Thuringer Dichter Ludwig Storch und zitiert seine Worte, um Bedeutung und Aufgabe der deutschen Sangerbunde zu umreien: „*Es wird aus diesem Sangerbunde ein Gottesdienst am Altare des Vaterlandes hervorgehen.*“²⁴ Vorbild sind hier nicht die Germanen, sondern die „*alten Griechen*“.²⁵ Wie beliebig die Begrundung ihrer hohen Bedeutsamkeit immer wieder zusammengesetzt wird, zeigt die nationalromantische Begrundung mit der deutschen Seele:

*Das bloe Amusement am Gesange bei einem Glase Bier – was ja immer noch vielen anderen Vergnugungen vorzuziehen ist – wird dann gar bald einem ernstern Studium und edlern Wetteifer weichen, so da der Volksgesang in Thuringen das wieder wird, was er immer hatte bleiben sollen: die Seele des Volkes. – Reichen wir uns also hierzu bruderlich die Hand!*²⁶

Dabei werden auch die Kirchen nicht vergessen, denen auch hier regelmaig eine kleine Rubrik „Kirchenmusiken“ eingeraumt wird, allerdings in unterschiedlicher Gewichtung. In einem erstaunlichen Pladoyer fur dem Wert des Frauengesangs schreibt August Reißmann 1892:

Die protestantische Kirche hat auch wohl niemals an der Mitwirkung der Frauen im Kirchengesang Ansto genommen, wahrend sich die katholische Kirche bei kirchlichen Kultusgesangen hartnackig Jahrhunderte lang dagegen sich straubte, und nur nach schweren Kampfen sie in beschranktem Mae im Gemeindegesang zulie. Weil sie aber nach der pomphaft wirksamen Ausbildung des mehr- und vielstimmigen Gesanges doch die hohen Stimmen nicht

24 Prof. A. Voigt-Gotha, „Bedeutung und Aufgabe der deutschen Sangerbunde in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart“, *Die Sangerhalle. Allgemeine Deutsche Gesangsvereinszeitung fur das In- und Ausland. Zugleich auch Organ fur die Veroffentlichungen des Deutschen Sangerbundes* 30 (1890): 495.

25 Ibid., 496.

26 Carl Mullerhartung, „Ein Nachwort zur Bedeutung und Aufgabe der deutschen Sangerbunde in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Zuschrift von Hofrat Muller-Hartung in Weimar: Zum Wettsingen“, *Die Sangerhalle* 31 (1891): 190f., hier 191. Zu Gesangswettbewerben siehe neuerdings: Christoph Muller-Oberhauser, *Chorwettbewerbe in Deutschland zwischen 1841 und 1914. Traditionen – Praktiken – Wertdiskurse* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2022).

missen konnte und die künstlich erzogenen Falsettisten sich immer weniger geeignet erwiesen, die Frauenstimmen zu vertreten, wurde ihr fürchterlicher Ersatz durch die sogenannten Kastraten fast zur Notwendigkeit. Man verhinderte durch gewaltsame Operationen die Entwicklung des Knaben zum Jüngling und Mann, um diesem die Knabenstimme für die Zeit seines Lebens zu erhalten.²⁷

Dass demgegenüber die Männerchorbewegung selbst evolutionär weiterentwickelt und darum mit ihrem Kultus als führend anzusehen sei, schlägt immer wieder durch:

Der Zuhörerraum muß im stimmungsvollen Halbdunkel sein. Das Konzertpodium aber bedarf eine vollständigen Neugestaltung. Vom Altar reicht man die mystische Emotion, die geistig höher entwickelte ästhetische aber geschieht vom Podium aus. Von diesem also wird ein weihevoller Eindruck verlangt.²⁸

Zu einer militanten Ablehnung christlicher Traditionen kam es dann erst nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Der „Verein zur Herausgabe des Deutschen Sängerkalenders in Wien“ setzte in seiner Publikation 1929 folgendes Statement:

Unsere christlichen Zeitweiser oder, wie man mit einem Fremdworte zu sagen pflegt, Kalender haben sich zu ihrer heutigen Gestalt allmählich aus dem im alten Rom gebrauchten Kalender entwickelt. Dem ist es zuzuschreiben, daß sie viel uns Fremdes besser erhielten, ja einbürgerten, als die heimischen deutschen und, weiter zurückgehend, die arischen Anschauungen und Einrichtungen, die nur da und dort unter dem neuen Gewande sichtbar werden. Auch hier hat die römische Kirche das ihre beigetragen, deutsche Auffassung auszumerzen oder doch, wo es nicht ging, sie in ihrem Sinne umzudeuten.²⁹

Die Hoffnung, eine homogene nationale Gesellschaft nach den Idealen der Einheit, Freiheit und Brüderlichkeit mithilfe des Wundermittels der Musik, speziell dem Männergesang verwirklichen zu können, erwies sich spätestens mit der Reichsgründung als illusionär. Soziale Differenzen

27 August Reißmann, „Die Frauen und die Musik“, *Die Sängerkalender* 32 (1892): 14.

28 Karl Metz, „Das deutsche Kunstlied. Musikästhetische Betrachtung“, *Die Sängerkalender* 39 (1899): 598.

29 Heinrich Damisch [Wien] und Franz Josef Ewens [Berlin], Hrsg., *Deutscher Sängerkalender 1929*, 4. Jahrgang (Wien: Damisch, 1929), 6.

brachen mit der Erstarkung der Arbeitersängerbünde auf, interne Auseinandersetzungen um das rechte Repertoire mit dem „unverfälschten Volkslied“ wie bei Friedrich Silcher oder dem „neuen Kunstlied“ wie bei Friedrich Hegar (mit dem Ziel einer „Verschmelzung des Volkstümlichen mit dem rein Künstlerischen“ gelinge) taten ein Übriges.³⁰ Trotzdem erstarkte die Bewegung nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg nochmals und zerbrach erst mit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg.

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Funktionen der Musikvereine in einem multinationalen, soziokulturellen Umfeld (am Beispiel des Galizischen Musikvereines)

Luba Kijanovska
Univerza v Lvovu
Universität Lwiw

Teresa Mazepa
Univerza v Rzeszówu
Universität Rzeszów

Miroslaw Dymon
Univerza v Rzeszówu
Universität Rzeszów

Am Anfang sollten wir eine längere Einleitung einführen, um zu erklären, warum dieses Thema so wichtig und Zu Beginn sollten die Autoren eine der Hauptmotivationen für die Auseinandersetzung mit diesem Thema erläutern. Neben dem rein wissenschaftlichen Interesse waren einige spezifische Anregungen im Zusammenhang mit der Verzerrung der historischen Vergangenheit der multinationalen galizischen Kultur der vergangenen Jahrhunderte in der ideologisch autoritären sowjetischen humanitären Wissenschaft von großer Bedeutung. Die sachliche objektive Berichterstattung über die Tätigkeit vieler Institutionen und Personen wurde entweder stark verzerrt dargestellt oder völlig totgeschwiegen und die entsprechenden Unterlagen in den Archiven der Sonderdienste eingeordnet oder ganz vernichtet. In die Gruppe der „unerwünschten Informationen“, die in eine lange Schublade gesteckt und überhaupt nicht erwähnt werden sollten, geriet der Galizische Musikverein (weiter GMV), wie alle andere zahlreiche Amateurmusik- und Gesangsvereine des Landes. Es scheint, daß eine bescheidene Vereinigung von Musikliebhabern die erwünschte für Kommunisten Gestalt der historischen Vergangenheit der Region keinesfalls gefährden kann. Eine sorgfältige Betrachtung der Umstände, Fakten und Ergebnisse seiner Aktivitäten würde jedoch tatsächlich viele der falschen Narrative

widerlegen, die kommunistische Ideologen in der neu geschriebenen Geschichte sowohl der Ukraine als auch Galiziens zu verbreiten versuchten. Z. B. sie schrieben darüber, daß Musikkultur, nur reichen Unternehmern und Aristokraten zur Verfügung stand und Menschen aus niedrigeren sozialen Schichten keinen Zugang dazu hatten. Anhand dokumentarischer Argumente läßt sich jedoch feststellen, daß dem GMV Vertreter verschiedener sozialer Schichten angehörten und oft begabte Studenten einfacher Herkunft am Konservatorium studierten. Ideologische sowjetische Dienste schürten nationale Feindschaft und schürten vor allem Ressentiments und Bedauern über die ukrainisch-polnischen Konflikte. Diese Konflikte fanden tatsächlich in der Geschichte statt, aber gerade GMV zeigte ein Beispiel für eine fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit zwischen Vertretern verschiedener Nationalitäten, hauptsächlich Ukrainer und Polen. Und natürlich müßten kommunistische Ideologen zugeben, daß das Konservatorium dieser Gesellschaft in Lemberg früher gegründet wurde als in Moskau und St. Petersburg, wenn sie eine offene Untersuchung der Aktivitäten des GMV zuließen.

Daher ist es klar, daß Informationen über diese Gesellschaft während der Jahre der Sowjetherrschaft sorgfältig vertuscht und Dokumente versucht zu vernichten wurden. Um so größer ist das Verdienst von Professor Leszek Mazepa (1931–2016), dem Vater eines der Autoren des vorliegenden Artikels, der viel riskiert hat, um Dokumente und Archivmaterialien zu sammeln und zu Hause zu bewahren. Fast alle wichtige dokumentarisch bestätigte Fakten und Informationen, die unten zitiert sind, stammten hauptsächlich aus dem privaten Archiv von Familie Mazepa, aus dem geretteten Schatz unseres gemeinsamen historischen Gedächtnisses. Aufgrund dieses Archivs entstand zuerst zweibändiges Buch von Leszek und Teresa Mazepa¹, dann, schon nach dem Tod von Professor Mazepa – noch ein umfangreiches Buch von Teresa Mazepa², nach welchem sie erfolgreich habilitiert wurde (wissenschaftliche Betreuerin – Professor Kyyanovska). Der größte Teil zitierter Dokumente werden nach diesen Büchern anführen.

- 1 Leszek und Teresa Mazepa, *Шлях до музичної академії у Львові* [Der Weg zur Musikakademie in Lemberg], Bd. 1: *Von der Zeit der städtischen Musiker zum Konservatorium (Anfang des XV Jahrhunderts bis zu 1939)* (Lemberg: Spolom, 2003).
- 2 Teresa Mazepa, *Соціокультурний феномен європейських музичних товариств XIX – початку XX століття на прикладі Галицького Музичного Товариства* [Das soziokulturelle Phänomen der europäischen Musikvereine des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel des Galizischen Musikvereines] (Lviv, Rastr-7, 2017).

Musikvereine spielen im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts eine einzigartige Rolle bei der Gestaltung der soziokulturellen Strategien vieler Länder in der Phase des Übergangs von geschlossenen, aristokratischen Salons zu demokratischen Institutionen und der Systematisierung des professionellen Musiklebens, wie auch die verschiedenen Gesellschaften und Organisationen von Musiker-Liebhaber. Musikvereine waren besonders wichtig in multinationalen Regionen, wo sie als starker Faktor für das gegenseitige Verständnis und die Vereinigung der künstlerischen Bemühungen verschiedener Völker dienten, und in Zeiten interethnischer Konflikte sogar mehrmals zum Mechanismus der Versöhnung wurden. Ihr altruistisches und humanistisches Wesen manifestiert sich in verschiedenen Aktivitätsdimensionen, in denen das Hauptziel unverändert über die Jahrzehnte bewahrt blieb: die Anhebung des Niveaus der Musikkultur im breiteren Rahmen des Staates im Allgemeinen oder enger nur in einzelner Region.

Diese allgemeinen Überlegungen sind auf das konkrete Beispiel des Galizischen Musikvereines (weiter GMV) gerichtet, welcher im Habsburgerreich auf dem Territorium des Königreichs Galizien und Lodomerien gegründet wurde. Aber der Weg zu diesem Verein in der neuangeschlossenen Provinz war lang und kompliziert, und erfolgte erst nach den langen und zuerst fast hoffnungslosen Bemühungen mehrerer Enthusiasten der Musikkunst im Land.

Während der 1820er und 1830er Jahre wurde mehrfach der Versuch unternommen, einen Musikverein zu organisieren. Im Jahre 1822 erging der erste Aufruf zur Gründung eines Vereins zur Bildung eines Liebhaber- oder Dilettantenorchesters.³ Zu Beginn der 1830er Jahre setzten die Aktivitäten ein, ab 1834 sind regelmäßige Proben zu verzeichnen, so daß der Verein gewissermaßen inoffiziell bereits tätig war. Zwar hatte er noch kein bestätigtes Statut, er organisierte aber trotzdem von Zeit zu Zeit symphonische Konzerte und Kammerkonzerte.⁴ Gleichzeitig bemühten sich die Mitglieder um die Formulierung einer Satzung mit allen notwendigen Paragraphen, um ihre Vereinigung von Musikern und Liebhabern offiziell zu

3 Siehe dazu: Anon., „Towarzystwo muzyczne we Lwowie“ [Musikverein in Lemberg], *Gazeta Muzyczna i Teatralna* (Warszawa), Nr. 1 (1866): 3, zit. nach: Mazepa und Mazepa, *Der Weg zur Musikakademie*, 29.

4 *Mnemosyne (Lemberg)*, Nr. 4 (9. Januar 1835): 15f.; Nr. 76 (6. Oktober 1835): 304; Nr. 29 (10. März 1836): 118; Nr. 37 (29. März 1836): 150; Nr. 51 (30. April 1836): 2–6; Nr. 115 (6. Oktober 1836): 462; Nr. 123 (25. Oktober 1836): 494; Nr. 129 (10. November 1836): 518; Nr. 131 (15. November 1836): 526; Nr. 137 (29. November 1836): 550, Nr. 142 (13. Dezember 1836): 570; Nr. 34 (23. März 1837): 136; Nr. 61 (30. Mai 1837): 244; Nr. 37 (11. Mai 1838): 148.

konstituieren. Bereits im Jahre 1836 zählte der Verein mehr als 100 Mitglieder, die unter Ruckgabers Leitung aktiv musizierten. Zwischen 1834 und 1838 veranstaltete man eine Reihe von Konzerten mit symphonischer Musik und mit Vokalmusik, die in der deutschsprachigen Lemberger Zeitschrift *Mnemosyne* angekündigt und besprochen wurden. Die Bemühungen um offizielle Anerkennung als Musikverein waren schließlich von Erfolg gekrönt: Das Statut des Musikvereins in Lemberg wurde in Wien vom Kaiser am 14. August 1838 als „№ 21119/1537“ und vom „Dekret der Höchsten Hofkanzlei“ am 25. August 1838 anerkannt; der Verein war damit zugelassen.⁵ In dem Dekret wird die Arbeit des Vereins eingehend gewürdigt und die persönliche Leistung von Johannes Ruckgaber anerkannt.

Die offizielle Registrierung des Galizischen Musikvereins erfolgte 1838: das „*Statut des Musikvereins in Lemberg, genehmigt vom Obersten Gericht Seiner Majestät am 14. August 1838 11 21119/1537 wurde mittels Dekret der Kanzlei des Obersten Gerichts vom 25. August 1838*“⁶ in Wien genehmigt. Im selben Jahr wurde das *Programm des Lemberger Musik-Vereines*.⁷ vorbereitet. Etwas später wurde dieser Name um den Begriff *Galizischer Musikverein in Lemberg* ergänzt.⁸

Der GMV setzte seine Tätigkeit die nächsten 100 Jahre fort, noch im Zweiten *Rzecz Pospolita* 1919–1939, abgesehen von allen politischen und sozialen Erschütterungen, Änderungen und Kämpfen. Daher kann man den GMV als soziokulturelles Phänomen betrachten, welches sich in seinen vielfältigen Funktionen widerspiegelte. Die mannigfaltige Tätigkeit des Vereines war besonders für die multinationale Gesellschaft des Landes Galizien bedeutsam.

Man erkennt wichtige Richtlinien der Tätigkeit des GMV und seiner Funktionen in der soziokulturellen Infrastruktur Galiziens bzw. seiner

5 Mazepa und Mazepa, *Der Weg zur Musikakademie*, 29.

6 Das zentrale historische Staatsarchiv der Ukraine in Lviv [Tsentral'nyy Derzhavnyy Istorychnyy Arkhiv Ukrayiny, U M. L'vovi], F. 146, W. 1, F. 665, B. 15–48-r, zit. nach: Mazepa, *Das soziokulturelle Phänomen*, 117.

7 *Gazeta Lwowska* [Lemberger Zeitung], Dodatek nadzwyczajny, 8. Januar 1839, zit. nach: Mazepa, *Das soziokulturelle Phänomen*, 117.

8 „Statuten des von S. MAJESTÄT laut Hohen Kanzleidekretes vom 25. August 1838 Z. 21119 / 1537, mittelst allerhöflicher Entschliessung vom 14. August 1838, genehmigten Musik-Vereins in Lemberg“, Das zentrale historische Staatsarchiv der Ukraine in Lviv, F. 146, W. 4, F. 665, B. 35–48; „Ustawy Towarzystwa Muzycznego we Lwowie zezwolonego Najwyższem postanowieniem Najjaśniejszego Pana z dnia 24. Sierpnia r. 1838. do Nru 21119/ 1537, a dekretem Wysokiej Nadwornej Kancelaryi z dnia 25. Sierpnia 1838“, we Lwowie, drukiem Piotra Pillera 1838, zit. nach: Mazepa, *Das soziokulturelle Phänomen*, 117.

Hauptstadt Lemberg. Vor allem muß betont werden, daß in Galizien über einhundert Jahre⁹, ca. 100 verschiedenartiger Vereine dieser Art bekannt sind, was imponierende Vielfalt des Musiklebens der vertretenen Vereine herausstreicht.

Musikvereine unterschiedlicher Art – einzeln profiliert oder multidisziplinär, d. h. integriert in anderen Bereichen künstlerischer Aktivitäten zwischen dem 18. – zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts blieben eines der wichtigsten Zentren des geistlichen, intellektuellen, aufklärerischen Lebens vieler europäischer Völker. Für die staatenlosen Nationen wurden diese zu einem der wichtigsten Faktoren nationaler Identifikation und Anreize für den Kampf um Unabhängigkeit. Dabei entwickelte sich jeder Verein sich anders, die Richtlinien, Präferenzen und Leistungen wurden von den mehreren Voraussetzungen des konkreten historischen, gesellschaftlichen, politischen Milieus festgelegt, vom Kreis der Organisatoren und Mitgliedern, von örtlichen Musiktraditionen.

Bevor die wichtigsten soziokulturellen Funktionen des GMV ausführlicher besprochen werden, noch einige Worte zu den wichtigsten Voraussetzungen in oben genannten Sinne. Erstens: Der GMV vereinigte die galizische Elite von verschiedenen nationalen Schichten und gesellschaftlichen Gruppen. Die ersten Gründungsmitglieder des Vereins wurden im „*Verzeichnis sämtlicher Mitglieder des galizischen Musik-Vereins des Jahres 1839*“ erwähnt. Gedruckt bei Peter Piller in Lemberg (1840) den ersten Protektoren des Vereins war Erzherzog Ferdinand von Oesterreich-Este, Civil und Militär General-Gouverneur von Galizien, seine Vertreter – Franz Freiherr Krieg von Hochfelden, Direktor des Polizeiamtes Leopold von Sacher-Masoch – die Österreicher, aber man trifft mehrere tschechische Familien – der Generaldirektor des Packdienstes Ludwig Blaga, der Bauingenieur Moritz Hrdlička, die Mehrheit bildeten polnische Mitglieder – der künftige Gouverneur von Galizien Waclaw Zalesski, der Dramatiker Graf Aleksander Fredro, wie auch Ukrainer (Ruthener) – der Rektor der Universität Martin Barvinskyj, griechisch-katholischer Metropolit Mychajlo Lewytskyj u.m.a. Aber nicht nur solch prominente Personen gehörten zum ersten Kreis dieses Vereines, unter den genannten 350 Mitgliedern waren auch Lehrer, Ärzte, vermögendere Bürger – zumal die Mitgliedsgebühr des Vereines gar nicht unerheblich war. Den Kern des Vereins bildeten natür-

9 Von 1826, wann die Gründung des Cäcilienvereins unter der Leitung von F. X. Mozart erfolgte - bis 1939, dem Anfang der sowjetischen Okkupation Galiziens, wann alle Musik- bzw. Chorvereine aufgelöst wurden.

lich professionelle Musiker, manche von ihnen werden im vorliegenden Artikel etwas ausführlicher in nächstem Punkt dargestellt.

Zweitens: die Leiter und Direktoren des Vereins waren immer hochprofessionelle Künstler mit bester Ausbildung. Der erste Direktor Johannes Ruckgaber (1799–1876) studierte in Wien bei Johann Nepomuk Hummel, dann in Paris, wo er mit Franz Liszt befreundet war. Johannes Ruckgaber stellt das Beispiel eines aus Wien stammenden, deutschsprachigen Musikers dar, der sich in die örtlichen Traditionen Lembergs, der galizischen Hauptstadt, integriert hat. An seinem Wirken lassen sich Vorteile und Nachteile der föderativen Einordnung professioneller und liebhaberischer Musikaktivitäten ablesen und die historische Relativität gesellschaftlicher Akzeptanz und Anerkennung zu verschiedenen Zeiten erkennen.

Johannes (Jean) Ruckgaber (1799–1876)¹⁰ wurde als Sohn französischer Emigranten in Wien geboren. Sein wahrer Geburtsname war Jean de Montalbot. Nach dem Tod seiner Eltern (1809) wurde er von seinem Gouverneur Joseph Ruckgaber adoptiert, der ihm seinen Familiennamen verlieh. Er erreichte eine recht gute musikalische Ausbildung, zuerst als Pianist und Komponist studierte bei dem Schüler von W. A. Mozart, bekannten Musiker, Johann Nepomuk Hummel (es ist interessant, daß bei Hummel auch F. X. Mozart studierte, mit welchem später in Lemberg Ruckgaber oft zusammen konzertierte). In den 1820er Jahren kam er auf Konzertreisen als Pianist öfters nach Lemberg, hier trat er solistisch auf und begleitete auch bekannte Geiger und Sänger, unter anderen den weltberühmten polnischen Geiger Karol Lipiński. Am 24. Januar 1824 berichtet die deutschsprachige Lemberger Zeitschrift *Mnemosyne* von einem Konzert, in dem er auf dem Tritonium meisterhaft Variationen über das Thema der österreichischen Kaiserhymne „*Gott erhalte Franz der Kaiser*“ gespielt habe.¹¹ In dieser Zeit führten ihn seine Konzertreisen in die europäischen Zentren, auch nach Paris, wo er Frédéric (Fryderyk) Chopin persönlich kennenlernte.

1832 ließ sich Johannes Ruckgaber dauerhaft in Lemberg nieder und begann seine segensreiche Tätigkeit. Viele seiner Veranstaltungen sind in

10 Allgemeine Informationen über Johannes Ruckgaber stammen grundsätzlich aus dem Artikel: Wolodymyr Tokarčuk, „Забуте ім'я“ [Ein vergessener Name], *Музика* [Muzyka], Nr. 2 (1996): 25.

11 Zit. nach: Lidia Menyuk, „Музичне життя Львова 1824 року у дзеркалі часопису ‚Mnemosyne‘“ [Das Lemberger Musikleben im Jahr 1824 im Spiegel der Zeitschrift ‚Mnemosyne‘], in *Записки Музикознавчої комісії НТШ* [Beiträge der musikwissenschaftlichen Kommission der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft „Taras Schewtschenko“], No. 232, Hrsg. Juri Jasinovski (Lviv: Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft Schewtschenko, 1996), 221.

der Presse, vor allem in der Zeitschrift *Mnemosyne* annonciert. Große Aufmerksamkeit erregte die musikalische Akademie, die genannte „Serenade“, die Ruckgaber im Herbst 1835 organisierte. Sie darf gewissermaßen als Ouvertüre zur Gründung des „Vereins zur Beförderung der Tonkunst in Galizien“¹² betrachtet werden, den Ruckgaber im folgenden Jahr ins Leben rief.¹³ Ruckgaber nahm allmählich einen wichtigen Platz im Lemberger Musikleben ein.

Zusätzlich zu den Konzertveranstaltungen wandte sich der Verein auch der Musikausbildung zu. Unter der Leitung von Ruckgaber wurden Gesangskurse eingerichtet, in denen 16 Jungen und Mädchen unterrichtet wurden. Am 15. Oktober 1840 eröffnete der Verein eine Ausbildungsstätte für Gesang und Geige, in die sofort 40 Sänger und 20 Violinisten eintraten. Auch eine Option für Unterricht in den Blasinstrumenten wurde eröffnet.¹⁴ Im November 1841 wurde die Abteilung für Blasinstrumente (Oboe, Klarinette und Waldhorn) eingerichtet; die erste Klasse bestand aus zwölf zwanzigjährigen Musikern. Die Aktivitäten des Vereins erweckten so großes allgemeines Interesse in adeligen und bürgerlichen Kreisen, dass Joseph Edler von Mehoffer, der Chefredakteur der *Mnemosyne*, selbst gerne die Veranstaltungen rezensierte. Dies alles war vor allem der unermüdlichen Arbeit Ruckgabers, seinem Enthusiasmus und seinen persönlichen Kontakten zu den bekanntesten Künstlern Europas zu verdanken. Bis 1848, als er zum Musikdirektor des Vereins ernannt wurde, leitete Ruckgaber das symphonische Orchester, das Blasorchester und auch die Chöre, er schuf die Grundvoraussetzungen für eine professionelle Musikausbildung und damit für ein Musikleben nach europäischem Muster in Lemberg. Der „Verein zur Beförderung der Tonkunst in Galizien“ leistete damit auf dieser ersten Etappe seiner Existenz unter der Leitung Ruckgabers Erhebliches; die Jahre von 1842 bis 1848 dürfen als Blütezeit des Vereins bezeichnet werden.

12 Der Verein trug nacheinander verschiedene Namen: „Verein zur Beförderung der Tonkunst in Galizien“, „Galizischer Verein der Musikfreunde“ u. a. Am längsten (1854–1919) existierte der Verein als „Galizischer Musikverein“, polnisch: „Galicyskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne“ (GTM).

13 *Mnemosyne*, Nr. 76 (6. Oktober 1835), zit. nach: Lidia Melnyk, „Концертне життя Львова 1824–1840 в дзеркалі часопису ‚Mnemosyne‘“ [Das Lemberger Konzertleben 1824–1840 im Spiegel der Zeitschrift ‚Mnemosyne‘], in *Musica Galiciana. Musikultur Galiziens im Kontext der polnisch-ukrainischen Beziehungen*, Bd. 3, Hrsg. Leszek Mazepa (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej [Verlag der Pädagogischen Hochschule], 1999), 223.

14 *Mnemosyne*, Nr. 84 (19. Oktober 1839): 336, zit. nach: Melnyk, „Das Lemberger Konzertleben“, 226.

Ein besonderes Ereignis in der Musikgeschichte Lembergs stellt der Besuch Franz Liszts im Jahre 1847 dar. Er geht auf die Initiative des Vereins zurück und ist vor allem der persönlichen Bekanntschaft Ruckgabers mit dem berühmten Pianisten zu verdanken. Ruckgaber kannte Liszt aus früheren Zeiten und veranlasste ihn, seine Reiseroute von Kiew nach Czernowitz etwas zu verändern und Lemberg zu besuchen. Am 1. April 1847 kam Liszt in Lemberg an. (D. Kolbin¹⁵ nennt den 13. April als Datum der Ankunft, die Diskrepanzen ergeben sich aus dem Bezug auf den julianischen bzw. den gregorianischen Kalender.) Ursprünglich wollte er nur drei Tage in der galizischen Hauptstadt verweilen; er blieb dann aber einen ganzen Monat, erst am 30. April (nach Kolbin am 12. Mai) reiste er weiter nach Czernowitz. Seine Ankunft, alle seine Konzerte und Begegnungen wurden in der Lemberger Presse ausführlich kommentiert. Schon bei Liszts Ankunft begrüßten ihn die Mitglieder des „Vereins zur Beförderung der Tonkunst in Galizien“ im Hotel „Rus“, der besten Herberge der Stadt, wo sie zwei vermutlich von Ruckgaber ihm zu Ehren verfasste Kantaten aufführten.

Die Revolution von 1848 schränkte die Tätigkeiten des Vereins für einige Zeit ein. Doch bereits 1851 wurde er wiederbelebt und im Jahre 1854 unter dem Namen „Verein der Musikerziehung in Galizien“ fortgeführt. In den Jahren 1853/54 wurde ein Konservatorium gegründet und Ruckgaber zum ersten Direktor gewählt. Er leitete dieses Musikinstitut drei Jahre lang, dann, 1857, musste er aus gesundheitlichen Gründen die anstrengenden organisatorischen Arbeiten aufgeben. Er widmete sich fortan kompositorischen und pädagogischen Aufgaben. Im Jahre 1876 verstarb Ruckgaber; er wurde in Lemberg beerdigt.

Sein Nachfolger Karol Mikuli (1819–1897) war ein Schüler und Assistent von Fryderyk Chopin während dessen letzten Pariser Jahren, ein Gründer einer eigenen Klavierschule in Lemberg, die sich vor allem in der Interpretation von Chopins Musik spezialisierte. In Czernowitz in eine wohlhabende Kaufmannsfamilie geboren, Mikuli studierte zunächst Medizin an der Universität Czernowitz (1838–1844), beschloß aber bald, sein Musikstudium in Paris (1844–1847) fortzusetzen. Neben privaten Studien bei Chopin absolvierte er einen Kurs für Kontrapunkt und Komposition bei N. A. Reber

15 Dmitri Kolbin, „Виступи Франца Ліста у Львові“ [Die Auftritte von Franz Liszt in Lemberg], in *Musica Galiciana. Kultura muzyczna Galicji w kontekście stosunków polsko-ukraińskich (od doby piastowsko-książęcej do roku 1945)* [Musica Galiciana. Musikkultur Galiziens im Kontext der polnisch-ukrainischen Beziehungen], Bd. 3, Hrsg. Leszek Mazepa (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej [Verlag der Pädagogischen Hochschule], 1999), 189–96.

am Pariser Konservatorium. Wegen der Revolution 1848 verließ er Frankreich und führte für die nächsten 10 Jahre das Leben eines Konzertvirtuosen, während er gleichzeitig Klavier in seiner Heimatstadt Czernowitz unterrichtete. In Lemberg lebte Mikuli fast 40 Jahre: 1858 bis zum Tod im Jahr 1897. Fast 30 Jahre – bis 1887 – leitete er den GMV und das Konservatorium bei ihm. Dem Karol Mikuli verdankte das Lemberger Musikleben seine außerordentlich intensive und fruchtbare Entwicklung, die Grundlage der fundamentalen Professionalisierung der Musik in allen Sphären: Komposition, Interpretation (in der ersten Reihe – in der Klavieraufführung, aber auch in anderen, wie Gesang, Violine, Chor usw.), Musiktheorie, Musikpädagogik. Dank dem Mikuli als dem Direktor des Konservatoriums erfolgte die Annahme neuer Statuten mit klar definierten Prioritäten für die Berufsausbildung. Aus diesem Grund erhielt das Konservatorium 1880 den Status einer Staatlichen Hochschule. Für seine mannigfaltigen Leistungen im Kulturleben der Stadt zeugen manche sehr interessante Pressennachrichten. Man erwähnt nur an die paar besonders bemerkenswerten Äußerungen. Im Bericht für 1862/1863 finden wir eine hohe Wertschätzung für Mikulis Aktivitäten als Leiter der GMV und seines Chores:

Von dem Moment an, als er die künstlerische Leitung übernahm (GMT. - T. M.), es wurde zu einem Tempel der echten Kunst, gewann Anerkennung und Sympathie der Region. [...] Abgesehen von seinen Aufgaben, nachdem er Talent und Zeit dem Frauenchor, geschickter Führung und unermüdlicher Höflichkeit gewidmet hatte, gelang es ihm, Einheit zu erreichen und die wöchentlichen Choraufgaben auf das Niveau der Lieblingsaktivitäten unserer Damen zu heben.¹⁶

Aber dabei genau diese musikalische Emanzipation brachte dem Mikuli viel Bekümmernis:

Die singenden und nicht singenden Damen (im weiblichen Chor GMV – die Autoren) fordern die Einladungen und der Begegnungen mit der Dankbarkeit. Mikuli hat keine Zeit - sie ärgern sich. Provinzielle Aristokratin wünschen nicht, der eigenen Stimmen im Chor zu hören, in dem irgendeiner Leinrock (auf solche Weise han-

16 *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcyi galicyjskiego Towarzystwa muzycznego za rok 1862 przedłożone ogólnemu zgromadzeniu dnia 26. April 1863* [Bericht des Direktoriums des Galizischen Musikvereins für das Jahr 1862, vorgelegt an die Generalversammlung, 26. April 1863] (Lwów: Z drukarni E. Winiarza, 1863), zit. nach: Mazepa. *Das soziokulturelle Phänomen*, 152.

deln soll sind die Vertreterin des niedrigsten Standes – die Autoren) auftreten kann. Mikuli sagt, daß wenn die Kunst ruft, soll der Hochmut verschwinden - und sie ärgern sich wieder. Auf den Proben, zum Beispiel, irgendeiner hohe Beamte, der Berater - Liebhaber wird vom Takt abgeschlagen oder verdirbt den Charakter der interpretierten Komposition; der Direktor bittet, fordert, zu wiederholen, endlich ist nervös; dann erinnern an den Direktor, daß es der Herr Berater ist! - Mikuli erklärt, daß für ihn jener Berater ist, wer gut spielt.¹⁷

Trotz allen gesellschaftlichen Reibungen und Mißverständnissen hat dem Mikuli gelungen, ein gutes Geschmack und hohes Kulturniveau des Lemberger Publikums zu erziehen:

Welche Werke von dem Musikverein aufgeführt werden, weiß die ganze Öffentlichkeit; Fast alle Konzert- und Unterhaltungsprogramme könnten zu Vorbildern für musikalisch hochgebildete deutsche Bürger werden. Von Händel und Bach bis zum unseren Zeitgenossen Brahms werden wir in der Musikgeschichte keinen berühmten Namen finden, der in den Programmen des Vereins nicht zu finden war. Jeder wird leicht verstehen, dass die Entwicklung der Musikalität der Gesellschaft stark durch ausgewählte Programme verursacht wird, die geschickt und anmutig durchgeführt werden; daher besteht kein Zweifel, dass es Herr Mikuli war, der in Lemberg ein solches musikalisches Publikum geschaffen hat [...].¹⁸

Man scheint interessant, noch eine Tatsache hier anzuführen, die von seinem unermüdlichen Interesse zu allen technischen und künstlerischen Neuigkeiten zeugt. Im Jahr 1881 fand auf Initiative von K. Mikuli eine einzigartige und bahnbrechende Veranstaltung auf dem Gebiet der Telekommunikation statt, die mit Hilfe von Spezialisten des Polytechnischen Universität Lemberg organisiert wurde: Zwei Konzerte zwischen Lviv und Zhovkva (kleines Städtchen, 25 Kilometer von Lemberg entfernt) wurden über ein Telefon organisiert. Die Darsteller waren K. Mikuli und der herausragende ukrainische Sänger Alexander Myschuga. Es war wahrscheinlich das erste oder eines der ersten derartigen Ereignisse in der Welt (G. Marconi erreichte dies viel später), lange vor den offiziellen Erfindungen,

17 *Dziennik Literacki*, Nr. 30 (13. April 1860), zit. nach: Mazepa. *Das soziokulturelle Phänomen*, 154.

18 *Świat*, Nr. 3 (1872): 39, zit. nach: Mazepa. *Das soziokulturelle Phänomen*, 180.

die die Übertragung auf die Ferne mit elektromagnetischen Wellen vorsahen, sowie zukünftige Radiokonzerte, die bereits in den 20er Jahren des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts gestartet wurden.¹⁹

Eine weitere wichtige Person in der Tätigkeit des GMV war der Direktor des Vereines in Jahren 1899–1929, der bedeutende polnische Komponist und Dirigent Mieczyslaw Sołtys (1863–1929). Er studierte zuerst bei Mikuli am Konservatorium GMV, dann setzte seine Studien in Wien bei Franz Krenn dort, danach ging nach Paris, um sich noch bei Camille Saint-Saens und Eugène Gigout professionell zu vervollständigen. Als er im akademischen Jahr 1891/1892 nach Lemberg zurückkehrte, begann er eine mannigfaltige berufliche Tätigkeit: Er unterrichtete Klavier am Konservatorium GMV, arbeitete gleichzeitig am Frauenseminar und begann seine Tätigkeit als Musikkritiker. In den Jahren 1886–1888 war er künstlerischer Leiter und Chefdirigent des Lemberger Männerchores *Echo*, seit 1893 war er künstlerischer Leiter der Musikgesellschaft für Instrumentalmusik *Harmonie*, Vizedirektor und zweiter Dirigent in der Musik- und Gesangsgesellschaft *Laute*. M. Sołtys hatte eine schwierige Mission, die Gesellschaft und das Konservatorium in einer dunklen historischen Zeit zu führen. In den 30 Jahren, in denen er an der Spitze der wichtigsten musikalischen Organisation Galiziens stand, fanden eine Reihe den radikalen soziohistorischen Veränderungen statt: Er erlebte zusammen mit dem GMV und dem Konservatorium den Ersten Weltkrieg, ethnische Konflikte in Galizien, die Bildung der Zweiten Rzecz Pospolita, Finanzkrisen ... Trotzdem gelang es ihm, äußerst wichtige Veränderungen in der beruflichen Entwicklung von GMV vorzunehmen. Unter ihnen sollte besonderes Augenmerk darauf gelegt werden: der Bau eines neuen Gebäudes des Konservatoriums im Jahr 1908, die Vorbereitung und Realisation einer historischen Jubiläumsfeier zum 100. Jahrestag der Geburt von F. Chopin im Jahr 1910, die Erweiterung des Angebots an musikalischen Spezialitäten und mehrere andere bedeutende Leistungen.

Sein Sohn Adam Sołtys (1895–1968), der die Leitung des Vereins vom Vater übernommen hat, war schon der letzte Person, der in Jahren 1929–1939 den Verein und das Konservatorium leitete. Er – ähnlich wie seine Vorgänger – war hochgebildeter Musiker, je mehr, die Familienbedingungen waren besonders günstig für seine musikalische Erziehung. Denn erteilte ihm schon im 6 Jahre der Vater Unterricht in Violine und Musikthe-

19 *Gazeta Lwowska*, 3. Mai 1881, 25. Mai 1881, 28. Mai 1881; Mazepa und Mazepa. *Der Weg zur Musikakademie*, 53.

orie, die Mutter - Klavierunterricht. Nach den Studien am Konservatorium GMV ging A. Soltys an die Königlichen Hochschule für Musik in Berlin-Charlottenburg, wo beiden anerkannten Pädagogen Robert Kahn und Karl Leopold Wolf Komposition beherrschte, wie auch Dirigieren bei Rudolf Krasselt. Dazu besuchte er an der Berliner Universität die Vorlesungen von Johannes Wolf, Carl Stumpf und Hermann Kretzschmar, nach der Absolvierung promovierte im Jahr 1921 mit der Dissertation über die deutsche Musikkultur: *Georg Oesterreich (1664–1735). Sein Leben und seine Werke. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der norddeutschen Kantate.*

Als Professor am Konservatorium des Polnischen Musikvereins (PMV, so wurde nach 1919 der GMV ungenannt) unterrichtete A. Soltys die Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt, später auch Instrumentierung und Dirigieren, als Direktor beschäftigte er in erster Linie mit der Popularisierung der polnischen Musik und mit der Aufführungen der neuen Werke führenden europäischen Komponisten. Besonders liegt ihm am Herzen das Schaffen der Vertreter der Vereinigung „Junges Polen“ – Mieczysław Karłowicz, Ludomir Różycki, Grzegorz Fitelberg, wie auch mancher anderen seinen talentierten Zeitgenossen. Außer der Tätigkeit bei dem PMV und seinem Konservatorium, leitete A. Soltys in den 1930-er Krisen Jahren auch die Lemberger Philharmonie. Trotz den schwersten materiellen Umständen und finanzieller Krise im ganzen Europa setzten der Verein und das Konservatorium unter der vernünftigen Leitung von A. Soltys ihre Aktivitäten in allen Sphären des Musiklebens fort.

Der Zweite Weltkrieg und die Okkupation des Galiziens am 17. September 1939 und dann nach 1944 bis 1991 von der Sowjetischen Armee (inzwischen mit den 3 Jahren 1941–1944 der deutschen Okkupation) hat die fruchtbare langjährige Tätigkeit des GMV – P MV dramatisch und endgültig unterbrochen.

Wenn ein allgemeines Porträt der Leiter des GMV man zeichnet, könnte man vorstellen, wie talentierte und hochgebildete Persönlichkeiten das Musikleben von Lemberg und Galizien seit mehr als einem Jahrhundert geführt haben. Sie alle waren hochgebildet, erreichten ihre musikalische Ausbildung in den größten europäischen Kulturzentren, wie Wien, Paris, Berlin, hatten die Kontakte zu den bedeutendsten Komponisten und Interpreten ihrer Zeit. Jeder von ihnen war einen guten Komponisten (dieses Gebiet ihrer professionellen Tätigkeit sollten wir außer den Rahmen des begrenzten Artikeltextes lassen, aber jeder ließ ein umfangreiches und ästhetisch wertvolles Kompositionserbe), dabei jeder hat noch ein

praktisches Musikfach: Ruckgaber und Mikuli waren erstrangigen Pianisten, Mieczysław und Adam Sołtys waren hochprofessionellen Dirigenten, dazu alle erteilten sehr erfolgreich den Unterricht. Das hohe professionelle Niveau und entsprechende Charakterzüge der Persönlichkeit der Leiter gewährleisteten nicht zuletzt den Erfolg der Entwicklung solcher komplizierten gesellschaftlichen Organisation wie der laienhafte Musikverein mit allen seinen mannigfaltigen Abteilungen.

Drittens: die Leitung des Vereins berücksichtigte die günstige geographische Lage des Landes und seiner Hauptstadt Lemberg an der Kreuzung wichtiger europäischer Wege von Ost nach West. Deswegen konnte man in Lemberg eine Vielzahl prominentester Musiker aus ganz Europa hören (die Liste der Künstler, die die Stadt mit den Gastauftritten besuchten, umfasst einige hundert Personen, darunter – Franz Liszt, Johannes Brahms, Gustav Mahler, Richard Strauß, Pablo Sarasate, Maurice Ravel und mehrere andere, nicht weniger berühmte Namen). Verschiedene Innovationen und Einflüsse erreichten Lemberg und Galizien von allen Ecken und Enden, sie sind mit den ständigen Interesse angenommen und analysiert, dabei (es ist auch eine Besonderheit der Lemberger Kultur) die radikalsten Experimenten der Musikkunst fanden kein richtiges Verständnis entweder in den Kreisen der ausgebildeten Laien, oder bei den professionellen Musiker.²⁰

Es scheint wichtig die Gründe, warum bescheidene Laienmusikvereine über einen so langen chronologischen Zeitraum eine so wichtige öffentliche Stellung behielten zu systematisieren. Auf solche Weise könnte man argumentiert erklären, warum erhielt der GMV respektable staatliche Subventionen und Unterstützung von Mäzenen, warum die Elite der Gesellschaft, darunter Vertreter höchster adeliger und gar königlicher Familien dem Rat und der Führung des Vereines beigetreten sind. Auch die Konzerte, die der Verein organisierte, erfreuten sich großer Beliebtheit, was besonders bemerkenswert scheint: nicht nur die Auftritte größter Künstler aus aller Welt, sondern auch mit eigenen Kräften vorbereitete Programmen. Diese Position des Lemberger Musikvereines kann wirklich als einzigartiges Phänomen interpretiert werden. Obwohl könnte man irgendeine eindeutige Erklärung für dieses Phänomen finden, muß man dem Verein seine außerordentlich bedeutende Rolle in der galizischen (und nicht nur) Gesellschaft lassen.

20 Damit könnte man die große Vorliebe des Lemberger Publikums zu den Opern von Richard Wagner und paar Jahrzehnte später eine allgemeine Distanz (außer den unzählreichen Adepten) zur Musik von Arnold Schönberg erklären.

Wir schlagen unsere eigene Systematisierung der kultur-aufklärerischen und nationalen Funktionen von Musikgesellschaften im europäischen Raum dieser Zeit vor. Mit ihrer Hilfe werden wir versuchen, die Motive für eine aktive Massenbeteiligung in Musikvereinen von Vertretern verschiedener sozialer Gruppen, Herkunft, professioneller Tätigkeit in anderen Berufen, religiösen Konfessionen, Alter, Geschlecht usw. zu klären.

Zuerst ist die aufklärerische und moralisch-erzieherische Funktion zu erwähnen, welche die Ideale der Epoche der Aufklärung fortsetzend, nicht nur Lücken in der allgemeinen Musikausbildung füllte, sondern für die Heranbildung perfekter Persönlichkeiten und Staatsbürger verantwortlich sein sollte, um diese in die Elite der künftigen Gesellschaft einzubeziehen und auf solche Weise die ausgebildete Mehrheit zu gestalten. Solche Ideale sind im 19. Jh. mit der Musik als der nicht rein künstlerischen, sondern als der gesellschaftlich konstituierenden Idee eng verbunden. Dies erklärt sehr treffend Helmut Loos:

Daß die Musik durch Autonomie und Rationalität selbst höchsten Rang erlangt (nicht Mittel, sondern Zweck), prädestiniert sie ebenso wie ganz praktische Bedingungen ihrer Aufführung als Prozeß bzw. Zeremonie für eine Erhebung zu religiöser Bedeutung. Sie stieg zu einer Kunstreligion.²¹

Von Anfang an hat sich der Galizische Musikverein zu einer Institution mit einer ausgeprägten aufklärerischen, erzieherischen und didaktischen Funktion erklärt. Diese Aufgaben wurden gleich zur Zeit der Gründung des GMV in den Bestimmungen seiner ersten Satzung festgelegt. Der Verein wurde mit dem Ziel gegründet, die Musikkunst in Galizien und seiner Hauptstadt zu fördern und zu formen, die Musik zu pflegen und insbesondere die Bildung des Musikgeschmacks in der Region zu fördern. Der Verein erreichte dieses Ziel durch die ständige praktische Aufführung eines breiten Musikrepertoires - da die Mitglieder des GMV verpflichtet waren, ihre musikalischen Kenntnisse, Interesse und das Aufführungsniveau durch die Teilnahme an Proben und Konzerten zu verbessern.

Als Bestätigung der oben genannten Überlegungen könnte man die aufschlußreichen Worte des Rezensenten der Zeitschrift *Lesebblätter* zitieren, der in der ersten Periode der Tätigkeit die Leistungen des GMV in dieser Sphäre so beurteilte:

21 Helmut Loos, *E-Musik – Kunstreligion der Moderne* (Kassel, Bärenreiter Verlag, 2017), 12–3.

Die Aufführungen des Vereins sind keine Konzerte von Virtuosen; sie sind eine Form der Verbesserung einzelner Mitglieder und der gesamten Gemeinschaft auf dem Weg des Musizierens; was heute noch unvollkommen ist, uns noch immer Schwierigkeiten bereitet und mit Fehlern überladen scheint - soll uns lehren, besser, erhabener, vollkommener zu sein. Dazu ist es notwendig, wie in der bildenden Kunst durch die Anschauung werter Bilder den richtigen Geschmack zu gestalten, auch in der Musik nur wertere Muster zu hören.²²

Aufgrund der erklärten Ziele waren die Voraussetzungen für alle Mitglieder des Vereins festgelegt. Um künstlerische Interesse auf dem entsprechenden Niveau zu entwickeln, wie auch des Nachweises gründlicher Musikkenntnisse und praktischer Aufführungsfähigkeiten, wurde für alle Mitglieder die ausnahmelose Teilnahme an allen vom Verein organisierten Proben und Konzerten für mindestens drei Jahre obligat. Darüber hinaus waren die Mitglieder des Vereins angehalten, Begeisterung für die Musik der Region zu wecken, zu verbreiten und zu pflegen, sich in der Musik durch Kenntnis von alter und neuer Musik und Studien der theoretischen Literatur sich damit ständig zu verbessern.

Um diese Absichten erfolgreich zu verwirklichen, veranstaltete der GMV jährlich ein oder zwei obligate Abonnementskonzerte, ab 1853 sogar vier verbindlich vorgeschriebene Abonnementskonzerte. Außerdem waren auch verschiedene andere Musikveranstaltungen institutionalisiert: Kammermusikabende, Musiksalons, sog. feierliche Akademien mit imponierenden Programmen. Die Mitglieder, Chöre und Orchester des GMV nahmen an allen Kirchenfeiertagen der lateinischen Kirchen und manchmal auch der griechisch-katholischen Kirche teil. In lateinischen Kirchen wurden große Orgelmessen aufgeführt, in den griechisch-katholischen – Liturgien mit Chorgesang; jedes Jahr führte man ein großes Requiem zum Andenken der verstorbenen Mitglieder des Vereins auf. Darüber hinaus organisierte der GMV und verwandte Gesellschaften sog. außergewöhnliche Konzerte, bei denen sie große symphonische, Kantaten- und Oratorienwerke aufführten.

Binnen der langjährigen Geschichte des GMV wurden die Formen der offenen Auftritte und Konzerte, wie auch Repertoirepräferenzen ergänzt und bereichert. Schon ab den 50er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts sind die

22 *Leseblätter*, Nr. 34 (23. März 1843), zit. nach: Mazepa. *Das soziokulturelle Phänomen*, 313.

monografischen Konzerte immer populärer, z. B. jene zu weltberühmten Komponisten wie Bach oder Beethoven, aber auch die Programme aus den Werken der gegenwärtigen polnischen Komponisten wie z. B. Władysław Shelenski (Żeleński) erfreuten sich großen Zuspruchs. Die Leitung und aktiv wirkende Mitglieder hatten immer den Finger am Puls der Zeit. Anfangs des 20. Jh. haben immer mehr das Kino und Varietés, nach französischer Mode organisiert, das breite Publikum abgezogen. Um diesen Verlust auszugleichen, wurden ab 1912 immer häufiger sogenannte *populäre* Konzerte für das breite Publikum mit *Schlager-Programmen* veranstaltet. Obwohl die Konzertprogrammen, die die Direktion des GMV auf Vorschlag des künstlerischen Leiters bewilligte, akademische Musik von der Klassik bis zur Moderne favorisierten, suchte man nach den populären Formen, für die demokratischen Kreisen zugänglich. Damit hängt die Vorliebe im Repertoire von der historisch-gesellschaftlichen Situation im Land. Seit den 70er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts, in erster Reihe nach der politischen und kulturellen Autonomie Galiziens 1868, wann immer engeren Kreis die österreichische Intelligenz repräsentierte, und immer stärker die polnische Bevölkerung um ihre Rechte kämpfte, nahmen die Werke polnischer nationaler Komponisten den zentralen Platz in den Programmen ein.

Ganz bedeutend und zu jener Zeit schon eher außergewöhnlich scheint die ständige Anwesenheit in der Mehrheit von Konzertprogrammen der Kirchenmusik, entweder der westeuropäischen, wie vor allem der polnischen Werken mit dem religiösen Inhalt. In der Epoche der allherrschenden Säkularisierung könnte man diese Vorliebe als die Erscheinung der konservativen Weltanschauung betrachten, aber für Galizien mit seinen starken religiösen Traditionen blieben die Werke der geistigen Thematik noch bis Zweiten Weltkrieg unentbehrlich. Ähnliche Präferenzen zeigen andere nationale Musikgesellschaften und Vereine – z. B. der polnische Gesangsverein *Laute* (Lutnia), die ukrainische Chorgesellschaft *Bojan* (Боян), der jüdische Musikverein (Żydowskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne) u. a.

In direktem Zusammenhang mit der oben genannten Funktion, besonders mit der letzten erwähnten Präferenz und deren Vertiefung betrachtet man die nächste Funktion der geistigen und geistlichen Vereinigung, also im breiteren und engeren Sinne. Im breiteren Sinne liegt ihr Wesen in der Bildung von Gemeinschaften, die die höchste Freude an schöpferische Kommunikation teilen. In engerem, also im geistlichen Sinne bedeutet es die Pflege religiöser Kunst in einer Ära der Säkularisierung, in der die

Religion im Allgemeinen ihre unumstrittene Position in der Gesellschaft verliert.

In vorliegendem Artikel betonen wir zuerst die zweite geistliche Dimension genannter Funktion, so hatte sie nicht in allen europäischen Musikvereinen und Gesellschaften das gleiche Gewicht, aber in Galizien nahm sie eine der Hauptpositionen ein. Von Anfang an konzentrierte sich der GMV auf die Förderung geistlicher Musik, wie schon zuvor erwähnt.

In den sogenannten *Concerti spiritueli* des GMV wurde an religiösen Feiertagen in Trauermessen meist geistliche Musik aufgeführt, die das mystische Erlebnis des Ereignisses betonte. Bereits in der ersten Periode der Tätigkeit des GMV (1838–1848) bestand ein Teil des musikalischen Repertoires aus religiösen Werken: Die Oratorien von J. Haydn, u. a. *Die Schöpfung*, L. van Beethovens *Christus an Ölberg*, das *Paulus* Oratorium von F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Stabat Mater* von J. B. Pergolesi und J. Rossini, Messen von J. N. Hummel und J. Roletschek, Oratorien von G. F. Händel u. m. a. Die Aufführung des Oratoriums *Paulus* von F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy fand in der damaligen Presse am Vorabend des römisch-katholischen Weihnachtsfestes am 22. Dezember 1842 im Skarbek-Theater große Beachtung und Resonanz.

Aufgrund der Aufführung einer großen Anzahl religiöser Werke verschiedener Genres sowie weltlicher Werke, die jedoch transzendente Themen des Lebens berührten, entstanden auch mehrere Werke der ortansässigen Komponisten, Mitglieder des GMV wie Mieczyslaw Sołtys (die Oratorien *L'Inferno*, *Das Gelübde von Jan Kazimir/Sluby Jana Kazimierza*, *Königin der polnischen Krone/Królowa Korony Polskiej*, das *Misterium Ver sacrum*), Karol Mikuli (die Kantate *Die Reue*: „*Die Nacht war schwarz*“, *Veni creator* für Chor mit der Begleitung der Orgel), Stanislaw Niewiadomski (die Kantate *Akt des Glaubens/Akt wiary*, *Das Frühlingsgebet/Modlitwa wiosenna* für Chor und Orchester), Jan Gall (die Sammlung *Hingebungsvolle Lieder und Weihnachtslieder/Pieśni nabożne i kolędy*) u. m. a. Im ukrainischen Musikmilieu wurden rein liturgische Werke, wie auch die Werke religiösen Inhalts noch häufiger geschaffen, weil galizische ukrainische Komponisten bis zum Ende des 19. Jh. meistens zum Priesterstand gehörten: Mychajlo Werbytskyj, Iwan Lawriwskyj, Ostap Nyshankivskyj, Wiktor Matiuk, Jossyp Kyschakewytsch u. m. a.

Eine entscheidende Säkularisierung Lemberger Musikkreise in allen nationalen Musikvereinen und Gesellschaften kann erst in der Zwischenkriegsperiode beachtet werden. Sie war vor allem mit dem Streben zur Pro-

fessionalisierung und Modernisierung in allen Sphären des Musiklebens verbunden.

Damit scheint besonders wichtig die dritte charakteristische Funktion von Musikvereinen, die gleichzeitig einer der stärksten Anreize zur Teilnahme am GMV wurde. Sie bezeichnet man als die Funktion der Erweiterung und Bereicherung der musikalischen und ästhetischen Weltanschauung. Es ging um das Bedürfnis, sich mit neuen Errungenschaften der Musikkultur vertraut zu machen, einen breiteren Kreis musikalischer Artefakte anzueignen. Es scheint auf den ersten Blick mit der ersten Funktion verwandt zu sein, tatsächlich gibt es unterschiedliche Ziele und Aufgaben: die kultur-aufklärerische Funktion zielt darauf ab, das Individuum durch Musik zu erziehen, seine musikalische Kenntnisse und praktische Fähigkeiten des Musizierens zu entwickeln und das oben genannte Ziel, so weit wie möglich in seiner Umgebung all das zu präsentieren, was in dieser Zeit in der Musikwelt wertvoll und interessant erschien. Darüber hinaus entsprach ein solches Bedürfnis einem weiteren sehr starken Wunsch der galizischen Gesellschaft, als neu angeschlossene Provinz der Metropole zu zeigen, dass sie ihr auf dem Gebiet der kulturellen und künstlerischen Interessen nicht unterlegen sind. Daher könnte man die Bedeutung dieser Funktion um den Begriff der Selbstdarstellung erweitern.

Solche Ziele gehörten vom Anfang an zu den grundlegenden Tätigkeiten des GMV. Der ständige Wunsch der Mitglieder von Gesellschaften, sich der neuesten Errungenschaften der modernen Kultur zu bedienen und dank ihrer höheren künstlerischen und intellektuellen Entwicklung eine Lemberger Avantgarde Gesellschaft zu bilden. Hier liegt wohl auch einer der starken Motivationsfaktoren, an den Veranstaltungen des Galizischen Musikvereins teilzunehmen. Als Krönung dieses Prozesses gelten die Kontakte zu den herausragenden Musikern dieser Zeit, die Ernennung mehrerer weltberühmten Musikern zu den Ehrenmitgliedern des GMV. Damit sind vor allem die Konzerte von Franz Liszt im Jahr 1847 zu erwähnen, von der Direktion des GMV unter der Leitung von Johannes Ruckgaber organisiert, auch zahlreiche Gastauftritte der Ehrenmitglieder auf der Lemberger Bühne, wie Johannes Brahms, François Servais, Stanislaw Moniuszko, Ludwig Bösendorfer, Napoléon-Henri Reber, Henryk Wieniawski, Ignacy Jan Paderewski u. m. a.

In den Rahmen der Realisierung dieser Funktion betrachtet man die Aufnahme und Förderung mehrerer literarischen und musikalischen Neuheiten aus ganz Europa. Dank der Zusammenarbeit von Amateuren und

professionellen Musikern, regelmäßigen Proben des eigenen Orchesters und der Chöre präsentierte der GMV ein umfangreiches Repertoire und verbreitete besonders intensiv die neue Musik. Sehr oft wurden neue Werke prominenter westeuropäischer Komponisten schon bald nach der Uraufführung hierorts aufgeführt. Bereits in der ersten Phase seiner Tätigkeit kündigte der GMV seine ehrgeizigen Absichten an, das Repertoire ständig mit klassischen und modernen Werken zu aktualisieren.

Den festen Kern des Repertoires in den ersten Jahrzehnten der Tätigkeit des Vereins bildeten die Werke des 18. Jahrhunderts: vor allem der Wiener Klassiker, aber auch von italienischen und französischen Komponisten. Neben der Musikkunst der Vergangenheit hatte das Lemberger Publikum die Möglichkeit, zeitgenössische Werke von führenden Komponisten der Gegenwart, wie Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Hector Berlioz, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Luigi Cherubini, Félicien-César David, Carl Maria von Weber, Gioacchino Rossini, Gaetano Donizetti, Vincenzo Bellini, Franz Liszt, Giuseppe Verdi anzuhören. Oft trafen in die Konzertprogramme die Werke von damals populären, jetzt doch weniger bekannten Komponisten – Anton Emil Titl, Peter Joseph von Lindpaintner, Heinrich Marschner, Ferdinand Ries, Ludwig Spohr, Ignaz Moscheles, Johannes Kalliwoda, Johannes Verhulst, Carl Gottlob Reissiger. Dabei sind immer die Kompositionen von ortansässige Autoren präsent: Johannes Ruckgaber, Joseph Christoph Kessler (der in Lemberg 1820–1829 wirkte), Francischek Piontkowski, Jozeph Baschny, Maurycy Machl und andere. Diese Tendenz zur ständigen Verbreitung des Repertoires und die Aufführung neben den Werken der bekanntesten Komponisten die Kompositionen heimischen Autoren sind bis zu den letzten Jahren der Existenz des GMV, also bis 1939 bewahrt.

So war beispielsweise das Jahr 1843 besonders reich an Uraufführungen im Rahmen der Konzertveranstaltungen des GMV. Das Lemberger Magazin *Leseblätter* zitiert einen Artikel aus der *Wiener Allgemeinen Musikzeitung* über den Galizischen Musikverein.²³ Die Wiener Presse würdigt die fruchtbare Tätigkeit des Musikdirektors des Rechtsanwalts Franciszek Piontkowski, insbesondere als Dirigenten, der beeindruckende musikalische Werke zur Aufführung gebracht hat.

Im Artikel betonte man die Aufführung des Oratoriums *Paulus* von F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und *Die nächtliche Heeresschau* von A.E. Titl (zweimal aufgeführt), Ouvertüre zur Oper *Paria* von Peter Joseph Lindpait-

23 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1843, zit. nach: Mazepa. *Das soziokulturelle Phänomen*, 322.

ner, zwei Ouvertüren von Carl Gottlob Reissiger, Kantate *Klänge des Ostens* (ein Jahr nach der Uraufführung) und Ouvertüre zur Oper Hans Helling von H. Marschner, Sinfonien von L. van Beethoven – Dritte u Fünfte *Pathétique* (so bezeichnete man damals die V. Symphonie. – die Autoren).

Am 22. Mai 1843 spielte der GMV in Lemberg erstmals in Österreich die neueste Dritte Sinfonie von Dr. F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (wieder nur ein Jahr nach der Leipziger Uraufführung), man erwähnte diese Aufführung als an eine bedeutende Veranstaltung der Lemberger Kulturgeschichte.

Im Bezug auf diese Prozesse gehörten binnen der 100-jährigen Geschichte des GMV die Ausbildung von hochqualifizierten Laien, die ein hohes Maß an allgemeinen musikalischen Interessen pflegten zu den wichtigsten Aufgaben, sowie von Interpreten, Instrumentalisten und Sängern nach europäischen Standards, die nicht nur in der Lage sind, den Geschmack und die Bedürfnisse des lokalen Publikums zu bedienen, sondern auch die besten Meisterwerke der Weltklassiker angemessen zu verstehen und zeitgenössische Kunst zu fördern. Denn nur mit einer Infrastruktur des Musiklebens, in welcher professionelle Interpreten, zahlreiche Musik- und Bildungsinstitutionen mit der Massen-Amateurbewegung interagieren, konnte eine vollwertige, nationale Komponistenschule, genauer gesagt verschiedene nationale Komponistenschulen, vollständig entstehen. Oberstes Ziel der Vereine war daher die Errichtung von Konservatorien. Ein bedeutender Teil der oben genannten professionellen Musikschulen wurde dank der Aktivitäten und ehrgeizigen Pläne lokaler Musikvereine mit Unterstützung einflußreicher Mäzene gegründet.

Als Resümee muß man folgendes betonen: der GMV beeinflusste die Entwicklung der professionellen und laienhaften Musik in verschiedenen sozialen und nationalen Umgebungen, bereicherte wesentlich das Konzertleben, unterstützte professionelle Musikausbildung nicht nur in Lemberg, sondern in ganz Galizien und diente als Vorbild für ähnliche Institutionen in anderen Städten. Mitglieder des Vereins engagierten sich intensiv in verschiedenen künstlerischen Aktivitäten, kümmerten sich um die ästhetische Bildung der Gesellschaft, übernahmen die neusten Leistungen der europäischen Musik. Zum Verein gehörten nicht nur Hunderte von Musikliebhabern und Amateuren, sondern auch zahlreiche hochprofessionelle Musiker - Sänger, Instrumentalisten, Dirigenten, Komponisten, Lehrer, Musikwissenschaftler. Hier förderte man das Schaffen der ortsansässigen Komponisten - abgesehen von deren nationaler Herkunft. Dank der Initiative des GMV und ihrer aktiven Mitglieder hörte Lemberg herausragende

Musiker seiner Zeit – Franz Liszt, Johannes Brahms, Henryk Wieniawski, Stanislaw Moniuszko usw. Der GMV entwickelte eine Unterhaltungskultur in der Stadt, seine Orchester und Ensembles begleiteten ständig die Bälle und Redouten, dazugehörige Komponisten schufen eigens für diese Veranstaltungen ein Tanzrepertoire auf entsprechend künstlerischem Niveau. Der Verein war zudem auch in der Wohltätigkeit aktiv und organisierte jährlich Benefizkonzerte für Bedürftige, Arme und Kranke. Er hinterließ eine unschätzbare Musikbibliothek, bewahrte einzigartige Manuskripte und Dokumente für die Nachwelt. Sein größter Erfolg war die Gründung des Konservatoriums, das zur Grundlage der professionellen Musikausbildung wurde und die Blütezeit der Theater- und Konzertinstitutionen in der Region gewährleistete.

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The significance of Lithuanian societies for the development of national musical culture and statehood

Danutė Petrauskaitė
Litovska akademija za glasbo in gledališče
Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre

Introduction

The 19th century in Lithuania began in 1795, with the last partition of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations and the final loss of statehood, and ended in 1915, when it became a theatre of operations during the First World War. It marked the end of the previous socio-political system, the *Ancient Régime*, and the development of new relationships based on the principles of personal freedom. This era was marked by uprisings and their suppression as well as the maturation of national self-awareness and the aspirations for statehood with brought closer the downfall of empires. At the beginning of the century, the hopes of Lithuanians, ignited by romantic dreams about the great past of their country, were suppressed by violence and coercion within it, yet in the end they brought to the final stretch of the nation modernisation. It could not have been otherwise, because the whole 19th century was described as the age of modernity; merely modernisation processes did not start in all countries at the same time. Due to Lithuania being pushed to the condition of the Russian periphery, due to its agrarian structure and backwardness in terms of material civilization, they were significantly delayed in the North-western Region (the so-called lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – GDL – annexed to the Russian Empire).

In the 19th century, nationality in Lithuania was often associated with a person's social status. The Polish meant a nobleman or a townsman, the Lithuanian a peasant, and the Russian a government representative. The at-

titude has been shaped by the concentration of the population in certain places according to their denomination, nationality, and origin as well as the nature of their cultural activities. Foreign nationals (Russians, Poles, Germans, Jews) were active in the cities; in smaller towns, the manors of nobles and dukes continued the traditions of the aristocracy of the GDL; and Lithuanian ethnic culture was thriving in the village. The long century stood out for a special passion for cognition, an aspiration for education, and a desire to acquire a profession. Due to that, the closed rural life began to change, and the interest of peasants in history, mother tongue, and literature grew stronger. It is no coincidence that increasingly more books and periodicals were published and new schools were established. Reading, making music, forming societies, and getting people involved in political and social life became widespread. The intelligentsia of peasant origin emerged – doctors, priests, teachers, organists. It was its representatives who became the initiators and leaders of the establishment of the first Lithuanian societies.

The first music societies in Lithuania

Music societies in Lithuania were first established as early as in the 17th century. Among the oldest ones was the society established in 1630 by Merkelis Eliaševičius Geišas, a Lithuanian bishop and state official of the GDL. No information survived about the activities of that society, but in accordance with the responsibilities of the founder and with the fact that the society was still called a confraternity, i. e. a religious brotherhood, it can be assumed to have taken care of the affairs of ecclesiastical music. In the 18th century, there were also societies of self-taught musicians, yet no information about them has survived. Those must have been a mutual-assistance type organisation. Representatives of other professions also formed similar societies. In 1818, there was the Society of Friends of Music in Vilnius, which held charity concerts and donated the proceeds to its poorest members. Stanisław Moniuszko, a Polish composer who had lived in Vilnius since 1840, founded St. Cecilia Society and was its leader. He sought to renew ecclesiastical vocal-instrumental ensembles, enrich their repertoire, and publish sheet music. After Moniuszko left Vilnius in 1858, the society ceased its activities a year later, and its ideas and plans were quickly forgotten.¹

1 Laima Budzinauskienė, “XIX amžiaus Vilniaus bažnytiniai muzikos kolektyvai” [Vilnius Ecclesiastical Music Groups of the 19th Century], *Istorija. Mokslo darbai*, no. 88 (2012): 33.

Music societies were mainly formed in cities where cultural life was really active. Before the late 19th century, their founders were exclusively foreign nationals living in Lithuanian cities, as there were few Lithuanian musicians; moreover, after 1864, they were not allowed to speak their mother tongue or establish their own organisations. Local Russians, together with those who arrived from other parts of the Empire, took advantage of the fact: on their initiative, in 1873, a branch of the Imperial Russian Music Society (IRMS) started operating in Vilnius. Its members were mainly tsarist officials and officers, who were not in favour of Lithuanian people. That organization focused on the dissemination of music by Russian composers. For this purpose, a small symphony orchestra was formed from music lovers and a couple of professionals, yet it could not boast a professional level. The musicians who would come to Vilnius to perform music on behalf of the IRMS would often bring artistically low-level concert programmes that they would not have dared to perform in St. Petersburg or Moscow.

Not to be short of performers and educated audiences, the IRMS established a music school in Vilnius, which operated in 1873 to 1884 and in 1898 to 1915. Practicing amateur musicians, and later graduates of Russian conservatories, were invited to teach. The school really flourished after 1898, when Mikhail Treskin, graduate of the St. Petersburg Conservatory, became its head. Thanks to him, hitherto non-existent classes of composition, music history, drama, choral singing, and chamber ensemble as well as a library were opened, and the school was visited by composer Alexander Glazunov. Almost at the same time, a new Music Society was established in Vilnius, which operated from 1881 to 1885 under the leadership of pianist and conductor O. Lose. It united local musicians, and probably not of Russian nationality, as the Russians were concentrated in the IRMS division. This is only an assumption; however, it is supported by musical works in German performed by the members of the society: Haydn's oratorio "*The Seven Last Words of Our Saviour on the Cross*" and L. van Beethoven's Fantasy in C minor for Piano, Chorus, and Symphony Orchestra op. 80. Of course, Russians also spoke German, yet it was more common among other foreign nationals in Vilnius, such as Poles, Jews, and Germans who had lived in Lithuania since olden times. Another music promotion centre in Vilnius was the Music and Drama Circle, which operated from 1885 to 1911. It held music and drama evenings as well as several dozens of concerts per

year, and thus attracted a lot of the city's intelligentsia.² The musical life of the city was also diversified by a group of musicians formed in 1893 under the Railwaymen's Club, which had existed for more than two decades. It was a kind of society seeking to meet the needs of people in one profession. In their club hall, the members of the group held concerts and charity music evenings. The local press complained: "*We have so many musical evenings in Vilnius that it is really impossible to describe them all.*"³

Kaunas refused to be inferior to Vilnius. In 1870, a circle of nine music lovers – a semi-amateur community – began to organise concerts of vocal-instrumental music. Its activities, which had ceased for several years, were resumed on 15 March 1882, after the circle had been taken over by the officially registered Kaunas Music Society.⁴ Its emergence in 1873, like the emergence of an analogous society in Vilnius in 1873, was directly related to the IRMS, which pursued two goals: to expand the network of music education throughout the country and to intensify concert life.

Until 1904, Kaunas Music Society was headed by Aleksandr Savinski, landowner, amateur violinist, and self-taught composer who worked as an employee in administrative institutions. He loved chamber music, sometimes assembled an orchestra, and sincerely fulfilled the undertaken commitments. One of them was establishing a music school, headed by B. Robman, on 6 February 1884. It had classes of singing, piano, violin, choral singing, music theory, and playing other instruments,⁵ and the teachers arrived from St. Petersburg and other Russian cities. Although education in the school was paid for, it was short of funds for its activities, and therefore Kaunas Music Society had to sponsor it. In 1900, the Society had about 600 registered members paying an annual fee, the amount of which depended on the member's category.⁶ The raised funds were used to purchase musical instruments, to accumulate musical literature for the school library, and to fund the choir and balalaika orchestra established under the society.

2 Dana Palionytė-Banevičienė, ed., *Lietuvos muzikos istorija. I knyga. Tautinio atgimimo metai* [A History of Lithuanian Music, Book 1. The Years of National Revival] (Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos akademija, Kultūros, filosofijos ir meno institutas, 2002), 32.

3 3-йй. "Отголоски," *Виленский вестник* [Vilnius Bulletin], no. 79 (1897): 2.

4 Diana Raudonytė, "Kauno muzikos draugija XIX a. antroje pusėje" [Kaunas Music Society in the Second Half of the 19th century], *Kauno istorijos metraštis*, no. 11 (2011): 77.

5 *Ibid.*, 79.

6 *Ibid.*, 77, 80.

Another important field of the Society's activity was participation in the concert life of the city. The participants included students and teachers from Robman's School, various choirs, military wind and Russian folk instruments orchestras, and also solo singers and instrumentalists. Concerts were mostly held in boys' and girls' gymnasiums, the People's House, and also in the rented City Theatre Hall. The proceeds went mostly to charities that cared for homeless babies, orphans, the disabled, and poor students. In the 19th century, that was a tradition in Russia that emerged in the authoritarian context of the regime: to take over part of the functions of an underdeveloped bureaucratic apparatus.⁷ About 1904, the Society of Fine Arts Lovers took the place of the disbanded Kaunas Music Society, which continued the work started by its predecessors not only in the field of music, but also of drama, literature, and art. Through its efforts, before the First World War, about 20 performances and music evenings per season used to be held.⁸ Russian societies had nothing to do with Lithuanian culture or the interests of Lithuanian people. Lithuanian audiences were not particularly interested in their activities, either. Lithuanian listeners. First of all, the city and rural life and people's needs were very different, and secondly, everything that was Russian seemed alien to Lithuanians. Therefore they, following the example of foreign nationals, began to form their own national societies; however, the conditions for their existence were very difficult.

Lithuanian societies in Lithuania Major

After the authorities of Tsarist Russia had disbanded Vilnius University in 1832 and had banned the press in Latin letters after the uprising of 1863, the establishment of Lithuanian societies became complicated. Nevertheless, Lithuanians resisted: they organised secret schools, published prayer books, newspapers, sheet notes, and books in their native language abroad and transported them to Lithuania across the border. Book smugglers were much in demand; the organisations of book smugglers and their sponsors emerged and accelerated the development of the national movement. Representatives of Lithuanian intelligentsia – doctors Vincas Kudirka and Jonas Basanavičius – became the initiators and publishers of the first illegal newspapers (*Aušra* [The Dawn] and *Varpas* [The Bell]), and the first illegal

7 Ibid., 76.

8 Laima Kiauleikytė, "Kauno muzikos draugija ir lietuvių muzikinės kultūros kontekstas" [Kaunas Music Society and the Context of Lithuanian Musical Culture], *Menotyra* 17, no. 3 (2010): 200.

societies formed in Kaunas Priest Seminary: The Society of Lithuania Lovers (1887–1905) and St. Casimir's Circle (1889–1905). Future priests and some of their teachers shared information about the printing and distribution of banned Lithuanian books and wrote articles for Lithuanian newspapers.

Music societies began forming much later. One of the first was established in Kaunas in 1899, when organist and composer of the Cathedral, graduate of Warsaw Institute of Music Juozas Naujalis formed the *Daina* [The Song] Choir from the representatives of the city's intelligentsia: he invited about 50 people of various professions, mostly music lovers, to it. The choristers of the illegal society would choose remote places for their rehearsals and concerts: in winter, it was secluded apartments, in summer, the skirts of the nearby Veršvai forest. They would even post guards to inform choristers of the danger of the approaching police. However, whenever the singers were caught unawares, they would not be intimidated and would either disguise themselves as a church choir or simply bribe government officials. Their first appearance before the public took place on 13 May 1901. Failing to obtain official permission, the choristers chose a forest site on the banks of the Nemunas River for the concert; they got there by steamboat and called the event a May picnic. The event was a great success: numerous participants sang and danced together. Since then, the tradition of May picnics spread throughout Lithuania.

After the ban on the press had been lifted on 7 May 1904, the *Daina* Society, which at the time had about 500 members, had the opportunity to legalise. After the approval of the Statutes, on 19 March 1905, it was officially registered and began to grow: a circle of drama artists was established, vocal and instrumental ensembles were formed, and professional singers were invited to participate in concerts. True, working conditions were not easy. Officials demanded that the lyrics of the songs and performances be translated into Russian, and that the texts contain not a single word intended to criticise or ridicule the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, the Society which brought together music lovers and professionals fostered national self-awareness through holding concerts of Lithuanian music, performances, lectures, dance evenings, and commemorations of people with special merits to Lithuanian culture. They would organise about 10 to 20 events per year and involved the Polish and Russian-speaking population of Kaunas in the cultural movement. The society successfully survived until the Second World War.

Legal societies were also founded in other Lithuanian cities: *Vilniaus Kanklės* (1905–1908) and *Rūta* [The Rue] (1909–1914) in Vilnius, *Varpas* [The Bell] in Šiauliai (1908–1914), *Aidas* [the Echo] (1906–1914) in Panevėžys, *Žiburys* [The Light] (1906–1914) in Marijampolė, *Undinė* [The Mermaid] (1908–1914) in Druskininkai, and *Kanklės* (1910–1914) in Telšiai. They had their own choirs, instrumental ensembles, drama circles, and some even orchestras led by graduates or students from the conservatories of Warsaw, St. Petersburg, and Moscow. They gave concerts, staged Lithuanian performances, and were touring provinces with prepared concert programmes. The goals of the societies were of a national scale: to encourage less educated people to get educated, to oppose the tsarist regime, and to foster the hope of restoring the independent state of Lithuania. At the same time, they provided the conditions for the new generation of Lithuanian composers and performers to perform and grow. Thus, Mikas Petrauskas, in collaboration with the *Vilniaus Kanklės*, staged his first opera *Birutė* in Vilnius in 1906; the composer's brother Kipras, who sang in the premiere, later became one of the most famous tenors of all time in Lithuania.

The first society of professional Lithuanian musicians was established in 1907 and operated until the First World War. It was an organization of church organists named after St. Gregory. Its founder, composer Juozas Naujalis, understood that the church was “*almost the only form of organised music making and concentrated listening that introduced the people of Lithuanian small towns and villages to professional music literature;*”⁹ moreover, he knew that organists lead both church and secular choirs as well as worked at schools as music teachers, and therefore he decided that they should be the first to get music education. To maintain the closest possible contacts with them, he had been publishing the first Lithuanian music periodical *Vargonininkas* [The Organist] as well as the *Vargonininko kalendorius* [Organists' Calendar] for several years in a row. In 1913, he legalised the organ courses he had been teaching since 1892.¹⁰ Thanks to Naujalis, the social situation of the organists was taken care of, and the social class differences between the priest as a “master” and the organist as a “servant” were sought to be eliminated. Although the goals had not been fully achieved, the organists found the courage to fight for their own rights, and their public and cultural activity as well as professional curiosity were awakened. As

9 Vytautas Landsbergis, “Vargonininkų gadyne” [The Times of Organists], *Pergalė*, no. 9 (1976): 155.

10 Ona Narbutienė, *Juozas Naujalis* (Kaunas: Šviesa, 1989), 36.

evidenced by the history of interwar Lithuanian music, even as late as in the 1930s, about 80 to 90 % of secular choir conductors acquired the profession of musicians upon starting to work as organists.¹¹

The organised activities of educated musicians differed from amateur societies in greater attention to the criteria of professionalism, the promotion of young composers, and scientific affairs. Thus, e.g., the Music Section of the Lithuanian Art Society in Vilnius (1908–1911), established on the initiative of M. K. Čiurlionis, announced the first competition of Lithuanian music works, which took place in 1910; the Song and Tune Collection Commission of the Lithuanian Scientific Society took care of Lithuanian musical folklore (1909–1914); meanwhile, Čiurlionis Company collected and promoted works by Lithuanian authors (1913–1915). Thanks to professional music societies, the ideas were born to establish music schools, a conservatory, and a theatre, and to accumulate and preserve the Lithuanian cultural heritage. Those ideas were implemented only after the restoration of the independent state of Lithuania.

Lithuanian societies in Lithuania Minor

Lithuania Minor was the north-eastern part of Prussia, the ethnic lands of Lithuanians, which was annexed by Germany in the second half of the 19th century. Its population could have rightly been proud of the better conditions for economic life and cultural activities. It was in this region that the first book, the first Lithuanian hymnal, the first collection of sermons in Lithuanian, a Lithuanian grammar, the first work of literature, and the first Lithuanian newspaper appeared. Quite a few print houses were established there, which published Lithuanian books and periodicals and provided them to their compatriots living in the Russian Empire and other countries with the help of book smugglers. The Romanticism that spread in Europe in the early 19th century encouraged Lithuanians in that region to study their language and history, to become interested in science, and to follow the political life in Lithuania Major. Germans also became interested in Lithuanian heritage, seeing the Lithuanian nation as a tribe on the verge of extinction. They communicated with Lithuanians, they founded the Lithuanian studies-related society *Litauische literarische Gesellschaft* (1879–1914), learned to speak Lithuanian, collected folk songs, and pointed out the differences between Lithuanian and German church hymns, how-

11 Antanas Budriūnas, “Vargonininkų parengimo klausimu” [On the Issue of Organist Training], *Muzikos barai*, no. 2 (1940): 45.

ever, it had never occurred to them that the nation could live independently, separately from Germany. Meanwhile, the main goal of Lithuanians in Lithuania Minor was to preserve their language and customs, as Germanization had been increasingly affecting their social life. To this end, in the second half of the 19th century, they began to form cultural societies.

In 1885 in Tilsit, which was considered to be the capital of Lithuanians of Lithuania Minor, the very first *Birutė* Society (1885–1914) was established, with divisions in smaller towns. Its members were encouraged to talk to each other in Lithuanian and to sing Lithuanian songs. Under the Society, a choir led by famous Lithuanian philosopher Vydūnas operated. He proclaimed that art was the most distinctive characteristic of man, a major factor in evolution, and it elevated humanity above nationality.¹² Those around him saw that humble man and philosopher as a priest, a prophet, and felt spiritually richer in his company. To commemorate its tenth anniversary, the *Birutė* Society organised a celebration on Rambynas Hill, on the other side of the Nemunas River. Since then, the tradition of celebrating major Lithuanian holidays in this wooded place, where Lithuanian songs sounded especially good, had taken root.

Due to disagreements among the members of the *Birutė* Society, Vydūnas together with a group of choristers established Tilsit Lithuanian Hymn Singers' Society (1895–1935), which became the most important axis of Lithuanian musical life. Its choir consisted of about 40–60, and occasionally as many as 80, singers. The singers often gave concerts, staged performances, and showed the prepared programs to the residents of the surrounding areas, both Lithuanians and Germans. It did not take the latter long to appreciate the artistic achievements of the Society. Peter Wilhelm Wolf, the director of Tilsit Music School, conductor, composer, graduate of Berlin Higher Music School who often attended concerts, praised the choir led by Vydūnas to German choirmasters as an example to follow and advised them to attend its concerts. The repertoire of the Hymn Singers' Society consisted of songs and hymns – original compositions by the choir leader and other Lithuanians as well as Lithuanian melodies harmonised by Germans. The hymn singers were among the first to start organising Lithuanian song festivals. They would include German orchestras that performed popular symphonic works of Western European classical music composers in their concert programmes. In that way, thanks to Lithuanian societies, the decline of the Lithuanian language in a German-speaking

12 Vydūnas, “Mano paskaitos” [My Lectures], *Gairės*, no. 1 (1924): 45.

land slowed down, while Lithuanians won the respect of foreigners through music.

Lithuanian Societies in St. Petersburg

At the time when any kind of Lithuanian public activities was banned in Lithuania, Lithuanian societies began to form in St. Petersburg, the capital of the Russian Empire. Quite a few Lithuanians lived there: some of them studied in higher schools, others found better-paying jobs, and all of them longed for their homeland. Therefore, the desire to communicate with each other, to support each other, to speak Lithuanian, and to sing and dance made them come together. In the late 19th century, the first and only legal Lithuanian organisation all over the Russian Empire, the Charitable Society of Lithuanians and Samogitians in St. Petersburg (1892–1918) was established. It united people of different social strata: students, workers, landowners, and priests. Its main goal was to provide support to students and people in need and to develop their Lithuanian identity. The main form of activity were Lithuanian events; four of them could be held per one year. Their concert programmes included performances and music, afterwards followed by dances. The first charity concert took place in 1894. Because no Lithuanian performers had been found, only Russian music was performed, and Feodor Chaliapin, who had just settled in the Russian capital, also took part in it.¹³ Later, Lithuanians who studied at St. Petersburg Conservatory joined the Society. Some of them led choirs, others sang or played in the performances. On 13 (25) November 1899, Vincas Kudirka's "National Anthem" was first performed in a concert, conducted by Česlovas Sasnauskas; later it became the anthem of the State of Lithuania.¹⁴

The concert programmes of Lithuanian events had to be printed in Russian. That was not enough. The Censorship Committee had to be submitted the texts of the performances and the lyrics of the songs to be performed. Sometimes the posters were printed in two languages, and Gen darmes were explained that Lithuanian names were difficult to translate. Meanwhile, Russian officials were deceived by including some songs in the programmes, but actually performing some others, newly written ones,

13 Martynas Yčas, *Atsiminimai. Nepriklausomybės keliais* [Memories. On the Road to Independence], vol. 3 (Kaunas: Spindulys, 1991), 166.

14 Balys Sruoga, *Lietuvių teatras Peterburge 1892–1918* [Lithuanian Theatre in St. Petersburg in 1892 to 1918] (Kaunas: Humanitarinių mokslų fakulteto leidinys, 1930), 21.

which had not been submitted to the censors, but which had been very much awaited by the Lithuanian audience.

Following the emergence of undemocratic moods within the charity society, those who separated from it founded the Lithuanian Mutual Aid Society (1899–1917), with a drama circle and a permanent troupe of actors established under it. It was a stimulus for Lithuanians to learn the correct mother tongue, to get acquainted with the basics of acting and directing, and to mature the idea of establishing their own professional theatre. It was merely dissatisfaction with a high membership fee that led to the establishment of a third organisation, the Lithuanian Society for Mutual Assistance for the Indigenous, or the Society of the Indigenous (1903–1918), which united workers and representatives of the left-wing intelligentsia. In this way, the Lithuanian community was as if divided into social groups: the benefactors were equated with the aristocrats, the Mutuals with the bourgeoisie, and the Indigenous with the proletariat. Artists and musicians accepted invitations from all societies and went on stage where they had greater opportunities to perform. All the societies held Lithuanian evenings, which mainly consisted of performances and choral music. Amateur choirs became a laboratory for young Lithuanian performers and composers, where they could carry out their creative experiments. Therefore, it was no coincidence that the newly created songs by Česlovas Sasnauskas, Stasys Šimkus, and Juozas Tallat-Kelpša were first performed in St. Petersburg, and operettas by Mikas Petrauskas were also staged there.

The choirs belonging to the societies sought to represent their community in the international arena. On 22 January (4 February) 1910, they participated in the concert of 14 nations, and on 27 December (9 January) 1912, at an ethnographic event. The aim was to emphasise the uniqueness of their country through cultural activities – the uniqueness of the language and folk songs, and the old traditions of the GDL. Gradually, the idea of raising the issue of Lithuania's autonomy at the political level began to develop. At the time, it seemed a particularly bold idea, as it was too early to think about complete secession from the Russian Empire.

Lithuanian Societies in the United States of America

The most favourable environment for societies to operate was in the United States, and the greatest number of them were active there. The first societies to form were the ones of mutual aid as well as joint associations with Poles. The first Lithuanian society was founded in New York in 1875, and the sec-

ond in Shenandoah in 1877. Their number increased rapidly as Lithuanians would come together on the basis of their professions, worldviews, or hobbies. All of them had their own statutes, mostly taken over from foreigners, but adapted to their own needs. The societies took care of the education of compatriots, of access to learning, book publishing and distribution, preservation of historical memory, support for Lithuania, and even its liberation from the tsarist oppression. In 1888, the Military Society was established in Pitstone, which sought to become the Lithuanian Guard and fight for the freedom of the native country. In the late 19th century, there were about 15 such guards in the USA.¹⁵ Each military society had its own uniform, swords, or even rifles. During holidays, their members would march in the streets and sing military songs. In 1889, the Lithuanian Scientific Society was established in Baltimore, which had a great influence on the development of science and culture in emigration. It gave impetus to the formation of the first Lithuanian theatre troupe. The Society of Homeland Lovers, established in 1896, focused on the education of compatriots and publication of Lithuanian books in the USA. Amateur choirs and orchestras formed under the societies. Ecclesiastical organizations lasted longer because they had better operating conditions – facilities for rehearsals and concerts as well as permanent choirmasters, while secular ones would often break up and then re-emerge again.

Music societies also kept emerging. One of the first of them was founded in New York in 1894 by choirmaster Leonas Ereminas who named it *Milda*, and then a secular men's choir was formed under it. A year later, the Society of Musicians and Singers of King David was established in Chicago; Dr. Vincas Kudirka Singers' Union operated in the same city, on the basis of which the *Birutė* Society with a very active choir came up; and in 1909, the *Pirmyn* [Forward] Society emerged. Before the First World War, similar organizations could be found in almost every Lithuanian colony. In 1911, the *Rūta* [The Rue] theatrical singer relief society started its activities; in 1912, *Garsas* [The Sound] the music and drama society formed, which later became known as *Kanklės*, followed by the Lithuanian Singers' Society in 1913 and the Society of Lithuanian Socialist Singers in America in 1914, while in Boston, *Gabija* was founded through the efforts of Mikas Petrauskas. These societies staged operettas and gave concerts, and not only of choral but also

15 Juozas Širvydas, *Biografijos bruožai* [The Traits of Biography] (Cleveland: Dirva, 1941), 112.

of vocal-instrumental music. Secular societies chose either national names or the names of the GDL, and religious ones were named after saints.

The first professional music society, the Lithuanian American Organists' Union, was founded in Baltimore in 1911. It united church organists for common goals: to nurture Lithuanianness through hymns and songs, to unify church singing, to train in the field of religious and secular music, to hold joint concerts, to encourage the creation of Lithuanian music, and to publish sheet music. Its heads took care of the professional and social affairs of their members as well as their qualifications and organised courses for them. Thus, church organists became the main disseminators of Lithuanianness, the organisers of musical life and song festivals. Due to them, a choir movement arose in the United States, which lasted until the First World War and involved thousands of people in it. The attention of cultural and music societies was focused not so much on the artistic level of choirs as on hymn and song singing in Lithuanian. Thus, the mother tongue became an essential criterion for the positive evaluation of a piece of music, even if it was an amateur one.

The establishment of choirs contributed significantly to the elimination of ethnographic differences, since the four-voice singing levelled out the specific features and dialects of the regions. In the lyrics of the songs, the words "homeland" and "Motherland" had been increasingly used, which helped to perceive Lithuania as a homogeneous country. Thus, the contours of national self-awareness began to emerge alongside regional identity. Religious and local affiliation did not disappear, however, a national union emerged, which became extremely important in the struggle for survival in a multinational America and in maintaining ties with Lithuania, which was trying to liberate itself from the Russian Empire. This is evidenced by the names of choirs and orchestras: Freedom of Lithuanians, Sons of Lithuania, Lovers of the Homeland, Lithuanian Soldiers. As the danger of assimilation was much higher in America than in Lithuania, Lithuanians chose a closed way of life in their diaspora, trying to distance themselves from the influences of other cultures and not to dissolve in the "*melting pot of nations*;" and they did succeed.

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Musical associations and their place in the musical life of Bratislava in the 19th century¹

Michal Ščepán

Muzikološki inštitut Slovaške akademije znanosti
Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences

By the decision of the emperor Joseph II, Bratislava (then Pressburg/Pozsony/Prešporok) ceased to be the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1783. After the crown jewels were taken to Vienna and almost all central offices moved to Buda, followed by a large segment of the aristocracy, the city started to lose its importance. These significant changes also affected the local musical life. After disbanding the number of aristocratic music bands, its character changed, when dominant role had continuously been taken over by bourgeois/townspople. This fact was also reflected in the institutional basis the pillar of which became music associations. As a qualitatively new institutional form, they were associating music lovers and were adapted to social and cultural interests of the newly established middle class, i.e., townspople. However, the aristocracy did not disappear from the music life completely, when participated on music activities, in addition to organizing, mainly through the function of patron of individual associations. The basic function of the associations was cultivating artistic singing and art music as such but, at the same time, the associations worked as a medium of spending one's spare time in a cultivated and meaningful manner with the unwritten requirement of developing creativity of their

1 This article is the outcome of the implementation of the Personality and Work in the History of Musical Culture of the 18th–20th Centuries in Slovakia (No. 2/0116/20) project supported by the Scientific Grant Agency of the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, Institute of Musicology of the SAS, 2020–2023.

townspeople members. Cultivation of common interests also contributed to the enhancement of collective identity of this social class. In the 19th century, Bratislava had the character of a German-Slovak-Hungarian town.² The dominant German burghers got integrated both economically and socially in Hungarian society and took over the task of the Hungarian middle class. On the other side, only a small number of the local intelligentsia adhered to Slovak nationality. This was also reflected in the national composition of associations, which were primarily German and German-Hungarian. Their establishment began in 1810s and reached its peak in the last third of the century.

The Society of Bratislava Free Artists and Language Teachers (Verein der Preßburger freien Künstler und Sprachlehrer) association the statutes of which were officially approved in 1817 had a primary position in the process of constituting modern music associations. His archetype can be seen in the Viennese Society of Musicians (Tonkünstler-Societät) and the association of the same name from Prague. Its purpose was to support retired artist and their families and for this aim, organizing concerts to gain financial funds was one of his activities. Joseph Schodl, a long-time music teacher, stood behind the foundation and the entire concept of this institution, whose patron became Count Stephan Illésházy. Among all artists, music teachers formed a substantial part of the Society's membership base.³ The basic repertoire consisted of opera overtures, symphonies and oratorios by composers such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven and Luigi Cherubini.⁴ The performance of Haydn's oratorios *Die Jahreszeiten* and *Die Schöpfung* belonged to the most important documented music activities of the association. In 1828, the musical section led by Ludwig van Beethoven's friend the composer and teacher Heinrich Klein (1756–1832) separated and founded a completely new association focused on the performance of church music. However, activities of the Church Music Association (Kirchen Musik-Verein) were continuously reduced to zero, and the association was dissolved in the year 1832. In addition to Klein's death, one of the main reasons for its end was a lack of funds, but a more capable succes-

2 Zuzana Francová, "Obyvatelia – etnická, sociálna a konfesijná skladba," *Bratislava: (Ročenka Mestského múzea)*, no. 10 (1998): 20–1.

3 Eva Szórádová, "Z histórie bratislavského Spolku umelcov a učiteľov jazyka," *Slovenská hudba* 29, no. 3–4 (2003): 434.

4 Luba Ballová, "Spolok slobodných umelcov a profesorov reči v Bratislave," in *Hudobné tradície Bratislavy a ich tvorcovia I.*, ed. Zdenko Nováček (Bratislava: Obzor, 1974), 76.

sor appeared soon. The score archive and the overall aim of enhancing of the musical performance in the church was taken over by the newly formed Church Music Association at the Saint Martin's Cathedral (Preßburger Kirchenmusikverein zu Sankt Martin/Szent Mártonról címzett Pozsonyi Egyházi Zeneegyesület) founded in 1833. This association with 290 founding members played central role in the Bratislava music-cultural life both in the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries.⁵ A key factor for its existence was that the aristocracy, clergy, and townspeople were joined in the association. This symbiosis is proven by the personalities who were involved in its founding: the main initiator, a local priest Joseph Prybila as chairman, the municipal councillor Anton Namer as cashier, and Count Casimir Esterhazy as patron. A specific feature of the association was cultivation both of sacred and secular music. Sacred music productions of the association had liturgical character and the requirements of the church year and religious holidays were naturally reflected in the sacred music repertoire. Thanks to the successful first concerts, the number of secular music concert performances had increased shortly afterwards. The decisive art and professional guarantor of the level both of the sacred and secular music productions of the association was the Kapellmeister. In the 19th century, three important persons were holding this function: Josef Kumlik (1801–1869), Karl Mayrberger (1828–1881), and Josef Thiard-Laforest (1841–1897).⁶

Josef Kumlik, a former student of Heinrich Klein, served as the Kapellmeister for more than 30 years (1833–1837; 1843–1869). He mostly tended to the sacred music with the broad repertoire: masses, offers, graduals, and other liturgical genres. He is considered the founder of performing this type of music in the city and his successors made some additions to the repertoire only. Masses written by the composers such as Joseph Haydn, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Ludwig van Beethoven were frequently performed. A unique Kumlik's contribution is relating to the cultivation of Beethoven's secular as well as sacred music. The *Mass in C major* was a permanent part of his repertoire, *Missa solennis* in D major was reserved for the St. Cecilia's holiday and was performed

5 Jana Lengová, "Cirkevný hudobný spolok," in *Hudobné dejiny Bratislavy: od stredoveku po rok 1918*, ed. Jana Kalinayová-Bartová (Bratislava: Ars Musica, 2020): 262–74.

6 Jana Lengová and Eva Szórádová, "Kapelníci Josef Kumlik, Karl Mayrberger, Josef Thiard-Laforest," in *Hudobné dejiny Bratislavy: od stredoveku po rok 1918*, ed. Jana Kalinayová-Bartová (Bratislava: Ars Musica, 2020): 274–82.

by Kumlik seven times in total.⁷ The Schubert's *Mass No. 6*, Rossini's *Stabat Mater*, and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's *Psalm No. 42* were performed by Kumlik too. The most important artistic events included performances of the Beethoven's *Symphonies No. 3, No. 5, and No. 7*. Kumlik had also premiered several Slovak pieces including Ján Levoslav Bella's compositions.⁸

For unknown reasons, in the years 1837–1843, Karl Frajman von Kochlow (1800–1885) replaced Kumlik in the function of the Kapellmeister. Unlike his predecessor, Kochlow preferred secular music, especially operas and their instrumental arrangements. This can also be seen in the repertoire, which consisted of works by well-known opera composers such as Vincenzo Bellini, Gaetano Donizetti, Gioacchino Rossini, etc. At that time, his own compositions *Der Liebe Sehnsucht* and *Der Liebe Klag* for voice and orchestra were performed too. After almost six years, Kumlik returned and was awarded the Medal of Honor for Arts and Sciences for his meritorious activities.

Karl Mayrberger and Josef Thiard-Laforest, the other two Kapellmeisters of the association, tended toward neo-Romanticism and this style orientation of theirs was also expressed in their association repertoire. With regard to the concert repertoire, Karl Mayrberger (1869–1881) followed the Kumlik's heritage by performing compositions of Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, and Mendelssohn-Bartholdy in particular. However, Mayrberger also enriched the concert programme of new works of Franz Schubert, Max Bruch, Robert Volkmann, Richard Wagner, as well as works of the old masters such as Orlande de Lassus, Johann Sebastian Bach or Michael Praetorius. Thanks to Mayrberger, Franz Schubert's masses found their place in the liturgical repertoire of the association. Undoubtedly, integration of the Franz Liszt's masses in the repertoire of the Cathedral belongs to the Karl Mayrberger's greatest artistic contributions. The Liszt's *Missa solemnis* was played by Mayrberger five times in total, out of which two times with Liszt personally present. The Liszt's *Missa coronationalis* was performed more frequently since its duration was more suitable for liturgical purposes.

Another Kapellmeister Josef Thiard-Laforest (1881–1897) preferred three music style areas: Viennese classicism, neo-Romanticism, and ancient music. The important music events performed by him became the Ludwig van Beethoven's *Symphony No. 9* and the *Legend of St. Elizabeth* oratory

7 Sylvia Urdová, "Hudba počas slávností sv. Cecílie Cirkevného hudobného spolku v Bratislave a Ján Batka," *Bratislava: (Ročenka Mestského múzea)*, no. 29 (2017): 66.

8 Vladimír Godár, "Cirkevno-hudobný spolok," *Slovo* 36, no. 24 (2004): 20.

and *Missa coronationalis* written by Franz Liszt; in 1844, the latest was conducted by Franz Liszt himself there. One of the unique features of Bratislava's musical life at that time was that, unlike in Vienna, there was no rivalry between adherents of program and absolute music. Within this context, compositions such as *The Prelude* and *Isolde's death scene* from the Richard Wagner's opera *Tristan und Isolde* and overtures by Hector Berlioz's *Benvenuto Cellini*, *Roman Carnival*, *The Flight into Egypt*, and *Harold in Italy* were played on the one hand. At the same time, there were performed *Serenade in A major* and choral work *The Schicksalslied* composed by Johannes Brahms, Robert Schumann's *Symphonies No. 3 and No. 4*, Anton Bruckner's *Symphony No. 7* with the author present. As for ancient music, overtures from the Georg Friedrich Handel's oratory *Esther* and Johann Sebastian Bach's *Concerto for Two Violins in D minor* were given place. During Thiard-Laforest's term in office, his *Mass in D major* was in the repertoire too.

In the last years of the 19th century (1897–1901), the association was led by Ludwig Burger (1850–1936) who was also including in the concert programmes new pieces of a high artistic value such as the extract from *Die Walküre*, an opera written by Richard Wagner, or Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky's *Symphony No. 6*. After the Burger's resignation, Anton Strehlen (1840–1922) became his successor (1901–1905); however, the activities of the latter are associated with the first years of the 20th century.

From the very beginning, the association was cooperating with the Ödenburger Musikverein/Soproni Zeneegyesület. It is important to note that its founder and leader was Eugen Kossow (1860–1921), who after spending 25 years in Sopron moved in Bratislava where in 1906 became a new Kapellmeister of the Church Music Association. At the turn of the century, the association was also in contact with Wiener Männergesang-Verein managed by Viktor Keldorf, with the Udel-Quartett association, Philharmonischen Konzert-Unternehmung as well as Sängerbund Dreizehnlinden, and Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein. However, the association had the most extensive contacts with Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, especially through Eduard Kremser, a conductor of Wiener Mannergesangverein being in contact with Karl Mayrberger.⁹ A mutual feature of both associations is their attention given to the work of Johann Nepomuk Hummel who was born in Bratislava as well as to the personality of Franz Liszt having

9 Alexandra Tauberová, "Kontakty bratislavských hudobných spolkov a hudobných spolkov a inštitúcií viedenského okruhu," in *Úloha spolkov, spoločností a združení v hudobných dejinách Európy*, ed. Edita Bugalová (Trnava: Západoslovenské múzeum v Trnave, 2001), 160–1.

been an honorary member of both associations. Ludwig Bösendorfer and Johann Nepomuk Batka, as representatives of these associations were preparing Liszt's concerts both in Bratislava and Vienna even after the Liszt's death. Between 1880 and 1890, when Hans Richter worked as a concert conductor of Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, he was also in contact with Batka.¹⁰ In their correspondence, one can find information that Richter was personally interested in the successor of Thiard-Laforest in the function of the Kapellmeister after the latter's death in 1897.¹¹

At the turn of the 19th century, a temporary crisis occurred in the activities of the association. A close cooperation between professional musicians and music lovers started to cause problems resulting from the education and performance disproportion between professional and amateur orchestral players. The further orientation of the association was also put in question in relation to the reform of church music and motu proprio issued by Pope Pius X accenting vocal music and the Gregorian chant as genuine church music and the tradition of vocal/orchestral masses of the association was thus eclipsed.

Vocal associations of townspeople were developing intensively in the last third of the 19th century. Along with the cultivation of artistic singing and music, they were also working as concert institutions and as a medium of spending one's spare time in a cultivated and meaningful manner. They had thus several functions: social, representation, educational, and artistic. Members of such associations were lovers of choral singing and music, and the choirmaster function was held by an educated musician. The official approval of statutes as a decisive moment for the official activity of an association was usually preceded by informal singing meetings or public performances. The events like consecrations of a flag of the association or singing festivals had a representative character. Other invited singing associations were also participating on both types of events. Annual concert (Stiftungskonzert) with the appropriate representative programme contents was considered the most important artistic event in the year structure of the associations. The social function of the associations was associated with the formats of entertainment events and parties where rather less

10 Jana Lengová, "Hans Richter v listoch Jánovi Batkovi," *Hudobný život* 36, no. 1 (2004): 35–7.

11 Alexandra Taubnerová and Jarmila B. Martinková, *Johann Nepomuk Batka. Auswahl aus der Korrespondenz* (Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum – Hudobné múzeum, 1999), 38.

complicated compositions, humoristic duets and quartets, arrangements of folk songs, etc. were played.

The Pressburger Liedertafel/Pozsonyi dalárda, the oldest men's choral association, was officially formed in 1857 on the initiative of vocal coach Ludwig Stoffregen.¹² Its activities culminated when managed by skilled choirmasters Karl Mayrberger and Ferdinand Kitzinger.¹³ During their terms in office, the difficult pieces of the choral literature such as Richard Wagner's *Das Liebesmahl der Apostel*, Ferdinand David's *Die Wüste*, and the chorus of Capulets from *Roméo et Juliette*, a symphony dramatique written by Hector Berlioz, were locally premiered. Johannes Brahms who visited the premiere of his cantata *Rinaldo* in Bratislava received great ovations. Choir pieces written by the local composers Karl Mayrberger and Josef Thiard-Laforest were sung too. The association was also performing at the funeral of their former choirmaster Josef Kumlik. Except for the choral genre, the then form of vocal quartets was cultivated too. The choral group rehearsed and locally premiered almost all-important men's choruses of Franz Liszt and was mainly striving for performing Liszt's music together with the Church Music Association and another institution called the Pressburger Singverein/Pozsonyi dalegyelet.¹⁴ It was founded in 1879 upon the initiative of Anton Strehlen and Julius von Simonyi and was focused on the cultivation of combined choral, women's, and men's singing.¹⁵ Activities of the association included singing exercises, individual public performances (concerts, music and music-entertainment evenings), participation on public events as the choral singing component, and organization of concerts (including guest artists and instrumental music). Both the domestic and guest soloists were performing in the concerts including Ernst von Dohnányi, Johann Kopetzky, Raoul (Rudolf) Mader, Maria Stegerová, Franz Tranta or Géza Zichy. Both smaller and larger choral pieces as well

12 Jana Lengová, "Das deutsche Chorgesangwesen in Pressburg am Beispiel der Pressburger Liedertafel – Nationale und regionale Identität," in *Chorgesang als Medium von Interkulturalität: Formen, Kanäle, Diskurse (Berichte des interkulturellen Forschungsprojekts "Deutsche Musikkultur im östlichen Europa"* 3), ed. Erik Fisher (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007), 31.

13 Viera Žitná, "Bratislavské spevácke zbory v druhej polovici 19. storočia," in *Franz Liszt a jeho bratislavskí priatelia (Hudobné tradície Bratislavy a ich tvorcovia, vol. 2)*, ed. Alexandra Tauberová (Bratislava: Obzor, 1975), 224.

14 Jana Lengová, "Nové poznatky k činnosti Bratislavského speváckeho spolku," in *Hudobnohistorický výskum na Slovensku začiatkom 21. storočia II.*, ed. Marta Hulková (Bratislava: Stimul, 2010), 376.

15 Jana Lengová, "Bratislavský spevácky spolok a jeho prvý zbormajster Anton Strehlen," *Musicologica Slovaca* 11, no. 1 (2020): 35.

as pieces for various voices and instruments composed by Franz Schubert (*Litanei auf das Fest Allerseelen*), Robert Schumann (*Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*), Franz Liszt (*Seligpreisungen* from the *Christus* oratory), Ferenc Erkel (*Isten, áldd meg a magyart*), Johannes Brahms (*Wiegenlied*), Max Bruch (*Frithjof*, op. 23), Niels Wilhelm Gade (*Psyche*) were played in the concerts of the association. Within the Silvester celebrations, one-act operettas written by, for example, Jacques Offenbach and Franz von Suppé were performed too. In 1888, the association and Schubert-Bund from Vienna organized a concert consisting of Schubert's works; the income from the concert was used for supporting activities of the Red Cross. As in the case of the Pressburger Liedertafel, from the beginning of the 20th this association was also led by Eugen Kossow.

The raise of the labour movement brought another type of multi-purpose associations of an international character, not excluding music practice. Upon the example of Vienna and Budapest, there was Vorwärts, a worker's education association associating workers from Germany, Hungary, and Slovakia including a choral section, founded in Bratislava in 1869. In 1893, members of the choral section founded the choral association Liedesfreiheit. The original men's choir grew to a combined one; a children's choir existed there for a longer time too.

The Pressburger Gesangvereines Typographenbund/Pozsonyi dalkör as a separate choral association of the eponymous educational institution, consisting only of male singers, which was relatively active from 1872.¹⁶ Its first choirmaster became the Realschule professor Johann Wawra and the repertoire consist of wide range of choral works (acapella, with piano accompaniment, duos to quintets) by the German (Carl Attenhofer, Carl Beines, Joseph Scheu) and Hungarian composers (Franz Doppler, Pál Gaál, Ernő Lányi). There were also instrumental arrangements of the well-known operas, (e.g. Potpourri based on motifs from *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* by Vincenzo Bellini, for pianoforte 4) hands as well as virtuosic pieces (*Symphonie concertante No. 1* by Jean Delphin Alard), not to mention various traditional folk songs. At the tenth anniversary of founding the association, they organized a grandiose consecration of the flag of the association with the nine invited associations participating thereon including the local ones as well as the associations from Brno, Budapest, Vienna, and Hainburg.

16 Emanuel Muntág, "Bratislavský robotnícky spevácky spolok Typografia," in *Robotnícke spevokoly a robotnícka kultúra na Slovensku (Hudobné tradície Bratislavy a ich tvorcovia, vol. 10)*, ed. Katarína Horváthová (Bratislava: Mestský dom kultúry a osvetu, 1983), 57.

The present text is only a brief outline of the activities and performances of musical associations, which undeniably had an important place in the musical life of Bratislava in the 19th century. All the said associations stayed active also at the beginning of the 20th century. The decisive moment was after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918 when the First Czechoslovak Republic was established. Since most of the associations consisted of German and Hungarian members, their activities were adjusted according to new cultural needs. However, they continued continuously even in this period with unchanged significance for the city's musical life.

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Matej Hubad in the context of the musical life of Slavic societies in Vienna

Viktor Velek
Univerza v Ostravi
University of Ostrava

Matej Hubad (1866–1937) has been thoroughly covered in Slovene music lexicography and musicological literature in general.¹ Therefore, this study will only focus on a certain stage of his life.² He was a typical representative of the category called “*the bridge between Vienna and the homeland*.” However, let us begin with a certain biographical summary of this significant choirmaster, teacher, pianist, singer, composer and organiser.

He focused on music from his youth. He completed his gymnasium studies in Ptuj and Ljubljana (graduation on 15 July 1886). In Ljubljana, he was active in the Glasbena Matica society (for example, he conducted a school choir on 25 March 1885) and his name can also be found on the programmes

- 1 Maia Juvanc, “Matej Hubad Commemorative Plaque,” *Monumenta musica Slovenica*, <https://www.momus.si/matej-hubad-commemorative-plaque/>; Cvetko Budkovič, “Matej Hubad,” *Kronika* (Ljubljana) 36, no. 1/2 (1988): 48–59, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-XHU6ZC3D>; Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina: Ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2015); Primož Kuret, *100 let Slovenske filharmonije 1908–2008* (Ljubljana: Slovenska filharmonija, 2008); Stanko Premrl, “Hubad, Matej (1866–1937),” *Slovenska biografija* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstveno raziskovalni center SAZU, 2013), <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi241399/#slovenski-biografski-leksikon>; Jernej Weiss, *Čeští hudebníci ve Slovinsku v 19. a na začátku 20. století* (Praha: KLP, 2021).
- 2 Alenka Bagarič, “Hubad, Matej,” in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon. Band 2, von Gaal bis Kluger*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2003), 810. https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_H/Hubad_Matej.xml.

of musical events of a gymnasium (school) and of student youth in general. In Graz, he started to study law, but did not finish his studies. He also completed one-year military service and worked with the Triglav choir there.

Vienna for the first time (1887–1891)

He went to Vienna with the aim of improving his musical skills but.³ From 1887, he studied harmony and counterpoint at Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde with Anton Bruckner (1824–1896), organ with Josef Vockner (1842–1906), piano with Ernst Ludwig (1852–1915), choral singing with Johann Faistenberg (1840–1898) and solo singing with Filip Forstén (1852–1932). He also studied with Prof. Josef Böhm (1841–1893). His studies were supported by “der Krainische Landtag” (the Slovene Diet); for example, in October 1888 with the sum of 100 Fl.⁴ He did not finish his studies, because he accepted an offer to conduct Glasbena Matica Choir. But first things first.

It was already at that time that he became a member of two societies. After coming to Vienna (while still a law student) he became a member of the Slovene-Viennese society Slovenija⁵ and of the Slovanský zpěvácký spolek (Slavic Singing Society). It brought together pan-Slavic-oriented Viennese Slavs (mostly from the upper social circles) interested in choral singing. It was founded together with the society Slovanská beseda (Slavic Circle) shortly after 1860 and did not cease its activities until during the First World War. The Slavic Singing Society and Slovenija reciprocated visits to and performances at each other's events, and the Slavic Singing Society also maintained contacts with singing societies in Slovenia.⁶

At that time the Slavic Singing Society was conducted by the composer and musician Alois Alexandr Buchta⁷ and presided by the lawyer Jan Lenoch⁸, with the Slovene Dr. Radoslav Pukl repeatedly elected as his deputy.⁹

3 Budkovič, “Matej Hubad,” 49.

4 Anon., “Die Landtage. Laibach. 21. October,” *Das Vaterland*, October 23, 1888, 2.

5 Anon., “Vermischte Nachrichten (Der neugewählte...)” *Südsteirische Post*, November 12, 1887, 4 (report on election to the committee – as substitute).

6 1888 Slovensko pevsko društvo v Ptuj, 1889 Slovensko pevsko društvo v Mariboru.

7 Alois Alexandr Buchta (1841–1898). A Czech violist, choirmaster, composer and organiser living in Vienna.

8 Jan Lenoch (1839–1919). A Czech lawyer, organiser and occasional poet living in Vienna.

9 When Pukl married A. Dubová on 29 January 1888, a Slovene quartet sang a wedding choir piece composed for the occasion by the Czech-Viennese composer Kon-

Table 1: Slavic Singing Society's nationality composition

	October 1887	October 1888	October 1889
Czechs	64	53	51
Slovenes	26	20	21
Croatians	8	8	3
Serbs	3	3	2
Poles	2	2	
Ruthenians	1		

The table is a response not only to the representation of Slovenes in the management, but also to the frequent performance of works by Slovene composers and the appointment of Slovenes as honorary members of the society: the composer Benjamin Ipavec (1829–1909) was honoured as early as 1887,¹⁰ and Pukl and Hubad one year later.

Hubad must have become a member of the Slavic Singing Society soon after he came to Vienna. He was not only a member of the 1st bass group (already at the end of 1887¹¹), but he also performed as a soloist. He already performed in the choir at the dance event held on 5 November 1887 in the Pfalz Restaurant of the Horticultural Society (Gartenbaugesellschaft).¹² From the Slovene repertoire, Anton Hajdrih's quartet piece *V sladkih sanjah* was performed for the first time and Benjamin Ipavec's mixed choir piece *Pod lipo* was also performed for the first time.

I have not yet found the Slavic Singing Society's 30th annual report (for the year 1891), so it is not possible to say for certain that Hubad was a member of the society for the whole time he was in Vienna. The end of his stay

stantin Alois Jahoda-Křtinský (1828–1895) at the wedding reception – Jahoda's biography and an overview of his works are presented in a separate chapter in the book by the author of this study: Viktor Velek, *Lumír 150. Sbormistři československého zpěváckého spolku "Lumír" ve Vídni = Chorleiter des tschechoslawischen Gesangsvereines "Lumír" in Wien* (Třebíč: APIS press, 2016), 315–9.

10 According to the Slavic Singing Society's 1887 annual report, Dr. Benjamin Ipavec was appointed an honorary member on 21 October.

11 *Dvacátá sedmá výroční zpráva za správní rok 1888, tj. za dobu od 1. října 1887 do 30. 9. 1888* (Videň: Nákladem zpěváckého spolku slovanského, 1888), 20; *Dvacátá osmá výroční zpráva za správní rok 1889, tj. za dobu od 1. října 1888 do 30. 9. 1889* (Videň: Nákladem zpěváckého spolku slovanského, 1889), 16; *Dvacátá devátá výroční zpráva za správní rok 1890, tj. za dobu od 1. října 1889 do 30. 9. 1890* (Videň: Nákladem zpěváckého spolku slovanského, 1890), 20.

12 "Concert programme," Archive of the Školský spolek Komenský (Comenius School Society) in Vienna, Collection: Jan Stiebler (A 545-2-2) and Collection: Zpěvácký spolek slovanský (A543-2).

falls at the end of 1891. Among other things, we know from the press why he was not hired as a music teacher at the Ljubljana Educational Institute (Lehrerbildungsanstalt). He returned to Ljubljana on 29 November and already on 1 December 1891 took up the post of choirmaster of the newly founded choir Glasbena Matica.¹³ He had worked with the society during his studies in Vienna.¹⁴ There was also contact between Glasbena Matica and the Slavic Singing Society – exchange of sheet music is mentioned in the minutes of its committee meetings.¹⁵

The surname Hubad with the first name Matthäus or Matthias can be found in the Austrian press, but the identification with our M. Hubad is very probable, not certain.¹⁶

- 1) At the end of December 1887, the press brought the names of those who had been assigned to the “Reserve-Cadet-Officers-Stellvertretern” (IR 17) in the infantry.¹⁷
- 2) The name also appears in the list of performers at the St. Augustine’s Court Parish Church. Specifically, it is the period from March to August 1891.¹⁸

Ljubljana and the success of Glasbena Matica in Vienna (autumn 1891–1896)

In addition to conducting a choir, Hubad also taught piano, singing and music theory in Ljubljana. However, he did not disappear from Slavic Vienna’s music scene: his compositions were performed by the Slavic Singing Society at that time. Two examples: *Slovene National Songs* were performed by a 100-member mixed choir in concerts on 13 March 1895 and 5 December

13 Anon., “Laibach. 17. December,” *Südsteirische Post*, December 19, 1891, 4.

14 Anon., “Laibach,” *Südsteirische Post*, August 8, 1890, 4.

15 “Minutes of the committee meeting of 7 November 1890,” Archive of the Comenius School Society in Vienna, Collection: Zpěvácký spolek slovanský (A578-2-2), File: Meetings 10/1886–09/1892.

16 Other variants of the first name used in the Czech, German and Slovene press: Matija, Matej, M., Mat. and Matouš.

17 Anon., “Aus dem Heeres-Verordnungsblatte,” *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 12, 1887, 4 (Mittagblatt); Anon., “Local- und Provinzial-Nachrichten. (Militärisches),” *Klagenfurter Zeitung*, January 1, 1888, 29.

18 Anon., “Kirchenmusik am Ostersonntag,” *Die Presse*, March 28, 1891, 4 (Abendblatt).

1895.¹⁹ The programme also contains other Slovene repertoire (A. Hajdrih's *Sirota* was performed for the first time) and other Slovene personalities: the pianist Anton Förster and Josip Čerin, who, as a conductor, introduced a mixed tamburitza choir composed of Slavic singing society members to the public at that time!²⁰

The highlight of Hubad's activities in the period 1891–1896 was undoubtedly the concert trip of the Glasbena Matica choir to Vienna (March 1896). It was a thank-you to Vienna for helping Ljubljana, which had been damaged by an earthquake.²¹ The Slovene choir gave two concerts (on 23 March and 25 March with Dvořák's *The Spectre's Bride* at Musikverein).²² Motivation, programme and all others aspects have been described, so the following paragraphs are only minor additions from the perspective of Slavic Vienna.²³

- 1) The Slavic singing society reacted to the earthquake by sending to Slovenia the proceeds of the Šafařík Festival (held on 18 May 1895, on the 100th anniversary of his birth, organised by several local Slavic societies, with the proceeds amounting to 318 Fl).²⁴ Slavic societies in Vienna supported the Glasbena Matica event. The Slavic Singing Society welcomed Dvořák on his arrival in Vienna and decorated his conductor's desk with a wreath with the national ribbon.²⁵
- 2) While the Slavic Singing Society moved its event to 13 May 1896,²⁶ the leading Czech-Viennese choir Lumír held its own event on

19 "Concert programme," Zpěvácký spolek slovanský (A543-2); Anon., "Videň. Slovanský koncert," *Dalibor* 17, no. 47–48 (21 December 1895): 374.

20 Josip Čerin (1867–1951). From 1886, he studied music and musicology in Vienna. In 1894–1896, he was organist at the St. Augustine Church and also conducted Slavic choirs in Vienna. In 1896, he left to work at Ljubljana's Glasbena Matica.

21 Anon., "(Zasláno.) GLASBENA MATICA V LUBLANI," *Dalibor* 17, no. 35 (14 September 1895): 275.

22 Milan Kuna and Ludmila Bradová, eds., *Antonín Dvořák. Korespondence a dokumenty: kritické vydání, sv. 4. Korespondence odeslaná 1896–1904* (Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1995), 20–3. A mention of the preparation in Vienna in Antonín Dvořák's letter of 13 March 1896 to Jindřich Geisler.

23 Weiss, *Čeští hudebníci*, 184–7; Budkovič, "Matej Hubad," 48–59.

24 Anon., "K jubileu Zpěváckého spolku slovanského ve Vídni (dokončení)," *Dalibor* 24, no. 20 (10 May 1902): 164.

25 Anon., "Mistr Antonín Dvořák," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 14, March 28, 1896, 3.

26 Among other things, the choir piece *Ljubica* by the Slovene composer Anton Förster was performed. The choir piece was given by the author to the Slavic Singing Society.

the day of the first concert (23 March)²⁷ and only took part in the second concert (25 March).

- 3) The Czech-Viennese press described the preparation in detail and advertised the concerts. A set of reports can also be found, but their contents differ for various reasons so they need critical verification. They reported on the holding of various welcome parties for the guests,²⁸ as well as on the organisation of a gala evening on arrival and after the second concert.
- 4) Glasbena Matica's concerts were of immense significance for the Slavic music scene. The Slavic societies in Vienna realised the need for improved internal communication and close cooperation. That was the only way to achieve a decent performance of the most demanding works. However, potential unification encountered problems. For example, we can read in the press that the guarantee of a good interpretation is not quantity but professionalization.²⁹ The Slavic Singing Society considered itself superior to other societies and feared merging with purely Czech societies. – Cooperation among choirs was rare before 1895 (it will be mentioned in connection with the Slavic Singing Society's concert of 7 May 1897). When the Pěvecká župa vídeňská (Vienna Singing Union) was established in 1907, the Slavic Singing Society did not join it!³⁰

The performers included the Slovene opera singer Franziska/Fanchette/Franja/Fandetta Verhuncová/Verhune/Verhunc/Verhunck (1875–1944), with the aria “Virgin Mary, stand by me” from Dvořák's cantata *The Spectre's Bride*.

- 27 Anon., “Ze spolku Lumír,” *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 14, March 28, 1896, 2.
- 28 Anon., “Večer na počest bratří Slovinců,” *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 14, April 4, 1896, 2.
- 29 Anon., “Viedeň. Sjednocení zpěvákých spolků,” *Dalibor* 18, no. 20–21 (18 April 1896): 157. This is a report taken from X, “Sjednocení zpěvákých spolků,” *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 14, April 11, 1896, 2. This text was apparently responded to by a member of the Lumír singing society in Vienna Alois Stejskal: A. St., “Ku sjednocení zpěvákých spolků vídeňských. Několik poznámek ku článku v č. 15,” *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 14, April 18, 1896, 2–3.
- 30 It should be clarified why one can sometimes come across the information that the Slavic Singing Society was a member of the Ústřední jednota zpěvákých spolků českoslovanských (Central Union of Czech-Slavic Singing Societies), later known as Pěvecká obec československá (Czechoslovak Singing Society). The president Leon Bouchal registered the society “to his detriment” in 1896 and paid the deposit for

- 5) It should also be mentioned that during the performance of Dvořák's *The Spectre's Bride* the choir was accompanied by the Court Opera orchestra. A similar collaboration did not take place again until 1 May 1910 (19th Czech Concert of the Lumír Society, with the Wiener Philharmoniker orchestra). The impetus was the 50th birthday of the leading Czech composer Josef Bohuslav Foerster. This is no coincidence: Foerster was a cosmopolitan personality recognised by both Czech and German Vienna.
- 6) Hubad was a great success with two concerts in March 1896. Not surprisingly, he was offered the opportunity to move to Vienna and take over the position of choirmaster in the Slavic Singing Society. It is not clear whether the collaboration was arranged before his trip to Vienna or after the concerts. In any case, the offer came at a time when he was thriving in Ljubljana, both in terms of artistic activity and education. Nevertheless, Hubad decided to accept it and move to Vienna.
- 7) After his success in Vienna, Hubad intensified his contacts with Prague. In September 1895 he visited the Czech-Slavic Ethnographic Exhibition, where he gave a speech on 12 September at a banquet held in honour of the Slovene guests.³¹ He also used his stay to look for a violin teacher for the Glasbena Matica music school.

Vienna for the second time (1896–1898)

Table 2: Structure of nationalities in Slavic Singing Society

	October 1889	1892	1912
Czechs	51	54 %	98
Slovenes	21	12 %	43
Croatians	3	4.5 %	?

1896 from his own funds. That was never approved by the society, and Bouchal intended to pay the membership fee from his own funds for the whole period of his presidency, i. e. until the end of 1899. However, he did not do so for the period 1897–1899 and the Union then claimed the amount due from the new management of the society. The society finally left the Union, which it had actually never been a member of, in May 1900.

31 Jan Pargač and Stanislav Brouček, *Mýtus českého národa aneb Národopisná výstava československá 1895* (Praha: Littera Bohemica, 1996), 27–9.

	October 1889	1892	1912
Serbs	2	7.5 %	?
Poles		3 %	?
Ruthenians		16 %	?

Although Hubad's second Viennese period is a chapter of his life that has been covered,³² I will try to supplement it with a perspective "from the point of view of the Slavic music scene in Vienna."

Hubad agreed with the Glasbena Matica management to take a two-year paid break from his activities. He was replaced in Ljubljana by the aforementioned Josip Čerin, who served, among other things, as deputy choirmaster to Theobald Kretschmann in the Slavic Singing Society.³³ After Hubad returned to Ljubljana in 1898, he gave bills to the Glasbena Matica management for further musical education,³⁴ deepening and gaining new contacts,³⁵ and getting an overview of the opera, philharmonic and general music scene in Vienna. Of course, it also included the musical life of the local Slavs and, at its centre, the Slavic Singing Society, which had about 173 active members.

Finally, I would like to return to the beginning of development of Hubad's activities in Vienna. As expected, the society elected Hubad choirmaster at the general meeting held on 28 October 1896.³⁶ It was already a year later (i. e. at the general meeting held on 29 October 1897)³⁷ that a number of significant steps were taken: Hubad's services were recognised with the title of honorary member³⁸ and Leon Bouchal resigned from pres-

32 Budkovič, "Matej Hubad," 51.

33 On 28 October 1895, Buchta resigned as choirmaster due to his poor health; Kretschmann was elected, with Čerin as his deputy. Hubad was elected on 28 October 1896.

34 Solo singing (Forstén), education (Branka), music teaching (Schmitt), musical aesthetics (Robert Hirschfeld), acoustics (Dr. Tuma), history of music (Prossniz), organology (Eugen Mandyczewsky), experimental physics (Leopold Alex. Zellner), as well as education with Johann Nepomuk Fuchs.

35 One of his close friends was the Slovene composer, violinist, teacher and conductor Karel Jeraj (1874–1951).

36 Anon., "Videň," *Dalibor* 18, no. 48 (28 November 1896): 380; Anon., "Videň," *Dalibor* 19, no. 3 (December 12, 1896): 20; Anon., "Zpěvácký spolek slovanský započal nový správní rok ..." *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 14, October 31, 1896, 3.

37 Anon., "Zpěvácký spolek slovanský," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 15, October 23, 1897, 2; Anon., "Zpěvácký spolek slovanský," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 15, November 6, 1897, 2; Anon., "Videň," *Dalibor* 20, no. 1–2 (13 November 1897): 10.

38 Another honorary member was Radoslav Pukl, former vice-president of the society.

idency and was immediately elected honorary chairman. After Bouchal, who put the society in debt, the Slovene Slavist Matija Murko (1861–1952) was elected president. As the management of the Slavic singing society was in Slovene hands, Hubad began to implement his reform.

7 December 1896, *Ronacher*³⁹

For his premiere, Hubad prepared a programme of mainly compositions by Slavic authors accompanied by an orchestra (the band of the 4th Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment led by Jan Pavlis). Many prominent personalities were present, and Anton Nedved's *Popotnikova pesem/Der Wanderer* was performed from the Slovene repertoire. At the friendly evening held after the concert, Hubad received a laurel wreath from the society.

14 January (? 26 January) 1897, *Ronacher*

The Viennese-Serbian society Zora organised an event (St. Sava-Konzert) to commemorate the Sarajevo Metropolitan Djordje/Georgije Nikolajević (1807–1896), who had died in February of the previous year. The Slavic Singing Society, conducted by Hubad, appeared as a guest ensemble.

7 May 1897, *Musikverein*⁴⁰

Less than half a year later, Hubad again prepared a concert with an orchestra (the band led by Eduard Strauss, Imperial and Royal Director of Court Ball Music). From the rich programme (dominated by Dvořák's cantata *Stabat mater*) with excellent performers, I have only selected Hubad's harmonisations: he arranged Moniuszko's *Stoneczko* for a cappella choir, the *Illyrian National Song* (with the incipit *Sem slovenska deklica*) and the Slovene national song *Rožmarin*. It was also reported on by the German-Viennese press.⁴¹

39 Anon., "Zpěvácký spolek slovanský," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 14, December 12, 1896, 3; Anon., "Zpěvácký spolek slovanský," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 14, December 5, 1896, 2; Břetislav Lvovský, "Slavische Concerte in Wien," *Österreichische Musik- und Theaterzeitung* 9, no. 8 (15 December 1896 – Beilage): 17.

40 "Concert programme," *Zpěvácký spolek slovanský* (A543-2); Anon., "Videň," *Dalibor* 19, no. 21–22 (3 April 1897): 162; Anon., "Videň," *Dalibor* 19, no. 26 (8 May 1897): 200; Anon., "Videň," *Věstník Jednoty zpěváckých spolků českoslovanských*, no. 3, 1897, 42–3.

41 Anon., "Velký koncert zpěváckého spolku slovanského ve Vídni," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 15, May 15, 1897, 1 (including a list of names of fa-

Interestingly, Dvořák's cantata was originally to be performed by united Slavic choirs in Vienna in the autumn of 1896. However, the Slavic Singing Society only wanted to unite the other choirs under its own banner, which provoked the choirs' indignation.⁴²

*19 June 1897, Strasser's garden restaurant in Pötzleinsdorf*⁴³

The performance during the summer dance event was conducted by Hubad's deputy Jan Macák. Hubad's *Slovene National Songs* were presented from the Slovene repertoire. Some accompaniments were performed by Kamil Krofta (1876–1945), a later Czechoslovak ambassador in Vienna and minister.

*6 November 1897, U zlatého kříže*⁴⁴

Another performance conducted by Hubad was the one connected with the celebration of the name day of Leon Bouchal, the outgoing president of the society. Once again, songs connected with Hubad were performed: *Stoji tam lipica – Rožmarin – Majnikova* and *Słoneczko*.

*11 December 1897, Hotel Continental*⁴⁵

The attraction was Dvořák's *Te Deum*, which was performed for the first time in Europe that day! On the same concert also his *Dumkas* had their first performance time in Vienna! Hubad's conducting was very well received by the critics. On the other hand, the reporter-critic Břetislav Lvo-vský gave a negative review: he criticised the Slovene choir piece *Ljubica*,

mous music critics: Eduard Hanslick/*Neue Freie Presse*, Richard Heuberger/*Wiener Tagblatt*, Robert Hirschfeld/*Wiener Zeitung*).

42 Ota Manoušek, "Dějiny pěveckého spolku Lumír ve Vídni," in *70 let Lumíru ve Vídni* (Videň: Lumír, 1935), 59; Rudolf Jeníček, "Padesát let slovanského zpěváckého spolku," *Hudební revue* 5, no. 5–6 (March 1912, 1911/1912): 273–6; *Výroční zpráva zpěváckého spolku "Lumír" ve Vídni za správní rok 1897. XXXII. ročník. Přednesena na valné hromadě dne 21. března 1898* (Videň: Lumír, 1898), 6; Anon., "Zpěvácký spolek slovanský," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 15, April 3, 1897, 2; "Concert programme," *Zpěvácký spolek slovanský* (A543-2).

43 Anon., "Videň," *Dalibor* 19, no. 37–38 (10 July 1897): 293; Anon., "Zpěvácký spolek slovanský," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 15, June 26, 1897, suppl. 1.

44 "Concert programme," *Zpěvácký spolek slovanský* (A543-2).

45 *Ibid.*; Ota Manoušek, *Antonín Dvořák a Videň. K 100. výročí narozenin* (Videň: O. Manoušek, 1941), 15; Anon., "Videň – Zpěvácký spolek slovanský," *Dalibor* 20, no. 6–7 (11 December 1897): 48; Anon., "Videň," *Dalibor* 20, no. 8–9 (18 December 1897): 65; Anon., "Videň," *Věstník Jednoty zpěváckých spolků českoslovanských*,

given to the society by A. Förster, for being too long.⁴⁶ He also criticized Antonín Dvořák's compositions, considering *Dumkas* as banal and sentimental and the performance as mediocre. *Te Deum* received better evaluation, but even the good performance did not change the fact that it was an "eine wahre Caricatur der Kirchenmusik" (a true caricature of church music). The orchestral part was again played by the band of the 4th Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment with the bandmaster Pavlis.

31 March 1898, *Ronacher*⁴⁷

The magnet of the second concert (concert-beseda) of the season was Fibich's *The Romance of Spring*. The society again performed in some parts, accompanied by an orchestra (the band of the 4th Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment with the bandmaster Pavlis). The performance conducted by Hubad was again a success.

How can Hubad's second period in Vienna be assessed? Apart from his studies, he apparently focused on his activities in the Slavic Singing Society. He often conducted his compositions there and was a popular choir-master. He passed the choir on to his successor, Jaromír Herle, in excellent form. He deepened his relations with A. Dvořák⁴⁸ and enjoyed the favour of the Viennese critics. In April 1897, Hubad was one of the many attendees at the funeral of Johannes Brahms.⁴⁹ Hubad also used his stay in Vienna to travel around Europe (Prague, Munich, Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin, Warsaw and Krakow), as well as to make contacts and get an overview. The

no. 7, 1897, 131; Anon., "Zpěvácký spolek slovanský," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 15, November 20, 1897, 2; Anon., "Zpěvácký spolek slovanský," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 15, November 27, 1897, 2; Anon., "Zpěvácký spolek slovanský," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 15, December 4, 1897, 2; Anon., "Slovo o kapelách vojenských," *Věstník. Časopis spolků česko-slovanských ve Vídni* 15, December 18, 1897, 1.

46 Břetislav Lvovský, "Der slavische Gesangverein," *Österreichische Musik- und Theaterzeitung* 10, no. 8 (15 December 1897): 6.

47 Anon., "Videň," *Věstník Jednoty zpěváckých spolků českoslovanských*, no. 2, 1898, 131; Anon., "Videň," *Dalibor* 20, no. 22 (26 March 1898): 168; Anon., "Videň," *Dalibor* 20, no. 23 (2 April 1898): 1781; "Concert programme," *Zpěvácký spolek slovanský* (A543-2).

48 Glasbena Matica appointed Antonín Dvořák an honorary member on 15 April 1896. Another important Czech composer so honoured was Vítězslav Novák (16 April 1928).

49 Anon., "Brahms' Leichenbegängnis," *Neue Freie Presse (Morgenblatt)*, April 7, 1897, 6.

sources available mention Hubad's correspondence with A. A. Buchta, but it has not yet been found.⁵⁰

Return to Ljubljana (from September 1898)

Even after Hubad's departure from Vienna back to Ljubljana, his name did not disappear from Slavic Vienna. He was most often remembered by the Slavic Singing Society with performances of his compositions and harmonisations.

15 December 1898, Slavic Singing Society: dance event (U Zelené brány)

Hubad: *Rožmarin* – mixed choir

7 March 1900, Slovenija and other Slavic societies: gala concert on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Slovene poet France Prešeren (Ronacher)

Hubad: *Rožmarin* – mixed choir (Slavic Singing Society)

Hubad: *Sem slovenska deklica* (Slavic Singing Society)

21 March 1900, Slavic Singing Society: 2nd Statutory Concert (Ronacher)

Moniuszko-Hubad: *Słoneczko* – mixed choir

8 March 1902, Slavic Singing Society: gala concert to celebrate 40 years of activity (Musikverein)

Hubad: *Luna sije – Bratci veseli vsi* – mixed choirs

4 December 1902, Slavic Singing Society: concert (Ronacher)

Hubad: *Rožmarin* – mixed choir

4 March 1903, Balkan (a Bulgarian society in Vienna): academy (Ronacher)

Hubad: *Rožmarin* – mixed choir (Slavic Singing Society)

3 June 1903, Slavic Singing Society: summer dance event

Hubad: *Luna sije* – mixed choir

Hubad: *Ljubca povej* – mixed choir

15 May 1907, Slavic Singing Society: outing

Hubad: *Luna sije* – mixed choir

Hubad: *Ljubca povej* – mixed choir

50 Rudolf Jeníček, "Úryvky z kroniky české hudby ve Vídni," in *Ze staré a nové Vídne. Ročenka Vídeňské matice za 1912*, ed. František Váhala (Vídne: Nákladem Vídeňské matice, 1913), 38–48.

5 December 1907, *Slavic Singing Society: First Big Statutory Concert (Savoy)*

Hubad: *Luna sije* – mixed choir

Hubad: *Ljubca povej* – mixed choir

26 March 1908, *Slavic Singing Society: Second Ordinary (Lenten) Concert (Savoy)*

Jakob Aljaž: *Oj z Bogom, ti planinski svet* – Slovene mixed choir

8 May 1909, *Záboj: celebration of the 40th anniversary of the society (Prater)*

Hubad: *Luna sije*

13 March 1912, *Slavic Singing Society: concert for the 50th anniversary (Beethoven-Saal, Strauchgasse 4)*

Krek Gojmir: *Bratje, v kolo se vstopimo* – Slovene male choir

Oscar Dev: *Tihi veter od morja* – Slovene male choir

Moniuszko-Hubad: *Słoneczko* – mixed choir

Vienna for the Third Time (1928), or instead of a conclusion

This headline should be taken with a pinch of salt. I am not a specialist in the “life and work” of M. Hubad, so I am not able to list all Hubad’s other trips to Vienna and their contents. However, in my research, I came across one of them. It is similar to the famous one from March 1896: on its concert tour, the Glasbena Matica choir performed in several cities and towns in Czechoslovakia (Budweis, Pilsen, Pisek, Prague, Olomouc, Brno, Ostrava, Bratislava) and on 30 April 1928 at Musikverein. This visit was in the centre of attention of the Viennese Slavs, with numerous reports being brought by the newspaper *Videňský obdeník*,⁵¹ among other things, about the welcome at the station;⁵² there is also a review of the performance⁵³ and a mention of collaboration with the society of Viennese Slovenes.⁵⁴

An interesting topic, which this study has only hinted at, is the comprehensive research into Hubad’s contacts with the Czech environment. This would include, among other things, his efforts associated with the year

51 Anon., “Slovinský kroužek ve Vídni,” *Videňský obdeník* 22, April 17, 1928, 1; Anon., “Glasbena Matica,” *Videňský obdeník* 22, April 19, 1928, 2–3; Anon., “Glasbena Matica ve Vídni,” *Videňský obdeník* 22, April 28, 1928, 2.

52 Anon., “Uvítání Glasbené Matice ve Vídni,” *Videňský obdeník* 22, May 1, 1928, 5.

53 –mb– [Milan Bor], “Koncert Glasbené Matice,” *Videňský obdeník* 22, May 5, 1928, 2.

54 Slovinski krožek na Dunaju / Slovenski krožek na Dunaju (the society was presided by Andrej Gabršček).

1908: at that time Glasbena Matica founded its own philharmonic orchestra (Ljubljana Concert Orchestra, Ljubljana Philharmonic, Slovene Philharmonic), and Hubad sought good and experienced musicians in Prague and Vienna. The first conductor was Václav Talich (1908–1910). It would also be interesting to trace the fates of other Slovenes in the Slavic Singing Society who started out as regular singers but eventually rose to become, for example, deputy choirmasters.⁵⁵

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55 Hubad's student Beno/Benno Serajnik successively served as vice-president and choirmaster (1907, 1908). Apart from singing, he also performed as a violinist and was active in the Slovanská beseda society. Baritone Ivan Žirovnik was repeatedly elected to the society's committee around 1900, was a member of the society's vocal quartet, and in 1904 received the JUDr. degree. In 1907 he briefly served as assistant choirmaster.

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Visits of Vienna choral societies to Sarajevo – an occasion for redefining local societies’ concert activity in the late 19th century?

Lana Šehović
University of Sarajevo

Introductory remarks about the circumstances of Sarajevo musical life in the late 19th century

Sarajevo musical life at the turn of the century was shaped by socio-political changes that included the change of political powers – the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the Bosnian soil. After more than four centuries of the Ottoman administration (1463–1878), Bosnia and Herzegovina was occupied by Austro-Hungary, which would stay there for 40 years (1878–1918). The change of authorities led to a complete transfiguration of the political, social and cultural circumstances, which implied the shift from the *Timar* feudal system and Oriental cultural values to the absolutist system of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹ In daily practice, it meant that Bosnia and Herzegovina, where many buildings, mosques, bridges and other significant architectural monuments of the Ottoman culture, was to turn toward social and cultural trends promoted by Vienna and Budapest. In the contexts of musical life, the departure of Ottomans and the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian occupation initiated by the decision of the 25th Congress of Berlin meant that the musical life of Sarajevo, which previously relied upon the Bosnian and Herzegovinian folk music (*sevdalin-ka*), Turkish military bands *mehterhanas*, and the shadow theatre (*karadžoz*)

1 Noel Malcom, *Bosna: kratka povijest* (Sarajevo: Buybook, 2011), 120–1.

would be transformed in line with musical trends of the other members of the Empire.²

For Bosnia and Herzegovina, and for Sarajevo as its center, Austro-Hungarian occupation meant opening to “new” political and socio-cultural trends. As the “youngest” member of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bosnia and Herzegovina was supposed to become an example of the civilizational mission led by the Minister of Finance Benjamin von Kállay.³ Local population was supposed to be enlightened and attracted to contemporary achievements, then turned towards the model of national unity – instead of the idea of forming national identities of the three ethnic groups, which was to be followed by work on raising the economic standard of the entire Bosnian and Herzegovinian society.⁴ In so broadly conceived conception of modeling Bosnia and Herzegovina, the decisive role was assigned to settlers, whom the administrative system considered suitable and competent for implementing the far-reaching set goals.⁵

The changes in the cultural life resulted from the settlement of a large number of foreigners, clerks of the Austro-Hungarian administration and experts of various profiles. Conditioned by the settlers’ needs, the cultural life developed in line with the general trends of the centers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.⁶ Happenings and innovations in the culture and

- 2 Ottoman rule left significant traces in the practice of Bosnian and Herzegovinian traditional music. Its influence was decisive in the development of instrumental, spiritual and urban musical practice. It particularly pertained to some of the aerophone and chordophone instruments (e.g. long-necked lute, popularly known under the name of *tambura*), wedding songs and urban music tradition – *sevdalinka*. Tamara Karača Beljak and Jasmina Talam, “Ottoman Influence on Folk Music Tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *Musicological Annual*, no. 1 (2009): 117–27.
- 3 In his youth, Benjamin von Kállay (Budapest, 1839 – Vienna, 1903) expressed an interest in politics, particularly in the so-called Eastern Question. He acted as the Austro-Hungarian consul in Belgrade, and in 1872 he travelled to Bosnia and Herzegovina and became familiar with local features and political conditions. In 1877, he wrote a work entitled *Historija Srba (History of Serbs)*, which was published in Hungarian and German a year later. A significant date in his political career is 4 June 1882, when he was appointed Austro-Hungarian Minister of Finance and administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He remained on these positions until he died. Robert Donia, *Sarajevo: biografija grada* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2006), 84–5.
- 4 Sarita Vujković, *U građanskom ogledalu. Identiteti žena bosanskohercegovačke građanske kulture 1878–1941* (Banja Luka: Muzej savremene umjetnosti Republike Srpske, 2009), 19.
- 5 Donia, *Sarajevo: biografija grada*, 87; Iljas Hadžibegović, *Postanak radničke klase u Bosni i Hercegovini i njen razvoj do 1914. godine* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980), 117–8.
- 6 Lana Pačuka, “Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Sarajevo, 2014), 271.

and music, spurred by the settlement of foreigners of various professions, ethnicities and customs, were most manifested in Sarajevo, the administrative center of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Photo 1: Sarajevo during Austro-Hungarian administration. Street scene at the Sebilj fountain, 1909.⁷

Implementation of “new” musical trends on the local soil: international choral societies

Socio-cultural novelties that accompanied the arrival of Austro-Hungary in Bosnia and Herzegovina included the idea of association and formation

⁷ Anon., “Sarajevo – Čaršija,” *Europeana*, University of Graz, Austria, https://www.europeana.eu/item/09403/o_vase_2136_CHO.

of societies. The idea emerged as early as in the first years of the occupation and was initiated exclusively by settlers and officers of the regime. The first societies were of an international character, and consisted of settlers from all parts of the Empire, who strove to enrich their social life and design their spare time. Thus, the first Sarajevo international societies included the “Vatrogasno dobrotvorno društvo (Firemen’s charitable society)” (1880), “Činovnički kasino (Officers’ Casino)” (1883), “Gospojinsko društvo (Ladies’ Society)” (1885), as well as “Männergesangverein” (1887), which was extremely important for the musical life.⁸

International societies were also the only way of associating that was approved by the administration, due to the concern that public gathering would lead to the national revival in the circles of Bosnian and Herzegovinian society. Sensing what consequences the uncontrolled association could have for the system as early in September of 1878, the supreme military commander Filipović issued a public order that no association was allowed to be formed without his permission.⁹ Since there had been no relevant and ordered law on association for a long time, it completely depended on the will and discretion of the authorities, who imposed a series of measures and prerequisites which had to be fulfilled before obtaining the official authorization.¹⁰ There was also the inavoidable censorship, which prevented public appearances which were not in line with the prescribed rules. In this way the regime managed to exert the full control over the operation of societies.

This and similar attitudes resulted in few formed societies in the first decade of Austro-Hungarian presence, and the societies were established only by officers and public servants. In line with their political visions,

8 Paćuka, “Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918),” 271.

9 Todor Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom 1878–1918* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1960), 411.

10 Accurate instructions and legal measures were made public only in 1910, by means of the *Law on Constitutional Regulations for Bosnia and Herzegovina*. A separate chapter of this law dealt with societies. It was entitled *Law on Societies for Bosnia and Herzegovina* and it clearly listed provisions pursuant to which a society could get a permit for its operation. Pursuant to the enacted law, any intention of forming a society had to be justified in writing and submitted to the Provincial government, and if a society should get a permit it was bound to adhere to a large number of rules and regulations. One of them provided that the authorities had the right to send their representatives to all the significant social events (assemblies, meetings, parties, performances and others), who were allowed to control and review all the social documents if necessary. Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, “Zakon o ustavnim uredbama za Bosnu i Hercegovinu,” 1910, p. 51.

the authorities supported and offered as a model only the associations focused on nourishing socializing and entertainment, without any tinges of political or national intentions. The described decisions made the musical societies one of the most acceptable forms of association, though under the condition that they should be deprived of national and political connotations. Moreover, these societies soon became a core around which the entire networks of cultural-educational and support associations were formed. In the other hand, authorities recognized culture and music as tools for assimilating Bosnia and Herzegovina into the political, social and cultural values tailor-made by the Empire. A lot of effort was invested into the establishment of international choral societies, with the hope that they would smooth things out and divert attention from actual socio-political problems.¹¹

About the first Sarajevo international choral society: “Männergesangverein”

“Männergesangverein” was the first society, and generally a musical society established in Sarajevo during the Austro-Hungarian occupation. During the 31 years of its existence, this society was one of the most serious and the most professional musical associations active on the musical stage of Sarajevo of the time. Formed as a typical offshoot of the culture transferred from European centers to Bosnia and Herzegovina, it nourished choral singing after the model of the musical culture of Europe of the 19th and early 20th century, from its very beginnings.¹²

The story of “Männergesangverein” began in 1886, when a group of public servants from the ranks of soldiers, officers, architects, printers, railway workers, doctors, professors and lawyers decided to establish a choral society aimed at socializing and nourishing nice singing. In doing so, they strove to avoid national divisions by including German, Serbo-Croatian and Slav songs in their repertoire.¹³ Guided by these thoughts and ide-

11 Paćuka, “Mužički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918),” 93–6.

12 Lana Paćuka, “Josip Vancaš – arhitekt koji je gradio mužički život Sarajeva s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća,” in *Zbornik radova u čast 120 godina rođenja prvog bosanskohercegovačkog etnomuzikologa fra dr. Branka Marića*, ed. Jasmina Talam and Tamara Karača Beljak (Sarajevo-Mostar: Institut za muzikologiju, Mužička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Hercegovačko-franjevačka provincija, 2016), 44–5.

13 Anon., “Pjevačko društvo (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 20 (20 February 1887): 2.

Stellung	Name
Sprengmeister	Josip Bauer
Komplex-Verwalter	Wolfgang Christmann
Professoren	Karollos Cijeticanin
Universitätslehrer	Miloslav Conradak
Fremdenrat	Wolfgang v. Felbinger
Professoren	Emil Fux
Lehrer	Anton Fritsch
Lehrer	Viktor Fatta
Professoren	Nikolaus Fusic
Lehrer	Alfred Faber
Kassier	Johann v. Hochmayer
Schriftführer	Klaudio Hascha

Photo 2: Directory of the first members of Männergesangverein. Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fond Društva.

as, a few music fans decided to compose an interim working committee consisting of Klaudio Hascha, Hochmayer, Josip pl. Vancaš, Hans Niemeček and Ivan V. Popović.¹⁴ The committee headed by the secretary of the directorate of Bosnia and Herzegovina railways Klaudio Hascha¹⁵ submitted the draft of the statute to the Provincial Government as early as on 22 November 1886,¹⁶ which reveals that the intention to form the society was backed by 33 signed members, mostly Hungarians, Czechs, Germans, Austrians and Croats and Serbs who drew their origin from other parts of the Empire.¹⁷ They waited for the response by the government for two – two and

14 Anon., "Pjevačko društvo u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik)," *Sarajevski list*, no. 134 (14 November 1886): 3.

15 Božidar Širola, *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike* (Zagreb: Edition Pirop, 1922), 219.

16 Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fond Društva.

17 Ibid.

a half months, and on 18 February 1887 the approval for the beginning of the operation of the society arrived.¹⁸

The first printed statute of the society appeared in public in the early 1887,¹⁹ while the assembly of the society, where the management board was appointed, took place on 14 April 1887.²⁰ Members of “Männergesangverein” did not delay the organization of the first inauguration festivity, which took place about ten days after the first assembly. The festivity, which was organized on 23 April 1887, was a significant social event, while the program was composed of seven choral compositions by Vaclav Horejšek, Ivan pl. Zajc and Ferdo Rusan. They were performed by a men’s chorus consisted of 30 singers, and the program was supplemented by the *Concerto* for violin by Charles August de Bériot, performed by a violinist and court clerk Sandecki from Zenica.²¹

From its very beginnings, “Männergesangverein” had a well-elaborated system of interior organization, which distinguished it from other societies of the time. Every year, the number of the members of the society increased, so that from the initial 30, who also acted as founders, assistants and singers, in 1906 the number of members reached as many as 544, 116 out of whom were members of the singing ensemble.²² These were certainly the golden years of “Männergesangverein,” when it was led by the chairman Karlo knight Stefanowski and choirmasters Josip Vančaš and Eduard Heeger. The success did not subside until the beginning of the First World War, when the society, due to unfortunate war events, worked with a decreased intensity and a smaller number of members. It should be noted that this society was one of the first societies in Bosnia and Herzegovina which accepted women, which was certainly not a frequent practice of the time. In 1896, the society also founded a women’s chorus, whose appearances and

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 The board of “Männergesangverein” consisted of: Constantin Hörmann – chairmank, Klaudius Hascha – secretary, Josip pl. Vančaš – 1st choir master, Titus Falta – 2nd choir master, Alf. Ritter von Hruby – treasurer and Karl Racher – archivist. Risto Besarović, ed., *Kultura i umjetnost u Bosni i Hercegovini pod Austrougarskom upravom* (Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine 1968), 577.

21 Anon., “Muško pjevačko društvo (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 47 (27 April 1887): 2–3; Lana Paćuka, “*Muzički život u Sarajevu za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske uprave kroz napise o muzici u Sarajevskom listu*” (MA, University of Sarajevo, 2010), 36.

22 Anon., “B. Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo – Vereine in Sarajevo,” *Bosnischer Bote* X (1906): 318.

participation in social events affected the diversity and richness of the music repertoire.²³

The program orientation of “Männergesangverein” adjusted to the performing abilities of its members, most of whom were professors, doctors, lawyers, military officers, bankers, merchants and employees of the Provincial Government.²⁴ The members’ musical amateurism suited the program orientation and spirit of *Liedertafelstil*, which would mark the work of the society for many years.²⁵ Simple choral compositions, the requirements of which could be satisfied by singing abilities of the members of “Männergesangverein,” were the most frequent repertoire choice over the first years of the society’s activity. These were works by the presently less known or completely forgotten composers such as: Freidrich August Bungert, Robert Fischhof, Christian August Sinding, Eicken, Robert Volkmann, Bernhard Joachim Hagen, who were the backbone of *Liedertafelstil*.²⁶

In general, the society adjusted the style and manner of its work and the selection of program to choral societies from other parts of the Empire – primarily those from Austria and Germany, and maintained friendly relations with them. Thus, the annual reports of “Männergesangverein” reveal that in 1900 the society was in constant interactions with societies M.G.V. “Liedertafel” Berlin, M.G.V. “Liedertafel” Dresden, “Grazer Männer-Gesang-Verein,” and “Wiener Männer-Gesang-Verein.” The successful cooperation between these societies implied the exchange of sheet music, constant correspondence and the organization of visits – which was significant for the musical life of Sarajevo.²⁷

Vienna choral societies’ visits to Sarajevo: an occasion for redefining the work and concert programs of the local choral societies?

Except for the activity of choral societies, the concert segment of Sarajevo musical life in the period of Austro-Hungarian occupation largely de-

23 Širola, *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike*, 219.

24 Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, ZMF, 1900, “Jahresbericht über die Thätigkeit des Vereines im XIII. Bestandesjahre,” no. 2898/1900.

25 Tünde Polomik, “Počeci umetničkog pevanja u Bosni i Hercegovini,” in *Zbornik radova Muzičke akademije u Sarajevu I*, ed. Verunica Zdravko (Sarajevo: Muzička akademija u Sarajevu, 1989), 23.

26 Pačuka, “Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918),” 102.

27 “Jahresbericht über die Thätigkeit des Vereines im XIII. Bestandesjahre.”

pended on visits by foreign musicians. When visiting the Bosnia and Herzegovina capital, the musicians brought a whiff of contemporary musical trends, thus allowing the local audience to get familiar with the repertoire which adorned European concert stages. Although Sarajevo was visited by opera troupes from Milan, Brno, Zagreb, Osijek, Ljubljana, as well as by well-known violinists such as Ondriček brothers or Fritz Kreisler,²⁸ the segment related to the visits by choral societies was at the periphery in terms of quantity. Except for the visits by the Croatian singing society “Kolo” (1904), Dubrovnik singing society “Gundulić” (1909), Belgrade singing society (1910) and Academic singing society “Obilić” (1911), no visits to the Bosnia and Herzegovina capital of a similar nature were noted.²⁹ Explanations for this claim can be sought in the authorities’ restrictive attitude toward any forms of public association. Visits of this type were reserved only for the “chosen” societies of ascertained artistic reputation, which, at least apparently, were not subject to national political connotations.

The rank of the “chosen” primarily included choral societies that arrived from the Austrian part of the Dual Monarchy. The administration presented their work as the ideal model for activity on association, while local choral societies – particularly the international ones – considered them as an opportunity for personal growth and development. Besides, settlers found in them an opportunity for nourishing and deepening ties with their homeland, as well as the possibility to connect with the culture and customs nourished in their home communities. The administration recognized that such form of networking could strengthen the settlers’ influence on the development of musical life and fully approved of this type of visits.

The first choral society whose visit was approved by Austro-Hungarian administration was “Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter” which visited Sarajevo in 1892. The data related to this visit were also noted by the newspaper *Deutsche Kunst - und Musikzeitung*, which reported that the society intended to visit Sarajevo, Mostar, Metković, Split and Pula in the period from 11 to 22 June 1892. A total of 150 singers and 70 support members were registered for the trip, and it was also indicated that their arrival attracted interest by high-ranking Austro-Hungarian officials and Bosnian and Herzegovinian administrative institutions: baron Benja-

28 Anon., “Umjetnik Ondriček u sarajevu (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 30 (15 March 1893): 2; Anon., “Koncert (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 113 (24 September 1893): 2.

29 Paćuka, “Muzički život u Sarajevu za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske uprave kroz napise o muzici u *Sarajevskom listu*,” 70–2.

min von Kallaý, state government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, city councils of Sarajevo and Mostar. Sarajevo “Männergesangverein” offered to be the host, and it was planned that the participants would be accommodated in local hotels. It was also noted that besides concerts in Sarajevo, the society intended to appear in Mostar during their two-day stay there, and then go to Split. The return to Austria was scheduled for 19 June, and to Vienna for 20 June 1892.³⁰ The visit and its progress was also covered in the main Bosnian and Herzegovinian newspaper *Sarajevski list*, which announced the visit of “Vienna singers” as early as in March.³¹ According to this newspaper, the visit to Sarajevo was to take place from 12 to 16 June 1892, and it strove to report on every detail of the visit. It published the complete schedule based on which it can be concluded that the visit consisted of both concerts and a rich plan of socializing which included sightseeing (Bezistan, Čaršija, Husrev-beg’s mosque, coffee shop at Bentbaša, Catholic cathedral, Serbian old and new church, silversmithers’ shops and rug weavers’ shops).

A total of 250 guests arrived from Vienna, around 100 of whom were singers,³² and the plan was that they would tour the city divided into five groups. The main host of the event, Sarajevo “Männergesangverein,” was assisted by the Serbian Orthodox Church Singing society “Sloga” for the organization.³³

The schedule of visit for the first day, 12 June 1892, consisted of the symbolic welcome walk in front of the Provincial Government, a procession through the city accompanied by military orchestra, and then a reception in the Community Center organized by members of “Männergesangverein.”³⁴ Interestingly, the reception in the Community Center and a meeting of joint support members of both societies in the Military Hall took place at the same time, which indicates the intention to form new connections.³⁵ The gatherings were followed by military orchestra, which musically “accompanied” the whole visit of guests from Vienna. It should be

30 Anon., “Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter,” *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung*, no. 14 (10 May 1892): 133.

31 Anon., “Bečki pjevači u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 37 (27 March 1892): 2.

32 Anon., “Pjevači iz Beča (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 69 (8 June 1892): 1.

33 At the moment of the visit by the “Singing society of Vienna railway clerks,” the two societies were the only choral societies in Sarajevo.

34 Anon., “Muško pjevačko društvo u Sarajevu – Svečani raspored,” *Sarajevski list*, no. 70 (10 June 1892): 3.

35 Ibid.

noted that the importance of the visit was supported by correspondents of Vienna newspapers, who arrived in Sarajevo together with the singers.



Photo 3: Wilhelm Steidel: Max Ritter von Weinzierl, choirmaster of “Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter”³⁶

The second day of the visit, 13 June 1892, consisted of a joint breakfast in the well-known city garden restaurant Aschenbrenner, followed by picnics to city picnic sites Vasin han, Da Riva and Kozja Ćuprija. It was the overture to the evening charity concert in the Community Center, where the guests performed with the accompaniment of a military orchestra.³⁷

36 Wien Museum, <https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/471759-max-ritter-von-weinzierl-1841-1898-komponist/>.

37 Ibid.

The concert program comprised a total of ten choral compositions³⁸ which were sung in two parts, with soloist pieces in between. The concert, which ultimately featured 90 singers, began with the choral composition *Pozdrav*, composed by the choirmaster of “Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter,” Max pl. Weinzierl particularly for the visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁹ The press reported that it was a “*lively composition, full of expression, and the singers sang their greeting so thunderously and with such beautiful utterance of each syllable that they captivated us right away.*”⁴⁰ It turned out that the choirmaster’s composition was an excellent overture into the remaining part of the concert program, which delighted the audience and elicited a series of praises for the performance: “*hats off to such singing, singers and the choirmaster! Only Vienna singers can sing so well!*”⁴¹

The third day of the visit, 14 June 1892, passed in socializing at Ilidža and a joint lunch attended by the most important public servants and advisers. The presence of the renowned personalities from social and political life such as the president of the supreme court, government advisor or the city mayor⁴² was the proof that the visit of Vienna singers was not only another event on the musical map of the city. The visit had a multiple value, since the management system in associations such as “Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter” was recognized as an appropriate model for socio-cultural and artistic activity in public. Furthermore, strengthening of ties with both the local settlers’ community and the domicile population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who were only too eager to attend the party at Ilidža, which was visited by over 4000 people on the day of the concert, was a certain route for expanding pro-European influences on the local soil. The image of concord and respect was supplemented by the performance of Sarajevo “Sloga,” who sang compositions by Serbian composers Jovan Paču and Stevan Mokranjac.⁴³

38 The entire program of the concert: “A. M. Storch ‘Ribarska molitva’ accompanied by the piano with solo tenor Mr. H. Hass; R. Schumann ‘Ritornell’; V. Schradler ‘Salem Marijo’; M. pl. Weinzierl ‘Veselo svračanje’; Solo: A. Tomschik (tenor), H. Schütz (baritone); F. Schubert ‘Gondolier’; E. S. Engelsberg ‘Sestra cvijeća i zvijezda’; Nessler ‘Dan se oprostio’; F. Debios ‘Jung Werner’; M. Weinzierl ‘Prolječne čari’.
Anon., “Bečki pjevači u Sarajevu,” *Sarajevski list*, no. 72 (15 June 1892): 1.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 Anon., “Bečki pjevači u Sarajevu,” *Sarajevski list*, no. 73 (17 June 1892): 1.

43 Ibid.

Reporting of *Sarajevski list* confirmed the initial writings in *Deutsche Kunst-und Musikzeitung* about the visit to Mostar, with the remark that the reception of the singers was friendly and accompanied with an immense interest of local administration. The success of the concert in Sarajevo was repeated in Mostar, in the hall of the Hotel “Neretva,” and the audience rewarded the “*masterly singing*” with the enthusiastic applause.⁴⁴

The first foreign visit of a choral society to Sarajevo had positive outcomes for the musical life of local community. The visit sent the message that Austro-Hungarian administration supported the idea of association and public activity, but that they had to be in line with public sentiment and the socio-political views of the Empire. The novelty adopted after the visit of the Vienna society pertained to the organization and networking of societies of a similar orientation and the “pattern” of organization applied in 1892 would begin to be practiced at a local level when organizing joint celebrations or marking significant jubilees (consecration of flag, celebrations in the honor of Tzar Franz Joseph and others).⁴⁵

Although the visit of 1892 represented a distinctive penetration of new information in the contexts of choral societies’ musical practice, musical life did not host any foreign choral society for many years. For this reason, the local choral community, which in the meantime, besides “Männergesangverein” and the Serbian Orthodox church singing society “Sloga,” was expanded by the Croatian singing society “Trebević” (1894) and the Jewish singing society “La Lira” (1901), acted as isolated and turned to itself. Therefore the organization of work almost fell into a rut and relied upon a pattern of activity which implied singing evening (summer, winter, Liedertafel, Carnival and New Year’s), inaugural ceremonies and charity concerts in the cooperation with other local choral, support and cultural-educational societies.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, the evolution of the Sarajevo choral community was monotonous and reduced to the activity of few societies, and as such it could be “woken up” only by a continuous connection with societies from the outside. In this context, the significance was attached to the visit by Vienna-based “Schubertbund,” which took place in the period from 16 to 19 July

44 Anon., “Bečki pjevači,” *Sarajevski list*, no. 74 (19 June 1892): 2.

45 An example is a celebration on the occasion of consecrating the flag of the Croatian choral society “Trebević” in 1900, which was attended by all the significant societies in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Paćuka, “Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918),” 119.

46 *Ibid.*, 105–29.

1905. For local musical conditions, “Schubertbund” was a musical sensation, and the system of organizing the visit of 1892 was used this time as well. The organization of the visit again included the diligent writing of the local and Austrian press, spotless functioning of the organization committee headed by “Männergesangverein,” the visit which included socializing and sightseeing, and then two concerts – a charity one in the Community Center and one at Ilidža.⁴⁷

Members of “Schubertbund” led by social choirmaster Adolf Kirchl, opera singer Antun Moser, soloist Ferdinand Soeser and double bass player Eduard Madenski arrived in Sarajevo by a special train, and were greeted at the station by “Männergesangverein.” President of “Männergesangverein” – mister Grassl warmly welcomed the 148 guests and 12 reporters, and the welcome greetings were also extended by members of Sarajevo choral societies “Trebević”, “La Lira” and “Teachers’ Society.”⁴⁸ The presence of local societies reflected the degree of significance of the visit for the circumstances of Sarajevo musical life, which indicated that the local community was interested in deepening ties with foreign associations, as well as in musical trends promoted by them.

Judging by the writing of the daily *Bosnische Post*, the visit was organized to the smallest detail. After a short tour of the city, a formal banquet was organized in the hall of the Community Center, where members of “Schubertbund”, “Männergesangverein”, support members of the societies and reputable members of political life exchanged impressions of the visit. The long-awaited moment of the second day of the visit was the charity concert organized in the Community Center, adorned by a rich repertoire.⁴⁹

The first concert of “Schubertbund” was characterized by artistic quality which was a novelty for local choral societies. The concert was led by Adolf Kirchl, who successfully guided through the performance the choir, royal opera singer Anton Moser and the concert singer and double bass player Eduard Madenski. The music repertoire consisting of works by Franz Schubert, Ernst Schimid, Eduard Schön (E.S. Engelsberg), Robert Schumann,

47 Anon., “Bečki ‘Schubertbund’ u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 72 (18 June 1905): 3; Anon., “Bečki ‘Schubertbund’ u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 84 (16 July 1905): 2.

48 Anon., “Bečki ‘Schubertbund’ u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 85 (19 July 1905): 2.

49 Anon., “Reise des ‘Schubertbund’ nach Bosnien-Hercegovina,” *Bosnische Post*, no. 135 (14 June 1905): 2.

Friedrich Hegar, Eduard Madenski, and Adolf Kirchl was performed “*masterfully and accurately*”.⁵⁰



Photo 4: Adolf Kirchl, choirmaster of “Schubertbund”⁵¹

The equal attention was drawn by the third day of the visit, 18 July, reserved for socializing and then for the so-called evening “People’s Concert”

- 50 The entire musical program was as follows: “1. Franz Schubert: ‘Gott meine Zuversicht’, Chor mit Klavierbegleitung; 2. Franz Schubert: ‘An den Frühling’, Chor; 3. Franz Schubert: ‘Der Gondelfahrer’, Chor mit Klavier begleitung; Lieder vorträge des Hofopernsängers Herrn Anton Moser, Vereinsmitglied; 4. Rosenkranz: ‘Mein Oesterreich’, ‘Fantasie für Flügelhorn’; 5. Ernst Schmid: ‘Sandmännchen’, volkslied; 6. E. S. Engelsberg: ‘Der Blumen Schwester und der Sterne’, Chor mit Tenorsolo und Klavierbegleitung. Solist: konzertsänger Herr Ferdinand Soeser, Vereinsmitglied; 7. Schumann: ‘Die Rose stand im Tau’, Chor; 8. Friedrich Hegar: ‘Rudolf von Werdenberg,’ Chor; 9. Vorträge des Kontrabassvirtuosen Herr Eduard Madenski, Hofmusiker, Mitglied des Hofopernorchesters, Vereinsmitglied: Ed. Madenski: a) Souvenir, b) Pastorale, c) Hongrois; 10. Adolf Kirchl: ‘Es muss ein wunderbares sein’, fünfstimmiger Chor; 11. E. S. Engelsberg: ‘Die Flucht der liebe’, Chor mit Barytonsolo und Klavierbegleitung (Solo: Hofopernsänger A. Moser, Vereinsmitglied); 12. A. Veit: ‘Käfer und die Blume’, Chor; 13. F. Schubert: ‘Die Nachtigall’, Chor mit Klavierbegleitung am Klavier: Vereinsmitglied Herr Prof. W. Kleincke.” Anon., “Die Konzerte des ‘Schubertbund’ in Sarajevo und Ilidže,” *Bosnische Post*, no. 156 (11 July 1905): 2.
- 51 Andrea Harrandt and Christian Fastl, “Kirchl Adolf,” *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_K/Kirchl_Adolf.xml.

in front of Ilidža spa.⁵² The choice of the repertoire was again at a high artistic level, though adjusted to the open space and a broad circle of the population, mostly laborers. The effectiveness of the event was enhanced by the participation of the military orchestra of the infantry regiment no. 68 conducted by Kapellmeister Josef Nauner. Besides composers Franz Schubert, Friderich Hegar, E. S. Engelsberg, Ernst Schmid, A. Berner, Franz Mair, Richard Wagner, Josef Pommer, Rudolf Wagner, Johann Strauss and Dominik Ertl, the concert program included Eduard Heeger and his *Sarajevoer Männergesangsvereinsmarsch*. The public knew Heeger, who resided in Sarajevo, as an excelling private music teacher, the owner of the renowned piano store in Strossmayerova street, as well as one of the choirmasters of Sarajevo "Männergesangverein". Heeger's composition was performed by the military orchestra, which excelled in the performance of several other pieces received with approval by the audience.⁵³ The repertoire conceived by combining choral items and those played by the military orchestra was supposed to be a sign of joint artistic activity, as well as an indicator of mutual respect. The visit of "Schubertbund" ended in the afternoon of 19 July, when the guests departed for Mostar by train, accompanied by cheers of "Männergesangverein" and citizens of Sarajevo.⁵⁴

Epilogue

Visits of Vienna choral societies, particularly of "Schubertbund," spurred positive changes in the segment of public activity of Sarajevo choral societies. Indeed, visits of "Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter" and "Schubertbund" opened the way to foreign societies – primarily those from the region, which were received in BiH capital according to the same pattern. Still, the greatest benefit for the local musical stage was the fact that after 1905 Sarajevo societies, particularly "Männergesangverein," began to introduce in their repertoire musical creations by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Josef Haydn, Giuseppe Verdi, Richard Wagner, Ruggero Leoncavallo, Giacomo Puccini, Gioachino Rossini, Charles Gounod, Johann Strauss, Léo Delibe, as well as by Ivan pl. Zajc, Davorin Jenko and Srećko

52 Anon., "Reise des 'Schubertbund' nach Bosnien-Herzegovina," 2.

53 The military band performed the following compositions: Richard Wagner *Tonbilder aus dem Musikdrama Die Walküre*; Johannes Strauss/ Josef Neuner *Reminiszenzen aus Strauss Operette Die Fledermaus*; Dominik Ertl *Kinematograph in Tönen, potpourri*. Anon., "Die konzerte das 'Schubertbund' in Sarajevo und Ilidže," *Bosnische Post*, no. 156 (11 July 1905): 2.

54 Anon., "Reise des 'Schubertbund' nach Bosnien-Herzegovina," 2.

Albini besides those typical of *Liedertafelstil*. Furthermore, they began to strive to perform longer pieces such as operettas and oratorios, which is particularly true of the societies “Trebević” and “Männergesangverein.” Thus, it can be claimed that a kind of musical climax in the work of “Männergesangverein,” whose work was the most affected by visits of the “guests from Vienna” included the performances of the spiritual piece *Stabat Mater* (1906) by Gioachino Rossini and *Mass* in C major by Charles Gounod, which the society performed within the celebration of His Majesty Franz Joseph’s birthday.⁵⁵

Finally, it can be summarized that societies such as “Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter” and “Schubertbund” enjoyed a strong support by the top political officials of Austro-Hungarian Bosnia and Herzegovina. For this reason, they were the ideal example of the idea of association, and the local authorities hoped that it would be applied by the local national societies as well. Still, it turned out that repertoire choices of the “guests from Vienna” were far closer to the societies of international character such as “Männergesangverein”, which made a true step ahead to higher-quality and richer musical program after the visits. The other Sarajevo societies, “Sloga”, “Trebević” and “La Lira” mostly continued their established musical practice, based on the composers of their national corpus. However, the positive trace of the visits was reflected in the adopted protocol of the visits, which began to be used during the visit of Croatian choral society “Kolo”, Dubrovnik choral society “Gundulić”, Belgrade choral society and Academic choral society “Obilić”. These societies, as well as many others, began to regularly visit Sarajevo after 1892, including it on their map of singing troupes and ensembles’ tours.

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55 Anon., “Previšnji dan rođenja (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 99 (20 August 1902): 1–2.

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Similarities and differences: comparison of the Ljubljana Glasbena matica and music societies in Zagreb (Croatia): *Hrvatski glazbeni zavod* [the Croatian Music Institute] and *Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo* “*Kolo*” [the Croatian Singing Society “Kolo”]

Nada Bezić
Hrvaški glazbeni zavod
Croatian Music Institute

The comparison of the three music societies from two cities and (today) two different countries – Slovenia and Croatia – gives us the opportunity to find basic common segments of their activities and learn something about the musical life in Ljubljana and Zagreb in general. All three societies fit into the trends of their historical periods respectively, above all regarding activities of similar music societies, distinction being in the incomparably greater development and importance. Although the main topic of the 36th *Slovenski glazbeni dnevi* symposium was *Musical societies in the long 19th century*, this research also covers two later periods in history: the years following the Second World War and the situation today. This paper is an outline for the comparison of the Glasbena matica, the Croatian Music Institute and the Croatian Singing Society “Kolo”, main topics being: the basic information, the foundation, the name, the activities, the members, the patrons, and the buildings.

Basic information

Croatian Music Institute (CMI) (*Hrvatski glazbeni zavod*) – Founded in Zagreb in 1827 as a society of friends of music, Croatian Music Institute is today the oldest cultural institution in Croatia. It has laid the foundation for several basic segments of the musical life of Zagreb – concert organization, music education and music publishing. In addition, it owns one of the

oldest and most important music libraries in Croatia.¹ The Croatian Music Institute managed to survive as independent citizens' association during three wars and eight states.² The biggest danger for its existence was in 1945, when the socialist government of the new state of Yugoslavia banned activities of many bourgeois societies, especially if those societies were in possession of valuable properties, i. e. buildings. After only a few months of uncertainty, in autumn of 1945, the Croatian Music Institute got the permission to continue with its activities. Most recently, another big challenge appeared: the consequences of the earthquake that hit Zagreb on March 22, 2020, which made great damage to the Institute's building. Since 2021, the Croatian Music Institute ceased with almost any activity, and the building is put under reconstruction, thanks to the funds of the European Union.

Croatian Singing Society "Kolo" (Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo "Kolo") – The most important and the most famous Croatian singing society was "Kolo", founded in Zagreb in 1862. It was among the first singing societies in Croatia³ and had been active for more than 80 years. It became one of the basic factors of the musical life in Zagreb. Besides the concert activities of the "Kolo" choir in Croatia and abroad, the Society published music and built its home in Zagreb. After the Second World War "Kolo" had the same existential problems like the Croatian Music Institute, and in 1948 lost everything: the government completely stopped its activity and nationalized the property, not only the building, but also its valuable library and documentation.⁴

Glasbena matica Ljubljana (GM) – Founded in Ljubljana in 1872, the Glasbena matica achieved great merits for the music and culture in Slovenia, especially because of its choir, the conservatory, the Folklore Institute

1 On the history of the Croatian Music Institute see: Ladislav Šaban, *150 godina Hrvatskog glazbenog zavoda* (Zagreb: Hrvatski glazbeni zavod, 1982), with a summary in German; Marcel Bačić, ed., *Hrvatski glazbeni zavod: 1827–2002* (Zagreb: Hrvatski glazbeni zavod, 2003).

2 The three wars: WWI, WWII and the Croatian Homeland War (1991–1995); the eight states: the Habsburg Monarchy, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs; the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; the Kingdom of Yugoslavia; the Independent State of Croatia, the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia.

3 The most important among the first singing societies was "Zora", founded in Karlovac in 1858.

4 On the history of the "Kolo" see: Nada Bezić, "Singing as a way of life," *Cantus*, English issue (April 2003): 64–7; Ivana Klajzner, "'Rasuta baščina': slučaj Hrvatskog pjevačkog društva 'Kolo,'" *Arti musices* 51, no. 1 (2020): 83–94, <https://hrcak.srce.hr/241696>.

and the published editions of Slovenian music. After 1945, the destiny of the Glasbena matica was different from the two previously mentioned music societies: in 1946 the Yugoslav government nationalized the property of the Glasbena matica, but allowed a part of its former activity, namely, the choir. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991, the Glasbena matica was revived after 1998. The Society managed to take advantage of the benefits arising in the new political circumstances in the Republic of Slovenia: the Glasbena matica has reacquired its buildings, as a financial basis for the future of the Society.

Foundation

In the nineteenth century, both Zagreb and Ljubljana were small provincial towns of the Habsburg Monarchy. In 1827 Zagreb had some 10.000 inhabitants; it was a town which had neither music school nor an opera house – to mention some basic elements of the musical life. By the time Croatian Singing Society “Kolo” was founded (1862), Zagreb almost doubled its population (18,000 inhabitants), and there was a music school. The Zagreb Opera House was soon to be founded (1870). Ten years later, at the time the Glasbena matica was founded (1872), Ljubljana had 23,000 inhabitants and there was a music school of the Philharmonic Society (established in 1820).

CMI – The appearance of the Croatian Music Institute in 1827 was a segment of an overall trend of music societies’ foundation in this part of Europe. The first one, the *Philharmonische Gesellschaft* (the Philharmonic Society), had already been founded in Ljubljana at the end of the 18th century (in 1794), well before the emergence of similar societies in Vienna (1812) and Graz (1815). As for music societies in Croatia, they started up in the first half of the nineteenth century in the continental part of Croatia. The oldest one was the *Musikverein* in Križevci (a little town situated north-east from Zagreb), founded in 1813, fourteen years earlier than the one in Zagreb. In that time, the following was the political situation: within the Habsburg Monarchy, Croatia and Slovenia, in the sense we know them today, did not exist as sovereign states. They were just parts of the Habsburg Monarchy. The Croatian lands were fragmented, and were named Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. The unification of Croatia will not become a political topic until the national revival of the 1840s.

It is interesting that the first rules of the Croatian Music Institute in 1827 were written by an honorary member of the Philharmonic Society, Georg Kar Wisner von Morgenstern (1783–1855), a German, who was at that

time the leading musician in Zagreb. He was also a good lawyer and was familiar with the statute of the Philharmonic Society.⁵

“Kolo” – The Croatian Singing Society “Kolo” was founded in 1862, 35 years after the Croatian Music Institute, in other political circumstances. Even today, some historians claim that the main reason for the foundation of the “Kolo” was a reaction to the policy of the *Musikverein* (the Croatian Music Institute), where German language was in use in the music school, and German music was dominant. Those were the times of intensive Germanisation in Croatia. The decade 1850–1860 in Croatia was marked by the administration of Alexander Bach, who was then the Austrian Minister of internal affairs (so-called “neo-absolutism”, in the Croatian history referred to as “Bach’s absolutism”). After the year 1860, the political and cultural life in Croatia was revived, and many singing societies were founded. The majority of singing societies from different parts of Croatia would in 1875 unite into the Croatian Singing Association (*Hrvatski pjevački savez*).

GM – In 1867, Austria and Hungary divided the empire. Since then, Zagreb, like other places in continental Croatia, belonged to the Hungarian part, while Ljubljana as a town in Slovenia, belonged to the Austrian part, together with, interestingly, the Croatian coastal province Dalmatia. Slovenia was in similar position as Croatia regarding Germanisation. The Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana was German-oriented and didn’t nurture Slovenian music, so the Glasbena matica took the opposite side, fighting for the national Slovenian culture. It was the role similar to the one of the “Kolo” in Croatia, but with an important difference: the other music society in Zagreb, the Croatian Music Institute, was not German-oriented, although it was often accused of it.

Name

CMI – The second criterion of comparison is the name of the society, from which we can draw some interesting conclusions. In 1827, when the stand-

5 I have done research on the history of the Croatian Music Institute compared to the Philharmonic Society: Nada Bezić, “Hrvaški glasbeni zavod v Zagrebu in Filharmonična družba v Ljubljani – primerjava in kontakti,” in *Ob 300. obletnici ustanovitve Academiae philharmonicorum labacensium in 100. obletnici rojstva skladatelja Blaža Arniča (Slovenski glasbeni dnevi)*, ed. Primož Kuret (Ljubljana: Festival, 2001), 75–82; and research on Glasbena matica and Croatian Music Institute conservatories: Nada Bezić, “Konservatorij Hrvaškega glasbenega zavoda v Zagrebu in konservatorij Glasbene matice v Ljubljani – primerjava,” in *Konservatoriji: profesionalizacija in specializacija glasbenega dela*, ed. Jernej Weiss (Koper, Ljubljana: Založba Univerze na Primorskem, Festival, 2020), 355–68.

ard Croatian literary language did not yet exist, the official name of the Croatian Music Institute in the documents was in Latin: *Societas filharmonica zagradiensis*. But in everyday communication, as well as on the seal, there was, of course, a German name: *Musikverein in Agram* (the Music Society in Zagreb). After the national revival movement, the Croatian language became official, and in 1847 the Music Society changed its name to Zagreb Harmony Society (*Skladnoglasja društvo zagrebačko*), soon to be renamed to Society of Friends of Music in Zagreb (*Društvo prijateljah muzike u Zagrebu*). When the state finally approved some regular amount of financial support to the Society (that is, to give payment for the music school), it insisted on changing the name of the Society to the institute (*Narodni zemaljski glasbeni zavod*). This has started a confusion, which lasts to the present day, since the word institute (in Croatian: *zavod*) always refers to an institution of the city or the state. But, in fact, the Croatian Music Institute has remained a society until today.

Latin has been included in the combination of languages in yet another way. In 1876, when the building with a concert hall was erected, the Directorship of the Croatian Music Institute decided to dedicate the building “to the art of music,” which is written in Latin on the facade: *Arti musices*. There was a discussion in the press about that, and many people complained that the Croatian Music Institute made this decision being a non-national institution. But the inscription in Latin has nevertheless remained to the present day. In 1895, there was a great change regarding the name – the new leadership of the Institute and the music school officially changed the name in which the word “Croatian” (*hrvatski*) was used for the first time (*Hrvatski zemaljski glasbeni zavod*). Basically, the reason was that students from all over Croatia came to study in the music school, as well as from neighbouring countries, such as Slovenia, and even others in the region, all the way to Bulgaria.

All of these changes in the Croatian Music Institute took place during most of the nineteenth century. The other two music societies were founded in different times, regarding language issue. The Croatian language finally became the official language in Croatia in 1847, and two years later Slovenian language was declared official in Slovenia. This, of course, was reflected in the names of the societies in question.

“*Kolo*” – At the time when the “*Kolo*” was founded (1862), singing societies mostly had the adjective “Croatian” at the beginning of their names. There were other societies named “*Kolo*”, for example the Singing Socie-

ty “Kolo” (*Pjevačko društvo ‘Kolo’*) in Šibenik, a city on the Croatian coast. After the Second World War, the folklore ensemble in Belgrade, which still operates today, was named “Kolo” (*Ansambl pesama i narodnih igara Srbije ‘Kolo’*). The word *kolo* means wheel, and in a broader sense a circle-shaped object that rotates around an axis. It is more important, however, that *kolo* is one of the basic dances, not only among Croats, but also in general, a group dance in a circle, which here symbolizes unity. Due to the use of this word associated with folk music, it was a particularly apt name for a singing society that openly advocated for national Croatian interests.

GM –The society *Glasbena matica* has no English translation. In the first statute, the second word was written with a capital letter (*Matica*), analogous to the rules of the German language. Let us dwell briefly on the word *matica*, which means the same in Slovenian and Croatian: cultural society or organization. The root of the word is mother (*mati*). In the national revival, in 1842, a cultural society *Matica hrvatska* was founded in Zagreb.⁶ Some twenty years later (in 1864), the *Slovenska matica* was founded in Ljubljana. It still exists today, and is engaged primarily in publishing books.

There are other meanings of *matica* in both languages, i. e. in mechanical engineering it means a hollow roller with internal threads (nut); in zoology of social insects (bees, wasps, ants) it is a female that lays eggs from which young insects lay. However, the following meanings are more important for this topic: the main, the central, the strongest current in a water flow or a river; a book in which certain data are systematically entered, a registry book; a thing that is central, around which other segments gather or from what they originate. Or, as we read in the *Croatian Encyclopedia*:

*in the age of national revival movements of the Slavic peoples in the 19th century, the name for cultural institutions, i. e. societies that promoted the national and cultural identity of their nation by publishing books and magazines.*⁷

The *Glasbena matica* has thus taken over the already common word for a cultural society. The geographical indication “Ljubljana” was a usual addition to the society’s location, and was later useful to distinguish it from the *Matica*’s branches in other towns.

6 Official English translation is actually in Latin: *Matrix Croatica* (matrix = female parent, queen bee).

7 Anon., “matica,” *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, online edition (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2021), <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=39429>.

To conclude: the name itself doesn't tell us everything: the Croatian Music Institute is not an institute but a society. On the other hand, the Glasbena matica Ljubljana, although not "Slovenian" in its name, has had its branches in other parts of Slovenia, and has been, from the time of its foundation to this very day, a society of national importance, its full name being: Cultural Society Glasbena matica Ljubljana (*Kulturno društvo Glasbena matica Ljubljana*).

Activities

Main activities are organization of concerts (at home and abroad), ensembles (choir or / and orchestra), music education – schools / conservatories, music libraries, music publishing, the building (with a concert hall), and taking care for the heritage (memorials).

The Croatian Music Institute has had, through its history, almost all segments of activities of all the three music societies in question – it started with a public concert by the amateur society orchestra, and for a short period the Institute had also a choir. The orchestra had a need for a library, then came the music school for education of young musicians and the audience, and publication of Croatian composers' works, and, finally, the building of its own. It was similar with the "Kolo", only the basis ensemble was a choir. As a true national-oriented society, it has founded a tamburitza (Croatian folk instrument *tamburica*) orchestra. Unlike the Zagreb societies, the Glasbena matica started its activity with the publication of sheet music. The first editions contained Slovenian authors' compositions. Ten years later, in 1882, the Glasbena matica founded a music school. A choir was not founded until 1891.

The CMI and the Glasbena matica were exposed to the same circumstances after the First World War, when the state administration took over management of their conservatories. The CMI started a concert establishment already in 1917, and after the year 1920 organized a series of concerts promoting domestic and contemporary compositions. The Glasbena matica founded a concert establishment in 1922. As for concerts of the ensembles, The Glasbena matica and the "Kolo" had similar history: they both had very successful performances and tours abroad (i. e. beyond the borders of the then current state).

There is a big difference between the CMI and the other societies, regarding memorials. Of course, it is connected with their mission of taking care for the national culture and heritage. The "Kolo" was the first one in

Zagreb to erect a memorial to a musician – it was a memorial-plaque to the composer Vatroslav Lisinski, erected in 1919. Other memorials followed, as well as tombstones at Zagreb Mirogoj cemetery. The Glasbena matica did the same in Slovenia, but with one exceptional memorial: it erected the monument named the “Illirian Column”, in honour to Napoleon.

Finally, it has to be stressed that only the Glasbena matica had an institute within its organisation – the Folklore Institute, founded in 1934, with the aim of collecting and studying folk music heritage.

Members

The members of all the three societies were both amateurs and professionals, important people of cultural life, patriots and music lovers from all over the country. It should be emphasized that the Zagreb societies, both the “Kolo” and the Croatian Music Institute, became one of the first external members of Glasbena matica Ljubljana in the first decade of its existence. Of course, all the three societies did not have many members at the beginning of their activity. Interestingly, Glasbena matica today has about 130 members, almost as many as it had 150 years ago. The situation in the Croatian Music Institute since 2020 has been critical, and as of September 2022, it has only 245 members, twice as much as in 1827. In the time of the global crisis for the majority of members it is hard to pay their membership fee; and when the CMI building is closed and there is almost no activity at all, the only reason for a member to continue supporting the CMI is the appreciation of the heritage and tradition ... But it was different in the past: for example, in 1898 the Matica had more than 800 members, but only some 300 of them were from Ljubljana. We could compare numbers in another way: the “Kolo” had 623 members in 1883, that was about 1.5 % of the population of Zagreb. Transferred to today’s proportions, a music society in Zagreb would have more than 12,000 members or in Ljubljana around 4,200 members.

Patrons

The members of bourgeois class who gathered in Zagreb to make music were still without their rightful place on the political scene, marked by feudalism in Croatia (until 1848). The young music society in Zagreb needed patrons at its beginning, and they chose them wisely – a combination of influential people from political, military, church, aristocratic and ma-

sonic circles. The first two patrons were Ignjat Gyulay (1763–1831) and Maksimilijan Vrhovac (1752–1827). Gyulay was a member of the Hungarian nobility and a military leader. At the time of the establishment of the Croatian Music Institute, he was the *ban* of Croatia (royal governor). Vrhovac, the bishop of Zagreb, was one of the most prominent persons in Croatia at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He was also the *ban*'s deputy and a benefactor, and a member of a masonic lodge as well.

In the second half of the century, the middle-class societies were already so strong that patrons were not so necessary, so in the history of the Croatian Music Institute they ceased around 1890. The patron of the Croatian Singing Society “Kolo” at the beginning of its activities was also a Croatian *ban*, Josip Šokčević. The Glazbena matica Ljubljana didn't have patrons.

Buildings

The Croatian Music Institute building was finished in 1876 by well-known Zagreb architects Janko Grahor and Franjo Klein. In it the first concert hall in Zagreb was situated. It was also home of the Institute's music school, later the Academy of Music, until 2015, when the Academy moved to its own, brand-new building. The building of the Croatian Singing Society “Kolo” was finished in 1885. It is more modest than the CMI building, and was constructed by less known Croatian architect Matija Antolec. It had a concert hall for the concerts organised by the “Kolo”. After the abolition of the “Kolo” in 1948, in 1952 the government gave the “Kolo” building to the Academy of Dramatic Art. The names of the nineteenth century composers were written on the facade of the building, probably in 1920ies. They show us how strong the connections between Croatian and Slovenian music societies and culture in general have been, at that time in the same state. The name of Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–1854), the composer of the first Croatian opera, and the name of Ivan Zajc (1832–1914), the most important Croatian composer at the end of the 19th century, hold a central position. There are also names of Slovenian composers Davorin Jenko (1835–1914), Benjamin Ipavec (1829–1908) and Franjo Serafin Vilhar Kalski (1852–1928). The name of the latter composer is mistakenly written as Vilhah. The Glazbena matica bought a building in 1893. Two years later a big earthquake damaged the building, and the Croatian Music Institute also contributed to its renovation. It was repaired in the next year, but an important renovation was made later by the famous Slovenian architect Jože Plečnik. He was also ac-

tive in Zagreb, where his most famous work was the Parish Church of Our Lady of Lourdes (*Župna crkva Majke Božje Lurdske*) (1934–1943). There is not a big concert hall in the Glasbena matica building, like the one of the Croatian Music Institute in Zagreb, but it is nevertheless a house full of music, also because the Academy of Music is subtenant of the Matica.

All the three buildings are today in the very centre of Zagreb and Ljubljana, respectively. The “Kolo” building was built on a spacious square, The Republic of Croatia Square 5 (*Trg Republike Hrvatske*) (today considered as one of the most beautiful squares in Zagreb). The facade of the Glasbena matica building looks on two streets: Vegova and Gosposka. The Vegova street is very attractive because of the busts of the composers along it, and the reliefs of musicians on the facade of the Matica building. Unlike the “Kolo” and the Matica building, the Croatian Music Institute building is situated in a series of houses, at Gundulićeva street 6, and there is not enough space around it, hence its impression on passers-by is not so strong.

There were different ways how music societies used their buildings to financially support their work: renting for dances (the CMI), keeping a music store (the Glasbena matica) or even a restaurant (the “Kolo”). And what do these buildings look like today? The Croatian Music Institute building is under reconstruction, thanks to the financial support of the European Union. The “Kolo” building has been the Academy of Dramatic Arts for the last 70 years, and the names of the composers on its facade are the only witnesses that it was built to be a home of music. And the building of Glasbena matica is in its full beauty and vitality.

Conclusion

All the three societies played a major role not only in the musical life of their milieu, but also in the general culture and urban areas of Zagreb and Ljubljana. In reciprocal collaboration among themselves and in cooperation with other music societies, especially on the field of organizing concerts in both cities, they made a net not only in the common state (until the end of Yugoslavia in 1991), but also in the broader cultural region. In some way, they all donated buildings to their respective cities.

Every one of these societies suffered strong blows of fate: the “Kolo” was brutally abolished and never revived, the Glasbena matica patiently waited and now shines in its full splendour, and the Croatian Music Institute is on the verge of its existence because of the earthquake in 2020, but hopefully it will recover by the big 200th jubilee in 2027. Finally, it should be

emphasized that all their activities were strongly marked not only by amateurism of music lovers, but by their enthusiasm, courage and persistence as well.

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The Philharmonic Society of London and its Nineteenth-Century Contribution to the Rehabilitation of British Composers

Niall O’Loughlin
Loughborough University
Univerza v Loughborougu

For over 200 years, we’ve been at the heart of music, creating opportunities for musicians to excel, championing the vital role that music plays in all our lives.¹

The creativity of living composers is at the heart of the RPS (Royal Philharmonic Society). We support music through a range of commissions and performances, and a dedicated annual programme widely regarded for having helped many notable composers establish their careers.²

Founding of the Philharmonic Society

In the early years of the 19th century there was considerable musical activity in London. The two visits of Haydn organised by the violinist and impresario Johann Peter Salomon were still vivid in the minds of some members of the musical public. The twelve symphonies that Haydn had produced for these visits set a standard of composition that many wanted to continue. Some of the symphonies of Mozart were also well known and Beethoven’s music was just beginning to appear. There were difficulties, however.

1 Anon., “About us,” Royal Philharmonic Society, consulted April 19th, 2021, www.royalphilharmonicsociety.org.uk.

2 Anon., “Nurturing composers,” Royal Philharmonic Society, consulted April 19th, 2021, www.royalphilharmonicsociety.org.uk.

George Hogarth described it as “a *period of orchestral destitution*”, saying “*there was not in London any orchestra formed for, and capable of, the performance of what is properly called orchestral music*”.³ There were various amateur societies that existed at a superficial level. One such was known as The Concert of Antient Music⁴ that played only music that was at least twenty years old. It was a very private organisation, certainly operated by amateurs. “*The opera and theatre bands were only employed in playing the weak overtures and thin accompaniments of the Italian and English opera in fashion in these days*” writes Myles B. Foster a century later.⁵ Additionally the performance of chamber music as we know it scarcely existed on a professional level. Outside the field of music it was a turbulent time. The French revolution was fresh in people’s minds and England was in the middle of an industrial revolution of its own, with the associated social consequences.⁶ Yet this mattered little to the upper classes. Here there was, despite the reservations expressed, a body of musical professionals who wanted to make music progress on all fronts. The aims of a professional music society were simple: to improve the standard of performance generally, notably by establishing a high quality orchestra, and to attract from the European continent to England, and London in particular, the best performers and composers and to present them to a limited number of wealthy amateur subscribers. The intention to improve the standard of local English or British musical composition was not an obvious or stated objective, although over the years a small number of composers and conductors made it their business.

After a meeting of a group of musical professionals on 24 January 1813 and another some two weeks later, the Philharmonic Society of London was established. The thirty musicians who signed the declaration came from various branches of the profession: most were instrumental performers, some were singers, a small number were composers and a few were con-

3 George Hogarth, *The Philharmonic Society of London: from its foundation, 1813, to its fiftieth year, 1862* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1862), 2–3.

4 The obsolete spelling was pretentiously retained, as related by Myles B. Foster, *History of the Philharmonic Society of London 1813–1912* (London: John Lane, 1912), 3–4.

5 Foster, *History* [1912], 3.

6 This point was vividly illustrated by an exhibition in 2020–2021 in the Tate Britain Gallery in London of selected paintings of Joseph William Mallord Turner (1775–1851). Prominent in some of the paintings was the poverty and grime of the times. See: David Blayney Brown, Amy Concannon, and Sam Smiles, eds., *Turner’s Modern World* (London: Tate Gallery, 2020) which includes reproductions of all the exhibited paintings.

ductors and musical administrators.⁷ There was considerable overlapping of their activities in an era in which sharply defined musical specialisation was not common. In addition there were another twenty five associates, mostly instrumentalists, some singers, and two composers. The aim was to create an orchestra and to present eight concerts annually in the period roughly from February/March to May/June.

The Concerts and Continental Visitors

These concerts naturally included orchestral music, normally two symphonies and one or two overtures per concert, a group of chamber pieces for medium-sized ensembles, often with a leading piano part, and various vocal ensemble pieces or solos with orchestral accompaniment. At first solo concertos were excluded with only *concertante* works for three or more soloists being played, but later this rule was altered to include solo concertos. The concerts were divided into two Acts, with a total duration of well over three hours. The actual way in which the orchestral performances were managed seems somewhat strange to us today. The orchestra was directed by the principal first violin known as the *leader*, but was also guided by the *conductor* playing the piano from the full score and inserting any omissions or correcting mistakes, a procedure which must have led to many disagreements. The choice of leader and conductor was normally different for each concert. This arrangement was changed in 1820 with the arrival of Spohr who operated more like a modern conductor.

The choice of works provides an interesting and illuminating view of the London musical world. Symphonies by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven were often performed, while there were some symphonies and overtures by other composers, for example, Pleyel, Clementi, Cherubini, Romberg, Ferdinand Ries, Wöfl, and Bonifacio Asioli. The chamber music and vocal selections varied considerably with music by Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven and numerous works by lesser known composers, mostly from the European mainland. There was a considerable enthusiasm for attracting the leading composers from Austria and German lands and encouraging them to write pieces specially for the Philharmonic Society in London.

The arrival of continental composers was significant. Clementi spent most of his life in England, having arrived in 1815, Cherubini was made an associate and then a member of the Society, Spohr came in 1820 and con-

7 Foster, *History* [1912], 6.

tributed to a large number of first performances in London.⁸ The most famous move in this direction was the approach to Beethoven to compose new music for the Society, including the Symphony No. 9. Large sums of money were paid to Beethoven to encourage him to come to London (which he never did) and to write new works for performance at the concerts (which he did).⁹ Although Beethoven was not as poor as he claimed, he was certainly grateful for the generosity and kindness of the society. The commission for the Ninth Symphony did produce the work which was duly performed in the Society's concerts in 1825, even if it had already been performed in Vienna.¹⁰

Two other composers from Germany featured prominently in the 1820s. Weber came to London in 1826 to conduct his opera *Oberon* at the Covent Garden Theatre and a Philharmonic concert including some of his works to great acclaim and to his great satisfaction on 3 April 1826, but he died two months later. At his funeral Mozart's Requiem was performed. The second composer was Mendelssohn who came in 1829 for the first of numerous visits which included the commission and/or first performances in England of his Symphony No. 4 in A (*Italian*), Symphony No 3 in A minor (*Scottish*) and the Overture *Fingal's Cave*, inspired by the Scottish island of Staffa that he visited. Mendelssohn was treated generously by the society, finding great satisfaction, while returning the favour with outstanding orchestral and other works including overtures. It was certainly one of the most rewarding associations that the Society experienced. Numerous other composers were invited to perform their works in the next decades: Berlioz, Liszt and Wagner were notable visitors.

Cipriani Potter and English Music

Very little from English composers was performed, at least to start with, a situation which is easy to explain. There were not many capable English

- 8 During the 1820 season Spohr changed the role of the conductor permanently to real direction by removing the piano in performances.
- 9 The overture *Namensfeier* was probably given its first performance by the Society on 25 March 1816, although it is possible that the overture had been previously performed in Vienna.
- 10 Details of the Philharmonic's dealings with Beethoven can be found in: Hogarth, *The Philharmonic Society of London*; George Grove, *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies* (London: Novello and Oxford University Press, 1896); Foster, *History* [1912]; and Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven Symphony No. 9* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

composers, to say nothing of a very negative attitude towards locally composed music. Music by Thomas Attwood, a pupil of Mozart, does not appear in the programmes until 1820, nor any by Henry Bishop, famous for the sentimental song *Home, Sweet Home*, until 1817, nor even by William Shield at all. In fact, the first English composer to have his works performed at the Philharmonic concerts was William Crotch, the Heather Professor of Music at the University of Oxford. A famous quartet from his oratorio *Palästine* was sung in the first season and his Symphony in F major played in the second (16 May 1814). This was a modestly inventive work in the normal style of the period, but it bears little comparison with the contemporary Seventh and Eighth Symphonies of Beethoven. Apart from two repeats of the quartet and of a sextet from the same oratorio and a few minor vocal works, there were no more works by Crotch, although he did conduct six concerts.

Much more significant was the appearance of the young and talented Cipriani Potter,¹¹ son of the viola player and founder member of the society, R. H. Potter.¹² The younger Potter had studied with Crotch in Oxford and was a member of the Harmonic Society there, before moving to London to become an associate of the Philharmonic Society. When he reached the age of 21, he then became a member. Here he thrived as composer, pianist, and conductor, and was one of the most performed English composers in the Philharmonic concerts of the earlier 19th century.¹³ In 1816 his Overture in E minor and the Septet for piano, flute and strings were composed for and played by the society. From 1826 to 1872 there were nine performances of his symphonies¹⁴ and four performances of his Overture *Cymbeline* between

11 His full name was Philip Cipriani Hambly Potter (1792–1871).

12 Richard Huddleston Potter (1755–1821) was apparently also an organist and flautist. See: Philip H. Peter and Julian Rushton, “Potter,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 20, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillian, 2001), 221; and Philip H. Peter, “Potter,” *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, vol. 4, ed. Laurence Libin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 154. See also: William Waterhouse, “Potter,” in *The New Langwill Index* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 308.

13 The works performed in the Philharmonic’s concerts and their dates up to and including 1912 are fully listed in Myles B. Foster’s *History* (1912).

14 The Symphonies of Potter are confusingly numbered, by date and/or by key. One performance was given of No. 1 in G minor of 1819 performed on 29 May 1826, conducted by the composer, and two of the second in G minor of 1832 (also called No. 6) (the performance of 28 May 1855 conducted by Wagner), two of the A minor symphony (now apparently lost), three of a D major symphony, and one of another D major symphony. Both G minor symphonies have been published in modern editions,

1837 and 1871. With his reportedly superb piano technique, he was able to play the solo part in eleven Philharmonic concerts, including a number of Mozart's concertos, notably those in D minor K466 and C minor K491, and Beethoven's First, Third and Fourth Concertos. He conducted the society's orchestra in 32 concerts between 1820 and 1844. At the same time he was also from its founding in 1822 the chief piano tutor at the Royal Academy of Music. In 1832 he became the principal of the Academy on the resignation of William Crotch,¹⁵ a post Potter held with distinction until his retirement in 1859. It is no exaggeration to say that Potter transformed orchestral music in London, by his compositions, his conducting and his teaching. How much he did for the standing of contemporary British composers is not so clear, but other composers were now able to build on these foundations.

Crotch, Potter, John Fane and the Academy of Music

The connection between William Crotch, Cipriani Potter and the Academy of Music¹⁶ leads us to an important amateur in the development of musical composition in 19th-century England. John Fane (1784–1859), a career military man, soldier and later a politician and diplomat, who was also musically trained, was normally known by his courtesy title Lord Burghersh and in 1841 inherited the further title of the 11th Earl of Westmorland. There is no evidence of Lord Burghersh's presence in the Philharmonic Society until the concert on 26 May 1817, when a manuscript Symphony of his was the first item in the same programme as none other than Beethoven's Fifth

No. 1 (edited by Bert Hagels): Cipriani Potter, *Symphonie Nr. 1 in g-moll* [*Symphony No. 1 in G minor*], ed. Bert Hagels (Berlin: Ries & Erler, 2019), and No. 2 (or No. 6) of 1832 (edited by Julian Rushton): Cipriani Potter, *Symphony* [No. 2] *in G minor*, ed. Julian Rushton (London: Musica Britannica and Stainer & Bell, 2001).

- 15 The circumstances of Crotch's departure from the post of principal of the Academy are surrounded in some mystery. The exact reason is given by Jonathan Rennert (Jonathan Rennert, *William Crotch (1775–1847): Composer, Artist, Teacher* (Lavenham: Terence Dalton, 1975), 68–9): “*The reason for this hurried departure was apparently that Dr Crotch had inadvertently rewarded one of the girls for a particularly brilliant harmony exercise, by giving her a kiss. At that very moment, Mrs Iliff, the Academy's governess, had happened to enter the room, and not being accustomed to seeing her girls embraced by their professors, had at once submitted an agitated report to the Committee. This body, entirely misunderstanding her account of the affair, and perhaps looking for an excuse to rid themselves of Crotch, passed that damning resolution which forced him to resign.*”
- 16 It appears to have been called the Royal Academy of Music from the beginning, having royal patronage from King George IV, although it received its royal charter only in 1830.

Symphony. This symphony of Burghersh was described thus: “*First performance in England; presented to this Society*,”¹⁷ being identified by Nicholas Temperley as the Symphony No. 1 in G.¹⁸ It follows the only other early English symphony performed at the early Philharmonic concerts, William Crotch’s Symphony in F major in 1814.¹⁹

At the same time Lord Burghersh was planning moves to found the Royal Academy of Music. One of his associates, T. F. Walmisley, submitted a plan that attempted to incorporate the Philharmonic Society within its operations,²⁰ but in the end, it was Burghersh’s scheme for an independent Academy that was adopted by the amateur organising committee. In 1822 Burghersh appointed Crotch as principal, but ensured that he was in control of the Academy himself when it was founded and opened for students in early 1823. To add to the difficulties he was resident in Florence at the start of the Academy’s life and in 1841 was appointed ambassador to the court of Prussia in Berlin. In 1830 under the new Royal Charter Lord Burghersh was appointed chairman of what was now the Royal Academy of Music, a position he held for the rest of his life. In the years from 1832 until 1859 when Cipriani Potter was the principal of the Royal Academy, it seems that Burghersh was constantly interfering with its work and, judging by the lack of performances of his music, that he was also out of favour with the Philharmonic. Potter had a foot in both camps, as both regular conductor and occasional soloist in piano concertos, he was a major influence in the programmes of the Philharmonic, in addition to being the principal and the leading professor at the Academy. He felt the need to steer the public and his students away from the Italian music that Burghersh was almost exclusively advocating. It was a clear case of an amateur trying to direct the professionals. At the same time, however, Lord Burghersh’s considerable abilities at fundraising were to ensure that the Academy would survive financially. He made repeated attempts, mostly successful, to influ-

17 Foster, *History* [1912], 32.

18 Nicholas Temperley, “Burghersh, Lord,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 4, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 617. In 1834 Lord Burghersh requested the return of the score and parts from the Philharmonic Society, because there had been no repeat performances, a possible indication of some difficulties between the Society and Lord Burghersh, and of the quality of the work. Piano reductions of four of his symphonies published in Berlin can be found in the British Library.

19 Foster, *History* [1912], 16.

20 See: William Wahab Cazalet, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music* (London: Bosworth and Rudall, Rose & Carte, 1854), 8–12.

ence rich patrons, members of the Government and royalty to help to support the finances of the institution. Potter retired from the Academy in 1859 and Burghersh, now the Earl of Westmorland, died in the same year, leading to financial difficulties for the Academy.

The Philharmonic and British music

In order to gauge the effect that the work of the Philharmonic Society was having on the development of the native composition (mostly English), it is useful to give some details of the performances of the music presented. It should be made clear that the most important works are symphonies, orchestral concert overtures and solo concertos. In addition, there were vocal ensembles from operas, oratorios and cantatas, and in the earlier years chamber music, mostly for larger ensembles. The Philharmonic concerts were conducted by a group of prominent musicians, mostly pianists, on a rotational basis. Muzio Clementi, now permanently resident in England, at first shared with John B. Cramer, but George Smart and three composer-pianists, Thomas Attwood, Henry Bishop and Ferdinand Ries,²¹ joined the group later. A pertinent comment comes from George Hogarth about a composer and occasional conductor, Charles Griffin, who

*distinguished himself by several works of great merit, but (as has been the case with many English musicians) his attention was diverted from composition to the labours of what is in this country a more advantageous branch of his profession.*²²

Significantly in 1822 Cipriani Potter entered the rotation. Recently installed as the first and leading professor of piano at the Royal Academy of Music he conducted his first concert on 25 March 1822 and at the next concert on 15 April 1822 played the piano part in Beethoven's First Piano Concerto.

In the years up to 1832 there were some performances of British symphonies, for example, those by Crotch, Burghersh, Berger, Clementi, On-

21 George Hogarth (Hogarth, *The Philharmonic Society of London*, 13), wrote somewhat scathingly about Ries: "This composer's fame has not been so durable as it at first promised to be. He [Ries] was a great pianist, and his voluminous works have every good quality, save that of originality, the only quality which confers permanent vitality."

22 Ibid., 14.

slow²³ and Potter (No. 1 in G minor). In the period from 1832 to 1844 when Potter was involved on a regular basis as conductor, English symphonies performed were by Onslow and Potter (three symphonies, No. 2 (or No.6) in G minor, a second in A minor twice and another in D). By the time of the last performance conducted by Potter in 1844, it was decided that there should be a permanent conductor. The dull and uninspiring composer and conductor Henry Bishop, surprisingly appointed for the whole 1845 season, managed only three concerts,²⁴ and was replaced in the following season by the dynamic disciplinarian Michael Costa for 71 concerts from 1846 to 1854, a move which put the Philharmonic on a sound footing again, but which did something to enhance the position of English composers. Costa apparently was a difficult man with whom to work. The most notorious event was the dispute between Costa and the outstanding pianist and composer, William Sterndale Bennett (1816–1875), involving gossip about Costa playing part of one of Bennett's works (the Overture *Parisina*) too slowly.²⁵ Consequently there was only one work by Bennett performed at the Philharmonic between 1848 and 1856. The few English works under Costa were by the revered Cipriani Potter and Charles Lucas (Potter's successor as principal at the Royal Academy), the young George Macfarren, the French resident George Onslow and a few of Bennett's works performed before the dispute arose. The following single season with Richard Wagner at the helm (1855) was not a great success nor was it a failure. It included single works by Potter (his Symphony No 2 in G minor), Onslow, Macfarren (*Chevy Chase Overture*) and Charles Lucas's Third Symphony (conducted by the composer not Wagner). It appeared that British music was beginning to make some headway.

William Sterndale Bennett and William Cusins

With the 1856 season Bennett was elected conductor, but showed great reluctance to promote his own works, as his son relates:

- 23 George or Georges Onslow (1784–1853) was an English-born composer who worked mainly in France. Two of his symphonies were performed by the Philharmonic Society (one on two occasions), both billed as premieres and dedicated to the society, but previously performed in Paris.
- 24 The remaining five concerts of the 1845 season were conducted by the extremely reliable Ignaz Moscheles who remained in London until tempted back to the city of Leipzig in 1846.
- 25 The details were given in great detail by Bennett's son, J. R. Sterndale Bennett, in *The Life of William Sterndale Bennett* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907; London: Travis & Emery, R/2010), 189–201.

*Bennett, throughout the time that he held the conductorship, frequently asked the Directors not to introduce compositions of his own [...]. For one thing, the works of other British composers were seldom placed upon the programmes, and he would not like, whilst he was Conductor, to have a prominence given to his music if his fellow countrymen did not share the honours.*²⁶

In fact, contrary to his protestations, during the time of Bennett's conductorship (1856–1866), there were seventeen performances of his works, the Piano Concerto No. 1 (once), No. 2 (once), No. 3 (twice), No. 4 (three times), the Caprice in E, *The Naiads Overture* (twice), *The Wood Nymphs Overture* (once), *Paradise and the Peri* (four times), and the Symphony in G minor (twice), a very rich harvest indeed. Apart from Piano Concerto No. 1, all the other concertos were played by a talented young lady called Arabella Goddard who was married to the controversial music critic J. W. Davison, a very prominent supporter of new British works. The only other English works conducted by Bennett in his eleven years as the director of the Philharmonic were two overtures by his teacher Cipriani Potter, *Ajax and Achilles* and *Cymbeline*. The progress of British music had slowed down.

The situation was about to change dramatically. After withdrawing from the conductorship of the Philharmonic Society, Bennett spent the years from 1866 until his death in 1875 as principal of the Royal Academy of Music, rescuing it from financial disaster and probable closure. That he was successful was due to his patient and persistently positive actions.²⁷ He was succeeded as the Philharmonic's conductor from 1867 to 1883 by the reportedly dull and uninspiring William Cusins for some 134 concerts. Yet the numbers of British works performed increased significantly. Cusins was wedded to the traditional classics of his predecessors, for example, conducting all the Beethoven symphonies on numerous occasions, programming many works by the English favourite Mendelssohn and welcoming many distinguished soloists from the continent, for example, Clara Schumann, Joseph Joachim and Charles Hallé. At the same time he increased almost surreptitiously the numbers of British works. Not only did he pay tribute to his predecessor, William Sterndale Bennett, with repeat performances of his Piano Concertos, the Symphony in G minor (three times) and various overtures, but he also featured a number of works by the talented George Macfarren, inexplicably ignored by the Philharmonic for

26 Ibid. [1907], 247.

27 Ibid., 369–75.

many years. The veteran Cipriani Potter who died in 1871 was celebrated with performances of two symphonies and an overture. Other British composers, whose names are now largely forgotten, included the careful Julius Benedict and the bold romantic symphonist Frederic Cliffe whose music is now staging a revival. The appearance of excellent orchestral works by Arthur Sullivan were often overshadowed by his brilliant operettas composed mostly to librettos by the equally talented W. S. Gilbert. On the serious side, though, Sullivan's *Symphony in E major* and *Cello Concerto* (both were performed at the Philharmonic concerts) are still very impressive 150 years later. This is the period that British music had begun to regain its stature and was clearly the time that British composers would begin to thrive. In his statistical summary of the two decades, 1863–1872 and 1873–1882, Foster in his *History* counted over twice as many British works performed in the second decade.²⁸

All was not well, however. The Philharmonic Society consisted of a small number of wealthy amateur subscribers, but did not increase its membership substantially partly because it was using small and often unsuitable halls, notably The Argyll Rooms and Hanover Rooms which could accommodate only a few hundred members of the audience. A warning came in 1868 from the society's conductor, William Cusins:

The Society's conductor pointed out how the Crystal Palace²⁹ concerts, under Mr August Manns, were competing with the Philharmonic and warned the Directors that they must engage a larger hall, and must advertise in a more imposing manner, or they would be fairly elbowed off by their rivals.³⁰

This problem was not solved until the 1893 opening of the new purpose-built Queen's Hall in Central London which the Philharmonic used from 28 February 1894.

28 Foster, *History* [1912], 336, 389. The numbers are respectively 31 and 66.

29 The Crystal Palace was a huge construction, mostly of glass, designed for the Great Exhibition of 1851 and located in Hyde Park in central London. It was only a temporary structure, but to keep it the building was removed to a site in Sydenham in South London being reassembled and extended for a grand opening in 1854. It was not used for musical events to start with, but its size proved excellent for large-scale concerts with popular appeal. It remained for over 80 years until it was destroyed by fire in 1936. See: Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995).

30 Foster, *History* [1912], 298.

Parry and Stanford and others

The finances had lurched from crisis to crisis, often in tandem with problems caused by the ad hoc administration. In the 1880s the Society was rescued artistically and financially by the Director Francesco Berger,³¹ who adopted a totally professional and up-to-date approach to the society's administration. Once the Society had recovered from these near disasters the scene was set for two composers to build on this now firm foundation. On 30 June 1880, Hubert Parry's charming and innocent song, *It was a Lover and his Lass*, was sung at a Philharmonic concert by Antoinette Sterling accompanied (presumably) by Cusins, and more strikingly on 23 March 1882, Charles Villiers Stanford's the Overture to the opera *The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan* was played. The appearance of these two composers at the Philharmonic's concerts was unobtrusive, but it was the beginning of a rich and fertile association with the Society. There were numerous changes in the next twenty years, but the appearance of new works by British composers was now frequent and welcomed.

With the retirement of William Cusins, the conductorship was taken over in 1884 by a varied but very capable group which included George Mount, Stanford, Antonín Dvořák and for the final two concerts the composer and excellent conductor Frederic Cowen. Arthur Sullivan conducted most of the concerts in the years 1885–1887, with Cowen returning for 1888–1892. The Scottish composer, conductor and academic Alexander Mackenzie was appointed director from 1893 to 1899, and then Cowen returned until 1908 from when the famous Henry J. Wood (the founder of the London Proms in the Queen's Hall) took over much of the work. It appears that Sullivan and Cowen did the most to promote British music.

By 1880 the renaissance of British music was well under way, although as we can see, there had been considerable progress in the previous fifty years. In the years 1880–1890, the performance at concerts of the Philharmonic Society of significant new British orchestral works, especially symphonies, became common. The *Sinfonietta* and Fourth and Fifth Symphonies of Frederic Cowen, the Symphony in C minor by Frederic Cliffe, and numerous orchestral works by Sullivan, Macfarren and Mackenzie were performed at the Society's concerts. But probably the most important development was the emergence of Parry and Stanford as the leaders of the

31 Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 132–57, the chapter entitled "Francesco Berger and Recovery."

new music. The first performance in 1889 of Parry's Symphony No. 3 ("The English") indicates this well. With the successful performance of his choral *Blest Pair of Sirens* in St James's Hall in London (conducted by Stanford) in 1887 and his oratorio *Judith* in Birmingham in 1888, much was expected of this symphony and the public were not disappointed.

Stanford's Third and Fifth Symphonies, performed in 1893 and 1895 respectively, added to the impressive range of new British music, while the arrival of the music of Edward Elgar in London in the early years of the 20th century, especially the impressive *Enigma Variations* in 1908 and the outstanding Symphony No. 1 in A flat major, conducted at a Philharmonic concert by no less than Arthur Nikisch in 1909 and then by the composer himself in 1910.³² It was hardly surprising that the word "Royal" was added to the society's name on its centenary in 1913, to become the Royal Philharmonic Society, the name by which it is known today.

The Development of the British Musical Renaissance

The activities of the Philharmonic Society cannot really be said solely to dictate or reflect musical taste in England. There were other societies and groups in the earlier part of the 19th century, but they were not especially influential. Certainly in the earlier part of the 19th century the Society and particular the amateurs, rather than the professional performers, were able to influence the choice of music to be performed. There were conflicting aims involved here, however, as there was great enthusiasm for attracting famous composers and performers from the European continent and a lack of desire to promote the interests of British composers. An additional problem was the fact that those native composers with the ability to produce impressive new works were being drawn in a number of other directions. In the first instance they were performers, particularly pianists, who had the ability to play solo parts in concertos, as well as to direct performances which involved performing works by Beethoven, Spohr, Mendelssohn

32 In fact, it had already received its first performance in Manchester on 3 December 1908, conducted by Hans Richter and then four days later in London again conducted by Richter. It achieved nearly one hundred performances in the first year, and in 1909 and 1910 performances all over Europe (Diana McVeagh, *Edward Elgar: His Life and Music* (London: Dent, 1955), 50). There had been great expectation in advance of its first appearance, something indicated in the article by H. C. Colles, a leading critic and musicologist, editor of two editions of the *Grove Dictionary of Music*: H. C. Colles, "Sir Edward Elgar's Symphony," *The Musical Times* 49, no. 790 (1908): 778–80, <https://doi.org/10.2307/907822>.

and others rather than their own music. Another difficulty was the demand for leading musicians to take on heavy teaching commitments in the Royal Academy of Music, as well as in a number of cases difficult administrative roles in the Academy. Undoubtedly, for example, the talents of Cipriani Potter were spread very thinly over a number of activities. Despite the high quality of his music, he was more easily satisfied with performing the solo piano part in concertos by Mozart and Beethoven and preparing performing editions of Mozart's piano music than facing the indifference encountered in promoting his own music. Nevertheless, his music was highly regarded and was regularly performed by other musicians. William Sterndale Bennett had the best of both worlds, at first playing the solo part in his own piano concertos and then conducting them with soloists who were undoubtedly keen to use them as a vehicle for their own reputations. His difficulty, as also in the case of Cipriani Potter was the demands of the Academy, of which he was also principal. Potter managed to guide the institution as principal successfully until his retirement and the death of Lord Burghersh, but Bennett was forced to abandon his conducting activities altogether to come to the rescue of the Academy in the nine years before his death. The situation was changing, however, so when the conductors who could really influence the situation appeared, notably Sullivan, Stanford, Cowen, Mackenzie and Henry Wood, the newcomers among the composers, Hubert Parry and Charles Villiers Stanford, were able to present their new symphonies and other orchestral works with relative ease. The time was now right for the crowning genius of the British music renaissance to appear, Edward Elgar, whose outstanding orchestral masterpieces, especially the *Enigma Variations* and the two Symphonies,³³ were able to make their powerful effect. In recognition of the Society's centenary and its achievement, in 1913 it was given the title Royal Philharmonic Society.

33 The sketches for a Third Symphony were elaborated in the 1990s by the composer and Elgar specialist Anthony Payne (1936–2021) as a completed symphony, first performed in London in 1997. See: Anthony Payne, *Elgar's Third Symphony: The Story of the Reconstruction* (London: Faber, 1998) and the published score: Edward Elgar, *Symphony No. 3: The Sketches for Symphony No. 3 elaborated by Anthony Payne*, full score (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1998).

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Music Societies in Ireland during the Nineteenth Century

Wolfgang Marx
Univerzitetni kolidž v Dublinu
University College Dublin

The Irish Long Nineteenth Century

Before discussing the structure and history of Irish music societies it is necessary to outline the historical circumstances in which they existed. Ireland's history throughout the nineteenth century was shaped by events and dates different from those that were important for other countries; years such as 1789, 1815, 1848 or 1914 have much less relevance in Ireland than, say, in France or Germany. Ireland's long nineteenth century stretches not from 1789 to 1914 but rather from 1801 to 1922. It is centrally shaped by five events that reformed the Irish political and social landscape.

The Act of Union

While the French revolution undoubtedly had an impact on Irish intellectuals there was no attempt to implement its principles in an island tightly controlled by the British crown. However, in 1798 the Irish embarked on one of their many rebellions against the British occupation. It led to much bloodshed yet was ultimately unsuccessful. A consequence of this "Rising" was the Act of Union implemented in 1801. Until then Ireland had had its own parliament in Dublin (while the administration was appointed by London). Now Ireland's parliamentarians voted themselves out of existence and would join the House of Commons and the House of Lords in the British capital. This led to most aristocrats and many other policymakers moving from Dublin to London, and marked the end of the golden age

of cultural life in Dublin, when the Irish capital thought of itself as the second city of the empire:

*The Act of Union [...] caused a general exodus of the landed gentry from their town houses. Before 1800 there were 270 Peers and 300 Commoners of the Irish Parliament residing in the city; twenty years later only 34 Peers and 5 Commoners remained.*¹

Aristocratic patronage was now only in very marginal ways available in Dublin. However, with regard to music the rise of the middle classes to some extent compensated for that as Barra Boydell points out: “*Following the Act of Union [...] Dublin declined as a social centre. However, the rise in amateur music-making ensured that musical activity continued to develop.*”²

Catholic Emancipation

For centuries the British had suppressed Catholicism in Ireland – Catholics could neither worship freely in public nor inherit property, enrol in a university, vote or sit in parliament. Since the late eighteenth century this discrimination had been eased gradually, yet the Catholic Emancipation Act from 1829 was the symbolic high point of this development. It granted Catholics the right to be elected to Westminster (they had already been given the vote in 1793).

The Great Famine

From 1845 to 1852 Ireland experienced several years of famine since the potato – the main food of the poor in particular – was affected by the potato blight and the harvest failed. Ireland had then eight million inhabitants; it is estimated that of those one million died of starvation while at least another million emigrated.³ This traumatic experience is still a key element of Irish identity to this day. Today about 6.5 million people live in Ireland (North and South), making it one of the few European regions in which the population is smaller today than it was in 1845. The famine hit the West and the South of the country particularly hard, and with it the main remaining

1 Brian MacGiolla Phadraig, “Dublin One Hundred Years Ago,” *Dublin Historical Record* 23, no. 2/3 (Dec. 1969), 62; <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30087166>.

2 Barra Boydell and Adrian Scahill, “Dublin,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, vol. 1, eds. Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 319.

3 Cormac Ó Gráda, *The Irish Famine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

areas in which Irish was spoken – apart from everything else it was also regarded as wiping out much of the indigenous culture (such as traditional music) together with many of the Irish speakers.

The Gaelic Revival

In the 1890s Irish society experienced the Gaelic Revival, a conscious attempt to revive the old Irish culture. It focused on three areas: a revival of the Irish language, an introduction of Irish sports (Irish football, hurling and camogie) and Irish traditional music. Many nationwide and local associations were founded to support these goals, while competitions and festivals were also organised.⁴

War of Independence and Civil War.

750 years of British rule in Ireland (or at least most of it) finally came to an end in the early twentieth century. Triggered by the Easter Rising of 1916, the War of Independence from 1919 to 1921 led to the partition of Ireland and the creation of Northern Ireland, which remained part of the British crown while the rest of the country became the Irish Free State. Many of the participants in the War of Independence did not accept the resulting treaty (particularly the requirement to swear an oath to the British king) so that an internal Civil War ensued (1922–23). It was, however, won by the supporters of the treaty. While for the rest of the world the First World War and the Treaty of Versailles marked the end of the long nineteenth century, for Ireland it was the foundation of the Free State and the end of the Civil War that marked the end of its equivalent period.

The Structure and Operations of Irish Music Societies

Music societies in Ireland differed from those in most continental European countries in that they had to operate in the total absence of any professional orchestra or permanent opera house on the entire island. All public and private concerts (apart from music associated with the churches) were organised and presented by them. This explains why many of them – not a majority yet probably more than in other countries – focused on instrumental music, or at least a combination of vocal and instrumental music.

4 Timothy G. McMahon, *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893–1910* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008).

The societies were private clubs whose main purpose was not organising and presenting public concerts but instead making music for the members' own, private edification. Their weekly gatherings were not called rehearsals but usually rather "meetings" and often included dinners after the practice sessions. Meetings to which only members had access were called "private"; the "Society for Antient Music" in Dublin alternated those events with so-called "Visitors Nights"⁵. These were semi-public concerts for which tickets were sold by the members – they decided whom to invite, or who to sell them to. Tickets could not be purchased by members of the public, except on a few occasions per year (perhaps between two and eight, depending on the period and the society) when public concerts were organised to support charitable causes. This allowed for a high degree of social control as Paul Rodmell has pointed out: "*Tickets were on public sale only exceptionally, so societies were not only able to control the social makeup of their membership but also of their audiences.*"⁶ At the beginning of the nineteenth century access to most music societies was restricted to Protestants; they were mainly populated by aristocrats and members of the upper middle class. New members had to be proposed by one or two existing ones and (after passing an audition with the artistic director, at least with regard to performing members) confirmed by a vote of all members; this way the social control of membership mentioned by Rodmell could be reinforced. Over the course of the nineteenth century – particularly after Catholic emancipation – some societies opened up to Catholics, while especially after 1850 new societies were founded that were mainly or entirely Catholic from the beginning.

Most members of music societies were amateurs (usually called "gentlemen" – women were excluded from the majority of societies), while there were also some professional musicians called "players". There were also performing and non-performing members; the latter's job was related to matters of organisation and logistics, as well as advertising those events that were public. They were also welcome as additional subscription payers, of course. In 1837, Dublin's "Society of Antient Music" had 60 members of whom 30 were non-performing – a significant percentage.⁷ In 1888 the "Or-

5 Patrick J. Stephenson, "The Antient Concert Rooms," *Dublin Historical Record* 5, no. 1 (Sep.–Nov. 1942): 5, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30080044>.

6 Paul Rodmell, "The Society of Antient Music, Dublin, 1834–64," in *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland [Irish Musical Studies 9]*, eds. Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 213.

7 Stephenson, "The Antient Concert Rooms," 1.

chestral Union” in Dublin had 60 members while the “Dublin Instrumental Club” listed 30 members in 1896.⁸ The “University of Dublin Choral Society” initially limited the number of performing members to 18 yet later expanded it to 30; perhaps in order to perform larger pieces without exceeding the maximum number of performing members this society at least temporarily diversified membership categories to “performing members”, “performing associates, first class”, “performing associates, second class”, and “non-performing members” (associates had no voting rights regarding matters of the society).⁹

Newspapers and journals reporting on public events hosted by music societies always used a significant amount of ink describing the social aspects of the concerts, and often much less talking about the quality of the music (regularly not even mentioning which pieces were performed); Rodmell is certainly right when stating that “*the social function of Dublin concerts could be as great as the musical.*”¹⁰ It was extremely important for a society’s reputation to have aristocrats or other high-ranking persons as President, Vice-President and Patrons. However, over the course of the century societies open to the middle and lower classes gradually emerged. The “Dublin Sacred Harmonic Society” (1841–1847) was perhaps the most progressive of these; based in the Presbyterian Scots’ Church it was open to members from different classes and religions and also accepted women as members (Dublin’s “Anacreontic Society” also accepted Catholics, yet no “female soprani” as they were often called).¹¹ Elsewhere most societies recruited boys from the cathedral choirs to sing the soprano and alto parts of the choruses while only female solo parts were sung by women. In 1856 the “Hibernian Catch Club” (founded ca. 1680 – Europe’s oldest music society still in existence today) allowed women to join their meetings, although they had to remain hidden behind a screen – yet this “experiment” was quickly abandoned.¹² All of this resulted in a social hierarchy of music societies, which Catherine Ferris describes as follows with regard to Dublin.

8 Ita Beausang, “Dublin Musical Societies 1850–1900,” *Irish Musical Studies* 5, no. 2, eds. Patrick Devine and Harry White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), 175.

9 Gerald Fitz Gibbon, “‘College Choral’, 1837–1987,” *Hermathena*, no. 144 (Summer 1988): 39, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23042010>.

10 Rodmell, “The Society of Antient Music,” 214.

11 Catherine Ferris, “The Use of Newspapers as a Source for Musicological Research: A Case Study of Dublin Musical Life 1840–44” (PhD diss., Maynooth University, 2011), 179–182.

12 *Ibid.*, 89.

*the Hibernian Catch Club, Anacreontic Society and University Choral Society were the domain of the aristocracy; the upper middle classes and professional aristocracy were represented by the Philharmonic Society, Antient Concerts Society, Societa Armonica, University Church Music Society, Metropolitan Choral Society, Amateur Harmonic Society and Dublin Concordant Society; and the lower middle- and working-class societies were the Dublin Sacred Harmonic Society, Dublin Harmonic Society and Tradesmen's Harmonic Society.*¹³

Since the societies were private clubs, members had to pay an annual subscription. At the top end – for societies such as Dublin's "Society of Antient Music" and the "Metropolitan Choral Society" – this could be £1 (according to the British National Archive's currency converter £1 in 1850 is roughly equivalent to €80 today)¹⁴. Membership of the "Dublin Harmonic Society" cost 10s (one half of a pound) while the multi-denominational "Dublin Sacred Harmonic Society" charged its members 5s (one quarter of a pound). Members of the "Metropolitan Choral Society" in Dublin (1841-1847) had to pay no subscription at all; membership there was also not based on being proposed by an existing member. The "New Philharmonic Society" in Dublin (founded in 1872) also didn't charge its members a subscription fee. As the century progressed, more and more music societies catering for different classes, interests and tastes emerged.

Music Societies in Dublin

As the capital and administrative centre of Ireland, Dublin was the largest city on the island. In 1798 its population consisted of 198,000 people¹⁵ while the 1911 census counted 375,000 inhabitants.¹⁶

The *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* lists an impressive 85 music societies as being active in Dublin at one point or another during the nine-

13 Ibid., 212.

14 Currency Converter, The National Archives, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/>.

15 Patrick Fagan, "The Population of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century with Particular Reference to the Proportions of Protestants and Catholics," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 6 (1991): 148, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30070912>.

16 Thomas A. Welton, "Notes on the Census of Ireland, 1911," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 77, no. 2 (Jan. 1914): 205, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2339803>.

teenth century.¹⁷ However, many of these only lasted for between one and five seasons. Still, the number demonstrates that there was a demand for them and new ones were formed as quickly as old ones vanished. Rodmell tries to explain this fluctuation as follows:

*Part of the problem, it seems, was that many performed the same music and drew their membership and audiences from the same social group, Dublin's Anglican middle and upper classes; to compound this many societies permitted only men to be members.*¹⁸

Meetings of music societies took place on almost every day of the week: the “Anacreontic Society” met on Monday¹⁹, the “University Church Music Society” initially on Monday and later on Wednesday²⁰, the “Antient Music Society” on Thursday²¹ and both the “University of Dublin Choral Society” and the “Amateur Harmonic Society” on Friday²², to name just a few.

Like societies elsewhere in Europe, concerts of the Dublin music societies consisted of a mix of arias, choruses and occasionally some instrumental pieces stemming from many different works – only rarely were complete oratorios, cantatas, operas, symphonies or concertos presented. The “Society of Antient Music”, a society dedicated to choral music which played a central part in Dublin’s musical life from 1834–1864, provides a good example of this programming strategy. At a charity concert on 23 March 1838 the Society performed 25 pieces from 12 works by seven composers, led by Handel: six numbers from *Judas Maccabaeus*, two from *Jephta*, four from *Acis and Galathea*, the overture of *Esther* (the only instrumental piece which opened the evening) and an arrangement of “Zadok the Priest” on the text of “God Save the Queen”. Haydn was represented by two numbers from *The Creation* and four from *The Seasons*. Of the 25 pieces 14 were by Handel and six by Haydn. Marcello, Mozart, Morley, Pepusch and Festa had one piece each in the programme.²³ At another concert on 4 June 1844 the Society presented extracts of Handel’s *Jephta*, namely 16 out of the orato-

17 Ita Beausang, “Music Societies (Dublin),” in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, vol. 2, eds. Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 712–13.

18 Rodmell, “The Society of Antient Music,” 212.

19 Ferris, “The Use of Newspapers,” 93.

20 *Ibid.*, 173.

21 *Ibid.*, 143.

22 Fitz Gibbon, “College Choral,” 41; Ferris, “The Use of Newspapers,” 198.

23 Rodmell, “The Society of Antient Music,” 215.

rio's 71 musical numbers: six recitatives, three airs, six choruses and one quartet. At concerts in the late 1840s the society employed an orchestra of about 40 players; the Irish premiere of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* in December 1848 was presented by nine soloists, a chorus of 100 singers and a band of 37 players (including 19 strings).²⁴ These examples already indicate the strong role that both Handel and Haydn played in the programming (not just of the "Society of Antient Music"). *The Seasons* appear twelve times in their programmes, although normally just one season was performed in any given concert. However, despite their name this society also presented contemporary music; it particularly became a champion of Mendelssohn. Rodmell outlines that during the second half of its existence "in terms of 'performance hours' Mendelssohn represented 20–25 per cent of the society's total output."²⁵ Between 1838 and 1840 it also ran a composition competition with a prize of ten guineas (a guinea is worth one pound and one shilling). Its first winner was Thomas A. Walmisley (who was Professor of Music in Cambridge). No award was handed out in 1839, while in 1840 Henry J. Gauntlett, an English organist and composer, won.²⁶ In its later years the "Society of Antient Music" started to include more orchestral and chamber music in its programmes; yet this was not unanimously welcomed by its patrons and the press.

Another important contribution of the "Society of Antient Music" was that in 1843 they opened Dublin's first dedicated concert hall, the "Antient Concert Rooms", which could accommodate an audience of 900–1,000 people. It was repeatedly enlarged, had a Telford organ installed in 1847 and dinner facilities added in 1850. Many of the other societies soon rented it for their concerts and also used its rooms for their meetings. The hall was in use until the 1920s when it was converted into a cinema.

European virtuosos would also work with the amateur societies when visiting Ireland. The "Philharmonic Society" welcomed Sigismond Thalberg, Franz Liszt, Anton Rubinstein, Clara Schumann and Charles Hallé to Dublin. The Anacreontic Societies in Dublin and Belfast (both dedicated to instrumental music) brought Friedrich Kalkbrenner to Ireland in 1824, and in 1831 Niccolò Paganini played two concerts in Dublin as part of the "Dublin Grand Musical Festival". That festival also witnessed the Irish premieres of Beethoven's Symphony No. 5, Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony and Mendels-

24 Ibid., 221.

25 Ibid., 225.

26 Ibid., 225–6.

sohn's overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.²⁷ Virtuosos visiting Ireland usually didn't just play in Dublin; their itinerary would broadly lead them along the island's Eastern and Southern coast, stopping in Belfast, Dublin, Cork and possibly smaller towns along the way or in the vicinity. When Liszt toured Ireland in the winter of 1840/41 he performed in Dublin (six concerts), Cork, Clonmel, Limerick, Kilkenny, Donaghadee and Belfast – always with local music societies (in Dublin separately with both the Anacreontic and the Philharmonic Societies).²⁸

One reason why concerts by individual societies did not offer complete symphonies or large-scale vocal works such as oratorios was probably that they had neither enough high-quality performers nor enough “performing members” altogether to mount such an event successfully. In addition, many musicians were members of several societies:

*The involvement of the same amateur gentlemen and professional musicians in numerous different societies is [...] strikingly evident, and implies that each society fulfilled a particular purpose, despite the superficial similarities between them, particularly in repertoire.*²⁹

If a large-scale performance was staged it usually required many different societies to join forces. Ita Beausang mentions a full performance of *Israel in Egypt* in 1847 “for the relief of the poor of the city” (this was at the height of the famine) for which 400 performers from eleven music societies came together.³⁰

Music Societies in Belfast

Belfast was at the centre of the Northern region of Ireland that was most affected by the industrial revolution. A small market town at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by its end it had become the hub of the world's linen industry, producing both linen itself and also the machinery required to produce it. Since the 1860s it also had a quickly expanding shipbuilding

27 Catherine Ferris, “Dublin Grand Musical Festival, 1831,” *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, vol. 1, eds. Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 324–5.

28 Arthur Beesley, “An Irishman's Diary,” *The Irish Times*, May 31, 1999, <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/an-irishman-s-diary-1.190784>. This tour was commercially unsuccessful and lost over £1,000.

29 Rodmell, “The Society of Antient Music,” 214.

30 Beausang, “Music Societies (Dublin),” 711.

industry: The Harland & Wolff shipyard was at one point the largest one in the world; the ill-fated *Titanic* and her two sister ships were built there (the running gag in Belfast still is “She was fine when she left us”). Consequently few other Irish cities grew as much as Belfast particularly during the second half of the century; its population rose from 35,000 in 1820 to 70,000 in 1840, 110,000 in the mid-1850s and 385,000 in 1911³¹ – in that year Belfast had 11,000 more inhabitants than Dublin. This meant that a number of rich industrialists emerged in the city, some of whom were willing to act as philanthropists and support cultural endeavours.

However, this was not yet the case at the beginning of the century. The first “Belfast Musical Society” had been formed in the 1760s, yet no longer existed by 1800. There were occasional concerts by travelling artists passing through Belfast – for example, in 1813 Edward Bunting (famous for transcribing and thus preserving the music he heard at the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792) organised a series of three sacred and three secular concerts, mainly with visiting performers. In 1814 the “Belfast Anacreontic Society” was founded, yet like similar societies in Dublin its focus was on private meetings rather than public events (between 1820 and 1824, no public concert organised by this society is recorded at all).³² There was also no adequate performance space available, particularly once the city started to grow. Initially meetings of the society took place in the smallish “Exchange Rooms”, in 1829 it moved to an upstairs room in the new building of the Belfast Savings Bank. From the 1820s onwards occasional public concerts took place in a hall in the new “Commercial Buildings” which again soon proved to be too small. (All these names already indicate the importance of commerce and industry for the cultural developments in Belfast, very much unlike in Dublin.) There was also a theatre available since the 1790s that could occasionally be used for concerts. In 1824 Kalkbrenner played there, followed in 1831 by Paganini (who gave three concerts in Belfast), Ole Bull in 1837 (four concerts) and Thalberg in 1837/38 (two concerts).³³ Eventually the “Anacreontic Society” decided that a purpose-built concert hall was required, and so a “Music Hall” seating an audience of 700 was opened in 1840. Liszt played there during the last stop of his Irish tour in January 1841. Just like the Antient Music Rooms in Dublin at the same time, this hall quickly be-

31 Roy Johnston, “Concert Auditoria in Nineteenth-Century Belfast,” in *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland [Irish Musical Studies 9]*, eds. Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 245.

32 *Ibid.*, 240.

33 *Ibid.*, 241.

came the centre of musical life and was rented by other societies as well. However, the city kept growing, and the society refused to install an organ (important for the performance of oratorios and other sacred pieces) as this would have reduced the number of seats.

While the “Anacreontic Society” engaged with vocal and instrumental music, a number of choral societies emerged in parallel, yet were promoted from a different direction: “*Choral societies came into being in Belfast because of the desire of the churches to improve their congregational singing.*”³⁴ The “Belfast Choral Society” was established in 1839 and the “Classical Harmonists” in 1851. The latter society proved adept at connecting with industrialists (who soon occupied important positions on its committee) and securing financial support which enabled it to open another concert venue, the “Victoria Hall”, in 1854. It contained an organ so that oratorios could now be performed much more easily – after all, Handel was just as popular in Belfast as he was in Dublin. Yet still the demand for space grew, so that a new, larger hall was eventually built – the Ulster Hall which opened in 1862 and is still in use today. Equipped with a capacity of 2,000 (1,500 in the stalls and 500 in the gallery, with space for 200–250 performers), it was opened with *Messiah* and a concert performance of *Der Freischütz*.³⁵ The growing influence of the financiers made itself felt in the simultaneous sacking of the artistic directors of both the “Anacreontic Society” and the “Classical Harmonists” at this point; the British organist and composer Edmund Thomas Chipp was installed as the new head of both societies instead (if only for three years, until he moved back to England). The large hall was suitable for famous visiting artists, yet local societies struggled to fill it and started fading away – the “Anacreontic Society” ceased to exist in 1866.³⁶ Its place was taken in 1872 by the “Belfast Music Society” which focused on orchestral music. In 1874 this society merged with the singers of the “Classical Harmonists” to form the “Belfast Philharmonic Society” following a trend that Roy Johnston describes as follows.

The mode proved, as elsewhere in Europe, to be the consolidation of concert life in its modern form: a town’s concert life having at its

34 Roy Johnston and Martin Dowling, “Belfast,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, vol. 1, eds. Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 76.

35 Johnston, “Concert Auditoria in Nineteenth-Century Belfast,” 247.

36 Peter Downey, “Belfast Philharmonic Society,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, vol. 1, eds. Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 82.

*apex a single society with its own chorus and orchestra and access to a large modern concert hall.*³⁷

The “Philharmonic Society” initially offered four annual concerts on a subscription basis, taking place on Fridays. With this society’s formation began what Roy Johnston and Declan Plummer call the “philharmonic era” in Belfast’s musical life.³⁸ During these years Belfast also became a regular stop on the circuit of travelling British opera companies (such as the Carl Rosa Company).³⁹ It was now among the 15 largest cities in Britain and Ireland, and its cultural life reflected this position – until the decline of its industries, particularly after the Second World War, also started to affect its abilities to maintain a rich international concert life.

Music Societies in Armagh

Armagh is the smallest of the cities discussed in this essay; the 1821 census counted 8,493 inhabitants – and the number would not have changed much over the course of the century (in 2011 its population was just under 15,000).⁴⁰ It is thus much smaller than Dublin or Belfast, and less cultural and musical activity is to be expected. Its importance stems from the fact that St Patrick is supposed to have built a church there, so that it later became Ireland’s “ecclesiastical capital”. Today it is the seat of both the Catholic and Protestant Primates of All Ireland. Just like in Dublin, the old, medieval cathedral is still being occupied by the Protestants, while the Catholics built a new one once it became possible after the Catholic Emancipation. In Armagh the two cathedrals (both named after St Patrick) now face each other on top of two hills in the middle of the city.

The archives of the Protestant cathedral contain a broad range of musical sources: 429 volumes with some 4,000 pieces of music, including secular as well as sacred works.⁴¹ According to a study by Anne Dempsey the music covers the period from the early seventeenth to the early twentieth

37 Johnston, “Concert Auditoria in Nineteenth-Century Belfast,” 248.

38 Roy Johnston and Declan Plummer, *The Musical Life of Nineteenth-Century Belfast* (London, New York: Routledge, 2016), 261–308.

39 See: *Ibid.*, 309–30.

40 L. A. Clarkson, “Household and Family Structure in Armagh City, 1770,” *Local Population Studies* 20 (1978): 19, http://www.localpopulationstudies.org.uk/PDF/LPS20/LPS20_1978_14-31.pdf.

41 Anne Dempsey, “The Armagh Cathedral Collection in the Fabric of Ireland’s Musical History,” in *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland [Irish Musical Studies 9]*, eds. Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 130.

centuries. 70 per cent of the collection consists of a cappella music, the remaining 30 per cent of vocal music with instrumental/orchestral accompaniment and pure instrumental music.⁴² Overall Handel is the composer represented most prominently in the archive, yet five per cent of all pieces are by Mendelssohn and two per cent by Haydn. Of the vocal pieces, 80 per cent are anthems and services. A surprising third of all composers of vocal music is English, and almost half of the vocal pieces archived in the collection are by English composers, most prominently Thomas Attwood, William Boyce, John Goss and Maurice Greene.⁴³ Eight of the composers were organists based in Armagh. The most prominent of these is John Clarke (also known as John Clarke-Whitfield), later professor of music in Cambridge.

The instrumental music in the collection reaches from the early Baroque to the early Romantic age, with composers such as Corelli, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Rossini and Mendelssohn well represented.⁴⁴ It is much more conservative than the vocal collection, apart from Mendelssohn post-Beethovenian composers are rare – exceptions are the Irish singer and composer William Balfe and Jan Křtitel Václav Kalivoda (often spelled Kalliwoda; he was also popular in Dublin and Belfast). Only two per cent of instrumental music is by English composers. Many of the instrumental pieces are arranged for chamber ensemble; a string quartet plus flute or clarinet is very common. Brass instruments are rarely used; trumpeters, horn players and trombonists may have been in short supply in the small town. Instrumental pieces (except organ music) were not performed in the cathedral, yet the musicians active in the cathedral would also have been involved in secular musical events.

The first regular extra-religious space for the performance of music was the Music Hall on Vicar's Hill, as indicated by an entry in a contemporary minute book:

weekly practices, commonly called concerts, were held in the Music Hall, Vicar's Hill, by members of the Cathedral Choir, under the

42 Slightly confusingly Dempsey calls the first category “vocal” and the second one “instrumental”, which would make *Messiah* an instrumental piece. See: Dempsey, “The Armagh Cathedral Collection”, 131–40.

43 Ibid., 132.

44 Ibid., 139–40.

*direction of the organist, the late Mr Robert Turle; these concerts, however, were not open to the public.*⁴⁵

Just like in Dublin and Belfast, these “concerts” were only accessible to members. In 1845 an “Armagh Music Society” was founded yet didn’t survive long. The “Cathedral Music Society” (established in 1846) was to operate for about 80 years. In 1878 another “Armagh Music Society” emerged, which changed its name to “Armagh Philharmonic Society” in 1887. To solve continuing financial difficulties subscriptions for the now public concerts were introduced:

*one guinea and upwards annually [for members of the public to subscribe to the concert series], seven shillings and sixpence for performing members and five shillings yearly in advance for non-performing members.*⁴⁶

The “Armagh Philharmonic Society” was finally disbanded in 1917. Apart from these societies there were also an “Armagh Amateur Harmonic Society”, an “Orchestral Society” and a “Cathedral Orchestral Society” at one point or another. Leading members of the clergy often populated the committees of these societies and acted as patrons.⁴⁷

Overall music societies emerged in Armagh a bit later than in Dublin and Belfast yet given its small size there was quite a bit of activity – fuelled (at least initially) mainly by the musical personnel of the Protestant cathedral and sponsored by the clergy.

Music and the Temperance Movement

In the middle of the century musical developments in Ireland were influenced from an unexpected angle: the temperance movement, which was at least temporarily enormously successful, probably more so than in other countries. Temperance movements had first arisen in Great Britain and the United States in the 1820s and 30s, yet in Ireland the idea only took off in a meaningful way in 1838 when Father Theobald Mathew, a Capuchin priest, became President of the Cork Total Abstinence Society. Mathew was a highly charismatic preacher whose influence quickly spread beyond Cork. He spoke to thousands and sometimes tens of thousands of people, convincing many to commit to “the pledge”, the formal promise to abstain

45 Ibid., 142.

46 Ibid., 144.

47 Ibid., 131.

from alcohol for the rest of their lives. It is said that on one occasion he took the pledge from between 120,000 and 150,000 people during a three-day period in Limerick. Over the course of his career as leader of the temperance movement between 1838 and his death in 1856 he administered the pledge to several million people. The highpoint of his successes was reached in 1842/43 while the famine put a temporary end to much of his activities (in those years Mathew began travelling abroad, preaching temperance in Scotland, England and the US). Later attempts to revive the temperance movement in Ireland in the 1870s and 1890s were much less successful.

Yet the temperance movement consisted not just of preaching, it developed an entire infrastructure as Father Mathew and his fellow temperance campaigners realised that adherence to the pledge needed to be monitored, as well as giving people who no longer go to the pub something else to do. This was where music became important. As Maria McHale points out, “[m]usical expression satisfied a number of criteria as it provided suitable recreation in which temperance and religious sentiments could be promulgated.”⁴⁸ The movement created a large number of brass bands that accompanied the singing of hymns during the open-air mass events – at one point there were 33 temperance bands in Cork alone.⁴⁹ Some of these bands still exist today, albeit now detached from their original function.

Brass bands were not for everybody, though, and more emphasis was put on singing as an activity that required less training and less expensive “equipment” in the shape of instruments. In 1842 Mathew invited the renowned German singing teacher Joseph Mainzer to Cork who offered sight-singing classes for large numbers of people. Mainzer – a member of the British “singing-class movement” – had published his instruction manual *Singing for the Masses* in 1841 and now put his method to good use in the service of the teetotallers, stating: “*I hope that for the future the motto for your standard will be ‘Music and sobriety, sobriety and music.’*”⁵⁰ According to Maria McHale

Mathew was keen that the people adopt the system not only for their own benefit and for the purposes of healthy distraction and amuse-

48 Maria McHale, “Singing and Sobriety: Music and the Temperance Movement,” in *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland [Irish Musical Studies 9]*, eds. Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 178.

49 Gavin Holman, “Thirsty Work – Brass Bands and the Temperance Movement in the 19th Century,” *Humanities Commons* (2018): 2, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17613/bm-fa-3k07>.

50 Mainzer quoted in McHale, “Singing and Sobriety,” 175.

*ment, but also to enhance the temperance processions of which they were so proud.*⁵¹

Soon singing classes were offered all over the country.

The movement also wanted to provide its singers with suitable material to perform. Hence hymns and arrangements of music for the temperance movement were created as well, including the publication of twenty temperance hymns in *The Catholic Choralist* in 1842 “for the use of the choir, drawing room, cloister and cottage. Harmonized and arranged for the voice, band pianoforte and organ.”⁵² However, the *Temperance Melodies for the Teetotallers of Ireland* from 1843 by William McNamara Downes were much more successful (going through three editions in their year of publication alone). Using well-known tunes from Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies*, they connected more easily with the people than the hymns in *The Catholic Choralist*, which had adapted melodies by continental composers.

Apart from the free or very cheap singing classes the temperance movement also offered musical instruction of other types. An example of this is the “Drogheda Harp Society” which existed between 1839 and 1845. Unlike the music societies discussed above its function was not making music for the entertainment of its members but rather teaching children the harp in order to keep them away from the booze (and, as a side effect, revive the playing of Ireland’s traditional instrument).

The use of Irish tunes and instruments brought the movement in connection with nationalist sentiments:

*By setting the Temperance movement’s success story to Irish music, the ‘revolution’ took on a nationalist slant. However, the type of nationalism promoted was in accordance with Mathew’s views that it should be patriotic and celebratory in nature, rather than aggressive and political.*⁵³

Still, not all of his followers shared his views, and this made things difficult for the priest: Mathew

frequently and harshly condemned secret societies and deplored efforts to align the crusade with nationalist movements, notably with O’Connell’s repeal campaign. But many of his supporters

51 Ibid., 174.

52 Ibid., 178.

53 Ibid., 184.

*were nationalists and such an alignment did occur, despite his own preferences.*⁵⁴

Soon the movement found itself between the cracks, being criticised by the British political authorities for its alignment with nationalist Irish ideals while also being looked at askance by much of the Catholic hierarchy due to the involvement of Protestants (the earlier movements of the 1820s and 30s had mainly been Protestant affairs) and Father Mathew's tendency to operate in parallel to the Catholic leadership in Ireland.

Despite its relatively brief flourishing, the temperance movement had a deep impact on musical life in Ireland.

Music and the Gaelic Revival Movement

There had been collectors of Irish Music since the late eighteenth century; Edward Bunting, Thomas Moore and George Petrie were prominent among them. Yet most of them were associated with the ruling class – the “Protestant ascendancy” (of the aforementioned three, only Moore was a Catholic). They were interested in a nostalgic, Romantic longing for a lost past represented by this music more than in its utilisation as part of a nationalist agenda. This is what the Gaelic Revival movement would focus on. Emerging in the 1890s, it created a number of institutions and societies that would be important for the further development of music in Ireland. In 1893 the Gaelic League was formed with the main aim to promote the understanding and use of the Irish language (at this point Irish was only spoken in very few remote, rural areas in the West of Ireland anymore). Yet it also championed Irish traditional music, for its first President Douglas Hyde stated that “[i]f Ireland loses her music, she loses what is, after the Gaelic language and literature, her most valuable and most characteristic expression.”⁵⁵ The League's members also recognised that singing songs in Irish would create more interest in the language. In 1897 the “An tOireachtas” (The Assembly) Festival was established, an annual series of events and competitions to celebrate Irish language and culture. From the beginning traditional music was an important part of its proceedings.⁵⁶ In the same year, 1897, the first

54 Elizabeth Malcolm, “The Catholic Church and the Irish Temperance Movement, 1838–1901,” *Irish Historical Studies* 24, no. 89 (May 1982): 5.

55 Adrian Scahill, “Gaelic League,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, vol. 1, eds. Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 415.

56 Róisín Nic Dhonncha, “Oireachtas na Gaeilge,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, vol. 2, eds. Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin

“Feis Ceoil” (Music Festival) took place under the guidance of Annie Patterson. This annual series of competitions still continues today. Although inspired by the Gaelic Revival movement, its initially 32 (and nowadays ca. 180) different competitions focused mainly on classical music; in 1897 just three of them were dedicated to traditional music. Its categories include individual performers as well as all sorts of ensembles.⁵⁷ In 1904 James Joyce won a Bronze medal for singing at the Feis. The competition’s location initially alternated between Dublin, Belfast and Cork; yet Dublin quickly became its permanent home.⁵⁸

The Gaelic Revival movement influenced the development of music in Ireland directly – through the institutions just mentioned – yet also indirectly in that the existing music societies started to orient themselves towards including more music by Irish composers (sometimes even commissioning pieces), as well as performing more music based on Irish tunes or with Irish subject matters. The period also witnessed an expansion of musical research, particularly aiming to uncover the history of Celtic music and of musicians in Ireland. A first major result of these efforts was William Henry Grattan Flood’s *A History of Irish Music*.⁵⁹ Published in 1905, the book was a landmark in the development of musical research in Ireland.

Conclusion

Music societies played an important part in Ireland’s musical life, possibly more so than in that of many other European regions and countries – particularly given that there were no state-sponsored opera houses or orchestras. Apart from the churches they were pretty much the only providers

Press, 2013), 768.

- 57 Part of the reason the Feis Ceoil had a strong classical orientation was – alongside the advice of Annie Patterson – the influence of Michele Esposito, an Italian pianist, composer and educator who played a dominant role in Dublin’s musical life between 1882 and 1928. He also established the “Dublin Orchestral Society” (active 1899–1914), Dublin’s foremost orchestra in the early twentieth century. See: Philip Shields, “Dublin Orchestral Society,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, vol. 1, eds. Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 329–30; Jeremy Dibble, “Michele Esposito,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, vol. 1, eds. Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 358–61.
- 58 Karol Mullaney-Dignam and Jimmy O’Brien Moran, “Feis Ceoil,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, vol. 1, eds. Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 372–3.
- 59 William Henry Grattan Flood, *A History of Irish Music* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1905).

of musical performances, even though many of them were not accessible to the general public. Our look at the musical activities in an administrative, an industrial and a religious centre revealed that even in smaller towns there were many societies, and that their activities and repertoires in different locations were not too dissimilar. The tastes were generally rather conservative, with Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Mendelssohn and the nowadays largely forgotten Kalivoda highly popular composers. Sacred vocal music by English and Irish organist-composers also formed a prominent part of the repertoire. Specific Irish drivers of musical developments were the temperance movement in the middle third of the nineteenth century and the Gaelic Revival movement at its end. Particularly the latter exerts a strong influence over musical life in Ireland to this day.

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The foundation of a free state is a free (music) association? Continuity and change after 1849/67 in Vienna and Ljubljana: Contribution to the history of orchestra *en tant que* association

Katja Škrubej
Univerza v Ljubljani
University of Ljubljana

“Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach, welche diesen Namen seit ihrer Entstehung im Jahre 1702 führt, ist ein Verein von Freunden der Tonkunst, dessen Zweck in der Erhaltung, Vervollkommung und Verbreitung der Musik in Krain, sowie im Genusse derselben durch öffentliche Productionen besteht.” (Article 1 from Statuten der philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach from 1849 on the aim of the association)

“... und so behalf man sich mit einer Organisationsform, die – juristisch gesehen – gar nicht existierte.” (Clemens Hellsberg in his *Demokratie der Könige*,¹ on *sui generis* form of Vienna Philharmonic before 1908)

“... potreba (je), da je stik Glasbene Matice in Društvene godbe čim rahlejši, tako da se Glasbena Matica vsak čas odklopi od Društvene godbe. [... it is necessary that the link between Glasbena Matica and Društvena godba be as loose as possible, so that Glasbena Matica can detach itself from Društvena godba at any given time.]”²

- 1 Clemens Hellsberg, *Demokratie der Könige. Die Geschichte der Wiener Philharmoniker* (Zürich, Wien, Mainz: Schweizer Verlaghaus, Kreymayr & Scheriau, Musikverlag Schott, 1992), 386.
- 2 Fran Milčinski, a judge and an astute observer of life to which his long since iconic short novels testify to, voiced his opinion on a merger of the two music associations, Društvena godba (*Laibacher Vereinskappelle*) and Glasbena Matica, in fact as a mem-

(Fran Milčinski on Sept 4 1908, leading up to the reconfiguration of the association ‘Ljubljanska društvena godba’³ under the name ‘Slovenian Philharmonic in Ljubljana’, into the first full civil symphonic Orchestra in Carniola)

“*Odkar se je na mojo inciativo ustanovilo Orkestralno društvo* [Orchestral Association], *sem zavzemal tam mesto dirigenta* [Since upon my initiative Orkestralno društvo was founded, I have held the post of its conductor.]”⁴ (Violinist Karel Jeraj in 1922, after he had left Vienna Philharmonic in 1919 with intent to contribute to the reestablishment of the Slovenian Philharmonic)

“*Društvo je v bistvu ojačena oseba.* [An association is in fact a person reinforced]” (Rudolf Andrejka, professor of law in Ljubljana and a former high official in the Austrian administration, in 1928 on the nature of ‘association’ in the Associations’ Act from 1867, still applicable in the new state post-1918)⁵

It is not very common to start with more than one quote as a means for the readers to pit their wits against a multifaceted matter straight away and thus set the tone of the content that follows. However, given the number and versatility of *dramatis personae* in my contribution to the history of music associations and their complex and above all diachronic relations, documented partly with new dispersed archival material which is difficult to integrate and organise in the space available, it seemed an appropriate, even if unusual, pluricentric way to start.

The main aim of my paper in principle, reflected in its title, and pursued during several months of archival research in Vienna and in Ljublja-

ber of the Committee of Glasbena Matica. Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica (National and University Library; from now on NUK, Glasbena zbirka [Music Collection], Zapisniki odborovih sej Glasbene Matice v Ljubljani [Minutes of the sessions by the Main Committee] (from September 14, 1901, until September 28, 1909).

- 3 In German translation *Laibacher Vereinskappelle*, whereby I would like to point out that from its inception in 1901 under the name Ljubljanska meščanska godba and throughout its existence under the same president and *spiritus agens*, Vladimir Ravnihar, a formidable lawyer and an ardent promotor of music life, its rules were formulated and presented to the authorities in Slovenian, reflecting the association’s national character. More on Ravnihar, cf. *infra*, 236.
- 4 Karel Jeraj, January 11, 1922. NUK, Music Collection, fond GM, Orkestralno društvo, Dopisi [Correspondence], IJ. On Jeraj, cf. *infra*, pp. 5, 17, 238, 242; ff. 13, 14, 67.
- 5 Rudolf Andrejka, *Društveno pravo v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana: samozaložba, 1928), 10.

na, is to offer some preliminary answers to the following question. In what ways and to what extent was the organisational form and the concept of 'association' behind it, known in different languages of the Habsburg monarchy under slightly varied terms (*Verein, Gesellschaft; društvo, družba, Associazione, Società*), as well as in English (*Association, Society*), re-defined by the so called liberal Associations' Act in 1867⁶ and how was that accepted in the understanding of the addressees? Crucially, did it really, along with the proverbial granting of the personal freedom by the post 1848 constitutions, advanced the freedoms of association and that of assembly, as well?

To my surprise, after the initial gathering of the material and delving into the concepts of the era, my first working hypotheses, formed upon the association seemingly being an almost exclusively prevailing form of organising of music corpora,⁷ unproblematic and even desired, upon a more in-depth analysis of several intriguing parts of archival material, had to be revised. Each of the direct quotations above in a form of a *motto* was taken from such an intriguing and for that reason inspiring archival material or secondary literature, *on* or *by* the personalities or whole corpora, which were the *spiritus agens* of music life, and in that sense the first addresses of the 1867 Act. Let me briefly summarize them with the intent of formulating in so doing the research questions they provoked and which I will tackle in the main part of my contribution.

The first is an excerpt from the 1849 version of the *Statut* of Ljubljana *Philharmonische Gesellschaft (Filharmonična družba; Philharmonic Society)*⁸ which in its Article 1, states for the first time – bearing in mind its former versions of the Society's Statutes⁹ – that it had been founded as early

6 Das Gesetz über das Vereinsrecht vom 15. November 1867, R.G. Bl. Nr. 134.

7 Cf. Almost two whole pages of *Vereine* in the *Sachregister* of, Rudolf Flotzinger and Gernot Gruber, eds., *Musikgeschichte Österreichs. Band 3 (Von der Revolution 1848 zur Gegenwart)*, 2. überarbeitete und stark erweiterte Auflage (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), 403–5.

8 On the history of the Philharmonic Society, Primož Kuret, *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794–1919* (Ljubljana: Nova revija, 2005).

9 The oldest preserved version of the Society's Statutes that I could actually get access to first hand and in full text is that from 1801, containing however a self-referential remark to the one from 1794. On its cover page in brackets one can read: *Nach den Statuten vom Jahre 1794. umgearbeitet, und festgesetzt im Jahre 1801*. A copy is kept by the Music collection of the National and University Library (NUK) in Ljubljana in the 'Archive of the Philharmonic Society', in the fascicle 'Ph G Statuten'. In the same map, one can further find the versions of the Society's Statutes from 1849, 1874 and 1901. For my present research, I have further used the Statutes from 1817 (with

as 1702. Wherefrom the seemingly different (reinforced) self-understanding of the authors of the Society's Statutes in 1849 of the Society's continuing longevity? Where and who-by was the 'interpolation' on the year 1702 and how solid were the potential sources upon which the claim about the year 1702 in 1849 was made? Or, was it a mere coincidence that the claim to 1702 as the founding year of the Society was added in the year 1849 and then remained part of the standard formulation and historic self-identity ever since?

The second quote is taken from the most prominent history of Vienna Philharmonic, *Demokratie der Könige*, in which Clemens Hellsberg insightfully and with all the necessary authority demonstrated that contrary not only to the prevailing public opinion at time,¹⁰ but to the tacit supposition even in the historiography on the orchestra written afterwards,¹¹ the Vienna Philharmonic had not become an association in the eye of the law

the self-referential remark, that they were a mere *Nachdruck* from the 1802 version) from the Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (Statuten der Philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach. Neu gedruckt im Jahre 1817. Laibach: Joseph Sassenberg). Sig. 38317–B. In the small booklet, a copy of a letter by Ludwig van Beethoven to the Philharmonic Society from 4 May 1819, thanking the Society for having elected him as its honorary member, is inserted (*An die Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*). A further find not known to me before in such an elaborate form, were the Statutes from 1854 in the Austrian State Archives. With its sumptuous deep red cover pages, inserted in a larger dossier, they contain the documents, needed for the successful application for the prolonging the Society's legal life after the adoption of the Associations' Act in 1852. The inner page of the last cover page contains the signature of the Minister of the Interior at the time, of Alexander von Bach himself, whereby the Society's application was officially granted. Cf. picture 1. In the literature, the authors also refer to the Statutes from 1794 and 1796, as if the full text were readily available, but with no direct citation. Cf. Kuret, *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba*, 23–7. Given the tragic fact of the loss of the Society's Archives through *skartierung*, the most detailed and the oldest surviving description of the Statutes from 1796, with the title *Statuten der musikalischen Gesellschaft zu Laibach. Gedruckt bei Johann Friedrich Eger. Laibach 1796*) already in printed version, remains to my knowledge the one by Society's historian Friedrich Keesbacher, *Die Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach seit dem Jahre ihrer Gründung 1702 bis zu ihrer letzten Umgestaltung 1862. Eine geschichtliche Skizze* (Laibach: Kleinmayr und Bamberg, 1862), 15, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-RE4KNLTL>.

- 10 A prevailing common supposition of the period among the public, very nicely reflected in the wording of the testament of Rudolf Putz. HA/Wph, A-Pr-015-44/3 (Rudolf Putz setzt testamentarisch die Gesellschaft der WPh zu seiner Erbin). Cf. Hellsberg, *Demokratie*, 368.
- 11 For a more recent history on the Orchestra, where the author never questions the organisational form under the name *Gesellschaft*, though he does mention the 1908 as the year of its formal inception as such, cf. Christoph Wagner-Trenkowitz, *A sound*

(i. e. Associations' Act of 1867) until 1908. What is more, even then, it only actually happened upon the gentle indirect coercion by the courts. However, with respect to the Vienna Philharmonic, and contrary to Hellsberg's view, I intend to show, first, that Vienna Philharmonic did exist in a "*juristisch existierende form*"¹² before 1908, only in one, inherently different from the association as we understand it post 1867 until today. Second, touching upon the workings of the 1867 Association Act directly, I will also present my thesis on why it may have been that the reconfiguration process into a form of an association in the sense of the Act in 1872, despite having already been agreed upon among the members of the Orchestra, was not afterwards carried through.

In the following two introductory quotations, I evoke first, the process of the merger of Ljubljanska društvena godba (*Laibacher Vereinskapelle*) with Glasbena matica before the I. World War and the intriguing advice by a reputed jurist that the legal link between them should be as loose as possible. The one that follows afterwards is the case of Orkestralno društvo [Orchestral Association], an orchestra of largely amateurs founded under the umbrella of Glasbena matica several years later, right after the break-up of the old Monarchy. I will argue that the curious fate of the Orkestralno društvo was to the large extent determined by the fact that the main *spiritus agens* behind the beginnings of this music corpus, Karel Jeraj, in 1919 having come to Ljubljana from Vienna, was never really accepted by the circle of the influential personalities of the Ljubljana music life. I will demonstrate that consequently and with a tinge of slight irony, Orkestralno društvo, contrary to its very name [Orchestral Association], under which it continues to appear in the musicological literature to this day, never met the legal criteria, necessary to become an association in the sense of 1867 Act in its own right.

Last but certainly not least, I would like to shed new light onto the personality of Karel Jeraj himself, especially onto his two decades with Vienna Philharmonic (1901–1919),¹³ from 1908 along with all his fellow orchestra

Tradition. A short History of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra (Wien: Amalthea Verlag, 2017).

12 Hellsberg, *Demokratie*, 368 (as if in the initial quotation).

13 Judging from the dates on the contract between Karel Jeraj and the Court (later State) Opera, his employment with this iconic institution lasted from February 26, 1901, until April 30, 1919. AT-OeStA/HHStA, HA Oper, SR 70-155. As Jeraj passed the very demanding selection process to become also a Philharmoniker right after that, it is fair to take these dates also as the dates of this parallel and much sought after career. In his short biography, Jeraj's counting of the years, amounting to two

members also a *Vereinsmitglied*, so as a member of the orchestra, organised as an association. That is namely a period of his life that in the Slovenian literature to my knowledge has not yet been properly researched, not yet including the information from the material, accessible in the Vienna archives.¹⁴

Before I turn to the individual challenging examples of the music associations, let me briefly introduce the key tenets of the Associations' Act from November 15, 1867.¹⁵ In so doing, I will also offer my explanation why contrary to the prevailing views in the literature especially that of the period, the Act in its important part was not inherently liberal nor it represented a major turning point in granting the associations the autonomy as envisaged by the Constitution.¹⁶ In the historiographic literature, this point of view is by no means a novelty. To my mind, a rich historical context along with the apt deconstruction of the idea of liberalism at the time around 1848 in Austria, and among a wider public in Vienna especially, is given by Pieter M. Judson in his widely acclaimed work *Wien brennt!*¹⁷ It is not too soon to point out that whenever the adjective *liberal* accompanies the 1867 Associations' Act it has to be strictly understood in terms of the ideas of the time.

Coming from the field of legal history and in my research of the last two decades having built on the work of my illustrious predecessors, especially Sergij Vilfan,¹⁸ with the hereditary lands of the Habsburgs (*Land*;

more, must include his time with Philharmoniker as a substitute. Karel Jeraj, "[a short autobiography]," *Zbori* X, no. 3: (1934): 13–4. More on Jeraj, *infra*.

14 Cf. Katja Novak, "Ustvarjalno življenje Karla Jeraja in njegova glasbena zapuščina," (dipl., Univerza v Ljubljani, 2006). The sources from the Viennese archives that I have used are those from the House und Hof Archiv of the Austrian State Archives, and from the Historical Archives of Vienna Philharmonic.

15 *Gesetz über das Vereinsrecht vom 15. November 1867, R. G. Bl. Nr. 134*, which was passed together and should not be mistaken with *Gesetz über das Versammlungsrecht, R. G. Bl., Nr. 135*. In the official literature (instructions) of the time, it was clearly accentuated, that some of the paragraphs (and ideas behind them) from the Assembly Act cannot and should not be applicable in the situations covered by the Associations' Act, in order to circumvent the aims of the latter. Cf. Samuel Freund, *Vereins- und Versammlungs-Gesetz. Zum Gebrauche für politische Beamte und Vereine*. 2. Auflage (Wien: s. n., 1894) [Nachdruck vom ProLIBRIS.at, 2014], 80.

16 *Das Staatsgrundgesetz vom 21. December 1867, R. G. Bl. Nr. 142* on the fundamental human rights (Art. 11–13, 16–17, 19–20).

17 Pieter M. Judson, *Wien brennt! Die Revolution von 1848 und ihr liberales Erbe* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 1998).

18 For the most recent monography on the Empire see Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire (A New History)* (Harvard: Belknap, 2016). However, for a still valid legal his-

dežela; Lat. *terra*) and their legal traditions, constantly in one of my focuses,¹⁹ I am trained to look upon any of the Acts (*Gesetz, zakon*; statute), passed after 1849 not only in the synchronic but above all in the diachronic historic contexts, as well. To put it differently. To any change, alluded to in the title in general, and to that of the Associations' Act of 1867, in particular, one cannot really attribute its hard conceptual contours, without looking first for the existent continuities. These are always there, but many times neglected by the official or indeed later historical accounts, in order for the alleged novelty, i. e. conceptualised as change, to shine. As already pointed out, in our case, the alleged change, ascribed to this Act in the literature almost proverbially, as indeed in the official commentaries and instructions of that time, as well, was its liberality. Without entering into any prolonged conceptual debate on the notion myself, and adopting in principle the analysis of Judson, I will give a short explanation on what the 1867 Act differed in wording from its predecessor from 1852. In so doing, I will also draw attention to the commentary on the Act by Samuel Freund, tellingly revealing legal understandings, self-evident at the time. The commentary was written as a guidance for the administration in 1894, the daily practice of which by then had already been rooted in several decades of cases and interpretive experience.²⁰

I will narrow my explanation to two key freedoms, as introduced, at least on the face of it, by the 1867 Act as a part and parcel of the renewed constitutional era in Habsburg monarchy post-1867: to the freedom of association and to that of assembly.²¹

torical one for earlier periods, cf. Sergej Vilfan, *Rechtsgeschichte der Slowenen* (Graz: Leykam, 1968).

19 Katja Škrubej, "Rechtsräume als (Fragestellungs-) Konzept und Versuch einer Rechtsraumtypologie im Rahmen der slowenischen Rechtsgeschichte," in *Endpunkte. Und Neuanfänge: geisteswissenschaftliche Annäherungen an die Dynamik von Zeitläuften*, eds. Sašo Jerše and Kristina Lahl (Köln: Böhlau, 2022), 51–8.

20 Freund, *Vereins-und Versammlungs-Gesetz*.

21 In his *Wien brennt*, Judson gives a convincing explanation on why the liberal elite, which succeeded to gain a decisive influence on the running of the country after 1861, by adopting the Associations' Act of 1867 in fact intentionally limited the freedom of assembly, especially that of the political associations, the evolution and indeed the application of which was key to their own gaining the public voice in the revolution period of 1848/49 and the first constitution era. As it happens so often, once in power, and in order to secure their own prominent newly gained political influence, they limited it for their potential opponents, especially the working class. Not surprisingly, the Act came under attack from the liberal newspapers of the epoch, as well. Judson, *Wien brennt*, 117–8.

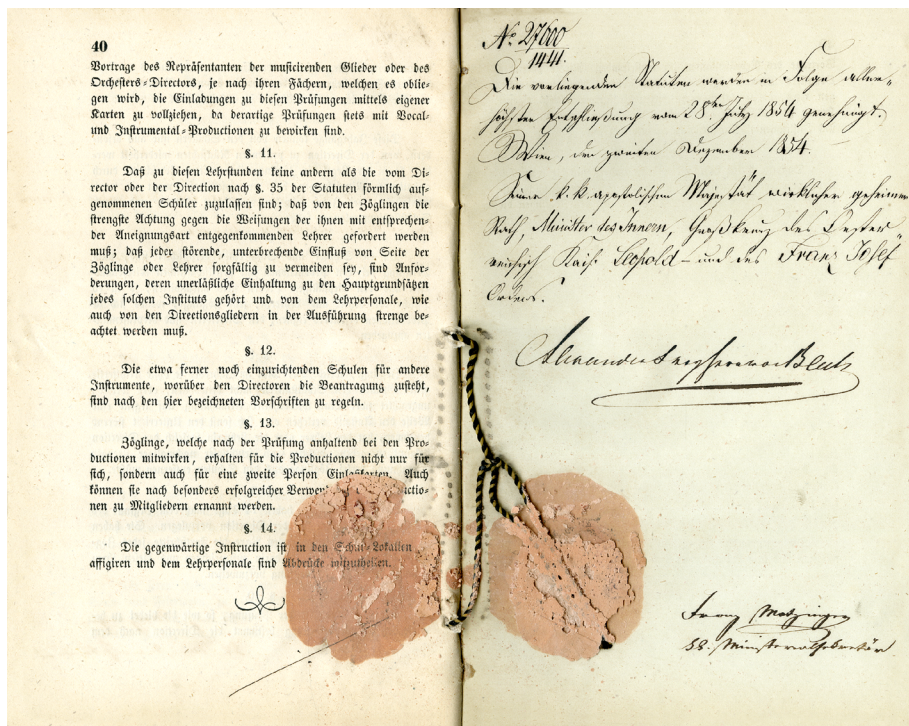
The key contours of freedom of association are given in the paragraphs 6, 7 and 8 of the 1867 Act.²² Different to the previous state of affairs, where the authorities of the state enjoyed discretionary powers to allow the forming of an association and were not pressed into deciding by any time frame,²³ the new Act limited the authorities twofold.

Firstly, even though it was still within the powers of the authorities of the land²⁴ to forbid the constituting of an association, they could only act this way if they found it illegal or constituting a threat to the state. Secondly, the authorities had to impose the barring in writing in a very short time period of only four weeks after they had received the application. Failing to issue the decision to bar the forming of an association within this period resulted in the association automatically starting with its legal life. That was based on the autonomously adopted set of associations' rules (*Statuten, Satzungen; pravila, statuti*) that the authorities were presented with upon the application, however according to 1867 Act without having the right to discretionally impose concrete changes to the wording of the rules as was the case previously. The presenting of the rules to the authorities amounted now more to the act of notification and not to an application for confirmation of the rules, as one can still read it in the non-legal literature. This point presented a very important symbolic post-1867 change, which the authorities were keen to uphold. This was directly reflected in a somewhat curious standard wording that any association that was not barred received: the association "*is not forbidden*" ("*se ne prepove*" or "*ni zadržka*"; "*ist nicht untersagt*"). Still, if the decision to bar an association was issued, the applicant could challenge it before the Ministry of the Interior within a 60-day period. Already in the literature of the time, this procedural cluster was conceptualized as 'application model', different to 'concession model' of the 1852 Act from the neo-absolutist era, closely associated with the Minister of the Interior, Alexander von Bach.

22 Freund, *Vereins- und Versammlungs-Gesetz*, 51–2. For Slovenian readers, also Andrejka, *Društveno pravo*, 183.

23 On comparing the major differences between the Act of 1867 and that of 1852, cf. Freund, *Vereins- und Versammlungsgesetz*, 128–46, together with the text of the Act itself. For Slovenian readers, also Andrejka, *Društveno pravo*, 192–227.

24 Another important change, that was introduced by the 1867 Act was, that the jurisdiction in the matters of associations was now in principle in the hands of the provincial authorities (*Landesstelle*) and not anymore in those of the state (Ministry of the Interior). To the latter it only befell to decide in cases brought against the written barring of an association by the provincial authorities.



Picture 1: The last inner page of the Statues of the Philharmonic Society in Laibach/ Ljubljana from 1854 with the signature of Alexander von Bach, granting Society's further existence following Statutes' amendments, after the adoption of the new Associations' Act in 1852. Statutes are part of a larger dossier from the Vienna State Archives, which in addition, contains the originally presented text of the Statutes to the Ministry of Interior with several officially imposed amendments, very likely in the hand of Bach himself. AT-OeStA/AVA, Inneres Mdl Allgemein A188.18 Philharmonische-Gesellschaft Laibach, 1854.

To briefly sum up. If an association after the 1867 Act was indeed constituted more freely so that in this sense we can concur with the idea of it representing a liberal change, the same can hardly be maintained for the freedom of assembly, inherently necessary for any kind of organisation's autonomous legal life. In this regard, the paragraphs 15 and 18 of the 1867 Act are of crucial importance. According to the first, the leadership of any association was bound to announce its assembly (*Vereinsversammlung; društveno zborovanje*) to the authorities 24 hours in advance, stating its place, time and whether it would be held publicly or not. Moreover, the authorities had the right to send to the Association's Assembly its delegate

(*Abgeordnete; odposlanec*) to whom the information on any person who presented motions, as well as on the speakers were to be given upon his request. The delegate had also the right to demand that on the issues debated at the assembly, the minutes were formulated. And last but not least, the authorities, concretely the [provincial] government in this case (*die [Landes-] Regierung; deželna vlada*) had the right to look into the assembly's minutes at any time. Taking into account all that combined, not much of the idea of assembly's freedom in its actual legal life seemed to be newly granted.²⁵ In fact, only the meetings of the leadership, so of the association's Main committee, were held without the authorities' right to intervention, i. e. without the presence of its delegate.

Given the fact that the 1867 Act does not entail an overreaching definition of an association and further, that the five examples selected, range over almost two centuries, whereby any kind of diachronic definition of the key phenomenon must be relative, I have to revert for it - or at least its key elements - to the theory of associations of that time.²⁶ It will turn out that the key elements of the concept of association according to the 1867 Act are direct predecessors of the modern notion as we understand it on the continent today, and not only in Austria and Slovenia, but also at the level of the European Union.²⁷ These are: voluntary membership, establishment on a permanent basis by agreement among natural²⁸ or legal persons, in-

25 For an interesting detail from the history of the Philharmonic Society, testifying to the fact that this kind of State's supervision was something that the Associations were familiar with from long before pre-1848 era, see Radovan Škrjanc, "Filharmonična družba v Ljubljani od nastanka do sredine 19. stoletja," in *300 let/years Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensis 1701–2001* (Zbornik referatov z mednarodnega simpozija 25. in 26. oktobra 2001 v Ljubljani/Proceedings of the international symposium held in Ljubljana on October 25th and 26th 2001), ed. Ivan Klemenčič in Radovan Škrjanc, 140. In 1802, the Philharmonic Society was granted its application for holding internal music productions under condition that the police director or its deputy was allowed a free access at any time.

26 For a detailed explanation of the notion, as understood at the time, and differentiated from similar ones, cf. Freund, *Vereins- und Versammlungsgesetz*, 10–3.

27 Cf. Article 1 in Bundesgesetz über Vereine, B. G. Bl, I, Nr. 66/2002 and in Zakon o društvih (ZDru-1), U1 RS, št. 6/106, 2006, as well as the resolution of the European Parliament on *A statute for European cross-border associations and non-profit organisations*, adopted on February 17, 2022 (europa.eu), https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2022-0044_EN.html.

28 Even though not especially accentuated in the five cases chosen, one other change in principle, clearly discerned from the associations' Statutes over the course of the 19th century, concerned the role of women. Before 1848, women were part of the life of associations' life in very different ways and roles, and according to varying circumstances, e.g. around 1800, from mere company to a member, to a full member and

dependence and self-governance, endeavour for a common and non-profit purpose.

In addition to the liberal change with regards to association's constitution, it is the latter element, its non-profitability, that represented a major departing from the previous situation according to the 1852 Act. Without going to any complex analysis of the past development for the shortage of space available, it is important to understand that it is only with the 1867 Act, Article 2, that from the old umbrella-concept of 'association' under very familiar variations of names already enumerated above (*Verein*, *Gesellschaft*; *družba*, *društvo*; *Associazione*, *Società*), the organisations pursuing pecuniary, were expressly left out.²⁹ According to the Article 3, the same went for religious institutions and congregations.³⁰ The comprehending of this legal-historic fact has a crucial bearing on our understanding or indeed conceptualising of pre-1848 continuities of different organisational forms, carrying one of the above names to post-1867 realities and up to the present times. In the scientific literature on associations, there exist a certain temptation not only to look for similar forms of organisation as far back as possible, especially to Roman times (*collegia*), but also for their – at least implicitly alluded – continuity.³¹ A certain degree of prudence in such hypothesising over immense time spans and territories is certainly the best policy, not only in a search of continuities, but also in search for legal transplants, touching here on the phenomenon of the received Roman law on the Continent. As comparisons in basic traits of researched phenomenon are always far more reliable as mere similarities in names, there can hardly be,

even as an association's founder and/or financial supporter, certainly also as a soloist performer. In the Statutes after 1848, a standard reference to a member of an association was termed a person of person of both sexes. Cf. for example the Statutes of Philharmonic Society from 1849 or 1852 (*ohne Unterschied des Standes und Geschlechtes*) with those from 1801 (*... Frauenzimmer jedoch machen hier eine Ausnahme, indem nur Musikdilettantinnen, die den Zweck der Gesellschaft befördern, als Mitgliedern Aufgenommen werden können ...*).

29 Article 2: *Vereine und Gesellschaften, welche auf Gewinn berechnet sind, dann alle Vereine für Bank-, Credit- und Versicherungsgeschäfte, sowie Rentenanstalten, Sparcassen und Pfandleihanstalten sind von der Wirksamkeit dieses Gesetzes ausgenommen und unterliegen den besonderen, hierauf bezüglichen Gesetzen.* Cf. Freund, *Vereins- und Versammlungsgesetz*, 21–2. Cf. for example, AT-OeStA/AVA, Inneres Mdl Allgemein A187.2 Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft, Krain.

30 Freund, *Vereins- und Versammlungsgesetz*, 22–4.

31 Cf. Manfred König, "Die Rechtsentwicklung des Vereinswesens in Österreich," in *Ehrenamt und Leidenschaft. Vereine als gesellschaftliche Faktoren*, Salzburger Beiträge zur Volkskunde Bd. 12, ed. Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann (Salzburg: Das Landesinstitut, 2002), 59–64.

for example, a medieval organisational form under such a name (*collegia* or *corpora*) that matched the above five basic traits.

All that said, there cannot be much doubt, that the direct predecessors of the music associations post 1867 in the Habsburg Empire – many with an unbroken continuity, albeit in the following decades slowly transformed – are clearly those founded in more or less two decades around the turn of the 18th century.³² In the standard work on Austrian Music History, Gernot Gruber summed them under the name of *Musikvereine*. Still largely associations of nobles and citizenry of higher status, their common traits according to Gruber were the division of their respective membership into *musizierende* and *zuhörende*, and the founding of Conservatories, albeit their respective orchestras continued to consist of amateurs (*Dilettanten*).³³

After having explained the key statutory change in 1867 and introduced the basic traits of the notion of ‘association’ in theory of the time in the shortage of any overreaching statutory definition, I will now turn to the five cases, introduced in the beginning.

My first one tentatively touches on the history of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, or more to the point, to the history of its identity and self-perception. In the scientific literature the Society is not only widely accepted as the first of its kind among the above-mentioned *Musikvereine*,³⁴ with its formal year of founding being 1794, also its alleged self-perception shares the same status.³⁵

However, my reading of the preserved Philharmonic Society’s Statutes led me to the question, why are the first Society’s Statutes that in fact in their opening article on the aim of the Society refer to the year 1702 those from 1849? I have introduced it in my first quotation at the very beginning. Why is it that the Society’s Statutes from 1801, which on its cover page contain a self-reference to 1794 (*Nach den Statuten vom Jahre 1794. umgearbeitet, und festgesetzt im Jahre 1801.*) do not? Further, if Friedrich Keesbacher

32 Cf. for example archival material on the music society in Gorica/Goriza/Görtz. AT-OeStA/AVA, Inneres Mdl Allgemein A188.17 Philharmonischer-Verein Görz, 1855.

33 Rudolf Flotzinger and Gernot Gruber, eds., *Musikgeschichte Österreichs. Band 2 (Vom Barock zum Vormärz)*, 2. überarbeitete und stark erweiterte Auflage (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), 203.

34 Ibid.

35 Gernot Gruber cursory refers to the Society’s self-perception as spanning back to the year 1701. Ibid.

is to be believed, neither the Statutes from 1796 nor those from 1794³⁶ referred explicitly to 1702, however, as to him, the accompanying documents, lost to us, were in 1794 referring to the Society's new official inception as to the Society's "second founding".³⁷

In the scientific literature of the past decades, the hypothesis on the Society's factual predecessors – or forms of continuity – from the early 18th century, especially regarding the *Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium*, if not from even before,³⁸ has been meticulously dealt with. Metoda Kokole closes her excellent piece on the topic³⁹ with an explanation that the Philharmonic Society at its *de iure* inception in 1794 took its emblem and its motto from the *Academia Philharmonicorum*'s seal. The seal stems from a receipt for a membership's payment from 1705 but with a year 1701 and the motto *Recreat, mentique perenia monstrat* within the seal.⁴⁰ Kokole concludes, that the Philharmonic Society "counted the year 1702 as its 'real beginning', which according to the knowledge of the time⁴¹ had been the founding year of the *Academia Philharmonicorum*."⁴²

A more definite answer to the questions where or who by was the 'interpolation' on the year 1702 first in the Society's Statutes from 1849 and how solid were the sources upon which the claim about the year 1702 in 1849 was made, will have to remain for the future research. However, a find

36 Keesbacher, *Die Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 15. Actually, the version from 1794 is to my knowledge only mentioned in Keesbacher's description of the title page of the Statutes from 1796, which in his time (i. e. in 1862) must still have been preserved: "Statuten, welche die musikalische Gesellschaft zu Laibach bei ihrer Entstehung, den 1. November 1794, festgesetzt hat."

37 Keesbacher, *Die Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 12.

38 "Die Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach, welche diesen Namen seit ihrer Entstehung im Jahre 1702 führt, ..." in the versions 1849, 1854 and 1874 and "Die im Jahre 1702 gegründete 'Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach'..." in the version from 1901.

39 Metoda Kokole, "Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensis v evropskem okviru," in *300 let/years Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensis 1701–2001* (Zbornik referatov z mednarodnega simpozija 25. in 26. oktobra 2001 v Ljubljani/Proceedings of the international symposium held in Ljubljana on October 25th and 26th, 2001), ed. Ivan Klemencič (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, Založba ZRC/Research Centre of SASA, ZRC Publishing, 2004), 53.

40 Ibid. 41.

41 The large part of Metoda Kokole's contribution is dedicated to the persuasive argumentation of the year 1701 being the actual founding year of the *Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensis*. Ibid.

42 "... ter kot svoj 'pravi začetek' štela leto 1702, po takratni vednosti leto ustanovitve Academie Philharmonicorum". Ibid., 53.

N a m e und Sitz des Vereines	Zweck des Vereines	Zeit der Ent- ste- hung	Zahl der Mitglieder	Vermögens- Geharung	Wirksamkeit des Vereines
Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach	Erhaltung, Vervollkommung und Verbreitung der Musik.	1702	186	1500 fl.	—
III. Section des Lloyd in Triest	Sammlung und Verbreitung aller jener Nachrichten und Kenntnisse, welche den Handel, die Schifffahrt, den Gewerbeleiss und die Künste zu fördern geeignet sind, sowie die Hervorbringung literarischer und artistischer Werke und die Vermittlung ihres Absatzes.	1849	—	Actiencapital: 30.000 fl.	Diese Abtheilung des Lloyd hält die entsprechenden Lesesäle, dann eine Druckerei, und eine artistische Anstalt für Stahlstich und Holzschnitt, sorgt auch für die Herausgabe periodischer Blätter, besonders eines solchen, welches den Interessen des Handels und der Schifffahrt gewidmet ist.
Philharmon. Verein in Görz	Förderung der Kirchen-, Theater- und Kammer-Musik.	1854	—	—	Als Mittel zur Förderung des Gesellschaftszweckes dienen vorzüglich gemeinschaftliche Uebungen der Mitglieder.
Verein des tirolisch-vorarlberg. Landes-Museums Ferdinandum zu Innsbruck	Förderung wissenschaftlicher, künstlerischer und technischer Bildung, insbesondere Ansammlung und Aufbewahrung dessen, was die Natur des Landes und die Thätigkeit seiner Einwohner in dieser Beziehung Belehrendes und Merkwürdiges darbieten.	1823	408	V. 3463 fl. 44 kr. E. 5397 fl. 52 kr. A. 3339 fl. 8 kr.	Die Gesellschaft besitzt eine Sammlung tirolisch. vorarib. Mineralien und Gebirgsarten mit den darin vorkommenden Versteinungen, v. Gegenständen des Bergbaues, ein Herbarium und eine Sammlung von inländischen Holzarten, eine zoologische Sammlung und eine Sammlung von andern Naturerwürdigkeiten, eine Kunstsammlung von Werken der zeichnenden und plastischen Kunst, ein Kunstkabinett mit den übrigen Producten des vaterländischen Kunstleisses, einen Productensaal für inländische Fabricate, Manufactur - Erzeugnisse und Erfindungen oder deren Modelle; eine Sammlung von Antiken, Denksteinen und eine Wappen, Siegel- und Münzsammlung in Originalen oder Abdrücken zur Erläuterung der Landesgeschichte, eine Urkundensammlung in Originalen oder treuen Abschriften, eine Autographensammlung, eine Sammlung von Abschriften oder Zeichnungen der im Lande befindlichen interessanten Inschriften, Grabsteine, Denkmäler u. s. w., endlich eine Bibliothek von Werken, Handschriften und Karten, besonders von solchen, die auf Tirol und Vorarlberg Bezug haben.

N a m e und Sitz des Vereines	Zweck des Vereines	Zeit der Ent- ste- hung	Zahl der Mitglieder	Vermögens- Geharung
Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach	Erhaltung, Vervollkommung und Verbreitung der Musik.	1702	186	1500 fl.

Picture 2: Philharmonic Society in Laibach/ Ljubljana being described with 1702 as its year of foundation in the state statistical overview of the Associations of the Austrian Empire from 1857. AT-OeStA/AVA Familienachive (FA) Hugelmann 53.14 Moriz von Stubenrauch, *Statistische Darstellung des Vereinswesens im Kaiserthume Österreich*, Wien, 1857.

in the Austrian State Archives might point us in a possible and promising direction. The family archives of one of the leading experts on the state statistics, Karl H. Hugelmann, contain a detailed overview of all the existing associations of the Austrian Empire in a publication *Statistische Darstellung des Vereinswesens*.⁴³ In 1857, it was prepared upon the commission of Alexander von Bach. There in a table on its page 352, *Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach* is presented alongside several others, with the basic data in the respective columns, one of which is *Zeit der Entstehung*. The year given is 1702.

43 Moritz von Stubenrauch, *Statistische Darstellung des Vereinwesens in Kaiserthume Österreich* (Wien: K.u.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1857)

Of course, it may well be, that even though the statistical overview prides itself on being crafted upon the official data, the year 1702 could merely have been adopted from both versions of the Statutes, that the Ministry of the Interior had received and granted in the previous decade, i. e. from those from 1849 and from 1854. However, I would like to hypothesise that if in the future, a similar official dossier for the Statutes from 1849 is found as we now have it for the year 1854,⁴⁴ there among the documents we just might find a further clue as to why in 1849, after 45 years, the first Article had been altered.

In addition to what was said on the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, the first of its kind at the turn of the 18th century and on its self-perception projected to 1702, it is not too much of an exaggeration to say that its Statutes from the decades, following the course of the 19th century, show its diligent adaptation to the changing state regulation on associations. For my second case, the Vienna Philharmonics *en tant que* association, which I am about to present, this was certainly not so. What is more, as already introduced with my second quotation, Clemens Hellsberg maintained that before 1908 the Vienna Philharmonic did not exist in any “juristisch existierende form”. With that, I cannot readily agree.

Firstly, I would like to point out that the conviction among the general public, that a “legal form” in order to exist, has to be given in advance (i. e. be sanctioned by the state) and cannot – dogmatically – arise from the legally relevant practice, is still to this day a child of the continental legal development of the Enlightenment Era. It certainly does not exist in the nature of the law *per se*. That view only really took deep roots after the so called “codification revolution” at the turn of the 18th century. Then, the so called comprehensively systematised codifications based on abstractly conceptualised legal notions, modelled on the natural sciences’ method of *mos geometricus*, took away the legal force from other different sources of law, above all from the judge-made law and customary law, and reserved it only for the laws and regulations by the state.⁴⁵ Secondly, in analysing the case of the Vienna Philharmonics, one really has to take the fact, that in the Associations’ Act from 1867, the associations, pursuing pecuniary goals, were explicitly excluded from the overall concept of ‘association’, seriously. I would therefore limit Hellsberg’s assessment, which does point to some-

44 Cf. picture 1 with the citation.

45 Cf. Paolo Grossi, *The history of European Law* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 80–6.

thing important, to the period between 1867 and 1908. Not being familiar with all the details of the orchestra's founding years, I can only say, that in principle, if at some point, the orchestra, which the general public clearly associated with one form of association or the other, to which the famous testament of Rudolf Putz, who in 1908 left his estate "zugunsten der Gesellschaft der Wiener Philharmoniker," testifies,⁴⁶ registered their Statutes with the authorities, before 1867, the criteria for being an association in the eye of the law, could have been met.

To my mind, during the period mentioned, the orchestra was not conformed to the Associations' Act according to three criteria. In addition to pecuniary goals, expressly encapsulated by the self-designation *Konzert-Unternehmung* and their Statutes not being registered by the authorities, which consequently held the pursuit of their concert activities away from the state's supervisory eye, there was the criteria of permanency of membership which was not entirely met. I will now treat this issue together with a possible answer to Hellsberg's claim that the orchestra in legal sense did not exist.

Before the adoption of the Statutes in 1908 in the sense of the 1867 Act, every year after a spring summon (*Zirkular zufolge §6 des Geschäftsordnung*),⁴⁷ each individual, having of course once in the past already passed the rigorous audition, was asked to sign his name into what they colloquially termed a *Namenliste*⁴⁸ (picture 3). In my view, that was a form of signing a contract, something that also the official entry in the Orchestra's Archives, as *Verpflichtungsdokument*, nicely encapsulated. By that, each individual accepted the obligation to perform with the orchestra and abide by the decisions, passed in their general assembly, only for the year that followed. The lack of required permanency of membership can also be discerned from the wording of the Statutes from 1908, with which the orchestra not only received its official name of Wiener Philharmoniker for the first time, but also its permanent membership. Not everyone ever signed onto previ-

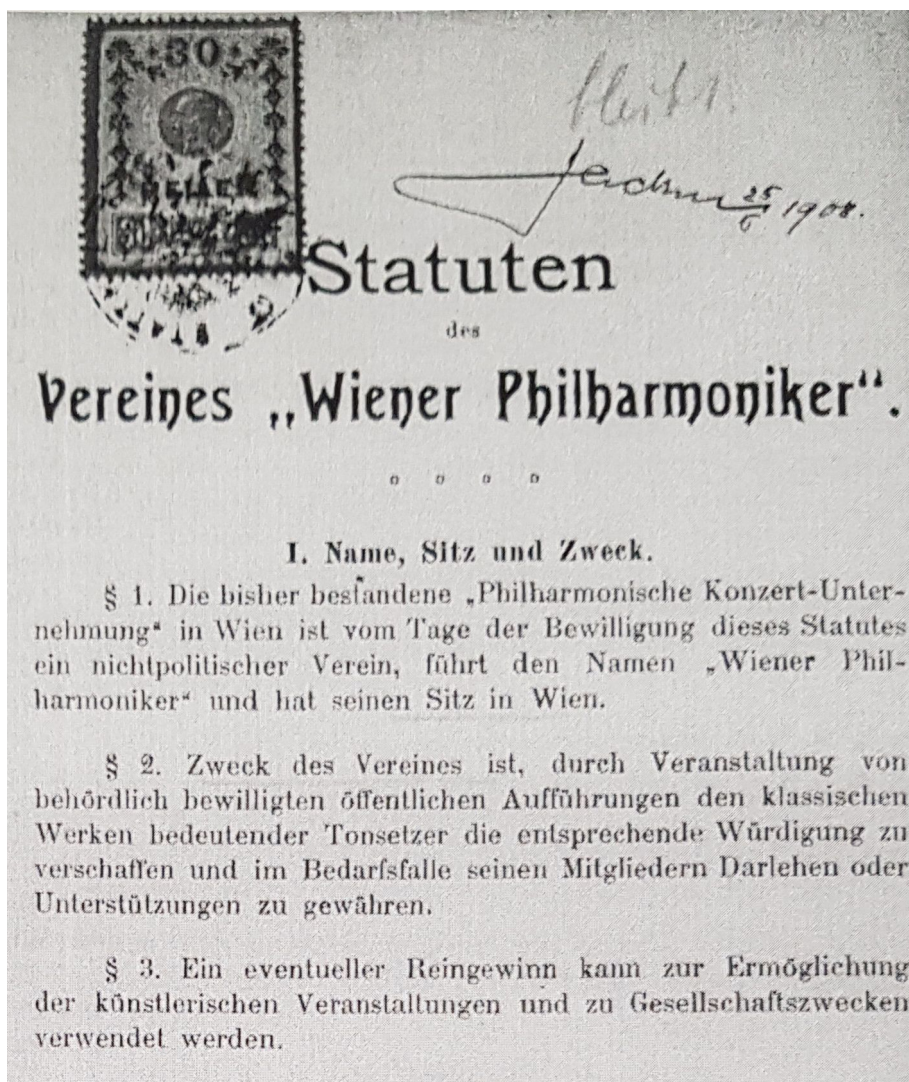
46 On Putz, cf. *infra*.

47 I would like to point out a telling difference in the naming of their internal rules before 1908 – *Geschäftsordnung* and not *Statuten*. A similar approach can be also discerned in Ljubljana later with Orkestralno društvo, which contrary to an association in the sense of 1867 Act, adopted its rules under the Slovenian equivalent *poslovna pravila* (different to the *Statut* of Glasbena matica, or that of the (first) Slovene Philharmonic, for example). I would like to suggest that this was due to the awareness of their *sui generis* status (at least among the jurists). Cf. *infra* f. 66.

48 On the importance and the historical context of *Namenlisten*, Hellsberg, *Demokratie*, 368.

	<u>Violino I.</u>	<u>Violino I.</u>	<u>Violino II.</u>	<u>Violino II.</u>	<u>Viola</u>	<u>Viola</u>
1	Prill	Carl Prill	2. Bayanschek	Coppenhagen	6. Delinck	Jenny Schindler
2	Ohmer	Ernst Ohmer	3. Hallmann	Hallmann	7. Kohn	Kohn
3	Siebert A.	A. Siebert	4. Zeinrich	Jean Schmidt	8. Anziska	A. Anziska
4	Stelzig	P. Stelzig	5. Schwegler	Schwegler	9. Feldenberger	C. Feldenberger
5	Brokman	Brokman	6. Klein Joz.	Klein	10. Mayer	Konrad Mayer
6	Angwitzer	J. Angwitzer	Balm	Pelen	11.	
7	Stecher	Stecher	8. Dachsich	Konrad	12.	
8	Kreuzinger	Hans Kreuzinger	9. Zert	Otto Zert	<u>Cello</u>	<u>Cello</u>
9	Salamon	Salamon	10. Kraft	J. Kraft	1. Sulzer	J. Sulzer
10	Egghard	J. Egghard	11. Semrad	H. Semrad	2. Fischerhof	Fischerhof
11	Wahl	Wahl	12. Dengler	Dengler	3. Bogner	H. Bogner
12	Rosenthal	H. Rosenthal	13. Engelbrecht	Engelbrecht	4. Kretschman	H. Kretschman
13	Schwendt	H. Schwendt	14. Fandler	Fandler	5. Schmidt	Frank Schmidt
14	Klein Joz.	Klein Joz.	15. Jeraj	Jeraj	6. Klein Jr.	Frank Klein
15	Marecher	Marecher	<u>Viola</u>	<u>Viola</u>	7. Rehn	Hans Rehn
16	Fischer	Paul Fischer	1. Michna	A. Michna	8. Zeral	Zeral
17	Weiss	Hans Weiss	2. Winter	Hans Winter	9. Bruckmann	Bruckmann
18	Riesensfeld	H. Riesensfeld	3. v. Steiner	H. Steiner	10.	
	<u>Violino II.</u>	<u>Violino II.</u>	4. Lesing	Lesing	<u>Contrabasso</u>	<u>Contrabasso</u>
1	Lichtenstem	Lichtenstem	5. Streibinger	P. Streibinger	1. Simandl	H. Simandl

Picture 3: An excerpt from a page of the so-called Namenliste for the Saison 1901. There in the fourth column among the members, playing II violins, we can find the name of Karel Jeraj (in row 14). In all the Namenlisten known, Jeraj figures in their midst. HA/Wph, A/Vd Verpflichtungsdokumente, No. 31-47 (1892-1908).



Picture 4: The first three articles from the Statuten des Vereines 'Wiener Philharmoniker' from 1908, reconstituting the orchestra according to the Associations' Act from 1867. Wiener Philharmoniker, Vereinsakt 1908–1957 (from a copy received by Historical Archives of Vienna Philharmonic from Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv M. Abt. 119, A 32 (Gelöschte Vereine, 4602/21).

ous *Namenlisten* was according to the Articles on membership of the new Statutes – now duly registered with the authorities –, automatically accepted as a member of the *Verein* in the sense of the 1867 Act.

For me, the yearly signing of the *Namenlisten* points to the direction of its organisational form before 1908 falling under the state regulation on private law. For a legal historian, it is of a particular interest that such a reorganisation, as befell the orchestra in 1908, happened after the gentle, albeit firm inducement, coming from the courts of law. Had the orchestra not followed the path of reorganising, the estate of Rudolf Putz might very well have been lost to them. Namely, Rudolf Putz left the orchestra his estate *en tant que – Gesellschaft*. The only way that they could have proven to the court that they, in fact, were led by a common goal in favour primarily of the association, overriding those of the individuals, was to reconstitute themselves as a *Verein* in the sense of the 1867 Act. The archival material shows that they had to prove that first to themselves,⁴⁹ which, after some weeks of deliberation with a minority of dissenting voices, they successfully did, and reached the unanimous decision on reconstitution on June 19, 1908.⁵⁰

Following Hellsberg, it is well known that the orchestra in 1908 was not faced with a motion to reconstitute itself for the first time. Soon after the adoption of the 1867 Act, not only was such a proposal given, but it was in 1872 also successfully passed, though never afterwards carried through.⁵¹ It is my surmise, that in their eyes, it was not that the format of an association according to the so-called liberal 1867 Act would grant them more (or even the essential) autonomy, but rather to the contrary! In other words, I would like to suggest that they did not choose to reconstitute themselves into an association in the sense of the 1867 Act in order *not* to lose the vast autonomy that they had already developed and got used to enjoying.

It is only a matter of historic coincidence that in the very year when the *Philharmonische Konzert-Unternehmung* in Wien transformed itself to an association proper under the name of Wiener Philharmoniker, Ljubljana got its first full civil symphonic orchestra that it had been lacking until

49 Cf. the advice of the orchestra's lawyer on the matter HA/Wph, A-Pr-015-49. In case, a member of the orchestra would pursue a single course of action to recover part of the estate, the relatives might successfully use that argument against the orchestra in court. They could argue that the orchestra failed to demonstrate its commitment to the common goal, and with that not, in fact, being a *Gesellschaft*, for the sole purpose of which Rudolf Putz had left them his estate.

50 Hellsberg, *Demokratie*, 368-70. For the minutes of this important general assembly, passed on 19 June 1908 which Hellsberg counts among the most important dates in the history of the orchestra, cf. HA/Wph, A-Pr-015-50a (Erster Punkt der Hauptversammlung, die nach eingehender Debatte die Gründung des Vereins "Wiener Philharmoniker" einstimmig beschloss; 19. Juni 1908).

51 Ibid. HA/WPh, A-Pr-001-22 (Otto Dessoff, im Jahre 1873).

then. After some deliberation among the members of the founding institutions, Ljubljanska društvena godba (*Laibacher Vereinkapelle*) and Glasbena matica, both organised as an association respectively, the name of Slovenian Philharmonic in Ljubljana was chosen at a general assembly of the Ljubljanska društvena godba on October 23, 1908, where the orchestra was reconfigured and officially thus renamed.⁵² To the prehistory and the circumstances surrounding the founding of the first Slovenian Philharmonic in Ljubljana as well to its short but important life in terms of its structure, program, concert life, management and its talented and committed conductor Vaclav Talich, several generations of researches dedicated their works. The same is true of the crucial role of Glasbena matica in bringing about the first civil symphonic orchestra in Ljubljana and of the tensions and lack of cooperation on this issue with Philharmonic Society in the decades before World War I.⁵³

I would like to contribute to the existing literature in two ways. First, by offering a somewhat different reading of the sources on the envisaged potential merger of the two associations from the so-called 'Archives of the First Slovenian Philharmonic', kept in the National and University Library in Ljubljana, and on which every other researcher together with articles from a daily press so far has relied upon. Namely, the third quote at the beginning of my contribution was taken from the minutes of the session of the Main committee of the Glasbena matica on September 4, 1908 where the organisational form of the orchestra was again discussed, and where the idea of a merger between the two associations was finally abandoned.⁵⁴ How much weight *per se* the advice by a prominent jurist and writer Fran Milčinski, that the link between the two associations should be as loose as possible, so that the Glasbena matica can detach from Društvena godba in any given time, in the face of financial arguments actually carried, may not be of much interest. However, wherefrom Milčinski, in his capac-

52 On the founding assembly of the reconfigured orchestra, i. e. first 'Slovenian Philharmonic in Ljubljana' on October 23, 1908, and on the diachronic and synchronic historical context and life of the orchestra reconstructed largely upon the newspaper reports and concert programs, see the monography by Primož Kuret, *100 let Slovenske filharmonije (1908–2008)* (Ljubljana: Slovenska filharmonija, 2008), 24–5. Cf. Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina. Ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2015), 115.

53 Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina*. 115.

54 On the importance of the session from April 16, 1908, where the merger had already been negotiated between the members of the Committees of the respective Associations, cf. Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina*, 116, f. 207.

ity of a member of the Association's Committee, the idea to give advice on such a thing as a "loose link" between the two associations, had the members of both agreed to the process of merging? Nowhere in the Act of 1867 was anything like that envisaged. Did he by "loose link" only think of the agreement according to which some of the prominent members of *Glasbena matica* would join the Main Committee of *Društvena godba* (from October 23 onwards, the (first) Slovenian Philharmonic), as full members? Did Milčinski who would soon become a high court judge in Ljubljana have in mind a particularly novel legal frame?

Second, I would like to alert the future researchers to the fact, that there in the Slovenian State Archives, one can find complementary archival material, that was gathered and kept by the authorities, monitoring the lives of the associations pre- and post-1918. I stumbled across a dossier on the first Slovenian Philharmonic among several hundred non-related dossiers on associations from every walk of life in the fond of *Kraljevska banska uprava Dravske banovine*. It is neatly organised in the familiar vein of good Habsburg administrating practice, where the dossier would contain the documentation on all the previous forms of organisation of a given association. The dossier contains little less than a hundred pages of documents, and chronologically spans to the year 1901, and to the first Statute of *Ljubljanska meščanska godba*,⁵⁵ a precursor of the *Ljubljanska društvena godba*. Thus, it also contains the Statutes of the Slovenian Philharmonic in all their subsequently changed variants, as well as those of its predecessors, *Ljubljanska društvena godba*, together with the rest of the official correspondence needed for successful application of the associations.⁵⁶ For the purpose of this contribution, I would only like to point to the somewhat surprising document at the very top of the dossier, which is also seemingly the last one, and with which the Association's formal dissolution was con-

55 On a statute of "Ljubljanska meščanska godba" in a form of a manuscript, cf. *Ibid.*, 113, f. 195, stating its provenance from the Archives of Republic of Slovenia by a no. 864, which at first seemed untraceable. See the citation of the much larger dossier (*spisovno gradivo*), containing several versions of the statutes, and not only of *Meščanska godba*, along with official correspondence, minutes of meetings etc., in the next footnote. I have given a more detailed explanation on the reconstructed three approaches to the sources on associations in the Archives *via Kartoteka, Kataster* and *Spisovno gradivo infra*, in *Bibliography*, f. 81.

56 SI AS 68 XVI *Kraljevska banska uprava Dravske banovine*, 16 /2 (*spisovno gradivo*), 13.001–17.000 for the year 1922, 13583. About the existence of the dossier, together with its citation, I have duly notified the curator of the Music Collection at NUK, where the archive of the first Slovenian Philharmonic is kept.

firmed. Certainly, the fact that the association of the First Slovenian Philharmonic was not officially dissolved in 1913, but as late as in 1922, may be more of an interest to a legal historian than to a historian of music. The document refers to Vladimir Ravnihar, a formidable lawyer, a member of Slovenian intellectual elite and as such also a member of the first Slovenian Government in Ljubljana in the scope of a transitory State of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs in November 1918, directly involved in what they themselves termed as *prevrat* (revolution). Serving on the government, Ravnihar was in charge of conceptualising and carrying out the process of slovenisation⁵⁷ of judicial and teaching staff in the newly founded political entity, his actions very much mirroring the parallel germanisation of all the public offices⁵⁸ in what until the prohibition by the victorious alliance at the peace conference later in Paris was officially called German Austria. However, the document in question refers to Ravnihar in his capacity as the president of the association of (first) Slovenian Philharmonic. It is worth pointing out that Ravnihar has served as president of both Slovenian Philharmonic predecessors, Ljubljanska društvena godba and Ljubljanska meščanska godba, as well. In fact, from the first Statutes of the latter in 1901 onwards, many of the documents seem to be written in his own hand. As a committed member of Glasbena matica, Ravnihar would later become its president, too. In the following decades he was indispensable for its thoughtful management, and after 1945, for its ardent defence, with however meagre results in face of the new Slovenian political elite and its political goals and preferences.⁵⁹

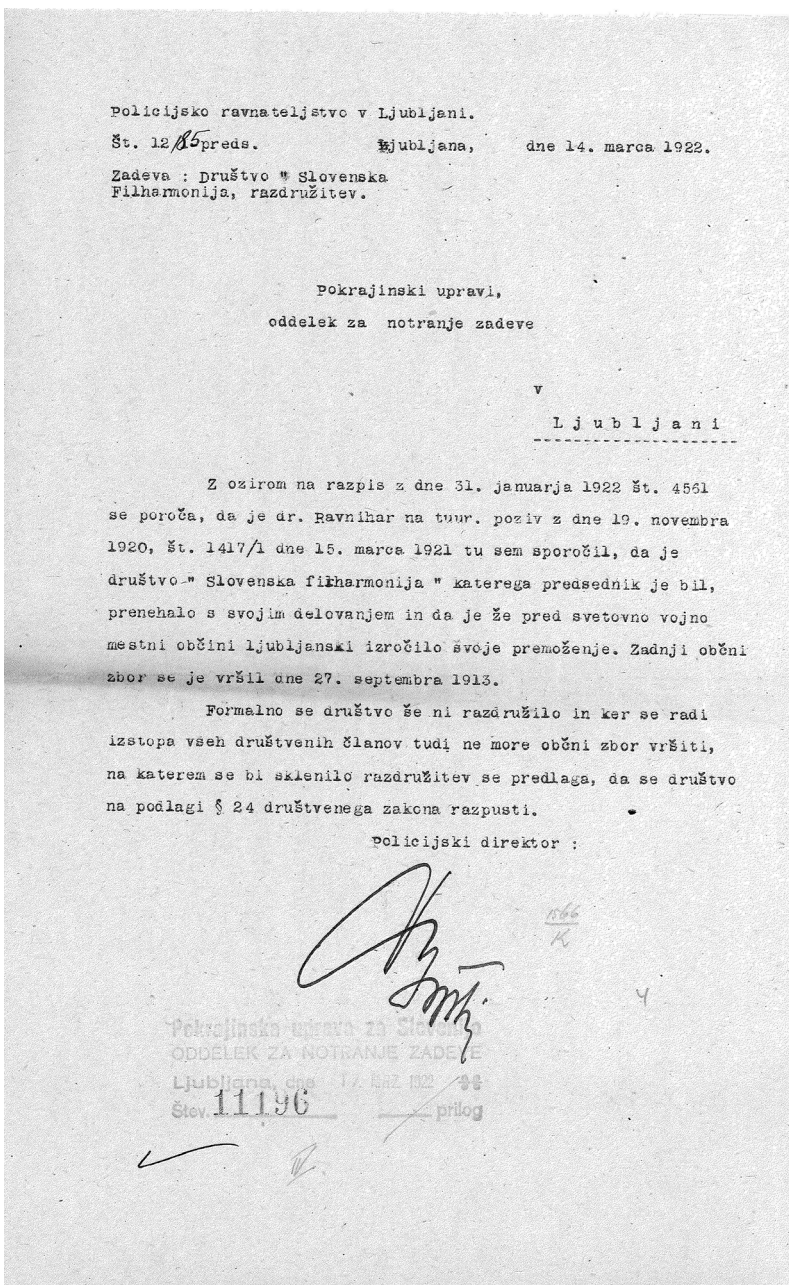
The dissolution of the association of Slovenian Philharmonic in 1922 was a part of a vast sweep carried out by the officials in the new administration. Their task⁶⁰ was to gather the reliable data on which associations from every spectre of the social life from pre-1914 period were still active

57 Contrary to a very recent view, expressed in the musicological literature, this cannot by no accounts be termed “ethnic cleansing”. Cf. Aleš Nagode in his introduction to Aleš Nagode, Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, eds., *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem III. Glasba na Slovenskem med letoma 1800 in 1918* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba FF in Založba ZRC, 2021), xvii. On president of *Okrajno sodišče (Bezirksgericht)* in Ljubljana, forbidding greetings in Slovenian upon entering the court building not long before the end of the war, cf. Vladimir Ravnihar, “Kako je bilo?” *Slovenski pravnik* 54, no. 11–12 (1 December 1940): 368. Cf. also the next footnote.

58 Vladimir Ravnihar, *Mojega življenja pot. Spomini dr. Vladimirja Ravniharja* (Ljubljana: Oddelek za zgodovino FFUL, 1997), 134–8.

59 Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina*, 268–72.

60 Judging from the official correspondence found among the archival material, there among high officials, this time in Ljubljana, in charge of this task, was Rudolf Andrejka. Cf. the last of the initial quotations.



Picture 5: A document, confirming the dissolution of the association of the (first) Slovene Philharmonic in the year 1922. SI AS 68 XVI Kraljeva uprava Dravske banovine, 16-2, 13-001-17.000 (1922), delovodna številka 13583.

de facto and which only *pro forma*, i. e. ultimately wanting to bring the so-called cadastre of associations⁶¹ up to speed. However, the interesting detail was, that in 1913, the association as such was not formally dissolved together with the orchestra by chance, but on purpose! The words of its president Vladimir Ravnihar himself, evoking the financial and other difficulties as the reasons for the orchestra's dissolution in 1913, to this effect were:

*The association as such should exist on, firstly, so that the old debts could be paid off and secondly, so that it will be there when the time is right and the conditions given for a new orchestra.*⁶²

To my mind, the advice of Milčinski as well that of Ravnihar are the examples of the creative legal minds of both prominent jurists, members of Glasbena matica, who were aspiring to accommodate the needs of the musicians and their corpora by interpreting the paragraphs of the law rather loosely. They were trying to find solutions to various aims and interests of the main protagonists, such as Matej Hubad, in *sui generis* forms of 'integrated' models of association not envisaged by the letter of the law.

I dare say that a similar, if not even a direct conceptual derivative from the latter case (the operative idea of 'loose connection') came to the fore in the case of Orkestralno društvo six years later, only with at least one important difference. In comparison to 1908/1913, in 1919 many of the strong personalities from the same music circle were still around, however in the new state, its main protagonists such as Vladimir Ravnihar, Matej Hubad and Anton Lajovic now holding the positions much closer to the political power. In many ways, they themselves came to personalize that power.⁶³

The fate of the Orkestralno društvo is so inextricably linked to the personality of Karel Jeraj that I chose not only my fourth out of my five initial quotations but also the very last one with him in mind. To the research and literature on the Orkestralno društvo,⁶⁴ I would first like to contribute a rather differently nuanced view from my research predecessors, firmly rooted in the archival material on the associations proper – or better in

61 On the rather complicated issue of the cadastre and other related archival sources on the associations in Carniola and post-1918 in Ljubljana, *infra* in Bibliography, f. 81.

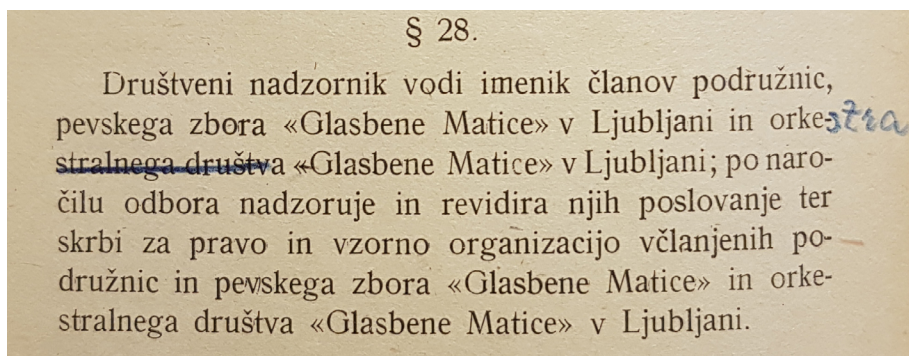
62 Kuret, *100 let Slovenske filharmonije*, 46, quoted in *Novi akordi* XII, no. 5–6 (1913): 54.

63 For an opposite example *par excellence*, cf. Jernej Weiss, *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939). Življenje za glasbo* (Maribor: Litera, Pedagoška fakulteta, 2010).

64 Andreja Pernuš, *Ustanovitev in delovanje Orkestralnega društva Glasbene matice v Ljubljani od leta 1919 do 1945* (dipl., Univerza v Ljubljani, 2009).

the lack of it. There among the preserved archival material on the Orkestralno društvo in NUK, an intriguing document issued by the police director in Ljubljana in 1929 to the president Ivan Karlin, first aroused my attention and opened up for me an unexpected line of inquiry.⁶⁵ From the official letter, it was clear that there in the official evidence on the associations kept by the authorities in Ljubljana, the Orkestralno društvo could not be found.

Later, the lack of any entry in the official 'filing system' (*Kartoteka*) on the associations as well as in the so called Associations' cadastre, kept in the state Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, only confirmed my hypothesis. Despite of its very name – Orkestralno društvo, the organisation of this music corpus never legally amounted to an association in the sense of the 1867 Act, still applicable post-1918 in the newly founded State. It is my surmise that at least to the jurists among the leadership of the Glasbena matica, such as Ravnihar and Lajovic, this was a very well known fact. In the altered version of the Statutes of Glasbena matica, there in the article 28 in both of the preserved copies in NUK someone crossed off the name Orkestralno društvo and wrote in hand the mere word *orkester* in front of it.



Picture 6: The alteration of the name Orkestralno društvo, in the Article 28 in one of the two copies of the Statutes of Glasbena matcia from 1921, by someone having crossed the name and replaced it with a sole word orchestra in front of it. NUK, Music Collection, Pravila GM [Statutes of GM].

For the future research, I would like to contribute a further line of questions. Why did the leadership of Glasbena matica already in 1919 in its letter to the president of Orkestralno društvo, on the one hand, play along in actually treating and naming the music corpus in question as an

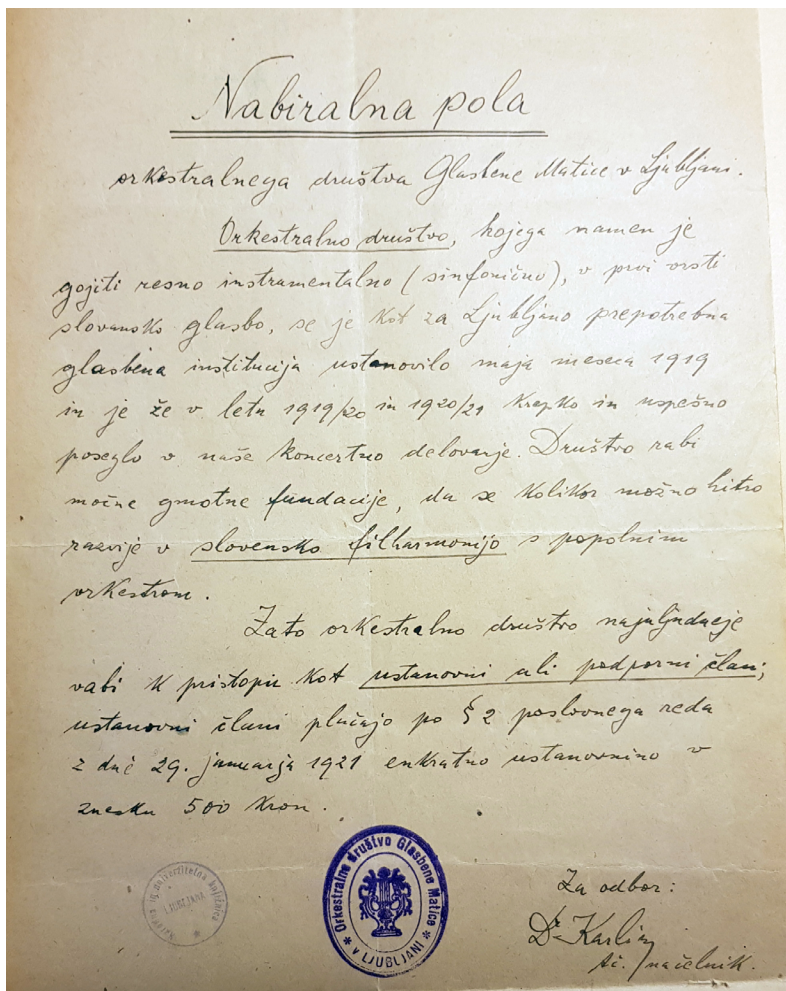
65 NUK, Music Collection, fond GM, Okrestralno društvo, Dopisi O.

association, on the other hand, however, expressly granting the corpus the same status within its midst as the choir of Glasbena matica had enjoyed it – which was not in any sense an association apart. Was that another *de facto* form of a “loose link”? It was perhaps not a mere coincidence, that the rules of the Orkestralno društvo in comparison to those of Glasbena matica were always officially referred to as *poslovna pravila* (*Geschäftsordnung*)⁶⁶ and never a *statut*, in a much similar vein as in Vienna, where only after 1908, the rules of the Vienna Philharmonic were called *Statuten*, different to *Geschäftsordnung* from the period before that.

The crucial period not very well known to us for the sparsity of the archival records are the early post-1918 years between 1919 and 1922. From the point of view of Orkestralno društvo, this period is undeniably marked by Karel Jeraj's return to Ljubljana in 1919. He came with a firm conviction of bringing his fellow compatriots the experience and knowledge gained as a long-standing member of Vienna Philharmonic, thoroughly committed to the grand philharmonic idea,⁶⁷ in pursuit of which the orchestra back in 1842 was first conceived. Jeraj's passion and commitment to the fostering of the symphonic music to the greatest of heights possible, is clearly discerned also from his correspondence with the leadership of Glasbena matica and with the members of the orchestra itself.

66 An example of *poslovni red* (*Geschäftsordnung*) of “orkestralnega društva Glasbene matice v Ljubljani, društva za gojitev sinfonične glasbe [of an association for fostering symphonic music]” is preserved in NUK, Music Collection, fond GM, Orkestralno društvo, Dopisi P. This version contains 17 Articles, one later version from 1927 only six. On the possible significance of its rules not being named *Statut*, very possibly for the lack of its status of an association in the sense of the 1867 Act, cf. *supra* f. 47.

67 In my view, Jeraj best expressed the very philharmonic idea as a mission for Orkestralno društvo, as well, in his letter, announcing his leaving the post of the conductor of Orkestralno društvo. Not only did he want to introduce the Slovenian public with the most important symphonic world literature, and not only was he aiming at perfection from the artistic point of view, but also from the technical one. He stressed that he was convinced that the true grandiosity of these works could only be attained by all the means of the big orchestra that can cater to all the requirements of the composer. Jeraj further maintained that to this goal, the orchestra must be committed through its cultural mission. “*Predvsem sem hotel seznaniti našo javnost z najvažnejšimi simfoničnimi deli svetovne literature in to ne samo umetniško, temveč tudi tehnično popolno, to je z vsemi sredstvi velikega orkestra, kakor to zahtevajo taka dela v izvorniku. Prepričan sem namreč, da more vso grandioznost teh skladb izraziti le orkester, ki zadosti vsem skladateljevim zahtevam. In to mora storiti orkester, ki hoče izvrševati kulturno misijo, sicer izgublja na pomenu.*” NUK, Music Collection, fond GM, Orkestralno društvo, Dopisi O.



Picture 7: An invitation to join the 'Orkestralno društvo of the Glasbena matica' as a founding or a supporting member, by contributing the necessary payment (in Sloven. Nabiralna pola, set by the Article 2 of the poslovni red (Geschäftsordnung) from January 29, 1921. The invitation refers to the orchestra's founding in May 1919 with the intent to evolve as quickly as feasible into Slovenian Philharmonic. Signed in the name of its Committee by Ivan Karlin. NUK, Music Collection, fond GM, Orkestralno društvo, Dopisi O.

A telling document from 1921, a so-called *Nabiralna pola* for the *Orkestralno društvo*, confirms what Jeraj later wrote in his short biography⁶⁸ on the reason for his drive and desire to leave the Vienna Philharmonic and

68 Jeraj, "[a short autobiography]," 13-4.

to come to Ljubljana: in order to contribute to the renewal of the Slovenian Philharmonic (see picture 7).

This begs at least one further research question. Why did Vladimir Ravnihar in 1921/22 consent to the formal dissolution of the association of the (first) Slovenian Philharmonic despite both of the driving forces behind the Orkestralno društvo, Karel Jeraj and Ivan Karlin⁶⁹ clearly envisaged the renewal of the orchestra under the same name as early as 1919? Was Ravnihar perhaps not persuaded that the new orchestra could ever meet the expectations and hopes he himself cherished back in 1913 by keeping the form of association legally alive after all members of the orchestra have departed? Have such talks and plans ever taken place? Or were there much more trivial or even mundane interest-driven reasons for such a course of events?

After having presented four cases from the legal life of music corpora from different perspectives, relevant to the organisational form of an association, I would like to conclude with a reversed perspective, i. e. from the point of view of an association's member. I will do so by expanding just a little bit further on lesser-known facts from the life of Karel Jeraj. Omitting Jeraj's early couple of years as an employee of the music association *par excellence* in Ljubljana, i. e. of Glasbena matica,⁷⁰ and his membership of several Slavic music associations in Vienna afterwards, in which in his own words he took a special pride,⁷¹ – something that still awaits further research –, I would like to concentrate on a couple of facts from his life as a member of the association of Vienna Philharmonic. I would like to thank Clemens Hellsberg and Raimund Lissy, in their roles as Directors of the Historical Archives of the Vienna Philharmonic, and above all Silvia Kargl, the Archives' *spiritus agens*, for facilitating me the access. In turn, I thought it was appropriate to gather and hand over to the Archives the copies of the sources and literature on Jeraj known to me at the time. They included Jeraj's short and rather humorous *Erinnerungen eines Philharmonikers*, known to the wider Slovenian public only in Slovenian, though originally

69 On the very scarce information from the life of Ivan Karlin, Pernuš, *Ustanovitev*, 19, f. 34.

70 On the circumstances of his disengagement after only two years compare the minutes of the session by the Main Committee from February 14, 1895. Zapisniki odborovih sej Glasbene Matice v Ljubljani [Minutes of the sessions by the Main Committee] (from September 30, 1885, until July 1901).

71 Jeraj, "[a short autobiography]," 13.

handwritten in German.⁷² They are preserved in NUK.⁷³ A born and educated Viennese, Jeraj was certainly a Slovenian by conviction (and from father's side of the family), but not by (mother's) tongue. To my surprise, the *Erinnerungen* in any of the versions never until then made their way back to the community of Jeraj's former colleagues, to the shared memory of who, together with their illustrious conductors, composers and soloists such as Mahler, Dvořák or Caruso on the Christmas day in 1938, Jeraj wrote them in the first place.

From the perspective of a member of an association with a long and prestigious tradition – for this purpose regardless of its later formal restructuring – I would especially like to draw the attention to a very specific event. To my knowledge, it has not yet been dealt with in the Slovenian literature at all, even though showcased in the history of the Vienna Philharmonic by Clemens Hellsberg.⁷⁴

On June 12, 1914, towards the end of the session of the association's general assembly, Jeraj took to the floor, and expressed his protest in the light of a performance by some of his colleagues at events, celebrating German national feelings a few weeks before. According to the minutes preserved, his words provoked a thunderous response by virtually everyone in the orchestra, accusing him of inciting national differentiation. Despite Jeraj's apologies, voices to exclude him from the association were not appeased until a couple of weeks later, after the fatal shots in Sarajevo, and the death of the archduke Franz Ferdinand. Given the later history of Vienna Philharmonic, for Hellsberg this event (i. e. the Jeraj case) symbolically foretold the future events.⁷⁵

It is difficult to assess to what extent the event still played on Jeraj's mind in 1918 and in consequence helped to persuade him into accepting the

72 The original version in German is somewhat longer. The most obvious difference from the point of view of content is the lack of the short vignette on Arthur Rubinstein in the Slovenian version. This might be explained by the fact that the Slovenian version was published in the newspaper *Jutro* in 1944, i. e. during the II World War in the Nazi occupied Ljubljana.

73 I would like to thank Lidija Podlesnik Tomášik from NUK Music Collection first for her help with the *Erinnerungen*, and later, for the purpose of this contribution, especially with the archival material on Orkestralno društvo, first Slovenian Philharmonic and Philharmonic Society, kept in the Collection.

74 Hellsberg, *Demokratie*, 386–7.

75 *Ibid.*, 387.

inducements from his wife and from his colleague Matej Hubad⁷⁶ to leave Vienna for Ljubljana together with his family for good. There was little doubt in Hellsberg's mind that that must have been so.⁷⁷ However, for the purpose of our topic, in my final remarks on Jeraj, I would like to adhere to a perspective of an association's long-standing member. His chilling experience reminds us that not only are the associations as small-scale communities with their respective common goals and self-management, spaces for the realisation of committed individuals, under general conditions free to join and especially free to leave. For those among them, with different outlooks on the matters and free-spoken, they can also present an environment of damming *Gleichschaltung*.

All in all, I would like to nevertheless argue, that even though never concertmaster of Vienna Philharmonic,⁷⁸ something that in the Slovenian literature took deep roots for reasons yet to be researched, Karel Jeraj with his talent, commitment, spirit, vision and hard relentless work to organise and steer the Orkestralno društvo in pursuit of the grand philharmonic idea in less than grand circumstances in post-1918 Ljubljana, cannot better exemplify the metaphoric description of an association by Rudolf Andrejka. In his short but valuable work on the nature of associations published in 1928, Rudolf Andrejka, professor of administrative law at the University of Ljubljana Faculty of Law and a former high official in the Austrian Administration, certainly also a member of Slovenian elite in Vienna before the break-up of the Monarchy, contributed a succinct metaphor. I have introduced it as the last of the five initial quotations, but it is worth repeating it by way of reconnecting to the profound idea behind it. Andrejka maintained that an association could be viewed upon in fact as "*a reinforced person*."⁷⁹

76 Vida Jeraj, *Večerna sonata* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1992), 38. Cf. also her draft for it, preserved in NUK, Music Collection, Kronika (Vida Jeraj).

77 Hellsberg, *Demokratie*, 387. Only Jeraj, did not return to Prag, but to Ljubljana.

78 For the obvious archival data to the contrary, cf. *supra* Picture 4 (*Namenliste*), where his signature is among the II violinen and not only for the *saïson* 1901, but also for all the subsequent ones.

79 In the past three years, more and more details about Jeraj have come to life, thanks to the rich and rewarding collaboration with Jernej Weiss and Klemen Hvala, and together with our Viennese colleagues, the above-mentioned Silvia Kargl, Raimund Lissy and Clemens Hellsberg. To honour Jeraj's work not only as a dedicated member of several music associations in Vienna and Ljubljana, in the roles of a violinist or a conductor, but also as a composer, in the scope of the 35th Edition of Slovenian Music days, Jernej Weiss decided to dedicate the accompanying concert to his memory. Together with Klemen Hvala, a cellist and founder of the ensemble Dissonance, they

In conclusion, I would like to come back to the Associations' Act from 1867, which for its addressees announced key changes promised by the revolutionary year 1848: freedom of association and that of assembly. Having presented the five cases, introduced at the very beginning by quotations from the legal life and tradition of several music corpora from Vienna and Ljubljana in the long 19th century from the select points of view, tailored to the notion of 'association' synchronically and diachronically, and above all, led by the newly found archival material, here are some of the answers to the two main research questions.

To the first question, as to what extent was the notion of association itself redefined by the 1867 Act, one must say that the most obvious difference in principle between any pre- and post-1867 associations – still largely under the unaltered names be it *Verein* or *Gessellschaft*, *družba* or *društvo*, *Associazione*, *Società* –, was the exclusion of the profit-oriented ones from the overall umbrella notion. Most of the other necessary elements, or better, criteria of permanence, of a common goal in favour of the association, and of a voluntary membership remained unaltered. However, if there was one element that one would expect from the 1867 Act adopted under the banner of liberality, to be significantly altered was that of a substantial reduction of the authorities' right to supervision and intervention. At best, the change in this direction can be assessed as partial, for it only concerned the freedom of association and the adoption of the so-called application model *in lieu* of the concession one. The freedom of assembly continued to be shortcut by virtually the same mechanisms of authorities' right to supervision and intervention, known from previous decades under the absolutist ruler. The idea of self-management in the everyday life of an association as we know it today was still far from achieved. It is from the point of view of different strategies of adaptation to this legal reality by the associations selected for this contribution, that further conclusions to the second question can be drawn.

If on the one hand, the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, which with its predecessors predates any systematic state regulation on associations by several decades, in the course of the 19th century followed diligently any new regulation the state may have introduced by altering its Statutes, the

prepared a concert program, featuring a string of Jeraj's short pieces for soprano and piano, arranged for strings by Hvala and beautifully performed by Nika Gorič, together with Gondoljera (published in *Novi akordi* 4, no. 1 (1902): 69–71, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-R2Q1OBI6>), in Hvala's arrangement, as well, a part of later Jeraj's most elaborate work, the melodram *Lepa Vida*.

Vienna Philharmonic certainly did not. Pecuniary goals aside, with its organisational form, which after 1867 and until 1908 was really not in line anymore with the state regulation, it crafted a particular *sui generis* form that allowed it to aspire to the very same notion of self-government, away from the state's supervisory eye, that the so called liberal 1867 Act had not yet permitted. In Ljubljana, too, within the music associations, particular kind of strategies of adaptation to the 1867 Act evolved. As the pre-and post-1918 archival material on the first Slovene Philharmonic and later on the so called Orkestralno društvo showed, their members, largely jurists by vocation, contributed to overcoming of the challenging issue of how to successfully and above all, viably, integrate larger orchestral bodies within the existing organisational form of (music) associations. In terms of their internal organisation, management, inter-personal dynamics and cost, these were much harder to maintain within the existing associations than outside them. I propose to see the operative idea of a "loose link" by Milčinski as a case in point.

And what of freedom? The main title of my contribution is a paraphrase of the famous first article from the Provisionary Local Community Act by Franz-Joseph from March 1849.⁸⁰ Programmatic in form and liberal in content, it became famous for its emphasis on the freedom of territorially defined local communities (*die freien Gemeinden*) as the basis for a so-called free state (*der freie Staat*). It is fair to say that after its adoption in 1849 and especially after 1867, it lived up to the general expectations of (outer) freedom – in the sense of free from state intervention – much more than the Associations' Act. That is not to say that concerning personal freedoms, the liberal post-1848 era with its constitutional catalogue of fundamental rights of a person did not allow for significant changes (yet to be internalised). Evoking again Andrejka's metaphor of an association as a reinforced person, and having complex experiences in this regard of Karel Jeraj in mind, there is one that in my mind particularly stands out. Not only free to join and diligently to persevere, a person after 1848 is much more – free to leave. And to start all over, generating the necessary new dynamics by following the inner freedom and aspirations which span over any given time and space and that any creative and deeply human endeavour such as art, music, of course, too, and above all, any free(er) large-scale communi-

80 *Die Grudnfeste des freien Staats ist die freie Gemeinde.* Article 1 des Provisorisches Gemeindegesetzes vom 17. März 1849, R. G. Bl. Nr. 170.

ty, call it society or state, in the long run, cannot really do without. *Ubi societas ibi ius – et musica.*

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- 81 Concerning the associations, the Archives retained the old division into *Kartoteka* 'filing system' (kept *in situ* in the main Reading room, as well as in a form of a scanned document) for the search in the scope of *Kataster*. From *Kartoteka*, where associations are arranged by the associations' name order, a number, particular to every association, leads to a map within *Kataster*. This is basically a series of registers, usually in a form of a book, that were kept at the level of *okrajno glavarstvo* (*Bezrikkhauptmannschaft*) or for the city of Ljubljana, with *policijski oddelek deželnega predstevstva* (*Polizeiabteilung des Landespräsidiums*; after 1918 with *policijsko mestno ravnateljstvo*). In the *Katastre* books, the associations are arranged according to their names, albeit, ideally, they are ascribed the same number as in *Kartoteka*. The number in question, found either in *Kartoteka* or in *Kataster*, should lead to a copy of the association's statute, sent to the authorities upon application. These, in turn, are arranged in 75 larger maps. For the whole of the historic land of *Carniola*, only one 'central' register in a form of a *Katastre* book was kept at some point. It is preserved, but in my experience, it came out of date already before 1914, possibly because it was not officially kept at the level of the land, and because the newer 'filing system' of *Kartoteka* was introduced around 1908. If searching first within *Kartoteka*, it is best to crosscheck the number of an association in question in both of its versions, to avoid mistakes made when the data from the individual file entries were transcribed and later scanned. The third and most valuable source is *spisovno gradivo* (official documentation, containing another copy of the statutes, together with all the previous ones, had they existed, applications, correspondence, copies of minutes of the meetings etc.). However, an association there cannot be found according to the number from *Kartoteka* or *Kataster*, but only according to the name of the association and preferably the year, when the association was active, or better still, dissolved (here, a *delovodna številka* can be of some help, to facilitate the search within individual boxes, into which *spisovno gradivo* had been arranged).

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Družbeno-politična vloga in kulturno-izobraževalno poslanstvo ptujskih glasbenih društev druge polovice 19. stoletja ter njihov vpliv na Glasbeno matico Ptuj¹

Darja Koter
Univerza v Ljubljani
University of Ljubljana

Spodnje Štajersko mesto Ptuj (nekoč Pettau), ki je do konca prve svetovne vojne sodilo pod upravno središče deželne vlade v Gradcu, je skozi 19. stoletje in do konca prve svetovne vojne veljalo za nemško mesto, čeprav leži na območju, ki ga stoletja naseljujejo Slovenci. Za štajerska mesta je bila v obravnavanem času značilna intenzivna migracija pripadnikov nemške, češke in še katerih drugih narodnosti, kar je bila posledica nerazvitega šolstva in posledično velikega pomanjkanja domačega izobraženega kadra.¹ Mesto Ptuj je nižjo gimnazijo dobilo šele leta 1869, možnosti nadaljnega izobraževanja v večjih mestih monarhije pa so imeli le redki posamezniki. Vsesplošni razvoj, značilen za drugo polovico 19. stoletja, je zahteval več izobražencev na vseh področjih, zato so vsa pomembna mesta v mestni upravi, gospodarstvu in šolstvu zlahka zasedali šolani prišleki iz nemških in čeških mest. Večina ptujskih meščanov je bila nemške narodnosti, saj so v tedanjem mestu Pettau našli dovolj možnosti za svoj gospodarski in kulturni razvoj. Svojo nadvlado je nemška stran izkoristila za germanizacijo slovenske Štajerske, ki so jo izvajali državni aparat, vojska, šolstvo, sodstvo, uprava ter društva in časopisje, deloma pa je bila uspešna tudi med socialno nižjimi sloji slovenskega prebivalstva. Njihovi pripadniki so se zaradi materialnih koristi in možnosti preživetja pogosto asimilirali z nemškim prebivalstvom. Nemški jezik je bil stalnica, čeprav so bili med izobraženimi meščani tudi Slovenci različnih poklicev ter vodilni v utrjevanju rodo-

1 Prispevek je financiral ARRS, P6-0376, raziskovalni program Gledališke in medumetnišne raziskave..

ljubja in razvoja splošne in glasbene kulture. Pomembno politično vlogo so imela tudi društva, ki so se sicer deklarirala za nepolitična, v bistvu pa so bila glavni nosilci agitacije narodne miselnosti. Skladno z družbeno-političnim razvojem in zakonodajo so od 60. let pospešeno ustanavljali kulturna in druga društva z izobraževalno, družabno in tudi politično noto. Po načelih kozmopolitizma in nacionalne strpnosti je bilo članstvo v prvih letih v večini kulturnih in glasbenih društvih narodnostno mešano, pomembna je bila zgolj posameznikova razgledanost in pripadnost društvu. Toda družbeno-politična in kulturna gibanja so tudi na tem območju sledila vsesplošnim evropskim trendom, zato so se od 70. let 19. stoletja stopnjevala politična nasprotja, kar je prebivalstvo delilo na dva pola in vsak izmed njiju je z vso močjo in razpoložljivimi sredstvi utrjeval svojo narodno zavest. Pri tem so imela vidno vzgojno-izobraževalno in agitacijsko vlogo glasbena društva. Le-ta so namreč na svojih shodih in prireditvah uspešno združevala glasbo z nacionalnim nabojem in politično obarvane nagovore društvenih veljakov. Najvplivnejša na Ptujju tega časa so bila nemško pevsko društvo *Männergesang Verein Pettau* (ustanovljeno leta 1863), slovensko naravnana *Narodna čitalnica* (ustanovljena leta 1864), ki je ob zborovskem petju spodbujala in razvijala glasbeno izobraževanje, *Pettauer Musikverein* (ustanovljen leta 1878) z instrumentalno dejavnostjo in prvo javno glasbeno šolo v mestu ter ne nazadnje *Mestna godba*. Vodili so jo šolani kapelniki različnih narodnosti, ki so dejavno skrbeli za vzgojo svojega podmladka, vrhunec njihovega delovanja pa je bila ustanovitev dijaškega doma deške obrtne šole na začetku 20. stoletja, ki je bil svojevrsten glasbeni zavod za mlade godbenike. Vsa omenjena društva so skozi svojo nacionalno noto skušala doseči čim višjo raven poustvarjanja zborovske, komorne, orkestralne ali godbene glasbe ter imela dolgoročni vpliv na vzpostavitev profesionalnega glasbenega šolstva po prvi svetovni vojni, ki se je oblikovalo v Glasbeno matico Ptuj.²

Na primeru moškega pevskega društva *Männergesang Verein Pettau* (tudi *Männer- Gesang-Verein in Pettau*) lahko sledimo vprašanjem in odgo-

2 O družbeno-političnih razmerah, vlogi kulturnih društev, njihovem delovanju in pomenu v drugi polovici 19. stoletja na Ptujju glej: Blagoj Jevremov, »Vpliv občinske politike na delovanje društev na Ptujju pred prvo svetovno vojno«, v *Ptujski zbornik IV*, ur. Jože Curk (Maribor: Založba Obzorja, 1975), 223–33; Viktorija Kolarič, »Društveno življenje v Ptujju 1870–1918« (dipl., Pedagoška akademija Maribor, 1985); Janez Cvirn, »Politične razmere na Štajerskem v času vladavine grofa Taffeja (1879–1893)«, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 73, št. 1 (2002): 7–12; Nataša Kolar, »Narodnostne razmere na Ptujju med letoma 1860 in 1882«, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 73, št. 1 (2002): 29–36.

vorom o tem, ali in kako je zborovsko petje vplivalo na oblikovanje nacionalne identitete in utrjevanje narodne zavesti društvenih članov in njihovih podpornikov ter ne nazadnje, ali je s svojo glasbeno dejavnostjo spodbujalo glasbeno izobraževanje. Ptujski *Männergesang Verein* je bil ustanovljen leta 1863 kot prvo pomembnejše kulturno društvo v mestu, uradno in najbolj aktivno pa je bilo med letoma 1876 in 1913. Sledilo je starejšim, sebi enakim društvom monarhije ter ciljem: gojiti lepo petje in družabnost, vendar so tovrstna društva vzporedno z družbeno-političnimi spremembami povzela tudi nacionalistične težnje. Imela so aktivne in podporne člane, pevci so bili zgolj moški, pripadniki različnih slojev in poklicev.³ Vodilni ptujski društveniki so bili ugledni meščani, predstavniki oblasti, obrtnikov, učiteljev in drugih. Ubrano petje je bilo eno temeljnih reči združevanja, sprva kot del zabavnih prireditev in veselic, kar potrjuje tudi prvi slogan društva, ki se glasi: *Frei im Lied,/ Frei im Wort,/ Sei des Sanges./ Treuer Hort!*⁴ Skladno z družbeno-političnimi napetostmi so sredi 80. let slogan spremenili in zanj izbrali precej bolj nacionalno, celo nacionalistično noto: *Von Ort zu Ort,/ Von Hang zu Hang,/ Von Strand zu Strand / Bleib' unser Hort / Im Alpenland / Das deutsche Wort,/ Der deutsche Sang!* (Robert Hammerling),⁵ medtem ko v 90. letih na vabilih na pevske prireditve, t. im. *Liedertafle*, zasledimo naslednje verze: *Das Herz dem Land,/ Der Kunst die Hand,/ Im Liede frei, / Stets deutsch und treu.* (Dr. Josef Kessler).⁶ Med zborovodji so bili glasbeno izobraženi meščani, učitelji, kapelniki in skladatelji. Johann Ranner (član pred letom 1878) je bil zborovodja, šolski inšpektor, kapelnik ptujске mestne godbe in celo skladatelj, njegov namestnik oziroma pomočnik je bil Anton Weixler, učitelj v osnovni šoli in organist mestne cerkve. Za leto 1890 sta kot zborovodja navedena Josef Haring, sicer osrednja osebnost glasbene šole *Musikvereina*, kjer je poučeval violino, klavir, zborna petje in ansambelsko igro, in Viktor Schulffing, ki je bil tudi pianist. Kot glavni zborovodja je sledil Dr. Julius Weiss von Ostborn, njegov pomočnik je bil Fraz Haring, sicer vodja mestne godbe, imenovane *Pettauer Musikvereins-Kapelle*, in učitelj glasbene šole glasbenega društva *Musikverein*. Za leto 1904 se kot glavni zborovodja in glasbeni direktor društva omenja Hermann Rundigeber, kot pomočnik pa učitelj Franz Hüblbauer. Zadnji delujoči glasbe-

3 Darja Koter, »'Pettauer Männergesangverein' and its political and socio-cultural context«, v *Choregesang als Medium von Interkulturalität: Formen, Kanäle, Diskurse*, Band 3, ur. Erik Fischer (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007), 241–2.

4 Ibid., 243.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

nik društva med letoma 1905 in 1913 je bil učitelj Franz Mühlbauer kot glasbeni direktor in vodja petja.⁷ Z leti si je društvo zadalo bolj smeje glasbene cilje in prirejalo koncerte z zahtevnejšim posvetnim in nabožnim repertoarjem.⁸ Ni pa znano, da bi imelo svojo pevsko šolo, kar je bila sicer pogosta praksa glasbenih društev. Predvidevamo, da so se predvsem mlajši pevci kalili v glasbeni šoli *Musikverena*.⁹ Ker so imeli vodje petja in glasbeni direktorji društva glasbeno izobrazbo, pedagoške izkušnje in so aktivno sodelovali v glasbenem šolstvu, je povsem mogoče, da so se tudi na pevskih vajah intenzivno posvečali pevski tehniki ter tako urili svoje člane. Zagotovo si je društvo prizadevalo gojiti ubrano petje, saj je na program ob takrat popularnih nemških skladateljih z deli s poudarjeno nacionalno noto na sporede uvrščalo obsežnejša in zahtevnejša dela priznanih evropskih skladateljev.¹⁰ Društvo se je redno povezovalo s sorodnimi in po kvaliteti primerljivimi društvi. Velika pevška slavja, ki so veljala za vrhunec nemške pevške kulture časa (podobno je bilo s slovenskimi pevskimi društvi), so potekala v združenih zborih, in sicer v vseh večjih mestih Štajerske. Kot primer navajamo pevsko slavje *Sangerfest Männergesangvereina* leta 1893 na Ptujju na Binkoštni ponedeljek, o katerem so v mestno kroniko zapisali:

[...] mesto okrašeno s številnimi črno-rdeče-zlatimi zastavami, čudovito povorko z množično udeležbo gostujočih pevskih društev iz Maribora, Celja, Gradca [...], preko vseh pričakovanj, pred mestno hišo tribune, okrašene z rokami ptujskih deklet, prekrasen pogled na vihteče bandere, pevcem so meščani za dobrodošlico metalni šopke cvetja [...] zvečer je bil v pevski hali 'Liedertafel', kjer nisi mogel dobiti sedeža in aplavz je bil zelo močan [...], kar je potrjevalo pripadnost nemški nacionalnosti, posebno ta na Spodnjem Štajerskem – teh čustev je bilo veliko, v slovesni povorki je bilo približno 400 pevcev, pri 'Liedertafelu' pa ok. 1100!"

7 Ibid., 245.

8 Ptujsko društvo je imelo v bližnjih večjih mestih, kot sta Maribor in Gradec, odlične vzore. Mariborski *Männergesang Verein* je bil ustanovljen že leta 1846. Nastopal je tudi v okoliških krajih, se izkazal z raznolikim, tudi umetniškim programom, in imel za svoj naraščaj svojo pevsko šolo. Glej: Manica Špendal, »Razvoj glasbenega življenja v Mariboru«, v *Maribor skozi stoletja. Razprave I*, ur. Jože Curk, Bruno Hartman in Jože Koropec (Maribor: Obzorja, 1991), 646–7.

9 Koter, »'Pettauer Männergesangverein' and its political and socio-cultural context«, 245.

10 Ibid., 248–50.

11 Zgodovinski arhiv Ptuj (dalje ZAP), Chronik von Pettau vom 14. 1. 1893 bis 1909. R-75 (Kronika IV), vpis z dnem 21. 5. 1893.

Društvo, ki je imelo med 75 in 120 članov, je redno prirejalo *Liedertafle* (pa tudi t. im. *Sommerliedertafel*, *Winterliedertafel*, *Herbstliedertafel* in *Folkliedertafel*), sodelovalo pri različnih družbenih in kulturnih dogodkih v mestu in pri predstavah ptujskega gledališča. Nastopi moškega pevskega zbora so bili bodisi samostojni bodisi v sodelovanju z ženskim zborom, ki se je sčasoma oblikoval znotraj društva, razvijalo je tudi pevske kvartete ter prepevalo ob spremljavi orkestra *Musikvereina*. Prireditve so potekale v prostorih nemško orientiranih društev, kot je dvorana Kazina (*Casino Halle*) ali Nemški dom (*Deutsches Heim*), pa tudi drugod in so bile dobro obiskane.¹² Uspešno delovanje *Männergesang Vereina* je bilo skladno z dejstvom, da so imeli Nemci proti koncu 19. stoletja in do prve svetovne vojne v mestih Spodnje Štajerske vse ključne položaje v gospodarstvu in politiki, še najbolj pa v občinskih upravah. Tako ne čudi, da je imel *Männergesang Verein*, ki so ga vodili pomembni nemški uradniki, moralno in finančno podporo pri uresničevanju svojega nacionalno usmerjenega programa. Slovenci so bili v tem kontekstu v slabšem položaju. Utrjevanje nemštva je bilo v zadnjem desetletju pred prvo svetovno vojno s podporo ponemčevalnih organizacij, kot sta bili *Sachulverein* in *Südmark*, še uspešnejše. Uresničevanje ciljev vseh društev pa je bilo odvisno od povezovanja političnega programa s kulturno dejavnostjo. Tako je bilo v navadi, da sta obe nacionalni strani privabljali na prireditve, manifestacije in na nacionalno politične shode z vabili, ki so za zaključek napovedovali kulturni program in ples ali podobno. Kadar razvedrilni program ni bil organiziran, je bila udeležba izjemno nizka, kar dokazuje, da sta imela kulturni in zabavni program pri utrjevanju nacionalnih idej ključno vlogo.¹³

Zborovsko petje slovenskih posvetnih pesmi v organiziranih pevskih skupinah se je v primerjavi z nemškimi *Liedertafli*, ki so nastajali od zgodnjega 19. stoletja, razvilo šele z ustanavljanjem čitalnic z začetkom 60. let. Čitalnične bésede so v razvoju skupnega petja orale ledino tudi na slovenskem Štajerskem. Ptujaska Narodna čitalnica je nastala leta 1863, pobudniki pa so v pozivu k ustanovitvi zapisali, da si bo društvo prizadevalo za duševno rast, izobraževanje v slovenskem jeziku in kulturni razvoj slovenskega

12 Koter, »'Pettauer Männergesangverein' and its political and socio-cultural context«, 245.

13 ZAP, Chronik von Pettau II 1886–1892. R-74 (dalje KRONIKA II), 161.

naroda,¹⁴ v pravilih pa izrecno poudarili, da društvo nima političnih ciljev.¹⁵ Tako kot pri nemških društvih se je tudi pri čitalnici kmalu izkazalo, da sta kulturni in politični razvoj Slovencev potekala v tesni soodvisnosti. Ustanovni in nato vodilni člani so bili narodno zavedni posamezniki, notarski pripravnik dr. Avgust Čuček, zdravnik, pisatelj in politik dr. Josip Vošnjak, ptujski kronist Ferdinand Rajšp ter duhovniki Božidar Raič, Oroslav Caf in Jakob Meško.¹⁶ Ustanovitev slovenske čitalnice pa so podpirali tudi razumniki nemškega porekla, kot je bil Mihael Herman, ki se je priučil slovenskega jezika, postal vnet zagovornik političnega in kulturnega programa slovenskih Štajercev ter prvi pobudnik in sklicatelj ustanovnega odbora ptujske čitalnice.¹⁷ Bil je sodni uslužbenec, član štajerskega deželnega odbora ter deželni in nato državni poslanec. V deželnem zboru se je dejavno zavzemal za enakopravnost vseh narodnosti v državi. V prvem odboru Narodne čitalnice v Ptujju, ki je začela delovati 1. junija 1864, so za predsednika izvolili narodnjaka Avgusta Čučka, Herman je prevzel funkcijo podpredsednika, med letoma 1867 in 1868 pa je bil celo predsednik.¹⁸ Kljub temu da so se nacionalne strasti od 80. let 19. stoletja bolj razplamtele, so bile v društvih obeh narodnosti tudi častne izjeme. Kadar je bilo treba poskrbeti za napredovanje v zborovskem petju, komornih ali orkestralnih zasedbah, najeti dobrega učitelja za glasbeno šolo ali kapelnika mestne godbe, pri ključnih odločitvah narodnost ni bila več pomembna, temveč predvsem strokovnost in pripravljenost k sodelovanju. Tako ni bilo redko, da so pri glasbenih dejavnostih v *Männergesang Vereinu*, Narodni čitalnici ali pri *Musikverein* sodelovali isti posamezniki ne glede na nacionalno pripadnost.

14 ZAP, fond Muzejsko društvo (dalje MD), šk. 28, mapa MD-II-1/1, Čitalnica, leto 1863, Poziv (tisk v slovenskem in nemškem jeziku).

15 ZAP, fond MD, šk. 28, mapa MD-II-1/1, Pravila Narodne čitalnice v Ptujju (rokopis), datirano z dnem 23. 7. 1863.

16 O delovanju ptujske Narodne čitalnice in posameznih članov je objavljenih več prispevkov, med najpomembnejšimi so: Ivan Strelec, *Zgodovinske črtice o 'Narodni čitalnici v Ptujju' povodom njene petindvajsetletnice* (Ptuj: Lastna založba Narodne čitalnice, 1889), <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-123CA1T3>; dr. Fran Jurtela, *Spomini mojega življenja*, Ptuj, rkp. z dnem 25. 1. 1922, hrani ZAP, fond MD-38; Josip Komljanec, »Ob proslavi petdesetletnice Narodne čitalnice v Ptujju«, *Ptujski list*, 7. september 1919; Fran Alič, »Nekdanja čitalnica in stari Narodni dom v Ptujju«, *Ptujski zbornik* II, št. 1 (1962): 253–66, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-L1SN38LA>; Ljubica Šuligoj, »Ptujjska čitalnica in njen Narodni dom«, v *Celjski zbornik* 1997, ur. Janko Germačnik (Celje: Osrednja knjižnica, 1997), 115–34, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-A8JWZAJX>.

17 Prim.: Strelec, *Zgodovinske črtice o 'Narodni čitalnici v Ptujju' povodom njene peindvajsetletnice*, 1.

18 Ibid., 4, 12.

V prizadevanjih za slovenski kulturni in politični program so v ptujski Narodni čitalnici že ob slovesni otvoritvi, ki je bila 5. septembra 1864, na slavnostni program uvrstili tudi množično zborovsko petje. V pevskih točkah so poleg domačih sodelovali pevci iz okoliških krajev, Slovenske Bistrice, Frama in Maribora, skupaj 60 pevcev. Povabljeni zbori so se predstavili v samostojnih točkah in v združenem zboru, kar je prireditvi dalo posebno slovesen in narodni značaj. Čitalnica je za to priložnost pri tiskarni Jožef Blaznik v Ljubljani natisnila tudi besedila skupnih zborovskih pesmi, in sicer *Naprej zastava slave* Davorina Jenka, *Savico* Gregorja Riharja, *Budnico* Benjamina Ipavca, *Slovensko deželo* Janeza Miklošiča in *Hej Slovani*. V mestni cerkvi so ob tej priložnosti prvič peli slovensko mašo. Združeni zbor je vodil učitelj, organist, zborovodja in skladatelj Janez Miklošič (brat slavista Frana Miklošiča). Med povabljenimi visokimi gosti je bil tudi dr. Janez Bleiweis.¹⁹ V naslednjih letih so bile v okviru čitalnice številne prireditve, pri katerih je bil aktiven tudi društveni pevski zbor, ki je sodeloval pri besedah in dramskih igrah. Ivan Strelec je ob petindvajsetletnici društva zapisal, da je čitalnica v lastni režiji ali v sodelovanju z društvi iz drugih krajev do leta 1889 priredila okrog 150 prireditev. Nekatero med njimi so bile dobrodelne, druge spominske ob obletnicah in pomembnih dogodkih cesarske družine in velikih Slovencev, številne pa tudi zabavnega značaja.²⁰ Med najbolj zabavnimi so bili t. im. »*Kostumovani venčki*«, društveni večeri, kjer se ni plesalo, ampak sta čitalnični moški in mešani zbor prepevala različne pesmi.²¹

Strelec poroča, da je »za glasbeni del čitalničnih prireditev vzorno in redno skrbel krepki in navdušeni čitalnični zbor pod vodstvom dobrih vodij« ter da »so petje začeli gojiti hitro po ustanovitvi čitalnice.«²² Zborovsko petje je postalo intenzivnejše od leta 1880, ko je dr. Tomaž Romih, učitelj in režiser društvenih predstav, skupaj s pevovodjem Antonom Weixlerjem (bil je eden tistih, ki so sodelovali tudi z nemškimi društvi) uvedel redne vaje pevskega zbora.²³ Dr. Tomaž Romih je bil glasbeni zanesenjak, ki je uvidel vsestranski pomen čitalničnega petja in si prizadeval za kvaliteto izvajanja. Leto 1883 je bilo za sestav prelomno. Že februarja je bila v ptujskem

19 ZAP, fond MD, šk. 28, mapa MD-II 1/1, Načrt Besede 5. septembra 1864, Vabilo; Strelec, *Zgodovinske črtice o 'Narodni čitalnici v Ptuj'* povodom njene petindvajsetletnice, 5–9.

20 Strelec, *Zgodovinske črtice o 'Narodni čitalnici v Ptuj'* povodom njene petindvajsetletnice, 17–8.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., 19.

23 Ibid.

Narodnem domu slovesnost v spomin 125. obletnice rojstva Valentina Vodnika, kjer je zbor nastopil v moški in mešani zasedbi, posamezne točke pa so bile komornega značaja za violino, čelo in klavir.²⁴ Prireditev je bila odmevna v širšem slovenskem prostoru, o njej je izjemno pohvalno poročal tudi *Slovenski narod*.²⁵ Uspešni nastopi in pozitivni odzivi strokovne in laične javnosti so spomladi leta 1884 znotraj ptujske Narodne čitalnice spodbudili nastanek *Slovenskega pevskega društva* s sedežem na Ptujju.²⁶ Namen tega društva je bil spodbujati zborovsko petje na celotnem slovenskem narodnostnem prostoru in prirejati množične pevske nastope v podporo nacionalnim političnim ciljem. Združevalo je številne pridružene pevske zборе iz celotnega slovenskega prostora ter postalo reprezentativno telo in ponos slovenskega naroda.²⁷ Zaradi množičnosti in rodoljubnih ciljev so bili ti nastopi pravi slovenski tabori, s katerimi je društvo presešlo lokalni pomen. Število pevcev je vztrajno naraščalo in se povzpelo do 250 in več nastopajočih. V začetku so gojili predvsem moško petje, kmalu pa so vodili mešani zbori. Spored koncertov je ob zborovskem petju obsegal tudi orkestralne točke najetih vojaških in civilnih godb. Iz koncertnih programov je razvidno, da se v poustvarjalnosti niso usmerjali le v nacionalnost, temveč tudi v umetniško smer. K sodelovanju so pritegnili tudi znane slovenske osebnosti, kot je bil Fran Gerbič v vlogi zborovodje.²⁸ Zgovoren je tudi veliki koncert združenih pevskega društva z godbo na pihala »c. kr. 47. peš polka« iz Maribora leta 1886 pod vodstvom kapelnika Josefa Franza Wagnerja na dvorišču ptujskega minoritskega samostana. Spored je bil sestavljen izmenično za godbo in zbor. Godbeniki so igrali priredbe odlomkov iz oper in operet (G. Rossini, *Semiramide*; V. E. Nessler, *Der Trompeter von Säckingen*; J. Strauss, *Der Zigeunerbaron*) ter nekaj del manj znanih avtorjev. Ka-

- 24 ZAP, fond MD, šk. 28, mapa MD-II-1/1, »Vabilo k slavnosti, katero priredi tukajšna Čitalnica«, 10. 2. 1883. Ob zborovskih delih je spored obsegal skladbe za violino, violončelo in klavir (Josef Mehul, *Uvertura za gosli, čelo in klavir*; L. van Beethoven, *Simfonija št. 2 G-dur* za gosli, čelo in klavir štiročno; G. Ipavec, *O polnoči* za bas solo in klavirsko spremljavo) ter deklamacijo *V pepelnični noči* Simona Gregorčiča.
- 25 Anon., »Dopisi. Iz Ptujja«, *Slovenski narod* XVI, št. 45 (24. februar 1883): 2, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-MoEN9X5O>.
- 26 ZAP, fond Glasbena šola (dalje GŠ), šk. 1, mapa: Slovensko pevsko društvo v Ptujju, spis za leto 1884, Dopis, datiran z aprilom 1884.
- 27 Drago Hasl, *Zgodovina glasbene šole v Ptujju: K 40. obletnici slovenske glasbene šole* (Ptuj: s. n., 1959), 4.
- 28 Darja Koter, »Ustanovitev Slovenskega pevskega društva in njegov pomen za razvoj zborovskega petja na slovenskem Štajerskem do konca 19. stoletja«, v *Zborovska glasba in pevska društva ter njihov pomen v razvoju nacionalnih glasbenih kultur*, ur. Primož Kuret (Ljubljana: Festival, 2004), 87–101.

pelnik Wagner je bil razgledan mož in tudi skladatelj, na sporede je namreč uvrščal takrat najnovejša dela.²⁹ Da bi bili dogodki čim bolj glasbeno bogati in odmevni, je na pevskih slavjih sodelovala tudi goba ptujskega *Musikvereina*, kar prav tako priča o tem, da je glasba uspešno podirala nacionalne okope, kot to velja za slavnostni koncert leta 1894 ob deseti obletnici pevskega društva.³⁰

Med pomembnejšimi cilji pevskega društva so bili tudi razpisi za nove skladbe, s katerimi so Ptujčani uspešno spodbujali slovenske skladatelje k pisanju del za velike pevske manifestacije. Leta 1893 so na seji odbora sklenili, da

*naj se naprosijo skladatelji Benjamin Ipavic, zdravnik v Gradci, g. dr. Gustav Ipavic, zdravnik pri St. Juriju na južni železnici, g. Hrabroslav Volarič, učitelj v Devinu, g. Anton Nedved, prof. v pokopju v Ljubljani, Anton Foerster, regenschori v Ljubljani, Feliks Stegnar, učitelj v Ljubljani, in Stanko Pirnat, c.kr. notar v Zatičini, da zložijo kaj priličnega in primernega za prihodnji veliki koncert leta 1894, ko se bode obslužavala 10. obletnica obstanka Slovenskega pevskega društva.*³¹

S takšnimi razpisi je *Slovensko pevsko društvo* postavljalo koncertnim programom nova merila, ki so postopoma od narodnobuditeljskih prehajali v bolj umetniške. Tovrstna prizadevanja je spremljal tudi Matej Hubad, ki so ga člani odbora občasno zaprosili za korekture pri partiturah.³² Hubad je *Slovensko pevsko društvo* cenil in ga večkrat pohvalil, zato upravičeno domnevamo, da je postavilo temelje za ustanovitev velike slovenske pevske organizacije *Zveze slovenskih pevskih društev*, ki je nastala leta 1903 ob podpori ljubljanske Glasbene matice in jo je vodil Matej Hubad s podobnimi cilji, kot jih je gojilo društvo s sedežem na Ptuju.³³

29 ZAP, fond MD, šk. 28, mapa MD-II-1/1, Vabilo in spored koncerta Slovenskega pevskega društva, datum: 1. 8. 1886. Nesslerjev *Der Trompeter von Säkkingen* je nastal 1884. leta, Straussova opreta pa leto kasneje, kar zgovorno kaže na aktualnost koncertnega programa. Zborovske točke v prvih letih društva niso bile tako sveže.

30 ZAP, fond GŠ, šk. 1, mapa Slovensko pevsko društvo, leto 1894, rokopisni list, točka 4.

31 ZAP, fond GŠ, šk. 1, mapa Slovensko pevsko društvo, leto 1893, Zapisnik seje odbora z dne 28. 8. 1893.

32 ZAP, fond GŠ, šk. 1, mapa Slovensko pevsko društvo, leto 1894, Zahvala g. Arnejčiču in g. M. Hubadu, datum: 2. 5. 1894.

33 Koter, »Ustanovitev Slovenskega pevskega društva«, 97.

Prvi pevovodja Slovenskega pevskega društva s sedežem na Ptujju je bil Josip (Johann) Steinberger, pred tem kapelnik pihalne godbe ptujskega *Musikvereina*. Čeprav je bil nemškega rodu, je v čitalničnem krogu našel večji strokovni izziv. Odborniki so od novega glasbenega vodja veliko pričakovali in Steinberger je že oktobra istega leta v okviru čitalnice ustanovil glasbeno šolo, kjer je otroke članov društva poučeval v »godbi in petju«, kar je pomenilo v instrumentih in zborovskem petju. Društveno glasbeno šolo je vodil do septembra 1886, ko se mu je odprla boljša priložnost in je odšel na Dunaj.³⁴ Pevske vaje in glasbeno šolo je nato prevzel Čeh Anton Jiřka. Pod njegovim vodstvom je glasbena šola delovala do julija 1887, ko je dokončno usahnila.³⁵ Ugotavljamo, da je bila prva slovenska glasbena šola na Ptujju nekaj časa celo uspešna tekmica nemški šoli *Musikvereina*, obudili so jo šele po prvi svetovni vojni kot Mestno glasbeno šolo (pod tem imenom je delovala od 1919 do 1922).³⁶

Med pomembnejše akterje razvoja glasbenega šolstva in poustvarjanja na Ptujju sodi tudi glasbeno društvo *Pettauer Musikverein* (tudi *Musikverein*), ustanovljeno leta 1878, ki je tako kot druga združevalo kulturne in nacionalne oziroma politične cilje, ob tem pa razvijalo orkestralno dejavnost in glasbeno šolstvo, v čemer je bilo med vsemi najuspešnejše in dolgoročno najvplivnejše. Njegov pobudnik je bil trgovec Viktor Schulfink, velik ljubitelj glasbe in pianist, kar 32 let osrednja osebnost tega društva. Ustanovni člani so bili trgovci, posestniki, advokati, uradniki in nekaj obrtnikov, med njimi tudi ugledni slovenski intelektualci, in sicer dr. Josip Čuček, dr. Jakob Ploj, dr. Franc Jurtela, dr. Alojz Gregorič in Franc Šegula.³⁷ Društvo so podpirali ministrstvo za šolstvo, štajerski deželni zbor, ptujška mestna občina, Štajerska hranilnica v Gradcu, društvi *Deutscher Schulverein* in *Südmark*, Ptujška mestna hranilnica in drugi.³⁸ Njegov glavni namen je bil negovati instrumentalno in drugo glasbo, ustanoviti glasbeno šolo ter tako vzpostaviti sistematično glasbeno izobraževanje, ki naj bi pripomoglo k razvoju vseh oblik glasbenega življenja v mestu in okolici. Odborniki so imeli jasno vizijo razvoja društva, zato so mu kmalu priključili Mestno godbo (*Städtiche Musik Kapelle Pettau*), v civilni obliki organizirano od leta 1855,

34 Strec, *Zgodovinske črtice o „Narodni čitalnici v Ptujju“ povodom njene petindvajsetletnice*, 19.

35 Ibid.

36 Lidija Žgeč, *Viva la Musica. 130 let glasbenega šolstva na Ptujju 1878–2008* (Ptuj: Glasbena šola Karol Pahor, 2008), 17, 31.

37 Hasl, *Zgodovina glasbene šole v Ptujju*, 3, 4.

38 Ibid., 15.

ki je postala društveni sestav. V godbi so sodelovali glasbeniki iz mesta in okolice. Prvi kapelnik je postal Anton Stöckl (1850–1902) iz Ljubljane, kjer je pred tem vodil orkester slovenskega Dramatičnega društva in ljubljanski čitalnični pevski zbor. Na Ptuju je deloval štiri leta in med drugim uspešno vodil glasbeno šolo *Musikvereina*, kjer je poučeval violino in violončelo ter vodil ansamble. Dejaven je bil tudi pri ptujski čitalnici. Ker je veljal za odličnega in vsestranskega glasbenika, je bil nepogrešljiv na obeh nacionalnih straneh. Stöckl se je na Ptuju vsestransko izkazal, nastopi godbe pod njegovim vodstvom so postali prepoznavni in cenjeni tudi izven Ptuja. Na kapelnikovo povabilo so na ptujskih družabnih dogodkih ob večjih praznikih sodelovali tudi vabljeni instrumentalisti iz Gradca in v sodelovanju s Ptujčani v razširjenem sestavu izvajali dela C. M. von Webra, L. van Beethovna, W. A. Mozarta, F. von Flotowa in drugih. Na pomembnejših prireditvah so redno nastopali tudi pevci ptujskega *Männergesang Vereina*, komorni sestavi domačih glasbenikov iz vrst učiteljev in ljubiteljev ter posamezni domači ali gostujoči solisti, kar je pomenilo, da je bila ptujška glasbena scena tistega časa primerljiva z večjimi štajerskimi mesti, kot so bila Maribor, Gradec in Celje.³⁹ Po Stöcklovem odhodu v Zagreb, kjer je našel nove profesionalne izzive, so mesto kapelnika in učitelja (običajno v eni osebi) zasedali novi prišleki, večinoma iz nemških mest, pa tudi iz Banata, Češke, Poljske ... Posamezniki so na Ptuju ostali le za krajši čas, kar je društvu povzročalo številne težave.⁴⁰ Kljub temu je *Musikverein* ostajal glavni akter kulturnih dogodkov, kar se je posebno po zaslugi društvene godbe stopnjevalo do leta 1903, ko je prišlo do večje društvene krize. Godbeniki so se ponovno organizirali v samostojno poustvarjalno telo v obliki Mestne godbe (*Musikkapelle*).⁴¹

Dva meseca po ustanovitvi *Musikvereina* je začela delovati tudi društvena glasbena šola, dejavna do leta 1921. Vanjo so se pretežno vpisovali otroci meščanov nemške narodnosti, pa tudi slovenskih staršev. Ravnateljska in učiteljska mesta je društvo razpisovalo v časopisu *Deutsche Musik – Verband Zeitung* v Pragi, razpise prostih delovnih mest pa so pošiljali tudi na glasbene šole po Nemčiji. V celotnem štiridesetletnem obdobju je *Musikverein* nameščal samo nemške ravnatelje in učitelje, edini izjemi sta

39 Darja Koter in Lidija Žgeč, *Ptujška (z)godba. Šest stoletij godbenega igranja na Ptuju in 150 let Pihalnega orkestra Ptuj* (Ptuj: Pihalni orkester, 2005), 32–3.

40 O kapelnikih Mestne godbe glej: Ibid., 32–41; o prvih letih delovanja ptujskega *Musikvereina* je najizčrpnjeje delo: Alenka Bagarič, »Ptujsko Glasbeno društvo v letih 1878–1882« (dipl., Univerza v Ljubljani, 1999).

41 Koter in Žgeč, *Ptujška (z)godba*, 36.

bila prvi ravnatelj Anton Stöckl (deloval med letoma 1878 in 1882) in Filip Emeršič (1890 do 1895), ki je pet let vodil oddelek pihal.⁴² Prvih pet let je pouk potekal skupinsko, kar je bila posledica skromne zasedenosti učnega osebja – poleg ravnatelja, ki je tudi poučeval in bil kapelnik godbe, so nastavljali zgolj pomožnega učitelja. Ne glede na možnosti se je število učencev povečevalo, z leti pa so razširjali tudi predmetnik ter pouku klavirja, violine in čela dodali petje. Šola je bila od začetkov uspešna še v poučevanju komornih zasedb in godalnega orkestra učencev, iz vrst ptujskih učiteljev pa je nastal tudi godalni kvartet. Kljub podpori različnih institucij in posameznih članov se je društvo v prvi polovici 80. let ubadalo z denarnimi in drugimi težavami, kar je povzročalo upad članstva v društvu in godbi, kriza pa se je odražala tudi v številu učencev glasbene šole. Temu je deloma botrovala tudi konkurenčna glasbena šola pri Narodni čitalnici.⁴³ Težave so reševali na več načinov, posebno srečno roko pa so imeli z izborom učitelja in ravnatelja Ericha Wolfa Degnerja (1858–1908), ki je na Ptujju deloval tri leta (1885–1888) in temeljito reorganiziral glasbeni pouk. Avstrijsko ministrstvo je glasbeni šoli ptujskega *Musikvereina* leta 1885 podelilo status javne šole in koncesijo. Degner je kot umetniški vodja ustanovo reformiral po vzoru glasbene šole iz Münchna, ki jo je v 60. letih 19. stoletja vodil sloviti skladatelj, dirigent in pianist Hans von Bülow. Ptujška šola je pod Degnerjem poleg že obstoječih predmetov uvedla še pouk kontrabasa, trobil in pihal, kot obvezno tudi glasbeno teorijo in zborovsko petje, harmonija je bila obvezni stranski predmet, zgodovina glasbe pa neobvezni stranski predmet. Pouk je potekal sedem let, glavna predmeta sta bila klavir in violina. Skladno z novimi možnostmi poučevanja in uspešnim vodenjem šole se je število učencev zelo povečalo, medtem ko je to povzročilo zaton glasbene šole pri Čitalnici. Degner je uvedel še eno pomembno novost, z letom 1885/86 so začeli izdajati letna šolska poročila, v katerih so ob statističnih podatkih objavljali tudi glasbenopedagoške razprave ter tako skrbeli za permanentno izobraževanje učiteljstva. Ta praksa je obveljala do šolskega leta 1915/16.⁴⁴

Musikverein je od druge polovice 80. let napredoval tudi v orkestralni praksi, saj je Degner vabil v goste instrumentaliste filharmoničnih društev iz Celja, Maribora in Gradca, kar je pripomoglo k temu, da so lahko izvajali obsežnejša instrumentalna dela. Kronisti poročajo, da so ti koncerti močno dvignili ugled ptujskega *Musikvereina*.⁴⁵ Degner je bil kot izjemno

42 Hasl, *Zgodovina glasbene šole v Ptujju*, 7.

43 Žgeč, *Viva la Musica*, 14–7.

44 *Ibid.*, 18–9.

45 *Ibid.*, 20.

uspešen vodja ustanove avgusta 1888 premeščen v glasbeno šolo v Gradec, po letu dni je napredoval v artističnega ravnatelja Štajerskega glasbenega društva (*Steiermarkischer Musikverein*), nato pa so ga namestili za ravnatelj in učitelja na visoki glasbeni šoli Weimar (*Grossherzogliche Musikschule in Weimar*).⁴⁶ Kljub premestitvi in napredovanju pa Degner ni prekinil stikov s Ptujčani, večkrat jim je pomagal z nasveti pri zaposlovanju in iskanju primernih učiteljev, ravnateljev in kapelnikov, ki so večinoma prihajali z Gradca in Weimarja. Ptujski *Musikverein* je Degnerja leta 1889 imenoval za častnega člana. Ob 25-letnici delovanja (1903) je šola za uspešno delovanje prejela priznanje Ministrstva za kulturo in šolstvo. Zadnji ravnatelj je bil dirigent Karl Ettlner iz Leipziga, ki je šolo vodil od leta 1910 do ukinitve glasbenega društva in njegove šole leta 1921.⁴⁷ Nemška glasbena šola je od druge polovice 19. stoletja vzgojila vrsto mladih glasbenikov, ki so se nato udeleževali v komornih, orkestralnih in zborovskih sestavih. Nič manj pomembni niso bili njeni učitelji in kapelniki, ki so v zadnjih desetletjih 19. stoletja in do konca prve svetovne vojne pomembno prispevali k rasti kulturnega življenja na Ptujju.

Ko govorimo o dejavniki, ki jim pritiče kulturno-izobraževalno poslanstvo na Ptujju v 19. stoletju, je potrebno omeniti tudi mestno godbo. Tradicija godbenega igranja je bila v tem okolju izjemna, saj sega v 14. stoletje, ko se glasbeniki z »donečo muziko« v slogu bucinistov oziroma trobilcev s pavkistom omenjajo kot del meščanske milice (t. im. *Burgermiliz*). Sestavi so se skozi stoletja spreminjali, namen pa je ostajal isti. Godbeniki s pihali, trobili in tolkali so v enotah brambovcev in nato meščanske garde v 17. in 18. stoletju spremljali vse pomembne mestne svečanosti. Po letu 1788 so avstrijske vojaške formacije doživele preobrat, nastali so meščanski lovski korpusi z obvezno godbo. Čeprav so zaradi vsestranske krize meščanske formacije ob koncu 30. let 19. stoletja razpustili, se godbeniki niso povsem razšli. Ob ustanovitvi Nacionalne garde leta 1848 in njenem razpustu tri leta kasneje je bilo v ptujskem štabu 16 godbenikov, kapelnik, bobnar in 14 *Hautoboistov*, kakor so sredi 19. stoletja po zgledu prejšnjih obdobjev imenovali zasedbo, ki je združevala flavte, klarinete, oboe, fagote, trobila in bobne. Spremenjene družbeno-politične razmere so vplivale tudi na godbene sestave in po marčni revoluciji so se številni prelevili v civilno organizirane mestne godbe. Ptujška je nastala leta 1855.⁴⁸ Tako kot drugod je

46 Hasl, *Zgodovina glasbene šole v Ptujju*, 10.

47 Žgeč, *Viva la Musica*, 21–6.

48 Koter in Žgeč, *Ptujška (z)godba*, 15–23.

bila nepogrešljiva pri vseh mestnih svečanostih, mestna občina pa je skrbel, da so imeli godbeniki tudi primerno redno zaposlitev, pogosto so bili občinski uradniki. Mestna godba je prirejala številne koncerte, še posebno, ko so meščani proti koncu stoletja v mestnem parku po vzoru večjih krajev postavili paviljon kot priljubljeno prizorišče kulturnih dogodkov.⁴⁹ Svojestven vrhunec glasbenih in drugih kulturnih dogodkov je bil v letu 1908, ko je bilo v mestnem gledališču kar 15 glasbeno-gledaliških predstav, 15 koncertov v različnih dvoranah ter okrog 40 koncertov godbe na pihala v mestnem parku.⁵⁰ Kot je bilo omenjeno, se je je godba leta 1878 priključila *Musikvereinu*. Poslej so se godbeniki večkrat združili z gostujočimi glasbeniki v salonski ali celo večji orkester ter izvajali takrat priljubljena orkestralna dela. Tako so se meščani ob skladbah za godbo seznanjali tudi z orkestralno glasbo starejših in aktualnih skladateljev, kar je bil velik kulturni napredek. Razmah poustvarjalnosti je narekoval razvoj glasbenega šolstva, saj sicer v godbah razširjeno neformalno poučevanje s prenašanjem znanja starejših na mlajše in velik angažma kapelnikov, ni bilo dovolj. Skozi 19. stoletje so se vse javne in društvene glasbene šole manjših krajev, kamor so sodila vsa slovenska mesta, ubadale s pomanjkanjem učiteljev za godbena glasbila, zato poučevanje tovrstnih glasbil ni bilo kontinuirano in beležimo večletne presledke. Poleg pomanjkanja ustreznih učiteljev je bila težava še v tem, da so prenekateri starši poučevanje pihal in trobil podcenjevali, tovrstna glasbila pa v primerjavi s klavirjem in godali označevali za manj vredna. Ptujsko Mestno godbo so tudi na začetku 20. stoletja pestile težave, kapelniki so se pogosto menjavali, starostna meja članov se je dvigovala in ni bilo dovolj podmladka. Pomemben negativen dejavnik pa so bila tudi nacionalna trenja – ko so v sestavu prevladovali člani slovenske narodnosti, se je zmanjšalo število nemških članov in obratno.

V prizadevanjih, da bi zapolnili kadrovske vrzeli, so se na Ptujju domislili prav posebne rešitve, ki je prinesla neprecenljiv napredek in uspeh. Leta 1908 so na pobudo takratnega ptujskega župana Josefa Orniga, ki je veljal za dobrega gospodarja in politika, ustanovili deški internat, v katerem bi za potrebe Mestne godbe izobraževali mlade godbenike. Predlog je doživel vsestransko podporo in nastal je vzgojno-izobraževalni dom *Knabenkapelle*, kjer sta potekali osnovna in glasbena šola. Pouk pihal in trobil je prevzel dolgoletni član mestne godbe in honorarni učitelj šole *Musikverein* Nicholas Schmidt. Že prvo leto so vpisali kar 36 dečkov osnovnošolske

49 Ibid., 31–2, 37.

50 Ibid., 41.

starosti, kar je bil odličen uspeh. Obiskovali so predmete osnovne šole ter imeli pouk godbenih instrumentov. Po končani osnovni šoli se izobraževanje dečkov ni končalo, v okviru iste ustanove so se številni usposabljali za različne obrtnike, ob tem pa kot obvezno obiskovali 3-letno glasbeno šolo. Tako so bili bodoči obrtniki do konca obrtne šole deležni sistematične glasbene vzgoje, kar je bil v tistem času svojstven unikum. Internat je imel svojo deško godbo, imenovano *Pettauer Knaben Kapelle*, ki je nastopala v domačem mestu in tudi drugod ter žela lepe uspehe. Njeni člani so pogosto igrali tudi z mestno godbo ter tako zapolnjevali članstvo, po končani učni dobi pa so številni postali stalni člani mestne godbe. Deško in mestno godbo je vodil isti kapelnik, med letoma 1908 in 1912 je bil to Josef Greil, sicer učitelj violine in klavirja v nemški glasbeni šoli.⁵¹ Njegov naslednik je bil Nicholas Schmidt (deloval v letu 1912/13), nato pa je kapelniško mesto prevzel Václav Engerer (deloval med letoma 1915 in 1924). Slednji je bil leta 1922 izvoljen za ravnatelja glasbene šole Glasbene matice Ptuj.⁵²

Za zaključek

Prva svetovna vojna je kulturno življenje na Ptujju precej ohromila, ne pa docela ustavila, zato so si meščani takoj po vojni prizadevali obuditi nemško glasbeno šolo *Musikvereina*, ob tem pa so julija 1919 ustanovili tudi novo slovensko glasbeno šolo, imenovano Mestna glasbena šola, ki je delovala pod okriljem občine. Njeni pobudniki so bili možje različnih poklicev in obeh narodnosti, kar je bilo na Ptujju sicer že tradicionalno. Slovenska glasbena šola je bila poleg ljubljanske matičine ena prvih, nastalih po zlomu Avstro-Ogrske monarhije na ozemlju sedanje Slovenije. Meščani so si prizadevali nemško in slovensko šolo združiti, do česar pa zaradi različnih pogledov in nacionalnih trenj ni prišlo. Leta 1921 so *Musikverein* ukiniteli, premoženje pa prenesli na mestno šolo.⁵³ Zanimanje staršev in otrok za slovensko šolo je bilo veliko, saj se je že leta 1919 vpisalo kar 173 otrok, večinoma h klavirju in violini, več kot 70 pa tudi k mladinskemu pevskemu zboru. Po ukinitvi nemške šole je število še naraščalo. Zaradi denarnih in kadrovskih težav ter pomanjkanja notnega gradiva in prostorske stiske, čemur občina ni bila kos, so v Mestni glasbeni šoli razmišljali o več možnih rešitvah. Da bi pridobili nove primerne učitelje, po izobrazbi primerljive s

51 Ibid., 40–1.

52 Ibid., 76–7.

53 Drago Hasl, *Petdesetletnica slovenske glasbene šole v Ptujju 1919–1969* (Ptuj: Šolska skupnost glasbene šole, 1969), 7.

tistimi v *Musikvereinu*, so se obrnili na ravnatelja ljubljanske Glasbene matice Mateja Hubada, ki jim je skušal pomagati s priporočili in nasveti. Pri tem pa kljub prizadevanjem niso bili dovolj uspešni, saj je bilo v tistem obdobju domačih usposobljenih učiteljev izredno malo. Zato so se obrnili tudi na praški konservatorij, tradicionalno povezanim s slovenskim kulturnim prostorom, in z njegovo pomočjo v naslednjih letih na Ptuj pritegnili kar nekaj učiteljev. Nekateri so ostali krajši čas, drugi so se v novem okolju asimilirali in ostali. Da bi dokazali strokovnost v najširšem smislu, je vodstvo ob koncu šolskega leta 1921 na Ptuj povabilo Mateja Hubada, da bi ocenil tako učitelje kot učence. Njegova ocena je bila spodbudna. Ob rednih šolskih produkcijah so organizirali tudi koncerte komornih sestavov iz vrst domačih učiteljev, k nastopom pa vabili še goste iz bližnjih mest. Šola si je prizadevala postati osrednja glasbeno-izobraževalna in koncertna ustanova v mestu. Večji napredek se je začel z letom 1922 z ustanovitvijo društva Glasbena matica Ptuj. To je bila povsem neodvisna ustanova z glasbeno šolo, ki ni bila podružnica ljubljanske Matice. Mestna šola je prenehala obstajati, vse dejavnosti so bile prenesene na Matico, ki je nadaljevala delo svojih predhodnic, zborovsko dejavnost *Männergesang Vereina*, zborovsko in izobraževalno delo Narodne čitalnice ter koncertno in izobraževalno poslanstvo *Musikvereina* in mestne godbe. Izvajala je pouk instrumentov, petja in glasbeno-teoretičnih predmetov, gojila pevske zборе od mladinskih do odraslih, komorno in ansambelsko igro, s prirejanjem koncertov domačih in gostujočih glasbenikov pa je postala tudi koncertna poslovalnica. Vse to se je še intenziviralo po letu 1926, ko je vodenje Glasbene matice in mesto ravnatelja glasbene šole prevzel violinist in skladatelj Karol Pahor. Pod njegovim vodstvom je prišlo do temeljite prenove vseh dejavnosti, šolskih in poustvarjalnih, pri čemer se je novi ravnatelj in umetniški vodja zborovskih, komornih in ansambelskih sestavov zgledoval po ljubljanski Glasbeni matici, ki je bila s svojimi dejavnostmi in uspešnim delovanjem tudi po prvi svetovni vojni vzor celotnemu slovenskemu prostoru.

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Delovanje slovenskih, italijanskih in avstrijsko-nemških društev v Trstu v 19. stoletju

Luisa Antoni
Samostojna raziskovalka
Independent researcher

Moj tokratni prispevek za Slovenske glasbene dneve se osredotoča na mesto Trst, ki je od nekdaj srčika mojega raziskovanja. Kot sem že večkrat poudarila, je imelo poseben kulturni in ekonomski status v avstro-ogrskem cesarstvu: bilo je edino evropsko mesto, v katerem so se v 19. stoletju in v prvih desetletjih 20. stoletja plodno stikale – družbeno, kulturno, glasbeno, politično – tri velike evropske jezikovne družine: romanska z italijanščino oz. tržaščino (tj. krajevno dialektalno različico beneškega narečja,¹ ki je bil prevladujoči jezik prebivalstva), germanska z nemščino (jezik, ki so ga prebivalci uporabljali predvsem za stike z državnimi institucijami, je pa bil tudi jezik krajevne avtohtone nemške skupnosti²) in slovanska s slovenščino, hrvaščino in srbščino. Slovenščina je bila jezik avtohtone mestne skup-

- 1 Z dialektologijo tega prostora se je v svojih raziskavah podrobneje ukvarjala Suzana Todorovič. Prim. Suzana Todorovič, *Narečna raznolikost v okolici Kopra. Dekani, Hrvatini, Škofije* (Koper: Libris, 2017), 16–8; Suzana Todorovič, »Istrobeneščina med pripadniki italijanske narodne manjšine v slovenski Istri«, *Razprave in gradivo – Institut za narodnostna vprašanja*, št. 87 (2021): 211–31.
- 2 S tržaško nemško skupnostjo se ukvarjajo različni članki in knjige, npr. Maximiliane Rieder, »Cosmopoliti sull'Adriatico. Mercanti ed industriali tedeschi a Venezia e Trieste«, *Qualestoria*, no. 1 (2010): 99–133; Silvana de Lugnani, *La cultura tedesca* (Trst: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1986); Reinhard Riemann, »Die Deutschen in Triest 1880–1920: das Verhältnis der deutschen Bevölkerung in der Adriastadt zu Italienern und Slowenen vom Beginn der nationalpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen bis zur Eingliederung der Stadt in das Königreich Italien« (Diss., Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 2017).

nosti, vseh okoliških četrti in predmestja, hrvaščina³ in srbščina⁴ pa predvsem – čeprav ne izključno – jezika priseljenih delavcev. Konec in začetek 20. stoletja se je slovenščina utrdila tudi kot jezik politikov in intelektualcev, prek katerega so si slovanske komponente mesta izborile politične pravice na deželni in državni ravni.

Mestno vrvenje je torej obsegalo avtohtone prebivalce, priseljence iz bližjega in daljnega zaledja ter celo vrsto državnih, administrativnih, verskih predstavništev, ta so v mestu aktivna še danes.

Najprej bomo pogledali razvoj mesta, ki je postalo glavno cesarsko pristanišče in četrto največje mesto v avstro-ogrskem cesarstvu vse do leta 1918, torej vse dokler ni država razpadla. Prvi veliki dosežek je pridobitev statusa proste luke, ki ga je Trstu leta 1719 dodelila cesarska oblast. Demografska rast mesta je bila v 19. stoletju skokovita: leta 1853 je bilo v Trstu 95.000 prebivalcev, leta 1910 pa 230.000.⁵ Mesto, ki je »istočasno postalo edino mediteransko pristanišče nemške konfederacije«,⁶ je pridobilo številne prednostne točke, ki so v glavnem vezane na intermodalne povezovalne koridorje (taka sta npr. odprtje Sueškega prekopa in železniška povezava z Dunajem) in na bolj svobodne možnosti osebnega izražanja (npr. svoboda bogoslužja). Vsi ti cesarski privilegiji, ki so spodbudili prihod Čehov, Slovakov, Madžarov, Judov, Grkov in Armencev, so obenem privabili trgovce, obrtnike in male poslovneže.

Taka je bila politika Marije Terezije, ki je privabila v Trst predstavnike različnih nacionalnosti: Emporij [tako so imenovali Trst, op. a.] je potreboval kapital in cesarica je ustvarila v Trstu otok verske tolerance. Utrujeni od romanja, Grki, Židje, protestanti, so bili srečni, ko so dobili mesto, kjer so se lahko ustalili, ne da bi se morali zaradi tega odreči svoji nacionalni pripadnosti. Tu so lahko obhajali svoje obrede, ustanavljali šole, kjer so poučevali v svojem jeziku in se celo organizirali v avtonomne skupnosti.⁷

3 Milan Pahor, *Slavjanska sloga. Slovenci in Hrvati v Trstu. Od avstroogrske monarhije do italijanske republike 1848–1954* (Trst: Založništvo tržaškega tiska, 2004); J. C. Damir Murkovic, ur., *I Croati a Trieste* (Trst: Comunità croata di Trieste, 2007).

4 Giorgio Milossevich in Marisa Bianco Fiorin, *I Serbi a Trieste: storia, religione, arte* (Udine: Istituto per l'enciclopedia del Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 1978).

5 Jože Pirjevec, »Trst je naš!«, *boj Slovencev za morje (1848–1954)* (Ljubljana: Nova revija, 2007), 16.

6 Rieder, »Cosmopoliti sull'Adriatico«, 100.

7 Giorgio Negrelli, ur., *La Favilla (1836–1846)* (Verona: Del Bianco Editore, 1985), 15.

Demografska rast mesta je spodbujala različne oblike druženja, ki so bila, po eni strani, način, kako se je prebivalstvo zabavalo, po drugi strani (predvsem pri slovensko in italijansko govorečih prebivalcih) sredstvo utrjevanja narodne pripadnosti. Društva so postala žarišča bodisi kulturnih bodisi zabavnih ponudb, ki so privabljala v mestna gledališča in na prostem navdušene obiskovalce. V nadaljevanju bomo sledili jezikovni razmejitvi različnih društev, ki so delovala v mestu, čeprav se je včasih dogajalo, da so se ponudbe prepletale, saj so se prebivalci tekoče sporazumevali v različnih jezikih teritorija.

Začnimo pri pregledu nemško govorečih društev, ki so bila starejša in tudi bolje organizirana. Ta društva, ki so delovala v Trstu v drugi polovici 19. stoletja, so bila številna in navedli bomo nam znane podatke. Po zgledu nemško govorečih pokrajin je tudi v Trstu delovalo telovadno in pevsko društvo, *Triester Turn und deutschen Gesang-Verein*, ki so ga ustanovili 12. aprila 1850.⁸ Društvo je nato spremenilo svoj namen, se preusmerilo v zborovsko petje in se preimenovalo v *Deutscher Männergesangverein*, ki je štelo več kot 200 članov.⁹ Njihov repertoar je obsegal predvsem nemške skladatelje, pri tem pa so večkrat sodelovali z orkestrom društva *Società musicale (Glasbeno društvo)*, ki je bilo – italijanskemu imenu navkljub – nemško usmerjeno. Podatki o *Società musicale* segajo v leto 1852, na začetku se je društvo predstavilo kot nadnacionalno, čeprav je bil glasbeni repertoar v glavnem nemški. Leta 1855 so prvič v Trstu izvajali Wagnerja,¹⁰ leta 1857 z novim statutom in novim vodstvom se je še bolj približalo nemško-avstrijski zapuščini, z namenom, da predstavi Tržačanom nemško *Kultur*. Glavni pobudnik te spremembe je bil violinist Julius Heller (Lehotta na Madžarskem, 1839 – Trst, 1901). Violino je študiral na dunajskem konservatoriju v razredu Georga Hellmesbergerja in po uspehih na Dunaju, v Benetkah, Milanu in Genovi se je leta 1858 ustalil v Trstu. Zasebno je poučeval violino in petje in deloval kot koncertni violinist, kot prva violina godalnega kvarteta, ki se je imenoval po njem,¹¹ kot orkestrski dirigent in umetniški vodja društva *Schillervereina*. To je leta 1859 in uradno 20. februarja 1860 postalo

8 De Lugnani, *La cultura tedesca a Trieste*, 24.

9 Ibid., 52; Guido Hermet, *La vita musicale a Trieste (1801–1944), con speciale riguardo alla musica vocale* (Trst: Archeografo triestino, 1947), 34. O letnici spremembe nomena de Lugnani in Hermet nista enotna, prva navaja leto 1853, drugi pa 1856.

10 De Lugnani, *La cultura tedesca a Trieste*, 53.

11 Hellerjev kvartet je bil zelo aktiven, saj so leta 1897 praznovali svoj 300. koncert znotraj *Schillervereina*. Stefano Crise, *Un silenzio cantato, Hausmusik e scrittori nella Trieste asburgica* (Varese: Zecchini, 2006), 25.

neposredni potomec *Società musicale*, prevzelo vso njeno materialno (pohištvo, inštrumente itd.) in nematerialno zapuščino in postalo eden glavnih pobudnikov glasbenih dogodkov v mestu. Kot nas opozarja Giuliana Novel, je bila nemška skupnost v Trstu finančno solidna, vendar ji pomanjkanje geografske bližine in demografska šibkost nista omogočali tako učinkovitega organiziranja pobud, kot sta jo v istih letih izvajali v mestu slovenska in italijanska komponenta.¹²

Druga glasbeno relevantna osebnost nemško govoreče skupnosti je Julius Kugy (1858–1944), vnuk Jovana Veselega Koseskega. Julius Kugy se je rodil leta 1858 v Gorici v narodnostno mešani družini. Oče je bil Korošec z originalnim priimkom Kogej, mati pa je bila hčerka pesnika Jovana Veselega Koseskega. Julius je odraščal v večjezikovnem okolju in je že od mladih nog govoril vse štiri glavne jezike tedanje Gorice: slovensko, italijansko, nemško in furlansko. Obiskoval je nemško gimnazijo v Trstu, šolanje pa nadaljeval na dunajski univerzi, kjer je leta 1882 diplomiral iz prava. Po vrnitvi v Trst je prevzel upravljanje družinskega podjetja Pfeifer-Kugy, ki ga je ustanovil njegov oče Pavel. Podjetje se je ukvarjalo z uvozom olja, kave in eksotičnega sadja. Julius Kugy se je intenzivno in strastno ukvarjal z glasbo: znane so orgle, ki jih je podaril tržaški cerkvi mehitaristov pod pogojem, da jih lahko igra vse do smrti; ustanovil je *Coro Palestriniano*, torej zbor, ki je pel dela Perluigija Palestrine. V svojih spominih je Julius Kugy obeležil dogajanje v tržaškem *Schillervereinu* in takole opisal Hellaerja:

Lahko bi dosegel svetovni sloves, če ne bi zanemarjal svoje čudovite tehnike. Bil je brihtnega razuma in živahnega duha, neverjetno kulturno razgledan, z obsežnim in poglobljenim znanjem, jasne in ostre presoje, dobro je poznal življenje in svet, pripravljen in samozavesten. Bil je talentiran Beethovnov interpret. Slišal sem skoraj vse velike violiniste našega časa, vendar me nihče od njih ni tako impresioniral kot Heller, ko je vodil Beethovnov kvartete in izvajal čudoviti Koncert za violino. Zadovoljen je bil s skromno funkcijo, ki jo je opravljal v Trstu, kjer je bil tisočkrat bolj sposoben kot ostali, ampak ljubi Bog mu je podelil sredstva, s katerimi bi se lahko povzpел do visokih vrhov. V nadaljevanju sem mu bil zelo blizu, pri njem sem se učil harmonije in bassa continua, z njim sem izvajal številne skladbe, tudi v Schillervereinu sem bil ob njem več desetletij, najprej kot svetnik, potem kot eden od treh upraviteljev, na

12 Giuliana Novel, »Associazioni musicali e orientamenti nazionali nella Venezia Giulia«, *Musica e storia* XII, št. 3 (2004): 535.

začetku skromen in zadržan pred njegovo energijo in veličino, pozneje kot sodelavec vedno bolj gotov in sposoben.¹³

Društvo *Schillerverein* je, pod Hellerjevim vodstvom, ponujalo mestu odmevna glasbena srečanja, ki so znatno bogatila mestno ponudbo. Ko je 19. maja 1861 cesar Franc Jožef prespal v miramarskem gradu, mu je *Schillerverein* priredil nočno serenado;¹⁴ 16. maja 1866 so pripravili v gledališču Mauroner tržaško praizvedbo oratorija *Paulus* Felixa Mendelssohna Bartholdyja,¹⁵ ki jo novinar takole opiše:

*S to prvo izvedbo [...] je društvo Schiller pokazalo, kako resno jemlje svoje poslanstvo: ponudilo je tukaj bivajočim Nemcem primerno in prefinjeno rekreacijo in se istočasno približalo tu prisotnim izobraženim meščanom vseh narodnosti.*¹⁶

Šestindvajsetega aprila 1867 je sledila izvedba Haydnovega *Die Schöpfung* v takrat najbolj elegantnem tržaškem gledališču Teatro Armonia,¹⁷ nato med letoma 1869 in 1870 številni Beethovnovi koncerti ob stoletnici skladateljevega rojstva. Heller je 13. februarja 1883 dirigiral v tržaškem gledališču Politeama Rossetti tržaško praizvedbo Beethovnovе 9. *simfonije*. Koncert je bil tako uspešen, da so ga morali ponoviti. Podobne odmevne glasbene pobude so se mesečno zvrstile tudi v naslednjih letih, vendar njihova podrobna katalogizacija še čaka na svojega raziskovalca. Pomemben del *Schillervereina* je bil zbor *Gesangverein*, ki so ga ustanovili leta 1885 kot samostojno društvo, katerega predsednik je postal ameriški konzul v Trstu in eden prvih Beethovnovih biografov Alexander Wheelock Thayer (1817–

13 Julius Kugy, *La mia vita nel lavoro, per la musica, sui monti* (Bologna: Tamari, 1969), prev. Ervino Pocar, 22. V nadaljevanju Kugy opisuje dogajanje v *Schillervereinu* in nekatere izvedbe, ki so nanj naredile globok vtis.

14 Crise, *Un silenzio cantato*, 24.

15 Giuseppe Radole, *Ricerche sulla vita musicale a Trieste (1750–1950)* (Trieste: Italo Svevo, 1988), 151.

16 Ibid.

17 Kugy, ki je bil takrat devetletni deček, se tako spominja tega večera: »Bilo je v gledališču, kjer smo bili vsi v eni loži. Oče me je sicer pripravil, ampak se spomnim, da me je sveti odlomek iz Svetega Pisma 'Naj bo svetloba!' preplaval in bo ostal vklesan v večnost. Oče je bil vidno ganjen. Orkester so sestavljali profesionalci in dobri amaterji, zbor člani Società. Sopranski part nadangela Gabrijela je pela s svojim fascinantnim glasom gospodična Ricci: oblekla je sinjo, angelsko obleko in meni se je zdelo, kot da je ravno prišla iz raja. Bil je tudi čudovit tenorist, spomladni, doktor Gnesda in dober bas, Kitke, učenec ali posnemovalec Standigla. Mamo je očaral duet Adama in Eve in baritonist Giorgio von Zahony. V nas je dolgo živelo, to Stvarjenje.« Kugy, *La mia vita nel lavoro, per la musica, sui monti*, 209.

1897). Pri ustanovitvi moškega zbora je sodeloval Theodor (Teodoro) Smitt(h)er in ga dve leti tudi vodil.¹⁸ Konec maja 1889 je zbor sestavljalo 130 članov (47 sopranov, 31 altov, 19 tenorjev in 33 basov), ki so bili narodnostno mešani (pet odstotkov je bilo italijanskega jezika in kulture, preostalo pa Nemci, Avstrijci in Slovani).¹⁹

Tržaško društvo *Schillerverein* je večkrat sodelovalo s Slovenci, saj beležimo leta 1864 gostovanje moškega zbora iz Ljubljane,²⁰ veliki dobrodelni koncert, na katerem je z izvedbo Beethovnovne *Fantazije* za klavir in orkester sodeloval ljubljanski pianist Josef Zöhner,²¹ in sodelovanje s tolminsko primadono Gabrielo Mrak.²²

Med drugimi aktivnimi nemškimi društvi v Trstu gre omeniti še elitno društvo *Freundschaftsbund*, ki so ga ustanovili januarja 1851, in *Turnerverein Eintracht*, ustanovljeno leta 1864.²³ Z nemškim društvom *Eintracht* je sodeloval tudi Anton Hajdrih, ki se je leta 1873 preselil v Trst, kjer je sodeloval tudi s *Slovensko čitalnico*. Pri obeh je prirejal pevske večere in koncerte.

Po razpadu avstro-ogrskega cesarstva so vsa ta društva nehala delovati.

Slovanski del Trsta je, predvsem po letu 1848, doživel pravi razcvet. Oktobra 1848 se je pojavilo *Slavjansko društvo*, ki je pred dokončno ura-

18 Radole, *Ricerche sulla vita musicale a Trieste*, 150; Crise, *Un silenzio cantato*, 24. O Smitt(h)erju vemo zelo malo. V revijah *L'Italia musicale* in *L'artista* piše, da so v Zadru z dobrim uspehom izvajali njegovo opero *Giovanna di Napoli*. Anon., »Notizie«, *L'Italia musicale*, št. 10 (2. marec 1850): 39; Anon., »Zara«, *L'artista*, št. 17 (25. februar 1850), 63. Izvedba Smitterjeve opere v Zadru potrjuje, da so bile vezi italijansko govorečih krogov z istrskimi in dalmatinskimi mesti utrjene. V tržaškem Gledališkem muzeju Schmidl hranijo podatke, da je bil Smitter, po rodu iz nemških dežel, aktiven kot pevec in tudi kot dirigent in da je nenadoma umrl leta 1871.

19 Na podlagi dokumentov, ki jih hrani tržaški Gledališki muzej Schmidl, je podatke zbral in strnil Stefano Crise v *Un silenzio cantato*, 28.

20 Radole, *Ricerche sulla vita musicale a Trieste*, 150–1.

21 Ibid., 158. Prim. Jernej Weiss, »Musical performance activities of Josef Zöhner at the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society«, *De Musica Disserenda* 18, št. 1–2 (2022): 167–95, <https://doi.org/10.3986/dmd18.1-2.04>.

22 Marta Filli, »Tolminski ustvarjalci in poustvarjalci prejšnjega časa«, *Primorska srečanja: revija za družboslovje in kulturo* 19, št. 172 (1995): 584–8. Nekaj več podatkov o gostovanju Mrakove v Trstu je možno dobiti v esejih: Luisa Antoni, »Trst (in Gorica) v blesteči luči trojezičnih operet«, v *Opereta med obema svetovnima vojnama*, ur. Jernej Weiss (Koper, Ljubljana: Založba Univerze na Primorskem, Festival Ljubljana, 2021), 522, <https://doi.org/10.26493/978-961-293-217-6.513-528>; in Luisa Antoni, »Trieste (e Gorizia) nella rutilante luce delle operette trilingui«, *Accademia*, https://www.academia.edu/45530065/Trieste_e_Gorizia_nella_rutilante_luce_delle_operette_trilingui, 7–8.

23 De Lugnani, *La cultura tedesca a Trieste*, 44; Rieder, »Cosmopoliti sull'Adriatico«, 131–2; Riemann, *Die Deutschen in Triest*, 261.

dno ustanovitvijo imelo različna imena, in sicer *Slavjansko berilno društvo*, *Slavjanski zbor v Trstu* in *Književno-društveni zbor*. Bleiweisove *Novice* so o njem na kratko poročale in čestitale predsedniku Jovanu (Veselu) Koseskemu.²⁴ Šestega decembra 1848 je Jovan Vesel Koseski uradno odprl društveni sedež v palači Tergesteo po napevu, posvečenem cesarju. Leta 1888 Josip Apih takole opisuje delovanje društva:

*Nobeno društvo nemško in laško v Trstu ni brojilo toliko članov, nego »Slavjanski zbor«, kateri se je odlikoval tudi po množini duševnih vrlin, zbranih v njegovem kolu. Omejil pa ni delovanja svojega na Trst in Istro, nego stopil je v zvezo tudi s Hrvati na Hrvatskem in Dalmatinskem in poganjal se je tudi tam doli prav živahno za koristi Avstrije in Slovanov.*²⁵

Slavjansko društvo je večkrat prirejalo ples in pustne veselice, ki so odjeknile celo v italijanskih krogih. V Trstu je bilo *Slavjansko društvo* pomemben motor vsega kulturno-družbenega delovanja in v njem so sodelovali tako Slovenci kot tudi Hrvati, Srbi, Čehi in Poljaki.

Ob koncu desetletja 1860–1870 se je avstrijska politika nekoliko omilila in omogočila nove oblike društvenega življenja, ki so se v glavnem oblikovale kot čitalniška društva. Pomemben košček te zgodovinske sestavljanke je tudi dejstvo, da se je v desetletju 1860–1870 dokončno oblikovala italijanska država, za pripadnost kateri so se zavzemali marsikateri italijanski krogi v Trstu in Gorici.²⁶ Novi avstrijski zakon je omogočal ne samo Slovincem, ampak tudi Italijanom, da so ustanavljali svoja društva, ki so bila v glavnem telovadna ali zborovska. Obenem pa se je v Trstu v tem obdobju nacionalno trenje med Slovenci in Italijani še zaostriilo: najhujša kriza je bila julija 1868, ko je t. i. okoličanski bataljon, ki so ga sestavljali predvsem Slovenci iz okoliških vasi, pri zatiranju italijanske manifestacije ubil dva udeleženca.

Čitalniško gibanje je razširjalo in sooblikovalo narodno zavest in občutek narodne pripadnosti pri slovanskem delu prebivalstva. Prva čitalnica na celotnem slovenskem etničnem ozemlju je bila *Slavjanska narodna čit-*

24 Anon., »Novice iz Tersta«, *Novice*, 1. november 1848, 186. *Slavljansko društvo* je formalno preživelo do leta 1857. Več podatkov o delovanju slovenskih društev v Trstu je mogoče dobiti v: Robi Sturman, *Le associazioni e i giornali sloveni a Trieste dal 1848 al 1890* (Trst: Krožek za družbena vprašanja Virgil Šček, 1996).

25 Josip Apih, *Slovenci in leto 1848* (Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 1888), 142.

26 Ennio Maserati, »Simbolismo e rituale nell'irredentismo adriatico«, v *Dal Litorale austriaco alla Venezia Giulia*, ur. Fulvio Slaimbeni (Udine: Del Bianco, 1991), 125.

talnica v Trstu.²⁷ V njenih prostorih so prirejali različne pobude, v katerih je imela glasba pomembno vlogo ali v obliki zborovskega petja ali v obliki plesa in glasbenih vložkov za igre.²⁸ Njen prvi vodja je bil Fran Levstik, ki se je leta 1861 preselil v Trst, pred tem je bil od leta 1858 učitelj pri številni plemiški družini skladatelja Miroslava Vilharja, spodbujevalca čitalniškega in taborskega gibanja na Slovenskem.²⁹

Veliko je bilo bolj ali manj odmevnih srečanj in manifestacij (*bésede*), kjer je imela glavni delež glasba, predvsem zborovska. Na sporedih najdemo imena takrat znanih zborovskih dirigentov: Ivan Dolinar (1840–1886), Ivan Piano (1830–1880), Jakob Čencur (1837–1888) itd. V teh letih se je mudil v Trstu tudi Čeh Jan Lego, pomembna narodnobuditeljska osebnost tako v Trstu kot Ljubljani.³⁰ V letih 1860–1862 je Lego v Trstu vodil zbor, ki je sodeloval na srečanjih v *Slavjanski čitalnici*.

Takoj za *Slavjansko čitalnico* so nastale še kmečke čitalnice: čitalnice pri Sv. Ivanu, v Barkovljah, Rocolu, Škednju in Kolonji. Prva od njih pa je bila rojanska čitalnica, katere člani so se zavzemali za organizacijo tabora, ki bi potekal pri Fernetičih. Člani čitalnice so se prvič zbrali 25. aprila 1869 in ustanovili pripravljalni odbor za tržaški tabor. Oblasti niso izdale dovoljenja in tako so se Tržačani povezali z Goričani in pomagali pri prirejanju sežanskega tabora;³¹ in prav v prostorih rojanske čitalnice se je pripravljalni odbor odločal o sežanskem taboru.³²

27 Lavo Čermelj, »Slavjanska čitalnica v Trstu v letih 1865–1876«, *Jadranski koledar* (1959): 97–102.

28 Apih, *Slovinci in leto 1848*, 323. Prim. tudi: Filibert Benedetič, »Il teatro sloveno«, v *Enciclopedia monografica del Friuli Venezia Giulia* 3, 4. del, ur. Domenico Cerro-ni Cadoresi in Cesare Russo (Udine, Istituto per l'Enciclopedia del Friuli – Venezia Giulia, 1971), 2117–40.

29 »Ko je Vilhar leta 1848 ustanovil v Senožecah narodno stražo in ji sam stopil na čelo, se je temu ljudstvu približal. Postal je nekakšen narodni graščak.« Mirjana Turel, *Miroslav Vilhar* (Ljubljana: DSS, 1963), 12. Marušič nas tudi opozarja, da je bil Vilhar glavni organizator pivškega tabora; prim.: Branko Marušič, »Primorski tabori (1868–1871)«, *Goriški letnik: zbornik goriškega muzeja* 1 (1974): 51–67.

30 Legovo vlogo pri glasbenem razvoju na Tržaškem bi bilo treba še dodatno raziskati. Z Janom Legom se je podrobneje ukvarjal Anton Aškerc: Anton Aškerc, »Jan Lego, ob sedemdeset letnici njegovega rojstnega dne«, *Ljubljanski zvon* 23, št. 11 (1903): 616–20.

31 Branko Marušič, »Sežanski tabor 29. maja 1870«, *Ob stoletnici sežanskega tabora 1870–1970* (Sežana: Pripravljalni odbor za proslavo stoletnice tabora, 1970).

32 O tem piše podrobneje Janez Kramar, *Prvi tabor v Istri* (Koper: Komisija za zgodovino pri pripravljalnem odboru za proslavo 100-letnice tabora v Kubedu, 1970).

Leta 1869 je imela več kot polovica čitalnic sedež na Primorskem. Imele so predvsem kulturnodruštvene namene, medtem ko so imeli tabori politične cilje. Tabori so bili veliki ljudski prazniki, odmori med posameznimi govorniki so bili največkrat efektno organizirani, saj so ob drugih točkah nastopali zbori ali godbe. Ob koncu slavja se ljudje niso razhajali in so pogosto peli, godbe so igrale in včasih je bil tudi ples. Vsak tabor je imel eno ali več glasbenih točk, zborovskih, godbeniških in tamburaških.

Prvi primorski tabor je bil v Šempasu 18. oktobra 1868. Udeležilo se ga je kakih 200 Tržačanov; na Tržaškem so namreč tamkajšnji voditelji pozvali k prisotnosti. Franc Cegnar je npr. na otvoritvi čitalnice v Barkovljah pozval prisotne, da »*bodo dokazali, da so vredni svobode ter da se hočejo zediniti in braniti svojo narodnost in svoje pravice*«. ³³

Tržaški Slovenci so bili prisotni na različnih taborih: Boljunčani in Bazovci so bili gotovo 9. maja 1869 na taboru na Kalcu. ³⁴ Tudi *Slovenski narod* (20. maja 1869) je poročal o tržaški udeležbi in omenjal, da so imeli na klobuke pripet napis »*Tr. Primorci*«. Ravno tako so bili številni na taboru v Sezani. ³⁵

Obdobje taborov pomeni na Tržaškem in Goriškem predvsem razširjanje nacionalne zavesti, na podlagi katere se lahko kulturno-umetniška-glasbena dejavnost razmahne vse do prvih desetletij novega stoletja. Po prvi zagnanosti, ki je sledila revolucionarnemu letu prebujenja narodov, so politične spremembe zavirale uspešno čitalniško delovanje.

Konec 80. let sta se slovenska oz. slovanska prisotnost in delovanje v mestu bistveno okrepila, tako gospodarsko kot kulturno. ³⁶ Začela so se pojavljati kulturna društva, zbori so se ustanavljali tudi kot samostojna telesa, sledile so godbe in tamburaške skupine. ³⁷ Med letoma 1860 do prve sve-

33 Samo Pahor, »Nastanek in vzpon kmečkih čitalnic v tržaški okolici«, *Jadranski kalendar 1968* (1968): 123–30.

34 Ivo Jelerčič, *Pevsko izročilo Primorske* (Trst: ZTT, 1980).

35 Za podrobnejši pregled glasbenega delovanja taborov glej Luisa Antoni, »Tabori na Primorskem«, *Academia*, https://www.academia.edu/42913345/Tabori_na_Primorskem.

36 Leta 1901 in 1905 sta bili ustanovljeni Ljubljanska banka, na osnovi kapitala praške Žyvnostenske banke, in Jadranska banka s hrvaškim kapitalom. Milan Pahor, *Slovensko denarništvo v Trstu* (Trst: ZTT, 1989), in Marina Cattaruzza, »Sloveni e italiani a Trieste: la formazione dell'identità nazionale«, *Clio. Rivista trimestrale di studi storici* 25, št. 1 (1989): 27–58.

37 Seznam in opis slovenskih društev je objavljen v različnih člankih: Lejla Sancin-Reharjeva, »Slovenske organizacije«, v *Prosvetni zbornik 1868–1968* (Trst: Slovenska prosvetna zveza, 1970), 249–323; Nadja Kriščak, »Slovenska pesem je večna«, v *Prosvetni zbornik 1868–1968* (Trst: Slovenska prosvetna zveza, 1970), 32–51; že omenje-

tovne vojne so Slovenci na Tržaškem ustanovili približno 350 društev.³⁸ Na začetku novega stoletja so nastajale najpomembnejše kulturne ustanove in zgradbe, in sicer *Narodni dom*, *Dramatično društvo* in *Glasbena matica*. Vse to pa je nedvomno sad taborniške in čitalniške setve, vendar so kulturno in glasbeno vrvenje Slovencev in Slovanov v Trstu zatirala, predvsem po prvi svetovni vojni, nacionalna trenja, ki so se že v zgodnjih 20. letih 20. stoletja izrodila v uničujoči fašistični teror.

Povojno zgodovinopisje v italijanščini je klišejsko označilo mesto Trst kot trgovsko mesto, ki se ni zanimalo za nič drugega kot dobiček. V osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja pa so podrobnejše raziskave izpodbile take poglede in ponudile bolj širokokotno stališče, ki je raziskalo tudi kulturne, gledališke in glasbene potrebe novih priseljencev. Kot pravilno opozarja Antonio Trampus, je

*prva generacija priseljenih trgovcev [...] v Trst prišla intelektualno že formirana in iz svojih izvornih krajev s sabo prinesla ne samo energijo in ambicijo, ampak tudi ideje in kulturo.*³⁹

Posebno zanimiva in zelo malo raziskana so redna ljubiteljska glasbena srečanja, ki so se dogajala v zasebnih domovih premožnejših meščanov, npr. družin Brunner, Pollitzer,⁴⁰ Veneziani, Morway, Ralli, Nazor, Hummel, Bazzoni, Glanzmann, Oblaser, Revoltella, Hosak, Pitteri, Caccia, Parisi, Grablovitz, Weiselberg⁴¹ itd. Viri navajajo, da so ljubiteljske družinske orkestre, ki so se srečevali na teh domovih, vodili Aurelio Donci-

ni Sturman, *Le associazioni e i giornali sloveni*; Boris Kuret in Salvator Žitko, *Zastava, sveta bodi ti nam vez. Društveni prapori na Tržaškem in v Istri pred prvo svetovno vojno* (Devin, NŠK in Pokrajinski muzej, 1997); in še Jelerčič, *Pevsko izročilo Primorske*.

38 Aleksej Kalc, »Forme organizzative degli sloveni a Trieste nel periodo della loro ascesa sociale e nazionale«, v *Umetnostni izraz ob nacionalnem vprašanju / L'espressione artistica e la questione nazionale*, ur. Aleksander Rojc (Trst: Glasbena matica Trst, 2014), 41–66.

39 Antonio Trampus, »Gli interessi teatrali e musicali di F. E. J. Baraux e la cultura triestina tra Sette e Ottocento«, v *La Civica Cappella di San Giusto, 450 anni di musica a Trieste 1538–1988*, ur. Fulvio Salimbeni (Trst: Comitato Cappella Civica, 1989), 202.

40 O srečanjih pri Pollitzerjevih poroča Federica Vetta v svojem članku: »Mecenatismo e associazionismo a Trieste«, v *Progetto Vienna-Trieste: itinerari culturali a confronto*, ur. Marisa Pallini (Trieste: Associazione Italia-Austria, 1991), 89–101.

41 Življenje v Weiselbergovi hiši je opisala Fausta Cialente v svoji knjigi *Štiri dekleta Weiselberg* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1978); tudi Crise posveča Weiselbergu celo poglavje. Stefano Crise, *La divina ispirazione, l'educazione musicale del popolo nella Trieste asburgica* (Varese: Zecchini editore, 2006), 69–71.

ch (1867–1944), Carlo Luzzato, Cesare Cavalieri, Antonio Rupnik,⁴² Adelchi Cremaschi idr., v orkestrih pa so občasno in po potrebi sodelovali profesionalni glasbeniki. Muzicirali so tudi v Vili Murat, kjer je med letoma 1816 in 1820 živel Elisa Baciocchi, Napoleonova sestra. V obdobju svoje tržaške rezidence je Elisa Baciocchi prirejala številne sprejeme, na katere je vabila umetnike, glasbenike, intelektualce, trgovce in plemiče.⁴³ Leta 1816 je v Trst pripotoval in tu ostal med 30. avgustom in 16. oktobrom Niccolò Paganini, kot prijatelj in gost trgovca iz Genove Agostina Samenga (1771–c. 1837), ki se je ob koncu 18. stoletja preselil v Trst.⁴⁴ V tem svojem tržaškem obdobju se je Paganini verjetno bolj ali manj tajno družil z Eliso Baciocchi, ki jo je poznal (in s katero ga je verjetno vezalo nežno prijateljstvo) že od njenegega obdobja v mestu Lucca. Ker pa je Paganini iz Trsta odpotoval na Dunaj, sta se diskretno družila, da ne bi vzbudila neprijetne pozornosti avstrijskih oblasti.

Seznam tržaških italijansko govorečih društev je zelo bogat, a neraziskan. Med temi društvi je bila glasbeno najbolj poznana in dejavna *Società filarmonico-drammatica*, ustanovljena 22. novembra 1829, ki je delovala do leta 1925.⁴⁵

Prispevek želimo skleniti z opisom dveh dogodkov, iz katerih je razvidno, da je bila glasba tudi v italijanskih krogih namenjena utrjevanju in potrjevanju lastne narodne zavesti, predvsem pa uveljavljanju iredentističnih načel.

Med letoma 1859 in 1903 so v Gledališčih Mauroner in Rossetti večkrat uprizorili Verdijevo opero *Ernani* (vemo, da je Verdi pomenil za italijanske pripadnike veliko, saj je že njegov priimek akronim za Vittorio Emanuele Re D'Italia – Vittorio Emanuele Kralj Italije). Poleg tega so nekatere arije in zbori postali simbol upora proti avstro-ogrski monarhiji: med temi tudi »Si

42 O Rupniku imamo zelo malo podatkov, o njegovem poustvarjalnem delu je mogoče dobiti nekaj več podatkov v članku o opereti v Trstu: Antoni, »Trst (in Gorica) v blesteči luči trojezičnih operet«, 523.

43 Radole, *Ricerche sulla vita musicale a Trieste*, 29–33; Alessia Rosolen, *Elisa Bonaparte, la storia sconosciuta della Trieste francese* (Trieste: APS comunicazioni editore, 2017), 69.

44 Margherita Canale, »Influenze classiche nella musica strumentale da camera a Trieste tra Settecento e Ottocento«, v *Itinerari del classicismo musicale, Trieste e la Mitteleuropa*, ur. Ivano Cavallini (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 1992), 105–22; Rosolen, *Elisa Bonaparte*, 70.

45 Ob 50. obletnici je Francesco Hermet v anonimni obliki pripravil svoje spomine na *Società filarmonico-drammatica* in tako zapustil bogat zapis o delovanju in članih, ki so sodelovali s *Società*. Hermetovi spomini so izšli ob 55. obletnici.

ridesti il Leon di Castiglia» iz opere *Ernani*, ki je bil pravi klic k uporabi, k vstaji. Nazadnje, 26. maja 1903, so preplavili gledališče s tisočnimi tribarvnimi lističi (zelena, bela, rdeča, to so barve italijanske zastave). Po tem podvigu je bila opera v Trstu trajno prepovedana.⁴⁶

Tako kot so to delali slovanski krogi, so tudi italijanski krogi imeli stike s sorodnimi društvi v Istri (ne nazadnje ne gre pozabiti, da je leta 1903 Glasbeni licej – predhodnik današnjega konservatorija – dobil ime po Giuseppeju Tartiniju, da bi s to potezo potrdili in utrdili italijanskost Trsta). Osemindvajsetega junija 1885 je eno od društev, ki je delovalo v Trstu, tj. Corale degli allievi Sinico (Zborovsko združenje učencev Sinica), organiziralo koncert v Izoli (mestu, ki je danes del Slovenije). Ta koncert se je s pomočjo drugih društev spremenil v imponanten shod za utrditev in prepričano potrditev italijanskega čutenja: zapeli so (z občinstvom vred) Verdijev *Va' pensiero*, Garibaldijevo, Mamelijevo himno in še druge podobne. Dan po tem shodu so avstrijske oblasti aretirale predsednika društva Giuseppeja Bratosa in njegove kolege ter društvo tri dni zatem razpustile.⁴⁷

Kot je bilo v teh letih že večkrat izpostavljeno, dejansko glasbeno dogajanje v Trstu v 19. in 20. stoletju čaka še na poglobljene raziskave. S to želimo narediti prve korake v tej smeri in prav prihodnje nam bodo lahko razkrile pravo sliko vrvenja in živahnega kulturnega in glasbenega življenja v mestu, ki je bilo do leta 1918 najpomembnejše (in edino) avstro-ogrsko pristanišče.

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46 Maserati, »Simbolismo e rituale nell'irredentismo adriatico«, 147.

47 Ibid., 149.

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Doba čitalniškega rodoljubja: Slovanska čitalnica v Mariboru

Vlasta Stavbar
Univerza v Mariboru, Univerzitetna knjižnica
University of Maribor, University Library

17. julija 1861 so v Mariboru ustanovili čitalnico, kjer se, kot so zapisale dogodku po izidu najbližje *Novice*, »slovensko govori in bere«.¹ Slovansko čitalnico so imenovali tudi Narodna slovanska čitalnica, Slovenska čitalnica, Narodna čitalnica ali kar Čitalnica v Mariboru. Slovanska čitalnica je tako nehote postala središče vzpona slovenske narodne usmerjenosti. Če se pomaknemo 130 let nazaj, na slovesnost ob 20. obletnici čitalnice, v poročilu z dogodka preberemo, da je bil vzrok za ta veličasten dogodek, za *počelo slovenske kulture* v mestu ob Dravi

*prihod dr. Janka Sernca v Maribor, ki je vzpodbudil razprave o tem, da bi se podobno kot Hrvaške čitalnice in po podobi Tržaške čitalnice, ki je bila prva na našem nacionalnem področju, ustanovila posebna ustanova čitalnica.*²

Politične razmere na Slovenskem sredi 19. stoletja in razlogi za nastanek čitalnic

Slovensko narodno gibanje se je sicer že začelo v drugi polovici 18. stoletja, a je bilo vse do leta 1848 v javnosti omejeno samo na kulturno delo. Poli-

1 Anon., »Dopisi. Iz Maribora (Narodna slovanska čitalnica v Mariboru)«, *Novice* 19, št. 34 (21. avgust 1861): 275.

2 Anon., »Čitalnica mariborska (Govor g. profesorja Majcinger ob 20-letnici čitalnice)«, *Novice* 15, št. 40 (6. oktober 1881): 317.

tično delo je bilo pod absolutizmom prepovedano. Vse do leta 1848 Slovenci nismo imeli nobenih društev s posebnim slovenskim obeležjem. Redka društva tistega časa – kot na primer Kranjska kmetijska družba, kranjska delegacija Notranjeavstrijskega industrijskega in obrtnega društva, Muzejsko društvo za Kranjsko ali Filharmonična družba – so združevala v svojih vrstah plemstvo, uradništvo, duhovščino in uglednejši del meščanstva. Člani so bili Nemci in Slovenci, večina je bila narodnostno še neopredeljena. Vendar je v glavnem pripadala nemški kulturi in govorila pretežno nemško. Jezik delovanja društev je bil pretežno nemški. Slomšek je leta 1845, ko je bil stolni kanonik in škofijski šolski nadzornik v Šentandražu na Koroškem, želel ustanoviti prvo pravo slovensko društvo »*društvo za izdajanje dobrih ljudskih knjig v slovenskem jeziku*«, toda vlada je ustanovitev prepovedala, češ, da je do dobrih knjig mogoče priti tudi brez društva.³

Pomlad narodov pa je povzročila razmah slovenskih kulturnih in političnih dejavnosti. Na Dunaju in v Gradcu, v univerzitetnih mestih, kjer je živelo veliko slovenskih študentov in inteligence, pa v Ljubljani, Celovcu, Gorici in Trstu so nastala društva, ki naj bi pomagala uresničevati program Zedinjene Slovenije.

S posebnim cesarskim patentom 17. marca 1849 je bilo »*urejeno izvrševanje pravice svobodnega združevanja in zborovanja*«. ⁴

Nepolitična društva so se lahko ustanovila po določbah patenta, ne da bi zaprosila za dovoljenje. Tako je bilo 27. julija 1857 v Celovcu ustanovljeno Društvo sv. Mohorja z namenom »*na svetlo dajati in razširjati dobre knjige, ki um, srce in voljo ljudi razsvetliti in požlahti ...*«⁵ Društvo je že v nekaj letih doseglo velik razmah in imelo v devetdesetih letih že 50.000 članov ter je opravljalo kulturno poslanstvo.

Obnovljena ustavnost leta 1861 je pomenila več liberalnosti. Zaživel so deželni zbori in parlament na Dunaju.

V šestdesetih letih 19. stoletja tako med Slovenci zasledimo več *živahnosti in duševne energije*, ki se kaže v društvenem življenju, v katerega so se začeli vključevati tudi širši sloji prebivalstva, predvsem mestnega in trškega. Otopelo prebivalstvo v letih absolutizma so razgibali literatura, ljudna znanost, gledališka in glasbena umetnost, telovadne spretnosti ter

3 Vasilij Melik, »Razvoj slovenskega narodnega gibanja in društva«, v: Vasilij Melik, *Slovenci 1848–1918: Razprave in članki*, ur. Viktor Vrbnjak (Maribor: Litera, 2003), 269–77.

4 Ibid., 239.

5 Ibid., 270.

interes do lepote in umetnosti. Glavno vodilo tega prebujanja je bila prav gotovo literatura. Vzniknili so slovenski politični časniki, literarni časopisi. Postavljene so bile zahteve po lastni univerzi za Slovence, po slovenskih šolah in rabi slovenščine v javnosti. Po obnovljeni ustavnosti sledimo tudi razmahu čitalniškega gibanja na Slovenskem. Kot najpomembnejši pobudniki čitalniškega gibanja so bili staroslovenci, med njimi dr. Janez Bleiweis s svojim krogom prvakov, kot sta bila dr. Toman in dr. Costa. Vodili so previdno politiko, nagnjeno h kompromisom. Po vzoru hrvaških »čitaonic« so pričeli s pobudami, objavljenimi v *Novicah*, razmišljati o ustanavljanju čitalnic na Slovenskem.

Stoletnica rojstva Valentina Vodnika, 3. februarja 1858, je prišla ravno prav. V Šiški »pri Žibertu« so na svečnico, 2. februarja 1858, odkrili spominsko ploščo Valentinu Vodniku. Tej slavnosti je 5. februarja 1858 sledila Vodnikova »beseda« v ljubljanskem gledališču, ki jo je pripravilo filharmonično društvo.⁶ Slovesnost v spomin Vodniku je vzpodbudila željo Slovencev po udejstvovanju v narodnih društvih.⁷

Bleiweisovo pobudo po ustanovitvi čitalnice so prvi udejanjili Tržičani, ki so 29. januarja 1861 prvi na Slovenskem obnovili nekdanje društvo Slavjanski zbor in mu dali novo ime *Slovanska čitavnica*. V njej so se zbirali Slovenci, Hrvati, Srbi, Čehi in Poljaki, saj so v Trstu zaradi njegovega gospodarskega pomena živeli ljudje različnih narodnosti. Po češkem vzoru je čitalnica začela že v pomladanskih mesecih prirejati besede, prireditve s predavanji, razpravami, petjem in zabavo. Predsedoval ji je slovenski trgovec, tajnik pa je postal Fran Levstik, ki je v čitalnici vodil tečaj knjižne slovenščine. Češki narodni buditelj in pisatelj Jan Lego je uvedel tečaj češčine, hkrati pa je vodil čitalniški pevski zbor. Slovanska čitalnica v Trstu je ob ustanovitvi štela 250 članov.⁸

Ustanovitev ljubljanske čitalnice so prehiteli tudi v Mariboru, kot druga je bila 17. julija 1861 ustanovljena z imenom *Slovanska čitavnica*. V njej je bilo poleg Slovencev tudi nekaj Čehov. V začetku je imela 30 članov, v naslednjem letu se je število povzpelo na 70.

Šele oktobra 1861 se je v ljubljanskem hotelu Slon sešlo 170 članov tamkajšnje čitalnice. Izvolili so odbor s predsednikom Mihaelom Ambrožem, prvim slovenskim županom Ljubljane. Na otvoritveni slavnosti so prebrali

6 Fr. Malavašič, »Slovesnosti, obhajanje v spomin stoletnega rojstnega dneva Valentina Vodnika, očeta slovenskega pesništva«, *Novice* 16, št. 7 (15. februar 1858): 54.

7 Ivan Prijatelj, *Kulturna in politična zgodovina Slovencev 1848–1895*, IV. knjiga, ur. Anton Ocvirk (Ljubljana: Akademsko založba, 1939), 8.

8 Ibid.

pozdravno pismo mariborske čitalnice, ki je pozdravljala Ljubljano kot »... naše duševno središče«, njeno čitalnico pa za »nam prijazno zvezdo predvodnico.«⁹ Kot piše Hartman, je bila tako Ljubljana »povzdignjena« kot središče slovenskega naroda, ljubljanski čitalnici pa dana vloga, da bodo iz nje izhajale pobude za najrazličnejše kulturne in politične akcije.¹⁰ V Ljubljani so bile locirane mnoge upravne, šolske, cerkvene in kulturne ustanove, zato je bilo razumljivo, da se od nje največ pričakuje. Ob tem je potrebno dodati, da je izjema prav gotovo bila mariborska čitalnica, ki je bila kreativna in progresivna v svojem delovanju.

Na Štajerskem je bilo ustanovljenih 13 čitalnic (Maribor, Celje, Ptuj, Sevnica, Slovenska Bistrica, Vranksko, Ormož, Sv. Benedikt, Laško, Žalec, Vojnik, Ruše, Ljutomer).

Čitalnice so bile nosilke političnega in kulturnega razvoja Slovencev in prav gotovo je čitalniška doba pomembna pri prebujanju slovenske narodne pripadnosti. Delovale so po mestih, trgih, redko pa tudi v vaseh. Okrog leta 1868 so imele približno 4000 članov. Število čitalnic se je na Slovenskem ob koncu stoletja povzpelo na 80, vendar je zaradi spremenjenih družbenih in političnih razmer začela njihova moč popuščati. Poskušale so povezati Slovence. Njihov temeljni namen je bil oblikovati in poudariti slovensko besedo in petje, kar je bilo privlačno za vse sloje. Torej utrjevati narodno zavest ter pospeševati uporabo slovenskega jezika. Zanimanje so ustvarjali z razgibanim društvenim delovanjem. Spoznavali so literarna, glasbena in gledališka dela ter zgodovino. Zelo pomembne so bile prireditve, imenovane besede z igrami, recitacijami, napitnicami oz. zdraviciami, petjem, koncertnimi točkami, tombolami in predavanji. Po navadi so se zaključile s plesom in veselico. Narodno prebujanje je bila glavna naloga čitalniških prireditev. Tudi vsi uvodni nagovori so to poudarjali.¹¹ Dejavnost čitalnic je bila odvisna predvsem od njihovega vodstva, in sicer od sposobnosti, zavzetosti, predanosti in tudi politične usmerjenosti. Slovenski intelektualci so s svojo sposobnostjo, razgledanostjo in vplivom dosegli širše slovenske množice. Vodstvo čitalnice so vsako leto volili člani. Imeli so svoja pravila. V pravilniku so bile vedno opisane njihove naloge, tako

9 Bruno Hartman, »Čitalnice jedro slovenskega kulturnega razvoja«, v *Internationales Symposium Mogesdorf – Eisenstadt* 1984, ur. Johann Seedorf (Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, Abteilung XII/2 Landesarchiv- Landesbibliothek, 1987), 171.

10 Ibid.

11 Sonja Uršič, »Čitalnice – posebnost slovenske zgodovine«, *Andragoška spoznanja* 5, št. 3 (1999): 70, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-WDUVYG82>.

predsednika, tajnika, blagajnika ali denarničarja in knjižničarja. Slednji je moral »skrbeti, da se knjige ne izgube, vselej zapisati, komu da je to ali uno knjigo izposodil, da ve potem je li bravec knjigo poškodoval ali ne. On je odgovoren za izposojene knjige.«¹²

Čitalniške prireditve so bile organizirane le za člane čitalnice, vendar so ti s seboj na prireditve ali v samo čitalnico lahko pripeljali ljudi, ki niso živeli v kraju, kjer je delovala čitalnica. Čitalniške prireditve in programi so imeli nalogo, da so izobraževali ali pa imeli namen razvedriti obiskovalce. Posebno slavnostne so bile prireditve ob ustanovitvi čitalnice. Čitalničarji so imeli za svoje delovanje dva prostora, in sicer večjega, ki so ga namenjali družabnosti (kartanje, igranje domine, šaha ...) in manjšega, namenjenega hrambi in branju časopisov in časnikov ter knjig. Poimenovali so ga bralnica. Pogosto so bili prostori najeti pri gostilničarjih, da so imeli pri roki tudi hrano in pijačo. Prireditve, t. i. bésede so prirejali ob praznikih ali ob drugih slavnostnih prireditvah. Čitalniško delovanje je obsegalo glasbeno in gledališko dejavnost, predavanja in govore ter druge dejavnosti, med katerimi je posebno mesto imela čitalniška knjižnica. Pogosto so jih imenovali »narodne bukvarnice«. Osnova za delo so bila čitalniška pravila, napisana po zakonskih predpisih.¹³

In vse to je značilno tudi za mariborsko Slovansko čitalnico. Ohranjena pravila mariborske čitalnice, skupaj z zapisnikom o ustanovitvi, nas popeljejo 160 let nazaj. Poleti 1861 se je več mariborskih slovensko usmerjenih meščanov pod vodstvom odvetniških pripravnikov, dr. Janka Serneca in dr. Jakoba Ploja, odločilo ustanoviti društvo, katerega namen je bilo »skrbeti za to, da morejo Slovenci v Mariboru po svojih lastnostih in v svojem duhu izobraževati in razveselovati.«¹⁴

Na ustanovnem sestanku čitalnice, ki je bilo kar v stanovanju odvetnika, dr. Ferdinanda Dominkuša, je 16 ustanovnih članov izvolilo odbor čitalnice. Predsednik je postal dr. Janko Sernec, tajnik in namestnik predsednika profesor Šuman, blagajnik ali – kot so zapisali – denarničar dr. Pavlič, drugi odborniki pa so bili dr. Ferdinand Dominkuš, profesor Božidar Šinko, profesor Janez Majciger in učitelj Janez Miklošič. Na tem sestanku so sprejeli tudi pravila novega društva, ki so v 2. členu določala,

12 Glej Ibid., 73 oz. arhivsko gradivo v ARS, Zbirka društvena pravil, št. 80.

13 Uršič »Čitalnice – posebnost slovenske zgodovine«, 73–8.

14 »Pravila društva narodne slovanske čitavnice v Mariboru«. UKM, Rokopisna zbirka, Ms 201/I-4; »Pravila 1861«, 1861, <https://dr.ukm.um.si/izpis.php?lang=slv&id=17990>.

*da se do materinega jezika več veselje in več ljubezen obudi, bodo se vsi člani vsak teden in komur je mogoče, vsak dan zbrali in se ne samo tam, temveč tudi indi, kolikor je mogoče slovenskega jezika posluževali. Pri vsak tedešnjem zboru morejo se znanstveni in zabavni govori držati, narodne pesmi se pevati in na vsak način če se skrbeti za občno zabavljanje.*¹⁵

Štajersko državno namestništvo je njena pravila potrdilo 4. septembra 1861.

Zapisnik o ustanovitvi je podpisalo 20 rodoljubov, prvih članov Čitalnice. Ustanovitelji so v samem mestu imeli vzorec v društvih, v katerih so delovali sami, vendar je bil tam jezik nemški, njihove dejavnosti pa so bile takšne, da so bile primerne tudi za novo Slovansko čitalnico.

Društvo Slovanska čitalnica se je odločilo, da bo imelo v svoji bralnici »vse slovenske pa tudi najboljše časopise v drugih jezikih«.¹⁶ Pravila so določala, da se bodo člani sestajali tedensko, po možnosti pa tudi pogosteje, in se pogovarjali po slovensko. Na tedenskih sestankih pa naj bi bil na sporedu znanstveni in zabavni nagovori, pele naj bi se ljudske pesmi in poskrbeli naj bi za različne vrste zabave.

Društvena pravila mariborske čitalnice kažejo, da so se v njej zbirali slovensko opredeljeni člani, pa tudi tisti, ki so želeli vstopiti v slovenski kulturni krog.¹⁷ Slednjim je vstop omogočalo osvajanje rabe slovenščine in s tem utrjevanje zavesti pripadnosti različnim slovanskim kulturam, predvsem pa sprejemanje slovenske kulturne dediščine. Hkrati je to pomenilo odpovedovanje dotedanjemu občevalnemu jeziku, nemščini. Nastanek čitalnic je pravzaprav pomenil ne samo kulturno, ampak tudi politično dejanje. Člani čitalnice so bili meščani, predvsem svobodnih poklicev – odvetniki, koncipienti, notarji, zdravniki, nekateri trgovci, pa tudi profesorji mariborskih srednjih šol in bogoslovja, duhovniki in učitelji, sodniki ... Meščansko ekskluzivnost je mariborska čitalnica vzdrževala kar nekaj desetletij. Kmete in prebivalce podeželja je le redko vabila na svoje prireditve. Ob tem pa je treba poudariti, da je čitalnico moralno in finančno podprl lavantinski škof dr. Anton Martin Slomšek, ki je že 19. julija v pismu pozdravil ustanovitev čitalnice.

Čitalnica je bila nacionalno, kulturno in družabno zbirališče Slovencev v Mariboru. Kar enajstkrat je zamenjala svoje prostore.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Hartman, »Čitalnice jedro slovenskega kulturnega razvoja«, 172–3.

Tudi zaradi tega v začetku ni razvila dobre knjižnice, ampak je vseskozi imela bralnico časnikov in časopisov. Vendar je čitalniški odbor kazal iz leta v leto večjo skrb za svojo knjižnico, kar se seveda da razložiti z vse bolj razgibanim političnim in kulturnim življenjem v mestu in na Slovenskem, s socialno, nacionalno in politično diferenciacijo v mestu ob koncu 19. stoletja. Že v društvenih pravilih so zapisali, da se »napravi knjižnica po moči društvenega premoženja in po dobrovoljnih darilih v denarju, knjigah in rokopisih, ki govore o slovanskih zadevah.«¹⁸ Knjižnici so namenili predvsem znanstveni značaj in jo začeli graditi takoj ob ustanovitvi Čitalnice. Posebno mesto so namenili časnikom kot viru političnih informacij. Običajno so za silvestrovo licitirali kompletne letnike časopisov. Ta praksa se je obdržala vse do prve svetovne vojne, razen za slovenske časopise in časnike, ki so jih kot zgodovinski vir vezali za ohranjanje. Franjo Baš je v tej odločitvi občnega zbora leta 1869 videl zametke znanstvene knjižnice v Mariboru. Kljub temu, da je čitalniška knjižnica doživljala vzpone in padce, bila pogostoma tudi neurejena, je Slovanska čitalnica ves čas svojega delovanje skrbela za bralnico periodičnega tiska.

Slovanska čitalnica je za svoje delovanje potrebovala ustrezne prostore, običajno dve sobi. Pridobivala jih je tako, kot so si jih, zlasti ob koncu stoletja tudi druga mariborska društva – v različnih gostilnah in hotelih. Slovanska čitalnica v Mariboru skoraj štiri desetletja po ustanovitvi ni imela takšnih prostorov za svoje delovanje, kot ga je imelo nemško gledališko in kazinsko društvo v kazinskem poslopju na Stolnem, današnjem Slomškovem trgu. Prisiljena je bila v mestu iskati manj ugodne, skromnejše prostore. Delovanje mariborske čitalnice je bilo v veliki meri odvisno od prostorov, ki so dopuščali skromnejše prireditve. Vplivali pa so tudi na čitalniško glasbeno in gledališko delovanje. Za slednje ja kazinski blišč pogostoma premamil gledalce, da bi se priključili čitalničarjem.

Prvo bivališče Čitalnice so predstavljale sobe pri gostilničarju Carlu Šramelnu, »pravičnemu in poštenemu Nemcu«,¹⁹ kot ga je označil Janez Majciger v svojem govoru ob dvajsetletnici čitalnice. Prostor so opremili s pohištvom, portreti slovenskih in slovanskih veljakov in s pomočjo dr. Dominkuša kupili tudi *glasovir*.²⁰ Gre za prostore v gostilni »Pivnica pri moki« (Mehlgrube) na Rotovškem trgu 3 (danes je to severni del stavbe, kjer sta do nekaj dni nazaj domovala Mariborska knjižnica in Lutkovno gledališče,

18 Bruno Hartman, *Kultura v Mariboru* (Maribor: Obzorja, 2002), 537.

19 Ibid., 525.

20 Janez Majciger, »Čitalnica mariborska«, *Slovenski gospodar* 15, št. 40 (6. oktober 1881): 317, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-DPEFDVPP>.

Rotovski trg 2). Kasneje, vse do izgradnje Narodnega doma leta 1899, se je čitalnica večkrat selila. Eno izmed domovanj čitalnice je bil tudi Pompreinov²¹ hotel (Hotel Nadvojvode Janeza) v Gosposki ulici. Hotel je bil znan kot *zbirališče slovenskega liberalizma*. Vanj je zahajalo mariborsko razumništvo, slovenski narodnjaki, ki so imeli v hotelu svojo slovensko mizo. Pri njej so se zbirali uredniki Slovenskega naroda, Anton Tomšič, Josip Jurčič in dr. Valentin Zarnik, ter rodoljubi, ki so prihajali v mesto.²²

V letu 1875 sledimo zagonu aktivnosti Čitalnice. Na občnem zboru 7. marca 1875 so izvolili nov odbor s predsednikom Jankom Pajkom in se odločili *obnoviti moški pevski zbor*. Delovanje čitalnice se je krepilo in leta 1878 je politik dr. Ferdinand Dominkuš s slogaškim programom spodbudil k večji dejavnosti. Čitalnica je pripravljala postavitvev Slomškovega spomenika. Mariborski nemški nacionalnega občinski svet je hotel celo prepovedati delovanje Čitalnice, kar pa je graško državno namestništvo zavrnilo.²³ Potem so sledile še nekatere selitve in iskanje novih prostorov. Novo vodstvo Čitalnice z dr. Radoslavom Pipušem se je spomladi 1892 dogovorilo z lastnikom Hotela nadvojvode Janeza, kjer je čitalnica v sedemdesetih letih že gostovala. Tukaj se je delovanje čitalnice razmahnilo. Veselice in zabavni večeri so bili pogostejši, začelo se je *orkestralno muziciranje, pevski zbor se je okrepil, gostovat so prihajali razni pevski in tamburaški zbori*. Leta 1894 so se odločili tudi za »gledališki oder čitalnice« in gledališke predstave so bile vse pogostejše. V čitalniških prostorih se je razvilo živahno kulturno in politično življenje. Leta 1894 so v čitalniških prostorih ustanovili Slovensko delavsko in pevsko društvo Maribor.

S 1. majem 1899 se je čitalnica preselila v novo zgrajeni Narodni dom.²⁴ V njem je dobila tri sobe in dva sanitarna prostora v prvem nadstropju in prostor na podstrešju za najemnino 400 goldinarjev letno. Čitalnica je prvo slovensko prireditev v novem domovanju pripravila 30. novembra 1899.²⁵ Z njo se je začela široka, raznovrstna in zagnana kulturna in politična dejavnost mariborskih Slovencev v obdobju do prve svetovne vojne.

21 Georg Pomprein, lastnik, dal v zakup Antonu Ronacherju.

22 Bogo Teply, »Iz zgodovine mariborskega gostinstva«, v *Gostinski šolski center Maribor*, ur. Danica Ževart (Maribor: s. n., 1968), 18.

23 Anon., »Dopisi. Iz Maribora«, *Slovenski gospodar* 12, št. 26 (27. junij 1878): 212, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-R8IAH6PL>.

24 »Zapisnik odborove seje, 16. maja 1899«, Zapisniki odborovih sej SČ 1899 do 1908, Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor (PAM).

25 Anon., »Marburg. (Die Eröffnungsfeier im 'Narodni dom')«, *Sudsterische Post* 19, št. 96 (2. december 1899): 3.

Jeziku so v mariborski čitalnici namenjali posebno pozornost. Prirejali so tečaje slovenščine, ilirščine in češčine. Kot posebnost pa je bil tečaj slovenščine za »narodne dame.« Mariborska čitalnica je prirejala raznovrstne prireditve: velike bésede s programski nagovori, solističnim in zborovskim petjem, recitiranjem, gledališkimi nastopi; male bésede, ki so bile skromnejše po obsegu; jour fixi so bila običajna družabna srečanja. Poleg omenjenih so prirejali tudi veselice, plese, silvestrovanja, pustovanja in večere z družabnimi igrami, izlete v naravo ali k sestrskim čitalnicam ali k narodnim slavjem. Tako so povezovali narodnost, družabnost, kulturo in tudi politično delovanje.²⁶

Posebno mesto v čitalniškem delovanju je imela glasba. Slovenski čitalničarji so svoje vokalno *glasbene sporede* oblikovali z vokalnimi skladbami slovenskih komponistov, širili pa so jih zlasti s hrvaškimi in češkimi glasbenimi deli. Solistična ali zborovska glasba je bila neodmisljiva sestavina čitalniškega delovanja. Šlo je za dvoje, in sicer za slovensko besedilo, ljudsko, ponarodelo ali slovenskih pesnikov, ter za glasbo, ustvarjeno v značilnem slovenskem melosu. Slovenski čitalničarji so svoje vokalnoglasbene sporede oblikovali z vokalnimi skladbami slovenskih komponistov, širili pa predvsem s hrvaškimi in češkimi glasbenimi deli. Čitalniške prireditve so izoblikovale svoj tip koncertnega programa. Razvoj slovenske vokalne kulture so podpirali izvrstni slovenski zbori v Gradcu in na Dunaju, iz katerih so se pevci, potem ko so končali študij na univerzah, vračali v čitalnice in jih glasbeno bogatili. Veliko so k slovenski glasbeni kulturi prispevali češki glasbeniki, ki so poklicno delovali v ljubljanskih glasbenih društvih – Filharmonični družbi in v Stanovskem gledališču, kot na primer Anton Nedwěd, Anton Foerster.²⁷

Mariborski čitalniški zbor je vodil pevovodja Janez Miklošič, brat znamenitega jezikoslovca in rektorja dunajske univerze Frana Miklošiča. Zbor je sestavil iz slovenskih gimnazijcev, kasneje so se priključili še bogoslovci ter češki inženirji in uslužbenci v Mariboru. Večje težave so bile z instrumentalno glasbo, saj slovensko meščanstvo ni imelo nabora glasbenikov za širše sestave, ampak predvsem le za solistične instrumentalne nastope, največkrat pianiste, sicer pa kvečjemu za komorne sestave.

26 V Rokopisni zbirki UKM je pod signaturo Ms 201 ohranjena zapuščina Slovanske čitalnice v Mariboru, ki obsega poleg pravil, korespondence tudi sejno gradivo in zapiski ter gradivo prireditev, razne akcije, stike z drugimi društvi ter gradivo o delovanju knjižnice Slovanske čitalnice. Celotna zapuščina je digitalizirana in dostopna na digitalnem repozitoriju UKM: <https://dr.ukm.um.si/izpis.php?id=17978>.

27 Hartman, »Čitalnice jedro slovenskega kulturnega razvoja«, 174.

Problemi so bili tudi pri gledališkem udejstvovanju. Velik problem so predstavljali prostori čitalnic, saj so društveni prostori bili mnogokrat v gostilniških prostorih. Velike gledališke dvorane v Ljubljani in Mariboru čitalničarjem niso bile na voljo. Narodne domove so Slovenci pričeli graditi šele na prelomu stoletja, v obstoječih prostorih pa so bili na razpolago le zložljivi odri za enodejanke, običajno narodne gitke in burke. Čitalničarji so se zavedali, da je gledališka beseda ena izmed temeljev za razmah slovenske kulture. Na čitalniških odrih so nastopali diletanti. Kasneje so z ustanovitvijo Dramatičnih društev (1867 ustanovitev Dramatičnega društva v Ljubljani, v Mariboru šele leta 1909) pričeli s kontinuirano gledališko dejavnostjo. Pospeševali so slovensko dramsko slovstvo, ustanovili dramsko šolo, prirejali gledališke predstave, zbirali odrsko in igralsko opremo. Vse do leta 1892 je ljubljansko Dramatično društvo skrbelo za redne slovenske gledališke predstave. Leta 1892 je bilo ustanovljeno poklicno Deželno gledališče.

Ob zaključku

V šestdesetih letih 19. stoletja, ko beležimo vrhunec delovanja čitalnic na Slovenskem, je gospodarsko slabotno in maloštevilno meščanstvo v skromnih družabnih prostorih s svojimi skromnimi možnostmi ustvarilo jedra slovenskega kulturnega razvoja. S poenotenimi pogledi na slovenski jezik in na njegovo vlogo v družbenem življenju so čitalničarji utrjevali zavest narodne skupnosti po vsem slovenskem ozemlju. S poenotenim repertoarjem čitalniških prireditev, glasbenimi deli, dramskimi besedili in usklajenim naborom časopisja in literature za svoje članstvo so čitalnice krepile slovensko družbeno in kulturno zavest. Čitalnice lahko označimo kot pomembne vzpodbujevalke kulturnega delovanja, ki je bilo razporejeno po vsem slovenskem ozemlju. Tako je rasla in se razvijala slovenska kultura in *»sodobne slovenske kulture bi brez njih ne bilo.«*²⁸

Mariborska Slovanska čitalnica je v osemdesetih letih svojega delovanja (delovala je do aprila 1941, ko jo je odpravil ukrep okupacijskih oblasti) imela pomembno vlogo pri kulturnem, glasbenem, znanstvenem in političnem razvoju Mariboru in njegovi identiteti. Že dober mesec po ustanovitvi je mariborsko čitalnico obiskal državni poslanec dr. Lovro Toman, tedaj zelo priljubljen slovenski govornik ter spregovoril besede »Mar i bor«, s katerimi je simbolično razložil ime mesta Maribor.²⁹ Kasneje je isto misel prelil še v pesniško obliko. Zadnjo kitico pesmi si je čitalnica izbrala za

28 Ibid., 176.

29 Anon., »Maribor«, *Novice* 20, št. 33 (13. avgust 1862): 274–6.

svoje geslo: »Zato priseže vsak al' mlad al' star, da mu za srečo roda zmir je mar, zato si voli rodoljubov zbor, za mesto geslo svoje : mar i bor«. ³⁰ Pesem je uglasbil čitalnični zborovodja Janez Miklošič, prvič pa je bila izvedena ob prvi obletnici čitalnice 3. avgusta 1862. In tako je »dopala«, da se je morala dvakrat izvajati, kot so zapisale *Novice*. ³¹ Po daljšem času je bila izvedena še leta 1961 ob proslavljanju stote obletnice čitalnice, nato pa je zamrla.

Ob 140-letnici ustanovitve Slovanske čitalnice leta 2001, ki jo je obeležila Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, je bila v izvedbi Mariborskega oktetna dana »prilika ponovno poslušati pesem, ki je mariborske rodoljube v ,najlepši dobi narodnega prebujenja' tako močno navduševala in ki ima torej za Maribor zgodovinski pomen,« kot je zapisal proučevalec glasbenega življenja v Mariboru Hinko Druzovič. ³²

Danes lahko zapuščino Slovanske čitalnice, ki jo hranimo v Rokopisni zbirki Univerzitetne knjižnice Maribor in jo je knjižnica pridobila v obliki daru leta 1941 po posredovanju mariborskega kulturnega delavca in enega od predsednikov Slovanske čitalnice Nika Vrable, ponudimo raziskovalcem in proučevalcem prosto dostopno v digitalizirani obliki na portalu Digitalni repozitoriju UKM: <https://dr.ukm.um.si/>.

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30 Anon., »Maribor«, *Novice* 20, št. 34 (20. avgust 1862): 286–7.

31 Ibid.

32 H[inke] Druzovič, »Maribor«, *Tabor (Božična priloga)* IV, št. 291 (25. december 1923): 1–2.

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Glasbena matica Maribor (1919–1948)

Manja Flisar Šauperl
Osnovna šola Angela Besednjaka Maribor
Angel Besednjak Primary School Maribor

Uvod

V obdobju med obema vojnama je bila Glasbena Matica (GM) osrednja glasbena ustanova v Mariboru. Skrbela je za glasbeno šolstvo, poustvarjalno dejavnost in v majhni meri za glasbeno založništvo, z njo pa so sodelovali številni priznani skladatelji in izvajalci.

Z izobraževanjem velikega števila glasbenikov je GM imela velik vpliv na formiranje glasbenega kadra in posledično na dvig kvalitete glasbenih dejavnosti v Mariboru in severovzhodni Sloveniji. Dejavnost GM je bistveno obogatila glasbeno poustvarjanje v mestu in narekovala okus in glasbeno-kulturno raven tega dela Slovenije. Orkester in zbor sta k sodelovanju pritegnila številne slovenske skladatelje in glasbenike, ki so v GM delovali kot zborovodje in dirigenti, pa tudi kot učitelji in ravnatelji njene glasbene šole. S svojim delovanjem so bistveno in v kratkem času dvignili raven slovenske glasbene kulture v Mariboru. Z založništvom je GM vzpodbujala izdajo skladb slovenskih skladateljev.

Po prevratu leta 1918 je glasba postala last množice. Domovinske in druge pesmi so bile izraz veselja nad nemško nadvlado. Začutila se je potreba po kulturnem udejstvovanju, predvsem v pevskih zborih. Ti so s svojim delovanjem prispevali k uresničevanju narodnostnih teženj. Na osnovi tega je bil v Mariboru, na pobudo sodnega svetnika, skladatelja in zborovodje Oskarja Deva, oblikovan 'Moški zbor snujoče se Glasbene Matice v Mariboru'. Njegovo rojstvo je Dev označil kot »*poglavje zase in eden najlepših*

pojavov ob krstu Jugoslavije v Mariboru«. Ustanovitev GM Maribor v letu 1919 je narekovalo sedem desetletij trajajoče prizadevanje za uveljavitev slovenskega glasbenega življenja v Mariboru. Pričelo se je v revolucionarnem letu 1848, ko je med mariborskimi študenti in gimnazijci vzkliklo zanimanje za slovensko pesem. Vrsto nadaljnjih let pa se je udeleževalo s pomočjo glasbi naklonjenih Mariborčanov, zaslužnih za ožvitev in razvoj slovenske, posebej glasbene kulture v mestu ob Dravi.

Mariborska GM, ustanovljena leta 1919, je nastala v mestu, ki slovenske glasbene in kulturne tradicije ni premoglo v tolikšnem obsegu kot Ljubljana. Do leta 1918 v mestu ni bilo javne ljudske šole s slovenskim učnim jezikom, le na nižji gimnaziji so imeli vzporednice z delnim slovenskim jezikom. Nemščina je bila takrat uradni in pogovorni jezik Mariborčanov (leta 1910 je v Mariboru živel le 14 % slovensko govorečega prebivalstva). Kulturno delovanje, posebej profesionalno, je bilo povečini v rokah Nemcev, Slovenci pa so delovali le na ljubiteljski ravni in v neugodnih pogojih. Po zlomu avstro-ogrske monarhije so korenite politične, gospodarske in kulturne spremembe bolj kot Ljubljano predrugale Maribor. Mesto je leta 1918 hipoma izgubilo nekdanji cvetoč gospodarski položaj. Izsledilo se je 6000 prebivalcev, predvsem nemški častniki, vojaki, uradniki, sodniki ter učitelji in profesorji, Maribor pa je naenkrat preplaval val priseljencev, predvsem s Primorskega. Leta 1921 naj bi jih bilo ob severni meji in okrog Maribora kar 11.000.¹ Spremenjena narodnostna struktura prebivalstva ter sodelovanje priseljencev z domačini sta tlakovali pot slovenske kulture v Mariboru, do takrat onemogočene zaradi nemških pritiskov. Z velikim političnim preobratom in visokim številom priseljenega prebivalstva si je Maribor tako pridobil moči za vsestranski zagon kulturnega življenja. Družbene razmere so široke množice kar nagovarjale k sprejemanju in ustvarjanju kulturnih dobrin. Končno je steklo premagovanje izolacije mesta, kakršno so mu jo vsiljevale zgodovinske okoliščine. Prizadevanja ustvarjalcev prebujajoče se slovenske kulture v Mariboru so tako potekala ob vrsti pospešujočih okoliščin, kakršnih v Ljubljani ni bilo. Tamkajšnja GM je od svojih začetkov v osemdesetih letih 19. stoletja delovala brez premora. Njenega izobraževalnega in kulturnega dela vojna ni ustavila. Tako naproti ljubljanski GM s tradicijo postavljamo mariborsko soimenjakinja, ki se je z velikimi hotenji in naporji njenih snovalcev izoblikovala v najpomembnejšo glasbeno-izobraževalno ter glasbeno-umetniško institucijo v Mariboru med obema vojnama. Ustanovni občni zbor se je vršil 5. septembra 1919 v sobi raz-

1 Bruno Hartman, *Kultura v Mariboru* (Maribor: Obzorja, 2001).

puščenega nemškega Filharmoničnega društva, od katerega je GM prevzela inventar in prostore v tretjem nadstropju poslopja Union.² Ob tej priložnosti je poročevalec časnika *Mariborski delavec* zapisal:

Z ustanovitvijo so se uresničile sanje, ki so jih leta in leta sanjali naši najboljši možje. Ustanovilo se je društvo, čigar namen je vsestransko gojenje glasbe. Namen bo doseglo s tem, da bo vzdrževalo glasbene šole, orglarsko šolo, društveni orkester. Ustanovljalo bo glasbene šole, prirejalo glasbene produkcije, izdajalo in zalagalo dobre slovenske skladbe živečih in umrlih glasbenikov, razpisovalo nagrade za najboljša domača glasbena dela, pospeševalo, nabiralo in izdajalo slovenske narodne pesmi, gmotno podpiralo mlade glasbenike, snovalo in vzdrževalo vso glasbeno knjižnico obsegajočo slovenske skladbe in skladbe skladateljev drugih narodnosti ter poučne knjige o glasbi. Društvo si je postavilo visoke cilje, odbor pa je bil sestavljen iz samih navdušenih delavcev. Stopili so v dogovore z izbranimi učnimi močmi, ki so dovršile teoretične študije na najboljših konservatorijih in že dolgo uspešno delujejo na različnih glasbenih šolah. Ti nam bodo ustanovili zavod, kjer se bo vsestransko poučevalo petje in glasba, ustanovili bodo velik orkester, izvežbali moški in ženski zbor, da bomo visoko povzdignili domačo umetnost.³

Izobraževalna dejavnost GM Maribor

Prve prispevke in dohodke je GM vložila v ustanovitev glasbene šole, ki je pričela z delom 1. oktobra 1919. Mesto ravnatelja je zasedel Fran Topič, po rodu Čeh, ki je na šoli poučeval violino, klavir in solopetje ter vodil mladinski orkester, ob koncu leta 1922 pa je od Oskarja Deva prevzel še vodstvo pevskega zbora GM. Zaradi pomanjkanja domačih učnih moči je k sodelovanju povabil predvsem češke strokovnjake (Jan Šlais, Ruža Deylova, Karel Hladky, O. Horlak). Ob koncu prvega šolskega leta je šola imela 194 učencev in kar 800 podpornih članov.⁴ Obisk glasbene šole je med vojnama ni-

2 Prim. Anon., »Dnevne novice. 'Glasbena Matica', Maribor«, *Mariborski delavec* 2, št. 203 (7. september 1919): 3, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-KZTQJ-BO>.

3 Anon., »Dnevne novice. 'Glasbena Matica', Maribor«, *Mariborski delavec* 2, št. 205 (11. september 1919): 2–3, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-VY9STJDI>.

4 Prim. Vlado Golob, »Glasbeno šolstvo v Mariboru od 1919. leta«, v *Srednja glasbena šola Maribor – 10 let v svobodi* [brošura] (Maribor: Srednja glasbena šola, 1955), 14.

hal med 322 (šolsko leto 1919) in skromnih 107 (šolsko leto 1933/34) v najbolj kritičnem letu delovanja GM. V 22-ih letih je šolo obiskovalo povprečno 200 učencev letno.

Skozi dobri dve desetletji se je v glasbeni šoli GM zvrstilo nad šestdeset učiteljev. Hitre kadrovske menjave in s tem povezane težave zaposlovanja ustreznih pedagoških delavcev so bile prisotne posebej prva leta po ustanovitvi in so zavirale večji polet glasbene šole GM. V mestu, kjer je pred letom 1918 delovala le glasbena šola nemškega Philharmonischer Verein, namreč ni bilo glasbenih izobražencev ali posameznikov, ki bi bili usposobljeni poučevati v slovenski glasbeni šoli.⁵ Ob ustanovitvi so bili k sodelovanju povabljeni tujci, predvsem Čehi, katerih delo v glasbeni šoli je, zaradi nesoglasij med posamezniki, trajalo le kratek čas. Mnogokrat se je učiteljski zbor skoraj v celoti spremenil, vodstvo pa je bilo prisiljeno zaposlovati učitelje s pomanjkljivo izobrazbo. Nezdostna plačila, slabi pogoji in pomanjkanje učiteljev za posamezne predmete so stiske samo še poglobljali.

Važen prispevek pri oblikovanju učiteljskega zbora je imela sama glasbena šola GM, ki je izobrazila številne učitelje in jih, posebej v drugem desetletju obstoja, tudi zaposlovala. Po letu 1930 je namreč ljubljanski konservatorij, kjer so nadaljevali šolanje tudi učenci GM Maribor, izobrazil kar nekaj študentov s štajerskega področja.⁶

Na GM Maribor so poučevali izobraženi in uveljavljeni glasbeniki, vodje raznih ustanov in orkestrov, solistični umetniki, pedagogi, skladatelj in kasnejši profesorji na raznih akademijah ter nekatere najvidnejše slovenske glasbene osebnosti 20. stoletja.

V začetku mariborske GM so se v njeni glasbeni šoli zaposlili Fran Topič, glasbenik z mednarodnim ugledom in številnimi izkušnjami,⁷ pri-

5 Že omenjeno začetno kadrovsko krizo v GM Maribor nam naposled potrjuje še podatek iz Izvestja GM v Ljubljani iz leta 1907/08, da je njeno glasbeno šolo obiskovalo samo 31 učencev iz celotnega štajerskega območja. *Izvestje Glasbene Matice v Ljubljani o 36. društvenem letu 1907/1908* (Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, 1908) [hrani Slovanska knjižnica].

6 *Izvestje Glasbene Matice v Ljubljani ob 37. društvenem letu 1908/09* (Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, 1909) [hrani Slovanska knjižnica]; *Poročilo o šolskem letu 1929/30* (Ljubljana: Državni konservatorij v Ljubljani, 1930) [hrani Slovanska knjižnica], <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-YHD3V7FR>.

7 Sprva je bil učitelj solopetja, violine in klavirja, nato pa je opravljal funkcijo ravnatelja glasbene šole ter vodil komorno skupino, dekliški zbor, dijaški orkester in poučeval teorijo. Fran Topič, po rodu Čeh, je osnovno in srednjo šolo obiskoval v Bosni, študije pa v Pragi. Tam je bil nekaj časa tudi član Češke Filharmonije, koncertni mojster »Vychodnje českého divadla«, vodja glasbene šole v Češkem Brodu, usoda pa

znan violinist Jan Šlais (Praga, 23. 1. 1893 – Brno, 14. 6. 1975),⁸ pianistka Ružena Šlais, rojena Deyl, (Nová Páka, Češka republika, 28. 12. 1888 – Brno, 16. 2. 1969), ki se je izobraževala in izpopolnjevala na vrhunskih glasbenih inštitucijah.⁹ V ustanovnem šolskem letu in med letoma 1923 in 1927 je na glasbeni šoli GM poučeval skladatelj, violončelist in pedagog Emerik Beran (Brno, 17. 10. 1868 – Ljubljana 11. 3. 1940),¹⁰ prav tako Hinko Druzovič (Jurski Vrh, 10. 7. 1873 – Maribor, 26. 12. 1959), uveljavljen glasbenik in pomemben pevski metodik.¹¹ Med letoma 1919 in 1933 je v glasbeni šoli GM učil violinist in glasbeno-prosvetni delavec Franjo Serajnik.¹² Josip Hladek Bohinjski (Mokrice, 4. 2. 1879 – Maribor, 7. 2. 1940) je prišel v Maribor leta 1925. Na glasbeni šoli GM je poučeval violino ter vodil dijaški orkester in mladinski zbor, nato pa prevzel še posle ravnatelja, ki jih je opravljal do leta 1933.¹³ V GM Maribor je deloval tudi eden vidnejših slovenskih skladateljev

ga je nato peljala v Galicijo in Kijev. Od tam se je vrnil na Češko in bil kasneje povabljen v Trst za ravnatelja GM, nakar se je za nekaj časa ustalil v Mariboru.

- 8 Violinski pedagog je po končanem študiju na konservatoriju v Pragi (1913) od leta 1919 deloval v Sloveniji, najprej na šoli GM v Mariboru, po izpopolnjevanju pri Otakarju Ševčiku v Pragi (1920–21) pa do leta 1946 na konservatoriju oz. Glasbeni akademiji v Ljubljani.
- 9 Klavirska pedagoginja je obiskovala osnovno in meščansko šolo v rojstnem kraju, v letih 1902–1908 je študirala klavir pri Josefu Jiráneku na konservatoriju v Pragi, leta 1909 pa se je izpopolnjevala pri prof. Alfredu Denisu Cortotu v Parizu. Prirejala je koncerte v Pragi in drugih čeških mestih. Pred prihodom v GM Maribor je bila profesorica klavirja na konservatoriju v Kišinevu (1910–1919).
- 10 Tudi na njegovi študijski poti srečamo pomembno institucijo in zvence skladateljsko ime. Študij kompozicije je končal leta 1888 pri Leošu Janáčku na konservatoriju v Brnu in bil tam v letih 1890–1898 korepetitor in violončelist v Operi. Kot pedagog, profesor glasbe na učiteljskišči (1898–1926), učitelj violončela na šoli GM in vodja zbora čitalnice v Mariboru je prispeval k dvigu ravni tamkajšnjega glasbenega življenja.
- 11 V ustanovnem letu je poučeval glasbeno teorijo in mladinsko petje, med letoma 1921 in 1927 pa je vodil pevske tečaje za otroke, učiteljski tečaj ter poučeval klavir in violino. V šolskem letu 1935/36 ga zasledimo kot učitelja kontrabasa. Vsestranski glasbeni pedagog in skladatelj je po učiteljskišči v Mariboru v letih 1899–1902 študiral orgle na konservatoriju v Gradcu. Od leta 1904 je bil učitelj glasbe na mariborski gimnaziji in učiteljskišči; bil je tudi ravnatelj glasbene šole železničarskega društva Drava. Vodil je zbor Slovanske čitalnice (1909–1914). Posvečal se je glasbenometodičnim vprašanjem in vplival na dvig glasbene vzgoje na Slovenskem.
- 12 Konservatorijske izobrazbe ni imel, je pa na glasbeni šoli nemškega društva Philharmonischer Verein v Mariboru končal šestrazredni violinski tečaj in nastopal solistično na koncertih v Mariboru, Ljubljani, Gradcu in manjših krajih.
- 13 Bil je tudi vodja pevskega zbora in orkestra GM. Glasbeno se je izobraževal v Ljubljani in na Dunaju pri Franzu Léharju. Pred prihodom v Maribor je bil deset let vojaški kapelnik v Sarajevu.

20. stoletja Vasilij Mirk. Med letoma 1929 in 1934 je na glasbeni šoli poučeval harmonijo in zgodovino ter vodil zbor in občasno orkester GM.¹⁴ Med letoma 1930 in 1941 (z izjemo leta 1933/34) je na glasbeni šoli GM poučeval violino slovenski skladatelj Karol Pahor.¹⁵ Iz skladateljskih vrst se je Mirku in Pahorju pridružil še učitelj violine Ubald Vrabec.¹⁶ Pedagog mariborske GM je bil tudi violinist Taras Poljanec (Maribor, 3. 10. 1908 – Maribor, 9. 12. 1964).¹⁷ Iz vrste uveljavljenih slovenskih inštrumentalistov je na glasbeni šoli mariborske GM deloval tudi violončelist Oton Bajde (Zadar, 20. 1. 1906 – Maribor, 22. 4. 1993).¹⁸ Pedagog mariborske GM je bil tudi znan slovenski pianist in pedagog dr. Roman Klasinc (Pragersko, 16. 7. 1907 – Maribor, 13. 7. 1990).¹⁹ Trojici vidnejših slovenskih skladateljev, Mirku, Pahorju in Vrabcu, se je kot učitelj na glasbeni šoli GM pridružil še skladatelj, dirigent in publicist Marjan Kozina (Novo mesto, 4. 6. 1907 – 19. 6. 1966). Med letoma 1934 in 1938 je na glasbeni šoli GM poučeval kompozicijo in klavir,

14 Kot gimnazijec se je glasbe učil zasebno, na Dunaju pa je študiral kompozicijo pri Hermannu Graedenerju in leta 1919 absolviral harmonijo na Konservatoriju Giuseppea Tartinija v Trstu (Antonio Illersberg); pri njem se je pozneje še izpopolnjeval.

15 Po vojni je študiral v Trstu, na Dunaju in v Bologni, kjer je leta 1923 diplomiral iz študija violine. Hkrati se je posvečal kompoziciji in svoj študij pozneje dopolnil pri Slavku Ostercu. Od leta 1926 do prihoda v Maribor je vodil ptujsko GM.

16 Diplomiral je na konservatoriju v Trstu leta 1927 iz kompozicije (Vito Levi) in v Bologni leta 1929 iz violine. Do 1931 je deloval v Argentini in se nato preselil v Maribor, kjer je na glasbeni šoli GM med letoma 1931 in 1941 poučeval violino, v obdobju med 1933 in 1936 pa je bil tudi njen začasni vodja.

17 Med letoma 1933 in 1941 (razen 1934/35 in 1938/39) je poučeval violino, občasno pa teorijo in dijaški orkester. Igre na violino se je učil pri Karlu Jeraju na šoli ljubljanske GM (1919–1924) in na državnem konservatoriju (1924–1926). V letih 1926–1933 ga je na glasbenem konservatoriju v Pragi poučeval Rudolf Reisigg, ostale glasbene predmete pa mdr. Pavel Dědeček, Metod Doležil, Alois Hába, Jiří Herold, Karel Boleslav Jiráček, Otakar Šiň. Hkrati je poslušal predavanja iz muzikologije (Zdeněk Nejedlý) na filozofski fakulteti Karlove univerze. Dve leti pred absolutorijem je že poučeval violino na mestni glasbeni šoli v Kutni hori. Po diplomi je v letih 1933–1938 poučeval violino, violi ter komorno in orkestralno igro.

18 Med letoma 1933 in 1941 je poučeval violončelo in občasno teorijo ter vodil mladinsko petje, pripravljalni tečaj in komorne vaje. Leta 1938/39 je postal začasni vodja glasbene šole.

19 Med letoma 1935 in 1941 je poučeval klavir ter občasno vodil pripravljalni tečaj in predaval teoretične predmete. Oton Bajde in dr. Roman Klasinc sta bila tudi učenca glasbene šole GM, zato bosta podrobneje predstavljena v nadaljevanju. V šolskem letu 1932/33 je na šoli poučeval še violončelist Čenda Šedlbauer (Letky, Libčice nad Vltavo, Češka, 31. 5. 1902 – Ljubljana, 17. 3. 1976). Diplomiral je na konservatoriju (1923) in mojstrski šoli (1926) v Pragi.

od leta 1936 pa je prevzel posle ravnatelja.²⁰ Eno šolsko leto (1921/22) je bila na šoli kot učiteljica violine prisotna tudi znana mariborska violinistka Fanka Brandl (Maribor, 18. 7. 1899 – Maribor, 11. 10. 1999).²¹ Poleg predstavljenih učiteljev jih je na glasbeni šoli poučevalo še petdeset, ki so bili prisotni v različnih časovnih obdobjih.²²

Temelj organizacije pedagoškega dela izobraževalnih ustanov predstavljajo predpisani učni načrti za posamezne predmete. Predvidevamo lahko, da so bili oblikovani po zgledu ljubljanske GM. Ta se je v svojih začetkih zgedovala po osnutkih načrtov glasbene šole ljubljanskega Philharmonischer Gesellschaft, ki se je v drugi polovici 19. stoletja razvil v eno največjih in najbolj organiziranih šolskih ustanov na avstrijskem jugu.²³ Poudariti je treba, da so v prvem šolskem letu poučevali večinoma češki učitelji, ki so svoje metode in učne načrte prinašali od drugod.

Že ob koncu prvega šolskega leta in vsa nadaljnja leta se je jasno kazala vloga glasbene šole GM v kulturnem, pa tudi koncertnem življenju Maribora. Sprva zlasti v prirejanju enodnevni produkcij, ki so kasneje prerasle v štiridnevne predstavitve šole, kronane s koncertnimi revijami ali izvedbami večjih stvaritev. Uspešnejši učenci glasbene šole so po svojih zmožnostih sodelovali tudi v zboru ali orkestru GM in tako sestavljali pomemben člen

- 20 Študiral je na univerzi in konservatoriju v Ljubljani; na Akademiji za glasbo in gledališko umetnost na Dunaju je leta 1930 diplomiral iz kompozicije (Joseph Marx), na mojstrski šoli glasbene akademije v Pragi je leta 1931 končal študij dirigiranja (Nikolai Malko), leta 1932 pa kompozicije (Josef Suk).
- 21 Violino je študirala na Dunaju (Arnold Rosé) in pri Vaclavu Humlu na Glasbeni akademiji v Zagrebu. Kot nadarjena umetnica je večkrat nastopila v solističnih vlogah, posebno pa se je uveljavila kot sposobna komorna glasbenica.
- 22 To so bili: T. Apih (klavir), M. Bajde (rog), Viktor Bajde (violina), N. Balocha (klarinet), N. Barvituzova (klavir), Filip Bernard (flavta), L. Comelli (violončelo), J. Čermak (violina), Josip Gonza (harmonika), B. Gregora (violina), N. Hainau (klavir), N. Hann (klavir), J. Hegedušič (violina in klavir), Karel Hladky (klavir, mladinsko petje, ženski dijaški zbor), Olga Hladky Horlak (klavir), Albin Horvat (violina), Marija Kačerova (klavir), Jožica Kalc (violina), Pavla Kanc (klavir), N. Kubat (violina), E. Kubiček (klavir in teorija, violončelo), N. Kušar (klavir), H. Mascher (violina), Ciril Mohorko (violina), Anica Murgel (klavir), V. Nerat (otroški pevski tečaj), N. Novotny (klavir), Franc Potočnik (klarinet in kontrabas), Mara Radova (klavir in solopetje), Rudolf Rakuša (teorija), Inge Reiser (violončelo), E. Ropas (violina), Marija Rozman (otroški pevski tečaj), Viktor Schweiger (teorija), A. Skringer (kontrabas), M. Srebre (klavir), Avgusta Šantel (violina), Sonja Škapin (solopetje), N. Špaček (violina), Vilko Šušteršič (otroški pevski tečaj), Dimitrij Tančević (kontrabas), Lida Vedral (sluhovne vaje), H. Vesely (violončelo), Emil Vitek (trobenta), V. Volovšek (kontrabas), Ema Vrabec (klavir) in Minka Zacherl (otroško petje, dekliški zbor).
- 23 Cvetko Budkovič, *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem I* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 1992), 127–9.

pri oblikovanju mariborske kulture. Vse šolske prireditve so pospremile številne ocene v dnevnem časopisju, ki je prinašalo nevhvaležno subjektivno mnenje piscev kritik. Poudariti je potrebno poročanje mariborskega nemškega časnika *Marburger Zeitung*. V slednjem so nemški poročevalci, med njimi posebej dr. Eduard Butchar, društvu izkazovali posebej veliko pozornosti in naklonjenosti, kar zaradi nacionalne usmerjenosti časnika velja upoštevati kot resno in objektivno kritiko. Rezultatom dela glasbene šole so večinoma bili naklonjeni tudi slovenski poročevalci. Eduard Butchar je po produkciji v šolskem letu 1929/30 v *Marburger Zeitung* zapisal, da je šola ena izmed najboljših v državi. Če upoštevamo poročevalčevo nacionalno pripadnost in njegovo skoraj gotovo seznanjenost z delom drugih glasbenih ustanov moremo sklepati, da objavljeni članki odražajo objektivno in premišljeno kritiko. Njegovo pisanje navsezadnje potrjuje tudi dejstvo, da so samo dva meseca kasneje učenci glasbene šole pripravili zahteven koncert Dvořakovega *Mrtvaškega ženina*.²⁴ Dokaz velikih hotenj in želja glasbene šole je zelo odmevno gostovanje (prav tako z *Mrtvaškim ženinom*) v Beogradu, kamor je pod vodstvom Josipa Hladka Bohinjskega odpotovalo 250 učencev.²⁵ Veliko kritik nastopov učencev sta objavila skladatelja Vasilij Mirk in Karol Pahor, sicer tesno povezana z mariborsko GM. Mirk kot vodja pevskega zbora in Pahor kot učitelj na glasbeni šoli. Njuno utemeljeno in kritično ter strokovno vrednotenje moremo razumeti kot nepristransko. Toliko bolj pa je vendar verjeti ocenjevalcem produkcij in koncertov, ki niso prihajali iz okolja mariborske GM. Eden takšnih je bil Marijan Lipovšek, profesor na konservatoriju GM. Ob 20-letnici delovanja GM Maribor je zapisal, da so učenci šole »pokazali prilično visoko stopnjo zrelosti, tehnične izvežbanosti in muzikalnega znanja.«²⁶

Dokaj tehten in prepričljiv pokazatelj vloge mariborske GM je tudi veliko število člankov, objavljenih v dnevnem časopisju. Največ prispevkov so objavljali *Jutro*, *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, *Marburger Zeitung*, *Slovenec*,

24 Dr. E. B. [Eduard Butchar], »Schüleraufführung in der 'Glasbena Matica'«, *Marburger Zeitung* 70, št. 73 (16. marec 1930): 10, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-RSW1NCCZ>.

25 Anon., »Lep sprejem gojencev mariborske Glasbene Matice v Beogradu«, *Jutro* 12, št. 33 (10. februar 1931): 2, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-1REHQIGD>; Tone Potokar, »Mariborska Glasbena Matica v Belgradu«, *Slovenec* 59, št. 36 (14. februar 1931): 6, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-S2OOEAU7>; Anon., »Laskave kritike koncerta mariborske Glasbene Matice v Beogradu«, *Jutro* 12, št. 35 (12. februar 1931): 2, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-DRR9XM0F>.

26 Marijan Lipovšek, »Jubilejna proslava šole mariborske Glasbene Matice«, *Jutro* 20, št. 120 (25. maj 1939): 9, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-GF5PAKX6>.

Straža in Tabor. Pomembno vlogo GM in zanimanje javnosti za njeno delovanje potrjuje vsakoletno število objav v različnih dnevnikih, ki se giblje med 20 in 60 prispevkov, med letoma 1919 in 1941 tako v povprečju preko 30 objav na leto. Porast števila prispevkov je zaslediti predvsem v jubilejnih letih, ob gostovanjih GM (v Beogradu, Novem Sadu in Osijeku, v Švici in Avstriji, v Skopju, Kumanovem, Leskovcu, Nišu, Kruševcu in Šabcu, in gostovanju glasbene šole GM v Beogradu) ter v kriznih obdobjih društva (razveljavljena pravila glasbene šole GM, odpoved šolskih prostorov).²⁷

Delovanje šole GM so zaznamovali osebni in profesionalni vplivi skupno petih organizacijskih vodij – ravnateljev. Delo ravnatelja je bilo vsekozi, z izjemo zadnjih treh let delovanja društva, združeno z umetniškim vodstvom ansamblov GM.

Ledino mariborskega glasbenega izobraževanja in koncertne dejavnosti je po letu 1918 oral ravnatelj glasbene šole GM *Fran Topič*. Topič je bil predan glasbenik – učitelj violine, klavirja, solopetja, teorije, komorne igre ter vodja deklliškega zbora in dijaškega orkestra. Poleg tega je opravljal še posle, ki mu jih je nalagala ravnateljska funkcija ter vodil orkester GM, katerega delovanje je obudil, in po odhodu prvega zborovodje Oskarja Deva prevzel še vodenje društvenega pevskega zbora.²⁸ Kmalu je uvidel nujnost globlje glasbene izobrazbe mariborskih glasbenikov, zato je v letu 1921 predlagal predavanja o teoriji, harmoniji, glasbeni zgodovini in pevski tehniki,²⁹ ter v svojem zadnjem letu v GM dal pobudo za informativne vzgojne

27 Manja Flisar, »*Delovanje mariborske Glasbene Matice*« (diss., Univerza v Ljubljani, 2008).

28 Našteto je precejšen zalogaj za eno osebo, posebej v začetni razvojni stopnji GM Maribor, ko je bilo treba delovanje celotnega društva šele organizirati. S požrtvovalnim delom in predstavljanjem izobraževalnih dosežkov širši publiki in strokovni javnosti je bilo treba dokazati upravičenost ustanove, kar je, zaradi velikih pričakovanj, terjalo precejšnje napore. Vsekakor je Fran Topič osebnost, ki je tvorno prispevala k izobraževalnemu in umetniškemu zagonu pomembne kulturne ustanove. Njegov doprinos k organizaciji izobraževalne dejavnosti, njegovo pedagoško delo in umetniško udejstvovanje v obdobju pionirstva mariborskih kulturnih institucij ga uvrščajo med tvorce glasbene kulture in kulture Maribora nasploh. Posebej se je zavzel sestaviti orkester, ki ga Slovenci v Mariboru, razumljivo, do prevrata niso imeli. Kot ravnatelj in dirigent je imel možnost okrepiti in utrditi organsko povezanost glasbene šole z društvenima ansambloma. V glasbeni šoli je med drugim posebej vzpodbujal gojenje komorne glasbe. V času Topičeve prisotnosti v GM so delovali šolski godalni kvintet (pod vodstvom Topiča), godalni kvartet (pod vodstvom Frana Serajnika) in kvartet violončel (pod vodstvom Emerika Berana), ki so se uspešno predstavljali na šolskih nastopih.

29 Anon., »Glasbena Matica v Mariboru«, *Tabor* 2, št. 40 (19. februar 1921): 3, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-J82XADED>.

mladinske koncerte. Že v prvem letu je glasbeno šolo vpel v koncertno življenje Maribora. V tretjem šolskem letu je osnoval dijaški orkester, iz katerega bi pridobival v glasbeni šoli izobražene instrumentaliste za društveni orkester. Ko strnemo Topičeva prizadevanja v GM Maribor, ni težko zaznati njegovega celostnega pogleda na glasbeno umetnost in delovanja v smeri uresničevanja tega.³⁰

Topiča je nasledil *Josip Hladek Bohinjski*, ki je skrbel za obstoj in razvoj obeh društvenih ansamblov, ki ju je uspešno pomlajeval z učenci glasbene šole. Vasilij Mirk je zapisal, da so veliki uspehi učencev GM pravi čudež, njihovi javni nastopi pa temeljito pripravljani ter da so bile izvedbe zbora in šolskega orkestra takšne, kot jih »ne srečaš tako zlepa niti pri zrelejših kompleksih«. ³¹ Pregled delovanja GM med letoma 1925 in 1933 nas privede do zaključka, da se je Josip Hladek Bohinjski oblikovanja društvenega orkestra lotil zelo sistematično. Na poti k pridobivanju članov za orkester se je Hladek preko časnikov obračal kar neposredno na starše, da naj pri vpisu v glasbeno šolo svojih otrok ne usmerjajo le k violini in klavirju. Pri nakupu pihal in trobil je učencem obljubljal finančno podporo.³² Najodmevnejši rezultati dela so bili doseženi s koncertom Dvořakovega *Mrtvaškega ženina* v Mariboru in Beogradu ter s koncertoma ob 200-letnici rojstva Josepha Haydna. Da so bile izvedbe učencev šole (orkester in mladinski zbor) pod Hladkovim vodstvom na visoki ravni potrjuje tudi dejstvo, da so obe prireditvi v čast klasicističnemu skladatelju prenašale vse radijske postaje tedanje države. Časniki so poročali, da se je le redko ponudila priložnost slišati kakšno glasbeno delo »v taki jasnosti, vseskozi premišljeni in utemeljeni obliki«. Poudariti velja, da so tudi na drugi Haydnovi proslavi, ko je bil izveden oratorij *Stvarjenje*, glavnino orkestra predstavljali prav učenci glasbene šole mariborske GM.³³

Na mestu ravnatelja se je Hladek obdržal osem let. Začasni vodja glasbene šole GM je po njegovem odhodu postal skladatelj *Ubaldo Vrabc*, učitelj violine in namestnik umetniškega vodje pevskega zbora. Organizacij-

30 Anon., »Poslovilni večer«, *Naša straža* 2, št. 32 (22. marec 1926): 3, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-K1MWO9FC>.

31 V. M. [Vasilij Mirk], »Mladinski koncert«, *Mariborski večernik Jutra* 3, št. 105 (10. maj 1929): 2, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-BHBCRLOV>.

32 Josip Hladek Bohinjski, »Die 'Glasbena matica' den Eltern«, *Marburger Zeitung* 71, št. 224 (13. september 1931): 6.

33 Koprivc., »Haydnova proslava«, *Mariborski večernik Jutra* 6 [13], št. 102 (6. maj 1932): 3, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-T2FPYTMH1>; G., »Haydnova proslava v Mariboru«, *Slovenec* 60, št. 103 (5. maj 1932): 9, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-M89K6IF3>.

ska zmeda, ki je glasbeno šolo zajela med letoma 1933 in 1936, ni bila posebej vzpodbudna za nemoteno izobraževalno in umetniško delovanje GM.³⁴

Delovanje mariborske GM se je ponovno uredilo, ko je umetniško vodstvo pevskega zbora in orkestra ter pouk klavirja, teorije in kompozicije septembra 1935 prevzel *Marjan Kozina*. Klavrno stanje glasbene šole GM ga je najverjetneje kaj kmalu napeljalo na misli o ravnateljevanju, posebej zato, ker je bil Ubald Vrabec nameščen le kot začasni vodja. Leto in pol po prihodu v Mariboru je Kozini uspelo zasesti še položaj prvega moža glasbene šole. Kozina se je načrtov s celotno GM lotil premišljeno. Gradil je strategijo, kako se lotiti tako zbora, odbora in predsednika GM, kar je privedlo do uspešnega in intenzivnega sodelovanja. Kozinov prispevek, ki ga je v štirih letih vnesel v delovanje šole, in zasluge za vsestranski razcvet GM je težko strniti. Že ob prihodu v GM je poudarjal potrebo po izpopolnitvi in razširitvi GM. Uresničeval jo je z obuditev mladinskega zbora in orkestra, z uvedbo pouka kromatične harmonike, kontrabasa, pihal, intonacije, harmonije in solopetja, z uvedbo razrednih izpitov, organizacijo šolskega arhiva in izdajo šolskega *Poročila*, ki je poleg produkcij predstavljalo največje propagandno sredstvo šole.³⁵ S pomočjo predsednika GM Rudolfa Ravnika je zasnoval novo obliko šolskih produkcij, nadalje definiral ukrepe, ki naj

34 Vrabec je tako prevzel mesto vodje, katerega osnovna naloga je bila le organizacija osnovnega dela v šoli, za višje cilje pa ta čas najbrž ni bil prav ugoden. Dogajanja v zvezi z glasbeno šolo so njeno delovanje zaznamovala do te mere, da so se v odboru GM porodila razmišljanja o spremenjenih pravilih GM. Šoli je bila po novem dana možnost preureditve, načrt le-te pa je predvideval osnivanje posebnega nadzornega odbora, v katerega bi bili imenovani predstavniki prosvetnega ministrstva, banovine in občine ter predstavniki iz vrst članstva in staršev. Nadzorni odbor bi tako imel svetovalno pravico, o sklepih pa bi dokončno odločal odbor GM. Omenjene organizacijske spremembe pa niso bile v skladu z zahtevami Ministrstva za prosveto, ki je želelo, da bi se glasbena šola popolnoma ločila od društva. Odbor se je pritožil na državni svet in utemeljeval dejstva o nerazdružljivosti šole in društva. Spremembo društvenih pravil je zavrnila tudi banska uprava. V vrtincu dogajanj sta medtem odstopila in prekinila sodelovanje z GM njen dolgoletni predsednik Josip Tominešek (predsednik je bil 12 let) ter podpredsednik in predsednik pevskega zbora Janko Arnuš. Slednji je odstop preklical in nadalje sodeloval z GM. Morebiti lahko njuna odstopa razumemo tudi kot priznanje krivde, da v korist društva nista napravila več ali dovolj. Anon., »Redni letni občni zbor Glasbene Matice«, *Mariborski večernik Jutra* 8 [15], št. 152 (9. julij 1934): 3, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-3U2YQWTP>; Anon., »Občni zbor Glasbene Matice v Mariboru«, *Ponedeljski Slovenec* 7, št. 28 (9. julij 1934): 4, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-3GOTOVVC>; Anon., »15 Jahre 'Glasbena Matica'«, *Marburger Zeitung* 74, št. 153 (10. julij 1934): 4, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-GFDFHJZC>.

35 »Poročilo za 1. sejo šolskega kuratorija šole GM«, 4. julij 1936, PAM Maribor, Fond GM Maribor, AŠ 3.

bi pripeljali do večje discipline v ansamblih in izdelal koncept koncertnega delovanja GM. Produkcije učencev so v času Kozinovega ravnateljstva glasbeni šoli postopoma vračale ugled, kakršnega je ta imela v Topičevem in Hladkovem času. V zadnjem Kozinovem šolskem letu (1937/38) v GM je število učencev naraslo na 252. Spomnimo, da jih je ob njegovem prihodu bilo 114, nato 174 in 242.³⁶ Posebej korenito se je lotil razširjanja glasbene vzgoje med otroki in mladostniki ter javnega seznanjanja širšega kroga ljudi.³⁷ Da bi mogli prikazati diapazon Kozinovih zaslug, moremo organizacijskemu delu dodati še umetniško, ki bo obravnavano v nadaljevanju. Tudi Kozinovemu odhodu iz GM so naposled botrovala nesoglasja s pevci in odborniki GM.³⁸

36 *Poročilo ob šolskem letu 1937–1938* (Maribor: GM Maribor, 1937), 3–7, PAM Maribor, Fond GM Maribor, AŠ 3.

37 1. Glasbeno šolo GM propagirati po osnovnih, meščanskih in srednjih mariborskih šolah. Naprositi vse upravitelje, ravnatelje, strokovne učitelje in druge, da posvetijo šoli GM največ pozornosti. Pri tem vso pozornost posvetiti dejavnikom, ki bi mogli največ prispevati k popularizaciji šole. To bi bili: a) šolski mladinski pevski zbor, združen iz najboljših pevcev vseh osnovnih šol, ki bi povsod predstavljal šolo GM, tudi z medšolskimi nastopi (Pomladek Rdečega križa itd.). Ob koncu šolskega leta bi se mu omogočil še nastop; b) Osnovati mladinski orkester. Iz vseh srednjih šol je Kozina nameraval zbrati najboljše dijake. Tako bi namesto več orkestrrov na posameznih šolah obstajal samo eden - na šoli GM, ki bi kot tak ob raznih priložnostih nastopil tudi na šolskih proslavah; c) Popularizirati in razširiti pripravljalni tečaj. Zanj bi se po Kozinovem mnenju morala nujno ukiniti vpisnina in članarina, kakor se je to storilo že pri mladinskem zboru in orkestru. Iz tega tečaja bi šola dobivala kader novih, že deloma pripravljenih učencev.

2. Rešiti pereče vprašanje pouka solopetja in pihal. To vrzel je bilo potrebno zapolniti, tudi če bi Matica morala nekaj časa dva učitelja honorirati kljub malemu številu učencev.

3. Osnovati in razpisati nekaj prostih učnih mest, predvsem za predmete, ki so bili skoraj neznani (kompozicijo ter po možnosti solopetje in pihala), pa tudi za čelo, violino in klavir. Kozina je predlagal, da bi se potrkalo pri kakšnem premožnejšem Mariborčanu, ki bi plačal letno šolnino za enega učenca, izbranega med najbolj talentiranimi in revnimi. S tem bi šola gotovo odkrila kak talent, ki se sicer ne bi mogel razviti.

4. Modernizirati in poenostaviti poslovanje šole. Nujna je bila nabava telefona. Poslovanje zavoda brez le-tega je bilo težavno. Kozina je zaključil, da v ravnateljstvo pisarno sodi tudi pisalna miza s predali in mizica za pisalni stroj, ki bi se morala nabaviti v uglednem času. »Šolsko poročilo za sejo centralnega odbora Glasbene Matice dne 21. septembra 1936«, PAM Maribor, Fond GM Maribor, AŠ 3.

38 »Zapisnik tretje redne odborove seje«, 18. oktober 1937, PAM Maribor, Fond GM Maribor, AŠ 3; »Zapisnik X. Redne odborove seje Glasbene Matice«, 30. junij 1938, PAM Maribor, Fond GM Maribor, AŠ 3; »Dopis odbora GM ravnateljstvu glasbene šole GM Maribor«, 21. maj 1938, PAM Maribor, Fond GM Maribor, AŠ 3.

Kot šolskega vodjo so v šolskem letu 1938/39 imenovali *Otona Bajdeta*, učitelja violončela in teorije ter dirigenta mladinskega orkestra in vodje pripravljalnega tečaja. Nekdanji učenec glasbene šole GM Maribor je od Kozine prevzel dobro organizirano in uspešno izobraževalno ustanovo. Posebnih sprememb in novosti v času Bajdetovega vodenja šole ni zaslediti. Poudariti je potrebno še dejstvo, da je Bajde vodil le šolo in tako prekinil dolgoletno prakso kadrovanja ene osebe za vodjo glasbene šole, zbora in orkestra GM. Ustanova si je s produkcijami, posebej ob 100-letnici rojstva Čajkovskega, še naprej utrjevala ugled in potrjevala nujnost svojega obstoja.³⁹ Žal je njeno delo v letu 1938/39 najprej zmotila odpoved prostorov, s čimer ji je grozilo, da za svoje dejavnosti ne bo imela strehe nad glavo, in na posled nemška okupacija.

Glasbeno-izobraževalne dosežke mariborske GM dokončno potrjujejo doma in v tujini uveljavljeni glasbeniki. Nekdanji učenci so postali priznani umetniki – solisti, člani orkestrov in glasbenih ustanov doma in drugod, mnogi pa so se posvetili pedagoškemu delu na glasbenih in drugih šolah. Prve glasbene korake in tovrstno osnovno izobrazbo, v veliki meri odločilno za nadaljnje uspešno delo na poustvarjalnem področju, so na GM Maribor pridobili umetniki in umetnice, katerih število ni veliko, njihovi uspehi pa so več kot pomenljivi.

Glasbena znanja je v pevskem zboru GM pod vodstvom Oskarja Deva pridobivala Marica Lubej (Brnice, *Braunitzen*, 20. 3. 1902 – Maribor 9. 2. 1983), sopranistka, operna in operetna pevka.⁴⁰ V Budkovičevi razpravi *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem* je med bivšimi učenci in učenkami omenjena tudi sopranistka, operna in koncertna pevka Erika Druzovič.⁴¹ Nekoliko prezrta

39 M. [Vasilij Mirk], »Lepi uspehi šole Glasbene Matice«, *Mariborski večernik Jutra* 14, št. 124 (4. junij 1940): 4, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-LOGUEMIJ>; Dr. E. B., »Musikschaffende Jugend«, *Marburger Zeitung* 80, št. 117 (26. maj 1940): 5.

40 V sezoni 1919/20 je postala članica opernega zbora mariborskega gledališča in po 3 letih tudi solistka. Uveljavila se je predvsem v operetnih vlogah; pela je tudi v Beogradu, Zagrebu in Ljubljani. Največji uspeh je imela z naslovno vlogo v opereti *Mala Floramye* I. Tijardoviča. Po letu 1945 je bila nekaj časa angažirana v Osijeku, nato se je vrnila v Maribor. Tu je nastopila v številnih opernih vlogah, ki jih je pevsko in muzikalno prepričljivo oblikovala: *Čo-Čo-San* (Giacomo Puccini, *Madame Butterfly*), *Marinka* (Bedřich Smetana, *Prodana Nevesta*), *Mimi* (Giacomo Puccini, *La Bohème*), *Djula* (Jakov Gotovac, *Ero z onega sveta*), *Morana* (Jakov Gotovac, *Morana*). Leta 1930 je sodelovala pri snemanju nemškega zvočnega filma *Das Lied ist aus* s takrat zelo priljubljenim filmskim igralcem Ernstom Verebesom.

41 Rodila se je 1. junija 1911 v Mariboru v znani glasbeni družini. Diplomirala je iz sopletja na Glasbeni akademiji v Zagrebu. Gostovala je v številnih operah (Berlin,

je do danes ostala v Mariboru rojena igralka in pevkica z vzdevkom »dunajski slavček« Elfie Mayerhofer (Maribor, 15. 3. 1917 – Maria Enzerdorfs (Spodnja Avstrija), 28. 12. 1992).⁴² Nesporno je prvo glasbeno izobrazbo na GM pridobil svetovno znan bas-baritonist Tomislav Neralič. Bil je učenec violinškega oddelka učitelja Frana Serajnika. Veliko časopisnih kritik je prinašalo dobre ocene njegovih nastopov na šolskih produkcijah mariborske

Hamburg, München, Milano, Rim, Neapelj, Benetke, Genova, Antwerpen, Haag, Amsterdam, Dunaj, Bern itd.) in oblikovala vrsto pomembnih opernih in operetnih vlog: *Džula* (J. Gotovac, *Ero z onega sveta*), *Suzana* (W. A. Mozart, *Figarova svatba*), *Viолletta Cavallini* (E. Cálmán, *Vijolica z Montmartra*), *Hana Glawari* (F. Lehar, *Vesela vdova*). Po letu 1945 je delovala v Sarajevu kot pedagoginja in režiserka. Ne moremo z gotovostjo trditi, da je po vsej Evropi znana pevkica Erika Druzovič obiskovala glasbeno šolo GM, mogoče pa je domnevati, saj se je v delovanje ustanove aktivno vključeval njen oče Hinko Druzovič. Tudi enciklopedije, knjižne izdaje in časopisne objave, ki zajemajo pevkino življenjsko in umetniško delovanje, ne navajajo samih začetkov njenega glasbenega šolanja. Primož Kuret, »Erika Druzovič«, v *Sto slovenskih opernih zvezd* (Ljubljana: Prešernova družba, 2005), 96–7.

- 42 Že kot otrok je v Mariboru sodelovala pri uprizoritvah pravljic in na cerkvenih koncertih. Osnovno glasbeno izobrazbo si je pevkica pridobila na glasbeni šoli GM v Mariboru. Zasledimo jo kot nastopajočo na šolski produkciji in, s strani kritika Vasilija Mirka, pohvaljeno učenko višjega razreda klavirja iz razreda učiteljice Marije Finžgar ob koncu šolskega leta 1932/33. Študij je nadaljevala na Visoki šoli za glasbo v Berlinu, na »Sternchen Konserwatorium« in pri glasbenem pedagogu Fredu Hustleru. Pri petnajstih letih je debitirala kot Cherubin v Mozartovi *Figarovi svatbi*. V sezoni 1940/41 je bila kot operetna pevkica angažirana v münchenskem »Theater am Gärtnerplatz«, delovala je tudi v berlinskem »Metropoltheater«, hkrati pa pričela uspešno kariero filmske igralkice. Leta 1942 je z vlogo v filmski komediji *Meine frau Teresa* postala ljubljenska občinstva in naslednje leto posnela film *Das Lied der Nachtigall*. Leta 1949 je na povabilo dirigenta Herberta von Karajana v Salzburgu nastopila v *Figarovi svatbi* ob slavni pevkici Marii Cebotari. Med letoma 1949 in 1956 je delovala pretežno v Wiener Volksoper, kjer je briljirala v vlogi Adele v opereti *Netopir*, od leta 1946 tudi v Wiener Staatsoper, katere redna članica je bila med letoma 1950 in 1956. Od leta 1957 je bila angažirana v »Deutsche Oper am Rhein«, gostovala je v Hamburgu, Frankfurtu, Bremnu, Dortmundu in Wiesbadnu ter prepevala na koncertnih turnejah po vsem svetu. Leta 1972 se je poslovila od odrskih desk. Bila je najbolj priljubljena interpretinja Johanna Straussa svojega časa. Slavo so ji prinesle večinoma glavne vloge v nemških glasbenih filmih (*Frauen für Golden Hill*, *Hotel Sacher*, *Der Vorhang fällt*, *Das kleine Hofkonzert*, *Wir bitten zum Tanz*, *Das Himmelblaue Abendkleid*, *Der Puppenspieler*, *Wiener Melodien*, *Höllische Liebe*, *Anni*, *Gelibter Lügner*, *Küssen ist keine Sünd*, *Verlorene Melodie*, *Abschiedsvorstellung*, *Die Landstreicher*, *Ein Mann mit Grundsätzen*, *Musik in Salzburg*, *La reine des valse*, *Das gab's nur einmal*, *Madame Pompadour*). V svoji bogati karieri je prejela veliko nagrad, med njimi Zlato častno odlikovanje dežele Dunaj in Kipec Johanna Straussa V. M. [Vasilij Mirk], »Delo naše glasbene šole«, *Mariborski večernik Jutra* 7 [14], št. 115 (20. maj 1933): 3, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-HSXL7Z9Y> Czeike, »Elfie Mayerhofer«, v *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie* 7, ur. Walter Killy in Rudolf Vierhaus (München: K. G. Saur, 1998), 12.

GM.⁴³ Na glasbeno pot je v mariborski GM stopil tudi slavni tenorist, operni in koncertni pevec Hieronim (Noni) Žunec (Maribor, 7. 5. 1921 – 28. 12. 2004).⁴⁴

Pevcem sledijo inštrumentalisti, katerih glasbena uveljavitev vključuje tako solistično kot komorno glasbeno udejanjanje doma in po svetu. Na uspešno glasbeno pot je na glasbeni šoli mariborske GM stopil violončelist in pedagog Oton Bajde (Zadar, 20. 1. 1906 – Maribor, 22. aprila 1993).⁴⁵ Oton Bajde, v mariborskem in tudi slovenskem glasbenem prostoru pio-

- 43 Tomislav Neralič, rojen v Karlovcu 9. 12. 1917, je nadaljeval glasbeno šolanje (sologpetje) na Glasbeni akademiji v Zagrebu in diplomiral leta 1941 (Lav Vrbanič). Že leta 1939 je v Zagrebški operi debitiral kot redovnik (Giuseppe Verdi, *Don Carlos*) in bil takoj angažiran (do 1943). Med letoma 1943 in 1948 je bil član dunajske Državne opere, nato se je vrnil v Zagreb, kjer je ostal do leta 1955 in ustvaril številne operne vloge. Od tega leta je bil solist v berlinski Nemski operi, kjer je leta 1963 dobil naziv komornega pevca. Vzporedno je bil nekaj časa član Hamburške opere in stalni gost Zagrebške opere. Njegove pevske odlike so bile: visoki bas, velik obseg, nenavadna moč, izenačenost in zvočnost. Nadalje se je odlikoval po izrednem spominu, veliki glasbeni izobrazbi, bogati muzikalnosti in smislu za interpretacijo. V svoji 40-letni karieri je pel več kot 130 opernih vlog in 40 oratorijskih partov, in to v več kot 3500 nastopih. Kot pevcu so ga odlikovale izredna muzikalnost, velika pevska kultura in posebne igralske sposobnosti. Bil je posebej znan kot izreden pevec bas-baritonskih vlog v Wagnerjevih operah. Gostoval je po številnih evropskih in ameriških mestih (Mehika, Brazilija, Urugvaj, Argentina), pa tudi v Izraelu in Egiptu. Za svoje umetniško delo je dobil številne nagrade in priznanja.
- 44 Solopetja se je učil pri profesorici Zori Ropas. Diplomiral je 1949 na AG v Zagrebu. Debitiral je 1947 v Sarajevu kot *Vojvoda v Rigolettu* G. Verdija; 1948 do 1981 je bil eden vodilnih pevcev zagrebške Opere. S svetlim in prodornim lirskim tenorjem ter veliko muzikalnostjo je interpretiral nekaj 10 vlog iz železnega repertoarja ter več kot 300-krat nastopil kot *Mića* (Jakov Gotovac, *Ero z onega sveta*). Gostoval je v Veliki Britaniji, Avstriji, Grčiji, Italiji, Nemčiji in Švici. Peter Bedjanič, »Žunec, Noni«, v *Enciklopedija Slovenije 15: Wi–Ž*, ur. Marjan Javornik (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 2001), 382; Majda Clemenž, »Žunec, Noni«, *Slovenska biografija* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstveno raziskovalni center SAZU, 2013), <https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi912113/>.
- 45 Prvotno je bil v glasbeni šoli GM učenec v razredu violinskega pedagoga Jana Šlaisa, kasneje pa je obiskoval pouk violončela pri Emeriku Beranu in L. Comelliju. Študij violončela je končal leta 1933 na konservatoriju v Ljubljani, nato je deloval na eni izmed mariborskih osnovnih šol, ljubljanski gimnaziji in na šoli GM v Mariboru; tu je bil od leta 1938 ravnatelj. Po 2. svetovni vojni je do leta 1962 vodil glasbeno šolo (nižja in srednja stopnja) v Mariboru, nato je poučeval do leta 1966 kot redni profesor na AG v Ljubljani. Kot solist in komorni violončelist je bil pred 2. svetovno vojno ena vodilnih osebnosti; nastopal je v klavirskem triu, v ljubljanskem godalnem kvartetu ter koncertiral doma in v tujini (Firence, Gradec, Dunaj) in snemal za radijske postaje. Kot pedagog je zlasti na AG vzgojil vrsto odličnih slovenskih glasbenikov. Bil je častni član Društva glasbenih pedagogov Slovenije in Društva glasbenih umetnikov Slovenije.

nir v organizacijskem, glasbeno pedagoškem in umetniškem področju, je prejel številne nagrade in priznanja. S prizadevanji ob ustanovitvi Državne glasbene šole v Mariboru (današnji Konservatorij za glasbo in balet Maribor) leta 1945 in zavzetim pedagoškim delom je nadaljeval tradicijo GM in postavil trdne temelje nadaljnjemu glasbenemu izobraževanju v mestu.⁴⁶ Prva glasbena znanja si je na GM pridobival doma in v tujini uspešen fagotist Ivan Turšič (Maribor, 26. 2. 1914 – Beograd, 8. 12. 1983.⁴⁷ Prav tako se je na GM, v razredu Ubalda Vrabca, začel učiti igre violine Slavko Zimšek (Maribor, 2. 3. 1928–2014).⁴⁸ Med bivše učence mariborske GM lahko šte-

46 Marjana Šef, »Oton Bajde« (dipl., Univerza v Mariboru, 2006); Manja Flisar, *Sledi glasbe in plesa* (Maribor: Srednja glasbena in baletna šola Maribor, 2006).

47 Med letoma 1919 in 1933 je obiskoval pouk klavirja pri profesorici Lizi Serajnik (prvo leto pri Horakovi). Iz poročil s šolskih produkcij izvemo, da je sodil med najuspešnejše učence mariborske GM. V letih 1933–36 je nato študiral klavir (Janko Ravnik) in fagot (Josip Pokorny) na konservatoriju v Ljubljani in tam leta 1937 tudi absolviral na PF, 1938 pa je diplomiral iz študija fagota na GA v Zagrebu (J. Ježek). Izpopolnjeval se je v Strasbourgu (P. Kleiber, 1938, 1951). Od 1938 je deloval v Beogradu v orkestrih opere in filharmonije, od 1946 tudi kot redni profesor na Glasbeni Akademiji. Bil je med vodilnimi fagotisti povojnega časa in je koncertiral v jugoslovanskih in evropskih glasbenih središčih. Izvajal je mnoga solistična in komorna dela za fagot slovenskih in jugoslovanskih skladateljev (krstne izvedbe del Uroša Kreka, Primoža Ramovša, Alojza Srebotnjaka, Lucijana Marije Škerjanca). Deloval je tudi v komornih skupinah (beograjski pihalni trio in kvintet) in kot dirigent orkestrrov v posebnih zasedbah za pihala in trobila v Beogradu in Ljubljani. Rafael Ajlec, »Turšič, Ivan«, *Slovenska biografija* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstveno raziskovalni center SAZU, 2013), <https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi738208/>.

48 Srednješolski študij je zaključil leta 1952 pri Tarasu Poljancu na Državni glasbeni šoli v Mariboru. Leta 1957 je diplomiral na ljubljanski AG v razredu prof. Leona Pfeiferja in nato postal koncertni mojster takratnega orkestra Radia Ljubljana, današnjih Simfonikov RTV Slovenija. Leta 1958 je zaključil podiplomski študij in se nadalje udeleževal številnih mednarodnih tečajev. Pri Simfonikih RTV Slovenija je igral kot violinist (od 1957), kot koncertni mojster in solist pa med letoma 1959 in 1993. Kot solist je nastopal v Nemčiji, Avstriji in Italiji ter bil redni gost slovenske glasbene scene. Ustanovil je Slovenski godalni kvartet (1968–1980) in z njim odigral preko 50 koncertov, vodil Koroški godalni kvartet, sodeloval v orkestru Slovenskih solistov, v zagrebškem Komornem orkestru, v orkestru bivše Jugoslovanske radiodifuzije ter Komornem orkestru RTV Ljubljana oziroma Slovenija. Že v času študija je poučeval violino na KUD Jože Hermanko v Mariboru, v Ljubljani pa na GŠ Šentvid. Več desetletij je poučeval na SGBŠ v Ljubljani in vzgojil preko 30 diplomantov violine. Bil je član mnogih domačih in tujih žirij. Na AG v Ljubljani je sprva deloval kot višji predavatelj (od 1992), leta 1997 pa je bil izvoljen v docenta za violino, komorno in orkestralno igro. Med nagradami velja omeniti jugoslovanski Red Republike z bronastim vencem (1989), Bettetovo nagrado DGUS (1998) in Škerjančevo priznanje SGBŠ (2000). Franc Križnar in Tihomir Pinter, *Sto slovenskih glasbenikov* (Ljubljana: Prešernova družba, 2002), 234.

jemo tudi pianista in pedagoga dr. Romana Klasinca (Pragersko 16. 7. 1907 – Maribor, 17. 7. 1990).⁴⁹ Zabeležke v Opravilnem zapisniku GM⁵⁰ nam pričajo, da je glasbeno šolo GM obiskovala tudi klavirska pedagoginja Darinka Bernetič (Gorica, 14. 3. 1925–2019).⁵¹ Med učenci GM zasledimo še veliko slovensko dirigentsko ime. Prva glasbena znanja si je v Mariboru pridobil v Evropi in posebej Argentini priznan dirigent in pedagog Drago Mario Šijanec, psevdonim *Mariano Drago* (Pulj, 18. 12. 1907 – Buenos Aires, 2. 11. 1986).⁵²

- 49 Študij klavirja je nato končal leta 1929 na Akademiji za glasbo in gledališko umetnost na Dunaju in 1934 doktoriral na dunajski FF z disertacijo *Die konzertante Klaviersatztechnik seit Liszt*. V letih 1935–1941 je poučeval klavir na šoli GM v Mariboru, 1941–1944 na Visoki šoli za glasbeno vzgojo v Eggenbergu pri Gradcu, 1946–1972 pa na Srednji glasbeni šoli in PA (1960–1963) v Mariboru. Kot pianist je nastopal solistično in s simfoničnimi orkestri v Mariboru, Ljubljani, Gradcu in na Dunaju; sodeloval je tudi v Mariborskem triu. Krstno je izvedel mnoge slovenske klavirske skladbe.
- 50 »Opravilni zapisnik GM«, 23. 09. 1937–31. 03. 1941, Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor, Fond GM Maribor, AŠ 4.
- 51 Klavirske igre se je učila v Mariboru pri Ervini Ropas in na Srednji glasbeni šoli v Ljubljani (Janko Ravnik, Jadviga Štrukelj Poženel). Diplomirala je leta 1953 na Akademiji za glasbo (Andrej Trost). Izpopolnjevala se je pri Yvonne Loriod v Parizu. Zaposlena je bila kot klavirski pedagog v Ljubljani. Na Zavodu za glasbeno in baletno izobraževanje je osnovala eksperimentalni razred z izvorno pedagoško metodo, ki se je opirala na sodobne dosežke klavirske tehnike, a brez delitve na tehnično in muzikalno izobraževanje. Bernetičeva je avtorica neposredne pedagoške metode, ki izvira iz glasbenih lastnosti kompozicije, medtem ko tehnično obvladovanje klavirske igre temelji na kompozicijskem stavku, brez etud in drugih samostojnih tehničnih vaj. V skladu s tem je izbirala skladbe, ki so primerne za učenčevo sposobnost razumevanja, ter spodbujala improvizacijo in ustvarjalnost. Po teh načelih je napisala *Klavirski učbenik* in sestavila zbirko skladb svojih učencev.
- 52 Kritike produkcij mariborske GM ga omenjajo med letoma 1919 in 1925. Bil je nadvse uspešen učencem violine v razredu ravnatelja Frana Topiča, kar dokazujejo odlične ocene njegovih izvajanj. Osnove njegove glasbene vzgoje v glasbeni šoli GM so bile na trdnih temeljih, kar potrjuje njegovo nadaljnje šolanje na konservatoriju v Pragi, kjer je leta 1932 diplomiral iz dirigiranja, kompozicije in viole. V letih 1932–1935 se je izpopolnjeval v Parizu, nato je bil v letih 1935–1945 dirigent radijskega orkestra v Ljubljani. Leta 1947 se je naselil v Argentini in postal stalni dirigent v gledališču Teatro Argentino v La Plati; tu je ostal 32 let in leta 1954 na univerzi ustanovil katedro za dirigiranje, prvo v Južni Ameriki, se uveljavil kot pedagog in prejel naziv častnega profesorja. V letih 1957–1974 je bil stalni dirigent mestnega simfoničnega orkestra v Buenos Airesu ter gostoval v Argentini in Evropi. Leta 1952 je ustanovil Mozarteum Argentino, najuglednejšo argentinsko ustanovo za izvajanje Mozartovih del. Šijanec je tudi komponiral (baleta *Ptič samoživ* in *Srednjeveška ljubezen*, ok. 1927) in zbiral ljudsko glasbo. V Argentini je bil ustvarjalni član Slovenske kulturne akcije, priredil pa je tudi več slovenskih in argentinskih ljudskih pesmi za slovenske pevske zборе.

Glasbena šola GM je bistveno segla v reševanje problematike glasbene izobraženosti in posledično koncertne dejavnosti v tem delu Slovenije. Izobraževala je mlade glasbenike in tako postopoma in kakovostno izpolnjevala vrzeli. Nenazadnje je glasbena šola bistveno povečala število glasbenih učiteljev, obenem pa je vzgajala mariborsko koncertno občinstvo. Podatek o 322 učencih, ki so se v glasbeno šolo GM vpisali v prvem šolskem letu nam potrjuje, da je mesto ob Dravi tovrstno izobraževalno ustanovo potrebovalo. Da je delo bilo sistematično in kakovostno zastavljeno, moremo utemeljevati s prisotnostjo takrat najpomembnejši mariborskih glasbenikov (Hinko Druzovič, Emerik Beran, Viktor Parma, Ferdo Herzog), ki so si zamislili organizacijo šole po evropskem vzoru. Ko skušamo povzeti prizadevanja mariborske GM, ki jih je kazala na izobraževalnem področju, moramo upoštevati stvarne družbene in politične razmere, kakor tudi nezadostnost slovenske in splošne kulturne tradicije Maribora. Potrebno je poudariti pomanjkanje usposobljenih kadrov in denarnih sredstev, ki je nemalokrat zanetilo nesoglasja znotraj društva. Upoštevati je potrebno težave s prostori, ki so bili vseskozi pretesni, ob koncu 30-ih let pa odpovedani. Kljub temu je šola GM Maribor v slovenskem prostoru zasedla mesto uglednega zavoda. Učenci niso sodelovali le na šolskih prireditvah, temveč so, predvsem najuspešnejši, nastopali tako na odmevnih društvenih prireditvah GM kot na prireditvah drugih izobraževalnih ustanov. S sodelovanjem v pevskemu zboru ter društvenem orkestru in komornih zasedbah so predstavljali glavnino glasbenih poustvarjalcev in izobražencev v Mariboru. Delovanje mariborske GM je primerljivo z delovanjem ljubljanske vzornice. Obe ustanovi je, glede na število prebivalstva, obiskovalo procentualno izenačeno število učencev, izenačeno pa je bilo tudi število zaposlenih učiteljev. Tovrstna dejstva so dokaz smotrne organizacije in predvsem nagle rasti glasbenega izobraževanja v Mariboru. Glede metod in pristopov k poučevanju na glasbeni šoli GM v Mariboru lahko predvidevamo, da so bile v skladu z izobraževanjem in izkušnjami posameznih učiteljev. Podrobnih podatkov o učnih postopkih, uporabljeni didaktičnih sredstvih in literaturi ni. V zvezi z didaktičnimi postopki je možno predstaviti le zelo redke poskuse izdaje pedagoškega gradiva v GM Maribor. Delovanje glasbene šole GM in dogajanja v zvezi z njo so pozorno in naklonjeno spremljali slovenski in nemški poročevalci. Pod ocenami so se podpisovali nekateri vidni glasbeni ustvarjalci, kar posredno priča o zavzetem in odgovornem delu ustanove.

Med okupacijo so glasbeno šolo GM prevzeli Nemci in jo poimenovali »Musikschule für Jugend und Volk«. Uvedli so množičen pouk harmonike, citer, kitare, frulice, mladinskega petja in raznih vokalno-instrumentalnih skupin. Pouk, kjer so se izvajali le nemški skladatelji ter nemške ljudske pesmi in plesi, je imel namen predvsem germanizirati učence in poslušalce. Šola je zaradi vojnih razmer oktobra 1944 prenehala delovati.⁵³

Koncertna in druge dejavnosti GM Maribor

Koncertno življenje GM predstavlja drugi temelj njenega delovanja. Ob bok glasbeni šoli tako stoji dejavnost, ki je v največji meri skrbela za prepoznavnost ustanove. Že v ustanovni koncertni sezoni sta pričela z delom tako pevski zbor kot društveni orkester. Prvi koncerti so v glavnem skrbeli za zadovoljevanje širših poslušalskih potreb, pevski zbor pa je s številnimi nastopi v prvem letu delovanja predvsem uresničeval narodnobuditeljska prizadevanja. Z leti se je ljubiteljsko petje in muziciranje postopoma razvilo v solidno umetniško raven izvedb. Pogoje zanje je ustvarila GM sama. Tvorino sodelovanje izobraževalne in koncertne dejavnosti je iz prvotnega orkestra in pevskega zbora večinoma ljubiteljskih glasbenikov rodilo ansambla z izobraženimi pevci in inštrumentalisti. Trditi moremo, da je uspešna koncertna dejavnost GM v prvi vrsti plod uspešnega dela njene glasbene šole, iz katere so številni člani ansamblov tudi izšli.

Področje koncertnega delovanja pevskega zbor in orkestra je obsegalo prirejanje vokalnih, inštrumentalnih in vokalno-inštrumentalnih koncertov ter šolskih produkcij. V posamezni sezoni so se zvrstili povprečno trije koncerti in predstavitev dela glasbene šole. Velik poustvarjalni prispevek GM h koncertnemu življenju Maribora nam slikajo podatki o tovrstnih dogajanjih v mestu med obema vojnama. Ker glasbeno življenje mesta ob Dravi v omenjenem času še ni bilo predmet korenitejših znanstvenih raziskav, natančnih podatkov nimamo, približno pa je obseg koncertnega dogajanja vendar moč določiti.⁵⁴ V prvih povojnih letih je bilo v Mariboru organiziranih le od 6 do 8 koncertov, do konca dvajsetih let pa se je število postopoma povzpelo na 21 in tako doseglo kvantitativni višek. V prvi polovici tridesetih let je bilo prirejenih povprečno 16 koncertov letno, do začetka druge

53 Prim. Nevenka Gril, *Glasbena šola Glasbene matice v Mariboru* (dipl., Univerza v Ljubljani, 1982), 22–4.

54 Katalog novejših slovenske periodike Oddelka za domoznastvo (domoznanska dokumentacija SV Slovenije), ki se nahaja v Univerzitetni knjižnici v Mariboru. Katalog sestavlja obsežna dokumentacija naslovov člankov, objavljenih v različnih virih, največ iz slovenske in nemške periodike, obdelane v listkovnem katalogu.

svetovne vojne pa se je njih število znižalo na skromnih 11. Prevladovali so koncerti pevskih zborov in raznih društev ter solistični in komorni koncerti, na katerih so nemalokrat nastopili tudi svetovno znani umetniki.⁵⁵ Število simfoničnih in vokalno-inštrumentalnih koncertov je bilo skromno. Gostovanj, na katerih bi se umetniki predstavljali s številčnejšimi zasedbami, ni bilo. Zbor in orkester GM sta tako predstavljala odlično osnovo za prirejanje koncertov, predvsem vokalno-inštrumentalnih del. K pestrosti koncertnega življenja so pripomogli še številni gostujoči zbori. Prihajali so iz vse Slovenije, tedanje Jugoslavije, pa tudi iz Avstrije (npr. dunajski deški zbor), Češke, Bolgarije in drugih slovanskih dežel. K privlačnejši ponudbi simfonične reprodukcije so, v sicer zelo skromnem obsegu, pripomogli še glasbeniki Orkestra kraljeve garde, Praška študentska filharmonija, opera iz Gradca in Slovaška filharmonija. Koncertno delovanje GM Maribor je tako predstavljalo važen delež v koncertnem življenju Maribora. Posebej z organizacijo simfoničnih in vokalno-inštrumentalnih koncertov so glasbeniki GM mariborskemu občinstvu predstavili skoraj edine in tako najpomembnejše tovrstne reprodukcije.

Od ustanovitve dalje je koncertno delovanje GM Maribor kakovostno in količinsko nihalo. Nevarnost za obstoj in nemoteno delovanje pevskega zbora in orkestra so predstavljali številni dejavniki. Menjavanje generacij pevcev in inštrumentalistov, menjave zborovodij in dirigentov, krize organizacijske narave, občasne neugodne zgodovinske in družbene določnice, nepremišljena repertoarna politika in druge neugodne okoliščine so krojile delo zbora in orkestra.

Posamezne razvojne stopnje mariborske GM moremo zaokrožiti z delovanjem njenih vodij. Prvo razvojno stopnjo ustanove, začetke koncertnega delovanja GM, gre v prvi vrsti razumeti kot narodnobuditeljsko delo pevskega zbora pod *Oskarjem Devom*. Z organizacijo prvih poprevratnih koncertov ter prireditev v Mariboru in raznih krajih Slovenije, predvsem ob severni meji, je Dev v letu 1919 z zborom opravil ogromno narodno in kulturno poslanstvo. V treh letih od ustanovitve (v sezonah od 1919 do 1922) je poskrbel za razmah slovenske zborovske pesmi, ki v Mariboru do takrat ni

55 Med drugimi so na mariborskih odrih nastopili violinisti Joan Manèn, Robert Soëtens, Vasa Prihoda, Edith Lorand, Jaroslav Kocian, Zlatko Balokovič, čelist Gaspar Cassado, pianisti Arthur Rubinstein, Ruda Firkušny in Baron Anatol Vietighoff-Schell. Od komornih skupin velja omeniti Ševčikov kvartet, graški Kvartet Michl, Kvartet Zika, Tržaški kvartet, Slovenski kvartet, Ljubljanski komorni kvartet, Mozartov kvartet, Mariborski trio in drugi.

imela priložnosti zveneti v polnem obsegu. Pevski zbor GM je naglo postal glasnik slovenske glasbene ustvarjalnosti v Mariboru in celotni regiji.

Vzporedno z Devovim razširjanjem slovenske narodne in umetne pesmi je bilo s prihodom *Frana Topiča*, ravnatelja glasbene šole GM, prebujeno orkestralno poustvarjanje in ob prevzemu vodstva pevskega zbora tudi umetniška rast slednjega. Na njegov predlog je po ustanovitvi GM poleg pevskega zbora bil oblikovan še orkester, s katerim so bili postavljeni temelji inštrumentalne reprodukcije v Mariboru. Topič je smelo in odgovorno nalogo, ki mu je bila zaupana šest sezon (od ustanovitve do leta 1925), uspešno opravljal in se tako zapisal med pomembne ustvarjalce mariborske glasbene in kulturne zgodovine.⁵⁶ Težo njegovih dejanj moremo tem bolj ceniti, če spomnimo na skromno število izobraženih glasbenikov, ki so bili takrat v Mariboru na voljo. Tako je bil na začetku delovanja vsak član velika pridobitev. Tudi orkestrske pulte so zasedali le redki šolani glasbeniki in po večini ljubitelji ter nekateri boljši samouki. Prevladovali so torej amaterji z omejenimi tehničnimi in umetniškimi zmogljivostmi, tako se orkester kot stalno izvajalsko telo še ni mogel formirati.

Kot že zapisano je Fran Topič prve tri sezone delovanja GM Maribor vodil le orkester, v sezoni 1922/23 pa je od Deva prevzel še vodenje pevskega zbora GM. Z orkestrom je pripravil le po en koncert na sezono, po prevzemu vodstva zbora pa praviloma dva vokalno-inštrumentalna koncerta in nekaj gostovanj. V zadnji sezoni, ki jo je preživel v GM, je pevski zbor peljal na prvo večjo turnejo po Jugoslaviji (1924/25). Zbor in orkester, ki sta prva štiri leta od ustanovitve največ delovala in koncertirala ločeno, je Topič, naposled odgovoren za oba ansambla, združil v študiju vokalno-inštrumentalnih del. Februarja 1924 je na oder postavil kantato Hugolina Sattnerja *V pepelnični noči*. Dobre ocene in navdušenje nad izvedbo so Topiča najbrž

56 Koncertni sporedi GM Maribor pod Devom in Topičem – izvedenih je bilo skupaj 120 glasbenih del – so bili v največji meri oblikovani za zbor (56 %), sledila so dela za orkester (22 %) ter solo pesmi (16 %) in solistične inštrumentalne skladbe (6 %). Več kot polovico skladb so podpisali slovenski skladatelji (56 %), sledijo tuji (32 %) ter hrvaški in srbski (12 %). V vokalni literaturi je Dev posegal predvsem po predstavnikih slovenskega romanticizma in domačih skladateljih, ki so zrlili v tedanja evropska stila naziranja. Iz slovenske vokalne literature so bile na koncertnem odru največkrat izvedene skladbe Emila Adamiča (11 skladb – med njimi pevskega zboru GM posvečena *Kregala se udova in devojka*), Antona Foersterja (10), Devove lastne skladbe (8), nadalje pa še dela Antona Lajovica (5), Nedvėda, Pavčiča in Kreka (2) ter skladbe Schwaba, Jenka in Hajdriha. Med ustvarjalci tuje literature prevladujejo slovanski skladatelji romanticizma in predstavniki nacionalne glasbe ter nekateri zahodnoevropski romantiki.

opogumile, da se v prihodnji sezoni loti še študija Dvořákove balade za soliste, mešani zbor in veliki orkester, *Mrtvaški ženin*.

V drugi polovici dvajsetih let je Topičevo mesto prevzel *Josip Hladek Bohinjski*. Posebej v prvih dveh sezonah v Mariboru je poskrbel za razgibano koncertno dejavnost obeh ansamblov, ki sta se predstavila vsaj na vokalnem, vokalno-inštrumentalnem in simfoničnem koncertu. Hladkovi smeli načrti so privedli do solidne umetniške zrelosti pevskega zbora, kar je bilo maja 1928 kronano z odmevnim gostovanjem. V švicarskem Baslu, Luzernu, Zürichu in avstrijskem Innsbrucku je zbor navdušil občinstvo ter požel zavidljive kritike. Visokemu številu navkljub pa so Hladkovi začetni uspehi v četrti sezoni (1928/29), po prihodu iz gostovanja v Švici in Avstriji, pričeli popuščati. Sicer je še uspel pripraviti vokalni in vokalno-inštrumentalni koncert. Orkestrska reprodukcija še vedno ni dohajala zborovske, tudi ker nekajletno delovanje glasbene šole še ni obetalo zadostne pomladitve orkestra. Ta je po letu 1925, ko je bil na vrhuncu, hiral in nazadnje razpadel. Ob desetletnem jubileju je GM tako ostala brez orkestra. Že v naslednji sezoni (1929/30) je Hladek razgibal društveno življenje in društveni orkester nadomestil s šolskim, na katerega se je mogel osredotočiti, ko je predal vodenje zbora drugemu zborovodji. Učenci šole, združeni v šolskem orkestru, so naposled predstavljali osnovo društvenega. Po desetletju delovanja GM Maribor so ga tako sestavljali povečini glasbeniki, ki so si glasbena znanja pridobivali prav pod njenim okriljem. Skupina glasbenih ljubiteljev se je tako preoblikovala v orkester osnovno izobraženih inštrumentalistov, kar je mogoče razumeti kot naslednji razvojni korak orkestralnega izvajanja v GM Maribor.⁵⁷

V vsaki sezoni je Hladek načrtoval izvesti vsaj eno glasbeno delo svetovnega slovesa (vokalno-inštrumentalno). Med letoma 1925 in 1930 je mariborskemu občinstvu predstavil deli dveh dunajskih klasikov, med njima simfonijo s praga romantičnega obdobja, nadalje delo slovanskega romantika Dvořaka, in naposled stvaritev slovenskega ustvarjalca.⁵⁸ Enega od vrhuncev poustvarjalne dejavnosti GM je Josip Hladek Bohinjski dosegel

57 Josip Hladek-Bohinjski, »Glasbena Matica v Mariboru in vprašanje njenega godalnega orkestra«, *Tabor* 7, št. 224 (3. 10. 1926): 2, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-YIHPURoP>.

58 Med Hladkovimi vokalno-inštrumentalnimi izvedbami zasledimo Haydnov oratorij za soliste, zbor in orkester *Letni časi*, Beethovnov *Deveto simfonijo*, prišteti pa je treba še, že v prejšnjem poglavju omenjen podvig glasbene šole, izvedbo Dvořákovega *Mrtvaškega ženina*. Edini slovenski predstavnik vokalno-inštrumentalnega dela je bil Vasilij Mirk. Pod Hladkovim vodstvom je bila v Mariboru prvič izvedena njegova kantata za solo, zbor in orkester *Golgota*.

v sezoni 1926/27, ko je pripravil izvedbo *Devete simfonije* Ludwiga van Beethovna. Po dveh koncertih v Mariboru je sledil nastop v Ljubljani, kjer so glasbeniki nastopili pod taktirko dr. Josipa Čerina. Tamkajšnja koncertna sezona 1926/27 je bila skoraj v celoti posvečena 100-letnici Beethovneve smrti.

Potem ko je Hladek na domačih tleh z GM Maribor na reproduktivnem področju dosegel pravzaprav vse, kar si je zadal, mu je za potrditev velikih glasbenih dosežkov manjkala le še uspešna turneja s pevskim zborom. Odhod v Švico je predstavljal višek Hladkove tretje sezone v GM (1927/28), tamkajšnje odmevne nastope pa so potrdili številni domači in tuji časniki.

Maja 1929, ob 10-letnici delovanja mariborske GM, je Hladek po štirih letih zadnjič stopil pred pevski zbor. Krono večera je predstavljal izvedba Mirkove kantate za solo, zbor in orkester *Golgota*. Časniki so poročali o »častno« opravljeni nalogi na »elitni prireditvi«, ki je predstavljal vrhunec pevske sezone.⁵⁹ Omenjen dogodek je bilo Hladkovo sklepno delo na področju vokalne glasbe v Mariboru. Naslednjo sezono ga je na mestu zborovodje zamenjal *Vasilij Mirk*. Delo z orkestrom kljub temu ni zastalo, saj se je Hladek intenzivno ukvarjal z oblikovanjem društvenega orkestra, v katerega je vključil predvsem učence glasbene šole GM. Orkester, katerega člani so bili povečini učenci GM, se je v prihodnjih sezonah uspešno predstavljal mariborski in tudi beograjski publiki.⁶⁰ S svojim umetniškim delovanjem sta Hladek in Mirk zaokročila drugo razvojno stopnjo ustanove.

V petletni »Mirkovi dobi«, kakor so jo poimenovali v društvu, je zborovodja Vasilij Mirk pripomogel k razcvetu mariborskega zborovskega peja in vokalne reprodukcije nasploh. Med letoma 1929 in 1934 je v okviru

59 tp., »Jubilejni koncert Glasbene Matice«, *Mariborski večernik Jutra* 10, št. 106 (11. maj 1929): 3, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-QUFDXLJG>; Anon., »Slavje mariborske Glasbene Matice«, *Slovenec* 57, št. 106 (11. maj 1929): 3–4, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-NWXL88FY>; Dr. E. B. [Eduard Butchar], »Die Zehnjahrfeier unserer 'Glasbena Matica'«, *Marburger Zeitung* 69, št. 132 (19. maj 1929): 9, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-GPLBCVKA>.

60 Maja 1930 se je orkester, na godala so igrali večino učenci, mariborskemu občinstvu predstavil z Dvořákovim *Mrtvaškim ženinom*. Februarja 1931 je z istim delom v Beograd odpotovalo 250 učencev glasbene šole. Maja 1932 je dijaški orkester, sestavljen iz 38 učencev – godalcev ob pomoči nekaterih učiteljev in glasbenikov mariborske vojaške godbe, predvsem pri pihalih – izvedel Haydnovo *XI. simfonijo v G-duru*. V istem mesecu je omenjena zasedba orkestra, pri godalih tokrat pomnožena s »prominentnimi« glasbeniki iz Maribora, s pevskim zborom Maribor in solisti Pavlo in Majdo Lovše, Avgustom Živkom in Franjem Neraličem pod vodstvom stolnega kapelnika Janez Ev. Gašpariča izvedla Haydnov oratorij *Stvarjenje*.

koncertne dejavnosti mariborske GM občinstvu predstavil 120 glasbenih del, kar pomenil 24 skladb v sezoni.

Kot skladatelju se je Mirku najbrž zdelo povsem naravno na koncertne sporede vključevati takrat sodobne slovenske skladatelje in na ta način vzpodbujati domačo glasbeno ustvarjalnost. Te je bilo na voljo čedalje več, saj je objave notnega gradiva za pevske zборе vključevalo kar nekaj izhajajočih glasbenih revij. Tako moremo ugotoviti, da je med letoma 1929 in 1933 marsikatero izvedeno delo Mirk naštudiral kmalu potem, ko je bilo objavljeno v *Pevcu* ali *Zborih*. Slednje potrjuje Mirkovo stremljenje k aktualizaciji koncertnih sporedov. Med izvedbami tujih skladateljev velja omeniti skladbe jugoslovanskih skladateljev in predvsem Gračaninovo cerkveno skladbo na staroslovansko besedilo *Liturgia Domestica*. Poleg vokalne reprodukcije se je Mirk lotil tudi vokalno-inštrumentalne. Da je tovrstne literature mariborsko občinstvo pogrešalo, je razbrati iz pisanja skladatelja Karola Pahorja, ki je v eni izmed ocen izrazil željo, da bi »*intelligenten dirigent s svojim krasnim zborom*« v prihodnje pripravil še kakšno večje moderno delo z orkestrom. Precej sodobno naravnemu izboru zborovskih skladb je Mirk sicer dodal nekaj vokalno-inštrumentalnih del, vendar o sodobnejših skladbah ne moremo govoriti.⁶¹ Kljub temu pa je govora o delih, ki za neprofesionalne pevce predstavljajo precejšen tehnični in interpretacijski zalogaj, po katerem velja presojeti dobro kondicijo zbora. Poleg omenjenih je na koncertih Mirk nemalokrat v sporede vključil še dela za solistični inštrument, največkrat violino (Bach, Corelli, Mendelssohn, Schubert in Tartini).

Štiriletno Mirkovo vodenje pevskega zbora bi naposled lahko označili kot nadaljevanje poti vokalnega poustvarjanja, ki jo je začrtal ustanovitelj mariborske GM Oskar Dev. Po desetih letih od ustanovitve je zbor ponovno prevzel vodilno vlogo v koncertnem delovanju mariborske GM.

Slovenska vokalna, zlasti zborovska reprodukcija, ki je po koncu prve svetovne vojne doživela silovit polet, je polagoma pričela izgubljati primat na koncertnih odrih. Predvsem v mestnih središčih, in kjer so razmere to dopuščale, se je postopno uveljavljala simfonična umetnost. Tovrstno prelomno obdobje v GM Maribor beležimo s prihodom *Marjana Kozine*, ki je s porastom orkestrske reprodukcije oblikoval tretjo razvojno stopnjo v delovanju GM Maribor. Z veliko zagnanostjo se je leta 1934 lotil oživljanja

61 Na oder je postavil Beethovnov *Fantazijo* op. 80 za zbor, klavir in orkester, v koncertni obliki izvedel opero Musorgskega *Boris Godunov* in naštudiral odo *Lira in harfa* Saint Saënsa.

skoraj povsem mirujoče dejavnosti društvenega orkestra. Njegov prihod je pomenil začetek »orkestralne« dobe mariborske GM, zaznamovane s številnimi uspešnimi koncerti. S premišljenim delom je v kratkih štirih letih močno povečal ugled tega mariborskega glasbenega društva.

Ob prihodu v Maribor se je Kozina moral soočiti z nezavidljivim stanjem obeh reproduktivnih ansamblov GM. Posebej pereče je bilo vprašanje orkestra, ki je z Mirkom le tu in tam, s priložnostno zbranimi glasbeniki, nastopil na društvenem koncertu. Takoj po nastopu službovanja je Kozina pričel zbirati nove člane orkestra. O težavah s pridobivanjem članstva zbora in orkestra beremo tudi v pismih, ki jih je takrat v Mariboru živeči in delujoči Karol Pahor pošiljal svojemu učitelju Slavku Ostercu. O situaciji v GM Maribor je pisal, da je poleg težav z oblikovanjem orkestra tudi pevskega zboru po odhodu Mirka grozil razpad. Ostercu je nadalje poročal o svoji pomoči Kozini in velikih uspehih pri zavzetem iskanju glasbenikov ter o velikih načrtih z GM.⁶² Potrditev Kozinovega neumornega dela se je pokazala že v naslednji sezoni (1935/36), ko mu je uspelo zbrati dvesto glasbenikov, ki so sodelovali pri izvedbi Verdijevega *Requiem*.⁶³ V vsej preteklosti mariborske GM orkestra ni bilo mogoče sestaviti trdnejše in trajnejše kot se je to zgodilo pod vodstvom Kozine. Posebej naklonjeno mu je bilo vedno večje število učencev iz glasbene šole GM. Bistvenega pomena za rast simfonične glasbe pa je bilo dirigentovo temeljito in osredotočeno delo z orkestrom. Tradicija pevskega zbora, do takrat glavnega reproduktivnega telesa GM Maribor, je bila v obdobju Kozine prekinjena. Že v prvem letu je odpadel predvideni zborovski koncert, ker so se člani zbora z dvema koncertoma preutrudili in zahtevali lažji program. Kozinova stremjenja k višjim ciljem in nezadovoljstvo s stanjem v zboru nam razkriva pismo domačim, v katerem je razmišljal o izključitvi nekaterih pevcev in tožil, kako je pet večernih vaj na teden preveč, da bi se ukvarjal z »oštarijskim programom«. Kot že tolikokrat poprej, se je zdaj ponovno jasno kazala potreba po ločenem vodstvu pevskega zbora in orkestra. S tako ureditvijo dela bi zagotovo oba ansambla delovala brez prekinitev.

- 62 Ciril Cvetko, Marjan Kozina (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1983), 63–70; Dragotin Cvetko, *Fragment glasbene moderne: iz pisem Slavku Ostercu* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1988), 257.
- 63 Aleksander Koprivc, »Das Requiem von G. Verdi«, *Marburger Zeitung* 76, št. 85 (12. april 1936): 3, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-OZAHAJQV;-c>, »Mariborsko pismo«, *Jutro* 17, št. 93 (22. april 1936): 7, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-AKS9WD97;n.v.>, »Verdijev Requiem«, *Mariborski večernik Jutra* 10, št. 82 (9. april 1936): 2, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-LVC-DEZYB>.

Če je Mirk na koncertni oder od 120 skladb postavil kar 81 % zborovskih, 4 % vokalno-inštrumentalnih izvedb, preostalo pa skladbe za vokal in inštrumente, je Kozinov odstotek orkestralnih skladb (53 %) in vokalno-inštrumentalnih (7 %) ter zborovskih (40 %) predstavljal povsem nove smernice oblikovanja koncertnih sporedov GM Maribor. Ti so bili s prihodom Kozine v Maribor skoraj povsem orkestralno obarvani. Največ skladb, izvedenih pod Kozino, je podpisalo tuje ustvarjalno ime (60 %), sledili so slovenski skladatelji (30 %) in jugoslovanski (10 %). Večino skladb predstavljajo orkestralna dela mojstrov klasicizma in romanticizma, edini odmik k sodobnemu ustvarjanju pa je bila izvedba Honeggerjeve simfonične pesnitve *Poletni pastore*. Z izvedbami vokalno-inštrumentalnih⁶⁴ in simfoničnih del⁶⁵ je poživil mariborsko koncertno življenje in znatno dvignil izvajalsko raven orkestra in zbora. Veliko teže imajo tako izvedbe simfoničnih del, ki po vokalno naravnem Mirku predstavljajo programski preobrat GM. Vokalna literatura, po kateri je v samih začetkih pod Devom in desetletje kasneje pod Mirkom posegal pevski zbor, je skoraj povsem izginila iz koncertnih sporedov. Slednje moremo označiti za nazadovanje koncertne dejavnosti mariborske GM, kljub dejstvu, da se je zborovska glasba v širšem prostoru počasi umikala simfonični ustvarjalnosti in poustvarjalnosti. Kozinovo programsko stremljenje je vključevalo tudi premalo simfoničnih izvedb domačih ustvarjalcev, katerih pomembno in nujno prisotnost na koncertnem odru so poudarjali številni opazovalci mariborskega in slovenskega glasbenega življenja. V štirih letih je občinstvu namreč predstavil le Adamičevo *Tatarsko suito*, Foersterjevo balado *Turki na Slevici* in Bravničarjevo simfonično sliko za klavir in godala *Divertissement*.

Odmevi na koncertno delovanje GM v času Kozine so bili pozitivni. Odobravanje je požel predvsem Marjan Kozina, kateremu so kritiki namenili tudi največ pohvalnih besed. Soglašali so, da je s svojo »velikopotezo iniciativnostjo«⁶⁶ poskrbel, da je Maribor mogel slišati koncerte, ki bi »zadovoljevali tudi velemestne glasbene okuse in želje«.⁶⁶

64 Foersterjeva balada *Turki na Slevici* in Verdijev *Requiem*.

65 Beethoven, L. van.: *Eroica* – 3. simfonija v Es-duru, *Uvertura Egmont*; Brahms, J.: *Simfonija v D-duru*; Bruch, M.: *Violinski koncert*; Čajkovski, P. I.: 5. *simfonija v e-molu*, op. 64, *Capriccio italien* op. 45; Dvořák, A.: *IV. simfonija v G-duru* – *London-ska*, *Koncert v g-molu* op. 43; Honegger, A.: *Simfonična pesnitev Poletni pastore*; Lizst, F.: *Klavirski koncert v Es-duru*; Mozart, W. A.: *Violinski koncert v A-duru*; Wagner, R.: *Predigra k komični operi Mojstri pevci*; Weber, C. M.: *Uvertura k operi Euryanthe*.

66 –c, »Mariborsko pismo«, 7.

Z odhodom Marjana Kozine se je negotov položaj društva stopnjeval še z odpovedjo društvenih prostorov. Sokolsko društvo, ki je prevzelo prostore je določilo rok izselitve, tako so v GM razmišljali celo o njeni razpusitvi.⁶⁷ Po začasno urejenih prostorskih težavah je namesto zborovodje bil imenovan *Milan Pertot*, dotedanji zborovodja Učiteljskega pevskega zbora Emil Adamič iz Ljubljane, za dirigentskim pultom pa so mnogi že videli dirigenta ljubljanskega Radijskega orkestra in bivšega učenca glasbene šole mariborske GM Draga Šijanca. Društvenemu orkestru, ki se je pod Kozino okrepil in znatno napredoval, je tako bilo potrebno poiskati primernege vodjo. V septembru 1938 so potekala pogajanja z vojaškim kapelnikom Josipom Jiranekom in dirigentom Narodnega gledališča Herzogom. Odbor se je kasneje odločil, da bi na mesto dirigenta orkestra imenoval Draga Šijanca, vodjo ljubljanskega Radijskega orkestra, za njegovega namestnika pa Hinka Druzoviča mlajšega. Šijanec, ki ga je odbor povabil k sodelovanju pri prvem orkestralnem koncertu po odhodu Kozine, mesta stalnega dirigenta v GM Maribor ni sprejel.⁶⁸ Sicer pa je prvi nastop orkestra po odhodu Kozine, tudi zaradi dirigenta Šijanca, močno odmeval v časnikih. *Večernik* je poročal, da je »*eminentna kulturna ustanova*« z omenjenim koncertom pokazala »*kulturno kapaciteto in slovansko zavest obmejnih Slovencev*« in potrdila mnenja, da je v dvajsetih letih izpolnila svoje poslanstvo. Izraženo je bilo veselje, da ima Maribor po 20. letih končno simfonični orkester, v katerem sodelujejo glasbeni profesionalci in amaterji, ki izhajajo iz društvene glasbene šole in da stoji na čelu pevskega zbora in orkestra nekdanji učenec Drago Šijanec.⁶⁹

67 Anon., »Obstoj Glasbene Matice resno ogrožen«, *Mariborski večernik Jutra* 12, št. 243 (26. oktober 1938): 4, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-O9CEB1JC>; Anon., »20. matični občni zbor«, *Jutra* 19, št. 250 (27. oktober 1938): 5, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-VoBV1KGB>; Anon., »Die 'Glasbena Matica' vor neuen Aufgaben«, *Marburger Zeitung* 78, št. 244 (27. oktober 1938): 4, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-TCSOHZ1G>; Anon., »Kaj bo z mariborsko Glasbeno Matico?«, *Slovenec* 66, št. 248a (27. oktober 1938): 3, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-VYRH9HE9>.

68 Mihevc, J.: Uvertura iz opere *Moč planetov*; Novák, V.: *Slovaška suita (V cerkvi, Med otroci, Zaljubljena, Pri vaških godcih)*; Čajkovski, P. I.: *Patetična simfonija* (orkester); Gallus, J. P.: *Glejte, kako umira pravični*; Adamič, E.: *Spi, sinek moj*; Mokranjac, St.: *Pesmi s Kosova–VIII. rukovet*; Adamič, E.: *Potrkan ples* (mešani zbor).

69 L. N[ovak], »Koncert mariborske Glasbene Matice«, *Mariborski večernik Jutra* 12, št. 12 (16. januar 1939): 4, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-ON5SPATT>; –a–, »K dvajsetletnici Glasbene matice v Mariboru«, *Jutro* 20, št. 20 (24. januar 1939): 7, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-57LRNMXP>.

Maja leta 1939 je orkester stopil na oder še enkrat, to pot s Dvořákovimi *Slovanskimi plesi* in pod vodstvom dirigenta Josipa Jiraneka.⁷⁰ Časniki so večkrat objavili podatek, da so plese v celotnem obsegu izvedli prvič tako v Mariboru kot v celotni Jugoslaviji, ter dogodek opisovali kot mejnik glasbene zgodovine Maribora. Pahor je v *Jutrovi* rubriki *Kulturni pregled* ocenil, da orkestra GM že dolgo ni bilo moč slišati v tako »uigrani obliki«, Jiraneka pa je opisal kot dobrega interpreta in odličnega dirigenta. Iz Pahorjevega članka, kjer v sklepu izrazi željo po pritegnitvi Jiraneka za v prihodnje, tudi izvemo, da kadrovsko vprašanje v času koncerta še ni bilo povsem rešeno. Odlične ocene prireditve so tako najverjetneje vplivale tudi na odločitev društvenega odbora o imenovanju *Josipa Jiraneka* za dirigenta orkestra GM Maribor.⁷¹

GM je v sezoni 1938/39 prvič zaživela pod tremi vodji, kar lahko označimo za četrto in zadnjo stopnjo razvoja GM Maribor. Šolski vodja je postal bivši učenec *Oton Bajde*, zborovodja *Milan Pertot*, dirigent orkestra pa *Josip Jiranek*. Končno in najbolj smiselno vodstveno politiko GM, ki je naglo požela uspehe predvsem na reproduktivnem področju, je žal prekinila druga svetovna vojna. Koncertna dejavnost pevskega zbora in orkestra GM po vojni ni doživela ponovnega rojstva.

Poleg izobraževalne in koncertne dejavnosti je GM poskušala delovati tudi v raznih drugih smereh. Ena teh je bila založba Struna, katere namen je bil »zalagati skladbe jugoslovanskih in sploh slovenskih skladateljev za salonske orkestre«. Izdaje v prvem letu delovanja založbe (1921/22) so bile edine številčnejše v več kot dve desetletji trajajočem delovanju mariborske GM. O razmahu založniške dejavnosti znotraj okvirjev GM Maribor tako ni mogoče govoriti. Napredna stremjenja GM so bila tudi vodilo za ustanovitev Dramatične šole (1925/26), v kateri je poučeval dramatik Valo Bratina, ravnatelj drame narodnega gledališča. Poziv na vpis je sicer naletel na številen odziv, vendar velikemu začetnemu zanimanju navkljub dramatična šola ni zaživela. Najtrajnejša dodatna dejavnost GM Maribor je bila ure-

70 Prim.: Aleksander Koprivc, »Die Jubelfeier der 'Glasbena Matica'«, *Marburger Zeitung* 79, št. 114 (20. maj 1939): 4, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-NJGZ8DD7>.

71 Dr. Rudolf Ravnik, »Bogata jubilejna bilanca Glasbene Matice«, *Mariborski večernik Jutra* 13, št. 121 (30. maj 1939): 4, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-CLR5A9OV>; Anon., »Der Dirigent und sein Werk«, *Marburger Zeitung* 79, št. 110 (14. maj 1939): 5, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-1J2IBENP>; Koprivc, »Die Jubelfeier der 'Glasbena Matica'«, 4; Prof. K. Pahor, »II. mariborsko glasbeno pismo«, *Jutro* 20, št. 146 (27. junij 1939): 9, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-QQQ1L567>.

sničena s Koncertnim birojem. Leta 1927 je GM dobila koncesijsko listino, s katero je imela edina pravico prirejati koncerte v Mariboru. Zaradi odsotnosti arhivskega gradiva in pomanjkanja podatkov o dodatnih dejavnostih, predvsem organizaciji koncertov, le-teh tako ni mogoče podrobneje predstaviti. Če strnemo delovanje treh dodatnih dejavnosti GM Maribor, moremo zaključiti, da je slednja poskušala razširiti svoje delovanje na področja, ki jih je vzdrževala starejša vzornica – GM Ljubljana. Založniško in organizacijsko delovanje GM velja v prvi vrsti razumeti kot stremljenje k zaokroženemu in smiselnemu glasbenemu poslanstvu GM. Poleg izobraževalne in koncertne dejavnosti je tako polno zaživela le še organizacijska dejavnost v okviru Koncertnega biroja, katere bogato dediščino je po drugi svetovni vojni nadaljevala še danes delujoča mariborska Koncertna poslovalnica.

Sklep

Sinteza treh členov mariborske GM, njene glasbene šole, pevskega zbora in orkestra, je tako počasi in vztrajno širila področje poustvarjalnega delovanja in ga postopoma dvignila na visoko raven, s čimer je bistveno obogatila glasbeno poustvarjanje v mestu in narekovala okus in glasbeno-kulturno raven tega dela Slovenije. Kot edina tovrstna ustanova v mestu je sistematično skrbela za razvoj vokalnega in inštrumentalnega poustvarjalnega dela in postopoma prevzemala vodilno funkcijo v razvoju glasbenega življenja v regiji. Njeno koncertno delovanje je predstavljalo pomemben delež v kulturni podobi Maribora. Posebej z organizacijo simfoničnih in vokalno-inštrumentalnih koncertov so glasbeniki GM občinstvu predstavili skoraj edine in tako najpomembnejše tovrstne reprodukcije v mestu. Tega niso prekinile številne krize, ki so pretresale predvsem zbor in orkester, največkrat pa so bile povezane s pomanjkanjem glasbenikov, pa tudi vodij. GM je tako iz lokalnega društva z moškim zborom prerasla v najpomembnejšo glasbeno ustanovo med obema vojnama v Mariboru in SV Sloveniji. Z vztrajnim in neprekinjenim delovanjem je iz začetne ljubiteljske ravni skorajda dosegla poklicno. Nastopi zbora in orkestra GM so v vseh letih njene delovanja vzbujali veliko zanimanje javnosti. Posebej vokalna in vokalno-inštrumentalna reprodukcija GM je v koncertnem življenju Maribora zasedala pomembno mesto. Razlog je bila obsežna in tehtna vloga, ki sta jo v koncertnih prizadevanjih imela pevski zbor in orkester GM. Zavzeto delo je postopoma utrjevalo sloves zbora in položaj GM kot vodilne glasbene organizacije na severovzhodnem delu Slovenije, ki je kot agitator in pospeše-

valec glasbene umetnosti nedvomno spodbudno vplivala na razvoj glasbenega življenja na omenjenem področju. S pevskim zborom, najdejavnejšim koncertnim članom, je GM Maribor prispevala k pospešeni rasti zborovske reprodukcije, pa tudi tovrstne domače ustvarjalnosti.

Orkester in zbor sta k sodelovanju pritegnila številne slovenske skladatelje in glasbenike, ki so v GM delovali kot zborovodje in dirigenti, pa tudi kot učitelji in ravnatelji glasbene šole GM (Oskar Dev, Vasilij Mirk, Ubald Vrabec, Karol Pahor, Marjan Kozina, Milan Pertot, Josip Jiranek, Pec Šegula). S svojim večinoma pionirskim delovanjem so bistveno in v kratkem času dvignili raven glasbene kulture v Mariboru.

Skleniti je primerno z mislijo, da je GM Maribor med letoma 1919 in 1948 na vseh področjih svojega delovanja dosegla tehtne sadove. Načrtno izobraževanje in širjenje glasbene umetnosti ter sodelovanje številnih priznanih zborovodij, dirigentov, skladateljev in izvajalcev je vodilo k dvigu narodne in kulturne istovetnosti. Kot medvojno gibalo glasbenega udejnjanja je GM Maribor tvorno prispevala k razvoju mariborskega glasbenega šolstva in koncertnega življenja ter kulturne zgodovine mesta nasploh. Poudariti je treba, da je tako v izobraževalni kot poustvarjalni, pa tudi svojih drugih dejavnostih, GM Maribor oralna ledino slovenskega glasbenega življenja v Mariboru in širše. Z vsemi dejavnostmi, ki jih je vključevala, si je prizadevala za dvig splošne glasbene kulture v severovzhodnem delu Slovenije in tako bogatila nacionalno podobo glasbenega življenja.

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The Role and Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Societies in the Slovene Lands Until the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary¹

Maruša Zupančič

Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti
Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts

The nineteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy was a vibrant multicultural state with the intense regional mobility. The period in which the phenomenon of the itinerant virtuoso and the institutionalization of modern bourgeois musical culture emerged brought a series of changes that altered the course of musical development. People travelled first by stagecoach, or postal service with regular connections to the major cities of the monarchy, and from the mid-1840s onwards travel by train became commonplace. Relocation between the Austrian Empire's crown lands was a common practice among nineteenth-century musicians who were in search of the best economic opportunities. The term "migration" should be understood here in a general sense of moving from one geographical area to another, regardless of the political borders of the time. During this era of intense musical transfer, the musical migration stream brought together artists from all corners of Europe to Slovenian cities. These musicians played a significant role in Slovenian cultural and music history, particularly through their activity in music societies and associations that were in dire need of educated musicians. This paper is the result of a recent research project that studied the phenomenon of the Influx of musicians to the Slovene lands during the long nineteenth century.¹

1 The project "Influx of Musicians to the Slovene Lands during the Long Nineteenth Century – Their Impact and Integration" (J6-9386) was financed by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS).

The Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Musical Life in Ljubljana

The Philharmonic Society (Philharmonische Gesellschaft)

At the turn of the nineteenth century Ljubljana was a small, provincial town. The musical life was enlivened not only by the music salons of the local aristocracy and bourgeoisie, theatrical performances, and the Philharmonic Society academies, but also by the Ljubljana Cathedral music chapel, which had a vocal-instrumental ensemble that met the requirements of the traditional sacred music repertoire. The musicians employed by the cathedral music chapel came to Ljubljana mainly from abroad,² especially from Italian, Austrian and Czech geographical areas. They usually participated in various musical events of the town. After the French occupation, however, financial resources became increasingly scarce and the entire ensemble of the cathedral music chapel was dismissed from service in the early 1810s. From there on, the music chapel consisted of only an organist and four singers.³

The Philharmonic Society (*Philharmonische Gesellschaft*), founded in 1794,⁴ took a central musical role in the town. It organized academies, contributed to various musical events, and from the 1820s onwards also strongly promoted music education. Ljubljana was at the time an important and well-connected crossroads between Vienna and Trieste with regular connections to the major cities of the empire, and therefore the paths of many travellers, including artists and virtuosos, crossed in the capital of Carniola. More or less famous guest musicians stopped in the town on their way to

2 Among the musicians of the Ljubljana Cathedral music chapel were: Matthäus Babnig (1787–1868), Franz Dussek (1765–after 1816), Pelegrino del Fiume, Anton Höller (1760–1826), Valentin Lechner (1777–1849), Josef Moriz, Joseph Niklitz, Franz Novotny, Antonio Ruffatti, Paolo Sandrini (1782–1813), Emerik Schreiber, Leopold Ferdinand Schwerdt (1773–1854), Anton Seutschek, Moriz Spring, Josef Wagner, Josef Went, Karl Wencelaus Wratny.

3 Janez Höfler, "Glasbena kapela Ljubljanske stolnice," *Muzikološki zbornik* 17, no. 2 (1981): 7–21.

4 See more about the Philharmonic Society: Primož Kuret, *Ljubljanska Filharmonična družba 1794–1919: kronika ljubljanskega glasbenega življenja v stoletju meščanov in revolucij* (Ljubljana: Nova revija, 2005); Primož Kuret, "Ljubljanska Filharmonična družba 1794–1919," in *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem III*, ed. Aleš Nagode and Nataša Cigoj Krstulović (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete and Založba ZRC, 2021), 1–24, <https://doi.org/10.4312/9789610605270>.

musically vibrant Italy. In addition to concerts in private circles, they also performed on the concert stage of the Philharmonic Society.

Thus, in the first half of the nineteenth century the musical life of Ljubljana was characterized almost exclusively by foreign musicians. Some of them settled in Ljubljana temporarily or even permanently, while others responded to personal invitations or a vacant teaching post. A number of musicians came to Ljubljana with the military bands stationed in the city and participated in its musical life. The town attracted mainly young, unknown musicians who were still at the beginning of their careers. One of them was, for example, the then completely unknown nineteen-year-old Franz Schubert (1797–1828), who unsuccessfully applied for the vacant position at the newly founded Public Music School (*Öffentliche Musikschule*) in 1816.⁵ Franz Sokol (1779–1822)⁶ from Bohemia was appointed a teacher at the newly founded music school, later followed by a few other immigrant musicians.

In 1821, the Congress of Laibach made the capital of Carniola the centre of European politics for a few months. The lively events attracted monarchs, nobles and famous artists, including the violin virtuoso Joseph Benesch (1795–1873),⁷ who gave several concerts as part of the Philharmonic Society. At this time, the Society was led by the Prague musician Caspar Maschek (Gašper Mašek; 1794–1873). The musical program was rich in both

- 5 Viktor Steska, "Javna glasbena šola v Ljubljani od leta 1816 do 1875," *Cerkveni glasbenik* 52, no. 2 (1929): 24–8.
- 6 Franz Sokol was born on 27 November 1779 in Sadská. He came to Ljubljana from Klagenfurt, where he worked as a music teacher, composer and military bandmaster. At the Public Music School he taught violin, piano, organ, and singing, and he was active as a soloist and composer, performing in several Philharmonic Society concerts. He died in Ljubljana on 6 February 1822. See: Státní oblastní archiv v Praze, Sadská 06, Taufbuch: 1767–1784, fol. 297; Nadškofijski arhiv Ljubljana, Ljubljana - Sv. Peter, Sig. 01273, Sterbebuch: 12–1824, fol. 103.
- 7 Joseph Benesch was born on 11 January 1795 in Batelov, Bohemia. He studied music privately in Vienna with Martin Schlesinger and in 1819 embarked on a musical journey through Italy. From 1823 to 1828 he was orchestral director of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, and from 1826 he was also a violin teacher at the school there. He performed in more than 90 concerts in Ljubljana and participated as orchestral director of the Estates Theatre as well as soloist and orchestral director. In 1828, he returned to Vienna, where he found financial security as a member of the orchestra of the prestigious Vienna Court Chapel and Court Theatre (*Hofburgtheater*), which he later directed. He wrote more than 50 works, mainly for violin, but also for guitar and string quartet. He died in Vienna on 11 February 1873. See: Maruša Zupančič, "Joseph Benesch (1795–1873): The forgotten Bohemian violinist and Niccolò Paganini's imitator within the Central European Violinism," *De musica disserenda* 18, no. 1/2 (2022): 11–76, <https://doi.org/10.3986/dmd18.1-2.01>.

concerts and operas. The Society also held private concerts at the home of one of Austria's most important politicians and diplomats, Prince Metternich (1773–1859), where the *crème de la crème* of the nobility gathered. Maschek conducted German and Italian theatre groups.⁸

When the dust settled after the Congress, a number of shortcomings in the cultivation of musical life in the town became apparent again. The shortage of employable violinists was such that it was impossible to form a medium-sized orchestra in both church music and theatre without the participation of amateurs. The shortage of musicians was also a result of the downsizing of the cathedral's music chapel, which forced its musicians to move or seek employment in other professions.⁹ At that time violin lessons were on a basic level in Ljubljana, given only at the Public Music School and privately.¹⁰ It is therefore not surprising that the Philharmonic Society strongly supported the foundation of the Violin School that the aforementioned violin virtuoso Joseph Benesch planned to open. Benesch's acquaintance with the Proch family and Maschek's older sister, Vinzenzia Proch (née Maschek; 1782–1849), certainly influenced his decision to move to Ljubljana. In October 1822, Benesch announced in the newspapers the opening of the new Violin School, where he also taught fortepiano and guitar. A few months later he married Maschek's niece, the pianist Friederike Benesch (née Proch; 1805–1872),¹¹ who followed him to Ljubljana. During

8 Jernej Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki v 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja na Slovenskem* (Maribor: Litera, 2012), 102–4.

9 "Einreichungs-Protokoll des k. k. Guberniums zu Laibach," registratura VIII, fasc. 55 (1821–1822), no. 159, AS 14, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Ljubljana.

10 Private violin lessons were announced sporadically in the newspapers from 1814 onwards. One of the first advertisements for private violin lessons was that of Michael Fackler, who was a singer, actor and composer in the travelling German operatic troupe of Franz Xsaver Deutsch, active in Ljubljana between 1813 and 1815. Fackler offered one hour of piano, violin and singing lessons daily, beginning on 1 April 1814. See: Anon., "Nachricht," *Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, March 22, 1814.

11 Friederika Ernestina Theresia Proch was born in Vienna on 4 March 1805. She was the granddaughter of the famous composer Vinzenz Mašek from Prague. Friederike received her first music lessons from her mother, Vinzenzia Mašek (1782–1849), then from the *regens chori* and headmaster Anton Herzog. She continued her piano and composition studies privately in Vienna with Simon Sechter. In 1822 she met the violinist Joseph Benesch, who was teaching her brother Heinrich Proch. In April 1823 she married Benesch and moved to Ljubljana with him. In Ljubljana she gave private piano lessons, and between 1823 and 1826 appeared seven times on the Philharmonic Society stage as both a soloist and an accompanist to her husband. She later continued her career in Vienna, composing several piano pieces. She died in Vienna on 23 February 1872. See: Wien / Niederösterreich (Osten), Rk. Erzdiözese Wien, Ma-

his six-year stay Benesch performed in over 40 concerts as a soloist and chamber musician, and in more than 90 concerts as an orchestral director. In addition to his work as a private teacher and concert performer (soloist) in Ljubljana, Benesch was a violin teacher at the Society's music school from 1826, musical and orchestral director of the Philharmonic Society and occasionally of the Estates Theatre Orchestra.¹²

It was common that musical and orchestral directors of the Philharmonic Society also worked at the Estates Theatre, where they earned extra money. At the time the distinction between the Kapellmeister and orchestral director was very loose, therefore Benesch and Maschek shared the work and credit. Together with his wife Amalie Maschek (née Horný; 1792–1836),¹³ Maschek organized the 1826/1827 theatre season on his own, since the Estates Theatre had been dissolved for lack of funds. However, this venture also burdened Maschek with debts, and the very next season the theatre group was disbanded.

The 1830s was one of the most difficult periods for the Philharmonic Society, both in terms of the number of performers and the visibility of its work. Both local and foreign artists performed at the concerts. Among the

ria Treu, Taufbuch 1803–1809, sig. 01-008, fol. 102; Ferdinand Luib, "Biographische Skizzen hier lebender Kompositeure, Virtuosen und musikalischen Schriftsteller Joseph Benesch," *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 58, no. 8 (13 May 1848): 229–30; Wien / Niederösterreich (Osten), Rk. Erzdiözese Wien, Wiener Neustadt-Hauptpfarre, Trauungsbuch 1815–1843, sig. 02-13, fol. 108; Wien / Niederösterreich (Osten), Rk. Erzdiözese Wien, Wieden, Sterbebuch 1870–1872, sig. 03-21, fol. 14; Zupančič, "Joseph Benesch (1795–1873)," 26, 34–5, 50.

12 Ibid., 11–76.

13 Amalie Maschek was born Maria Amalia Victoria Horný on 19 January 1792 in Valtice, the daughter of Franz Heinrich Horný and Antonia Petrowa. It seems that she made her debut at the Leopoldstadt Theatre in Vienna around 1812 and remained there until 1815. She then appeared at the theatre in Klagenfurt (1816–1818), and in 1819 she moved from Bratislava to Graz to become an opera singer at the Estates Theatre. There she met Caspar Maschek, whom she married on 6 May 1820. After moving to Ljubljana she performed as an opera singer at the Estates Theatre and was also active as a teacher and performer on the stage of the Philharmonic Society. She died of tuberculosis in Ljubljana on 20 April 1836, at the age of 44. See: Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Taufbuch 1784–1804, sig. Valtice 3484, fol. 90; Erzdiözese Wien, Vienna, Graz-Dom, Trauungsbuch 1815–1833, sig. 1062, fol. 306; Nadškofijski arhiv Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Sv. Nikolaj, Sterbebuch 1836–1866, sig. 01215, fol. 2; Maruša Zupančič, "The Musical Network of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society," in *Musical Networking in the 'Long 19th Century'*, ed. Vjera Katalinić (Zagreb: Croatian Musicological Society–Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2023), forthcoming.

immigrants active in Ljubljana at the time, Franz Knoll (c. 1804–?),¹⁴ Carl Till and Joseph Leitermeyer (1808–?)¹⁵ from Vienna are particularly worth mentioning.

Since neither the Philharmonic Society nor the city itself had its own symphony orchestra, they were forced to join forces with military bands stationed in or visiting the city. In addition to marches and waltzes, the military bands also played more demanding works from the symphonic and operatic literature.¹⁶ The bandmasters were mostly from Bohemia,¹⁷ but the bands usually included about 50 other musicians from various realms of the monarchy. Paul Micheli (1795–?)¹⁸ was also from Bohemia, and made

14 Franz Reg. Knoll probably came from Vienna, where he studied violin with Franz Clement. In 1826 he sent his Variations on the Austrian National Anthem “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser,” which he had written to commemorate the emperor’s recovery from a serious illness, to the court. The composition had been accepted and praised by a court councillor. A few years later, between 1830 and 1831, Knoll worked as orchestral director of the Estates Theatre and private teacher in Ljubljana. He remained in Ljubljana at least until November 1831, when his three-year old daughter Amalia died. In 1841 he had difficulty finding work as a composer or music teacher in Vienna, but he soon became a member of the orchestra at the *Theater an der Wien*. In 1843, he dedicated his new composition to the Belgian violin virtuoso Theodore Hauman (1808–1878). His wife died suddenly in 1841 and left Knoll with three children. See: Zupančič, “The Musical Network of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society.”

15 See the chapter on Celje.

16 In the second half of the nineteenth century, the 46th Regiment with Johann Schinzl from Bohemia and 79th Regiment with Georg Schantl (1839–1875) from Graz participated in the concerts in Ljubljana. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Styrian Graz 27th Military Band flourished, especially under the baton of Theodor Anton Christoph (1872–1941) from Odessa, and enriched the Philharmonic Society concerts in Ljubljana. Military bands participated in more than 130 concerts in Ljubljana up to the end of the First World War. The data is based on a list of more than 1,500 large concerts that took place in Ljubljana in this period. The number of military bands that participated in musical events of all kinds in Ljubljana is surely substantially larger.

17 Bohemian military bandmasters in Ljubljana were: Carl Handschuh (c. 1760–1823), Paul Micheli, Johann Nemrawa, Johann Schinzl (1836–1895), Jaromir Borovanský (1851–?), Franz Czansky (1832–1905), and probably Anton Forka (1854–1909), and Johann Jedliczka (1819–1886).

18 Micheli was born Paulus Michl on 21 January 1795 in Jedlová (CZ) to Andreas Michl and Anna Sihauerin. He received his first musical education in Jedlová and then spent twelve years in Milan. He continued his studies in Vienna with Ignaz Xsaver Ritter von Seyfried (1776–1841) and the Bohemian musician Joseph Dreschler (1782–1852). He came to Ljubljana before 1830 and worked as a bandmaster between 1833 and 1849. See: Státní oblastní archiv, Zámorsk, Taufbuch: 1784–1829, Sig. 1615, fol. 91; Franz Kaus, “Die Capelle des vaterländischen Regimentes,” *Illyrisches Blatt*, July 23, 1840, 148; Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Conscription of the pop-

an important contribution to the musical life of Ljubljana in the period before the middle of the nineteenth century. He was a very capable musician who studied in Vienna and worked in Milan, and was a bandmaster of the 17th Infantry Regiment in Ljubljana until 1849.

The seminal year of 1848 was also important for the Philharmonic Society, which reorganized the school and employed the violinist Joseph Leitermeyer and Kapellmeister Alfred Khom (1825–1893).¹⁹ Leitermeyer's decision to return to Ljubljana after 15 years was influenced by the changed political situation and the cohesion of social life in Klagenfurt where both musicians worked at the Estates Theatre. Once again Leitermeyer was from 1847 the orchestral director of the Estates Theatre in Ljubljana and, from 1848, a violin teacher at the Philharmonic Society. His decision to live and work in the city certainly influenced Khom, who followed him one year later.

The arrival of the Czech Anton Nedvĕd (1828–1896) in Ljubljana in 1856 marked the beginning of a new era for the Philharmonic Society. He worked for four years as a teacher at the Society's music school and devoted himself mainly to its reproductive and artistic activities. In a short time he revived the work of the male choir and founded a female choir. He performed successfully as a soloist and impressed audiences with his trained voice. He established a repertoire of artistically valuable works, and achieved better refinement of the singers. As a conductor, he brought the performance

ulation, Ljubljana 1830, 1/52; Eugen Brixel, Gunther Martin, and Gottfried Pils, *Das ist Österreichs Militärmusik* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1982), 329.

- 19 Alfred Khom was born in Linz and studied at the Vienna Conservatory. He interrupted his studies to become the orchestra conductor (*Theaterkapellmeister*) at the theatre in Klagenfurt. At the same time he took over the local Men's Choral Society (*Männergesangverein*). During the Revolutions of 1848, he went to Ljubljana, where he accepted the position of singing teacher and leader of the Philharmonic Society's men's choir. In addition, he offered private lessons in piano, singing, physharmonica, figured bass, harmony, and composition. He regularly participated as a performer and composer in Philharmonic Society concerts. He performed symphonic and chamber works, choral and sacred compositions, and numerous arrangements of works by other composers. He was the first person to perform works of J.S. Bach (in his own arrangements) in Ljubljana. He was also an organist at one of the Ljubljana's churches, and for a considerable time a singing teacher at the Catholic Journeymen's Association (*Katholischer Gesellenverein*). In the late 1850s he started work as an assistant music teacher at the Public Music School. He later supplemented his music with arrangements of folk tunes. In 1861 he moved to Graz and died in 1893 in Simmering (Vienna). See: Matjaž Barbo, "Alfred Khom in njegovo delovanje v Ljubljani," *De musica disserenda* 18, no. 1/2 (2022): 127–65, <https://doi.org/10.3986/dmd18.1-2.03>.

quality of the Society to a different artistic level and performed the contemporary works of the time such as those by Schumann, Wagner, and Brahms, which were unknown to audiences in Ljubljana at that time. With his repertoire he overcame the prevailing provincialism in the city, and also ensured the promotion of Slavic and Slovenian compositions among the German-speaking public. During Nedvěd's time at the Philharmonic Society, many renowned soloists from various countries performed in philharmonic concerts, and numerous compositions by Wagner and Beethoven were performed. Nedvěd himself composed over 300 works,²⁰ mainly vocal. As a singer, he also wrote solo songs for tenor, baritone and soprano with piano accompaniment. Nedvěd participated in more than 180 concerts in Ljubljana,²¹ mostly as a conductor, and was the most performed composer in the Slovene lands and its hinterland between 1856 and 1896. His compositions were performed at more than 800 concerts and smaller events in numerous Slovenian cities and towns.²²

The Viennese musician Josef Zöhrer (1841–1916) studied piano and composition in Vienna. He came to Ljubljana from Trieste and performed as a pianist and cellist. From 1865 he was a teacher of piano, singing, cello and choir at the school of the Philharmonic Society. In 1868, due to Nedvěd's illness, he conducted three symphony concerts for the first time. After Nedvěd's retirement he took over the direction of the society, a post he held until 1912. Although Zöhrer essentially adhered to the classical and romantic tradition in his choice of repertoire, the concert programs of the Philharmonic Society are a constant testimony to his efforts to acquaint Ljubljana audiences with the latest creative achievements of some of the most important contemporary composers. He had a particular fondness for the music of Wagner, but also frequently included works by Slavic composers

20 His oeuvre includes 360 works, including short compositions for youth from collections that are also signed by other authors. Excluding these, the number is 127. The largest number are vocal works (100), including 67 male choruses, 22 mixed choruses, seven songs and three songbooks for youth and one female chorus. There are 25 vocal-instrumental works and only two instrumental pieces. See: Doris Primc, "Skladateljski opus Antona Nedvěda" (MA, University in Ljubljana, 2021), 37. I also would like to thank Tonja Čakš for her help with entering Nedvěd's compositions into the project's database.

21 More than 50 of his compositions were performed at more than 150 concerts in Ljubljana. This data is based on the transcription of the concerts of the Philharmonic Society between 1816 and 1919.

22 This information is based on the list of public performances of Nedvěd's compositions compiled as part of Doris Primc Master thesis. See: Primc, "Skladateljski opus Antona Nedvěda," 289–326.

and also successfully conducted a number of large-scale vocal-instrumental works. The repertoire and reviews of Zöhrer's solo and chamber music performances reveal an ambitious and technically demanding pianist who turned to, among other things, the most challenging contemporary piano literature. As a soloist without orchestra he performed only in exceptional cases, as a soloist in concerts with mixed programs and not in solo recitals.²³ Over almost half a century he participated in more than 350 of the Society's concerts: in 160 as a performer and in more than 190 as a conductor.²⁴ In addition to Hans Gerstner (1851–1939) and Gustav Moravec (1837–1916),²⁵ he is credited for the development and rapid progress of chamber music in Ljubljana.²⁶

The Prague violinist Hans Gerstner moved to Ljubljana in 1871 and was a decisive turning point for violin playing in the city.²⁷ For almost 50 years he was associated with the Philharmonic Society as a soloist, concertmaster, teacher and conductor. During his long career as a violin teacher at the Society, he taught numerous brilliant violinists who later worked in Slovenia and abroad. He performed violin concertos by Bazzini, Mendelssohn, Spohr, Bruch, Beethoven, Beriot and Lipinski in Ljubljana. With his most prominent students, Gerstner premiered numerous violin compositions and raised violin playing to a whole new level. In Ljubljana he was the first to play the violin sonata by C. Frank (1902), the Violin Concerto in E Major by J.S. Bach (1904) and the violin sonata op. 45 by Grieg (1908).²⁸ During his career of more than 40 years as concertmaster of the Philharmonic

23 Jernej Weiss, "Musical performance activities of Josef Zöhrer (1841–1916) at the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society," *De musica disserenda*, 18, no. 1/2 (2022): 195, <https://doi.org/10.3986/dmd18.1-2.04>.

24 The data is based on the transcription and reconstruction of the preserved concert programmes of the Philharmonic Society between 1816 and 1919.

25 Gustav Silvestr Moravec was born on 31 December 1837 in Hlinsko (CZ). He came to Ljubljana in 1866, where he stayed active until 1914. He taught violin, piano, and singing, and performed at numerous Philharmonic Society concerts as a violinist and violist in chamber ensembles. He died in 1916 in Vienna. See: Státní oblastní archiv, Zamrsk, Taufbuch: 1836–1852, Sig. Chrudim 223, fol. 21; Cvetko Budkovič, *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 1992), 67–8, 71.

26 Maruša Zupančič, "Razvoj komorne glasbe na Slovenskem," in *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem III*, ed. Aleš Nagode and Nataša Cigoj Krstulović (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete and Založba ZRC, 2021), 430, <https://doi.org/10.4312/9789610605270>.

27 For more about Gerstner, see: Jernej Weiss, *Hans Gerstner: Življenje za glasbo* (Marijbor: Litera, 2010).

28 Zupančič, "The Musical Network of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society."

ic Society, soloist and conductor of the Philharmonic in chamber concerts and at various charity events, Gerstner performed in 12 to 15 concerts a year, totalling nearly 600 in all. As a soloist and chamber musician, he participated in more than 200 concerts of the Society.²⁹

By 1919, more than 40 immigrant musicians were employed by the Society as orchestral directors (concertmasters), Kapellmeisters (conductors), choirmasters, and teachers, and they participated in more than 1,200 major concerts held by the Society. The majority of the Philharmonic Society's musicians were born in Vienna and the Czech lands.³⁰ A smaller group of musicians was born beyond the borders of the Austrian Empire, such as in Rorschach (CH), Meiningen (DE), and Lichtenstein (DE), and even in distant cities as far as Jeglava (LV) and Odessa (UA). They usually did not come directly from their hometowns in the empire, but from cities where they had previously worked. In general, the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana attracted mainly young, unknown musicians who were still at the beginning of their careers. Many of them sought employment in Ljubljana in their mid- to late twenties, the youngest even immediately after completing their studies at the conservatories in Prague, Vienna and Leipzig. Musicians often spent only a short time in Ljubljana before finding better employment opportunities elsewhere. Only a few musicians settled and fully integrated into the new cultural environment in which they worked, in some cases for several decades, as in the case of Hans Gerstner, who lived in Ljubljana for almost 70 years. Sometimes matters of the heart (and ensuing marriages) were the primary reason for capable musicians to stay in Ljubljana. Occasionally, women who were musicians' themselves joined an already musically active spouse, as in the case of the pianist Friederike Benesch and the singer Amalie Maschek.

The National Reading Society (Ljubljanska narodna čitalnica)

The nationally conscious Slovenian enthusiasts took up the United Slovenia (*Zedinjena Slovenija*) programme as early as 1848 and developed read-

29 The data were collected from more than 1200 transliterated concert programmes of the Philharmonic Society. I would like to thank Špela Lah for her help.

30 The following Society's musicians were from the Czech Lands: Joseph Jellemnitzky (Bílí Újezd), Joseph Benesch (Batelov), Caspar Maschek (Prague), Karl Paul Seifert (Teplice), Franz Löhrl (Žatice), Anton Nedvěd (Hořovice), Hans Gerstner (Žlutice), Georg Stiaral (Zadní Třebañ), Karl Bitsch (Malá Moravka), Rudolf Paulus (Domažlice), Josef Kaspárek (Rožmitál pod Třemšínem), Josef Sklenář (Hředle), Gustav Moravec (Hlinsko).

ing societies as a form of strengthening national consciousness and the cultural-political situation in the monarchy. Slovenian reading societies were inspired by the Pan-Slavic-oriented societies in Vienna and Graz, where singing played a central role. Reading societies generally focused on choral singing and plays written in Slovenian.³¹

The National Reading Society in Ljubljana was founded in the fall of 1861 on the initiative of Janez Bleiweis and at the urging of Croatian patriots and members of the Reading Society. An important factor for its establishment was the national discord in the German-Slovenian choral society (*Liedertafel*), which was becoming increasingly German. The National Reading Society in Ljubljana established an extensive programme, including obligatory choral singing, which in the first year was directed by Anton Nedvěd, the aforementioned Czech choirmaster of the Philharmonic Society of Ljubljana. His successful work and refreshed repertoire, to which he himself contributed as a composer, led to an exodus of singers from the Philharmonic Society to the Reading Society. Nedvěd was forced to choose between the two sides. For financial reasons he remained loyal to the Philharmonic Society, but also continued to work with various Slovenian societies until his death.³²

After Nedvěd, other musicians led the choir and continued his work. Josef Fabian (1835–1870) from the Prague Conservatory took over the choir in 1863. In order to raise the level of the choir, he founded a singing school, transformed the all-male ensemble into a mixed choir, and performed compositionally more demanding works by Slovenian and Croatian composers.³³ He was followed by a number of professional musicians, again mostly from the Czech lands, among them Václav Procházka and Anton Foerster (1837–1926).³⁴ The latter introduced a singing school and wrote a manual for this purpose, a “Short Instruction for Singing Lessons” (*Kratek navod za pouk v petji*; 1867). In 1870 he left the choir and devoted himself to the Drama Society (*Dramatično društvo*) and the Ljubljana Cathedral Choir.³⁵

Between 1867 and 1891, the National Reading Society of Ljubljana organized more than 100 recitals (*béside*), often featuring the compositions of

31 Darja Koter, “Pevski zbori in glasbena društva,” in *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem III*, ed. Aleš Nagode and Nataša Cigoj Krstulović (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete and Založba ZRC, 2021), 80, <https://doi.org/10.4312/9789610605270>.

32 Jernej Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki v 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja na Slovenskem*, 144–6.

33 Koter, “Pevski zbori in glasbena društva,” in *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem III*, 83.

34 Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki*, 148.

35 Koter, “Pevski zbori in glasbena društva,” 83–4.

the Czech composers Anton Nedvĕd and Anton Foerster. The concerts were also joined by various military bands led by immigrant bandmasters such as Georg Schantl, Johann Schinzl, Johann Nemrawa, Georg Mayer, Georg Stiaral, and Franz Czansky. In 1889, the Prague violinist Vítězslav Roman Moser (1864–1939) founded a string quartet and, together with Julius Ohm Januschofsky, played several virtuoso violin pieces at the Reading Society recitals. Occasionally violinists, Music Society teachers, and members of the theatre orchestras also performed at the concerts.³⁶

The Slovenian Music Society (Ljubljanska Glasbena matica)

From its foundation in 1872 until the end of the First World War, the Slovenian Music Society (*Glasbena matica*) in Ljubljana was not only a musical centre, but also a cultural and national one.³⁷ It brought together amateur and professional musicians, the Slovenian educated elite, politicians, and cultural figures. The idea and initiative to establish the Music Society came from enthusiastic patriots Blaž Kuhar and Vojteh Valenta. However, the application to establish the society was formally submitted by the music director of the Philharmonic Society, Anton Nedvĕd, and the members of the founding committee. The initial impetus for the Music Society activities came from professional musicians, the Czechs Anton Nedvĕd and Anton Foerster (1837–1926) and, from 1886, especially from the Slovenian Fran Gerbič (1840–1917), who worked to promote professionalism in music and overcome dilettantism until the end of his life. From 1891 Matej Hubad (1866–1937) directed the Music Society with his initiative and diligence, becoming its active leader and driving force for decades.³⁸

The Music Society's main task was to establish a music school where lessons would be taught in Slovenian. In addition to this national goal, the reason for founding the music school was also the desire to provide amateur and especially professional musicians with an adequate music education, which is why the founding of a music conservatory was already

36 The data were compiled from the list of recitals compiled from the annual reports of the Reading Society of Ljubljana and newspaper reports.

37 More about *Glasbena matica* see: Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina: Ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2015).

38 Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, "Ljubljanska Glasbena matica," in *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem III*, ed. Aleš Nagode and Nataša Cigoj Krstulović (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete and Založba ZRC, 2021), 25, <https://doi.org/10.4312/9789610605270>.

being discussed at the first committee meeting. The school started operations in 1882, and developed especially from 1886 onwards under the leadership of Gerbič. He made efforts to hire well-trained teachers, improve the curriculum, and create original textbooks.³⁹ Gerbič sought out such teachers primarily at the Prague Conservatory, where he himself had studied in the 1860s. By the end of the First World War, more than 25 music teachers from abroad, mostly violinists, worked at the Music Society School. Most of them had studied at the Prague Conservatory, only a few in Vienna, and one in Lviv. Thus, most of the musicians had been born in different towns in Czech territory.⁴⁰ Some of them had been born of Czech parents outside of Czech territory in cities like Linz, Vienna, and Stavropol. The situation was similar at the Music Society branches in Novo Mesto (1898),⁴¹ Gorizia (1900),⁴² Celje (1908),⁴³ Kranj (1909),⁴⁴ and Trieste (1909),⁴⁵ where the musi-

39 Ibid., 32.

40 Violinists: Anton Kučera, Josef Wiedemann (1828–?) from Kvítkov, Jan Rezek (1884–?) from Prague, Vitězslav Moser (1864–1939) from Sušice, Jan Josef Baudis (1860–?) from Kutná Hora, Jan Jiří Drobeček (1858–1885) from Hermanův Městec; Violoncellists: Edvard Bílek (1888–?) from Kolín, Julius Junek (1873–1927) from Brandýs nad Labem-Stara Boleslav, Jaroslav Heyda (1880–?), Jan Kraus (1883–?) from Jevíčko; Pianists: Jaroslava Chlumecká (1886–1956) from Chlumeč nad Cidlinou, Julius Ohm Januschofsky (1851–?), Josef Procházka (1874–1956) from Slaný, Karel Hoffmeister (1868–1952) from Liblice; trombonist and double-bass player Václav Runkas (1881–1964) from Račice nad Trotinou; Military bandmaster and violinist Georg Stiaral (1824–1898) from Zadní Třeboň; bassoonist Emanuel Mašek from Prague.

41 Three violinists were active in Novo mesto at the turn of the century: Josip Poula (1870–?) from Nová ves, Anton Spaček, and Rudolf Hachla (1878–?) from Holešov. They were teachers and participated in the concerts as conductors, soloists and chamber musicians. See: Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina*, 125; Maruša Zupančič, “The influx of Bohemian violinists to Slovenia and Croatia up to the 1920s,” *Arti musices* 50, no. 1/2 (2019): 271.

42 In Gorizia, the Prague musicians Josef Michl (1879–1952) from Slaný, and Lovrenc Kubišta (1863–1931) were active as teachers and composers. Michl also founded a string quartet and a quintet. See: Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina*, 128–9; Zupančič, “The influx of Bohemian violinists,” 272–3.

43 See the chapter on Celje.

44 The first violin teacher at the Kranj branch of the Music Society was the Czech Václav Doršner, who was succeeded the following year by the Prague violinist Zikmund Polášek (1877–1933) from Slavonice, who came to Kranj from Klagenfurt. See: Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina*, 130–2; Zupančič, “The influx of Bohemian violinists,” 272–3.

45 Before the war, the Prague violinist and retired military bandmaster Petr Teplý (1871–1964), who served in Trieste between 1902 and 1912, began giving violin lessons in the Trieste branch of the Musical Society according to Ševčík’s method. After the war, the music was taught there by another Prague violinist, František Topič

cians were also mostly from Bohemia and Moravia. Teachers (often Czechs) and pupils of the Slovenian music school in Trieste also participated in the concert activities of the National Hall (*Narodni dom*) in that city.⁴⁶

It was not until 1888 that the Music Society in Ljubljana gave its first major concert with soloists, choir, and orchestra, in which Czech musicians also took part. In 1891, a choir was established as an independent part of the society, and then became a permanent performing group. The concerts given by the Slovenian Music Society before the First World War were less varied and less numerous in terms of repertoire than those of the Philharmonic Society. On average, the Music Society held two of its own concerts per concert season with a vocal repertoire and a vocal-instrumental repertoire with both men's and women's choirs. In addition to concerts with a mixed programme and a predominantly vocal or vocal-instrumental repertoire, the Music Society also held musical evenings with a smaller number of performers and predominantly instrumental performances, as well as social singing evenings.⁴⁷ Between 1888 and 1918 it gave 300 concerts, over 200 of which involved musicians from abroad, mainly Czechs, as soloists, conductors, or composers.⁴⁸

Since there was no civic orchestra in Ljubljana that could perform at concerts and opera performances, the Music Society, like the Philhar-

(Fran Topič; 1881–1937) from Lysá nad Labem. See: Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina*, 132–4; Zupančič, “The influx of Bohemian violinists,” 273–4.

46 In the period before the First World War, Slovenian cultural activities in Trieste reached their peak with the opening of the National Hall in 1904, which sparked further development primarily among Slovenian cultural associations. Based on the *Edinost* newspaper and the preserved concert programs, more than 300 concerts that took place in the National Hall between 1904 and 1920 have been reconstructed. Numerous Slovenian societies and guest musicians, mainly Czechs, performed at the National Hall. The military band of the 97th Infantry Regiment and the military band of the 4th Bosnian Infantry Regiment were at the centre of Slovenian concert life at the National Hall in Trieste. Among the foreign musicians, the Czechs Petr Těplý and František Topič, as well as the occasional bandmaster Franz Zitta (1880–1946) from Čečelice, contributed to Slovenian concert life in Trieste. All three were active in Maribor after the war. Almost all Slovenian associations in Trieste also performed compositions by Czech musicians from Ljubljana. Anton Foerster and Anton Nedvěd were the most prominent of these, and to a lesser extent Josef Michl, Josef Procházka, and Anton Jakl (1873–1948). I would like to thank Sara Zupančič for her sacrificial work, reconstruction of the concerts in the organization of the National Hall in Trieste within the research project.

47 Cigoj Krstulović, “Ljubljanska Glasbena matica,” 33, 35–6.

48 This data is based on the list and analysis of the concerts of the Music Society (*Glasbena matica*).

monic Society, had to hire a military band for its concerts, which the committee felt was neither financially nor politically appropriate. The Music Society therefore promoted the creation of a civilian concert and opera orchestra. In July 1908, the young Prague violinist Václav Talich was appointed conductor of the Music Society's orchestra (*Društvena godba*). The orchestra was founded in 1900, and consisted mainly of amateur musicians, half of the orchestra's members being Talich's compatriots. The success of the orchestra's first performance on 23 July 1908 was the catalyst for the establishment of a new professional ensemble in Ljubljana on October 1908, named the Concert Orchestra of Ljubljana (*Ljubljanski koncertni orkester*). Its members were mainly Czech musicians from the Music Society (*Glasbena matica*). The orchestra also had to work within the Slovenian provincial theatre system. Thus although it was to focus mainly on the performance of symphonic concerts, the musicians also had to participate in promenade concerts of popular music and various dances. The work of this type of concert ensemble led to the foundation of the Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra in October 1908, which became a financially independent institution.⁴⁹ As expected, the first conductor was Talich, the concertmaster was Jaromir Markucci from Litomyšl, and most of the orchestra members were again Czechs.⁵⁰ For this reason the orchestra was nicknamed the "Second Czech Philharmonic Orchestra". In its first season, the orchestra gave 190 performances and also cooperated with the Slovenian Provincial Theatre.⁵¹

Talich also endeavoured to perform chamber music in Ljubljana. For this purpose he founded a string quartet with which he gave four concerts. He had a difficult task in the city, where his demanding manner and discipline were not always well received. During Talich's absence, when he was studying abroad, he was replaced by Edvard Czajaneč (1874–?) with his assistant Franz Tamhina,⁵² and then the orchestra was led by Friedrich (Fritz) Reiner (1888–1963). Talich left Ljubljana in 1912 and with him ten other musicians, which further threatened the orchestra's existence. Tal-

49 Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki*, 391.

50 Besides the concertmaster Markuzzi and the conductor Talich, other Czech violinists in the Orchestra were: J. Režek [Jan Rezek], K. Tarter [Karel Tarter], K. Kučera [Karel Kučera], Donner [Václav Doršner], Korál, Kazimour, Nechleba, Kratochvil, and Klier [Anton Klier]. See also Metoda Kokole, "Václav Talich and the Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra (1908–1912)," *Arti musices* 27, no. 2 (1996): 189.

51 Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki*, 401.

52 *Ibid.*, 404.

ich raised the level of musical life in Ljubljana to a high level with the concerts of the Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra during his three seasons in the city. The work of a quality symphony orchestra and a conductor who was open to new music also led to a sharp increase in orchestral compositions in Slovenia.⁵³ The orchestra was later taken over again by Czechs, the military bandmaster Petr Teplý and opera conductor Cyril Metoděj Hrazdira (1868–1926). During its short existence, the orchestra also performed at 27 Music Society concerts.⁵⁴

The Contribution of the Immigrant Musicians in Theatre and Opera Production

In the nineteenth century, musical theatre in the Slovene lands was more or less in the hands of foreign artists. Singers, instrumentalists and conductors involved in theatrical performances formed one of the largest groups of immigrant musicians in Ljubljana.⁵⁵ A number of Kapellmeisters from Bohemia⁵⁶ and other foreign musicians from various crown lands of the Austrian Empire were active at the Estates Theatre (*Ständisches Theater*; founded in 1765)⁵⁷ and led the orchestra there. With the reorganization of the state in 1861, the Provincial Parliament took over the management of the Estates Theatre, which was renamed the Provincial Theatre (*Landschaftliches Theater*) and whose repertoire and performance policy remained unchanged. Gustav Mahler (1860–1911) began his conducting career as Kapellmeister in Ljubljana, where he performed demanding operas and operettas with an ambitious choral ensemble,⁵⁸ and as a pianist took part in the con-

53 Ibid., 413.

54 Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina*, 121.

55 Based on the data collected so far, we have been able to document more than 230 immigrant musicians who participated in theatrical performances during the long nineteenth century. The number is certainly much higher. From the collected data we can see that most of the musicians were born in the Czech lands and Austrian cities. Among the individual birthplaces, Prague and Vienna stand out. A smaller number of musicians were born in German States of the nineteenth century, and a few individuals in cities such as Timișoara, Vatra Dornei, Lviv, Rodatychi, London and Kaliningrad. Most of the theatre musicians studied in Prague and then in Vienna.

56 Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki*, 362.

57 For more about Estates Theatre see: Jože Sivec, *Opera v Stanovskem gledališču v Ljubljani od leta 1790 do 1861* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica v Ljubljani, 1971).

58 Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki*, 363–4.

certs of the Philharmonic Society.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, until 1887 theatrical performances were almost exclusively reserved for German-speaking traveling theatre troupes, joined by the Slovenian Drama Society (*Dramatično društvo*) in 1892. The performers, especially the prima donna, tenor and first operetta singer, and the rest of the theatre staff, were mostly seasonal workers who left the city at the end of the season. The orchestra was thus often taken over by a trained musician who worked in Ljubljana, first as orchestral director, and later as theatre Kapellmeister and conductor. The theatre employed its own instrumentalists, but they were usually in short supply, so the orchestra was usually accompanied by members of the military band as well as the Philharmonic Society.⁶⁰

The most important milestone in Slovenian musical theatre was in 1892, when a new theatre building, the Provincial Theatre (today's Opera House) was opened, ushering in a new era of theatrical activity.⁶¹ With the arrival of Hilarion Beníšek (1863–1919), the performance of Slovenian provincial theatre greatly improved, especially in comparison with the previously qualitatively rather weak Drama Society. The newly established theatre hosted a number of Czech performers who far surpassed those who worked at the so-called German provincial theatre. Due to the tense political relations between the German and Slovenian sides, several Czech Kapellmeisters and performers worked in either the Slovenian or German theatre. The singers and Kapellmeisters from Bohemia therefore significantly contributed to the musical performances at the Estates Theatre, later the Provincial Theatre, as well as the Drama Society and later the Slovene Provincial Theatre. They were active for several years in Ljubljana, and as outstanding performers contributed significantly to the qualitative improvement of local musical and stage productions.⁶²

59 Concert Program, "Viertes Concert der philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach," 5 March 1882, Philharmonische Gesellschaft, Glasbena zbirka NUK, Ljubljana.

60 Špela Lah, "Glasbenogledališka poustvarjalnost v Ljubljani v 19. stoletju," in *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem III*, ed. Aleš Nagode and Nataša Cigoj Krstulović (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete and Založba ZRC, 2021), 45–51, <https://doi.org/10.4312/9789610605270>.

61 The Provincial Theatre was opened on 29 September 1892 and until 1911 the new premises were used by the Slovenian Provincial Theatre with drama and opera and the German Theatre. At that time the German theatregoers moved to a new building (today's SNG Drama) and the Provincial Theatre became entirely Slovenian.

62 Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki*, 369–70.

The Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Associations in Lower Styria

Musical Life in Celje

Not much is known about music in Celje before the end of the eighteenth century.⁶³ What we know is that there were preparatory courses in town at that time, which were part of the local primary school (*Hauptschule*). They trained teachers for “trivial schools” (country schools), where the position of teacher was usually associated with that of organist.⁶⁴ Several elementary school teachers were musically trained and worked at the church of St. Daniel. The collection of early music manuscripts from the archive of Celje abbey and parish, adjacent to the church of St. Daniel (Si-Co), which includes 165 items, offers an invaluable insight into part of the repertoire. The music in the collection dates roughly from the second half of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and is mostly religious, although a significant portion is of secular origin. It was either purchased and brought to Celje or transcribed in the St. Daniel establishment.⁶⁵ Among the composers represented in the collection are some who were active locally and came to the territory of present-day Slovenia from abroad (such as Pellegrino dal Fiume, Anton Höller and Karl Wenceslaus Wratny).⁶⁶ Several of the people responsible for the creation and development of the music collection of St. Daniel’s abbey church were active in educational institutions in Celje. Among the many names of scribes and former owners, two stand out: Benedikt Schluga (1745–1834)⁶⁷ and Anton Zinauer (1822–1883)⁶⁸ both of whom

63 Jana Erjavec is currently working on the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century music in Celje. I would like to thank her for all the information and resources she has provided.

64 Ivanka Zajc Cizelj, “K zgodovini glasbe v Celju (1824–1866),” *Celjski zbornik* 23, no. 1 (1987): 306.

65 Jana Erjavec, “Glasbeni arhiv starejših rokopisov v cerkvi sv. Danijela v Celju,” *De musica disserenda* 16, no. 2 (2020): 72, <https://doi.org/10.3986/dmd16.2.04>.

66 *Ibid.*, 75–6.

67 Benedikt Schluga was born in 1745 in the Carinthian village of Žabnice (Ger. Saifnitz), today Camporosso, Italy. At first he worked at the public teaching institution next to the parish church, but after the founding of the elementary school (*Hauptschule*) on 9 June 1777, he was employed at this institution and was also active as organist and *regens chori*. In 1810 he became headmaster of the school, a post he held until 1820. He died in 1834. He transcribed at least 75 units of sacred and secular compositions and also wrote several *contrafacta*. See: Erjavec, “Glasbeni arhiv starejših rokopisov,” 76–7.

68 Anton Zinauer was born around 1822. The place of his birth remains unknown. He worked in Celje as a teacher of singing and music. For at least 14 years he was active

were employed as organists and *regentes chori* at the church of St. Daniel.⁶⁹ At least 25 compositions, marked “Gesellschaft” or “Gesellschaft Zilli,” are most likely connected to local music societies operating during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁰

In 1801, officials and citizens of Celje (Cilli) founded a music society (*Godbena družba*).⁷¹ The director was Johann Michael Neuner (1773–1854), district treasurer from Bavaria.⁷² The society ceased to exist in 1807.⁷³

From the end of the eighteenth century on, music was also part of the theatrical life in Celje. The beginnings of German theatre performance appeared in 1791. Most of the performances were given by amateurs or traveling acting troupes, and served primarily to entertain the bourgeoisie.⁷⁴ In the 1820s, amateur theatrical performances were organized for entertainment and socializing. Men and women of all generations participated in these performances, which took place every fortnight in autumn and winter. The association was led by the printer Johann Jeretin (1803–1853), later by his son Eduard. The amateur theatre group, together with the remaining members of the music society founded at the beginning of the century, also performed plays with singing and operatic works.⁷⁵ The number of preserved operas and *Singspiele*, which predominate among the secular works in the above-mentioned collection of manuscripts in the Church of St. Daniel, also testifies to the musical theatre efforts of the citizens of Celje.⁷⁶

In 1832, a newspaper reported that the theatre stage in Celje, which was also used as a dance hall, had been closed for several years for traveling

at St. Daniel's Church. Later he was the Kapellmeister of the municipal band in Celje, where he died on 12 September 1883. See: Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Celje-Sv. Danijel, Sterbebuch 1879–1886, sig. 00267, fol. 200; Erjavec, “Glasbeni arhiv starejših rokopisov,” 77.

69 Erjavec, “Glasbeni arhiv starejših rokopisov,” 76–7.

70 Ibid., 74.

71 Ignacij Orožen, *Celska kronika* (Celje: J. Jeretin, 1854), 182.

72 J.M. Neuner died on 22 June 1854 in Celje. See: Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Celje-Sv. Danijel, Sterbebuch 1851–1861, sig. 00265, fol. 61.

73 Orožen, *Celska kronika*, 186; Andreas Gubo, *Geschichte der Stadt Cilli von Ursprung bis auf die Gegenwart*, (Graz: U. Mosers, 1909), 337.

74 Tina Kosi, “Tradicija gledališke dejavnosti v slovenskem jeziku v Celju pred ustanovitvijo profesionalnega gledališča,” *Gledališki list Slovenskega ljudskega gledališča v Celju* 60, no. 1 (2010/2011): 3.

75 They performed the popular opera *Die Schweizer Familie* by Josef Weigl, and later also several times *Ahnfrau* by Franz Grillparzer. See: Gubo, *Geschichte der Stadt Cilli*, 348.

76 Erjavec, “Glasbeni arhiv starejših rokopisov,” 73.

groups of comedians, but in winter nine to ten performances of the “noble friends of art” took place. The unknown author goes on to report that he travelled to Celje from a nearby town to attend a theatrical performance that truly surprised him, for some of the performers were on the level of professionals. They performed Meisl’s *Österreichische Grenadier* and Castelli’s farce *Der Prinz kommt*. On this occasion, the Overture to *Weissen Frau* and Meyseder’s *Rondeau* were also performed successfully and precisely. At the same time, we learn that efforts had been made in the previous year to improve music lessons. For this purpose, Mr. Leitermeyer was engaged whose efforts in Celje have already borne fruit. Furthermore, the author reports on a recent successful event, which was opened by J.G. Seidl with a patriotic opening poem, Mr. Freudenreich from Zagreb shone with the flute, and Leitermeyer, the orchestral director, played variations on a Hungarian theme by Johann Taborsky “with fire, power and reliability.” The unknown musician showed a rare skill on the guitar, and the duets *Vestalin* and the overture to *Le nozze di Figaro* were also well performed.⁷⁷ The new teacher and orchestral director, Joseph Leitermeyer, was born in Vienna.⁷⁸ He received his musical education there and worked in various theatre orchestras.⁷⁹ It seems that in 1830 Leitermeyer was living in Ljubljana.⁸⁰ A year later he is documented as an orchestral director and soloist of the Estates Theatre, as well as a private teacher of singing and violin in Ljubljana.⁸¹ Towards the end of the opera season he moved to Celje, on 1 May 1832,⁸² and the following year married Anna Scheibler from Ptuj.⁸³ At the Lavant Music Association (*Lavanter Musikverein*),⁸⁴ founded on 1 March

77 J. D., “Aus Cilli. 5. November,” *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung und Originalblatt für Kunst, Literatur, Mode und geselliges Leben*, November 26, 1832.

78 Joseph Leitermeyer was born on 12 March 1808 in Vienna (Hernals), the son of a rope master and a musician (bass singer) Peter Leitermeyer. See: Wien, rk. Erdiözes, Hernals, Taufbuch 1808–1824, sig. 01–007, fol. 3.

79 He was a violinist, but he could also play viola and violoncello.

80 Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana, Conscription of the population 1830–1857, Ljubljana, Mesto 44, Sig. 5/10000.

81 Joseph Leitermayr, “Vermischte Verlautbarungen,” *Vereinigte Laibacher Zeitung*, November 3, 1831, 1156, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-2JoAVoLC>.

82 Slovenski šolski muzej Ljubljana, Glavna šola Celje, Protokol der Verordnungen in Schulsachen für die k. k. Hauptschule Cilli von 1831 bis 1847, Fasc. 79/2, fol. 28.

83 They were married on 24 July 1833 in Celje. See: Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Celje-Sv. Danijel, Trauungsbuch 1826–1845, sig. 00282, fol. 45.

84 The Lavant Music Association was founded on the initiative of Simon Rudmasch and Franz Xsaveri Schneider, in order to revive the musical culture and spread musical knowledge, but especially to improve the musical knowledge of teacher candidates

1832,⁸⁵ he worked as a music teacher and orchestral director. With his vocal and violin pupils and local amateurs, he performed Weigl's *Die Schweizer Familie*, Schenk's *Dorfbarbier*, Haydn and other great works. He conducted the concerts and performances himself with the violin, as was customary for orchestral directors at the time.⁸⁶ In search of better financial situation and a more musically stimulating environment,⁸⁷ he left Celje in September 1838.⁸⁸ The Lavant Music Association ceased to exist on 18 December 1846. The remainder of its assets, including musical instruments, were donated to the Church of St. Daniel.⁸⁹

Besides church music and musical theatre, *Hausmusik* played an important role in the cultural life of Celje. Piano playing in private homes must have been of a rather high level, because we know that Josef Zangger (1806–1881) from Wolfsberg, director of the elementary school in Celje, “preluded on the piano” (“auf dem Klavier präludierte”). Marie Lichten-

who later taught in smaller towns and villages. The association recruited its staff also from the preparatory course at the local primary school (*Hauptschule*) in Celje, which trained teacher candidates from the entire Slovenian ethnic territory and also gave basic music lessons. The statutes of the Lavant Music Association connected the school service with the orchestra leader (orchestral director) of the association. See: Zajc Cizelj, “K zgodovini glasbe v Celju (1824–1866),” 306; Karl Kroner, “Simon Rudmasch. Nekrolog,” *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht* 4, no. 1 (1858): 20–6.

- 85 Ignaz Orožen in his *Celska kronika* incorrectly states the founding year as 1836. See: Orožen, *Celska kronika*, 198; Slovenski šolski muzej Ljubljana, Glavna šola Celje, Protokol der Verordnungen in Schulsachen für die k. k. Hauptschule Cilli von 1831 bis 1847, Fasc. 79/2, fol. 295; Zgodovinski arhiv Celje, Chronik der Cillier Hauptschule (1777–1870), SI ZAC/0868, sig. 32/324.
- 86 Joseph Leitermeyer to Joseph Wagner, 24 September 1837, Personalia, Philharmonische Gesellschaft, Glasbena zbirka NUK.
- 87 From Celje he went to Ljubljana, Bratislava and finally to Vienna, where he was an orchestral director and soloist of the Leopoldstadt Theatre and on 1 January 1840 he opened an officially recognized *Musik-Lehranstalt* in Leopoldstadt, where he taught singing, violin and violoncello. On 2 August 1842, he became an orchestral director and soloist of the Estates Theatre and teacher at the Carinthian Music Association in Klagenfurt, where he remained until 1847. Then he was once again the orchestral director of the Estates Theatre in Ljubljana and, from 1848, a violin teacher at the Philharmonic Society. In the summer of 1845 he taught violin privately in Zagreb. He was an honorary member of several musical societies and three of his violin compositions (*Adagio und Rondino*, *Adagio und Polonaise*, *Divertissement*) were performed in Ljubljana. See: Zupančič, “The Musical Network of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society.”
- 88 Slovenski šolski muzej Ljubljana, Glavna šola Celje, Protokol der Verordnungen in Schulsachen für die k. k. Hauptschule Cilli von 1831 bis 1847, Fasc. 79/2, fol. 118.
- 89 Slovenski šolski muzej Ljubljana, Glavna šola Celje, Protokol der Verordnungen in Schulsachen für die k. k. Hauptschule Cilli von 1831 bis 1847, Fasc. 79/2, fol. 295.

negger (née Kratner; 1824–?), as another example, was an excellent pianist. A widow with five children and facing financial insecurity, she was forced to give private piano lessons and became the most sought-after piano teacher in town. At home she often gave four-handed performances of symphonies by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven with her son-in-law Franz Zangger, later director of the Celje Music Association. In general, popular opera arias and *Lieder* as well as various works for violin and piano were also regularly performed in Celje's bourgeois residences.⁹⁰

In the second half of the nineteenth century, various singing and other music societies were founded in the town. There was also a municipal orchestra (*Städtische Musik-Kapelle*), conducted by the aforementioned Anton Zinauer. In 1879, several music lovers founded the Celje Music Association (*Cillier Musikverein*).⁹¹ The association was housed in the building of the former elementary school (*Hauptschule*) opposite the parish church. The aim of the association was to establish an orchestra, train young musicians and raise the general level of musical culture in Celje. The orchestra initially consisted mainly of rural musicians who played "little more than better peasant music".⁹² The association wanted to hire Franz Czansky (1832–1905) from Bohemia as Kapellmeister.⁹³ He arrived in Celje in mid-March 1879, and, together with Anton Zinauer, selected the musicians and looked at the available instruments.⁹⁴ Shortly after his visit, Czansky informed the association that he would not be able to come to Celje due to his obligations to the regiment.

At the end of March, an advertisement was placed seeking a new Kapellmeister who would also be a teacher at the school and an organiz-

90 Fritz Zangger, *Künstlergäste* (Celje: Celeja, 1933), 1–4.

91 On the founding committee were: Franz Blümel, Eduard Jeretin, Fritz Mathes, Josef Negri, Dr. Prosinagg, Josef Rakusch, Josef Reitter, Franz Zangger, and Anton Zinauer. See: Anon., "Das erste Decenium der Cillier Musikvereins-Schule," *Deutsche Wacht*, July 31, 1890, 4; Zangger, *Künstlergäste*, 21; Roman Drogenik, "Glasbena šola glasbenega društva (1879–1918)," *Celjski zbornik* 25, no. 1 (1989): 331–46.

92 "Diese Kapelle bestand in den ersten Jahren zum großen Teil aus ländlichen Musikanten und leistete kaum mehr als eine bessere Bauernmusik." Among the forces were a policeman and his son, several workers, railwaymen etc. See: Zangger, *Künstlergäste*, 21.

93 Anon., "Gründung des Cillier Musikvereines," *Cillier Zeitung*, March 6, 1879, 2; Anon., "Aus den Nachbarprovinzen," *Laibacher Tagblatt*, March 6, 1879, 3.

94 Anon., "Das provisorische Comité des Cillier Musikvereines," *Cillier Zeitung*, March 19, 1879, 3.

er of member productions.⁹⁵ Anton David (1833–1882), a former student of the Salzburg Mozarteum and leader of the municipal band in Vöcklabruck (*Stadtkapelle*), was selected from 32 applicants.⁹⁶ In addition to his duties, he gave private music lessons.⁹⁷ The music school (*Musikvereinschule*) was opened on 1 October 1879.⁹⁸ The first performance of the orchestra was on 17 August 1879, and the first association's concert was on 9 May 1880. David composed and conducted the *Fest Ouverture*, which he dedicated to the mayor of Celje and physician Dr. Josef Neckermann (1829–1893).⁹⁹ The composer moved to Maribor at the beginning of 1882 and died of tuberculosis there the same year.¹⁰⁰ He was replaced by the Kapellmeister and probably quite capable violinist Ferdinand Fischer, who, however, did not remain in the city for long. His duties were taken over in 1882 by another Kapellmeister and violinist, Georg Mayer.¹⁰¹ As a private teacher, he taught a number of instruments.¹⁰² His origin is not clear. It is quite possible that he is the same Georg Mayer (1841–?) who was a military bandmaster from Košice, a Kapellmeister of the orchestra of the Estates Theatre in Ljubljana from 1880 to 1881. During this time he performed as a violinist on the stage of the Philharmonic Society and the National Reading Society in Ljubljana. Georg Mayer, the Kapellmeister of the Celje Music association lived

95 Anon., "Cillier Musikverein," *Cillier Zeitung*, March 27, 1879, 2; Anon., "Der Musikverein in Cilli," *Laibacher Tagblatt*, March 27, 1879, 3.

96 Anon., "Cillier Musikverein," *Cillier Zeitung*, June 29, 1879, 4.

97 Anon., "Heute Sonntag den 6. Juli 1879," *Cillier Zeitung*, July 6, 1879, 3.

98 The music school began with violin and wind instrument lessons and enrolled only 12 students. Due to low enrolment, the actual lessons were limited to violin and divided into four groups. The first student examination on 15 February 1880 did not meet expectations. It was decided to make music lessons accessible to other circles and to extend them to other instruments and singing. In 1887, piano lessons were introduced. Finally, in the tenth school year, singing lessons began, as well as lessons in instruments other than piano and violin. There were 24 students for piano, 23 for violin, two for cello, one for flute, two for clarinet, and nine for various wind instruments. The level of the school developed gradually. After ten years, the violin and piano lessons were divided into two sections: for beginners and advanced students three hours a week. In piano lessons there were always two students, in violin lessons there were individual lessons. See Anon., "Das erste Decenium," 4–5; Anon., "Musikschule," *Deutsche Wacht*, September 30, 1880, 3.

99 Anon., "Liedertafel," *Cillier Zeitung*, July 8, 1880, 2.

100 Nadškofjski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, Sterbebuch 1877–1898, sig. 01511, fol. 193.

101 Anon., "Musikverein," *Cillier Zeitung*, September 24, 1882, 4.

102 He taught piano, violin, cello, clarinet, trumpet, flugelhorn, the French horn and singing. See: Anon., "Musik-unterricht," *Cillier Zeitung*, September 24, 1882, 8.

in Celje with his wife Minna and his son Willi Mayer. Mayer's incredible circus skills gave rise to the legend in Celje that he must once have been part of a circus.¹⁰³ Of his musical skills, a newspaper reported that at one of his performances in 1883 Mayer performed Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto "with deep understanding and true feeling and mastered the technical difficulties."¹⁰⁴ He was said to play the instrument in a gypsy-like manner (*Zigeunerart*), but as a conductor he was not very successful.¹⁰⁵

However, the situation with the quality of the orchestra gradually improved. The City Office and the District Court began to fill the positions of auxiliary members with professional musicians. In this way, the orchestra was supplied with capable forces. The number of capable non-professional musicians also increased steadily. The treasury of the association was strengthened by a grant from the city council.¹⁰⁶ With the completion of the Municipal Theatre in 1885, the German associations wanted to take advantage of the new achievement and decided to perform the opera *Das Nachtlager von Granada* by Conradin Kreutzer with guest soloists.¹⁰⁷ Choir rehearsals began in the spring of 1887 and took place in the large hall of the courtyard building of Josef Zangger's house. The first performance of the opera took place on 4 August 1887, and was sold out despite the midsummer heat.¹⁰⁸ Kapellmeister Mayer conducted the opera, which did not pass without difficulties. At the very beginning of the overture, the strings and wind instruments separated by exactly twelve measures. Miraculously, however, they found each other again, and in general the performance went well.¹⁰⁹ This was the last major musical event under Mayer's direction.

After Mayer's resignation, the orchestra was taken over by Nottek, the former director of the spa orchestra in Laško. Heinrich Weidt (1824–1901),¹¹⁰

103 The legend began when Mayer, as a trumpeter from Säkkingen, rode at the head of a carnival procession and with uncanny skill caught figs and napkins flying out of the windows. See: Zangger, *Künstlergäste*, 21.

104 Anon., "Mitglieder-Concert des Cillier Musikvereines," *Deutsche Wacht*, December 30, 1883, 7.

105 Zangger, *Künstlergäste*, 22.

106 Ibid., 23.

107 The guest soloists were Gabrielle Lichtenegg, Baptist Hofmann, and Josef Hawelka. See: Anon., "Theater, Kunst, Literatur," *Deutsche Wacht*, July 28, 1887, 6.

108 Zangger, *Künstlergäste*, 27–9; Anon., "Theater. Kunst. Literatur," *Deutsche Wacht*, August 4, 1887, 6; Anon., "Theater. Kunst. Literatur. Das Nachtlager im Granada," *Deutsche Wacht*, August 7, 1887, 6.

109 Zangger, *Künstlergäste*, 29.

110 Heinrich Wilhelm Weidt was born in Coburg. He received his music education from Heinrich Panofka and Jan Křtitl Pišek. In 1845/46 he was a music teacher in

an elderly and experienced musician from Coburg, came from Opava to Celje at the end of July 1887 to take over the post of artistic director.¹¹¹ He was not only an excellent conductor, but also a meticulous and kind teacher.¹¹² With his arrival, the role of the Kapellmeister changed: he continued to compose the concert programmes and lead the orchestra, while the concerts of the association were prepared and conducted by the artistic director. Weidt's duties therefore included running the music school, teaching piano, theory and strings, and assisting the Kapellmeister. In addition, he also gave private lessons.¹¹³ Under his direction, important changes took place and the repertoire he performed with the orchestra was quite demanding.¹¹⁴ At the concerts (*Parkmusiken*) held in the summer of 1888 it became clear that Nottek was unable to conduct the orchestra, and therefore Weidt took over. However, since the management of the association was not satisfied with his activities as Kapellmeister and he also gave private singing lessons without permission, Weidt left Celje soon after. He wrote several works in the city, which were performed on the stage of the Celje Music Association. Three salon pieces, op. 141, Weidt dedicated to Marie Zangger (née Lichtenegger), the wife of Franz Zangger.¹¹⁵ To commemorate the Regional Exhibition in Celje in 1888, the composer wrote the piano march *Die Bergkraxler von Cilli* op. 144 and dedicated it to C. Adolf Lutz. The piece, probably composed for Weidt's pupils, was published in Celje by Fritz Rasch.

Wertheim, then lived in Hamburg, where he performed first as an actor, then as a singer and composer. He worked in at least 24 places in Europe as an actor, singer, bandmaster, choirmaster, composer, and pedagogue. Weidt moved to Celje in 1887 and was artistic director and director of the Celje Music Association until 1890. From Celje he moved to Banat in 1893, where he worked in various places as a choirmaster, music director, and piano teacher. In 1899 he settled in Graz, where he died in 1901. See: Franz Metz, *Heinrich Weidt—Der Lebensweg eines deutschen Kapellmeisters im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Edition Musik Südost, 2015).

111 Anon., "Theater, Kunst, Liteartur," *Deutsche Wacht*, June 16, 1887, 7; Anon., "Theater, Kunst, Literatur. Cillier Musikverein," *Deutsche Wacht*, September 11, 1887, 5-6.

112 Anon., "Theater, Kunst, Literatur," *Deutsche Wacht*, June 16, 1887, 7.

113 See the advertisement of Heinrich Weidt: Advertisement, *Deutsche Wacht*. August 18, 1887, 8, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-IEHB8AQJ>.

114 In the 1887/1888 school year, classes for girls and piano lessons were newly introduced at the Musikverein School. Weidt occasionally reinforced the orchestra with musicians from Ptuj and enlarged the orchestra to 40 players. He conducted works such as Haydn's Symphony in E-flat Major, Beethoven's Symphony in C Major, Mendelssohn's *Ruy Blas*.

115 Zangger, *Künstlergäste*, 24.

With the arrival of the capable violinist and outstanding teacher Gustav Fischer and the new Kapellmeister Adolf Diessl (1867–1906)¹¹⁶ in 1889, the level of the orchestra rose again. Diessl came from Bohemia and was an excellent pianist, teaching piano and harmony, while regular Sunday concerts were introduced under his direction.¹¹⁷ Diessl found in the first violinist Fischer, who was “diligent and punctual,” all the support he needed for the progress of the orchestra. In the first year of their collaboration, the orchestra played 112 successful concerts. The orchestra consisted of the Kapellmeister and 18 good performers, most of whom were also active in the *Harmonie* (an ensemble of wind instruments). Diessl created a music catalogue that contained 729 pieces: 551 for string music and 178 for the *Harmonie*. Due to the successful concerts of the orchestra, the number of new members grew.¹¹⁸ Diessl composed several compositions in Celje. The piano march *Heil Neckermann*, op. 27 was dedicated to the mayor of Celje, Josef Neckermann, and published by Fritz Rasch. The composer also tried to introduce chamber music evenings in the town, but dropped the idea after the first concert.

Moritz Michael Schachenhofer (1878–1909)¹¹⁹ was more successful in this respect. He was born in Scheibss and studied violin at the Vienna Conservatory. From 1902 to 1909 he taught violin and flute at the Celje Music Association, conducted the orchestra, and performed as a soloist¹²⁰ and in various chamber ensembles. Schachenhofer’s older brother Ludwig

116 Adolf Diessl (also Diessel, Dieszl) was born on 27 April 1867 in Kozolupy to Wilhelm and Johanna Diessel (née Duras). He died in Vienna on 24 September 1906. See: SOA Plzeň, Plzeň, Kozolupy 03, Taufbuch: 1778–1878, fol. 344–345; Anon., “Todestnachricht,” *Deutsche Wacht*, September 27, 1906, 8.

117 Zangger, *Künstlergäste*, 24.

118 Anon., “Cillier Musikverein,” *Deutsche Wacht*, January 30, 1890, 4.

119 Moritz Michael Schachenhofer was born on 18 September 1878 in Scheibss. He received his first violin lessons from his father, Michael Schachenhofer, who ran a private music school. He continued his violin studies at the Vienna Conservatory with Josef Helmesberger between 1894 and 1898. He died on 24 October 1909 in Celje due to acute spinal cord paralysis. He was first buried in Celje, but a few days later his remains were transferred to Scheibss, where he was buried in a family grave. See: St. Pölten, rk. Diözese (westliches Niederösterreich), Scheibbs, Taufbuch: 1854–1879, sig. 01–10, fol. 310; Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Celje-Sv. Danijel, Sterbebuch: 1906–1914, sig. 5299, fol. 293; Anon., “Moritz Schachenhofer,” *Deutsche Wacht*, October 27, 1909, 3–4.

120 One of his best solo performances was the performance of the Concerto for Violin and Orchestra by Max Bruch in G minor, conducted by his brother Ludwig Schachenhofer. See: Anon., “Das II. Mitgliederkonzert des Cillier Musikvereines,” *Deutsche Wacht*, October 26, 1902, 3–4.

Schachenhofer (1871–1941), previously active in Ptuj and Maribor, conducted the orchestra of the Celje Music Association from 1902 to 1904, occasionally taught violin at the association's school and performed as a soloist and in chamber ensembles. His conducting was very clear, prudent and calm, and he knew how to inspire the performers. In Celje he tragically went blind, however, and never recovered. Before his health deteriorated, he managed to write the march *Cillier Bürger* which was later occasionally played on Viennese radio. After the tragedy, his brother Moritz took over the orchestra, which he successfully conducted, performing pieces such as Beethoven's Symphony in C Minor and the prelude to *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* by Wagner.¹²¹ In 1908 he founded the Chamber Music Association (*Kammermusikvereinigung*). His violin teaching system was extremely successful and "worked wonders" as his best students, Edmund Unger Ulmann and Elisabeth Matič, gave "unforgettable concerts."¹²² His pupils were among the first performers of Oskar Rieding's compositions in Celje. Schachenhofer died unexpectedly at the age of just 31.

After Schachenhofer's death, the violinist and composer Karl Paul Seifert (1881–after 1966) from Bohemia,¹²³ former violin teacher of the Ptuj Music Association (*Pettauer Musikverein*), took over his duties in 1910. He remained in Celje for only a year and then moved to Leoben, where he became director of the music school.

With the hiring of Josef Karl Richter (1880–1933),¹²⁴ the former teacher and Kapellmeister of Žatec in Bohemia, the functions of Kapellmeister and director of the music school and concerts were once again divided between two people. Thus Gustav Fischer conducted the orchestra, while Richter

121 Anon., "Orchesterkonzert des Cillier Musikvereines," *Deutsche Wacht*, February 20, 1909, 4.

122 Anon., "Moritz Schachenhofer," 3–4.

123 Karl Paul Seifert was born in Teplice, Bohemia. He attended high school in Graz and received his music lessons at the Styrian Music Association with Erich Wolf Degner and Karl Krehnan. From 1903 to 1905 he was a violin teacher at the Music Association in Ptuj and from 1910 to 1911 a music director at the Music Association in Celje. From 1911 to 1914 he worked as music director in Leoben, and in 1915 he taught piano and violin at the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana. In 1922 he continued his violin studies with Joseph Joachim and his theory studies with Engelbert Humpferdinck in Berlin. From 1949 to 1955 Seifert taught at the College of Music (*Hochschule für Musik*) in Weimar. His Symphony no. 2 was premiered in Gotha in 1965. See: Wolfgang Suppan, "Seifert, Karl Paul," in *Steirisches Musiklexikon* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 2009), 641–2.

124 He was born in Podbořany, Bohemia, on 16 March 1880. At the Celje Music Association he was active between 1911 and 1914. He died in Vienna on 22 September 1933.

took over the music school and concerts.¹²⁵ At the first concert, Richter successfully conducted works that had never been performed in Celje, impressing the audience with the quality of the orchestral playing. Richter also performed with locals as a violist in chamber ensembles.

One of the last presidents of the Celje Music Association was the public prosecutor Dr. Anton Rojic (1872–?), later a counsel at the Supreme Court in Vienna. He wrote chamber music and other works, including the symphonic poem *Es muss sein*. He was also a successful conductor, and conducted works such as Bruckner's 9th Symphony from memory. He brought together musically interested and knowledgeable citizens of Celje such as the cellist Dr. Otto Kallab, pianist Dr. Franz Horak and Fritz Bračič, who were the driving force of the association until its dissolution, and were also active during the war. The last president was Fritz Zangger, the son of the long-time president Franz Zangger. After the war he handed over the inventory of the association to the newly established Music Society (*Glasbena matica*).

Besides the musicians employed at the Celje Music Association, there were three other prominent musicians who lived in Celje and were indirectly involved in it.

After the death of his wife in 1879, the famous musician Karl Eulenstein (1802–1890) moved to Celje.¹²⁶ Soon after his arrival in the city, he settled into his new surroundings and participated in the concerts of the Celje Music Association. Unable to play the Jew's harp due to dental problems, he began learning the violin at the age of 82.¹²⁷ In 1883, his composition *Ab-*

125 Anon., "Cillier Musikverein," *Deutsche Wacht*, September 2, 1911, 2.

126 Eulenstein was born in Heilbronn. He was interested in music at an early age and learned to play the violin. Later he picked up the Jew's harp and gave several concerts, but at first he could not make a living from his music. On his travels he learned to play the guitar and speak French. In late 1825, Eulenstein arrived in Paris, where he made the acquaintance of the composer and harpist Franz Stockhausen and attracted the attention of Gioacchino Rossini and Ferdinando Paër, gaining access to the French royal court. Not all performances were rewarded with money, so the musician was often threatened by existential hardships. In 1826, Eulenstein travelled to England and gave a concert before the British King George IV, which received great acclaim. After a brief stay in his hometown of Heilbronn, Eulenstein returned to London in 1827, where he performed as a guitar soloist. He later moved to Bath, where he worked as a German and guitar teacher between concert tours. There he also wrote a German practice book and a grammar book. By 1830 he was considered the best Jew's harp player of his time. After having to put down the instrument due to dental problems, he then performed only as a guitarist and worked as a music teacher. After the death of his wife in 1879, he moved and lived with his daughter (Franziska Henriette) in Celje until his death in 1890.

127 Zangger, *Künstlergäste*, 20.

schied for violin and piano was performed in Celje, probably by G. Mayer and Schavel.¹²⁸

Eduard Interberger (1868–1942)¹²⁹ moved from Graz to Celje in 1900 and stayed there for almost 40 years. He was the organist of the local Lutheran congregation. Music lessons, concerts, compositions, and service as an organist provided him with a secure livelihood, but he lost his fortune because he invested it exclusively in war bonds. He was one of the closest friends of Moritz Schachenhofer. For almost two decades he lived mainly on the large annual donations of a generous circle of friends, until he moved back to Graz in 1939. He wrote numerous compositions: orchestral pieces, chamber music, choral music, *Lieder* and pieces for piano and violin. The composer received the greatest recognition when he dedicated a choir to Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) in 1935 on the occasion of the return of the Saar region to Germany, for which he received a letter of thanks and a considerable sum of money from the chancellor's private purse.¹³⁰

Following his retirement in 1903 Oskar Friedrich Rieding (1846–1916)¹³¹ moved to Celje, where he continued working as composer and private vio-

128 Anon., "Mitglieder-Concert des Cillier Musikvereines," 7.

129 Eduard Interberger was born in Graz on 19 July 1868. He lost his sight due to an accident with a crane and devoted himself entirely to music. Despite his blindness, he received a solid musical education in piano, organ playing and theory. He continued his musical education in Graz and Vienna. His first organ concerts in the Graz Cathedral attracted the attention of the musical public in the Styrian capital. Due to financial difficulties, he moved back to Graz in 1939, where he lived with his sister and died on 17 December 1942.

130 Anon., "Abschied von Meister Interberger," *Mariborer Zeitung*, August 20, 1939, 6; Zangger, *Künstlergäste*, 45–6; Anon., "Organist Eduard Interberger umrl," *Slovenski narod*, January 7, 1943, 2.

131 Oskar Friedrich Rieding was born in Prussian town of Bahn (now Banie, Poland), where his father Gottfried Friedrich Rieding was a town doctor. It remains unknown where he acquired his first music training, but some sources suggest that he studied violin, piano, and composition at the *Neue Akademie der Tonkunst* in Berlin in the late 1850s, where his violin teacher was Adolf Grünwald. He then continued his music studies at the Leipzig Conservatory between 1862 and 1864 in the class of the Prague violinist Raimund Dreyschock, who was the second concertmaster of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra. After his studies, Rieding visited Vienna and Munich, but we have no detailed information about this period, and sources indicate he was also a member of the theatre orchestra in Baden near Vienna. He first appeared in today's Slovenia in 1870 in Ljubljana where he gave two performances on the stage of the Estates Theatre and the Philharmonic Society, and one more in 1871. In the same year Rieding moved to Pest (part of today's Budapest), where he spent 32 years as first violinist of the National Theatre Orchestra (which later became the Royal Opera Orchestra). There he wrote his first instructive violin pieces, which were followed by his now-famous series of "easy" concertos and concertinos for violin and piano.

lin teacher, and participated in concerts at the local Lutheran Church. Most of his famous works were written in Celje and were already performed as part of school performances of the Celje Music Association. The Celje Lutheran Church concerts also featured some of Rieding's now completely unknown works, such as compositions for violin and organ and the *Hungarian Rhapsody* for violin and orchestra. The composer dedicated his *Désir ardent* (op. 41) to Elisabeth Matič (1896–?).¹³²

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Slovenes began their efforts to establish a Slovenian music school in Celje. Therefore, the Slovenian Music Society (*Glasbena matica*) organized one of its branches in the city that started its activities at the end of 1908, but was officially approved only in October 1909. The first director was Adolf Feix (1872–?) from Bohemia.¹³³ In 1908, the directorship of the Music Society in Celje approached the Music Society in Ljubljana to find a professional music teacher for them, especially for violin, “possibly someone who completed his studies at the Prague Conservatory like their current director.”¹³⁴ As a result, in 1910, Feix was succeeded by another Prague graduate Wilhelm Seifert (1872–1912).¹³⁵ The tra-

He moved to Celje in 1903 and died there in 1916. Maruša Zupančič, “Preface,” in *Oskar Rieding: Four Concert Miniatures for Violin and Piano*, ed. Maruša Zupančič (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2022), i–ii, <https://doi.org/10.3986/9790709004386A>.

132 Elisabeth Matič was born in Celje on 6 December 1896, the daughter of Carolina Kortschak and Josef Matič, a merchant from Austria. She began her violin studies at the Celje Music Association with Moritz Schachenhofer and continued with Oskar Rieding. She played most of his compositions that were performed in Celje. See: Maribor, Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Celje-Sv. Danijel, Taufbuch 1894–1897, sig. 00243, fol. 169.

133 Adolf Feix was born on 19 February 1872 in Lučany nad Nisou. After his studies at the Prague Conservatory, he was a military bandmaster from 1893, mainly in Slovakia. He was a “virtuoso on piano, who also excellently plays violin and other bowed instruments”. From 1910 to 1912, he was a director and a music teacher of the Celje Music School. After that, he was active as a composer in Vienna. He wrote in Celje *Slovenski plesi* (Slovenian dances) among other pieces. See: Zupančič, “The influx of Bohemian violinists,” 272.

134 Anon., “Podružnica ljubljanske Glasbene matice v Celju,” *Domovina*, December 7, 1908, 2.

135 Wilhelm Seifert was born on 6 October 1872 in Unhošť. He studied violin with Bennewitz at the Prague Conservatory between 1885 and 1891. After his studies, he was a music teacher in Kroměříž for three years, and then he moved to Croatia, where he was a music teacher and choirmaster in Split for two years. From 1907 until 1910 he was a choirmaster in Vršac, then for three years in Vukovar. In October 1910, he moved to Celje, where he was a piano and violin teacher. He died in Celje on 17 December 1912 due to sepsis. See: Státní oblastní archiv v Praze, Unhošť, *Knihna narozených: 1867–1898*, sig. Unhošť 25, fol. 109; Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Celje-Sv.

dition of Prague Conservatory graduates was continued with Václav Engerer (1880–?),¹³⁶ who came to Celje from Zagreb, where he was a military bandmaster and private music teacher. Musical development declined sharply with the outbreak of the First World War, mainly due to the absence of many young musicians who had been mobilized and the lack of an underclass that could be trained in this situation. In 1915, Lovrenc Kubišta (1863–1931)¹³⁷ moved to Celje upon his escape from Gorizia and was initially a violin teacher at the Celje Music Association, and then at the Music Society. After the end of the war, the music situation also changed radically, because many important musicians who had once played significant roles in Celje's musical life departed. After the war, one of the last musicians from Bohemia, Kubišta, taught at the school and led the municipal brass band. The 1920s were marked by the arrival of the Sancin brothers and the beginning of the dominance of local musicians in Celje.

Musical life in Celje in the nineteenth century was dominated by immigrant musicians. By the end of the First World War, more than 40 immigrant musicians worked in the Celje Music Association and paved the way for the development of music in the city. They came from Austrian, Czech, and German geographical areas. They received their music educations in Vienna, Graz, Salzburg, and Prague. Many immigrant musicians moved between the Styrian music associations in Celje, Graz, Maribor, and Ptuj. Under their direction, the orchestra and the association gave one or more symphonic concerts each year with works ranging from classical to contemporary composers. Overtures to well-known operas were often performed, as well as solo pieces for violin. In larger symphonic performances,

Danijel, sig. 5299, *Sterbebuch 1906–1914*, fol. 658; Zupančič, "The influx of Bohemian violinists," 272.

136 Engerer was born on 13 December 1880 in Zbraslav (CZ). He studied trombone at the Prague Conservatory between 1894 and 1900. See: *Archiv hlavního města Prahy, Pražská konzervatoř, Matrik 1879–[1913]*, sig. D81, fol. 39.

137 Lovrenc Kubišta was born in 1863 to Czech parents near Bratislava. After studying at the Paulis Military Music School in Prague, where he was a violin student of Antonín Bennewitz, he worked as a composer, violinist, and assistant to the music director of the military band, and as a member of the Kolo Choral Society in Zagreb. In 1900 he moved to Postojna, where he directed an orchestra, a brass band and two choirs, and taught piano, violin and all string and wind instruments. In 1909 he moved to Gorizia, where he was a teacher at the music society and directed several bands in the area. In 1915 he fled from Gorizia to Celje to work first in the Celje Music Association and then until 1922/23 in the Slovenian Music Society. There he was also bandmaster and wrote numerous arrangements of folk songs until his death in 1933. See: Zupančič, "The influx of Bohemian violinists," 272, 274, 282.

they were occasionally supported by amateurs and other musicians from Celje and the wider surroundings, from as far away as Ptuj, Maribor, and Graz. The Celje Music Association organized more than 100 major concerts up to the beginning of the war. In 1890, the first chamber music evening was held, but it was not until 1908, when the Chamber Music Association (*Kamermusikvereinigung*) was founded, that chamber music performances began to flourish. The musicians of the Slovenian Music Society in Celje were from the Czech lands. Most of them studied in Prague. They laid the foundation for the development of Slovenian music, which was successfully continued by their Slovenian successors.

Musical Life in Maribor

The extensive music collection of the Cathedral Parish of St. John the Baptist in Maribor testifies to the relatively rich musical life in Maribor. The collection includes various sacred compositions from the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, mostly intended for performance during church services. Among the scribes, donors, owners and authors of the music collection are musicians who were once active in Maribor or its surroundings not only in ecclesiastical circles, but also in secular ones.¹³⁸

From the late eighteenth century onwards, music also played an important role in theatrical performances in the city. German theatre troupes performed in Maribor before 1785, and local theatre lovers gave occasional performances.¹³⁹ In 1793 they founded the Association of Dilettantes (*Dilettantenverein*), which organized various events, mainly music and declamation academies and concerts.¹⁴⁰ The first serious steps in the development of music in the city were taken in 1823 with the establishment of the Reading and Sociability Association (*Lese- und Geselligkeitsverein*) or *Casinovere-*

138 Among them were: Anton Tremel, Carl Martini, Johann Schlechta, Franz Reitman, Anselm Hüttenbrenner, Karl Franz Rafael and Valentin Lechner (1777–1849). See: Melanija Markovič, “*Glasbeni arhiv starejših muzikalij v stolni župniji sv. Janeza Krstnika v Mariboru*” (Bachelor’s thesis, Univerza v Ljubljani, 2016), 8, 24, 37, 58–9, 68–9, 72.

139 Manica Špendal, *Iz Mariborske glasbene zgodovine* (Maribor: Založba Obzorja, 2000), 11–2.

140 Katarina Kraševac, “Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru med leti 1793–1861,” *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 76, no. 1–2 (2005): 43.

in,¹⁴¹ founded by a teacher named Anton Tremel (1775–1849)¹⁴² from Szentgotthárd.¹⁴³ By organizing musical evenings, the members¹⁴⁴ of the association raised money for charitable purposes. Other events were performed by amateur musicians and members of the military band of the regiment stationed in Maribor at that time. Until 1841, musical life in Maribor was modest as music only served to entertain and relax the citizens.¹⁴⁵

The more diverse musical life in Maribor began only with the Music Association (*Musikverein*), which had already been founded in 1825, but became active only in 1841. The long-term goal of the association was to organize public musical evenings (concerts and academies) with vocal and instrumental performances once a month. The Kapellmeister was Andreas Nagy (c. 1799–1878), the other musicians were organist Carl Martini (c. 1813–1865),¹⁴⁶ chorister Johann Jocha (1808–1873),¹⁴⁷ music teach-

141 Rudolf Gustav Puff, *Marburg in Steiermark* (Graz: Andr. Leykam'schen Erben, 1847), 264.

142 Anton Tremel was born in 1775 in Szentgotthárd (Ger. St. Gotthard). In 1798, he moved to Maribor and married on 8 February 1801. He taught at a normal school and a trivial school for girls. He was actively involved in the creation of an organized cultural life in Maribor. He was the initiator of the foundation of the *Lese- und Geselligkeitsverein*, the *Musikverein* and the founder and first chairman of the *Männergesangsverein*. He died on 5 May 1849 in Maribor. See: Nadškofjski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01517, Trauungsbuch 1749–1836, fol. 168; Nadškofjski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01509, Sterbebuch: 1762–1859, fol. 407; Kraševac, "Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru," 44–5.

143 Kraševac, "Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru," 44.

144 Among the musicians were Andreas Nagy, Franz Sperka, Klindara, Ruhri, Johann Schlechta, Johann Peschke, Ems, Proy, Felber, Kartin, Schneeweiß, Wend, and Wenzel. See: Puff, *Marburg in Steiermark*, 264.

145 Kraševac, "Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru," 59.

146 Carl Martini (also Karl Martiny) was an organist ("Domorganist"), chorister ("Domchoralist") and *regens chori* at the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Maribor. As a scribe, arranger and composer he contributed to the music collection of the Cathedral. In the early 1860s, he was a Kapellmeister of the Municipal Orchestra (*Städtische Musikkapelle*), and an orchestral director of the Municipal Theatre in Maribor. He died in Maribor on 26 December 1865. See: Nadškofjski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01510, Sterbebuch 1858–1876, fol. 128; Anon., "Erster Trompeter," *Tagespost*, December 29, 1860, 5; A. Heinrich, ed., *Deutscher Bühnen-Almanach* (Berlin: Comissions-Verlag von Eduard Bloch, 1861), 202.

147 Johann Jocha was born on 2 February 1808 in Blažejov (ger. Blauenschlag), Bohemia. He worked as a choral singer (choralist) in Maribor Cathedral and a teacher at the Maribor Gymnasium. He married Katharina Koss on 16 October 1841 in Maribor, and died in the city on 11 July 1873. See: Nadškofjski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01510, Sterbebuch: 1858–1876, fol. 320–321; Nadškofjski

er Wenzel Größ (c. 1797–1855),¹⁴⁸ and oboist Johann Wlassak (c. 1795–?).¹⁴⁹ From its foundation the young members had the opportunity to receive basic musical training in the music school. Occasionally, foreign artists also performed in Maribor as part of their musical tours. In 1846, the Men's Choral Association (*Männerergesangverein*), founded by Anton Tremmel, joined the other associations in the city.¹⁵⁰

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century Maribor was home to a few outstanding musicians from abroad. Franz Sperka (1817–1864),¹⁵¹ a violin virtuoso and supposedly one of the most talented pupils of a famous violinist Joseph Mayseder (1789–1863), moved to Maribor in April 1842 to become a professor at the gymnasium. Not much is known about his musical activities. He was the first violinist in a string quartet founded around 1843 by another musician from Bohemia, Franz Karl Rafael (c. 1795–1864).¹⁵² The quartet consisted of the following members: Franz Sperka, Carl Martini, Felber, Johann Peschke¹⁵³ and Franz Karl Rafael, and contributed to the re-

arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01518, Trauungsbuch: 1836–1857, fol. 49.

- 148 Wenzel Größ was a music teacher from Bohemia. He died on 1 October 1855 in Maribor. See: Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Marija, Sig. 01606, Trauungsbuch: 1824–1845, fol. 38; Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Marija, Sig. 01599, Sterbebuch: 1845–1873, fol. 126.
- 149 Johann Wlasak was an oboist in the infantry regiment of Count von Vogelsang, which was stationed in Maribor with interruptions between 1798–1805 and 1817–1823. He married Josepha Pferdner on 29 June 1819 in Maribor. See: Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01517, Trauungsbuch 1749–1836, fol. 346; Kraševac, "Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru," 46.
- 150 Kraševac, "Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru," 44–5.
- 151 Franz Sperka was born on 19 January 1817 in Licoměřice (Witzomielitz), Moravia. He studied violin privately with Joseph Mayseder between 1838 and 1839 in Vienna, where he was also a private teacher. In April 1842 he moved to Maribor and became a teacher at the gymnasium (k. k. Gymnasium in Marburg). He was also a violin virtuoso. He hanged himself ("Erhängt aus Irrsinn") in Maribor on 24 November 1864. See: Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01510, Sterbebuch 1858–1876, fol. 105; Anon., "Wien," *Salzburger Zeitung*, April 27, 1842, 1; Anon., "Todesfälle," in *Zeitschrift für die Österreichischen Gymnasien* (Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1865), 88; Raimund Liss, *Virtuosität und Wiener Charme: Joseph Mayseder* (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2019), 688.
- 152 Anon., "Ein Nachruf," *Correspondent für Untersteiermark*, November 25, 1864, 575; Marko Motnik, "Z opernega odra na kor: kontrafaktura v glasbenem arhivu proštjske cerkve sv. Jurija na Ptujju," *De musica disserenda* 19, no. 1 (2023), forthcoming.
- 153 Johann Peschke was from Moravia. He was a cameral district official ("Cameral-Bezirk Official") in Maribor, and a member of Reading association (*Lese- und Gesellschaftsverein*). See: Puff, *Marburg in Steiermark*, 264.

vival of the musical life in the city. Due to the unusual composition of the five members of the quartet, it can be assumed that Rafael played the double bass, which is no longer part of a string quartet today.¹⁵⁴

Ever since his family bought Wildhaus Castle (today's Viltuš Castle) near Maribor in 1808, the young music critic, composer and poet Baron Heinrich Eduard Josef von Lannoy (1787–1853) was torn between Viltuš and Vienna. In Viltuš he devoted himself to composing and poetry, and during the concert season between autumn and spring stayed mainly in Vienna, where he met many famous musicians, including Franz Liszt (1811–1886).¹⁵⁵ His friendship with the famous pianist led to one of the most important events in Maribor at a time when the recently opened railroad line between Graz and Celje allowed faster and more comfortable travel to this Styrian city. Lannoy organized Liszt's concert tour of Styria in 1846, accompanying him from Graz to Maribor and then to Rogaška Slatina.¹⁵⁶ During the tour of Styria, Liszt also stayed in the castle of Viltuš, and on this occasion Lannoy later dedicated one of his poems to the famous pianist.¹⁵⁷

Lannoy's acquaintance and friend of Franz Schubert, Anselm Hüttenbrenner (1794–1868), moved to Maribor in the autumn of 1852, as a guest of the prominent and wealthy Baron Ferdinand von Rast and lived there intermittently until the autumn of 1858. There he devoted himself to teaching piano and composing. The musical oeuvre he produced during this period is unusually extensive. He composed numerous *Lieder* on text by his host Ferdinand von Rast (Hilarius) plus many piano pieces, in addition to orchestral overtures and church music.¹⁵⁸

In 1855, the municipality in Maribor founded the Municipal Orchestra (*Städtische Musik-Kapelle*), which was composed of members of Count Kinski's regimental band, the Maribor Music Association, and former pupils of the association's music school. Two years after the opening of the workshops, the Maribor Southern Railway Choral Society (*Marburger Südbahnliedertafel*) was founded in 1865, followed by the Southern Railway Workshop Band (*Südbahn-Werkstätten-Kapelle*) in 1869. Some of the musicians

154 Motnik, "Z opernega odra na kor," forthcoming.

155 Oskar Habjanič, "Miselni svet barona Eduarda pl. Lannoya (1787–1853)," *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, no. 1–2 (2018): 24, 39, 50.

156 Hinko Druzovič, "Franc Liszt v Mariboru (16. 6. 1846)," *Kronika slovenskih mest* 1, no. 3 (1934): 235–6.

157 Habjanič, "Miselni svet barona Eduarda pl. Lannoya," 38.

158 Marko Motnik, "Anselm Hüttenbrenner in Lower Styria (1853–1858)," *De musica disserenda* 18, no. 1–2 (2022): 126, <https://doi.org/10.3986/dmd18.1-2.02>.

had previously played in various military bands. The 47th Regiment Band also performed in the city and gave promenade concerts, and occasionally the 17th Regiment Band from Ljubljana and the military band from Klagenfurt made guest appearances in Maribor.¹⁵⁹ The newly established Maribor Philharmonic Association (*Marburger philharmonischer Verein*) was founded to perform instrumental and vocal music and raise the general level of musical culture in the city.

The Maribor Philharmonic Association was founded in December 1881 and began its activities in January 1882. Augustin Satter (1838–1894)¹⁶⁰ from Kirchbach, a music teacher at the Pedagogical College and *regens chori* in the Maribor Cathedral, was elected the first conductor of the orchestra. The aim of the association was to perform instrumental and vocal music in concerts and church performances, with an emphasis on classical works. Vocal and orchestra rehearsals began in early January 1882, and a music school was opened with a vocal and violin section. In its first season, the school had 104 pupils: 69 violin students and 28 singing students.¹⁶¹ In addition to Satter, Gabrijel Majcen (1858–1940) and the former Celje Kapellmeister Anton David from Vöcklabruck also taught at the school. The members were noblemen, music lovers, important officers, wealthy citizens of Maribor, and priests as well as church musicians from the city,¹⁶² such as Peregrin Manich (1812–1897)¹⁶³

159 Bruno Hartman, "Mariborsko filharmonično društvo," *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 78, no. 2–3 (2007): 81–3.

160 Augustin Satter was born on 27 August 1838 in Kirchbach. He was a violin teacher at the *Marburger philharmonischer Verein* for 16 years. Several of his compositions were performed in Maribor. He died in the city on 25 September 1894. See: Rk. Diözese Graz-Sekau, Kirchbach, Sig. 4255, Taufbuch: 1834–1851, fol. 125; Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01511, Sterbebuch 1877–1898, fol. 466; Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01520, Trauungsbuch 1866–1876, fol. 80.

161 *Erster Jahresbericht des philharmonischen Vereines in Marburg a/D* (Marburg: Im Selbstverlage des Vereines, 1882), 10–1.

162 Hartman, "Mariborsko filharmonično društvo," 86.

163 Peregrin Manich was born on 29 October 1812 in Úpice, Bohemia. He was educated as a teacher in Hradec Králove. He then worked as a teacher in Bohemia, then for several years as a teacher and monastery organist in Admont, Austria, and as a cathedral organist in Sankt Andrä. From 1847 he worked with Bishop Anton Slomšek (1800–1862), acting as a music advisor. When the seat of the diocese was transferred, he moved with Slomšek to Maribor, where he worked in the cathedral as organist and choirmaster until 1892. He also worked in the *Marburger philharmonischer Verein*, at the School Sisters Institute (*Zavod šolskih sester*), taught instrumental sub-

and Rudolf Wagner (1851–1915).¹⁶⁴ The association was required to present four concerts per season, one of which was chamber music. The first of the association's concerts was held at Grand Casino Hall on 6 February 1882.¹⁶⁵ The choir consisted of 40 singers and the orchestra of 35 musicians. In subsequent years, the orchestra was augmented by professional musicians from the Theatre Orchestra and the Southern Railway Brass Band. The first concert was modest, but it was an important start to the organized activity of serious music in Maribor.¹⁶⁶

In 1882, with the support of the municipal council, the association hired a music director and head of the music school Henrich Korel (1848–1909) from Bohemia.¹⁶⁷ His task was to take care of the musical activities,

jects as an assistant teacher, and for a time directed the Reading Society choir. He composed ecclesiastical and secular works, most of which have been lost. He wrote an organ part as an appendix to Slomšek's theological poems *Drobtinice* (1861). He also worked as a copyist and is the author of about 85 manuscript copies preserved in the Maribor Cathedral. He died on 25 April 1897 in Maribor due to bronchitis. See: Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01511, Sterbebuch 1877–1898, fol. 549; Hinko Druzovič, "Manich, Peregrin," *Slovenska biografija* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2013), <https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi346912/>.

164 Rudolf Wagner was born on 30 August 1851 in Vienna where he attended primary school and enrolled at the *Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*. There he studied flute, counterpoint, and composition (1863–1869). From 1870 to 1873 he served in the army with a military band and excelled in playing the flute, performing as a solo flautist with the Burgtheater orchestra (1874). He toured a dozen cities of the empire and then served as a military bandmaster. In 1881 he moved to Maribor, where he became the conductor of the theatre orchestra and was also permanently employed as an organist at the city's cathedral and as an assistant music teacher at the college for male teachers (1883–1885). From 1896 until his death Wagner taught at the Maribor Classical Secondary School and was also the choirmaster of the Men's Chorus. His oeuvre is quite extensive, numbering around 300 works, mainly created in Maribor. He died on 26 December 1915 in Maribor. See: Anja Ivec, "Rudolf Wagner v Mariboru," *De musica disserenda* 18, no. 1–2 (2022): 234, <https://doi.org/10.3986/dmd18.1-2.06>.

165 Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor (UKM), Enota za domoznanstvo in posebne zbirke, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, "Erster Jahresbericht des philharmonischen Vereines in Marburg a/D. Am Schlusse des Vereinsjahres 1881/82," Marburg, 1882, 15.

166 Hartman, "Mariborsko filharmonično društvo," 88.

167 Henrich Korel was born in Kosmonosy, Bohemia, on 12 July 1848. He studied violoncello at the Prague Conservatory (1867–1870) and organ school. From about 1871 he was principal violoncellist at the Municipal Theatre and teacher at the Musikverein (1876/77–1877/78) in Graz. In 1872, he performed twice on the stage of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana. In 1882, he moved to Maribor and opened a private music school in 1885. During his time in Maribor, he played at least four times between 1883 and 1884 in chamber ensembles of the Philharmonic Society of Ljubljana-

direct the association, and to attract guest artists to Maribor. The concert programmes became more and more demanding and varied: performances of symphonic music, a string orchestra, women's, men's and mixed choirs, and cello pieces with piano. The association began hosting social evenings and performing small concerts with chamber music ensembles for social purposes. Peregrin Manich and Alois Vavroh (1851–?)¹⁶⁸ began to teach at the school and cello lessons were introduced. In the fall of 1884, Adolf Binder (1845–1901)¹⁶⁹ moved from Helenenthal near Baden to Maribor and replaced Korel as the head of the association and the school. On 1 January 1885, Korel opened a private school (*Gesang- und Musikschule*) in Maribor, where he successfully taught singing, violin, cello and piano until 1909.¹⁷⁰

Binder was a well-trained musician and soon raised the level of performing ensembles as well as the organization and content of instruction in the association's music school. In the 1886/1887 school year he introduced

na. He died in Mladá Boleslav on November 21, 1909. See: SOA Praha, Kosmonosy, Taufbuch: 1843–1953, fol. 56; AHMP Praha, Haupt [...] der Schüler des Conservatorium in Prag von 1811 bis 1880, sig. D81, fol. 138; Anon. "Totenschau. November 1909," *Neuer Theater Almanach* 22 (1911), 157.

168 Alois Vavroh was born in 1851 in Unčani, present-day Croatia. In the 1870s he was a teacher at the secondary school (Unterrealschule) in Petrinja and then from 1878 at the Imperial and Royal Teacher Training College (k. k. Lehrerbildungsanstalt) in Maribor. See: Johann Alexander Rožek, *Schematismus der Volkenschulen Steiermarks* (Graz: Im Selbstverlage der Verfassers, 1890), 6; Anon., "Personalnachrichten," *Beilage zum Verordnungsblatte für den Dienstbereich des Ministeriums für Cults und Unterricht*, 18 (1878), 105.

169 Adolf Binder was born on 6 March 1845 in Buškovice, Bohemia. He completed his primary education in Litoměřice and trained as a teacher. From 1866 to 1867 he attended the organ school in Prague. He learned to play the violin and trained in music theory and composition. After graduation, he went into the Theatre and toured with acting troupes in southeastern Europe as far as Istanbul. For a time he worked at the theatre in Osijek and taught music to the noble families there. He settled in Helenenthal near Baden, Austria, as organist and choirmaster. In the fall of 1884 he moved to Maribor and began working at the Philharmonischer Verein music school, where he remained until 1901. He was a prolific composer. His works include symphonies, overtures, numerous chamber works, and other sacred and secular works. Many of his works were printed and performed in Maribor, Ljubljana, and Salzburg, and throughout Germany and Switzerland. He died on 14 September 1901 in Maribor. See: SOA, Litomeřice, Buškovice 077, Taufbuch: 1835–1851, fol. 77; Nadškofisjki arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 5368, Taufbuch 1898–1920, fol. 68; Karl Gassareck, "Musikdirector Adolf Binder," *Marburger Zeitung*, October 8, 1901, 1–3; Karl Gassareck, "Musikdirector Adolf Binder," *Marburger Zeitung*, October 10, 1901, 1–3.

170 Anon., "Privat Musik- und Gesang-Schule," *Marburger Zeitung*, November 30, 1884, 10; Anon., "Učilišče za godbo in petje," *Slovenski gospodar*, July 10, 1885, 222.

piano lessons and individual violin lessons. For 17 years he successfully led the association and its school, wrote numerous compositions and participated in more than 50 major concerts of the association in Maribor.¹⁷¹ He contributed significantly to the diversity of the concert programmes, established chamber music, and invited successful singers and musicians from elsewhere, especially from Graz.

Binder also made great efforts to perform concerts of large vocal-instrumental works. He was supported in this by the choirmaster Carl Maria Wallner (1861 – after 1916)¹⁷² from Bohemia. They participated in at least 14 major vocal-instrumental concerts between 1887 and 1891. During that time, Wallner worked as a piano, singing and violin teacher at the association's school, as a choirmaster of the Maribor Philharmonic Association and the Southern Railway Choral Society. His brother Hans Maria Wallner (1860–1913) worked as a theatre conductor in Maribor between 1883 and 1885. When C. M. Wallner left Maribor in 1891, it was written that he had

*proved himself in his position both as a conductor and as a thoroughly trained and enthusiastic teacher [...] Under his direction the choir had taken a brilliant upswing, so that he seemed able to solve the most difficult tasks.*¹⁷³

The choir was taken over by Emil Füllekruss (1856–1942)¹⁷⁴ who also taught singing, violin, and piano at the association's music school. Already

171 This information is based on the reconstruction of the major concerts of the Maribor Philharmonic association.

172 Carl Maria Wallner was born on 14 October 1861 in Staré Město pod Landštajnem (Ger. Altstadt), Bohemia. He studied bassoon with Wilhelm Kraukenhagen at the Vienna Conservatory between 1879 and 1880. Then he presumably studied piano at the private piano school (Clavier-Schule) of Eduard Horak (1838–1893) in Vienna and afterwards composition in Graz with Wilhelm Mayer (1831–1898). In 1883 Wallner became a teacher at the Pettauer Musikverein and then Kapellmeister in Bad Radkersburg (1885–1887). In 1887 he moved to Maribor where he was a choirmaster of the Marburger philharmonischer Verein and then of the Südbahnliedertafel. On 7 June 1890 he married in Maribor Anna Ulrich (1865–1942). One year later he moved to Leoben and afterwards worked in several cities. See: Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni, Jindřichuv Hradec, Staré Město pod Landštajnem, sig. 7, Taufbuch 1859–1884, fol. 35; Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, Trauungsbuch 1889–1898, sig. 01522, fol. 50; Christian Fastl, “Wallner, Familie,” Oesterreichisches Musiklexicon online, February 9, 2016, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/oxoo32ca86>.

173 *X. Jahresbericht des philharmonischen Vereines in Marburg a/D.* (Marburg: Verlag des philharmonischen Vereines, 1891), 5.

174 Emil Füllekruss was born on 2 September 1856 in Szczecin (Ger. Stettin), where he studied music with the music director Gustav Flügel and then at the music conserv-

at the end of the school year 1891/1892 he left school in order to obtain a more secure position as Kapellmeister of the Southern Railway Workshop Band (Südbahn-Werkstätten-Kapelle). The association hired Leopold Materna (1871–1948),¹⁷⁵ a theatre Kapellmeister in Bratislava. In Maribor he directed the choir of the association, gave piano and singing lessons at the music school, performed as a pianist, and wrote operetta reviews for the *Marburg Zeitung*. However, Materna did not stay long in Maribor and left the association after only two years. Therefore, the board advertised a vacancy for which many candidates applied,¹⁷⁶ but decided in favour of Leo Dobrowolny (1871–?)¹⁷⁷ and Hans Rosensteiner (1864–1911).¹⁷⁸ Dobrowolny taught singing, violin and piano at the school. He was a good teacher and an excellent pianist, and performed as a soloist or accompanist at the association's concerts. In 1898 he accepted an invitation from the Styrian Music Association (*Musikvere-*

atory in Munich. After his studies he was a theatre Kapellmeister and principal cellist of the Grand Ducal Orchestra (*Großherzoglichen Kapelle*), then music director in Switzerland for ten years until 1891. In 1892 he moved to Maribor, where he was a music and singing teacher at the Royal Military School (*K. u. k. Militär-Oberrealschule*), and choirmaster of the Marburger Südbahnliedertafel. For more than 35 years he was organist at Christ Lutheran Church in Maribor. His orchestral overtures and male choirs were frequently performed in Germany, Switzerland and Austria. See: Anon., "Auszeichnung des Tondichters Füllekruf," *Marburger Zeitung*, November 11, 1917, 4.

- 175 Leopold Eduard Wenzel Materna (also Johann Szlámka) was born in Graz on 26 August 1871. He studied at the Vienna Conservatory from 1886 to 1891. In 1892 he moved to Maribor and remained there until 1894. After Maribor he was a successful theatre Kapellmeister in several cities, continued to perform as a pianist, worked as a singing teacher and choirmaster and composed. He died in Vienna on 1 December 1948. See: Barbara Boisits and Christian Fastl, "Materna, Familie," *Oesterreichisches Musiklexicon online*, August 21, 2018, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/ox0001d8ed>.
- 176 *XIII. Jahresbericht des philharmonischen Vereines in Marburg a/D* (Marburg: Verlag des philharmonischen Vereines, 1894), 4–5.
- 177 Leo Dobrowolny (also Leo Franz Dobrowolný) was born in Polička, Bohemia, on 22 February 1871. In 1889 he graduated from the Teachers' Training College (*Lehrerbildungsanstalt*), then went to study at the Leipzig Conservatory in 1893 and moved to Maribor a year later. In 1898 he moved to Graz, where he worked at the Musikverein until 1908. Between 1908 and 1918 he was director of the Musikverein in Klagenfurt. See: Státní oblastní archiv v Zámrsku, Polička-Město, sig. 5472, *Taufenbuch 1858–1871*, fol. 143; Mona Silli, "Chronik des Johann-Joseph-Fux-Konservatoriums," (PhD diss., Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst in Graz, 2009), 172.
- 178 Hans Rosensteiner was born in Baden near Vienna on 1 October 1864. He received his musical training in Vienna with Jakob Dont, Franz Krenn, and was engaged at various provincial theatres. In 1890 he was a choirmaster in Baden. In 1906 he succeeded E. W. Degner as artistic director of the Musikverein in Graz. He died on 6 September 1911 in Graz. See: Christian Fastl, "Rosensteiner, Hans," *Oesterreichisches Musiklexicon online*, May 15, 2005, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/ox0007592f>.

in für Steiermark) in Graz and left Maribor. Wilhelm Köhler (c. 1867–?),¹⁷⁹ a member of the theatre orchestra, took his place and also taught violin, cello and piano.

After Binder's death in 1901, Rosensteiner took over the management of the association, under whose leadership the music school developed particularly successfully. He also carefully selected the programmes for the chamber music concerts, as one of the four annual concerts was devoted exclusively to chamber music. Rosensteiner remained in Maribor until 1906, when he became a director of the Styrian Music Association in Graz. After his departure, he was for a short time replaced by Franz Czernoch (1874–?),¹⁸⁰ who was not up to the tasks entrusted to him, and therefore on 1 January 1907 he terminated his contract.¹⁸¹

The arrival of Alfred Klietmann (1884–1931)¹⁸² in Maribor in 1907 greatly enriched the association. He was an accomplished musician who had worked as a concertmaster in various orchestras before coming to Maribor. There he took charge of the school and taught violin and piano at a higher level, as well as solo singing. Although he was still young, he already had a lot of experience and, above all, a youthful enthusiasm, which was evident,

179 Wilhelm Köhler (also Willy) was born around 1865 in Magyaróvár (Ger. Ungarisch Altenburg). He studied violin and cello at the Vienna Conservatory between 1880 and 1888. In September of the same year he moved to Maribor, where he was a member of the municipal theatre orchestra, a teacher at the association school (1888–1892 and 1900–1911), later he was temporarily its director. He performed as a soloist and piano accompanist at the association's concerts and played in chamber ensembles. At the end of the school year 1910/1911 he left Maribor. See: *Achter Jahresbericht des philharmonischen Vereines in Marburg a/D* (Marburg: Verlag des philharmonischen Vereines, 1889), 11.

180 Franz Czernoch (also František Černoč) was born on 3 May 1874 in Kroměříž, Bohemia. He studied organ and double-bass at the Vienna Conservatory between 1891 and 1897. He was a military Kapellmeister in infantry regiments no. 42, 65, 81, 86, and 99. See: Brno, Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, Kroměříž-Sv. Mořic, sig. 7901, Taufbuch 1869–1887, fol. 108.

181 *XXV. Jahresbericht des philharmonischen Vereines in Marburg a/D* (Marburg: Verlag des philharmonischen Vereines, 1906), 6; Hartman, "Mariborsko filharmonično društvo," 103.

182 Alfred Klietmann was born in Basel on 4 November 1884. He first studied music at the Dresden Conservatory, then violin at the Vienna Conservatory with Otakár Ševčík and at the Royal Academy of Music in Berlin with Joseph Joachim. After his studies he worked as a concertmaster in Plaun, Karlovy Vary, and Merano. From 1907 to 1917 he worked as a violin and piano teacher at the School of the Marburger philharmonischer Verein. See: Elisabeth Th. Hilscher, "Klietmann, Familie," *Oesterreichisches Musiklexicon online*, March 14, 2004, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/ox-00026ff7>.

both in his refreshing concert programmes and in the school he renewed. He introduced the fundamentals of music into the curriculum for all pupils, placing special emphasis on harmony, increasing the number of teachers, and expanding instruction for other instruments. In the association's concerts he performed with a demanding repertoire as a solo violinist and pianist, in chamber music ensembles (as a duo and in the Klietman String Quartet), conducted challenging orchestral and vocal instrumental works, and also presented himself to the public as a composer. He invited many soloists from Graz and Vienna to Maribor.

The outbreak of the First World War posed difficulties to the performances of regular ensembles. Klietmann therefore arranged the brass band of the 47th replacement battalion of Johann Otakar Peshta (1883–1945).¹⁸³ The latter was also a violinist and performed the *Sinfonia Concertante* for violin and viola by Mozart with Klietmann.¹⁸⁴ In 1916, Klietmann gave the last great event. He performed Mozart's *Requiem* and dedicated it to the fallen soldiers of the home regiments, with the proceeds going to their widows and orphans.¹⁸⁵ At the end of October 1917, the association ceased its activities, and two days later Klietmann bid farewell to Maribor with a concert in which he played Brahms and Paganini's Violin Concertos in D-major.¹⁸⁶

After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Philharmonic Association in Maribor was dissolved by the Slovenian government on 31 May 1919. The newly founded Music Society (*Glasbena matica*) in Maribor took over its premises and inventory (music archive).¹⁸⁷

In the nineteenth century, more than 40 documented immigrant musicians were active in Maribor. They worked in the city theatre, in military bands, as teachers in various schools, and especially in the Maribor Phil-

183 Johann Otakar Peshta (also Jan Otakár Pešta) was born on 15 March 1883 in Sušice. He studied violin with Jan Mařák at the Prague Conservatory between 1897 and 1903. In 1918, he was a private teacher of violin and piano in Maribor, and also worked as a military bandmaster and composer. He remained active in Maribor as a military bandmaster of the Army of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Inspired by the prevailing political circumstances he composed the concert overture *Jugoslavija* in Maribor in 1919, which he dedicated to Major Rudolf Maister (1874–1934). He died in 1945 in Prague. See SOA Plzen, Sušice 13, Taufbuch: 1877–1888, fol 214; AHMP, Matrik 1879, fol. 47; Anon., "Mala naznanila," *Straža*, November 29, 1918, 4; Anon., "Glasbena Matica," *Jugoslavija*, February 20, 1919, 4.

184 Hartman, "Mariborsko filharmonično društvo," 115.

185 Anon., "Mozart's Requiem," *Marburger Zeitung*, March 10, 1916, 4.

186 Anon., "Abschiedskonzert Alfred Klietmanns," *Marburger Zeitung*, October 24, 1917, 3.

187 Hartman, "Mariborsko filharmonično društvo," 117.

harmonic Association, as performers, conductors, composers, and teachers. With few exceptions, the musicians of the association were immigrants, mostly from Bohemia and Austrian cities, who studied mainly in Prague and Vienna. As teachers at the Maribor Philharmonic Association, they made a significant contribution to music education by modernizing the curriculum, raising the level of instruction, and introducing individual instrumental lessons. Between 1882 and 1913, they gave more than 200 concerts. Their concert programmes included overtures or shorter works for orchestra, supplemented by concertos for violin, piano or cello with orchestral accompaniment, chamber music works and works for various vocal ensembles.

Musical Life in Ptuj

In the late eighteenth century, music in Ptuj was cultivated by the local nobility, the theatre, the Church of St. George, and brass bands under the auspices of the Civic Guard.¹⁸⁸ The insights we can gain into the musical activity of the local nobility are partly due to the rich collection of musical manuscripts and printed secular instrumental compositions, which probably originated in the castles around Ptuj.¹⁸⁹ Music was also present in the town in the context of theatrical performances. The theatre building in Ptuj was built in 1786 by the local nobility as well as merchants and craftsmen. The performances were organized by the local Association of Dilettantes (*Dilettantenverein*).¹⁹⁰ In 1826, the first guest theatre troupe performed operettas. Later, the theatre groups, which usually stayed in the town for one or more years, were touring groups from Celje, Maribor and Varaždin. Besides serious and classical works, burlesques, farcical comedies and operettas were also performed, and occasionally an opera. The theatrical per-

188 Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Ptuj received a civic cavalry corps, the Uniformed Civic Cavalry Corps (*Das Uniformirte bürgliche Cavallerie Corps*). The Civic Guard traditionally had its own brass band, and the military brass band was also part of the corps. Civic Corps brass band activity increased towards the end of the eighteenth century and peaked in the 1830s when the brass band was disbanded. In 1848, a National Guard was formed with a brass band, which was disbanded in 1851, when it officially ceased to exist for several years. See: Ferdinand Raisp, *Pettau Steiermarks älteste Stadt und ihre Umgebung, topographisch-historisch geschildert* (Graz: A. Leykam, 1958), 194–211; Alenka Bagarič, “Ptujsko glasbeno društvo v letih 1878–1882” (Bachelor’s thesis, Univerza v Ljubljani, 1999), 14–5.

189 Janez Höfler and Ivan Klemenčič, *Glasbeni rokopisi in tiski na Slovenskem do leta 1800*, catalogue (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, 1967).

190 Raisp, *Pettau Steiermarks älteste Stadt*, 239.

formances were later often accompanied by local musicians from the brass band, the music school, and other musically talented citizens.¹⁹¹

The extensive collection of music of that the Church of St. George in Ptuj collected over decades, testifies to the great mastery of the musicians who once worked in the town.¹⁹² Among the more than 430 items in the collection, most of which are original church music compositions, there are also some *contrafacta*. They are closely related to the presence in Ptuj of the Bohemian-born composer Karl Franz Rafael,¹⁹³ who spent the last two decades of his life in this Styrian town. In Ptuj he earned his living as a private music teacher, while his official position in the music choir of St. George's Church has not been documented.¹⁹⁴

After 1848 there were German and Slovene efforts to establish musical and literary societies.¹⁹⁵ In 1855, the brass band musicians of Ptuj organized themselves into an independent musical association, within the framework of which the municipal brass band (*Städtische Musikkapelle*) began its work, continuing the rich tradition of the previous centuries. The

191 Bagarič, "Ptujsko glasbeno društvo," 20; Lidija Žgeč, "Glasbeno društvo 'Pettauer Musikverein' (1878–1920) in njegova notna dediščina" (Bachelor's thesis, Univerza v Ljubljani, 2004), 31–2.

192 See more about the music collection of St. George Church in Ptuj: Radovan Škerjanc, "Prispevek k poznavanju repertoarja starejših muzikalij cerkvene glasbe v Sloveniji," *De musica disserenda* 1, no. 1–2 (2005): 141–65; Darja Koter, "Muzikalije ptujске cerkve sv. Jurija," in *Ptujska župnijska cerkev sv. Jurija: Zbornik znanstvenega simpozija ob praznovanju 1150. obletnice posvetitve mestne cerkve in 850. obletnice 'Konradove cerkve'*, ed. Slavko Kranjc OFMConv (Ptuj: Minoristki samostan sv. Viktorina, Župnija sv. Jurija, 1998), 260–79.

193 Carl Franz Rafael (c. 1795–1864) was probably born in Žamberk, Bohemia. Some sources indicate that he studied double bass at the Prague Conservatory, but he is not documented in the alumni lists there. His first job as a double bass player was apparently in the theatre orchestra in Brno, where he also performed publicly as a singer and bassist between 1814 and 1815, but he certainly changed his place of residence and work frequently. With the traveling theatre group of Stephan and Eugénie Mayrhofer, probably in the second half of 1842, he travelled to Maribor, where he founded a string quartet. From Maribor he travelled with the theatre group to Ptuj, where he first worked as a conductor at the theatre, but from 1845 he earned his living mainly as a private music teacher. He was an experienced copyist, composer, and author of at least eight surviving *contrafacts* preserved in Ptuj. He died in Ptuj on 14 November 1864. See: Motnik, "Z opernega odra na kor," forthcoming.

194 Ibid., forthcoming.

195 In 1863 the Reading Society (*Narodna čitalnica*) was founded with a choir and a music school, then the Ptuj Men's Choral Association (*Pettauer Männergesangverein*), the Casino Association (*Casino Verein*), and in 1884 the Slovenian Choral Society (*Slovensko pevsko društvo*).

city administration endeavoured to maintain the brass band and for this purpose brought additional instrumentalists from elsewhere, who were offered positions as city officials with a satisfactory salary. It played a central role in the musical life of Ptuj, and performed at all municipal festivities, such as vocal-instrumental masses in the parish church of St. George, processions, weddings, funerals, reading society events and in the theatre.¹⁹⁶ In 1878 it came under the auspices of the newly founded Ptuj Music Association (*Pettauer Musikverein*).

The Ptuj Music Association was founded on 9 March 1878 to meet the political and cultural needs of the German population.¹⁹⁷ Before the formal foundation, the “friends of music” organized a concert with musicians from Graz at the municipal theatre, thus creating the financial basis for the founding of the association and the purchase of the most important brass band instruments.¹⁹⁸ The initiator of the society was the merchant Viktor Schulfink, who was also an amateur pianist and the central figure of the association. The other founders included merchants, landowners, lawyers, clerks, and some craftsmen. There were also some Slovenian intellectuals among the founders, but the majority of the association’s members were Germans.

The aim of the association was to cultivate good music, and for this purpose it planned to establish its own music school and orchestra. The “Great and Small Orchestra” (*Grosse und Kleine Orchester*) was formed and it probably consisted of former military musicians or craftsmen and apprentices who worked in various professions in the town and its surroundings. The orchestra performed for the first time two weeks after its formation on 31 March 1878.¹⁹⁹ To improve the quality of the orchestra, a music school was established on 1 June 1878 and a professional musician was hired to teach at the school and lead the orchestra. The Kapellmeisters were professional musicians,²⁰⁰ mainly the association’s teachers from abroad who

196 Žgeč, “Glasbeno društvo ‘Pettauer Musikverein,’” 20.

197 Drago Hasl, *Zgodovina glasbene šole v Ptujju* (Ptuj: Šolski odbor glasbene šole v Ptujju, 1959), 7.

198 Anon., “Musikverein,” *Pettauer Wochenblatt*, February 17, 1878, 2; Žgeč, “Glasbeno društvo ‘Pettauer Musikverein,’” 23.

199 Bagarič, “Ptujsko glasbeno društvo,” 23.

200 The Kapellmeister had to have a thorough musical education: a good knowledge of the basso continuo, the ability to teach violin, piano, and singing, as well as the reliability and technical skill to play the first violin in orchestral and chamber music performances, and the ingenuity to play piano accompaniments. He was also required to orchestrate selected new works for the orchestra of the association, as well as to

changed frequently.²⁰¹ Franz Haring (1861–1895)²⁰² led the orchestra for the longest time, namely ten years. The orchestra took part in all the important events of Ptuj, and so the association had several different ensembles that adapted to the occasions and musical needs of the town.²⁰³ It participated in the concerts of the music association, events of the reading society, folk and singing festivals, visits of important personalities, carnival parades, promenade concerts and other events. The musicians also participated in theatrical performances, and at the end of the nineteenth century promenade concerts of the municipal brass band were held in the music pavilion. The brass band of the Ptuj Music Association was disbanded in 1903 due to its poor financial situation, but the municipality established a municipal brass band in the same year.²⁰⁴

The statutes stipulated that the association should hold six events per year (soirées, concerts, park music). The most frequent association events were the soirées, which were mainly social events. The association gave several concerts every year, at which soloists and invited guest musicians from

conduct concerts, soirées, and music in the square (*Plazmusik*), and to attend balls (*Ballmusik*) as first violinist. On top of all this he was also paid by the theatre management to play in the theatre. See *ibid.*, 26–7.

- 201 Anton Stöckl (1878–1882), Johann Patat (1882–1883), Franz Stahl (1883), Josef Steinberger (1883), Carl Maria Walner (1883–1884), Hanns Ritter von Villefort (1884–1885), Franz Haring (1885–1895), Ernst Schmeisser (1895–1896), Karl Häusgen (1897–1901), Karl Bachmann (1901–1902), Schuhbauer (1901–1902), Max Hochberg (1902–1903), Josef Schindler (1906–1907), Roderich Mojsisowics (1910), Josef Greil (1908–1912), Nicholaus Schmidt (1912–1913), Václav Engerer (1915–1924).
- 202 Franz Haring was born on 18 January 1864 in Attnang-Puchheim. He studied violin at the Vienna Conservatory in 1875/1876. In September 1884 he moved to Ptuj to become a teacher and Kapellmeister at the Ptuj Music association. Judging by his performed repertoire, he was a solid violinist who performed, among others, *Ballade and Polonaise* by H. Vieuxtemps and Grieg's Violin Sonata op. 13. He married in Ptuj on 4 March 1889. His daughter Emma Amalia Haring (1893–?) was briefly a piano teacher at the Celje Music Association. He died on 12 April 1895 in Ptuj. See: Linz, Oberösterreich: Rk. Diözese Linz, Attnang, sig. 106/1861, Taufen Duplikate 1861, fol. 1; Maribor, Nadškofijski arhiv, Ptuj-Sv. Jurij, Poročna knjiga: 1888–1912, fol. 9; Maribor, Nadškofijski arhiv, Ptuj-Sv. Jurij, sig. 02114, Mrliška knjiga 1885–1900, fol 374.
- 203 They had a string sextet and a string orchestra of 14 or 16 musicians who played at soirées and dances. A brass band (*Harmonie-Kapelle*) of 16 or 18 musicians played at soirées, excursions and dances and 14 musicians played at funerals (*Leichenmusik*). In the theatre (*Theaterkapelle*) a sextet or group of ten played. The orchestra was therefore called by different names: *Kapelle*, *Städtische Kapelle*, *Harmonie-Kapelle*, *Blech-Harmonie-Kapelle*, *Grosse und Kleine Orchester*, etc. See: Bagarič, "Ptujsko glasbeno društvo," 35.
- 204 Žgeč, "Glasbeno društvo 'Pettauer Musikverein,'" 59–63; Bagarič, "Ptujsko glasbeno društvo," 14–5.

Graz performed almost regularly. Unlike the soirées, which took place in Ptuj pubs, the concerts were held in the theatre. As was customary at that time, they were chamber-orchestral concerts with a mixed programme. Already in 1879, the association began to hold chamber music evenings that were mainly performed by locals.

Since there was a great shortage of trained musicians in Ptuj, the association searched for directors and teachers through advertisements in the *Deutsche Musik Verband Zeitung* in Prague, and sent vacancy notices to music schools throughout Germany.²⁰⁵ Therefore, during the 40 years of its existence, the Ptuj Music Association employed almost only German principals and teachers from the German, Czech and Austrian geographical areas.²⁰⁶

The first director and teacher at the association was the composer and Kapellmeister Anton Stöckl (1851–1902), from Ljubljana. He had previously directed the orchestra of the Ljubljana Drama Society and the Ljubljana Reading Society. During his leading the school, a string quartet was formed and the number of pupils increased significantly. After his departure, the directors changed every few months, which had a negative effect on the development of the music school and the orchestra. The Kapellmeisters could not take on the all-encompassing musical work that their predecessor had handled, and stayed for only a short time in the position, and within three years no less than five musicians had been engaged. First came Johann Patat (1849–1906)²⁰⁷ from Samobor, then Franz Stahl (c. 1855–?)²⁰⁸ and Josef Steinberger (1849–?)²⁰⁹ for two months each and Carl Maria Walner for one

205 Hasl, *Zgodovina glasbene šole v Ptujju*, 6.

206 The only exceptions were the first principal, Anton Stöckl, and Filip Emeršič.

207 Johann Patat (also János, Giovanni Patat) was born in Klagenfurt on 3 May 1849, the son of Johann Josef Patat and Anna Zoppoth. He served for 12 years, until 1880, as a trumpeter of the 26th Rifle Battalion in Carinthia. In the meantime, in 1872, he founded in Klagenfurt the music band of the Veterans Association of the Military Association (*Militär-Verein*). Then he was first in Brody (in today's Ukraine) and then in Samobor, Croatia. Later he spent most of his life in Budapest, where he died on 2 October 1906. See: Kärnten: Rk. Diözese Gurk, Klagenfurt-St. Egid, Sig. K15_016-1, Geburtsbuch XIII 1848–1855, fol. 41; Anon., "Musikkapelle des Veteranenvereins," *Klagenfurt Zeitung*, June 2, 1872, 783.

208 Franz Stahl was born in Vienna around 1855. He studied singing, violin, double bass and horn at the Vienna Conservatory between 1864 and 1879. From February to April 1883, he was a school director, violin teacher and bandmaster at the Ptuj Music Association. At the turn of the century he was active in the Celje Music Association.

209 Josef Steinberger was born in Žabokliky, Bohemia, on 6 July 1849. From April to July 1883 he was a Kapellmeister and violin teacher at the Ptuj Music Association. From

school year, followed by Hanns Ritter von Villefort (1858–?).²¹⁰ The Slovenian members gradually left the school and the number of pupils decreased as the new and competitive school of the National Reading Society, directed by Josef Steinberger, attracted more Slovenians.

The rebirth of the association and the school occurred with the arrival of Erich Wolf Degner (1858–1908). He was not appointed Kapellmeister, as was the custom in the past, but head of the music school and artistic director. Degner reformed the curriculum along the lines of the Munich Music School, and introduced compulsory lessons in music theory and choral singing, as well as optional lessons in music history.²¹¹ In addition to Degner, who taught piano and theoretical subjects as director, there were several other teachers from abroad. The school acquired a good reputation and was upgraded to a public music school in 1885. Degner also devoted himself to concert life in Ptuj and performances of symphonic music.²¹² He strengthened the orchestra with musicians from the music associations in Celje, Maribor, Graz and the infantry regiment No. 47 from Maribor. Even after his departure for Graz, he remained supportive of the Ptuj Music Association. He specially prepared his pupil Hermann Kundigraber (1879–1944) for the music school in Ptuj. Later, two other students of Degner, Maria

September 1883 to September 1886 he was a teacher at the music school of the Reading Society in Ptuj. Between 1886 and 1890 he studied organ at the Vienna Conservatory. See: Státní oblastní archiv v Litoměřicích, Římskokat. f.ú., Žabokliky, Sig. 18817, Geburtsbuch 1784–1878, fol. 72.

210 Hanns Ritter von Villefort (originally Johann Maria Josef Villefort) was born in Graz on 10 January 1858, the son of Franz de Paula Villefort and Karolina Neuwirth. In the early 1870s he studied violin at the Music Association for Styria in Graz with the Prague violinist Ferdinand Caspar. In the late 1870s he was a member of the theatre orchestra in Graz. From October 1880 to June 1884 he was Kapellmeister and violin teacher at the Celje Music Association. In 1884 he moved to Ptuj, where he stayed for a year. From 1877 on he went by the name Hanns Ritter von Villefort. See: Steiermark: Rk. Diözese Graz-Seckau, Graz-Hl.Blut, sig. 6398, Taufbuch 1857–1864, fol. 13; Anon., “Zögling-Concert des Musikvereines für Steiermark,” *Amtsblatt zur Grazer Zeitung*, July 28, 1874, 3; Ferdinand Mayr, *Grazer Geschäfts- und Adreß Kalender für das Jahr 1878* (Graz: Im Selbsverlage des Herausgebers, 1878), 251.

211 Hasl, *Zgodovina glasbene šole v Ptujju*, 9.

212 Among the most important musical events under the direction of Degner were the concert for the 100th birthday anniversary of C. M. Weber, at which only his works were performed, and a concert for the 10th anniversary of the founding of the music association, at which the works of Richard Wagner were performed. See: Ptuj, Zgodovinski arhiv Ptuj, Kurzgefasste Vereinsgeschichte des Pettauer Musikvereines: 1878–1919, 9; Ptujsko glasbeno društvo 1878–1921, *Kronika društva 1878–1920*, sig. ZAP/0006/009, AŠ 28, No. 7/1, fol. 21–22.

Rosanelli (1879–1975) and Roderich Mojsisovics von Mojsvár (1877–1953), were also teachers in Ptuj.

Degner's successors had a difficult task because he spent a lot of money on large musical performances, which also increased the prestige of the association. In contrast, his successor, the excellent pianist Arno Schütze (1868–1953)²¹³ from Magdala, had to limit his musical activities to chamber music. During his two-and-a-half-year tenure, he founded a piano trio that included Franz Haring and Waldemar Robert Schlövogt (1869–1961),²¹⁴ and also performed with them in duos. Although there were fewer teacher changes under the leadership of Paul Schmidt,²¹⁵ the turnover in teachers and principals continued after his departure, resulting in a decline in quality.

To restore the school's reputation, Degner's pupil and the new director Mojsisovics von Mojsvár designed a new organization and curriculum. Despite the constant turnover of teachers, he successfully ensured that the school had a unified system of teaching according to the curriculum. In the last period under the leadership of Carl Ettler (1880–?),²¹⁶ the activities of

213 Arno Schütze (Hugo Max Arnold Schütze) was born on 25 October 1868 in Magdala near Weimar. His parents were Gustav Heinrich Albin Schütze and Juliana Elisabeth Johanna Oelwein. He studied violin and piano at the Orchester School in Weimar (*Orchesterschule*) between 1883 and 1887. From 14 September 1888 to 1 August 1891 he was a director of the Pettauer Musikverein school and a piano teacher. His piano repertoire in Ptuj included works by Beethoven, Chopin, Schumann, Liszt and others. Later Schütze was a music director in Recklingen and Bochum. He died on 15 February 1953 in Bonn.

214 Waldemar Robert Schlövogt was born in Oettern near Weimar on 26 April 1869. He studied violoncello, piano, and bassoon at the Orchestral School (*Orchesterschule*) in Weimar from September 1883 to June 1888. From July 1888 to March 1891 he was a teacher of violoncello at the music school of the Ptuj Music Association. Then he was for one season principal violoncellist of the Municipal Orchestra (*Städtische Orchestra*) in Hagen. In 1892 he moved to Graz. From 1892 to 1940 he was a teacher at the Musikverein für Steiermark. He died on 25 November 1961.

215 Paul Schmidt was born in Weimar, where he studied violin and piano at the Orchestra School (*Orchesterschule*) between 1889 and 1891. From September 1890 to June 1896 he was director of the music school and piano teacher at the Pettauer Musikverein. In 1896 he moved to Graz, where he was a piano teacher at the Musikverein für Steiermark. Among his pupils was Johanna Seelig.

216 Carl Ettler (also Karl Ettler) was born in Eisenach near Weimar on 10 January 1890. He studied music at the Leipzig Conservatory around 1899. On 10 September 1910 he came to Ptuj, where he remained until 1920. In 1921, he wrote a critical article about the musical situation after the war in the southern Styrian towns of Celje, Maribor and Ptuj. Later he worked in Leipzig as a choir director and music editor. See: Carl Ettler, "Musikverhältnisse in Südsteiermark einst und jetzt," *Zeitschrift für Musik* 88 (1921): 602–3.

the association were considerably hampered, especially by the First World War and the unstable political conditions, with frequent changes of teachers. Ettler returned from the army in January 1919 and continued to run the school until 1920, when it ceased its activities due to the dissolution of the music society. Under the new political circumstances, the school gave its last concert on 24 June 1920. On 24 April 1921, the Ljubljana Provincial Government dissolved the Ptuj Music Association and the school, and the Municipal Music School took over their assets.

Similarly to other Slovenian cities and towns, the musical life of Ptuj was in the nineteenth century strongly influenced by immigrant musicians. Their role and contribution was most clearly expressed in the Ptuj Music Association (1878), which was founded by musically capable citizens and whose members were initially amateur musicians. When the school was founded, a professional musician from Ljubljana was hired to lead the brass band and the school. He was followed by immigrant musicians who, unlike in other towns, came to Ptuj mainly from the German states of the time, less often from the Czech and Austrian geographical areas. Most of them received their musical education in Weimar and Graz, but also in Dresden, Leipzig and Vienna. They came to Ptuj at the beginning of their careers, shortly after their musical studies, and left as soon as better job opportunities became available elsewhere, often in Graz. Due to the frequent changes of Kapellmeisters and teachers, both the brass band and the school experienced ups and downs. Nevertheless, as highly skilled musicians, they had high expectations for musical performance and teaching. One of the highlights of the Ptuj Music Association was under the leadership of Erich Wolf Degner, who raised the level of cultural life, reorganized music lessons and paid great attention to the performance of symphonic concerts.

Over a period of more than 40 years, the immigrant musicians significantly influenced the development of musical culture in Ptuj, established the continuity of musical events and laid the foundation for organized musical education in the town. Between 1878 and 1920 they participated in more than 120 concerts and performed a demanding repertoire that included overtures or shorter works for orchestra, supplemented by concertos for violin, piano or cello with orchestral accompaniment, chamber music works and works for various vocal ensembles.

Conclusion

The nineteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy was a vibrant multicultural state with intense regional mobility. It was also the time when the phenomenon of the itinerant virtuoso and the institutionalization of modern bourgeois musical culture emerged, which increased the migration flow of musicians. Immigrant musicians played a significant role in Slovenian cultural and music history, especially in music societies. However, among the immigrant musicians were not only professional musicians who were financially dependent on music, but also highly musically educated people with other professions. Often they were civil servants and teachers, and they participated in musical life, contributing to the development of musical activities in several Slovenian towns.

During our research we have documented and identified 574 immigrant musicians who were active on the territory of present-day Slovenia during the long nineteenth century. The actual number can be expected to be substantially larger. Most of these musicians moved to Ljubljana, unsurprising given the travel connections, musical wealth and continuity of that city. However, the immigrant musicians were found in all corners of present-day Slovenia and its hinterland: in Celje, Maribor, Ptuj, Kranj, Novo mesto, Koper, Postojna, Gorizia, Trieste, and even in smaller villages like Ribnica, Kočevje, Vipava and elsewhere.

By far the largest number of musicians was born in the Czech lands, the second largest group from Austrian cities, and next from the other crown lands of the Austrian Empire. Among the individual birthplaces, Vienna, Prague, and Graz stand out. A small group of musicians came from beyond the borders of the Austrian Empire, mainly from German states of the time, but also from more distant cities such as Athens, Jelgava, Kaliningrad, Stavropol, Warsaw, Odessa, and London. Due to the influence of Erich Wolf Degner, the situation in the Ptuj Music Association (*Pettauer Musikverein*) stands out, with a majority of immigrant musicians coming from the German states.

In earlier times, immigrant musicians were trained in their formative years by family members, usually their fathers, or by village *regentes chori* or privately by renowned professors from the Vienna and Prague conservatories. From the second half of the nineteenth century, this changed as the music education had become much more institutionalized. Caspar Maschek is an early example of this. He received his higher education at the Prague Conservatory as part of its first generation of students. Others

received their musical education in Prague, also in Vienna, and to a lesser extent in Graz, Leipzig, Weimar, and Berlin. Musicians usually did not migrate directly from their hometowns, but they arrived from other cities after having been employed there for a while. Most were in their mid- to late twenties when they arrived, while a handful came immediately after finishing their studies at the conservatories.

Several musicians settled and became fully integrated into their new cultural environment, in some cases even for several decades. Singers, instrumentalists, and conductors involved in theatrical performances formed one of the largest groups of immigrant musicians. It is therefore not surprising that most of the 130 female immigrant musicians were singers, while only a few were violinists, pianists, or even composers.

In the nineteenth century there was also strong regional mobility and lively musical exchanges between Graz and Ljubljana, and from the 1870s also between Graz, Ljubljana and the Lower Styrian towns of Maribor, Celje and Ptuj. Such activities were reflected in the exchange of musicians between musical societies and associations, concert tours and guest appearances, and the exchange of scores, as watermarks attest.

In conclusion, immigrant musicians undoubtedly shaped musical life in the Slovene lands during the long nineteenth century. With their work they contributed decisively to the continuity of cultural institutions, such as the Philharmonic Society, the Ljubljana Cathedral music chapel, in various theatres, especially the Estates Theatre and later the Provincial Theatre, the infantry regiments, as music teachers in various institutions or entirely privately. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, various music societies were founded throughout Slovenian territory, and here too immigrants took up leading roles. For more than a century, immigrant musicians brought contemporary repertoire to Slovenia and composed more than 1,000 works here. They played a leading role in the development of virtuoso instrumental playing as well as chamber, choral, and symphonic music, and participated in more than 2,250 concerts. By introducing curricula and writing music manuals and songbooks, they also brought many important changes to music education. In effect, they raised the first generation of professional Slovenian musicians, who further contributed to the consolidation of Slovenia's national musical identity.

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The Merit of Czech Musicians for the Revival of the Musical Heritage of Jacobus Handl Gallus in Slovenia¹

Jernej Weiss

Univerza v Ljubljani / Univerza v Mariboru

University of Ljubljana / University of Maribor

This paper highlights a hitherto overlooked segment of the activities of Czech musicians in Slovenia: the contribution of Czech musicians to the revival of the musical heritage of the Carniolan composer Jacobus Handl Gallus, with particular reference to two concert events on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the composer's birth. These two concerts bear witness to the close relations between Slovenia's two central music associations at that time: Glasbena matica and the Cecilian Society in Ljubljana. The second concert, in which the choir of Glasbena matica also took part, generated major attention in the public and triggered the renaissance of Gallus's music in Slovenia.

The first researchers of Gallus in Slovenia

Although Josip Mantuani² made by far the greatest contribution to instigating the study of Gallus in Slovenia, there were several musicians before

1 This article is the result of the project "Influx of Musicians to the Slovene Lands during the Long Nineteenth Century – Their Impact and Integration" (J6-9386) financed by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS).

2 Josip Mantuani (1860–1933), a member of the board of the Glasbena matica, studied law and philosophy in Vienna, where he received his doctorate in art history and archaeology in 1894. He researched Gallus's life and work and helped prepare his concert in 1892. In 1893 Mantuani joined the Vienna Court Library, in 1898 he became head of the music collection and, together with Emil Bezcený, published the first edition of Gallus's motets, *Opus musicum*. In 1909 he returned to Ljubljana and worked as director of the National Museum until 1924. He taught art history at the Universi-

him who succeeded in illuminating certain sections of Gallus's work from motets, masses, and *moralia*. One of the first to draw attention to the importance of Gallus as one of the giants of late Renaissance music was Kamilo Mašek, a descendant of a Czech family of musicians active in Slovenia. As the son of the great musicians Gašpar and Amalija Mašek, two other important Czech musical migrants to Slovenia,³ their only child Kamilo was born with a musical education. Mašek not only succeeded in raising the level of musical creation in Slovenia with his songs, which, as Manica Špendal writes, are "*clearly superior in terms of expression and artistic value*"⁴ to those of his contemporaries working in Slovenia, but it is also thanks to him that the memory of Gallus's legacy was revived for the first time. Only a year before his untimely death, Kamilo Mašek published two short articles about Gallus. In them, he presented some biographical sketches from the life of the "*berühmter Kirchen-Tondichter*" Jacobus Gallus in *Cäcilija*, Slovenia's first music magazine.⁵ Since the magazine was primarily intended for "*Landorganisten Schullehrer*," the compositions by Gallus are understandably missing.⁶

Despite the initial enthusiasm, Mašek's 1857 contribution did not elicit any significant creative response from Slovenian cultural institutions. This was probably also due to the fact that society life in this country was still in its infancy in the mid-19th century in Slovenia and there was therefore a lack of quality vocal ensembles capable of performing such a demanding repertoire as that of Gallus. It was not until the beginning of the 1860s that reading rooms were set up in all the larger towns in Slovenia, following the

ty of Ljubljana for a few years and at the music conservatory from 1920. He has published widely on art history, archaeology, and history of music. In 1917 and 1918 he was president of Glasbena matica and on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Society he prepared an extensive historical exhibition on the *Development of music among Slovenes* in the Narodni dom. At the time, he received a state award for his work with Glasbena matica. Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina: ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2015), 102.

3 Jernej Weiss, *Češki glasbeniki v 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja na Slovenskem* (Maribor: Litera and University of Maribor, 2012), 107–8.

4 Manica Špendal, "Značilnosti samospevov Kamila Maška," *Muzikološki zbornik* 12 (1976): 49, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-D8BQKJSU>.

5 Kamilo Mašek, "Biografische Skizzen berühmter Kirchen-Tondichter. I. Jacobus Gallus," *Cäcilia* 1, no. 5 (1858): 34, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-WDX-M3C3J>.

6 *Cäcilia*. Musikalische Monatshefte für Landorganisten Schullehrer und Beförderer der Tonkunst auf dem Lande. Ibid.

Czech model. They were centres of cultural and thus also musical life for Slovenes, the main purpose of which was to awaken the Slovenian national sense through culture. The founding of later musical societies, such as the Drama Society (1867) and above all Glasbena matica Ljubljana (1872), initiated a gradual professionalisation of Slovenian musical life.

Thus, more than 30 years passed before interest in Gallus was revived in Slovenia. Vojteh Valenta, one of the most important promoters of society life in the second half of the 19th century in Slovenia, certainly contributed to this. He was a member of the founding board of the Drama Society as well as a member of the “Founding Board” of Glasbena matica, and after the founding of Glasbena matica he acted as its first secretary and was thus one of the main persons responsible for its versatile activities. It was he who made some further encyclopaedic observations in his paper *Nekoliko črtic o Jakopu Gallusu*,⁷ published in 1888 in the newspaper *Ljubljanski zvon*. Valenta summarised some references to him in foreign literature in the paper and concluded by saying, “that is all for now, but I would like to try to find out more about this very important composer and fellow countryman”.⁸

Later that year, he turned to another Czech musician for information about the composer: Jan Václav Lego, the central initiator of Czech-Slovene cultural contacts during that period. Lego was working in the Czech capital at the time, where Gallus had ended his rich life three centuries earlier as cantor of St. John’s Church in Breg. So it was Lego who provided Valenta with some valuable information about Gallus.⁹ In preparation for the 300th anniversary of the composer’s death, Gallus’s obituary with all his poems, among other things, was published for the first time in Slovenia in *Cerkveni glasbenik*, the newsletter of the Cecilian Society in Ljubljana,¹⁰ with which Valenta made an important contribution to knowledge about the composer’s life. Research by the then secretary of Glasbena matica then stimulated further efforts to bring Gallus’s compositions to the concert stage, largely due to the founding of the Glasbena matica choir in the autumn of 1891 un-

7 Vojteh Valenta, “Nekoliko črtic o Jakopu Gallusu,” *Ljubljanski zvon* 8, no. 7 (1888): 445–7, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-EoCDBWS5>.

8 *Ibid.*, 447.

9 Jernej Weiss, *Čeští hudebníci ve Slovinsku v 19. a na začátku 20. století* (Praha: KLP – Koniasch Latin Press, 2021), 71–5. Jan Lego, “Pismo Vojtehu Valenti,” July 28, 1888. Glasbena zbirka NUK, Glasbena matica, Personalia, Lego Jan, Personalia Glasbene matice, Korespondenca z Glasbeno matico.

10 Vojteh Valenta, “Drobtinice o Jakobu Gallusu-u,” *Cerkveni glasbenik* 14, no. 4 (1891): 27–9, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-9TASE1VH>.

der the direction of Matej Hubad. The latter came to Ljubljana in the same year and became the choir conductor and artistic director of Glasbena matica, and it was Hubad who set the wider framework of Glasbena matica's creative activity. As a kind of *spiritus agens* of activities of Glasbena matica at the time, he also edited the society's publications and taught theory, choral and solo singing at the society's music school. Both the founding of the choir and the arrival of Hubad in Ljubljana coincided with the 300th anniversary of Gallus's death.

Both Glasbena matica and the Cecilian Society in Ljubljana were involved in the preparation and performance of two key events of the jubilee that were significant for the revival of Gallus's legacy at the end of the 19th century, i. e. the performance of Gallus's festive mass *Elisabeth Zachariae* in the Ljubljana Cathedral in July 1891 and the famous concert of Gallus's works in the Redutna dvorana hall a year later. The most important link between the two societies was another Czech musician working in Slovenia, Anton Foerster, the composer of the first Slovenian national opera *Gorenjski slavček*. It is less well known that, as Mantuani writes, it was Foerster who is said to have "poisoned" him with Gallus,¹¹ when he sang the motet *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* under Foerster's direction in the IV Grammar School. In the year of the 300th anniversary of Gallus's death, Mantuani appeared for the first time in *Cerkveni glasbenik* journal and reported on the three-year search for Gallus's footprints. During this time, Mantuani searched not only the archives in Vienna, Bohemia and Moravia, but also numerous archives, especially across the German lands. He focused mainly on the Protestant cities of northern Europe, where Gallus's music was very popular in the 17th century. In his extensive report, he then listed in detail what he had found on this journey and where.¹² Thus, according to Edo Škulj, one of the greatest experts on Gallus's life and work, Mantuani's contribution still forms the basis for all subsequent Gallusologists, as he already published the main part of his previous research findings on Gallus in his paper in *Cerkveni glasbenik*.¹³

11 Josip Mantuani, "Jakob Gallus," *Cerkveni glasbenik* 14, no. 7 (1891): 49, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-4PFNLGOK>.

12 Ibid. Josip Mantuani, "Jakob Gallus," *Cerkveni glasbenik* 14, no. 8–9 (1891): 57–65, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-M3PQMRYE>.

13 Edo Škulj, *Clare vir. Ob 450-letnici rojstva Iacobusa Gallusa* (Ljubljana: Družina and Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2000), 440.

Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae in Ljubljana Cathedral on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of Gallus's death

The 300th anniversary of Gallus's death was commemorated in Ljubljana Cathedral with a celebratory performance of Gallus's *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae*, the sixth mass from the composer's opus of masses *Selectiores quaedam missae*. The Board of Glasbena matica planned the celebration of the important Gallus anniversary with two concerts of sacred and secular music together with the Cecilian Society or its most active member, Anton Foerster. On 12 July 1891, as regens chori of the Ljubljana Cathedral, he prepared its performance in the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas in Ljubljana with the Cathedral choir. He was helped in the transcription of the mass by Karel Hoffmeister, another outstanding Czech musician active in Slovenia, later a member of the Czech Trio and a rector of the Prague Conservatory, who at the time was teaching piano at the central music school in Ljubljana. Interestingly, the report on the event states that it was a "hitherto unknown,"¹⁴ newly discovered Gallus mass in the Lyceum library, which shows that knowledge of Gallus was still quite scant in this country in the early 1890s. This is mainly due to the fact that Gallus's masses were not yet available in modern transcription and were therefore practically unknown. Of course, many years before that we find numerous copies of Gallus's masses scattered all over Europe, especially in present-day Germany, in Wrocław, in the Parisian archives and also in Slovenia. Gallus is mentioned, for example, in a list of musical records in the archives of the Ljubljana Cathedral commissioned by the Bishop of Ljubljana, Tomaž Hren, at the beginning of the 17th century.

After the concert, *Cerkveni glasbenik* published a report by Janez Gnjezda, who as secretary at the time was among the most deserving of the Cecilia Society's work. In it Gnjezda, the later president of the Cecilian Society, describes the concert quite briefly. What makes Gnjezda's report even more interesting is the summary of a kind of audit report he gives later in his article. This was written by the aforementioned Karel Hoffmeister and is one of the first articles of its kind in Slovenia. In it, Hoffmeister shows the stylistic complexity of Gallus's *Elisabeth Zachariae* mass and goes into more detail about the special features of the score.¹⁵ The Mass is based on the six-part motet of the same name by Gallus, which the composer wrote for the

14 Janez Gnjezda, "Jakoba Gallus-a maša 'Elisabeth Zachariae,'" *Cerkveni glasbenik* 14, no. 7 (1891): 53, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-4PFNLGOK>.

15 *Ibid.*, 54–5.

feast of St John the Baptist and published in 1590 in the fourth book of his *Opus musicum*. Incidentally, as Marko Motnik shows, Gallus's model was the basis for many other compositions.¹⁶ The parody mass *Elisabeth Zachariae* performed in the concert is one of the earliest compositions by Gallus, as already pointed out by Paul Pisk in his Gallus research, who defended his dissertation entitled *Das Parodieverfahren in den Messen des Jacobus Gallus* in 1917 as a student of Guido Adler in Vienna. At the turn of the 20th century, Pisk's research, along with that of Mantuani, certainly contributed the most to a more comprehensive understanding of Gallus's work.

Concert with motets and *moralia* by Gallus, organised by Glasbena matica

If the ecclesiastical celebration was held in the actual year of the anniversary of Gallus's death, i. e. 1891, the "civil" celebration organised by Glasbena matica was postponed to the following year. A year after the release of Gallus's motet *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* in the *Cerkveni glasbenik* journal and seven years before the release of the first part of the Bezecný-Mantuani edition of Gallus's motets, to which Mantuani also contributed the introduction and which was published as part of the famous Adler collection *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, the Glasbena matica choir, conducted by Hubad, performed a solo concert of compositions by Gallus. On 9 June 1892, the Slovenian public was first made aware of the importance of Gallus's work when three of his motets and three secular madrigals (*moralia*) were performed. In addition to Gallus's most famous motet, *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, the motets *Laus et perennis gloria* and *Ave Maria* were performed, as well as three *moralia*: *Diversos diversa iuvant*, *Multum deliro* and *Musica noster amor*. The choir had to repeat the last one due to the enthusiasm of the audience. As the choir of Glasbena matica was not yet complete, substitutes from the school choir were used. The concert also featured a few piano pieces by the Czech pianist Karel Hoffmeister, who has already been mentioned several times.

In 1890, the Board of Glasbena matica turned to the first Slovenian Gallusologist, Josip Mantuani, who was then a doctoral student in art history and archaeology at the University of Vienna after studying law and philosophy and musical studies with Joseph Böhm and Anton Bruckner,

16 Marko Motnik, "The reception of the motet *Elisabeth Zachariae* by Jacobus Handl-Gallus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," *De musica disserenda* 11, no. 1/2 (2015): 87–106, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-2R4MU2OI>.

to organise the concert. Thus, the Board of Glasbena matica asked Mantuani in a letter for “*all the notes of [his] work*”¹⁷, but Mantuani refused the request because it had not been completed at that time. Mantuani wrote: “*If they want to be known as musicians, we must first know them, or at least know that they exist.*”¹⁸ He also suggested to the Board that they perform the six already mentioned shorter compositions by Gallus, and asked them to “*kindly oblige the illustrious Board to put up with me until the autumn, when I return from Germany and bring Gallus’s Madrigals with me.*”¹⁹ He added: “*There are few who know that Gallus also wrote Madrigals.*”²⁰ Gallus famously called his madrigals *moralia*, not *madrighalia* – for the title was intended to emphasise that they were Latin madrigals without secular elements, “*not in the least licentious, fearing the shadow of obscenity.*”²¹ Writing madrigals, as we know from the example of Gallus’s better-known contemporary Palestrina, could be a dangerous business. That knowledge of Gallus must have been limited at the beginning of the 1890s is also shown by a letter from Glasbena matica to *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*, in which the board of Matica asks the famous Viennese institution for “*some Gallus opus from its archive.*”²² This was followed by a letter from Vienna mentioning some of Gallus’s works kept there and a referral to Mantuani.²³

The above-mentioned letter from Mantuani is important because it shows that the idea of organising a celebration for the 300th anniversary of Gallus’s death actually came from him. He himself writes that it was “*voiced by him five years ago.*”²⁴ In addition to selecting the repertoire, Mantuani also transcribed the sheet music for the Matica concert in “*modern clefs*”²⁵, a notation that is transparent and understandable today, and gave an introductory presentation by the composer. In his presentation, Mantu-

17 Josip Mantuani, “Pismo odboru Glasbene matice,” July 8, 1890. Musical collection NUK, GALLUS, J., Kronika, Arhive of Glasbena matica.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Edo Škulj, ed., *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti* (Ljubljana: Družina, 1991), 90.

22 Odbor Glasbene matice, “Dopis Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde,” April 24, 1890. Musical collection NUK, GALLUS, J., Kronika, Arhive of Glasbena matica.

23 Direction der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien, “Dopis odboru Glasbene matice,” April 29, 1890, no. 119. Musical collection NUK, GALLUS, J., Kronika, Arhive of Glasbena matica.

24 Josip Mantuani, “Pismo odboru Glasbene matice,” July 8, 1890.

25 Ibid.

ani summarised the content of a lecture he had given in Vienna on 25 November 1891, in which he pointed out the importance of Gallus's compositions in Central Europe. His speech was then published in full in *Cerkveni glasbenik*,²⁶ the journal that popularised Gallus. On the occasion of this historic event, *Slovenski narod* and *Slovenec* published more extensive pieces about the composer for the first time, and an exhibition of Gallus's printed works was also organised.

Although the Redutna dvorana hall, which was used for the meetings of the Provincial Committee of the Duchy of Carniola and subsequently made available to Glasbena matica free of charge,²⁷ was not completely filled, the historical concert was very well received by the public and thus considerably increased the level of awareness of the Carniolan fellow countryman. At the same time, this event was the catalyst for the beginning of a comprehensive research and performance-related consideration of Gallus in Slovenia. The concert was a great success and was also well received abroad, as evidenced not only by the many positive reviews but also by the telegrams received from abroad to the Glasbena matica Board. Among them is a telegram from Ivan Navratil, the then president of the Slovenian club in Vienna.²⁸ So it seems that with these two concert events Ljubljana overtook the Habsburg capital as far as Gallus was concerned, for what Mantuani had already called for came to pass: "*It would be an honour for us to be able to say that we have done more than the musical Vienna.*"²⁹

Hugolin Sattner then published a detailed account of the event in *Cerkveni glasbenik*, in which he wrote, among other things:

The concert took place on the 9th of this month at 8 p.m. in the Redutna dvorana hall. On the façade hung the image of Gallus, painted by our fellow countryman, academician Josip Germ. Some of the works were also exhibited in the Menzural script, as could be read in Slovenec. The hall was not full, but there was an excellent, musically educated audience; especially many priests were there, from prelates to theologians, everyone was represented. It occurred

26 Josip Mantuani, "Govor," *Cerkveni glasbenik* 15, no. 7–8 (1892): 56–60, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-HMCARY30>.

27 Deželni odbor Vojvodine Kranjske, "Pismo slavnemu odboru Glasbene matice Ljubljana," May 24, 1892, no. 4675. Musical collection NUK, GALLUS, J., Kronika, Arhive of Glasbena matica.

28 Ivan Navratil, "Telegram Slovenskega kluba na Dunaju," June 9, 1892. Musical collection NUK, GALLUS, J., Kronika, Arhive of Glasbena matica.

29 Josip Mantuani, "Pismo odboru Glasbene matice," July 8, 1890.

*to me: But there was a ground where unity was possible; the different elements sat together, conversed amicably and were enthusiastic about one sublime thing – music.*³⁰

Sattner's report indicates in an undertone the different views that could be discerned between the basic ideological orientations of the two leading musical societies in Slovenia at the time, apart from the Philharmonic Society of Ljubljana: Glasbena matica and the Cecilian Society of Ljubljana. At least in part, such divisions seem to be the result of an increasingly pronounced separation of minds in this country: in 1890, the Clerical Party was founded here, and a year later the Liberal Party. However, the close mutual cooperation in the preparation of the aforementioned events clearly shows that the ideological differences mentioned by Dragotin Cvetko, for example,³¹ were by no means decisive, at least for the concert events. Thus, in the now fundamental music history literature, Cvetko cites the founding of the Cecilian Society in 1877 as the reason for the decline in membership at Glasbena matica, a claim already refuted by Nataša Cigoj Krstulović in the most thorough treatise to date on the workings of Glasbena matica.³²

It is true that the controversy over Cecilianism was at its height in this country in the 1880s and early 1890s, but among the key members of Glasbena matica we find almost all core members of the Cecilian Society. The founders of Glasbena matica include Anton Foerster, the musical director of the Cecilian Society, and the outstanding composer of vocal and instrumental music, Father Hugolin Sattner, who blessed the premises of Glasbena matica when it moved into the Society's house, and later Stanko Premrl, France Kimovec and others. The membership lists of Glasbena matica incidentally also include the then Bishop of Gorizia, Jakob Missia, who joined the Society in 1886 to settle some earlier disputes. It is also a fact that the compositions by Foerster, Sattner and Premrl were frequently performed by the Glasbena matica Choir and published by the Glasbena matica publishing house.

The numerous examples of diverse mutual cooperation on a purely practical level, including the common struggle for Gallus, thus challenge another rather persistent concept of somewhat recent Slovenian music his-

30 Hugolin Sattner, "Gallusov koncert," *Cerkveni glasbenik* 15, no. 6 (1892): 46, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-7TDQQA9Y>.

31 Dragotin Cvetko, "Ljubljanska Glasbena Matica in njen pomen," *Kronika: časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino* 2, no. 1 (1954): 37–8, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-ET5MQAP5>.

32 Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina*, 40–1.

toriography, namely the polarisation of society activities in Slovenia. Although this polarisation is often portrayed mainly in the older music history literature,³³ practical examples, on the contrary, show close links both in performance and other areas. Czech musicians, with their good musical and technical skills and their prevailing cosmopolitanism, were the link between the two societies. Despite the many stumbles of the champions of one side and the other, let us only remember the confrontation with Foerster in Alešovec's *Brenclj* in 1880,³⁴ they were strangers to radical struggle for one side or the other. In the aforementioned article, Foerster was called a foreigner who does not support Slovenian music, which is of course nonsense of the first order. At least 16 of the best Slovenian authors were, as the article says, unemployed, unlike the Czech Foerster. Interestingly, it was the priests and monks of the Cecilian Society who reacted most strongly to these completely unfounded, almost xenophobic statements and sent him a letter of support in January of the same year. Among them was Jakob Aljaž, who, as a student of Foerster, was of the opinion that this criticism was primarily aimed at denigrating Foerster on a personal level.

Thus Foerster, Hoffmeister, and many other Czech musicians active in Slovenia, together with some of the most prominent Slovenian intellectuals, undoubtedly including Josip Mantuani, managed to cross the Rubicon of Slovenia's obvious social-ideological division. Moreover, through their self-sacrificing work, they contributed significantly to the qualitative improvement of the activities of almost all music associations in Slovenia and thus to the gradual professionalisation of musical life. Moreover, by reviving Gallus's heritage, they also succeeded in raising awareness of the tradition and continuity of artistic music in Slovenia.

33 Dragotin Cvetko, *Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica Ljubljana, 1991), 335.

34 Jakob Alešovec, "Razloček med Försterjem in Riharjem na šenklaškem koru," *Brenclj* 12, no. 1 (1880): 6, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-FUIVII5Y>; Jakob Alešovec, "Pesem šenklaškega šomaštra," *Brenclj* 12, no. 2 (1880): 5, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-SXRMUSJS>.

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Alfred Khom, a diligent choirmaster, skilful composer and experienced musician, torn between choral and philharmonic endeavours¹

Matjaž Barbo
Univerza v Ljubljani
University in Ljubljana

Alfred Khom² (1825–1893) is one of the many musicians who dedicated a part of their lives to the Slovenian lands, strongly influenced them with their works, and later were almost completely forgotten. In Slovenian musicological literature he is present only to a small extent, with some basic life data being repeated by various authors, but an in-depth evaluation of his contribution is mostly completely absent. There is little about him in some Austrian literature,³ but even there one can find some deficiencies.⁴

His musical importance and contribution can be indirectly estimated today from regular critical observations and reports. Unfortunately, a large part of his compositional output has been lost, with the exception of some prints of his compositions preserved in the archives in Vienna and Ljubljana-

- 1 This article is the result of the project “Influx of Musicians to the Slovene Lands during the Long Nineteenth Century – Their Impact and Integration” (J6–9386) financed by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS). Some of the results of the work were published in Slovenian in an article: Matjaž Barbo, “Alfred Khom in njegovo delovanje v Ljubljani,” *De musica disserenda* 18, no. 1–2 (2022): 127–65.
- 2 In the sources we find the record of his surname also as Chom.
- 3 Elisabeth Th. Hilscher, “Khom (Chom), Alfred,” in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon, Bd. 2 (Gaal–Kluger)*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 993–4; Wolfgang Suppan, ed., *Steirisches Musiklexikon* (Graz: Akademische Druck & Verlagsanstalt, 2009).
- 4 Significantly, the sparse entry on him in the otherwise comprehensive and thorough *Steirisches Musiklexikon* gives Khom’s date of death as unknown, although the information is widely available through primary and secondary literature. Cf. Suppan, *Steirisches Musiklexikon*.

na. However, his existing works testify to the inventiveness and versatile abilities of the author.

Khom was born in Linz on September 16, 1825. He received his first music lessons from his mother, an excellent pianist.⁵ Later, “*he studied at the Akademisches Gymnasium in Linz and practiced music above all,*”⁶ according to Steska. In 1843, he went to Vienna to study music and in 1846 he broke off his studies and went to Klagenfurt, where he became “*choir-master at the Klagenfurter Liedertafel*”⁷ and conductor in the theatre (*Theaterkapellmeister*).⁸

The years in Klagenfurt were undoubtedly decisive for the young musician. He began to devote himself more intensively to music in connection with the theatre, which later constituted the main part of his creative work. In addition, he matured as a conductor. In Klagenfurt he also became acquainted with folk songs, not only in German, but probably for the first time also in Slovene. At the same time, he became more and more enthusiastic about male choral singing. He had already become acquainted with it during his studies in Vienna, and in Klagenfurt he devoted himself to it particularly intensively. In the literature he is even referred to as one of the central founders of organized singing in Carinthia. On his initiative, the Klagenfurt Men’s Singing Society (*Männergesangsverein*) was founded at the end of 1847. Sources report that “*the then theatre conductor Alfred Khom, [...] encouraged by the improvised singing of some singing friends on New Year’s Eve 1846/47, came up with the idea of founding a singing club.*”⁹ From this idea a singing quartet was born under the leadership of Khom.¹⁰ The quartet attracted listeners and singers who wanted to join it. From this developed the idea of an organized association of singers in the newly formed Men’s Singing Society. The founding of the society, which proclaimed not only changing aesthetic ideas but also new political con-

5 Hilscher, “Khom (Chom), Alfred,” 993.

6 Viktor Steska, “Iz slovenske glasbene prošlosti: Javna glasbena šola v Ljubljani od leta 1816. do 1875. (Konec),” *Cerkveni glasbenik* 52, no. 11–12 (1929): 179, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-O136HSB9>.

7 Ibid.

8 Hilscher, “Khom (Chom), Alfred,” 993.

9 “[...] *damalige Theaterkapellmeister in Klagenfurt Alfred Khom, welcher [...] ange-regt durch den improvisierten Gesang einiger Gesangsfreunde in der Sylvesternacht 1846/47, die Bildung eines Gesangsvereines ins Auge faßte.*” Günther Antesberger, *Klagenfurter Musikleben in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Klagenfurt: Magistrat der Landeshauptstadt Klagenfurt, Kulturamt, 1978), 138.

10 Ibid.

ditions, was done with great caution. Fear of growing tensions and the authorities' distrust of new associations led to the tactical decision to appoint the aged Casper Harm¹¹ as the first choir director when the association was founded. With Harm, the society became associated with the old Music Society (*Musikverein*), and Khom, regardless of his merits, was appointed as the second choir director.¹²

Khom also worked with Harm as a teacher at the music school of the Music Society for Carinthia (*Musikverein für Kärnten*),¹³ but there was more and more friction between them. As a result, both resigned as directors of the male choir.¹⁴ Harm did so for a short time and later actually directed the Klagenfurt Men's Choral Society with minor interruptions until 1863. Khom left both the choir and Klagenfurt and went to Ljubljana.

Despite the aforementioned difficulties he faced, Khom work in Carinthia represented for a long time his important professional reference.¹⁵ At the same time, his merits in Carinthia were by no means forgotten, for the Klagenfurt Men's Choral Society later appointed him an honorary member and awarded "its founder" Khom "a tastefully and appropriately designed honorary diploma and sent him a flattering letter," according to a report in the *Laibacher Zeitung*.¹⁶ Significant is the fact that this happened in 1863, at a time when the choir ended its collaboration with Harm.

11 Harm, Caspar (1808–1864) was a well-known Carinthian music teacher and choir director. From 1828 he was a music teacher at the Musikverein in Klagenfurt, then went (1832–35) to Innsbruck and returned to Klagenfurt in 1835, where in 1847 he became the first choirmaster of the Klagenfurt Männergesangverein, which he directed with minor interruptions until 1863. Elisabeth Th. Hilscher, "Harm, Caspar," Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online, April 25, 2003, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_H/Harm_Caspar.xml.

12 Gotbert Moro and Ambros Wilhelmer, *Zur Musikgeschichte Kärntens* (Klagenfurt: Verlag des Landesmuseums für Kärnten, 1956), 115.

13 Antesberger, *Klagenfurter Musikleben*, 100.

14 Moro and Wilhelmer, *Zur Musikgeschichte Kärntens*, 116.

15 Observations about his activities in Ljubljana are regularly accompanied by remarks that he is an experienced musician who has established himself as the choirmaster of the male choir in Klagenfurt.

16 "Der Männergesangverein von Klagenfurt hat seinen Gründer, Herrn Alfred Khom, Gesang-Lehrer beim Grazer Musikverein, für seine Verdienste um den Verein zum Ehrenmitglied ernannt und ihm ein geschmackvoll und sinnig gearbeitetes Ehren-diplom mit einer schmeichelhaften Zuschrift übersandt." Anon., "Tagesbericht: Wien, 11. Juni," *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 131 (12 June 1863): 521, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-HPZ7O34S>.

In the 1846/47 season, when Khom was the conductor at the Klagenfurt theatre,¹⁷ Josef Leitermeyer led the orchestra. The changing political situation and the abolition of social life also encouraged Leitermeyer to look for other employment, and he chose Ljubljana as a new destination. In Ljubljana, Leitermeyer took over violin teaching in the Philharmonic Society during the years 1848–1854.¹⁸ It is therefore quite possible that it was Leitermeyer who led Khom to his decision to come to Ljubljana.

During the revolutionary upheavals of 1848, which, according to P. Radics, “also influenced the philharmonic society and, in a broader sense, the entire development of musical life in our countries,”¹⁹ the activities of the male choir became more and more visible. The initiative of the choir, which was becoming increasingly popular with the public, was taken up by the management of the society. A search was launched for a suitable choir director, initially within the society’s own ranks. According to Keesbacher,²⁰ on December 16, 1848, it was agreed that Franz Kurz zum Thurn und Goldenstein (1807–1878),²¹ a prominent member of the Philharmonic Society for many years, should take over the direction of the men’s choir. Goldenstein was a versatile artist who was primarily active as a painter. In addition to numerous church frescoes, landscape paintings, which he sketched on his travels through Carniola, stand out among his works. His works were in-

17 Antesberger, *Klagenfurter Musikleben*, 102.

18 Maruša Zupančič, “V iskanju lastne identitete: češki violinisti kot glavni tvorci violinizma na Slovenskem,” *De musica disserenda* 4, no. 2 (2008): 109, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-4MZFRJNI>.

19 “Und so kam das Jahr 1848, das auch auf die philharmonische Gesellschaft und im weiterem Bezuge auf die Entwicklung des Musiklebens in unserem Lande nicht ohne Wirkung blieb.“ Peter Radics, *Frau Musica in Krain: Kulturgeschichtliche Skizze* (Laibach: I. v. Kleinmayr & F. Bamberg, 1877), 41, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-3T8I1VCM>.

20 Friedrich Keesbacher, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach seit dem Jahre ihrer Gründung 1702 bis zu ihrer letzten Umgestaltung 1862. Eine geschichtliche Skizze* (Ljubljana: Kleinmayr und Bamberg [Separat-Abdruck aus den ‘Blättern aus Krain’], 1862), 93, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-RE4KNLTL>.

21 Franz Kurz zum Thurn und Goldenstein (1807–1878) was already interested in painting during his Salzburg apprenticeship, but also in singing and playing the violin. From Salzburg he came to Cologne and Graz, where he gave up the business and enrolled at the painting academy in 1831. From Graz he came to Ljubljana as a drawing and painting teacher at the Jakob Mahr trade school and founded his own drawing school, which soon had many students. Viktor Steska, “Kurz zum Thurn und Goldenstein, Franc, vitez (1807–1878),” *Slovenska biografija* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2013), <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi312751/#slovenski-biografski-leksikon>.

spired by the love for his homeland and its people – similar to what can be said about the musical works of Khom. In addition, they were later connected with Khom by family, because Khom married in Graz Goldenstein's daughter in 1873 in his second marriage.²²

Goldenstein was only initially choirmaster of the male choir, soon after he was "provisionally" (*provisorisch*)²³ replaced by Heinrich Hilscher, organist at the Franciscan Church of the St. Mary of the Annunciation. The first regular director of the male choir was Khom, who led the choir from 1849 to 1853.²⁴ Undoubtedly, the choir experienced its first heyday under Khom, who, with his rich Viennese and Klagenfurt experience, was an excellent choice for the society.

Khom came to Ljubljana in 1849,²⁵ although different information can be found in the literature.²⁶ In the *Illyrisches Blatt*, a supplement of the *Lai-bacher Zeitung*, an advertisement appeared on March 10, 1849, announcing the arrival of Khom in Ljubljana on April 1 of the same year. From that date he was to teach piano, basso continuo, harmony, and composition/instrumentation. Significantly, Khom emphasized his qualifications in the advertisement: the system by which the teacher would teach was based on the Vienna Conservatory, which he himself had attended. Besides he will offer a higher level of vocal art.²⁷

22 Steska, "Kurz zum Thurn und Goldenstein, Franc."

23 Keesbacher, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft*, 93.

24 In 1851 he was "briefly" (*vorübergehend*) replaced by "k. K. Kameral-Konzipist" Franc Kubiczek. *Ibid.*, 124.

25 *Ibid.*

26 Steska, for example, writes dryly, "From 1. 1848–1851 he was choir director of the *ljubl. Philharmonic*" (Steska, "Iz slovenske glasbene prošlosti," 179). One could also misunderstand the information in Kuret's study of the Philharmonic Society's activities, where Khom is mentioned only in connection with a later event, when Nedvěď left his position as a teacher at the Philharmonic Society's school. The arrival of Khom to Ljubljana is connected in Kuret's study to year 1860, when he had actually already said goodbye to Ljubljana: "The changes in the educational system prompted Nedvěď to become a music teacher at a public music school in 1860. He gave up his position as a teacher in the Philharmonic Society and remained only its music director. Therefore, the society hired two new teachers. Alfred Khom came as a singing teacher and Karl Zappe as a violin teacher, otherwise the orchestra director of the Estates Theater." Primož Kuret, *Slovenska filharmonija = Academia philharmonicorum, 1701–2001* (Ljubljana: Slovenska filharmonija, 2001), 36.

27 "Anzeige. Der ergebenst Unterzeichnete macht dem geehrten Publicum hiedurch bekannt, daß er vom 1. April d. J. angefangen, seinen Wohnsitz in hiesiger Stadt nehmen und Unterricht im Fortepianospiel, Generalbaß, Harmonielehre und Composition-Instrumentirung, nach dem System des Wiener Conservatoriums, aus dem derselbe

In the Chronicle of the Philharmonic Society, Keesbacher described Khom as a “diligent” musician and “skillful” composer, who proved to be an “experienced” choirmaster and whom he thanked for founding and expanding the male choir.²⁸ How much his contribution in the field of choral work was soon appreciated is also evident from the contemporary records in the newspapers of Ljubljana. It can be read, among other things, that he was entrusted with the direction and teaching of the male choir singing (*Männer-Chorgesangs*), and with regular rehearsals and performances he gave special pleasure to the friends and members of the *Liedertafel*.²⁹

Under the leadership of Khom, the choir performed at various events and concerts, improved its program and performances, and sought various opportunities for public recognition.³⁰

hervorgegangen, so wie auch in der höhern Gesangskunst ertheilen wird. Die Adresse wird später angezeigt werden. Alfred Khom.” Cf.: Alfred Khom, “Anzeige,” *Illyrisches Blatt*, no. 20 (10 March 1849): 80, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-QZR4J8U9>.

28 “[...] Alfred Khom, Schüler des Konservatoriums in Wien und gewesener Chormeister des Klagenfurter Männergesangs-Vereines den Antrag stellte, die Leitung des Chores unentgeltlich zu übernehmen, welches Anerbieten die Direktion auch annahm. Khom hat sich nach allen Urtheilen, die in der Direktion über ihn laut geworden, als tüchtigen Musiker und geschickten Kompositeur, so wie als braven Chormeister erwiesen und verdient sein Einfluß auf die Konstituierung des Männerchores als eines bedeutenden und dem Gedeihen desselben günstigen dankbarst verzeichnet zu werden.” Keesbacher, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft*, 93.

29 In an article of the *Illyrisches Blatt* of August 1849 we can read that at the concert of the Philharmonic Society on July 3, 1849, i.e. already three months after the arrival of Khom in Ljubljana, the progress of the students was to the general satisfaction and joy, and the artistic development was achieved by “*diligent exercises and expeditent teaching*.” Here the author of the composition emphasises the importance of the presence of the proven choir director Alfred Khom. “*Bitte an die Freunde der Liedertafel. Während die Direction des philharmonischen Vereines in Laibach durch das am 3. Juli d. J. abgehaltene Prüfungsconcert Beweise eines erheblichen Fortschrittes in der musikalischen Ausbildung ihrer Zöglinge lieferte, findet sie sich verpflichtet, zu bekennen, daß die, der allgemeinen Gunst sich besonders erfreuende Liedertafel einen höheren Aufschwung der Kunst nur durch eifrige Uebungen und zweckmäßige Anleitung zu erreichen vermag. Eine besondere Gelegenheit hierzu bietet die Anwesenheit des bewährten Chordirectors Alfred Khom. Es liegt in der Absicht, durch die, diesem Gesangmeister anzuvertrauende Leitung und Belehrung des Männer-Chorgesanges, den Freunden und Mitgliedern der Liedertafel einen besonderen Genuß dadurch zu verschaffen, daß deren Uebungen und Productionen in geregelte und bestimmte Zeiten gereiht werden.*” Anon., “*Bitte an die Freunde der Liedertafel,*” *Illyrisches Blatt*, no. 65 (14 August 1849): 260, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-LTRoI1YN>.

30 Interesting is the entry in Keesbacher from 1849 that the board of the Philharmonic Society, in order to improve pronunciation in singing and speaking, hired a sing-

In addition to public concerts, the choir regularly organized various excursions and trips with singing.³¹

Then, in the 1850s, various reports appeared in the newspapers about concerts in which Khom participated either as a performer or as a composer, indicating his considerable activity. His symphonic works³² and his chamber music works, especially piano compositions,³³ were performed in the concerts. Often his works were performed by the students of the music school,³⁴ who particularly appreciated Khom's creative and pedagogical activity.³⁵

Among other things,³⁶ he also performed as a fisharmonica player. A fisharmonica, an earlier version of a harmonium, he admired much and also taught.³⁷ For one of the concerts he prepared an arrangement of Beethoven's Septet for piano, fisharmonica and violin.³⁸

er, Posinger, who performed twice a week (Sundays and Thursdays) for two hours in the hall of the society and offered declamation exercises, which attracted many Laibachers. Keesbacher, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft*, 93.

31 A little over a month after the Khom's arrival, on May 14, 1849, the choir went to Rožnik and presented itself as a good performing body. Keesbacher notes that the musical program of the excursion proved that the choir had to be very skillful in the sense of the chosen program: "*Das Musik-Programm jener Fahrt zeigt, daß der Chor schon recht tüchtig geschult sein mußte; auch macht die Wahl der Stücke ihm alle Ehre.*" Ibid.

32 Ibid., 246.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid., 247.

35 In his assessment of the student concert on July 22, 1854, the former director of the Philharmonic Society, Henrik Costa (*Dr. H. C.*), praised Khom, emphasizing that he "*devotes himself entirely to his profession with love, effort and diligence. [...] Ueberhaupt muß man sowohl den Herrn Instituts-Inhaber als die Zöglinge loben, daß die Stunden der Erholung auf so edle Weise ausgefüllt und der, Herz und Gemüth bildenden Tonkunst gewidmet werden; nicht minder aber verdient auch der Musiklehrer des Institutes, Hr. A. Khom, volle Anerkennung, da er mit Liebe, Mühe und Fleiß seinem Berufe sich hingibt, und diesen, wie sich zeigt, vollkommen erfüllt.*" Dr. H. C. [Henrik Costa], "Prüfungs – Konzert der Zöglinge der kaufmännischen Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt in Laibach," *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 169 (26 July 1854): 741, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-DIY7WV8F>.

36 Among the highlights of the program is Khom's interesting declamation with piano accompaniment entitled *Der arme Thoms*, February 11, 1853. Here Khom drew on the expressive tragic poetry of the Austrian poet, writer, and diplomat August Ernst von Steigentesch (1744–1826). Sara Železnik, *Koncertni sporedi Filharmonične družbe 1816–1872* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba FF, 2013), 268.

37 Ibid., 251.

38 Khom was joined by the well-known violinist Heinrich Fiby and the pianist Anton Door. The latter was the expected central figure of the evening. He was a popular pi-

Khom's performance with the Philharmonic Society in two consecutive July concerts in 1855 was of special significance, as it was the first time that J. S. Bach was on the program of the society, probably due in large part to Khom's efforts.³⁹ On July 13, 1855, the Meditation for violin, piano, and fisharmonica was performed by guest musicians, London pianist Arabella Goddard⁴⁰ and Viennese violinist Ludwig Strauss,⁴¹ with the help of Khom, who was probably also the author of the arrangement in which he included his favourite instrument.⁴²

In addition, in October 1850, Khom took over the position of organist in the church of the Knights Hospitaller in Križanke. In doing so, he joined forces with the director of the Philharmonic Orchestra, Leitermeyer, with whom they had already collaborated in Klagenfurt, as mentioned.⁴³

anist in his day who, in addition to numerous concert tours, taught in Stockholm, Moscow, and Vienna, and was a friend of Brahms, among others. He later published his memoirs. Cf. Anton Door, "Persönliche Erinnerungen an Brahms," *Die Musik* 2, no. 3 (1902–1903): 216–21. The reporter of the concert wrote that "*the divine melodies of the immortal master came to full expression,*" even though "*it cannot be denied that the choice of the instruments mentioned was not the happiest for the arrangement*" ("*die göttlichen Melodien des unsterblichen Meisters zu voller Geltung brachte, wenn schon wir nicht läugnen können, daß die Wahl der obenbenannten Instrumente für das Arrangement nicht die glücklichste war*"). C., "Lokales," *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 145 (27 June 1855): 631, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-XTSAID6O>.

39 Železnik, *Koncertni sporedi*, 288.

40 Arabella Goddard (1836–1922) was an English pianist. She performed on many stages in Europe as well as in America, Australia, and India. She taught at the Royal College of Music in London. Frank Howes, "Goddard, Arabella," Grove Music Online, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11330>.

41 Ludwig Strauß (1835–1899) was a violinist. In addition to concert tours in Austria, Germany and Italy, he later worked primarily on British stages. Alexander Rausch, "Strauß (Straus), Ludwig," Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online, May 15, 2006, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_S/Strauss_Ludwig.xml.

42 As can be seen from the program for the next concert, which the two guest artists prepared a few days later, on July 17, Bach's piece impressed the audience so much at the first performance that they had to include it in the program for the next concert as well. Železnik, *Koncertni sporedi*, 288.

43 Khom played on the new organ by Andrej Malahovski, leaving the musical arrangement of the solemn masses (*solenne Messe*) to Leitermeyer, whose effect was vividly described by the then editor of the *Laibacher Zeitung*, Vinko Fereri Klun: "*How powerfully the harmonious sounds lifted the spirit, which drowned prayerfully in these sounds and rose in silent adoration on the wings of sound to the throne of the Most High. [...] Für Freunde der Kirchenmusik. Das Bedürfniß einer entsprechenden Kirchenmusik, die man jetzt doch fast in allen Provinzstädten findet, trat auch hier immer lebendiger hervor, und wir fühlten uns auf das angenehmste berührt, als wir sahen, daß ein höchst erfreulicher Anfang hierzu in der D. R. O. Kirche gemacht wurde. Der als sehr tüchtiger Musiklehrer bekannte, und sehr geschätzte Herr Alfred Khom,*

In 1851, with the arrival of the new director of the Society, Henrik Costa (1796–1870), the male choir of the Philharmonic Society received new rehearsal rooms. A long search for the solution was solved by Gustav Fischer, who offered the choir a place in the house of Kazina for free use.⁴⁴

In 1852, Khom also became the choir director at the “*trade school in Mahr*.”⁴⁵ This could also be an indication of the gradual farewell of Khom from the Philharmonic Society.

In 1854, the male choir of the Philharmonic Society was taken over by Kamilo Mašek, who directed the choir until 1856, while Keesbacher, who mentions this information in his chronicle, does not give the reasons for the change in leadership.⁴⁶ The choir continued its performances and excursions to the same extent.⁴⁷

After former voice teacher Fanny Stewart von Sternegg stopped teaching in 1856, the Philharmonic Society advertised for a new teacher. The Society felt that from now on it would be better to have a voice teacher who could also teach violin.⁴⁸ The choice fell on Anton Nedvěd from Prague, who came to Ljubljana at the end of September. In addition to teaching at

*hat mit October die Organistenstelle in besagte Kirche übernommen, dann den umsichtigen Orchester-Director, den braven Tonkünstler Hrn. Leitermayer für seine Idee gewonnen, und letzterem die Leitung des Ganzen übertragen. Da an der Spitze so wackere musikalische Kräfte stehen, so lies sich mit Recht nur Gutes erwarten, und wir fanden uns wahrlich nicht in unseren Erwartungen getäuscht, als wir an den letzten Sonntagen um 10 Uhr der solennen Messe beiwohnten. Wie mächtig heben nicht die harmonischen Klänge den Geist, der in Andacht dieser Scholle sich entringt, und in stiller Anbetung auf den Flügeln der Töne zum Throne des Höchsten aufliegt! Es wäre wohl sehr zu wünschen, daß dieses schöne Unternehmen des Hrn. Alfred Khom durch mehrseitige Unterstützung eines stets wachsenden Erfolges sich zu erfreuen hätte, und wie wir erfuhren, haben sich auch schon mehrere Freunde der Kirchenmusik gefunden, die ihm unter die Arme greifen. Die vom Hrn. Malihovski, Orgelbauer in Laibach, gebaute Orgel zeichnet sich durch neue Register aus, und obwohl deren nur 10 sind, so hat sie doch bedeutende Kraft. Eine sehr lobenswerthe Erwähnung aber verdienen insbesondere die Sänger und Sängerinnen, die stets gut einstudirt sind. Wir glauben, daher nur eine angenehme Pflicht zu erfüllen, wenn wir die Musikfreunde darauf aufmerksam machen, und zur thätigen Unterstützung des schönen Unternehmens aufmuntern. Dr. B. F. Klun.” Dr. B. F. Klun, “Für Freunde der Kirchenmusik,” *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 263 (15 November 1850): 1160, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-PTSIXXX2>.*

44 Keesbacher, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft*, 98.

45 Steska notes that “*all testimonies [...] praise him highly for his knowledge, methods, and conduct.*” Steska, “*Iz slovenske glasbene prošlosti*,” 180.

46 Keesbacher, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft*, 95.

47 Cf. Keesbacher’s note on excursion to Rožnik, on May 20, 1854. *Ibid.*, 102.

48 *Ibid.*, 103.

the school of the Philharmonic Society, he assumed the post of choirmaster of the men's choir in 1856, founded the women's choir in 1857, and finally assumed the post of music director of the Society in 1858. Keesbacher, who had previously spoken positively about the years of the Khom's choral direction, points out that it was Nedvěd's merit to bring the men's choir to a perfect level.⁴⁹

Both choirs strengthened under the direction of Nedvěd and regularly participated in the concerts of the Philharmonic Society, including more demanding concerts, and Nedvěd managed to successfully complement the efforts of Khom and Kamilo Mašek.

During this period, Khom also established himself as a choir director in the Catholic Craftsman's Society (*Katholischer Gesellenverein*), which was founded in Ljubljana in 1855 by Leon Stanislav Vončina,⁵⁰ following the example of Adolf Kolping. Vončina praised Khom's efforts in teaching singing and emphasised Khom's "repeatedly expressed lively interest in the needs of the association" and thus in "maintaining and raising the good spirit" in the association.⁵¹ In addition, Khom continued to teach privately,⁵² and in

49 Already with his first concert, on December 19, 1856, Nedvěd became "a favourite of the audience and the singers" ["Nedved war dadurch der Liebling des Publikums und der Sänger geworden"]. Ibid., 104.

50 Leon Stanislav Vončina (1826–1874) was a social organizer and historian. In Vienna he became acquainted with the ideas of Adolf Kolping, and in 1855, following the German model, he founded the Catholic Journeymen's Association in Ljubljana, which he led until his death. At the time of his death, Ivan Prijatelj wrote that his association was "the only association in Ljubljana that [...] held meetings at which Slovene songs were also sung." Marijan Smolik, "Vončina, Leon Stanislav (1826–1874)," *Slovenska biografija* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2013), <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi811412/#slovenski-biografski-leksikon>.

51 "[...] einem besondern Danke verpflichtet fühlen muß, wie nicht minder dem Herrn Gesangslehrer Khom, welcher nicht nur durch seinen ausnehmend regen Eifer in der Ertheilung des Gesangunterrichtes, sondern auch durch mehrfache Darlegung seines lebhaften Interesses für die Vereinssache sich einer besondern Anhänglichkeit von Seite der Vereins-Gesellen erfreuen dürfte, und dadurch aus die Erhaltung und Hebung des guten Geistes unter denselben mächtig einwirkte." Anon., "Jahresversammlung des kuth. Gesellenvereins in Laibach," *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 101 (5 May 1858): 405, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-Mo4PQ9XO>.

52 "Gefertigter gibt sich die Ehre anzuzeigen, daß derselbe im Monat November öffentliche vortrage in der höhern Theorie der Musik beginnen wird, und ladet daher alle jene, welche gesonnen sind, diesen Unterricht zu genießen, höflichst ein, sich längstens bis 25. d. M. bei den Unterzeichneten melden zu wollen, welcher sodann über die Zeit der Unterrichtsstunden so wie auch hinsichtlich der sehr billig gestellten Honorars Auskunft ertheilt. Auch einzelne Privatstunden für den Unterricht im Generalbaß, Pianofortespiel, Physharmonika und Gesang hat der Gefertigte zu vergeben.

January 1850, due to Kamilo Mašek's deteriorating health, he also took over as deputy music teacher.⁵³

After Mašek's early death, a new teacher had to be found. As one of the main criteria, it was determined that a future teacher should, above all, master the methodology of teaching. Among the four candidates was Khom, but since he »did not have the necessary pedagogical examinations«, on the basis of the above criteria they preferred the teacher of the Celje Music School Gregor Triebnigg, and then actually hired Nedvĕd. Khom, however, was then chosen as assistant music teacher, "to whom this position was transferred by decree of December 16, 1859."⁵⁴

In 1860, Nedvĕd assumed the post of teacher at the public music school, while within the Philharmonic Society he held only the post of music director (*Musik-Direktor*) and choir director (*Chormeisterstelle*).⁵⁵ Thus, the Philharmonic Society hired two new teachers. The "experienced" violinist Karl Zappe,⁵⁶ the orchestra director of the Provincial Theatre, was appointed violin teacher and Alfred Khom was appointed singing teacher. Both took up their posts on January 1, 1860, although Keesbacher writes almost in the same breath that Khom soon followed the call to Graz and was replaced by the organist of the church of St. Jakob, Karl Fruehling, who performed this task until 1862.⁵⁷

Alfred Khom, Lehrer der Tonkunst an der hiesigen Handels-Lehr-Anstalt, wohnhaft in der St. Peters-Vorstadt Nr. 79, I. Stock." Anon., "Kundmachung," *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 232 (12 October 1857): 938, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-6BCCV2DL>.

53 As Keesbacher reports, Kamilo Mašek was accepted as an active member of the Philharmonic Society on April 14, 1849, the same year that Khom came to Ljubljana. Keesbacher, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft*, 94.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid., 107.

56 Karl Zappe (1837–1890), violinist, native as well as Khom of Linz. He worked first at the Linz Theater, then in various Viennese churches, and in 1859–71 was director of the orchestra of the Ljubljana Theatre and violin teacher of the Philharmonic Society. Later he returned to Linz. Christian Fastl, "Zappe, Familie," *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon* online, November 20, 2018, http://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_Z/Zappe_Familie.xml.

57 "Man ernannte nun wieder zwei Lehrer, und zwar zum Gesangslehrer Herrn Alfred Khom, zum Violinlehrer den tüchtigen Violinisten Karl Zappe, Orchester-Direktor des ständischen Theaters. Diese Lehrer nun traten am 1. Jänner 1860 den Dienst an und versahen ihn zu voller Zufriedenheit der Direktion. Khom folgte jedoch sehr bald einem Rufe nach Graz und an seine Stelle wurde der Organist von St. Jakob, Karl Frühling berufen, der diese Stelle bis 1862 bekleidete." Keesbacher, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft*, 107.

One of the most visible creative achievements of Khom in Ljubljana was his participation in the performance of *The Brave Women of Bled* (*Die muthigen Weiber von Veldes*), in the Slovenian translation as *Junaške Blejke* or *Serčne Blejke*. The work is set in Bled, at the immediate end of the French Illyrian provinces, and its theme alludes to a popular patriotic motif of persecution of the French occupiers from the Austrian lands. Germonik based his text for the play *Die Weiber von Veldes* on a story from the time of the French occupation of Bled in 1813. In the minds of the average Slovenian, the occupation rule of the French has been preserved as harsh and unfriendly. The vivid memory of many unpleasant events contributed to this, and this image was partly fueled by the Habsburg government, which strengthened civic consciousness under the Austrian crown. This consciousness also overcame the later aggravated national division, which was already indicated in the so-called *Völkerfrühling*, but only reached its true climax with the outbreak of the First World War. This way of expressing the importance and excellence of the united Austrian state also contributed to the revival of memories of the French occupation as depicted in the story around which Germonik shaped his text. The text made the representatives of the French authorities on Slovenian soil laugh, because they did not care about the inhabitants, but appropriated the property here for themselves and their own. Germonik's story was based on the story of the brave women from Bled. The story, in which German names are interwoven with Slovenian ones and German songs with Slovenian tunes, thus resonates in the spirit of the aforementioned Austrian patriotic transnational feeling that was particularly close to both Germonik and Khom. Moreover, the narrative about the popular movement in Bled in 1813 is based on a concrete historical event that was historically documented and presented in a long article in the *Laibacher Zeitung* at the end of October 1867 as preparation for the performance of the play.⁵⁸ The play was very popular with the public, so that even later, when Khom was no longer in Carniola,⁵⁹ it remained on the

58 F. L. Mogainer, "Zur Volksbewegung in Veldes im J. 1813," *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 248 (28 October 1867): 1689–91, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-C45WSW7I>.

59 The play was translated into Slovenian in 1871 under the title *Serčne Blejke*. The first act was translated by Anton Umek-Okiški, the second and third by Valentin Prešeren. In Ljubljana it was performed in the theatre under the title *Pogumne Gorenjke*: on December 10, 1872 and January 25, 1874, directed by Nolli, on February 27, 1876, directed by Gecel, and on January 6, 1895, directed by Anič. Mina Černe, "Bled v slovenski literaturi 'dolgega 19. stoletja' (1. del)," *Kronika* 61, no. 1 (2013): 105–24, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-FHQJG1EP>.

repertoires of theaters in Ljubljana in various adaptations, but was also performed in Trieste (where the text was published) and in Graz.⁶⁰

An important fact, which is also highlighted in newspaper reports, is that Khom also included several Slovenian national motifs in the piece. The text was written by Ludvik Germonik (1823–1909).⁶¹ Germonik was a writer and publicist. He founded the *Villacher Zeitung*, was editor of the *Klagenfurter Zeitung* in 1855–1857, and then came to Ljubljana. He worked in the library of the Lyceum and was archivist of the Museum Society. Numerous articles testify to his interest in Slovene literature. He published a translation of Prešeren's poems and wrote his first major biography. He also made special efforts to popularize Bled, which is reflected in the aforementioned play. In 1872 he went to Vienna, where he continued his journalistic activities and devoted himself to Austrian literature and folk song in Carniola.

During his time in Ljubljana, Khom was closely associated with Germonik, but it is possible that their paths crossed as early as Klagenfurt. Sources testify that they collaborated more intensively in Vienna at least from the 1870s.

Khom left Carniola in the fall of 1861 and moved to Graz.⁶² We can assume that his decision was mainly due to better conditions and more adequate pay. Khom accepted a position in Graz as a teacher at the school of

60 “(‘Die Weiber von Veldes’), ein dramatisches Gemälde in 3 Acten aus der Zeit der französischen Zwischenregierung in Illyrien von L. Germonik ist soeben aus der Buchdruckerei des österreichischen Lloyd in Triest in sehr netter Ausstattung hervorgegangen. Die Widmung hat Herr Dr. Ludwig Ritter v. Gutmannsthal-Benvenuti, Commandeur und Ritter mehrerer hoher Orden, Herrschaftsbesitzer in Krain, angenommen. Der Stoff ist bekannt, und unsere Leser finden den historischen Kern in den in der Nummer 248 unseres Blattes vom 28. v. M. abgedruckten Documenten. Bei der Aufführung auf der hiesigen Bühne im Jahre 1861 erzielte das Stück, gehoben durch die hübsche Musik Alfred Khom's, instrumentirt von Camillo Maschek, durch die eingewebten Nationalmelodien, die vorkommende landschaftliche Scenerie und die dieselbe belebenden Landestrachten ein volles Haus. Neuerlich wurde dasselbe dem Vernehmen nach in Triest und Graz zur Aufführung angenommen.” Anon., “Locales,” *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 258 (9 November 1867): 1760, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-TY4YBOA7>.

61 Joža Glonar, “Germonik, Ludvik (1823–1909),” *Slovenska biografija* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2013), <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi199363/#slovenski-biografski-leksikon>. Cf. also Černe, “Bled v slovenski literaturi,” 112.

62 Steska gives the exact date: “Khom sent a letter from Graz on September 29, 1861, in which he resigned as provisional music teacher.” Steska, “Iz slovenske glasbene prošlosti,” 180.

the *Musikverein für Steiermark*, where he worked from 1861 to 1864. His later activities were occasionally reported in Krainer and Styrian newspapers.

His involvement in the Graz *Turnerverein*, where he was valued as a “capable music teacher,” was particularly striking. As in Ljubljana and previously in Klagenfurt, he led their singing rehearsals, performances, as well as excursions and meetings.⁶³

Khom’s time in Graz ended in 1871, when he returned to become choir-master of the Klagenfurt Men’s Choral Society (*Männergesangverein*). He remained there only a short time, until 1873, when, as mentioned above, he remarried in Graz.⁶⁴ In 1873 Khom then moved to Vienna, where he lived until 1876, when he went to Wolfsberg in Carinthia. There he became *regens chori* of the parish church.⁶⁵ For a short time he also acted as a theatre *Kapellmeister* in Innsbruck.⁶⁶

63 The *Turnerverein* represented an otherwise distinctively broad popular form of sociability. A *Marburger Zeitung* reporter from one such meeting lamented that more members from the “so-called intelligentsia” did not join the club, writing with amusement that the latter saw in physical exercise primarily a “remedy for hemorrhoids or excessive fat accumulation;” the parties, on the other hand, saw in such clubs only a “wretched opportunity to break limbs and tear pants:” “Der Turnverein, dessen Statuten bereits dem Staatsministerium zur Genehmigung vorgelegt wurden, erwartet selbe in kurze, worauf er natürlich erst öffentlich als solcher auftreten kann. Unterdessen wurde im Schutze desselben eine Gesangsschule unter der Leitung des tüchtigen Musiklehrers Herrn Alfred Khom gebildet, deren Leistungen den Turnern bei Ausflügen und Versammlungen schon viel Vergnügen bereiteten und für Lehrer und Sänger ehrenvoll genannt werden können. Schade nur, daß die Theilnahme für den Turnverein unter der sogenannten intelligenten Classe keine größere ist, denn wenn auch viele Doctoren d. R., Fakultätsstudierende, Beamte u. s. w. turnen, so betrachten sie die Sache nur als ein Gegenmittel gegen Hämorrhoiden oder allzugroße Fettablagerung und werden sich’s, mit wenigen Ausnahmen, ja nicht beikommen lassen, am Turnplatze den Doktorhut und sonstige Insignien abzulegen, geschweige denn einen Turner Ausflug mitzumachen, der sie etwa gar nur ‘Nichtstudirten’ in nähere Berührung bringen könnte. Leider begegnet man im Publikum häufig einer entschiedenen Abneigung gegen das Turnen, in welchem es nichts anderes als eine beklagenswerthe Gelegenheit zu Gliederbrüchen und zum ‘hosenzerreiße’ erblickt.” Anon., “Das Vereinswesen in Graz,” *Marburger Zeitung, Correspondent für Untersteiermark* 1, no. 5 (13 April 1862): 1, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-RMKFOQFK>.

64 Suppan, *Steirisches Musiklexikon*.

65 The *Laibacher Tageblatt*, which reports about it, describes Khom interestingly only as “former choirmaster of the Klagenfurt Men’s Singing Society.” Anon., “Local- und Provinzial- Ungelegenheiten,” *Laibacher Tagblatt* 9, no. 269 (23 November 1876): [3], <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-B9QEDFXM>.

66 Suppan, *Steirisches Musiklexikon*.

In 1881 Khom finally moved to Vienna, where he again devoted himself mainly to male choral singing⁶⁷ and theatre. In 1882 he is mentioned in a newspaper note as the director of the Sulkovsky Theatre in Vienna. In the said note Khom is even named as the director of this theatre.⁶⁸

During this period, Khom published several different compositions, often in collaboration with Germonik. For example, the composition *Deutsches Donaulied in Oesterreich* for male quartet or choir was published in 1882. The composition, based on Germonik's text, is considered »folk harmonized« and therefore especially suitable for German choral societies.⁶⁹ Also of interest is the song *Die Oesterreicher soll man ehren!* published a year later, which is also based on Germonik's text. Against the background of rising nationalism, which was perhaps even more pronounced in Styria than in Carniola, it seems understandable that the author of the record emphasizes that its "core is rooted in the German-Austrian spirit." In addition, there is the enthusiasm for the "joyful sounds" from which "the spirit of the wine blossom springs," which makes the song particularly suitable for the singing groups of the "sunny hills of Lower Styria".⁷⁰

67 Hilscher, "Khom (Chom), Alfred," 994.

68 "(Alfred Khoms) dreiactige Oper 'Nachtigall und Lerche' kommt am 26. d. im Sulkovsky Theater, dessen Director Prof. Khom ist, zur ersten Aufführung, Die Costüme und Decorationen sind ganz neu. Die Spannung des Publicums ist sehr groß. Theaterdirector Khom hat auch 'Die Weiber von Veldes' in ein Singspiel mit Nationalmelodien umgearbeitet, um dies Stück ebenfalls hier auszuführen." Cf.: Anon., "Locales. Alfred Khoms," *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 143 (24 June 1882): 1238, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-LP95DQFM>.

69 "(Deutsches Donaulied in Oesterreich) betitelt sich eine schwungvolle Dichtung von Germonik, welche Chormeister Alfred Khom für Männerquartett oder Chor nach einer Volksweise harmonisierte. Dieses Musikstück, das sich namentlich deutschen Gesangsvereinen besonders empfiehlt, ist in netter Ausstattung im Musikalienverlag von Buchholz & Diebel (Wien, I., Grabenhof) erschienen." Cf.: Anon., "Locales. Deutsches Donaulied in Oesterreich," *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 113 (17 May 1882): 972, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-73F87V9O>.

70 "[Die Oesterreicher soll man ehren!] ist der Titel des neuesten Chors Alfred Khom's (Text von Germonik), dessen Kernpunkt im deutsch-österreichischen Geiste wurzelt. Aus den freudigen Klängen weht Rebenblütenduft und ist daher dies Lied ganz besonders den Sangesgenossen an den sonnigen Hügeln der unteren Steiermark zu empfehlen. Der obgenannte Chor wird in vielen Gesangsvereinen zur Aufführung vorbereitet. Partitur und Stimmen sind durch den Grillparzer-Verein in Wien gratis zu beziehen." Anon., "Literarisches. Die Oesterreicher soll man ehren!" *Deutsche Wacht* 8, no. 26 (1 April 1883): 5, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-M8CXIML3>.

In 1884, the *Laibacher Zeitung* also reported that Khom and Germonik had founded a new men's and women's singing society, the *Sängerheim*, in Vienna.⁷¹

Khom's creative work was marked by a period determined on the one hand by the fierce development of the compositional language and on the other hand by the intensification of the national feeling, perhaps paradoxically connected with a feeling for the globalizing spread of the modern musical language. These conditions also determined Khom himself, a broadly based consultant who at the same time looked to the domestic heritage that transcended linguistic boundaries and testified to a deeper supranational essence of Austrian cultural unity.

Khom joined the circle of like-minded musicians and intellectuals of his time and maintained close contacts with the circle of intellectuals from Carniola throughout his life. Among them Ludvik Germonik stands out. Khom was also friends with Peter Radics, who was also enthusiastic about the Slovenian region, especially Carniola, and its folk-cultural heritage, and with whom he shared the characteristic "*myth of Habsburg culture*."⁷² Among his characteristic friends was also the painter Franz von Kurz zum Thurn und Goldenstein. The famous Austrian music historian Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773–1850) could also be counted among his circle of acquaintances, as is evident from the dedication of one of his works.

In this context, the participation of the Khom in an event commemorating the famous Krainer poet Anastasius Grün in 1887. In addition to the ceremonial address and the laying of a laurel wreath at the poet's picture, a wreath of folk songs from Carniola (i.e., probably Slovene songs) was performed at the event in an arrangement and with piano accompaniment by

71 "*(Sängerheim) ist der Titel eines neuen Männer- und Damengesangs-Vereins in Wien, dessen constituierende Versammlung am vorigen Freitag stattfand. Die Gründer dieses Gesangsvereines, Redacteur Germonik und Kapellmeister Alfred Khom, haben vor Jahren auch in Krain gewirkt; letzterer als Musikprofessor und der erstere übersetzte Unter andern zwei Balladen Preširen's und Vodnik's 'Veršac' (in den 'Dioskuren' erschienen) im antiken Versmaß.*" Cf. Anon., "Sängerheim," *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 99 (30 April 1884): 842, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-205QI6ZZ>.

72 Tanja Žigon, "Ludvik Germonik in Peter Pavel pl. Radics — ustanovitelja Grillparzerjevega društva na Dunaju," in *V zlatih črkah v zgodovini: razprave v spomin Olgi Janša-Zorn*, ed. Miha Preinfalk (Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2009), 323.

Khom himself. These were Slovenian songs sung by the inmates of the asylum and “*provoked a never-ending applause from the crowded hall.*”⁷³ With her work, Fanny Petritsch⁷⁴ also belonged to the circle of intellectuals closely connected with the Slovenian land and its history and culture. As can be read in the occasional note on her death in the *Laibacher Wochenblatt*, she was “*a versatile educated lady, always marked by warm patriotism towards her homeland Carniola and already as a young writer active in the field of local history.*”⁷⁵

Khom died at Simmering near Vienna on Whit Monday, May 22, 1893, and was buried two days later, on Wednesday, May 24. The news of his death reached the readers of the *Laibacher Zeitung* a few days later.⁷⁶ Even a few years after his death, individual performances of his works can be heard, among others in the salon of his widow’s house in Mödling near Vienna. Gradually, however, the memory of one of the most important contributors to the history of Slovenian music, and thus of his works, is fading more and more.

73 “(Anastasius Grün-Feier.) *Am vergangenen Samstag hat eine Anastasius Grün-Feier im Töchterinstitute der Fräulein Petritsch in Wien stattgefunden. Die Festrede hielt die Vorsteherin Fräulein Fanny Petritsch, indem sie Anastasius Grüns Bedeutung als Dichter, Patriot und Staatsmann hervorhob. Nach einer festlichen Ansprache wurde des Dichters Bild von einem Mädchen mit einem Lorbeerkrantz geziert. Unter anderen wurden drei Volkslieder aus Krain, von Professor Alfred Khom arrangiert und auf dem Piano begleitet, von Schülerinnen vorgetragen. Diese Lieder, der poetischen Sammlung ‘Alpenglühen’ entnommen, fanden nicht enden wollenden Beifall des gedrängt vollen Saales.*” Cf.: Anon., “Anastasius Grün-Feier,” *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 89 (21 April 1887): 747–8, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-Z3SO1VYK>.

74 Fanny Petritsch was, among other things, the author of a monograph on Mozart’s childhood *Wolfgang und Nannerl: Mozart’s Kindheit* (Leipzig, Prag: F. Tempsky, G. Freytag, 1885) and the well-known *Heimatkunde von Kärnten* (Klagenfurt: Liegel, 1872).

75 Anon., “Todesfall,” *Laibacher Wochenblatt*, no. 438 (29 December 1888): [4], <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-KQ3VFONW>.

76 “(Todesfall.) *Am Pfingstmontag ist in Simmering bei Wien der Componist Khom gestorben und wurde Mittwoch nachmittags begraben. Sein letztes Werk ist die Musik zum Melodram ‘Die See-Idylle von Veldes’. Khom war Gründer des Klagenfurter Männergesangvereines. Khom wirkte von 1849 bis 1861 auch in Laibach als Musiklehrer und war in zweiter Ehe mit Clementine Kurz von Goldenstein verheiratet. Goldenstein war bekanntlich Maler in der Hauptstadt Krains.*” Cf. Anon., “Todesfall,” *Laibacher Zeitung*, no. 120 (27 May 1893): 1038, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-TO97NT9U>.

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Harmonija, kontrapunkt in oblikoslovje od ustanovitve Glasbene matice do Akademije za glasbo

Katarina Zadnik
Univerza v Ljubljani
University of Ljubljana

Uvod

Glasbenoteoretični predmeti, ki so bili sestavni del predmetnikov glasbenih šol v 19. stoletju, so imeli vselej pomembno funkcijo v celostnem glasbenem razvoju slehernega glasbenika. Potrebe po celovitem izobraženem glasbeniku glede na različne glasbene profile so se porajale že pred ustanovitvijo glasbene šole pri Glasbeni matici v Ljubljani, ki predstavlja ključno ustanovo v razvoju glasbenega izobraževanja na Slovenskem. Čeprav predmetnik prvo ustanovljene Javne glasbene šole pri ljubljanski normalki (1816) ni umeščal samostojnega predmeta glasbene teorije v predmetniku šole, so bile vsebine tega predmeta vključene v pevski in inštrumentalni pouk. Na slednje je opozarjal Gašper Mašek (1794–1873), ki je kot edini polivalentni učitelj poučeval vse učne predmete na šoli, in tako pozival k ločenemu poučevanju glasbenoteoretičnih elementov od pevskega in inštrumentalnega pouka.¹ Tudi v glasbeni šoli pri Filharmonični družbi v Ljubljani – leta 1821 sta bili ustanovljeni pevska in violinska šola (ta naj bi delovala že prej) – predmet glasbena teorija ni bil del rednega predmetnika. Predvidevamo, da so se sestavine glasbene teorije izvajale zasebno, kar je bila običajna praksa v tedanjem obdobju,² vse dokler se ni pričel izvajati tečaj glasbe-

1 Cvetko Budkovič, *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem I. Od začetka 19. stoletja do nastanka konservatorija* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 1992), 32.

2 Maruša Zupančič, *Razvoj violinske pedagogike in šolstva na Slovenskem od začetka 19. stoletja do začetka druge svetovne vojne* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozof-

ne teorije leta 1849, ki je potekal dvakrat tedensko na domu Alfreda Khoma (1826–1893) in je bil izbirne narave.³ Zаметki tečaja so spodbudili potrebo po samostojnem predmetu, ki je postal obvezen sestavni del predmetnika glasbene šole pri Filharmonični družbi leta 1882, v istem letu ko je bila ustanovljena glasbena šola pri Glasbeni matici. Četudi je glasbena šola Filharmonične družbe imela daljšo tradicijo delovanja, se je večji preboj v razvoju glasbenoteoretičnih predmetov zgodil prav v glasbeni šoli Glasbene matice. Pod ravnateljskim vodstvom skladatelja in opernega pevca Frana Gerbiča (1840–1917), ki je odločilno prispeval k uspešnemu razvoju šole, je glasbena teorija postala samostojen in obvezen predmet leta 1887.⁴ Težnje in prizadevanja po ustanovitvi konservatorija, ki so se začele porajati že v letu ustanovitve društva (1872), so spodbudile postopno širjenje predmetnika ne le s predmeti pevskega in inštrumentalnega pouka, temveč tudi s predmeti na področju glasbene teorije. Tako sta bila predmeta harmonija in kontrapunkt sestavna člena predmetnika glasbene šole, za katera sta bila zasnovana ločena učna načrta. V Poročilu društva Glasbene matice v Ljubljani za leto 1893/94⁵ sta umeščena učna načrta za harmonijo in kontrapunkt, iz katerih so razvidne opredeljene jasne učne vsebine za posamezni letnik izobraževanja. Za učenje predmeta harmonija je bil pogoj predhodno znanje splošne glasbene teorije in znanje klavirja vsaj prvih dveh razredov. Pogoj za učenje kontrapunkta pa je bilo predznanje harmonije. Pouk harmonije je trajal dve leti, po dve uri na teden, pouk kontrapunkta je trajal eno leto prav tako po dve uri na teden. Učni načrt za prvi letnik harmonije je vključeval učne vsebine: intervali z obrnitvami, konsonance in disonance, nauk o akordih in njihovih vezavah, trozvoki, kadence, četverozvoki (septakordi z obrnitvami), peterozvoki, vaje v generalbasu. Učni načrt za 2. letnik harmonije, ki je bil nadgradnja usvojenim učnim vsebinam iz 1. letnika, je obsegal učne vsebine: pripravo in razvez akordov, akordične zveze v molu, modulacije, kromatične prehajalne in menjalne tone, zadržke, anticipacije, ležeci ton, orgelni ton, igranje generalnega basa *prima vista*, harmonizacijo danih melodij in koral, prosto figuracijo in imitacijo. Učni načrt za kontrapunkt je obsegal naslednje učne vsebine: enoglasni (*jednoterni*) kontra-

ske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 2013), 49.

3 Budkovič, *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem I*, 61.

4 Katarina Zadnik, *Nauk o glasbi v slovenski glasbeni šoli – med preteklostjo, sedanjo in prihodnostjo* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 2019), 32, <https://doi.org/10.4312/9789610601593>.

5 *Poročilo društva Glasbene matice v Ljubljani 1893/94* (Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, 1894), 15, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-PPZZGIOA>.

punkt, imitacija, dvojni kontrapunkt oktave, decime in duodecime, fuga, triglasni (*trojni*) in štiriglasni (*četverni*) kontrapunkt, kanon, izdelava kontrapunktičnih vaj. Oba predmeta sta obravnavala iste učne vsebine tudi v kasnejših šolskih letih kar je razvidno v poročilih društva Glasbene matice iz let 1906/07 in 1907/08.⁶ Poročila iz različnih šolskih let kažejo na nizko udeležенost učencev pri obeh predmetih. V letu 1893/94 je pouk harmonije, ki jo je poučeval Matej Hubad (1866–1937), obiskovalo osem učencev. Pouk kontrapunkta se zaradi nevpisanih učencev v istem šolskem letu ni izvajal kot tudi ne v letu 1897/98. Ponovno se je ta izvajal v letu 1905/06, ko je pouk obiskovalo pet učencev, v letu 1906/07 se ta znova ni izvajal in v naslednjem letu 1907/08 je pouk ponovno stekel. Iz slednjih poročil je razbrati, da se je v nasprotju z nestalnim izvajanjem predmeta kontrapunkt, predmet harmonija izvajal, s tem da je bilo število udeležencev nizko. V šolskih letih 1908/09 in 1909/10 je pouk potekal pri obeh predmetih, harmonijo je poučeval Matej Hubad, medtem ko je predmeta harmonija in kontrapunkt poučeval mladi Anton Lajovic (1878–1960), ki je bil takrat študent kompozicije na dunajskem konservatoriju.⁷

Prve težnje po razvoju predmeta harmonija in kontrapunkt izvirajo iz leta 1881, torej leto dni pred ustanovitvijo glasbene šole pri Glasbeni matici, ko se je pojavil prvi učbenik za harmonijo in kontrapunkt. Učno gradivo, ki ga je oblikoval češki skladatelj in glasbeni pedagog Anton Foerster (1837–1926) in je bilo primarno namenjeno učencem v Orglarski šoli v Ljubljani (1877), je prvo učbeniško gradivo za harmonijo in kontrapunkt na Slovenskem. Anton Foerster, ki je kot ravnatelj in učitelj deloval na Orglarski šoli v Ljubljani in se zavedal pomena in vloge kakovostne glasbene vzgoje ter si prizadeval za sistematično izobraževanje, je spričo umanjkanja učbeniških gradiv pripravil lastna za pouk petja in glasbene teorije (*Kratek navod za poduk v petji*, 1867; *Teoretično-praktična pevska šola*, 1874, 1880, 1888, 1894, 1901; *Pesmarčica po številkah za nežno mladino*, 1882). Enake potrebe je zaznal tudi na področju harmonije in kontrapunkta, kar ga je spodbudilo k pripravi učbenika *Nauk o harmoniji in generalbasu, o modulaciji, o kontrapunktu, o imitaciji, kánonu in fugi s predhajajočo občno teorijo glasbe* z

6 Poročilo društva Glasbene matice v Ljubljani 1906/07 (Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, 1907), 2, 25, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-OTABRTNU>; Poročilo društva Glasbene matice v Ljubljani 1907/08 (Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, 1908), 21, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-2RTGKWOD>.

7 Poročila društva Glasbene matice v Ljubljani (1887/88, 1893/94, 1897/98, 1905/06, 1906/07, 1907/08, 1908/09, 1909/10), <https://www.dlib.si>.

glavnim ozirom na učence orgljarške šole v letu 1881. Leta 1904 je Foerster izdal posodobljeno verzijo učbenika z naslovom *Harmonija in kontrapunkt*.

Učbenika (1881, 1904) Antona Foersterja predstavljata mejnik v razvoju harmonije in kontrapunkta. Čeprav je avtor v drugi verziji iz leta 1904 deloma spreminjal terminologijo glasbenoteoretičnih pojmov na področju harmonije in kontrapunkta, je z učbenikoma postavil temelje v razvoju terminologije na obeh področjih. Podobna terminologija je bila v uporabi tudi v 30-ih letih 20. stoletja, zlasti v učbenikih za harmonijo. Terminologija na področju kontrapunkta pa je večje spremembe doživela z učbeniški gradivi Lucijana M. Škerjanca, ko je objavil *Nauk o kontrapunktu* (1944) in monografijo *Kontrapunkt in fuga* (1952, 1956).⁸

Harmonija od ustanovitve glasbenega konservatorija do Glasbene akademije

Ustanovitev glasbenega konservatorija pri Glasbeni matici v Ljubljani (1919) je sprožila zviševanje zahtev pri izobraževanju poklicnih glasbenih profilov. Konservatorij je tako vključeval predmetnike različnih šol kot so bile Šola za inštrumente, Šola za izobrazbo v solopetju za koncert in opero, Operna šola in Dramatična šola, med njimi je delovala tudi Šola za glasbeno teorijo. Šola za glasbeno teorijo, ki je vključevala različne pododdelke in je trajala od 6 do 7 let, je bila namenjena izobraževanju kapelnikov, opernim in koncertnim dirigentom, pevovodjem in glasbenim učiteljem. Njen predmetnik je obsegal predmete elementarna teorija, harmonija, kontrapunkt in kompozicija. Večji premik v razvoju glasbenoteoretičnih predmetov je opaziti s podržavljenjem konservatorija (1926), ko je za učence z večjimi ambicijami izobraževanje trajalo šest let na srednji stopnji in štiri leta na višji stopnji. Ob obveznem pouku inštrumenta ali petja so učenci morali obiskovati ob drugih predmetih, kot so splošna glasbena teorija, skladba (kompozicija), inštrumentacija, nauk o inštrumentih, forme in analiza, glasbena estetika, glasbena zgodovina, komorne vaje, klavirska spremljava, orkestralne vaje, mladinsko petje, zborovska šola, operna šola in plastika (ples), tudi harmonijo, kontrapunkt in oblikoslovje.⁹ Po zaslugi ravnatelja podržavljene-

8 Katarina Zadnik, »Učbeniki za glasbenoteoretične predmete od ustanovitve Konservatorija do danes«, v *Med ljubeznijo in poklicem: Sto let Konservatorija za glasbo in balet Ljubljana*, ur. Leon Stefanija in Suzana Zorko (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2019), 211.

9 Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina. Ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2015), 169–70, 172.

ga konservatorija Mateja Hubada (1866–1937), so se začele izvajati posodobitve učnih načrtov po zgledu meril tedanjih delujočih zahodnih evropskih konservatorijev.¹⁰ Ker poročila konservatorija po letu 1926 navajajo le enako število let izobraževanja za harmonijo (2 leti) in kontrapunkt (1 leto) kot v preteklih letih, medtem ko učnih načrtov za oba predmeta nismo zasledili, smo pregledali arhivsko zapuščino Glasbene matice in osebne mape glasbenih pedagogov, ki so poučevali obravnavana predmeta v tedanjem obdobju. Tako smo v Premrlovi zapuščini, ki jo hrani Glasbena zbirka NUK, našli na učni načrt za predmet harmonija. Stanko Premrl (1880–1965), duhovnik, skladatelj in glasbeni pedagog, je poučeval ob orglah in oblikoslovju tudi harmonijo od ustanovitve konservatorija dalje (1919), z ustanovitvijo Glasbene akademije (1939) pa je bil redni profesor harmonije.¹¹ Premrl je imel mnogo izkušenj s poučevanjem harmonije, saj jo je tako kot orgle in kontrapunkt poučeval od leta 1909 na Orglarski šoli v Ljubljani, ko je prevzel ravnateljsko funkcijo omenjene šole po Antonu Foersterju,¹² obenem pa je tudi vodil pripravo in izdelavo podrobnih učnih načrtov za vse predmete na omenjeni šoli leta 1925, med njimi tudi za predmeta harmonija in kontrapunkt.¹³ Na osnovi lastnih pedagoških izkušenj je Premrl pripravil učni načrt za predmet harmonija za 1. in 2. letnik¹⁴ za državni konservatorij. Učni načrt za 1. letnik je opredeljeval obravnavo terčne harmonije s trozvoki in njihovimi obrnitvami ter četverozvoki in peterozvoki v dur-mol sistemu ter obravnavo gradnje trozvokov in njihovih ustreznih vezav v strogem in prostem štiriglasnem stavku. Učni načrt za 2. letnik je opredeljeval obravnavo harmonskih zakonitosti z alteracijami, in sicer s prehaljnimi in menjalnimi kromatično spremenjenimi stopnjami (zvišana II., zvišana IV., znižana VI.) in modulacijami (diatonična in enharmonična). Učna načrta sta vključevala tudi minimalne standarde znanj ob koncu šolskega leta z okvirnimi izpitnimi vprašanji. V Premrlovi zapuščini se je ohranila tudi *Skripta za harmonijo*¹⁵ v rokopisu, v kateri je avtor obravnaval temeljna pravila v slogu strogega stavka, medtem ko Premrl ni izdal druge-

10 Ana Klopčič, »Ustanovitev in delovanje Glasbene akademije v Ljubljani (1939–1945)« (Dipl., Univerza v Ljubljani, 2010), 35.

11 Stanko Premrl, »Glasbeni spomini«, Glasbena zbirka NUK, Kronika IV, 10–1.

12 Stanko Premrl, »Življenjepisi«, Glasbena zbirka NUK, Kronika IV, 2–3.

13 Branka Rotar Pance, »Premrlova Orglarska šola«, v *Premrlov zbornik*, ur. Edo Škulj (Ljubljana: Družina, 1996), 34–5.

14 Stanko Premrl, »Učni načrt za harmonijo za 1. in 2. letnik na državnem konservatoriju v Ljubljani«, Glasbena zbirka NUK, Gradivo o šolah.

15 Stanko Premrl, »Skripta o harmoniji«, Glasbena zbirka NUK, Kronika VIII, Poučevanje A.

ga učnega gradiva za to področje. Natančne letnice nastanka učnih načrtov za harmonijo in *Skripta za harmonijo* niso razvidne. Sklepamo, da sta bila učna načrta za oba letnika harmonije oblikovana v letu 1926, ko je ravnatelj Matej Hubad ob podržavljenju konservatorija spodbudil posodobitev vseh učnih načrtov. Predvidevamo tudi, da se Premrlov učni načrt za harmonijo ni vsebinsko posodabljal v letu 1933, ko je vodstvo konservatorija prevzel solopevec Julij Betetto (1885–1963),¹⁶ saj dokumentov o tem nismo zasledili in da se je slednji uporabljal vse do ustanovitve Glasbene akademije, ko so bili predmetniki in učni načrti posodobljeni in ločeno pripravljani za srednješolsko in visokošolsko izobraževanje.

Učbeniki za harmonijo od glasbenega konservatorija do Glasbene akademije

Prvi večji premik v razvoju učnih gradiv za harmonijo zasledimo v 30-ih letih 20. stoletja, ko so za slednje področje učna gradiva pripravili Lucijan M. Škerjanc (1900–1973), Vasilij Mirk (1884–1962) in Emil Komel (1875–1960). Ob Stanku Premrlu je na državnem konservatoriju pedagoško deloval njegov učenec Lucijan M. Škerjanc, ki je pri rosnih 22-ih letih poučeval harmonijo in kontrapunkt ter občutil umanjkanje učbeniških gradiv. Tako je pripravil prva učna gradiva, *Nauk o inštrumentih* (1933) in *Nauk o harmoniji* (1934). Obe učni gradivi je v letu 1940/41 izdala Glasbena akademija,¹⁷ s tem, da je Škerjanc v obdobju delovanja Glasbene akademije izdal tudi posodobljeno gradivo za harmonijo (*Harmonija*, 1942), v letu 1944 pa učno gradivo *Nauk o kontrapunktu*.

Dve leti pred izidom Škerjančevega gradiva *Nauk o harmoniji* (1934) je slovenski skladatelj, zborovodja, dirigent in glasbeni pedagog Vasilij Mirk izdal učbenik za harmonijo z naslovom *Nauk o akordih* (1932). Mirk, ki je poučeval klavir, glasbeno teorijo, harmonijo, kontrapunkt in glasbeno zgodovino na glasbeni šoli Glasbene matice v Trstu, kasneje na šoli Glasbene matice v Mariboru, kjer je vodil pevski zbor ter poučeval harmonijo in zgodovino,¹⁸ je bil prvi avtor po Antonu Foersterju, ki je zasnoval učbenik za harmonijo. Učbenik je avtor sprva uporabljal za pouk harmonije na šoli

16 Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina*, 172; Tina Bohak, »Pevska šola Julija Betetta«, (diss., Univerza v Ljubljani, 2013), 141–2.

17 Jelena Grazio, »Terminologija v slovenskih glasbenih učbenikih od leta 1867 do danes« (diss., Univerza v Ljubljani, 2017), 76.

18 Manja Flisar, »Mirk v Mariboru«, v *Mirkov zbornik*, ur. Edo Škulj (Ljubljana: Družina, 2003), 69; Branka Rotar Pance, »Mirk v Ljubljani«, v *Mirkov zbornik*, ur. Edo Škulj (Ljubljana: Družina, 2003), 91.

Glasbene matice v Mariboru, z njegovim prihodom na Glasbeno akademijo, med drugo svetovno vojno, in njegovim stalnim delovanjem na Akademiji za glasbo, od leta 1951, pa tudi na obeh omenjenih inštitucijah. Učbenik, ki ga hrani knjižnica Akademije za glasbo, Univerze v Ljubljani, sestoji iz 12 poglavij. V uvodnem delu avtor obravnava elemente na področju glasbene teorije – tonski sistem, alikvotni toni, lestvice (dur, mol, modalne lestvice), intervali, trozvoki, četverozvoki in peterozvoki z obrnitvami. V naslednjem poglavju avtor obravnava trozvoke in četverozvoke na posameznih stopnjah v duru in molu in tako sistematično preide na obravnavo gradnje in vezav akordov glede na harmonska pravila štiriglasnega stavka. Avtor sprva pojasni vertikalno gradnjo trozvokov, četverozvokov in peterozvokov glede na ustreznost podvajanja ali opuščanja posameznih akordičnih tonov, njihovih pozicij v široki, mešani ali ozki harmonični legi in glede terčne, kvintne in oktavne melodične lege. Nadaljuje z razlago medsebojnih vezav akordov in tako sprva pojasni stroge harmonične vezave, kasneje bolj razgibane melodične vezave, ustreznost gibanja glasov in kadenca (avtentična, plagalna, varljiva, razširjena avtentična kadenca). Razlagi gradnje in vezav osnovnih oblik trozvokov sledi obravnavo sekstakordov in kvartsekstakordov, uporaba alteriranih trozvokov in četverozvokov pri prehajanju iz tonalitete v tonalitete, diatonična, kromatična in enharmonična modulacija. V sklepu je obravnavana harmonizacija v inštrumentalnem stavku, podana so tudi navodila glede analize glasbenih oblik. Učbenik ob razlagah posameznih harmoničnih elementov vključuje mnoge praktične primere harmonizacij basovskih in sopranskih melodičnih linij in tudi naloge za učenca. Čeprav v učbeniku ne zasledimo navodil glede ozvočevanja harmonskih nalog, predvidevamo, da je Mirk pri svojem pouku usmerjal učence tudi k slednji dejavnosti, saj je v uvodu učbenika avtor izpostavil pomen razumevanja in slušnih predstav na področju intervalov in akordov, ki so temelj za nadaljevanje študija harmonije.¹⁹

Istega leta, ko je Lucijan M. Škerjanc pripravil gradivo *Nauk o harmoniji* (1934), je Emil Komel izdal učbenik *Harmonija: združena s praktičnimi navodili za skladanje glasbenega stavka*. Emil Komel (1875–1960), skladatelj, pianist, zborovodja in glasbeni pedagog, ki je vodil Pevsko in glasbeno društvo v Gorici (1900) in bil učitelj klavirja in glasbenoteoretičnih predmetov na glasbeni šoli društva, ki je bila leta 1907 priključena kot podružnica Glasbeni matici, je na temelju dolgoletnih pedagoških in zborovodskih izkušenj oblikoval lastno učno gradivo za harmonijo. Učbenik je namenil

19 Zadnik, »Učbeniki za glasbenoteoretične predmete«, 220–5.

pevcem, organistom, pevovodjem in širšemu ljubiteljskemu krogu. Analiza učbenika je pokazala na mnoge podobnosti obravnavanih učnih vsebin Komelovega učbenika z Mirkovim. Avtor podobno kot Vasilij Mirk uvodoma obravnava osnovne glasbeneteoretične elemente in zakonitosti, nato nadaljuje z gradnjo in vezavo akordov v štiriglasnem stavku, pravili gibanja glasov, razlago kadenc, uporabo obrnitve trozvokov, dominantnega septakorda in njegovih obrnitev, pojasni lastnosti prehajalnih, menjalnih in zadržanih tonov, sekvenc in modulacij.²⁰ Tudi Komelovo učno gradivo vključuje prikaz praktičnih primerov obravnavanih harmonskih elementov in naloge za učenca. Tako kot Mirk se je tudi Komel zavedal pomena praktične uporabe harmonije z vidika igranja harmonskih zvez, zato je bil mnenja, da mora imeti posameznik razvite tehnične spretnosti igranja na klavir, orgle ali harmonij.²¹

Od ustanovitve konservatorija (1919) do ustanovitve Glasbene akademije (1939) so v 30-ih letih 20. stoletja izhajala zlasti učbeniška gradiva na področju harmonije. V nadaljevanju bomo predstavili razvoj učbeniških gradiv na področju harmonije, kontrapunkta in oblikoslovja v omenjenem obdobju vse do preimenovanja Glasbene akademije v Akademijo za glasbo (1946).

Harmonija, kontrapunkt in oblikoslovje od ustanovitve Glasbene akademije

Z ustanovitvijo Glasbene akademije (1939) je glasbeno izobraževanje potekalo na srednji in visoki ravni. Cilj srednješolskega glasbenega izobraževanja je bil razviti glasbene sposobnosti, spretnosti in znanja in učence pripraviti na uspešen vstop na nadaljevalno visokošolsko raven izobraževanja. Učni proces na visokošolski ravni pa je bil ciljno usmerjen v izpopolnjevanje glasbenih kompetenc na področju glasbene produkcije, glasbene produkcije in glasbene pedagogike do najvišje ravni.²² V začetnem obdobju Glasbene akademije, ko je bil njen prvi rektor mednarodno uveljavljeni pianist Anton Trost (1889–1973), so ob redno zaposlenih učiteljih sodelovali tudi honorarni sodelavci, ki so poučevali na srednji in visoki ravni. Na vi-

20 Ibid., 226–7.

21 Emil Komel, *Harmonija – združena s praktičnimi navodili za skladanje glasbenega stavka* (Gorizia: Katoliška knjigarna, 1934), 14, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-ZCR9QDZA>.

22 Darja Koter, *Slovenska glasba 1918–1991* (Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2012), 41–3; *Poročilo društva Glasbene matice v Ljubljani 1939/40* (Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, 1940), 3–14, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-RKPEQLRM>.

sokošolski ravni je glasbenteoretične predmete ob Stanku Premrlu, ki je poleg orgel poučeval še harmonijo, tudi Pavel Šivic (1908–1995), ki je poučeval harmonijo, kontrapunkt, klavir in skladanje. Na srednješolski ravni so slednje predmete izvajali Blaž Arnič (1901–1970), ki je poučeval harmonijo in kontrapunkt, Slavko Osterc (1895–1941), ki je poučeval harmonijo, kontrapunkt, oblikoslovje in skladanje, in Lucijan M. Škerjanc (1900–1973), ki je poučeval ob harmoniji in kontrapunktu še partiturno igro, inštrumentacijo, nauk o inštrumentih in dirigiranje.²³

V obdobju delovanja Glasbene akademije so bili učni načrti predmetnikov za srednješolsko in visokošolsko izobraževanje posodobljeni ter pripravljani ločeno za obe ravni izobraževanja za vse predmete ter zaradi italijanske okupacije zapisani v slovenskem in italijanskem jeziku. S preimenovanjem Glasbene akademije v Akademijo za glasbo leta 1946, v času novonastale države, je znova potekala večja prenova predmetnikov in učnih načrtov, ko je bil njen prvi rektor skladatelj in pianist Lucijan M. Škerjanc. Tudi takrat je organizacijska struktura glasbenega izobraževanja zajemala srednješolsko in visokošolsko raven, tako da so bili predmetniki in učni načrti posodobljeni za obe ravni.²⁴ Predvidevamo, da je bil glavni pobudnik za posodobitev predmetnikov in učnih načrtov v letu 1946 novi rektor Lucijan M. Škerjanc, saj ohranjeni vir ne navaja avtorjev predmetnikov in učnih načrtov. Učna načrta za harmonijo in kontrapunkt bi lahko pripravili Lucijan M. Škerjanc, Pavel Šivic (poučeval od 1934 na državnem konservatoriju ter bil docent in redno zaposlen na Glasbeni akademiji),²⁵ Vasilij Mirk (honorarno poučeval med vojno in bil redno zaposlen leta 1951), saj so vsi trije poučevali oba predmeta.

Tedaj sta se predmeta izvajala na srednješolski in visokošolski ravni. Na srednješolski ravni je pouk harmonije potekal v prvem letniku, ko so dijaki obravnavali uporabo trozvokov in četverozvokov v strogem harmonskem slogu z igranjem nalog na klavir, in v drugem letniku, v katerem se je nadaljevalo obravnavanje uporabe akordov, z novo snovjo modulacij, s pisnimi in praktičnimi nalogami igranja na klavir. V tretjem in četrtem letniku srednješolskega izobraževanja so dijaki usvajali temeljne zako-

23 Koter, *Slovenska glasba*, 43; *Poročilo društva Glasbene matice v Ljubljani 1940/41* (Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, 1941), 6, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DO-C-K4ONZAI8>.

24 Darja Koter, *Akademija za glasbo Univerze v Ljubljani – 80 let* (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, Akademija za glasbo, 2020), 57, 62, <https://doi.org/10.4312/9789610603672>.

25 *Ibid.*, 46.

nitosti pri predmetu kontrapunkt. Učna snov tretjega letnika je zajemala obravnavo strogega stavka do osemglasja, dvojni kontrapunkt in kanon v klasičnem slogu, v četrtem letniku pa je bila obravnavana fuga.²⁶ Pogoj za prehod in nadaljevanje študija na visokošolski ravni na oddelku za kompozicijo in dirigiranje je bilo obvladovanje tako glasbene discipline harmonija kot kontrapunkt. Na tem oddelku sta predmeta predstavljala temeljno podlago za usvajanje veščin pri glasbenem oblikovanju pesemskih oblik, suite in drugih kontrapunktičnih oblik v prvem letniku, glasbene oblike sonate v drugem letniku, simfonične oblike v tretjem letniku in vokalno-instrumentalnih oblik v četrtem letniku.²⁷ Študij harmonije, kontrapunkta in oblikoslovja za učence pevskih in instrumentalnih smeri Umetniškega odseka, ki je sodil med obvezne dopolnilne predmete, pa je potekal na srednješolski in visokošolski ravni. Tako sta se izvajala predmet harmonija dve leti in predmet oblikoslovje eno leto na srednješolski ravni, medtem ko se je predmet kontrapunkt, ki je trajal dve leti, izvajal na visokošolski ravni. Tudi za študente oddelka za glasbeno pedagogiko sta bila predmeta harmonija in kontrapunkt obvezna dopolnilna predmeta.

V obdobju delovanja Glasbene akademije, torej pred posodobitvijo predmetnikov in učnih načrtov na Akademiji za glasbo v letu 1946 in nato v letu 1948,²⁸ sta pomembno prispevala k razvoju učbeniških gradiv na področju harmonije Slavko Osterc in Lucijan Marija Škerjanc. Tako Osterc, ki je bil zagovornik avantgardnih skladateljskih pristopov, kot Škerjanc, ki je bil tradicionalist, sta vzgojila mnogo skladateljev in vsak svoj skladateljski krog. Njuna učbeniška gradiva zrcalijo njune skladateljske pristope in nazore. Predstavili bomo učna gradiva obeh skladateljev in glasbenih pedagogov v obdobju delovanja Glasbene akademije.

Učna gradiva za predmet harmonija v obdobju Glasbene akademije

Leta 1939, ko je bila ustanovljena Glasbena akademija, sta tedaj na srednješolski ravni poučevala Slavko Osterc in Lucijan M. Škerjanc. Četudi sta imela dolgoletne pedagoške izkušnje in vidnejše umetniške uspehe, Koter navaja, da nista bila med prvimi povabljenimi sodelavci na novoustanovljeni visokošolski ustanovi. Medtem ko je bil Škerjanc habilitiran v letih

26 *Učni načrt Akademije za glasbo v Ljubljani* (Ljubljana: Rektorat Akademije za glasbo v Ljubljani, 1946), 4–6, 20.

27 *Ibid.*, 5–6.

28 Koter, *Akademija za glasbo Univerze v Ljubljani*, 62.

1941/42, pa Osterc povabila ni doživel, ker z zaključeno srednješolsko glasbeno izobrazbo ni izpolnjeval formalnih pogojev.²⁹ Prav Osterčevo večkratno izražanje radikalnih pogledov na slovensko glasbeno ustvarjalnost, ki je sprožalo strokovne polemike in diskusije ter ustvarjalo nezaupanje v slovenski strokovni glasbeni javnosti, je bilo vzrok za zavrnitev njegove kandidature za funkcijo ravnatelja konservatorija (1933) in članstva učiteljskega zbora Glasbene akademije.³⁰

Slavko Osterc (1895–1941), skladatelj in pionir slovenske glasbene avangarde, ki se je uveljavil tudi v širšem evropskem prostoru, je kot profesor harmonije, kontrapunkta, oblikoslovja, kompozicije, inštrumentacije, zgodovine glasbe in estetike poučeval na konservatoriju v Ljubljani.³¹ V svoji pedagoški praksi je pripravljal tudi učna gradiva, ki pa nikoli niso bila izdana. Tik pred smrtjo je leta 1941 pripravil učbenik *Kromatika in modulacija*, ki je bil namenjen slovenskim in jugoslovanskim skladateljem. Učno gradivo, ki ga je iz slovenskega jezika v srbski jezik prevedla Stana Đurić Klajn (1905–1986), je bilo namenjeno tako skladateljem kot vsem tistim, ki so usvojili temeljne veščine harmonskih zvez in so se že srečali s kromatiko.³² V uvodu učbenika avtor zavzame kritičen odnos do tedanje glasbene izobrazbe na področju kompozicije, kar pripisuje poznemu pojavu visokošolskega glasbenega izobraževanja na slovenskih tleh. Učbenik zrcali kompozicijske prijeme v odnosu do uporabe kromatike, in sicer v okviru tonalnih harmonskih zvez z alteriranimi menjalnimi in prehajalnimi toni, ustreznimi nastopi in razvezi stranskih dominant ter ustrezno uporabo akordov pri modulacijskih prehodih in nastopom modulacijskega akorda pred novim tonalnim centrom.³³ Učbenik obravnava harmonske zveze znotraj celotonske lestvice in pentatonične vrste tonov, pojasnjuje akorde s sekundami, ki ne temeljijo na terčnem sistemu in jih avtor imenuje *nove konsonance*,³⁴ ter predstavi bitonalnost. Osterc posveti pozornost tudi ustrezni uporabi sodobne glasbene notacije z višaji, nižaji, dvojnimi višaji in nižaji pred kromatično spremenjenimi toni, ki so se sproti zapisova-

29 Koter, *Slovenska glasba*, 43; Koter, *Akademija za glasbo Univerze v Ljubljani*, 41, 43, 46.

30 Koter, *Slovenska glasba*, 41–3; Bohak, »Pevska šola Julija Betetta«, 140.

31 Tomaž Šegula, »Zborovske kompozicije Slavka Osterca«, *Muzikološki zbornik VI* (1970): 55, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-NOWICWKB>.

32 Slavko Osterc, »Kromatika in modulacija. Navodila za komponiste«, 1941, *Glasbena zbirka NUK, Kronika I*, 9.

33 Ibid., 20.

34 Ibid., 50.

li, po češkemu skladatelju Aloisu Hábi (1893–1973), čigar učenec je bil. Učno gradivo vključuje tudi praktične primere in naloge za učence, s katerimi avtor usmerja k pestri uporabi harmonskih zvez in izogibanju šablonskih pristopov ter upoštevanju muzikalnega loka kot estetskega in slogovnega čuta. O Osterčevih inovativnih pedagoških pristopih so poročali tudi njegovi učenci. Primož Ramovš se je spominjal, da je bil pouk kompozicije pri Ostercu poln improvizacije, čeprav so bile obravnavane učne vsebine vselej skladne z učnim načrtom. Tudi Pavel Šivic se je spominjal, da pouk kompozicije na državnem konservatoriju ni sledil strogim pravilom in da je Osterc od svojih učencev zahteval domiselnosti pri uporabi drugačnih sozvočij.³⁵

Lucijan M. Škerjanc, ki je že v obdobju pedagoškega delovanja na državnem konservatoriju pripravljala učna gradiva v obliki skript – *Nauk o instrumentih* (1933) in *Nauk o harmoniji* (1934), je nadaljeval s posodabljanjem obstoječih gradiv in oblikovanjem novih. Tako je v obdobju pedagoškega delovanja na Glasbeni akademiji izdal učna gradiva *Harmonija* (1942) in *Nauk o kontrapunktu* (1944) v obliki skript.³⁶ V primerjavi z Osterčevim prej obravnavanim učbenikom je Škerjanc v *Harmoniji* sledil tradicionalnim zakonitostim terčne harmonije v diatoničnem dur-mol sistemu. Tako obravnava akordične lege trozvokov, funkcije glavnih in stranskih stopenj v duru in molu, harmonične zveze v avtentični, plagalni, varljivi in mediantni kadenci, obrnitve trozvokov, uporabo prehajalnih, menjalnih, zadržanih tonov in prehitkov, uporabo četverozvokov s poudarkom na dominantnem septakordu in njegovimi obrnitvami in zaključni z obravnavo modulacij. Čeprav učno gradivo ne vključuje instruktivnih praktičnih primerov ali primerov iz glasbene literature obravnavanih elementov na področju harmonije, je primerjava *Harmonije* iz leta 1942 z učbenikom *Nauk o harmoniji*, iz leta 1934 pokazala, da je kljub vsemu Škerjanc v verziji iz leta 1942 veliko bolj dosledno, postopno in sistematično usmerjati učenca k usvajanju harmonskih elementov. Svoje delo je Škerjanc poglobil in razširil z izdajo učbenika *Harmonija* leta 1962, ki je izšla v obliki monografije pri Državni založbi Slovenije in je bila namenjena študentom Akademije za glasbo v Ljubljani.³⁷

35 Pavel Šivic, »Moji spomini na Osterčeve življenjske in umetniške nazore«, v *Glasba med obema vojnama in Slavko Osterc*, ur. Primož Kuret (Ljubljana: Slovenski glasbeni dnevi, 1995), 91.

36 Lucijan M. Škerjanc, *Harmonija*, 1942, Glasbena zbirka NUK.

37 Zadnik, »Učbeniki za glasbenoteoretične predmete«, 239–40.

Učna gradiva za predmet kontrapunkt

Kot smo že omenili so se prva prizadevanja po razvoju predmeta kontrapunkt pojavila že leta 1881, leto dni pred ustanovitvijo glasbene šole pri Glasbeni matici v Ljubljani. V tem letu je češki skladatelj in glasbeni pedagog Anton Foerster (1837–1926) pripravil učbeniško gradivo *Nauk o harmoniji in generalbasu, o modulaciji, o kontrapunktu, o imitaciji, kánonu in fugi s predhajajočo občno teorijo glasbe z glavnim ozirom na učence orglarske šole*, v katerem je ob harmoniji obravnaval tudi področje kontrapunkta. Učbenik predstavlja prvo učno gradivo tako za področji harmonija kot tudi kontrapunkt na Slovenskem, ki ga je Foerster primarno namenil učencem Orglarske šole v Ljubljani (1877), kjer je deloval kot ravnatelj in učitelj. Učbenik sestoji iz petih delov. V prvem delu avtor obravnava splošno glasbeno teorijo (pregled notnega sistema, enharmoničnih tonov, durovih in molo-vih tonalitet, intervalov in njihovih obrnitev, konsonanc in disonanc z razvezi) in učenca usmeri za dodatni študij glasbene teorije v avtorjevo delo *Teoretično-praktična pevška šola*, ki je izšla leta 1874 in doživela svoj prvi ponatis leta 1880 (tudi v letih 1888, 1894 in 1901). V drugem delu so obravnava-ne osnovne oblike trozvokov in njihovih možnih pozicij v široki in ozki legi glede na terčno, kvintno in oktavno lego v štiriglasnemu stavku, ustreznost gibanja glasov in napačnih postopov (vzporedne kvinte, oktave), kadenčne zveze ter vezave akordov po strogih pravilih štiriglasnega stavka. Sledi obravnava četverozvokov, s poudarkom na dominantnem in zmanjšanem septakordu z njihovimi obrnitvami in razvezi, v zaključku drugega dela je obravnavan dominantni nonakord (peterozvoki) z obrnitvami. V tretjem delu je obravnavana modulacija (diatonična, kromatična in enharmonična) in možni načini moduliranja iz tonalitete v tonaliteto. V četrtem delu se avtor osredotoči na obravnavo kontrapunkta, ki ga poimenuje kot enoterni, dvoglasni, triglasni, četveroglasni, večglasni kontrapunkt, nato pa zaključi z dvojnimi kontrapunktom. V zaključnem petem poglavju se posveti imitaciji, kanonu in fugi. Leta 1904 je Foerster izdal posodobljeno verzijo učbenika z naslovom *Harmonija in kontrapunkt*, v katerem je bilo obširneje obravnavano področje kontrapunkta, dodanih pa je bilo tudi več praktičnih primerov ter harmonskih in kontrapunktičnih nalog z napotki za ozvočevanje teh z igranjem na klavir.

Učna gradiva za predmet kontrapunkt so bila vse do druge svetovne vojne zelo skromno zastopana. Leta 1944 je deloma slednjo vrzel zapolnil skladatelj in glasbeni pedagog Lucijan M. Škerjanc (1900–1973), ki je poučeval predmet kontrapunkt na Glasbeni akademiji in pripravil učno gradi-

vo *Nauk o kontrapunktu*. Učno gradivo je razdeljeno na pet poglavij. Uvodoma Škerjanc opiše izvor besed kontrapunkt in oriše zgodovinski razvoj kontrapunkta, nato pa ločeno obravnava *Enojni kontrapunkt – strogi stavek*, *Dvojni kontrapunkt*, *Kanon*, *Fuga* in *Analiza fuge*. V prvem poglavju *Enojni kontrapunkt – strogi stavek* predstavi modalne lestvice, njihove značilnosti in njihovo uporabo pri sozvočjih v strogem stavku ter uporabo c-ključev. Za tem sledi razlaga strogih pravil pri pisanju cantusa firmusa (c. f.), nato pa razlaga pisanja v dvoglasju, in sicer cantusa firmusa in kontrapunkta v celinkah (1:1), v celinkah in polovinkah (2:1), v celinkah in četrtinkah (4:1), v celinkah in sinkopah, pravila pri pisanju discipline treh not proti eni (3:1), v zaključku so predstavljena pravila pisanja kontrapunkta v mešanih notah (contrapunctus floridus). Sledi obravnava pravil v troglasnem kontrapunktu, kjer jih avtor enako sistematično pojasnjuje kot v predhodnem dvoglasju, od celink, polovink, četrtink, sinkop do mešanih not, v različnih kombinacijah glede na njihovo uporabo v posameznih glasovih. V drugem poglavju *Dvojni kontrapunkt* avtor obravnava pravila zamenjave leg dveh glasov med seboj, brez križanja glasov, in tako predstavi pravila za dvojni kontrapunkt v oktavi, noni, decimi in duodecimi. V tretjem poglavju *Kanon* so obravnavana pravila doslednih imitacij v določenih intervalih, nato pa so predstavljeni realni, tonalni, rakov, zrcalni, krožni, ugankarski kanon idr. V zadnjem poglavju avtor smiselno nadaljuje z razlago monotematske polifone kompozicijske oblike *Fuga*. Škerjanc poglobljeno predstavlja oblikovno gradnjo fuge (ekspozicija, izpeljava/izpeljave, zaključek – coda) in njene temeljne oblikovne gradnike (tema – subjekt, dux, odgovor – comes, risposta, kontrapunkt, stretta). V zaključnem delu učno gradivo usmerja k analizi fug iz Bachovega dela, *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* I in II, ki ga avtor določa kot nujni učni pripomoček in sestavni del k petemu poglavju.³⁸

Učno gradivo *Nauk o kontrapunktu* iz leta 1944 je Škerjanc posodobil v letih 1952 in 1956, v kar ga je gotovo spodbudila posodobitev učnih načrtov v letih 1946 in 1948 in določitev obveznega obiskovanja predmeta kontrapunkt v obdobju dveh let na visokošolski ravni takratne Akademije za glasbo. Prvi del monografije *Kontrapunkt in fuga* iz leta 1952³⁹ predstavlja nadgradnjo in obsežnejšo poglobljeno obravnavo strogega stavka prej opisanih elementov iz učnega gradiva *Nauk o kontrapunktu*, medtem ko je

38 Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, *Nauk o kontrapunktu* (Ljubljana: Knjižnica Akademije za glasbo, Univerza v Ljubljani, 1944).

39 Lucijan M. Škerjanc, *Kontrapunkt in fuga* (Ljubljana: Državna založba, 1952).

drugi del istoimenske monografije iz leta 1956⁴⁰ posvečen prostemu stavku. V tem delu lahko opazimo poglobljeno obravnavo prostega stavka v povezavi z inštrumentalnim kontrapunktom, s poudarkom na analizah baročne fuge Bachovega dela iz zbirke *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*, katero je Škerjanc uporabil kot učni pripomoček in sestavni del tudi že pri gradivu *Nauk o kontrapunktu* (1944). Primerjava posodobitev iz leta 1952 in 1956 s prvotnim učbenikom iz leta 1944 je pokazala, da je bil Škerjanc veliko bolj nazoren, saj je teoretične razlage posameznih elementov povezoval s praktičnimi primeri in grafičnimi ponazoritvami, česar v verziji iz leta 1944 ni bilo. Avtor v učnih gradivih iz leta 1952 in 1956, ki sta bili oblikovani kot monografiji, ni vključeval nalog in vaj za urjenje posameznih kontrapunktičnih disciplin, čeprav se je zavedal pomena vadenja slednje discipline pri študentih. Potrebno je poudariti, da so razlage kontrapunktičnih pravil večkrat sporne, ker ne temeljijo na sistemu modalne polifonije, ampak so vezane na tonalni sistem (dur-mol). Ugotavljamo tudi, da so zaradi uporabe tedaj uveljavljenih terminov slednje razlage večkrat težje razumljive in neoznačne, saj se je terminologija na področju kontrapunkta do danes močno spremenila.

Učna gradiva in razvoj predmeta oblikoslovje

Nastajanje učnih gradiv za predmet glasbeno oblikoslovje je bilo v primerjavi s predmetoma harmonija in kontrapunkt skromnejše, glede na dejstvo, da je bil predmet sestavni del predmetnika ob ustanovitvi državnega konservatorija (1926). Prvo učno gradivo za predmet oblikoslovje je pripravil skladatelj in glasbeni pedagog Slavko Osterc. Slavko Osterc, ki je leta 1941 pripravil v rokopisu učbenik *Kromatika in modulacija*, je za svoje učence pripravil tudi druga učna gradiva. V rokopisu so ohranjeni še zvezki o harmoniji, kontrapunktu in oblikoslovju,⁴¹ skripta *Glasbena zgodovina*⁴² ter *Priročnik za glasbeno oblikoslovje*. Grazio⁴³ navaja, da je slednji priročnik založila Glasbena akademija, medtem ko letnica nastanka ni razvidna. Avtor v prvem delu obravnava splošno oblikoslovje (motiv, dvotaktje, stavek, perioda, tema), v drugem delu obravnava inštrumentalne oblike (suinta, variacije, rondo, sonata, koncert, uvertura, fuga, vokalne oblike kot so gre-

40 Lucijan M. Škerjanc, *Kontrapunkt in fuga* (Ljubljana: Državna založba, 1956).

41 Slavko Osterc, »Kontrapunkt, Harmonija, Oblikoslovje (rokopisi)«, Glasbena zbirka NUK, Kronika I.

42 Slavko Osterc, »Glasbena zgodovina«, Glasbena zbirka NUK, Kronika III.

43 Grazio, »Terminologija v slovenskih glasbenih učbenikih«, 78.

gorijanski koral, organum, motet, madrigal, kantata, maša, recitativ, arija, oratorij, opera in opereta). Čeprav učno gradivo skromno vključuje prikaz praktičnih primerov obravnavanih gradnikov oblikoslovja in vnaša terminologijo, ki se razlikuje od sodobne terminologije, predstavlja Osterčev *Priročnik za glasbeno oblikoslovje* eno prvih učnih gradiv za oblikoslovje na Slovenskem. Glede na dejstvo, da je bil predmet oblikoslovje del predmetnika državnega konservatorija (1926), se prvi učbenik za slednji predmet pojavi relativno pozno. Pri tem moramo poudariti, da je v tem obdobju slovenski skladatelj in razgledan glasbeni teoretik Srečko Koporc (1900–1965) pisal teoretične razprave o kompoziciji, orkestraciji, fugi in posvetil posebno pozornost področju oblikoslovja. Leta 1928 je Koporc zasnoval učbenik *O glasbenih oblikah*. Tega je ponudil v odkup Glasbeni matici, ki ga je prepoznala za pomembno in potrebno učno gradivo, ampak ga ni nikoli izdala zaradi finančne stiske.⁴⁴ Koporc, ki se je zgledoval pri pomembnih evropskih teoretikih,⁴⁵ je pripravljaj štiri učbenike *Glasbeno oblikoslovje*, *Ciklične oblike*, *Nauk o glasbenih oblikah*, *Tema z variacijami*, ki pa nikoli niso bili objavljeni.⁴⁶

Večji razmah v razvoju učnih gradiv za predmet glasbeno oblikoslovje nastopi v 60-ih letih 20. stoletja. Leta 1961 je izšel učbenik *Razvoj glasbe – glasbene oblike*, ki je nastal v soavtorstvu Vilka Ukmarja in Slavka Mihelčiča in je bil namenjen višjim razredom osnovne šole, uporabljal pa se je tudi kot interno gradivo v rokopisu na učiteljiščih že v letih 1952 in 1954. Slovenski skladatelj in muzikolog Vilko Ukmar (1905–1991), ki je bil od leta 1934 do 1943 profesor glasbene zgodovine in estetike na državnem konservatoriju, od leta 1948 do 1974 je deloval na Akademiji za glasbo v Ljubljani in od 1962 do 1979 na Oddelku za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, je prispeval prvi del učbenika *Razvoj glasbe*, v katerem je obravnaval zgodovinska glasbena obdobja in njihove predstavnike. Drugi del učbenika *Glasbene oblike* pa je prispeval slovenski skladatelj, zborovodja in glasbeni pedagog Slavko Mihelčič (1912–2000), ki je pedagoško deloval na klasični gimnaziji v Mariboru, glasbeni šoli Center v Ljubljani, nazadnje pa je bil vse do upokojitve redni profesor na Pedagoški fakulteti v Ljubljani.⁴⁷ Avtor v tem delu obravnava gradnike na področju

44 Urška Šramel, »Glasbenoteoretski opus Srečka Koporca«, *Muzikološki Zbornik* 39, št. 1–2 (2003): 115–6, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-LJG395BC>.

45 Koter, *Slovenska glasba*, 125–6.

46 Grazio, »Terminologija v slovenskih glasbenih učbenikih«, 83.

47 Vilko Ukmar in Slavko Mihelčič, *Razvoj glasbe in glasbene oblike* (Ljubljana: Aktiv profesorjev glasbe na učiteljišču, 1961), 54.

oblikoslovja kot so motiv, tema, imitacija, kanon, enodelna, dvodelna in trodelna pesemska oblika, princip variiranja ter predstavi glasbene oblike fuga, rondo, suite, sonata, simfonija, koncert, kantata, oratorij, uvertura, opera, koračnica ter plesne oblike valček, polka, kolo in mazurka. Ker je bil učbenik namenjen osnovnošolskim učencem, so bile obravnave navedenih glasbenih oblik skromne, opisane v krajših odstavkih ali z enim stavkom, njihove definicije pa so pogosto bile begajoče z uporabo nejasne terminologije. Pri razlagi posameznih gradnikov je avtor izpostavljal le njihovo oblikovno členjenje brez upoštevanja metrično-ritmične in melodično-harmonske strukture ali ponazoritve značilnih ritmičnih elementov obravnavanih plesnih glasbenih oblik. Do omenjenih pomanjkljivosti je bil kritičen tudi Lucijan M. Škerjanc v učbeniku *Oblikoslovje*, ki ga je izdal pet let kasneje, leta 1966.

Lucijan M. Škerjanc, ki je tedaj deloval na Akademiji za glasbo v Ljubljani in bil ena najpomembnejših glasbenih osebnosti v slovenskem prostoru, je prav v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih odigral pomembno vlogo na področju objavljanih učbeniških gradiv za harmonijo, kontrapunkt in oblikoslovje. Leta 1952 je izdal učbenik *Kontrapunkt in fuga*, ki je doživel nadgradnjo in posodobitev leta 1956, leta 1962 je izdal učbenik *Harmonija* in leta 1966 učbenik *Oblikoslovje*. Učbenik *Oblikoslovje* iz leta 1966 je nastal na temelju avtorjevih dolgoletnih pedagoških izkušenj in zaradi umanjkanja tovrstnih gradiv za slednji predmet. V primerjavi z učbenikom *Razvoj glasbe – glasbene oblike*, avtorjev Vilka Ukmarja in Slavka Mihelčiča, avtor nekoliko bolj poglobljeno obravnava oblikovne gradnike in na nekaterih praktičnih primerih predstavlja pristope k analizi glasbenih oblik iz glasbene literature. Učbenik uvodoma obravnava temeljne gradnike, od motiva kot najkrajša glasbena misel z izrazito ritmično, melodično in harmonsko strukturo do stavka in periode, v nadaljevanju so obravnavane vokalne oblike (gregorijanski koral, motet, madrigal, kanon, frottola, villanella, canzonetta idr.) in inštrumentalne glasbene oblike (variacije, rondo, sonata, suite, ljudski plesi slovanskih in evropskih narodov) ter vokalno-inštrumentalne oblike (kantata, oratorij, maša, pasijon, opera). Škerjanc je pri razlagi oblikovnih gradnikov izhajal iz glasbenih del iz obdobja baroka (Bach) in klasicizma (Mozart, Beethoven), saj je menil, da

[...] se mora oblikoslovje vsaj kot učna tvarina omejevati na splošno doslej veljavne, tako rekoč klasične oblike ter smatrati vsakršne

*odstope od teh normativov kot izjeme, kar zelo otežuje sistematično tvarine [...].*⁴⁸

Čeprav je analiza učbenika pokazala na avtorjevo nedosledno uporabo terminov in pogosto uporabo sopomenk za različne oblikoslovne gradnike, kar vzbuja zmedenost pri uporabniku, je Lucijan M. Škerjanc opravil pomembno delo in korak naprej v razvoju glasbenega oblikoslovja na Slovenskem. Poudariti je potrebno, da od Osterčevega *Priročnika za oblikoslovje*, katerega natančna letnica nastanka ni znana, je Škerjančevo *Oblikoslovje* prvo celovito učno gradivo za slednji predmet. Učbenik je doživel svoj zadnji ponatis leta 1991 in bil vse do leta 2009 edino učno gradivo za obravnavani predmet, ko je izšel učbenik *Glasbeni stavek: oblikoslovje* avtorice Larise Vrhunc.

Zaključek

V zgodovini glasbe sta petje in glasbena teorija vselej imela pomembno vlogo pri celostnem izobraževanju glasbenika. Od 19. stoletja dalje, ko so se začele pojavljati organizirane oblike glasbenega izobraževanja je bila glasbena teorija sestavni del predmetnikov in učnih načrtov pevskih in glasbenih šol različnih ustanov na Slovenskem. Prve težnje po razvoju področij harmonije in kotrapunkta izvirajo iz leta 1881, ko je Anton Foerster objavil učno gradivo *Nauk o harmoniji in generalbasu, o modulaciji, o kontrapunktu, o imitaciji, kánonu in fugi s predhajajočo občno teorijo glasbe z glavnim ozidrom na učence orgljarske šole*, ki predstavlja prvi učbenik za področje harmonije in kontrapunkta ter pomemben mejnik v razvoju omenjenih predmetov. Učbenik, ki je bil namenjen za učence Orgljarske šole v Ljubljani (1877) je nastal leto dni pred ustanovitvijo glasbene šole pri Glasbeni matici v Ljubljani. Premik v razvoju obeh predmetnih področjih se dogodi z umestitvijo predmetov harmonija in kontrapunkt v predmetnik glasbene šole pri Glasbeni matici v šolskem letu 1893/94 in oblikovanjem učnih načrtov za oba predmeta z jasno opredeljenimi učnimi cilji. Čeprav je bilo izvajanje predmetov zaradi nizkega števila učencev nestalno v posameznih šolskih letih, je bila širitev predmetnika, ne le s predmetoma harmonija in kontrapunkt, temveč tudi z ostalimi predmeti petja in inštrumentov, pomembno izhodišče in priprava na ustanovitev glasbenega konservatorija leta 1919. Potrebe po oblikovanju različnih poklicnih glasbenih profilov so vodile in sprožile zviševanje zahtev in kriterijev pri izobraževanju kompe-

48 Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, *Oblikoslovje* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1966), 3.

tentnih kadrov. Tako so v okviru konservatorija delovale različne šole, med njimi tudi Šola za glasbeno teorijo, ki je zajemala predmete elementarna teorija, harmonija, kontrapunkt in kompozicija. Nadaljnji korak v razvoju predmetov harmonija in kontrapunkt se zgodi s podržavljenjem konservatorija leta 1926, ko so se po zaslugi tedanjega ravnatelja Mateja Hubada posodobili učni načrti po zgledu zahodnih evropskih glasbenih konservatorijev. Predmet harmonija, ki je trajal dve leti, in predmet kontrapunkt, ki je trajal eno leto, so morali obiskovati vsi učenci ob pouku inštrumenta ali petja. Učni načrt za predmet harmonija je pripravil duhovnik, skladatelj in glasbeni pedagog Stanko Premrl (1880–1965), ki je od ustanovitve konservatorija (1919) dalje poučeval poleg orgel in oblikoslovja tudi harmonijo. Premrl je imel mnogo pedagoških izkušenj, saj je ob orglah in kontrapunktu poučeval harmonijo od leta 1909 na Orglarski šoli v Ljubljani, bil ravnatelj šole in leto dni pred ustanovitvijo državnega konservatorija pripravil podrobne učne načrte za vse predmete na omenjeni šoli, tudi za predmeta harmonija in kontrapunkt. Primanjkljaj učnih gradiv ga je spodbudil k pripravi *Skript za harmonijo*, katerih letnica nastanka ni znana in predvidevamo, da so gradivo uporabljali tako učenci Orglarske šole v Ljubljani kot konservatorija.

Čeprav sta bila predmeta harmonija in kontrapunkt del predmetnika glasbene šole pri Glasbeni matici v Ljubljani od šolskega leta 1893/94 dalje, predmet oblikoslovje pa je bil umeščen v predmetnik ob pojavu državnega konservatorija, ugotavljamo, da se je področje harmonija hitreje in intenzivneje razvijalo kot ostali dve področji. Velik porast v razvoju učnih gradiv za harmonijo izhaja iz 30-ih let 20. stoletja. Tedaj so učbenike za harmonijo zasnovali glasbeni pedagogi in skladatelji, ki so poučevali glasbeneteorične predmete v različnih glasbenih ustanovah na Slovenskem. To so bili Vasilij Mirk, ki je pripravil *Nauk o akordih* (1932), Lucijan M. Škerjanc, ki je pripravil *Nauk o harmoniji* leta 1934, in Emil Komel, ki je istega leta pripravil učno gradivo *Harmonija: združena s praktičnimi navodili za skladanje glasbenega stavka*. Vsi trije avtorji so podobno obravnavali tako glasbeneteorične zakonitosti in pravila na področju harmonije ter poudarjali pomen urjenja teh elementov s praktičnimi nalogami in igranjem na klavir.

Z ustanovitvijo Glasbene akademije so bili predmetniki in učni načrti pripravljani posebej za srednješolsko in visokošolsko raven izobraževanja. Večja prenova predmetnikov in učnih načrtov se je zgodila leta 1946, ko se je Glasbena akademija preimenovala v Akademijo za glasbo. Takrat so bili posodobljeni tudi učni načrti za harmonijo, kontrapunkt in oblikoslovje, ki

so bili obvezni dopolnilni predmeti in so opredeljevali različno število let izobraževanja za bodoče komponiste in dirigente, pevce, inštrumentaliste in glasbene pedagoge. V začetnem obdobju delovanja Glasbene akademije lahko opazimo nadaljevanje v pripravah učnih gradiv za predmet harmonija. Izjemno ploden na področju objavljanja učnih gradiv za harmonijo je bil skladatelj in glasbeni pedagog Lucijan M. Škerjanc. Škerjanc, ki je leta 1934 objavil učbenik *Nauk o harmoniji*, je slednjega kar dvakrat posodobil, in sicer v letih 1942 in 1962, z objavo učbenika *Harmonija*. Pred Škerjančevo *Harmonijo* iz leta 1942 je eno leto prej učno gradivo *Kromatika in modulacija* (1941) pripravil skladatelj in glasbeni pedagog Slavko Osterc, ki ni bilo izdano. Učni gradivi omenjenih skladateljev, ki sta nastali v obdobju delovanja Glasbene akademije, odražata različne pristope na področju obravnave harmonije, saj je bil Škerjanc zavezan tradicionalnim kompozicijskim prijemom, Osterc pa je prisegal na sodobne evropske kompozicijske pristope. Kljub temu sta učni gradivi pomembni v nadaljnjem razvoju harmonije, še posebej Osterčev učbenik, ki je vnesel svežino in inovativne pristope z bogatimi in pestrimi možnostmi uporabe harmonskih prijemov z upoštevanjem glasbeno-estetskega in slogovnega loka.

Čeprav težnje po razvoju področja kontrapunkt izvirajo iz leta 1881, ko je Anton Foerster pripravil svoj prvi učbenik, v katerem je obravnaval tako področje harmonije in kontrapunkta, in ga leta 1904 posodobil z pripravo učbenika *Harmonija in kontrapunkt*, v katerem je bil večji poudarek na obravnavi kontrapunkta, se je slednje področje v primerjavi s harmonijo bistveno počasneje razvijalo. Foersterjeva učbenika predstavljata pomembno prelomnico v razvoju harmonije in kontrapunkta, saj z njima avtor postavi temelje v razvoju glasbene terminologije, katero so povzemali avtorji učbenikov v kasnejših obdobjih. Učbeniki za področje kontrapunkta so bili vse do druge svetovne vojne zelo skromno zastopani. V obdobju Glasbene akademije je slednjo vrzel deloma zapolnil skladatelj in glasbeni pedagog Lucijan M. Škerjanc, ki je ob harmoniji in drugih predmetih poučeval tudi kontrapunkt in zaradi pomanjkanja učnih gradiv pripravil *Nauk o kontrapunktu* leta 1944, ki je doživel posodobitev v letih 1952 in 1956 z objavo monografije *Kontrapunkt in fuga*. Vse do 90-ih let 20. stoletja je bilo Škerjančevo učno gradivo temeljno pri predmetu kontrapunkt. Ponoven korak v razvoju slednjega področja pa se dogodi z letom 1990, ko je skladatelj, organist in glasbeni pedagog Janez Osredkar izdal drobno knjižico *Kontrapunkt – strogi stavek*. Janez Osredkar (1944), ki je imel kot dolgotelni profesor na Srednji glasbeni in baletni šoli v Ljubljani mnogo pedagoških

izkušenj s poučevanjem solfeggia, harmonije in kontrapunkta, je po slovenski osamosvojitvi, zaradi spremenjenih političnih in družbenih razmer ter primanjkljaja učbenikov za harmonijo in kontrapunkt v slovenskem jeziku, začel pripravljati lastna. Leta 1999 je v posodobljeni verziji izdal učbenik *Glasbeni stavek: kontrapunkt*, ki še danes predstavlja temeljno učno gradivo na srednješolski ravni glasbenega izobraževanja. V primerjavi s Škerjančevimi učnimi gradivi, ki večkrat vnašajo nejasne formulacije pravil kontrapunkta in dvoumno uporabo terminoloških izrazov, Osredkar uporablja zelo jasne definicije na temelju izkristalizirane in razumljive terminologije.

V primerjavi s predmetoma harmonija in kontrapunkt se je področje oblikoslovja najpočasneje razvijalo. Predmet oblikoslovje je bil sestavni del predmetnikov in učnih načrtov že ob ustanovitvi državnega konservatorija leta 1926, medtem ko je prvo učno gradivo za ta predmet pripravil Slavko Osterc. *Priročnik za glasbeno oblikoslovje*, katerega letnica nastanka ni znana in ga je izdala Glasbena akademija, je bilo prvo učno gradivo za oblikoslovje na Slovenskem. Tendence po objavi učbenika za oblikoslovje sicer izhajajo že iz leta 1928, ko je slovenski skladatelj in razgledan glasbeni teoretik Srečko Koporc zasnoval učbenik *O glasbenih oblikah*, kasneje pa je pripravil še štiri učbenike z naslovi *Glasbeno oblikoslovje*, *Ciklične oblike*, *Nauk o glasbenih oblikah*, *Tema z variacijami*, ki pa nikoli niso bili izdani. Dolgoletno umanjkanje učbeniških gradiv za področje oblikoslovja traja vse do 60-ih let 20. stoletja, ko je bil leta 1961 izdan učbenik *Razvoj glasbe – glasbene oblike*, v soavtorstvu Vilka Ukmarja in Slavka Mihelčiča. Ker je slednji skromno obravnaval gradnike oblikoslovja, saj je bil namenjen višjim razredom osnovne šole, je slednjo vrzel zapolnil Lucijan M. Škerjanc, ko je pet let kasneje izdal učbenik *Oblikoslovje* (1966). Škerjančevo *Oblikoslovje*, ki je leta 1991 doživelo ponatis, predstavlja pomemben korak v razvoju slednjega področja, saj je to prvo celovito učno gradivo po *Priročniku za oblikoslovje* avtorja Slavka Osterca. To je bilo edino učno gradivo za oblikoslovje vse do leta 2009, ko je skladateljica in glasbena pedagoginja Larisa Vrhunc izdala *Glasbeni stavek: oblikoslovje*.

Od ustanovitve glasbene šole pri Glasbeni matici v Ljubljani do Akademije za glasbo ugotavljamo, da je bil razvoj področja harmonija bogatejši in plodnejši v primerjavi s področjema kontrapunkt in oblikoslovje. V 30-ih letih 20. stoletja opazimo porast izdaj učnih gradiv za predmet harmonija, ki se je nadaljeval tudi v obdobju 40-ih let z Osterčevim (1941) in Škerjančevim (1942) učnim gradivom. Prvi učbenik za področje harmonije in kontrapunkta avtorja Antona Foersterja iz leta 1881, ki doživi svo-

jo nadgradnjo v letu 1904, je dolgo obdobje zapolnjeval učna gradiva za področje kontrapunkta, in sicer vse do Škerjančevega učnega gradiva z letom 1944. Področje oblikoslovje je dobilo svoj prvi učbenik z avtorjem Slavkom Ostercem v obdobju Glasbene akademije (nastanek ni znan), ki je dolga leta samevalo vse dokler je Lucijan M. Škerjanc izdal celovito učno gradivo *Oblikoslovje* leta 1966. Prav 60. leta 20. stoletja predstavljajo pomembno prelomnico v razvoju tako harmonije, kontrapunkta in oblikoslovja z izdajanjem učbeniških gradiv Lucijana M. Škerjanca. Ob *Oblikoslovju* iz leta 1966 je avtor izdal posodobljeno *Harmonijo* leta 1962, pred tem pa *Kontrapunkt in fugo* (1952, 1956). Čeprav so v kasnejših obdobjih na področju harmonije izdajali tudi drugi avtorji, kot sta bila, skladatelj, pianist in glasbeni pedagog Pavel Šivic, ki je leta 1977 izdal *Gradivo za študij generalnega basa*, in skladatelj Alojz Srebotnjak, ki je leta 1981 izdal *Tonske lestvice v glasbi 20. stoletja*, so bila Škerjančeva učna gradiva za harmonijo in kontrapunkt aktualna vse do 90-ih let 20. stoletja, medtem ko je bil njegov učbenik za oblikoslovje aktualen vse do leta 2009.

Naslednji večji premik v razvoju harmonije in kontrapunkta opazimo v 90-ih letih 20. stoletja z učbeniki Janeza Osredkarja. Slednji je pripravil in izdal učbenike za harmonijo (1995 in 1997) in kontrapunkt (1990 in 1999) za srednješolsko izobraževanje, ki so še danes uporabni in aktualni. Na visokošolski ravni sodobni predmetniki in učni načrti prav tako vključujejo predmete harmonija, kontrapunkt in analizo glasbenih oblik na vseh študijskih smereh, s tem da se deleži obravnavanih vsebin in zahtevnostne ravni obvladovanja posameznih disciplin glede na poklicne usmeritve razlikujejo. Učbeniška gradiva za obravnavane predmete so opredeljena znotraj učnih načrtov, med priporočeno literaturo zasledimo tudi učna gradiva Lucijana M. Škerjanca, Janeza Osredkarja in drugih srbskih avtorjev. Poudariti je potrebno, da danes nosilci obravnavanih predmetov na visokošolski ravni pripravljajo tudi lastna interna učna gradiva, ki so diferencirana za komponiste, pevce/instrumentaliste in glasbene pedagoge in so dostopna na spletnih straneh.

V zaključku lahko zapišemo, da so vsa obravnavana predmetna področja, kljub različnim tempom in intenziteti razvoja v posameznih obdobjih, vse do danes dosegla ustrezno raven na Slovenskem in so primerljiva z nivojem standardov znanj v mednarodnem prostoru. Zlasti je opazen izjemen napredek v razvoju slovenske glasbene terminologije tako na področju harmonije, kontrapunkta in oblikoslovja. Zaradi nenehnega in stalnega spreminjanja terminologije, ki je tesno povezana z glasbeno-izvajalsko

prakso, pa se izpostavlja potreba po nadaljnjem bdenju in skrbi za ustrezen enoznačen razvoj glasbenih terminov in definicij, ki bodo jasno izražale zakonitosti posameznih elementov in bile skladne z glasbeno terminologijo v mednarodnem okolju.

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Povzetki

Luisa Antoni

Delovanje slovenskih, italijanskih in avstrijsko-nemških društev v Trstu v 19. stoletju

Po letu 1719, ko je cesarska oblast dodelila Trstu status proste luke, je demografska rast mesta spodbujala različne oblike druženja. Društva so postala žarišče kulturne in zabavne ponudbe, ki je v mestna gledališča privabljala navdušene obiskovalce.

Na Tržaškem so bila (predvsem v slovenskem in slovanskem kulturnem prostoru) številna glasbena društva in mnogi zbori, v katerih je nastajala bolj profesionalna ponudba. Prvi zametki tega kulturno-glasbenega življenja se uveljavljajo preko taborov, *bésed* in *čitalnic* ter privabljajo v mesto glasbenike, ki so pomembni za razvoj slovenske glasbe (Jan Lego, Anton Hajdrih, Hrabroslav Volarič itd).

Članek ponuja prvi celovitejši pregled tržaških slovenskih/slovanskih, italijanskih in avstrijsko-nemških društev ter njihovega delovanja s posebnim pogledom na glasbene ponudbe. V članku se prvič upoštevajo koncertne pobude, ki jih organizirajo različna društva, pripadajoča vse trem v mestu delujočim jezikovnim skupinam. To nam omogoča razumevanje o tem, koliko so ta društva pripomogla k oživitvi in oblikovanju mestnega kulturnega življenja tudi v smeri bodoče profesionalizacije kadrov.

Raziskovanje tržaškega kulturnega in predvsem glasbenega življenja v 19. stoletju še ni dobilo pravega zagona in idejna zasnova te raziskave je postaviti prve temelje za bolj poglobljeno predelavo.

Ključne besede: Trst, glasba, Schillerverein, slovenska društva, italijanska društva

Matjaž Barbo

Alfred Khom, prizadevni zborovodja, spretni skladatelj in izkušeni glasbenik, razpet med pevsкими omizju in filharmoničnimi prizadevanji

V Linzu rojeni Alfred Khom (1825–1893) je dobro desetletje deloval v Ljubljani, kjer se je po besedah sodobnikov uveljavil kot izkušeni (*tüchtiger*) glasbenik, spretni (*geschickter*) skladatelj in prizadevni (*braver*) zborovodja. Deloval je kot pevski učitelj Filharmonične družbe in vodja njegovega moškega zbora. Srečamo ga kot izjemno aktivnega glasbenika v Katoliškem društvu rokodelskih pomočnikov (*Katholischer Gesellenverein*), nekaj časa pa je bil tudi organist v cerkvi nemškega viteškega reda v ljubljanskih Križankah. Ob vsem tem pa se je zlasti uveljavil s pisanjem glasbe za gledališki oder. Sodeloval je pri glasbi za odmevne postavitve igre *Die muthigen Weber von Veldes* Ludvika Germonika, tako v nemškem izvirniku kot v obeh slovenskih prevodih A. Umeka Okiškega oz. L. Prešerna (*Pogumne Gorenjke* in *Serčne Blejke*). Njegovo delo, ki se je deloma naslanjalo tudi na slovensko ljudsko pesem, je odmevalo in bilo z uspehom izvajano tudi po tem, ko se je preselil iz Ljubljane. V poznih letih na Dunaju je ohranil stike s Kranjsko, ki jo je s svojim delom nedvomno tako na profesionalnem kot ljubiteljskem področju močno zaznamoval.

Khom je umrl 1893 v Simmeringu pri Dunaju. Nekaj let za skladateljevo smrtjo še izvajajo njegova dela na koncertnih odrih. Pozneje se Khomova glasba izgubi s sporedov, s tem pa žal vse bolj blede spomin na enega pomembnih sooblikovalcev slovenske glasbene preteklosti.

Ključne besede: Alfred Khom, Filharmonična družba v Ljubljani (*Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*), 19. stoletje, moško zborovsko petje, slovenska glasba

Nada Bezić

Podobnosti in razlike: primerjava Glasbene matice Ljubljana in glasbenih društev v Zagrebu: Hrvatski glasbeni zavod [Hrvaški glasbeni zavod] in Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo "Kolo" [Hrvaško pevsko društvo "Kolo"]

Od začetka 19. stoletja do konca druge svetovne vojne so bila glavna glasbena društva na ozemlju Hrvaške in Slovenije Hrvaški glasbeni inštitut v Zagrebu, ki je bil ustanovljen leta 1827, Hrvaško pevsko društvo Kolo, ustanovljeno leta 1862, in Glasbena matica v Ljubljani, ki je bila ustanovljena leta 1872. Vsa so prispevala h glasbenemu in kulturnemu življenju v mestih, kjer so delovala: organizirala so koncerte, dejavnosti glasbenih skupin, kot so zbori in orkestri, glasbeno vzgojo v glasbenih šolah in konservatorijih, glasbene knjižnice, objavljala so dela hrvaških in slovenskih skladateljev, gradila ustanove s koncertnimi dvoranami ter skrbela za dediščino, na primer spomenike. Omenjena tri društva smo primerjali na podlagi naslednjih meril: osnovne informacije, ustanovitev, ime, dejavnosti, člani, meceni in stavbe. Njihova usoda je bila podobna, saj so delovala v isti državi (Avstrijsko cesarstvo, Jugoslavija), le da so Kolo razpustili leta 1948, drugi dve pa sta preživeli do danes. Glasbena matica si je opomogla od časa po letu 1945, ko ji je bilo dovoljeno delovati samo kot zbor, za Hrvaški glasbeni inštitut pa upamo, da si bo povsem opomogel po hudem potresu leta 2020. *Ključne besede:* Hrvaški glasbeni zavod, Hrvaško pevsko društvo Kolo, Glasbena matica Ljubljana, glasbeno društvo

Friedhelm Brusniak

Ustanovitev nemške zborovske zveze leta 1862 in »avstrijska težava«: razmislek o novih težnjah v zgodovinskih raziskavah zborovskega petja

Ob spominu na nastanek Nemškega cesarstva leta 1870/71 se je več pozornosti namenilo tudi pomenu, ki so ga imele množične organizacije telovadcev, pevcev in strelcev v času, ko se je oblikovalo Nemško cesarstvo. Ko je bila 21. septembra 1862 v Coburgu ustanovljena Deutscher Sängerbund (Nemška zborovska zveza), največja zborovska zveza tistega stoletja na svetu, so se delegati odločili, da bodo v prvi odstavek osnutka statuta vnesli korenito spremembo. Krovna zveza je tako po novem vključevala »vsa nemška pevska društva ter pevska društva in moške pevske zборе Nemcev, ki živijo v tujini in se vanje včlanijo«. Nova ubeseditvev v statutu je sprožila buren politični odziv ter tako postala breme in izziv zlasti pri prenosu

zborovske kulture med pevci v Nemškem cesarstvu in Avstriji. Na primeru Velikega nemškega pevskega festivala leta 1861 v Nürnbergu je podrobneje osvetljena »avstrijska težava«, kar ponuja možnosti za nadaljnje raziskave. *Ključne besede:* *Deutscher Sängerbund* (Nemška zborovska zveza), pevski festivali, nacionalizem, obdobje nastanka Nemškega cesarstva, demokratično gibanje, Avstrija, Laibach/Ljubljana

Manja Flisar Šauperl

Glasbena matica Maribor (1919–1948)

GM Maribor je med letoma 1919 in 1948 na vseh področjih svojega delovanja dosegla tehtne sadove. Načrtno izobraževanje in širjenje glasbene umetnosti ter sodelovanje številnih priznanih zborovodij, dirigentov, skladateljev in izvajalcev je vodilo k dvigu narodne in kulturne istovetnosti. Kot medvojno gibalno glasbenega udejanjanja je GM Maribor tvorno prispevala k razvoju mariborskega glasbenega šolstva in koncertnega življenja ter kulturne zgodovine mesta nasploh. Poudariti je treba, da je tako v izobraževalni kot poustvarjalni, pa tudi svojih drugih dejavnostih, GM Maribor orala ledino slovenskega glasbenega življenja v Mariboru in širše. Z vsemi dejavnostmi, ki jih je vključevala, si je prizadevala za dvig splošne glasbene kulture v severovzhodnem delu Slovenije in tako bogatila nacionalno podobo glasbenega življenja.

Ključne besede: Glasbena društva, glasbena šola, koncertna dejavnost, pevski zbor, orkester

Luba Kijanovska, Teresa Mazepa, Mirosław Dymon

Funkcije glasbenih društev v večnacionalnem družbeno kulturnem okolju (na primeru galicijskega glasbenega društva)

Evropska glasbena društva so v 19. stoletju igrala edinstveno vlogo pri oblikovanju družbeno-kulturnih strategij v številnih državah. V članku so na primeru Galicijskega glasbenega društva analizirana glavna načela družbeno-kulturnih funkcij ljubiteljskih glasbenih organizacij. Galicijsko glasbeno društvo je nastalo leta 1838 v Habsburškem cesarstvu na ozemlju, ki se je takrat imenovalo Kraljestvo Galicije in Lodomerije, od leta 1919 do leta 1939 pa so z dejavnostmi nadaljevali v drugi Republici obeh narodov (»Rzeczpospolita«). Raznolike dejavnosti društva so bile še posebno pomembne za večnacionalni značaj Galicije. Galicijsko glasbeno društvo je vplivalo na razvoj profesionalne in ljubiteljske glasbe v različnih družbenih

in nacionalnih okoljih, koncertno življenje je s pomočjo društva postalo znatno bogatejše, podpirali pa so tudi profesionalno glasbeno izobraževanje v Lvovu in drugod po Galiciji ter tako postali vzor podobnim institucijam v drugih mestih. Člani društva so intenzivno sodelovali v različnih umetniških dejavnostih, skrbeli za estetsko izobraževanje družbe in držali korak z zadnjimi dosežki evropske glasbe.

V društvu so bile stotine ljubiteljev glasbe in amaterskih glasbenikov, pa tudi številni profesionalni glasbeniki – pevci, instrumentalisti, dirigenti, skladatelji, učitelji in muzikologi. Spodbujali so tudi delo lokalnih skladateljev. Zahvaljujoč pobudam Galicijskega glasbenega društva in njegovih aktivnih članov so v Lvovu lahko prisluhnili izjemnim glasbenikom tistega časa, kot so bili Franz Liszt, Johannes Brahms, Stanislaw Moniuszko in drugi.

Ključne besede: Galicijsko glasbeno društvo, Lvov, Galicija, kulturno-družbene funkcije

Darja Koter

Družbeno-politična vloga in kulturno-izobraževalno poslanstvo ptujskih glasbenih društev druge polovice 19. stoletja ter njihov vpliv na Glasbeno matico Ptuj

Spodnještajersko mesto Ptuj je v drugi polovici 19. stoletja veljalo za nemško mesto, čeprav leži na območju, ki so ga stoletja naseljevali Slovenci. Večina meščanov je bilo nemške narodnosti, medtem ko so Slovenci živeli predvsem v okolici in na podeželju. Med izobraženimi meščani so bili tudi vsestransko vplivni Slovenci različnih poklicev, vodilni v utrjevanju rodoljubnosti in razvoju splošne in glasbene kulture. Do 60. let 19. stoletja je bilo članstvo v glasbenih društvih narodnostno mešano, pomembni sta bili zgolj posameznikova razgledanost in pripadnost dejavnosti posameznemu društvu. Družbeno-politična in kulturna gibanja tega območja so sledila vsesplošnim evropskim trendom ter od 70. let 19. stoletja stopnjevala politična nasprotja in utrjevala narodno zavest, pri čemer so imela vzgojno-izobraževalno in agitacijsko vlogo glasbena društva. Pevsko društvo *Männergesang Verein Pettau* (1863), *Narodna čitalnica* (1864), ki je ob zborovskem petju razvijala glasbeno šolstvo, *Pettauer Musikverein* (1878) z instrumentalno dejavnostjo in ugledno javno glasbeno šolo ter *Mestna godba*, ki so jo vodili profesionalno šolani kapelniki, so si prizadevali doseči čim višjo raven poustvarjanja zborovske, komorne, orkestralne in godbene glasbe ter vzpostaviti profesionalno glasbeno šolstvo. *Narodna čitalnica*, *Musikvere-*

in in ptujška deška obrtna šola so bili nosilci javnega glasbenega izobraževanja z dolgoročnim vplivom na njegov razvoj po prvi svetovni vojni, ki ga je predstavljala Glasbena šola Glasbene matice Ptuj (1922). Ta je nadaljevala delo svojih predhodnic in ni bila podružnica ljubljanske Glasbene matice, kot je bila v slovenskem okolju pogosta praksa. Kljub formalni samostojnosti pa se je vsestransko zgledovala po njenih primarnih nalogah in ciljih, posebno v profesionalnosti vzgojno-izobraževalnih in poustvarjalnih dejavnostih.

Ključne besede: Narodna čitalnica Ptuj, Männergesang Verein Pettau, Pettau Musikverein, Mestna godba, Glasbena matica Ptuj

Hartmut Kronos

»Levi« in »desnik« amaterski zbori in njihovi politični cilji na Dunaju v 19. stoletju

Dunajske ljubiteljske pevske zборе so v 19. stoletju močno zaznamovali politični cilji, ki so si jih zastavili. Delavski zbori so se že med marčno revolucijo leta 1848 – kljub svojevoljnosti in diktatorsko odrejeni cenzuri Metternichove diktature – zavzemali za socialno pravičnost in politično-družbeno svobodo, zборе bratovščin pa so zanimali predvsem nemški nacionalni interesi. »Nacionalni« interesi so bili tudi gonilo zborov, sestavljenih iz pripadnikov etničnih manjšin, ki so se v svojem koncertnem repertoarju pogosto izogibali delom v nemškem jeziku ali so jih celo povsem izključili. Zbori delavskih društev, podjetij, poklicnih skupin ali verskih društev so prav tako sledili političnim ali vsaj družbenim ciljem, kot pogosto pričajo njihova (včasih prav humoristična) imena. Kot zanimivost velja omeniti še, da so med »delavskimi pevci« že od začetka obstajali tudi mešani in ženski pevski zbori, »meščanska« zborovska društva pa ženskam do leta 1933 niso dovolila sodelovanja. Namen prispevka je predstaviti osnovne poteze omenjene raznolikosti in s primeri ponazoriti nekatera področja njenega razvoja.

Ključne besede: dunajski zbori, dunajsko glasbeno življenje, delavske pesmi, revolucija leta 1848

Helmut Loos

O kulturnem in političnem pomenu nemških moških pevskih zborov

Moški pevski zbori se običajno ne uvrščajo med priljubljene tematike, s katerimi se ukvarjajo glasbeni raziskovalci; številnim kolegom se to še danes

zdi pod častjo. Umetnost obravnavajo z vidika čustvene izraznosti, zato menijo, da so moški pevski zbori ena od številnih oblik nižjega kulturnega življenja in si zato ne zaslužijo umetniškega priznanja. Če umetnost razumete kot zavezano načelu avtonomije, se vam moški pevski zbori zdijo močno sumljivi zaradi raznolike prepletenosti s socialnimi in političnimi vidiki. Drugače pa je, ko se lotite obravnave kulturnozgodovinskih vidikov; v tem primeru vam moški pevski zbori ponujajo obilo priložnosti za raziskovanje. Izsledki tovrstnih raziskav pa so običajno zanimivi tudi za visoko umetnost.

Ključne besede: meščansko gibanje za emancipacijo, narodna vera, veroizpovedi, nacionalna država, judovsko-krščansko izročilo

Wolfgang Marx

Glasbena društva na Irskem v 19. stoletju

Irška je bila v 19. stoletju del Združenega kraljestva. Nikoli ni bila »das Land ohne Musik«, kot je bila to Anglija, vendar je bilo glasbeno življenje na Irskem na začetku 19. stoletja precej drugačno in dosti revnejše kot stoletje poprej. Profesionalnega orkestra ali operne hiše ni bilo nikjer na otoku. Razlogi za to so bili deloma družbeno-politični, povezani pa so bili z zakonom o združitvi iz leta 1801. Obenem se industrijska revolucija večjega dela Irske – razen severovzhodne regije – skoraj ni dotaknila. Zanimanje za irsko glasbeno življenje (in zgodovino) je začelo rasti šele skupaj z gelskim obuditvenim gibanjem ob koncu stoletja. Cilj gibanja je bila »deanglizacija Irske«, česar so se lotili s strategijo v treh korakih: ponovna uvedba in krepitev uporabe irskega jezika, posebnih irskih športov in – ne nazadnje – irske glasbe.

V tem prispevku so najprej predstavljeni politični in družbeni preobrati dobe (zakon o združitvi, katoliška emancipacija, velika lakota, gelsko obuditveno gibanje, vojna za neodvisnost in državljanska vojna), s čimer je opisano zgodovinsko ozadje, nato pa sledi primerjava vlog, ki so jih imela glasbena društva v Dublinu, Belfastu in Armaghu: bila so namreč upravna, industrijska in verska središča. Opisano je tudi, kako sta na glasbeno življenje Irske vplivali gibanje za zmernost in gelsko obuditveno gibanje. Vidiki, na katere se osredotočamo pri opisu razlik med omenjenimi tremi društvi, so: velikost, strategije nastopanja, verska in spolna politika, repertoar, konservativnost in prizorišča.

Ključne besede: glasbena društva, zgodovina irske glasbe, zgodovina 19. stoletja, Dublin, Belfast, Armagh

Niall O'Loughlin

Londonska Filharmonična družba in njen prispevek k vnovični obuditvi britanskih skladateljev v 19. stoletju

V zgodnjem 19. stoletju je bila javna glasba v Londonu slabo organizirana. Standardi, ki so veljali za orkestre, so bili precej nizki, zato je skupina strokovnjakov leta 1813 ustanovila londonsko Filharmonično družbo z lastnim orkestrom. Organizirali so osem koncertov na leto, na katerih so izvajali simfonije, uverture, koncertantna dela, zborovsko in komorno glasbo. Člani filharmonije so bili večinoma instrumentalisti, nekaj je bilo pevcev in skladateljev, plačane članarine pa so bile na voljo le omejenemu številu premožnih ljubiteljev, ki so si jih lahko privoščili. Redno so igrali Haydnovo, Mozartovo in Beethovnovno glasbo, vključno z Deveto simfonijo, ki jo je Filharmonična družba tudi naročila. Pozneje so izvajali dela Spohra, Webra, Mendelssohna, Berlioz, Wagnerja in številnih drugih; naštetih skladateljev so večinoma sami dirigirali svoja dela. Družba in ljubiteljski člani so želeli izvajati glasbo znanih tujih skladateljev, za nova dela britanskih skladateljev pa ni bilo opaziti nobenega navdušenja.

Skladatelj, pianist in dirigent Cipriani Potter je dogajanje spremenil. Kot polnopraven član Filharmonične družbe je lahko vplival na vsebino koncertnih programov, zato je vanje vključil britansko glasbo. Bil je tudi izvrsten pianist, ki je igral pomembna klavirska dela v komorni glasbi. Ko je kot solist sodeloval v programih Filharmonične družbe, je z njenim orkestrom izvedel številne Mozartove in Beethovnovne koncerte, na 32 koncertih pa je tudi dirigiral. Bil je višji profesor za klavir na takrat komaj ustanovljeni Kraljevi akademiji za glasbo – ki so jo vodili ljubitelji – od leta 1832 pa je bil tudi njen ravnatelj, kar je bil vpliven položaj. Filharmonična družba je izvajala veliko njegovih pomembnih del, pa tudi nekatera dela drugih britanskih skladateljev. Ta so se vse bolj vrstila pod vodstvom Michaela Coste od leta 1845 dalje, izvedbo ene Potterjevih simfonij pa je dirigiral celo Wagner. Potterjev naslednik in učenec, William Sterndale Bennett, ki je bil pianist, skladatelj in dirigent, je močno utrdil položaj Filharmonične družbe, za kar je poskrbel tudi z vključitvijo svojih del. Umetniški sloves in finančna varnost Filharmonične družbe sta bila v zgodnjih osemdesetih letih 19. stoletja žal na nizki ravni; do tega je prišlo zaradi navzkrižnih interesov ljubiteljev in strokovnjakov ter zastarele administracije. Ko so priregnili boljše dirigente in zagotovili finančno varnost, so se lahko talenti, kot so bili Hubert Parry, Alexander Mackenzie, Charles Villiers Stanford in številni drugi, razcveteli na prireditvah, ki jih je družba organizirala. Seli-

tev v Kraljičino dvorano v osrednjem Londonu leta 1894 je pomagala preoblikovati ugled in status Filharmonične družbe. Kljub nenehnim umetniškim in finančnim težavam je londonska Filharmonična družba zagotovila svoj prispevek pri renesansi britanskih skladateljev in leta 1913 postala Kraljeva filharmonična družba.

Ključne besede: Londonska Filharmonična družba, Cipriani Potter, Lord Burghersh, William Sterndale Bennett, Hubert Parry, Charles Villiers Stanford

Danutė Petrauskaitė

Pomen litovskih društev

za razvoj nacionalne glasbene kulture in državnosti

19. stoletje je bilo v Litvi obdobje, ki je trajalo od tretje delitve Republike obeh narodov do prve svetovne vojne. V tem času se je izoblikoval sodobni litovski narod, ki je z različnimi oblikami kulturnih gibanj tlakoval pot ponovni vzpostavitvi neodvisne države. Kulturna društva so pri tem igrala veliko vlogo, saj so prvim litovskim izvajalcem in skladateljem zagotovila pogoje, v katerih so lahko ustvarjali.

Prva glasbena društva so v Litvi ustanovili tujci, saj poklicnih domačih glasbenikov takrat skoraj ni bilo. Ko so se društva začela širiti, so jim prepovedali izvajanje vseh litovskih dejavnosti, kot so tisk, ustanavljanje posvetnih zborov ali javnih organizacij. Prva litovska kulturna društva so tako začela nastajati na skrivaj, njihov razmah pa se je začel šele, ko so odpravili prepoved tiskanja v latinici. Združevala so ljubitelje glasbe, njihov glavni cilj pa je bil negovanje litovske narodne pripadnosti. Organizacije, v katerih so bili poklicni glasbeniki, so se za razliko od društev posvečale predvsem poglobljenemu razumevanju umetnosti, varstvu kulturne dediščine in sistematičnemu glasbenemu izobraževanju.

Kulturna društva, kamor so se umeščala tudi glasbena društva, so nastajala vsepovsod, kjer je živelo veliko Litovcev: v Nemčiji, Rusiji in ZDA. Čeprav so se pogoji za delo društev v državah razlikovali, so bili cilji povsod enaki: zaščita pred rusifikacijo, germanizacijo in amerikanizacijo s pesmimi, ohranjanje svojega jezika, kulturnega izročila in običajev, izoblikovanje nacionalne identitete, zorenje želje po državnosti in osvoboditev Litve iz primeža ruskega carstva.

Ključne besede: Litva, glasbena društva, zbor, Rusija, Nemčija, ZDA

Vlasta Stavbar

Doba čitalniškega rodoljubja: Slovanska čitalnica v Mariboru

Pomlad narodov je povzročila razmah slovenskih kulturnih in političnih dejavnosti. Vzniknili so slovenski politični časniki, literarni časopisi. Postavljene so bile zahteve po lastni univerzi za Slovence, po slovenskih šolah in rabi slovenščine v javnosti. Vsa kulturna prizadevanja maloštevilnega in gospodarsko šibkega slovenskega meščanstva so bila kratkega veka. Šele po obnovljeni ustavnosti leta 1861 sledimo razmahu čitalniškega gibanja na Slovenskem. Njegovi najpomembnejši pobudniki so bili staroslovenci, med njimi dr. Janez Bleiweis s svojim krogom prvakov, kot sta bila dr. Toman in dr. Costa. Vodili so previdno politiko, nagnjeno h kompromisom. Po vzoru hrvaških »čitaonic« so začeli s pobudami, objavljenimi v *Novicah*, razmišljati o čitalnicah na Slovenskem. Prva je bila ustanovljena 29. januarja 1861 v Trstu, druga pa 17. julija 1861 v Mariboru. Šele oktobra 1861 so ustanovili čitalnico v Ljubljani. Potem so sledila še druga mesta na Slovenskem. Čitalnice so postale nosilke kulturnega razvoja v drugi polovici 19. stoletja. V njih so budili in utrjevali narodno zavest in pospeševali uporabo slovenskega jezika. Zanimanje med Slovenci so ustvarjali z razgibanim društvenim delovanjem, s poudarkom na kulturnem in družbenem življenju in narodno-političnem prebujanju. Seznanjali so se z literaturo, glasbenimi in gledališkimi deli, zgodovino in razpravljali tudi o političnih vprašanjih, čeprav so slednje v svojih pravilih izključili. Najpomembnejši pomen čitalniških prireditev, imenovanih bésede, je bilo narodno prebujanje, ki je bilo posebej poudarjeno tudi v uvodnih nagovorih. Čitalnice so v večini obiskovali meščani in inteligenca. Šele v zadnjem obdobju čitalniškega gibanja (1890–1900), razen na Primorskem, so se ustanovljale tudi na podeželju. Poleg družabnega programa so imele razvito glasbeno in gledališko dejavnost, predavanja in govore ter druge dejavnosti, med katerimi je imela posebno mesto čitalniška knjižnica.

Pomembno vlogo v slovenskem čitalniškem gibanju je imela tudi mariborska Slovanska čitalnica. Njena bogata rokopisna zupuščina, ohranjena v Univerzitetni knjižnici Maribor, nudi vpogled v raznovrsten program njenega delovanja ter vlogo v razvoju slovenske kulture v Mariboru in okolici. *Ključne besede:* Slovenci, čitalnice, čitalniško gibanje, Slovanska čitalnica v Mariboru, 19. stoletje

Michal Ščepán

Glasbena društva in njihov položaj v glasbenem življenju Bratislave 19. stoletja

Konec 18. stoletja je Bratislava izgubila naziv madžarske prestolnice, kar je znatno vplivalo na tamkajšnje glasbeno življenje. Osrednja oblast se je preselila v Budo, z njo pa tudi večji del posvetne in cerkvene aristokracije, ki je do takrat z mecenstvom pomembno vplivala na glasbene dogodke v mestu. Čeprav glasbeno dogajanje ni povsem zamrlo, je v naslednjem stoletju glavno vlogo v njegovem razvoju prevzela buržoazija. Kulturne potrebe njegovih predstavnikov so pripeljale do nove oblike glasbene ustanove – glasbenega društva. V 19. stoletju je bilo v Bratislavi dejavnih več glasbenih društev, ki so služila različnim namenom: od družbenih do izobraževalnih in seveda tudi umetniških. Najbolj razširjena oblika glasbenega društva je bil zbor, še posebej v drugi polovici stoletja. Zbora Pressburger Liedertafel in Pressburger Singverein sta bila sicer ljubiteljska, vendar sta dosegla visoko raven umetniškega ustvarjanja skupaj z drugimi zbori delavskih društev, kot sta bila Typographenbund. Društvo Pressburger Kirchenmusikverein zu St. Martin je bilo eno glavnih v bratislavskem glasbenem življenju zaradi različnih funkcij, ki jih je opravljalo. Čeprav je bilo društvo cerkveno, se pri ustvarjanju niso omejili le na versko glasbo, temveč tudi na posvetno, vključno z glasbeno dramo. Našteta glasbena društva so povezovali skupni zborovodje, kot so bili Anton Strehlen, Josef Kumlik, Karl Mayrberger in Eugen Kossow. Njihovi glasbeni okusi niso vplivali le na sestavo repertoarja, temveč tudi na podporo, ki so jo izrekli izbranim skladateljem, zlasti Franzu Lisztu. Znani tuji glasbeniki so pogosto nastopali na koncertih kot gostujoči solisti, s čimer so prireditvam vtisnili pečat pomembnega družbenega dogodka.

Članek obravnava glasbena društva v Bratislavi v 19. stoletju in se osredotoča na njihovo ustanavljanje, primerjavo ter stike s tujimi ustanovami in osebnostmi.

Gljučne besede: Bratislava, glasbeno življenje, glasbena društva, zborovodja, zbori, repertoar

Lana Šehović

Obiski dunajskih pevskih društev v Sarajevu – priložnost za preoblikovanje koncertne dejavnosti, za katero so skrbela lokalna društva konec 19. stoletja?

Pevska društva so se v glasbenem življenju Sarajeva ter Bosne in Hercegovine začela pojavljati konec 19. stoletja. Zamisli za nastanek društev so vzniknile že v prvih letih okupacije, pobudniki pa so bili izključno priseljenci in uradniki režima. Prva društva so bila tako mednarodno obarvana, sestavljali pa so jih priseljenci z vseh delov cesarstva, ki so si prizadevali obogatiti svoje družbeno življenje in zapolniti prosti čas. Oblasti so bile naklonjene delu mednarodnih društev, saj so spodbujala vrednote, ki jih je podpiral tudi sam avstroogrski politični aparat. Poseben pomen med mednarodnimi društvi je imelo društvo Männergesangverein (1887), ki je postalo središče sarajevske ljubiteljske glasbene dejavnosti. Imelo je tesne povezave s sorodnimi dunajskimi društvi, kot sta bili Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter in Wiener Schubertbund, ki jih je Sarajevo večkrat gostilo v sodelovanju z lokalnimi pevskimi zbori. Dunajska društva so bila izvrsten primer povezovanja, zato so lokalni organi upali, da bodo takšnemu zgledu sledila tudi lokalna nacionalna društva. Pozitivne učinke obiskov lahko prepoznamo v protokolu, ki so ga pripravili in začeli uporabljati tudi za obiske drugih društev, ki so po letu 1892 redno obiskovala Sarajevo: na primer hrvaško pevsko društvo Kolo, dubrovniško pevsko društvo Gundulić, beograjsko pevsko društvo in akademsko pevsko društvo Obilić.

Ključne besede: Sarajevo, Avstro-Ogrska, glasbeno življenje, pevška društva, dunajska pevška društva

Katja Škrubej

Temelj svobodne države je svobodno (glasbeno) društvo? Kontinuitete in prelomi po 1849/1867 na Dunaju in v Ljubljani: prispevek k zgodovini orkestra kot društva

V zgodovini glasbenih društev v Habsburški monarhiji so bile z Zakonom o društvih iz 1867 napovedane ključne spremembe, obljubljene že v revolucionarnem letu 1848. Bistvena razlika med društvi pred in po letu 1867 je bila ne glede na kontinuiteto v starih poimenovanjih ta, da so iz krovnega zakonskega pojma izključili vsa tista društva, katerih namen je bil ustvarjanja dobička. Kljub domnevni liberalnosti Zakona iz leta 1867 ni z ozirom na pravico do zbiranja prišlo do nobene bistvene spremembe glede pravice

oblasti do nadzora. Pomembna sprememba pa se je nanašala na pravico do združevanja, saj je zakon glede ustanovitve društva predhodni koncesijski model nadomestil s prijavnim. V prispevku obravnavam različne primere strategij prilagoditve na to novo pravno realnost z naslednjimi zaključki. Filharmonična družba v Ljubljani, v zvezi s katero je predstavljena tudi hipoteza, ki presprašuje njeno lastno samorazumevanje glede geneze že v letu 1702, se je v 19. stoletju konformno prilagajala vsaki državni zakonski reformi s spreminjanjem svojega statuta. Po drugi strani so Dunajski filharmoniki ubrali drugačno strategijo. Zase so iznašli povsem *sui generis* organizacijsko obliko, ki jim je dovoljevala, da so razvijali vrsto samouprave, ki je Zakon 1867 še ni dopuščal. Tudi v Ljubljani pa so posebne strategije prilagoditve razvijali tako člani društva prve Slovenske filharmonije kot društva Glasbene matice v zvezi z Orkestralnim društvom, v večini pravniki, ki so svojim ustvarjalnim pravnim razmišljanjem skušali prispevati k premagovanju težkih izzivov, kako v okvir že obstoječih organizacijskih oblik primerno vključiti večje orkestrske korpuse. Kot značilen primer tega, predstavim idejo »rahlega stika« pravnika in pisatelja Milčinskega. Na koncu kot primer za obratni pogled z vidika posameznika kot člana društva predstavim kompleksne izkušnje Karla Jeraja, obenem s predstavitvijo nekaterih novih dejstvenih dognanj, delno v ilustracijo nadvse primerne metafore Rudolfa Andrejke o društvu kot »ojačeni osebi«.

Ključne besede: Društvo, orkester, Filharmonična družba, Slovenska filharmonija, Dunajski filharmoniki, Karel Jeraj

Viktor Velek

Matej Hubad v okviru glasbenega življenja slovanskih društev na Dunaju

Članek predstavlja delo slovenskega zborovodje, učitelja in organizatorja Mateja Hubada v Slovanskem pevskem društvu na Dunaju. Enako pomembna je tudi ocena pomena, ki sta ga imela koncerta slovenskega zbora Glasbena matica leta 1896 na Dunaju – to je bil velik mejnik za zgodovino Glasbene matice in dunajsko slovansko zborovsko življenje. Hubada predstavimo z različnih vidikov: kot avtorja skladb, ki so jih izvajali na Dunaju, kot zbarskega pevcu in zborovodjo. Članek oriše tudi stike, ki jih je imel s Slovani na Dunaju, in pove več o skladbah, ki so shranjene v arhivih dunajskih slovanskih društev. Predstavljen je tudi odziv v tiskanih medijih [čeških, češko-dunajskih, nemških na Dunaju], ki so ga sprožile Hubadove dejavnosti.

Ključne besede: Matej Hubad, glasba, slovanska društva na Dunaju, zbor

Jernej Weiss

Zasluge čeških glasbenikov za oživitev glasbene dediščine Jacobusa Handla Gallusa na Slovenskem

V referatu je predstavljen prispevek posameznih čeških glasbenikov, ki so v začetku 90. let 19. stoletja spodbudili oživitev glasbene dediščine Jacobusa Handla Gallusa na Slovenskem. Tako Glasbena matica Ljubljana kot ljubljansko Cecilijino društvo, dve poleg Filharmonične družbe v Ljubljani tedaj osrednji glasbeni ustanovi na Slovenskem, sta imeli v svojih vrstah številne češke glasbenike. Ti so med drugim s svojim vsestranskim delovanjem odločilno prispevali tudi k realizaciji dveh zgodovinskih koncertov, ki pri nas naznanjata začetek ponovnega odkritja Gallusa. Tako koncerta ob 300. obletnici skladateljeve smrti v ljubljanski stolnici, na katerem je 12. julija 1891 pod vodstvom Antona Foersterja zazvenela Gallusova parodična maša *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae* (SQM 6), kot znamenitega koncerta skladateljevih motetov in moralij 9. junija 1892 v Redutni dvorani in izvedbi zbora Glasbene matice Ljubljana pod vodstvom Mateja Hubada. Prav s pripravo in izvedbo obeh koncertnih dogodkov kot tudi drugih spremljevalnih prireditev so posamezni češki glasbeniki pomembno prispevali k zavedanju o tradiciji in kontinuiteti umetniške glasbe na Slovenskem. Tudi sicer je bilo delovanje Glasbene matice Ljubljana kot tudi tamkajšnjega Cecilijinega društva močno odvisno od čeških glasbenikov, ki so nekakšen vezni člen med omenjenima ustanovama ter drugimi glasbenimi društvi pri nas. *Ključne besede:* Jacobus Handl Gallus, Glasbena matica, češki glasbeniki

Katarina Zadnik

Harmonija, kontrapunkt in oblikoslovje od ustanovitve Glasbene matice do Akademije za glasbo

Glasbenoteoretični predmeti so vselej imeli pomembno vlogo pri spodbujanju celostnega razvoja glasbenika. Potrebe po predmetnih področjih harmonija in kontrapunkt, ki sta bila del predmetnika glasbene šole pri Glasbeni matici, so se porajale že pred ustanovitvijo omenjene inštitucije. Tendence po usposabljanju v okviru teh dveh disciplin so se prvič izrazito izrazile z izdajo učbenika *Antona Foersterja, leta 1881. Kljub nizkemu interesu in številu učencev, se je predmet harmonija, v primerjavi s predmetom kontrapunkt stalno in kontinuirano izvajal v glasbeni šoli Glasbene matice vse do ustanovitve ljubljanskega konservatorija (1919). Predmetnik konservatorija je ob ostalih šolah umeščal tudi Šolo za glasbeno teorijo, ki je obsegala elementarno teorijo, harmonijo, kontrapunkt in kompozicijo. Z podržavljenjem kon-*

servatorija (1926) so bili predmeti harmonija, kontrapunkt in oblikoslovje stranski predmeti, ki so jih morali učenci ob drugih predmetih obvezno obiskovati. Četudi so obravnavana glasbenoteoretična področja sodila med obvezne predmete, ugotavljamo, da je predmet harmonija doživel bogatejši razvoj v primerjavi z ostalima predmetoma. Večji razmah v razvoju predmeta se je dogodil v 30-ih letih 20. stoletja z nastajanjem učbeniških gradiv Vasilija Mirka (1884–1962), Emila Komela (1875–1960) in Lucijana Marije Škerjanca (1900–1973). V prispevku bomo predstavili glasbene osebnosti, ki so s svojimi učnimi gradivi pomembno spodbudile razvoj obravnavanih glasbenoteoretičnih predmetov vse od ustanovitve glasbene šole in konservatorija pri Glasbeni matici do vključno ustanovitve Akademije za glasbo v Ljubljani (1946).

Gljučne besede: harmonija, kontrapunkt, oblikoslovje, učbeniki

Maruša Zupančič

Vloga in prispevek priseljenih glasbenikov v glasbenih društvih na Slovenskem do razpada Avstro-Ogrske

Priseljeni glasbeniki so vse od konca 18. stoletja pa do razpada avstro-ogrske monarhije igrali ključno vlogo pri razvoju glasbene kulture na Slovenskem. Prihajali so večinoma z avstrijskega ozemlja in čeških dežel. Sprva so kot skladatelji, kopisti, *regentes chori*, organisti, pevci in instrumentalisti prispevali k razvoju glasbe v cerkvah in samostanih. V začetku 19. stoletja pa postanejo vse pomembnejši tudi v posvetnih glasbenih prizadevanjih. Večina priseljenih glasbenikov je v »dolgem 19. stoletju« delovala v Ljubljani. S svojim delom so ključno prispevali k nadaljnjemu obstoju kulturnih ustanov, kot so Filharmonična družba (Philharmonische Gesellschaft), glasbena kapela Ljubljanske stolnice, Stanovsko gledališče (Ständisches Theater), pozneje Deželno gledališče, in vojaških kapel, delovali pa so tudi kot glasbeni učitelji v različnih ustanovah ali povsem zasebno. Proti koncu 19. stoletja so priseljeni glasbeniki zasedali vodilne položaje v različnih glasbenih ustanovah: v nemških glasbenih društvih v Mariboru (Marburger philharmonischer Verein), Celju (Cillier Musikverein) in na Ptuj (Pettauer Musikverein), v slovenski Ljubljanski čitalnici in Glasbeni matici v Ljubljani ter v drugih manjših glasbenih društvih. Na začetku 20. stoletja so krojili koncertno življenje v podružnicah Glasbene matice v Novem mestu, Gorici, Celju, Kranju in Trstu ter v vseslovanskem, pozneje predvsem slovensko usmerjenem Narodnem domu v Trstu. V več kot stoletje dolgem obdobju so na Slovensko prinesli sodoben repertoar in napisali številna glasbena dela.

Vodilno vlogo so igrali tudi pri razvoju virtuozne instrumentalne igre, komorne, zborovske in simfonične glasbe. Z uvedbo učnih načrtov in na novo napisanih glasbenih priročnikov – na primer metodičnih del in pesmaric – so v glasbeno-izobraževalni sistem prinesli številne dobrodošle spremembe. Izšolali so prvo pomembno generacijo slovenskih glasbenikov, ki je nadaljevala z njihovim izročilom in dediščino, ki smo jima priča še danes.

Ključne besede: glasba 19. stoletja, glasbene migracije, glasbena društva, priseljeni glasbeniki, avstro-ogrsko monarhija

Summaries

Luisa Antoni

Activity of Slovenian, Italian and Austrian-German societies in Trieste in the 19th century

After 1719, when the imperial authorities conferred on Trieste the free port status, the rise in the city's population promoted various forms of socializing. Societies became centres of culture and entertainment, which attracted enthusiastic visitors to the city's theatres.

In the Trieste area, especially in the Slovenian and Slavic cultural sphere, there existed numerous music societies and choirs, which served as centres of development for more professional content. The origins of this cultural and music life caught on through rallies, *béседа* events and reading societies, attracting musicians who went on to have a profound impact on the development of Slovenian music (Jan Lego, Anton Hajdrih, Hrabroslav Volarič, etc.).

This paper offers an extensive survey of Triestine Slovenian/Slavic, Italian and Austrian-German societies and their activity with a special focus on musical offerings. The paper is the first to include the concert initiatives organised by the various societies based in the city and associated with all three language groups. This provides an understanding of how these societies helped stimulate and shape the city's cultural life, also leading to the future professionalisation of the related human resources.

Research into cultural and, above all, musical life in the 19th century is yet to gain real momentum, and the concept behind this study is to lay the initial foundation for a more in-depth treatment of the topic.

Keywords: Trieste, music, Schillerverein, Slovenian societies, Italian societies

Matjaž Barbo

Alfred Khom, a diligent choirmaster, skilful composer and experienced musician, torn between choral and philharmonic endeavours

Born in Linz, Alfred Khom (1825–1893) worked in Ljubljana for a little over a decade, where, according to his contemporaries, he established himself as an experienced musician, skilled composer, and diligent choirmaster. He worked as a singing teacher of the Philharmonic Society and choirmaster of its male choir. We encounter him as an extremely active musician in the Catholic Journeyman's Society, and for a time he was also the organist at the Church of the Teutonic Order in Križanke in Ljubljana. He became especially known through writing music for the theatre. He participated in the music for the much acclaimed settings of the play *Die muthigen Weiber von Veldes* by Ludvik Germonik, both in the original German and in the two Slovenian translations by A. Umek Okiški and L. Prešeren (*Pogumne Gorenjke* and *Serčne Blejke*). His work, based in part on Slovenian folk songs, was well received and was successfully performed even after his departure from Ljubljana. In his later years in Vienna, he maintained contacts with Carniola, which he undoubtedly left a strong mark on with his work, both professionally and as an amateur.

Khom died in 1893 in Simmering near Vienna. Only a few years after the composer's death, his works were performed on concert stages. Later, Khom's music would disappear from the concert programs, and thus the memory of one of the important co-creators of the Slovenian musical past fades.

Keywords: Alfred Khom, Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana (*Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*), 19th Century, Male choral singing, Slovenian music

Nada Bezić

Similarities and differences: comparison of the Ljubljana Glasbena matica and music societies in Zagreb: Hrvatski glazbeni zavod [the Croatian Music Institute] and Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo “Kolo” [the Croatian Singing Society “Kolo”]

The leading music societies in Croatia and Slovenia in the period from the first part of the 19th century until the end of the Second World War were in Zagreb (Croatia) the Croatian Music Institute, founded in 1827 and the Croatian Singing Society “Kolo”, founded in 1862, and in Ljubljana the Glasbena matica, founded in 1872. They all have contributed to the musical and cultural life of their towns respectively in organizing of concerts, activities of music ensembles (choirs and orchestra), music education (music schools/conservatories), music libraries, publishing works by Croatian and Slovenian composers, erecting buildings (with a concert hall), and taking care for the heritage (memorials). The comparison of these three societies was made according to the criteria: the basic information, the foundation, the name, the activities, the members, the patrons, and the buildings. The societies shared similar destiny in the same state (Austrian Empire, Yugoslavia), but the “Kolo” was abolished in 1948, while the other two survived until today. The Glasbena matica recovered from the period after 1945 when its only allowed activity was the choir, and hopefully the Croatian Music Institute will fully recover after the big earthquake in 2020.

Keywords: Hrvatski glazbeni zavod, Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo “Kolo”, Glasbena matica Ljubljana, music society

Friedhelm Brusniak

Die Gründung des Deutschen Sängerbundes (DSB) 1862 und das „Österreich-Problem“: Anmerkungen zu neuen Tendenzen in der historischen Chorforschung

Die Erinnerung an die Reichsgründung 1870/71 hat auch die verstärkte Aufmerksamkeit auf die Bedeutung der Massenorganisationen der Turner, Sänger und Schützen in der Reichsgründungsära gelenkt. Als am 21. September 1862 in Coburg der weltgrößte Chorverband im 19. Jahrhundert *Deutscher Sängerbund (DSB)* gegründet wurde, beschlossen die Delegierten eine folgenreiche Änderung in Paragraph 1 des Satzungsentwurfs. Danach umfasste der Dachverband „die Sängerbünde Deutschlands und die Sängerbünde und Männergesangsvereine der im Auslande lebenden Deut-

schen, welche sich ihm anschließen“. Diese als politisch brisant gesehene Formulierung sollte sich vor allem für den chorkulturellen Transfer zwischen Sängern im Deutschen Reich und in Österreich als Belastung und Herausforderung erweisen. Ausgehend vom *Großen Deutschen Sängerfest 1861* in Nürnberg wird das „Österreich-Problem“ näher beleuchtet, um abschließend Forschungsperspektiven aufzuzeigen.

Schlüsselwörter: Deutscher Sängerbund (DSB), Sängerbünde, Nationalismus, Reichsgründungsära, Demokratiebewegung, Österreich, Laibach/Ljubljana

Manja Flisar Šauperl

The Glasbena matica Maribor (1919–1948)

Between 1919 and 1948, the Maribor GM made significant achievements in all areas of its work. The systematic education and popularization of the music art, as well as the participation of many distinguished choirmasters, conductors, composers and performers, strengthened the national and cultural identity. As a driving force of musical activities in the years between the two world wars, GM Maribor made a significant contribution to the development of music education and concert life in Maribor, as well as to the cultural history of the city in general. It should be emphasized that GM Maribor, both in its educational and concert activities as well as in its other activities, laid the foundation for the development of Slovene musical life in Maribor and beyond. Through all its activities, it has strived to raise the general musical culture in the north-eastern part of Slovenia, thus enriching the national image of musical life.

Keywords: Music societies, music school, concert activity, choir, orchestra

Luba Kijanovska, Teresa Mazepa, Mirosław Dymon

Functions of the music associations in a multinational socio-cultural environment (using the example of the Galician Music Association)

Music associations in Europe in the 19th century played a unique role in shaping the socio-cultural strategies of many countries. General principles of the cultural-social functions of amateur musical organizations are analyzed in this article using the example of the Galician Music Association (GMA), it was founded in the Habsburg Empire in 1838 on the territory of the “Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria” and then continued its activity in the Second Rzecz Pospolita 1919–1939. Diverse activities of the association

were particularly important for a multinational company of the Galician country. GMA influenced the development of professional and amateur music in various social and national environments, significantly enriched concert life, and supported professional music education not only in Lviv but throughout Galicia, served as a model for similar institutions in other cities. Members of the GMA have been intensively involved in various artistic activities, have taken care of aesthetic education of society and have adopted the latest achievements of European music.

The association included not only hundreds of music lovers and amateurs, but also numerous highly professional musicians - singers, instrumentalists, conductors, composers, teachers, and musicologists. Here was promoted the work of the local composers. Thanks to the initiative of the GMA and its active members, Lviv heard outstanding musicians of his time – Franz Liszt, Johannes Brahms, Stanislaw Moniuszko, etc.

Keywords: the Galician Music Association, Lviv; Galicia, cultural-social functions

Darja Koter

The social-political role and cultural-educational mission of Ptuj music societies in the second half of the 19th century, and their influence on the Ptuj Glasbena Matica

Although situated in an area that has been populated by Slovenians for centuries, the lower Styrian town of Ptuj was regarded as a German town in the second half of the 19th century. Most of the townspeople were German by nationality, while Slovenians mostly lived near the town and in rural areas. The educated townspeople included all-round influential Slovenians of various professions, who led efforts to strengthen patriotism and develop general and musical culture. Until the 1860s, membership of music societies was mixed in terms of nationality, as members merely had to possess broad general knowledge and take part in the activity of the society in question. The social-political and cultural movements in this area followed the overall European trends; from the 1870s on, they intensified political differences and strengthened the national consciousness, whereby music societies played an educational and agitational role. The *Männergesangverein Pettau* choral society (1863), the National Reading Society (1864), which was developing music education along with choral singing, the *Pettauer Musikverein* (1878) with its instrumental activity and a renowned public music school, as well as the Town Band, which was led by professionally trained band-

masters, strived to achieve the highest possible level of reproducing choral, chamber, orchestral and band music, and to establish professional music education. The National Reading Society, the Musikverein and the Ptuj boys' craft school were the leaders of public music education, with a long-term impact on its development post-WWI, as embodied by the Ptuj Glasbena Matica music school (1922). The music school continued the work of its predecessors and was not a branch of the Ljubljana Glasbena Matica, as was common practice in the Slovenian environment. However, despite this formal independence it modelled itself on the Ljubljana Glasbena Matica's primary tasks and goals, especially in the professionalism of educational and reproduction activities.

Keywords: National Reading Society Ptuj, Männergesang Verein Pettau, Pettau Musikverein, City Band, Glasbena matica Ptuj

Hartmut Krones

„Linke“ und „rechte“ Amateurchöre im Wien des 19. Jahrhunderts und ihre politischen Zielsetzungen

Das Wiener Amateurchorwesen war im 19. Jahrhundert in vielerlei Hinsicht von politischen Zielsetzungen bestimmt. So setzten sich die (trotz der von Willkür und diktatorischen Maßnahmen bestimmten Zensur-Tätigkeit der Metternichschen Diktatur) bereits im Zuge der Revolution von 1848 mehrfach entstehenden Arbeiterchöre für soziale Gerechtigkeit und politisch-gesellschaftliche Freiheit ein, während etwa die Chöre der Burschenschaften vor allem deutschnationale Interessen verfolgten. „Nationale“ Interessen waren aber auch Triebfedern der von Mitgliedern ethnischer Minderheiten gebildeten Chöre, deren Konzerttätigkeit nicht selten das deutschsprachige Repertoire ganz oder weitgehend ausschloss. Selbst Chöre von Arbeitsverbänden, Betrieben, Berufsgruppen oder religiösen Vereinigungen verfolgten politische oder zumindest gesellschaftliche Ziele, wie oft schon ihre (bisweilen durchaus humoristisch wirkenden) Namen bezeugen. Von Interesse ist noch, daß bei den „Arbeitersängern“ von Beginn an auch gemischte und Frauenchöre existierten, während die „bürgerliche“ Chorvereinigung Frauen bis 1933 ausschloss. Aufgabe des Referates ist es, diese Vielfalt in ihren Grundzügen darzustellen und einige ihrer Entwicklungen beispielhaft zu beleuchten.

Schlüsselwörter: Wiener Chorszene, Wiener Musikleben, Arbeitergesang, Revolution 1848

Helmut Loos

**Zur kulturellen und politischen Bedeutung
der deutschen Männergesangsvereine**

Traditionell gehört das Männerchorwesen nicht zu den bevorzugten Themen der Zunft der Musikforscher, vielmehr gilt es vielen Kollegen bis heute als unwürdig, sich *überhaupt* damit zu beschäftigen. Einer Kunst im emphatischen Sinne verpflichtet, sehen sie in diesem Teilbereich eine der zahllosen Niederungen des Kulturlebens, das ernsthaft auf künstlerische Anerkennung keinen Anspruch erheben darf. Gerade einem Kunstverständnis, das dem Autonomieprinzip verpflichtet ist, ist das Männerchorwesen aufgrund seiner vielfältigen sozialen und politischen Verflechtungen höchst suspekt. Anders sieht es aus, wenn kulturgeschichtliche Wirksamkeit thematisiert wird. Hier bietet das Männerchorwesen Gelegenheit zu aufschlussreichen Beobachtungen, die auch die hohe Kunst nicht unberührt lassen.

Schlüsselwörter: bürgerlichen Emanzipationsbewegung, Nationalreligiosität, Konfessionen, Nationalstaat, jüdisch-christliche Tradition

Wolfgang Marx

Music Societies in Ireland during the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century Ireland was part of the United Kingdom. While it never was a “Land ohne Musik” in quite the same way as England, its musical life in the 1800s was quite different and initially diminished compared to that of the previous century – there was neither a professional orchestra nor a permanent opera house anywhere on the island. This had partly socio-political reasons related to the Act of Union in 1801. At the same time most of Ireland remained relatively untouched by the industrial revolution – with the exception of the North-Eastern region. Interest in Irish musical life (and history) increased again significantly with the Gaelic revival movement at the end of the century. Its goal of a “De-Anglicisation of Ireland” was pursued via a three-pronged strategy: reintroducing/furthering the use of the Irish language, of specific Irish sports and – last but not least – of Irish music.

This article highlights political and social turning points of the period (Act of Union, Catholic Emancipation, the Great Famine, Gaelic Revival, the War of Independence and the Civil War) as a background before comparing the role of music societies in Dublin, Belfast and Armagh – an administrative, an industrial and a clerical centre. The role of the temperance and

Gaelic Revival movements in Irish musical life are outlined as well. Among the aspects discussed are the size, performance strategies, religious and gender policies, repertoire, conservatism and venues associated with the music societies in the three cities.

Keywords: Music societies, Irish music history, nineteenth-century history, Dublin, Belfast, Armagh

Niall O'Loughlin

**The Philharmonic Society of London
and its Nineteenth-Century Contribution
to the Rehabilitation of British Composers**

In the early 19th century, public music in London was disorganised. Because the standard of orchestral playing was generally poor, in 1813 a group of professionals established the Philharmonic Society of London with its orchestra to perform eight concerts a year to include symphonies, overtures, concertante works, vocal ensembles and chamber music. The Members of the Philharmonic were mostly instrumentalists, some singers and a few composers, while subscriptions were available to a very limited number of wealthy amateurs who could afford them. Music by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven [including the Ninth Symphony, which the Philharmonic commissioned] regularly appeared, and later, music by Spohr, Weber, Mendelssohn, Berlioz, Wagner and many others, most of whom also conducted their own works. Because of the desire of the Society and the amateur subscribers to perform music by well-known foreign composers, there was no enthusiasm for new works by British ones.

The composer, pianist and conductor Cipriani Potter changed this. As a full professional Member of the Philharmonic Society he could influence the content of the programmes of the concerts, and as an outstanding pianist he performed prominent piano parts in chamber music. When solo concertos were included in the programmes, he performed numerous Mozart and Beethoven concertos with the Society's orchestra, as well as conducting some 32 concerts. Significantly he was also senior piano professor at the newly founded Royal Academy of Music [run by amateurs] and from 1832 was its principal, a position of considerable influence. A number of his important works were performed by the Philharmonic Society, in addition to a few by other British composers. The number of these increased under Michael Costa from 1845, and even Wagner conducted a symphony by Potter. His [Potter's] successor and pupil, William Sterndale Bennett, a pia-

nist, composer and conductor, then provided a firm foundation, including many of his own works. By the early 1880s unfortunately the artistic standing of the Philharmonic and its financial security had reached a very low level, because of the conflicting interests of the amateurs and professionals and the outdated administration. However, with greatly improved conductors and financial security, the talents of Hubert Parry, Alexander Mackenzie, Charles Villiers Stanford and many others, most notably Edward Elgar, could blossom in the Philharmonic's performances. The move to the outstanding new Queen's Hall in central London in 1894 helped to transform the Philharmonic Society's reputation and status. Despite its constant artistic and financial difficulties the Philharmonic Society of London was thus able to assist the Renaissance of British composers, becoming in 1913 the Royal Philharmonic Society.

Keywords: Philharmonic Society of London, Cipriani Potter, Lord Burghersh, William Sterndale Bennett, Hubert Parry, Charles Villiers Stanford

Danutė Petrauskaitė

The significance of Lithuanian societies for the development of national musical culture and statehood

The 19th century in Lithuania lasted from the third partition of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations until the First World War. During this period, a modern Lithuanian nation was formed, which paved the way for the restoration of an independent state through different forms of a cultural movement. Cultural societies played a major role in the process, creating conditions for the activity of the first Lithuanian performers and composers.

The first music societies in Lithuania were started by foreigners, because at that time there were almost no professional Lithuanian musicians, while with their advent, Lithuanian activities – the press, the formation of secular choirs, and the establishment of public organisations – were banned. Lithuanian cultural societies formed secretly, and only after the ban on the press in Latin characters had been lifted, did mass formation of societies begin. The societies that brought together music lovers cared most about fostering Lithuanianness, while the organisations uniting professional musicians sought a deeper understanding of art, protection of cultural heritage, and systematic music education.

Cultural societies, including musical ones, were formed in all areas inhabited by large numbers of Lithuanians: in Germany, Russia, and the USA. Al-

though the conditions for the activity in those countries differed, the goals were the same: to defend oneself against Russification, Germanisation, and Americanisation through songs, to preserve one's own language, cultural traditions, and customs, to form a national identity, to mature the idea of the statehood, and to help Lithuania liberate itself from the Russian Empire. *Keywords:* Lithuania, music societies, choir, Russia, Germany, the USA.

Vlasta Stavbar

The Reading Society Movement in Slovenia: the Slavic Reading Society in Maribor

The Spring of Nations led to the blossoming of Slovenian cultural and political activities. Slovenian political journals and literary newspapers were established. Demands were expressed for Slovenians to receive their very own university, Slovenian schools and that the Slovenian language should be used in public. However, all cultural endeavours of the Slovenian bourgeoisie, which was modest in 36 number and economically weak, were short-lived. It is only after the return to constitutional normalcy in 1861 that we can follow the advancement of the reading society movement in Slovenia. The most important instigators of the reading society movement were Old Slovenes (*staroslovenci*), among them Dr Janez Bleiweis with his circle of leaders such as Dr Toman and Dr Costa. Theirs was a careful policy that favoured making compromises. With initiatives published in *Novice*, they began thinking about establishing reading societies in Slovenia, modelled on the Croatian *čitaonice*. The first reading society was established on 29 January 1861 in Trieste, and the second one on 17 July 1861 in Maribor. In Ljubljana, a reading society was not established until October 1861. Other Slovenian towns followed. Reading societies became the main vessels of cultural development in the second half of the 19th century. There, the national consciousness was roused and strengthened, and the use of the Slovenian language was promoted. Interest among the Slovenian people was sparked by means of dynamic societal activities, with an emphasis on cultural and societal life, and national-political awakening. People learned about literature, music, theatre and history, and discussed political issues, although the latter was forbidden in the society's rules. The most important purpose of reading society events called *bésede* was national awakening, which was especially highlighted in opening addresses. Reading societies were mostly attended by the bourgeoisie and intellectuals. In the final period of the movement (1890–1900) reading societies were also established

in rural areas, except in the Primorska region. In addition to the social programme, reading societies had developed musical and theatrical activities, lectures and speeches as well as other events, among which the reading society library occupied a special place.

Maribor's Slavic Reading Society held an important place in the Slovenian reading society movement. The rich manuscript legacy of the Slavic Reading Society, kept at the University of Maribor Library, offers insight into the diverse programme of its activities and its role in the development of Slovenian culture in Maribor and its surrounding area.

Keywords: Slovenians, reading societies, Slavic Reading Society in Maribor, 19th century

Michal Ščepán

Musical associations and their place in the musical life of Bratislava in the 19th century

At the end of the 18th century, Bratislava lost its status as the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary, and this change significantly affected the character of its musical life. Not only the central authorities moved to Buda and Vienna also a large part of the secular and ecclesiastical aristocracy, which until then had influenced the musical performances in the city. Although those activities did not end completely, the bourgeoisie took over the major role in the development of musical life in the following century. The cultural needs of its representatives led to the establishment of a new form of music institution – a music association. During the 19th century, several music associations were active in Bratislava. They served a variety of purposes, from social to educational, and of course artistic. The most widespread type of music association, especially from the second half of the century, were choirs. Although on an amateur basis, Pressburger Liedertafel and Pressburger Singverein reached a high level of artistic production together with other choirs of workers' associations such as Typographenbund. Due to its multifunctionality, Pressburger Kirchenmusikverein zu St. Martin had a dominant role in Bratislava's musical life. Despite its church background, its productions were not limited to sacred music, but also reached to profane works, including music drama. The previously mentioned music institutions were associated through shared choirmasters, such as Anton Strehlen, Josef Kumlik, Karl Mayrberger or Eugen Kossow. Their musical preferences not only influenced the repertoires, but also contributed to the promotion of selected composers, especially Franz Liszt. Prominent musi-

cians from abroad often performed at their concerts as guest soloists, which were perceived as important social events.

This contribution deals with music associations in Bratislava during the 19th century, and focuses on their establishment, comparisons, and contacts with foreign institutions and personalities.

Keywords: Bratislava, Musical life, Music associations, Kappelmeister, Choirs, Repertoire

Lana Šehović

Visits of Vienna choral societies to Sarajevo – an occasion for redefining local societies' concert activity in the late 19th century?

The appearance of choral societies in the musical life of both Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina could be noted at the end of the 19th century. The idea emerged as early as in the first years of the occupation and was initiated exclusively by settlers and officers of the regime. The first societies were of an international character, and consisted of settlers from all parts of the Empire, who strove to enrich their social life and design their spare time. Administration eyed the work of international societies benevolently, since they promoted the values backed by the Austro-Hungarian political apparatus itself. In the series of international societies, a particular significance was attached to "Männergesangverein" (1887), which became the epicenter of Sarajevo's amateur musical activity. This society had strong connections with Vienna associations of similar orientation, such as "Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter" or "Wiener Schubertbund", and Sarajevo hosted them with the help and cooperation of several local singing societies. Societies from Vienna were the ideal example of the idea of association, and the local authorities hoped that it would be applied by the local national societies as well. However, the positive trace of the visits was reflected in the adopted protocol of the visits, which began to be used during the visit of Croatian choral society "Kolo", Dubrovnik choral society "Gundulić", Belgrade choral society and Academic choral society "Obilić" – which as well as many others, began to regularly visit Sarajevo after 1892.

Keywords: Sarajevo, Austro-Hungary, Musical life, Choral societies, Vienna choral societies

Katja Škrubej

**The foundation of a free state is a free (music) association?
Continuity and change after 1849/67 in Vienna
and Ljubljana: Contribution to the history of orchestra
en tant que association**

In the history of music associations of the Habsburg monarchy, the Associations' Act from 1867 announced key changes, promised by the revolutionary year 1848. The most obvious difference between pre- and post-1867 associations, still largely under the unaltered names, was the exclusion of the profit-oriented ones from the overall umbrella notion. Regarding the alleged liberality of the 1867 Act, in view of freedom of assembly no significant reduction of the authorities' right to supervision took place. The important difference was enacted concerning the freedom of association proper with the adoption of the so-called application model *in lieu* of the earlier concession one. It was from the point of view of different strategies of adaptation to this legal reality by the five cases selected, that further conclusions were drawn, taking into account the newly found archival material. The Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, for which a question, challenging her self-perception with regards to the year 1702 was first elaborated, in the course of the 19th century followed diligently any new regulation the state may have introduced by altering its Statutes. On the other hand, the Vienna Philharmonic did not follow suit. It crafted a particular *sui generis* organisational form that allowed it to aspire to the very notion of self-government that the 1867 Act had not yet permitted. In Ljubljana, the members of the associations of the first Slovene Philharmonic, as well as of Glasbena matica with regards to Orkestralno društvo, largely jurists by vocation, contributed to overcoming of the challenging issue of how to viably integrate larger orchestral bodies within the existing organisational forms by creative legal thinking. I proposed to see the operative idea of a »loose link« by Milčinski as a case in point. In the end and from a reversed perspective of a member of an association, some of the complex experiences of Karel Jeraj are touched upon, together with select new factual evidence, partly by way of illustrating Rudolf Andrejka's apt metaphor on an association as a reinforced person.

Keywords: association, orchestra, Philharmonic Society, Slovene Philharmonic, Wiener Philharmoniker, Karel Jeraj

Viktor Velek

Matej Hubad in the context of the musical life of Slavic societies in Vienna

The paper presents the work of the Slovene composer, singer, musician, teacher and organiser Matej Hubad in the Slavic Singing Society in Vienna. Equally valuable is the evaluation of the importance of two concert performances of the Slovene choir Glasbena Matica in Vienna (1896), which was an important milestone not only in the history of Glasbena Matica but also in the history of Slavic choral life in Vienna. Hubad is presented from several perspectives: as an author of his own compositions performed in Vienna, as a choral singer and as a choirmaster. The paper also contains an outline of his contacts with the Viennese Slavs and the representation of his compositions in the archives of the Slavic societies in Vienna. Also included is the reception of Hubad's activities by the press (Czech, Czech-Viennese, German in Vienna).

Keywords: Matej Hubad, music, Slavic societies in Vienna, choir

Jernej Weiss

The Merit of Czech Musicians for the Revival of the Musical Heritage of Jacobus Handl Gallus in Slovenia

This paper presented the contribution of various Czech musicians who encouraged the revival of the musical legacy of Iacobus Handl Gallus in the Slovene lands at the beginning of the 1890s. The members of both the Glasbena Matica and the Cecilian Society (Cecilijino društvo), two central Slovene musical institutions alongside the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, included many Czech musicians. Thanks to their all-round activities, they made a decisive contribution to staging two historical concerts, which marked the beginning of Gallus's rediscovery in Slovenia. The first concert – Gallus's parody mass *Missa super Elisabeth Zachariae* (SQM 6), directed by Anton Foerster, was held on 12 July 1891 in the Ljubljana cathedral to mark the 300th anniversary of the composer's death. Meanwhile, the second concert of Gallus's motets and *moralia* was performed on 9 June 1892 in the Redutna dvorana concert hall by the Glasbena Matica choir, led by Matej Hubad. The preparation and implementation of both concerts, together with other accompanying events, represented an important way in which individual Czech musicians helped raise awareness about the tradition and continuity of Slovene music. Both the Glasbena matica and the

Cecilian Society also depended heavily on Czech musicians, who formed a link between the two institutions and other Slovene musical organisations.

Keywords: Jacobus Handl Gallus, Glasbena matica, Czech musicians

Katarina Zadnik

Harmony, counterpoint, and musical forms from the founding of the *Glasbena Matica* to the *Academy of Music*

In the 19th century, the subject of Music Theory was an integral part of the curricula of organized music education forms. The need for the subject harmony and counterpoint, which were part of the music school's curriculum at Glasbena Matica in Ljubljana, arose even before the establishment of the mentioned institution. The tendencies toward these two disciplines were first clearly expressed with the publication of Anton Foerster's textbook in 1881. Despite the low interest and number of students, the subject of harmony, compared to the subject of counterpoint, was constantly and continuously taught in the music school of Glasbena Matica, until the foundation of the Conservatory (1919). The Conservatory curriculum included, alongside the other schools, the School of Music Theory, which encompassed subjects of Music Theory, harmony, counterpoint, and composition. With the Conservatory nationalization (1926), the subjects of harmony, counterpoint, and musical forms, became minor obligatory subjects, which students had to attend. Even if the discussed areas of music theory were among the minor compulsory subjects, the subject of harmony underwent a richer development compared to the other subjects. A major blossom in the development emerged in the 1930s with the textbooks of Vasilij Mirk (1884–1962), Emil Komel (1875–1960), and Lucijan Marija Škerjanc (1900–1973). The paper considers the textbooks of musical figures who, significantly stimulated the development of the discussed music theory subjects, from the establishment of the music school at Glasbena Matica to the establishment of the Academy of Music in Ljubljana (1945).

Keywords: harmony, counterpoint, musical forms, music textbooks

Maruša Zupančič

The Role and Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Societies in the Slovene Lands Until the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary

From the late eighteenth century until the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, musicians from abroad played a key role in the develop-

ment of Slovenia's musical culture. They predominantly came from Austrian territory and the Czech lands. Initially, they promoted sacred music in churches and monasteries as composers, scribes, *regentes chori*, organists, singers, and instrumentalists. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, they became increasingly important in secular musical endeavours. During the "long nineteenth century," most immigrant musicians were active in Ljubljana. With their work they made a decisive contribution to the continued existence of cultural institutions such as the Philharmonic Society (*Philharmonische Gesellschaft*), the Ljubljana Music Cathedral, the Estates Theatre (*Ständisches Theater*), later Provincial Theatre (*Landschaftliches Theater*), and the infantry regiments, working as music teachers in various institutions or entirely privately. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, various music societies were founded throughout Slovenian territory. Here, too, these musicians from abroad took up leading roles: at the German societies in Maribor (*Marburger philharmonischer Verein*), Celje (*Cillier Musikverein*), and Ptuj (*Pettauer Musikverein*); at the Slovenian Ljubljana Reading Society (*Ljubljanska narodna čitalnica*) and the Music Society (*Glasbena matica*) in Ljubljana; and several smaller music associations. At the beginning of the twentieth century, they also shaped concert life at the Slovenian Music Society's branches in Novo Mesto, Trieste, Celje, and Kranj, as well as that of the Pan-Slavic oriented (and later more Slovenian-oriented) Trieste National Hall (*Narodni dom v Trstu*). For more than a century, immigrant musicians brought contemporary repertoire to the Slovenian lands and composed numerous works there. They played a leading role in the development of virtuoso instrumental playing as well as chamber, choral and symphonic music. By introducing curricula and writing music manuals and songbooks, they also brought many important changes to the music education. They trained the first important generation of Slovenian musicians, individuals who carried their tradition forward and transmitted a legacy from which we can still benefit today.

Keywords: 19th Century Music, Music Migration, Music Societies, Immigrant Musicians, Austria-Hungary

Avtorji

Luisa Antoni (musikluis1@gmail.com)

je po diplomi iz klavirja na tržaškem Konservatoriju vpisala še klavičembalo in nato kompozicijo. Hkrati je diplomirala iz estetike sodobne glasbe na tržaški Univerzi in magistrirala ter doktorirala na ljubljanski Univerzi. V letu 2010 je njena doktorska disertacija izšla v italijanščini pri založbi Trauben (Torino) in v slovenščini pri založbi Mladika (Trst). Že več kot 20 let se ukvarja z zgodovino glasbe na Tržaškem in Goriškem. Je novinarka na RTV Slovenija.

Matjaž Barbo (matjaz.barbo@ff.uni-lj.si)

je profesor za muzikologijo na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Bil je predsednik Slovenskega muzikološkega društva. Bil je glavni urednik revije *Muzikološki zbornik*, poleg tega je v uredništvu več drugih znanstvenih in strokovnih periodičnih publikacij ter je vključen v različne domače in mednarodne znanstvene projekte.

Raziskovalno se osredotoča na vprašanja, povezana z glasbo od 18. stoletja do danes, ter različnim glasbenoestetskim temam. Objavil je več knjižnih del, znanstvenih člankov, poljudnih tekstov in prevodov s področja muzikologije.

Nada Bezić (nabezic@gmail.com)

vodi knjižnico Hrvaškega glasbenega inštituta v Zagrebu od leta 1988. Leta 2011 je doktorirala iz muzikologije na Akademiji za glasbo v Zagrebu, di-

plomirala pa je iz bibliotekarstva na zagrebški Filozofski fakulteti. Glavna področja njenih raziskav so zgodovina Hrvaškega glasbenega inštituta ter glasbeno življenje in glasbena topografija v Zagrebu v 19. in 20. stoletju. Dela: *Glazbena topografija Zagreba od 1799. do 2010.: Prostori muziciranja i spomen-obilježja* (2012), *Glazbene šetnje Zagrebom* (2016), *Tematski popis skladbi Blagoja Berse* (2018).

Friedhelm Brusniak (friedhelm.brusniak@uni-wuerzburg.de)

je študiral glasbeno vzgojo, zgodovino in muzikologijo v Frankfurtu na Majni; opravljena prvi in drugi državni izpit za glasbeno vzgojo (1977/1980), sledita napredovanje (1980) in habilitacija (1998). Od leta 1981 je delal kot glasbeni raziskovalec in pedagog v Augsburgu, Erlangen-Nürnbergu in Heidelbergu, od leta 1999 je bil dejaven kot profesor, med letoma 2004 in 2019 pa kot predstojnik katedre za glasbeno pedagogiko na Univerzi v Würzburgu. Med letoma 2011 in 2015 ter leta 2021 je bil tudi gostujoči profesor na poljski akademiji Akademia Pomorska w Słupsku. Od leta 2018 je predsednik pevskega društva Fränkischer Sängerbund (FSB), član predsedstva Nemškega zborovskega združenja (DCV) in znanstveni vodja raziskovalnega centra nemškega zborovskega petja na Univerzi v Würzburgu, od leta 2022 pa tudi član predsedstva Bavarskega glasbenega sveta (BMR). Glavna področja raziskovanja: zgodovina glasbenega izobraževanja, zgodovinske raziskave zborovskega petja.

Mirosław Dymon (dymon.mirosław@gmail.com)

je habilitirani doktor, profesor na Univerzi v Rzeszówu na Poljskem, direktor glasbenega inštituta na Univerzi v Rzeszówu, glasbeni terapevt in izvajalec. V znanstvenem in raziskovalnem delu se posebej osredotoča na širše razumevanje psihopedagoških dejavnikov v glasbeni vzgoji, psihologijo ustvarjalnosti, psihologijo glasbe in glasbeno zgodovino. Med njegove znanstvene in raziskovalne dosežke se umeščajo številne znanstvene publikacije, ki zajemajo več kot 80 člankov in dve monografiji. Poleg znanstvenega dela je dejaven tudi kot komorni glasbenik v Podkarpatskem harmonikarskem kvintetu AMBITUS V.

Manja Flisar Šauperl (manja.flisar-sauperl@guest.arnes.si)

je študirala glasbeno pedagogiko in muzikologijo. Študij na Pedagoški fakulteti UM je zaključila z diplomskim delom *Koncertno delovanje mariborske Glasbene matice (1919–1948)* pod mentorstvom izr. prof. dr. Eda Škulja. Na Akademiji za glasbo UL je magistrirala z delom *Razvoj Srednje glasbe-*

ne in baletne šole Maribor pod mentorstvom zasl. prof. dr. Primoža Kureta. Na Filozofski fakulteti UL je pod mentorstvom doc. dr. Aleša Nagodeta doktorirala z disertacijo *Delovanje mariborske Glasbene matice (1919–1945)*. V svojem raziskovalnem delu se posveča predvsem temam iz mariborske glasbene zgodovine. Več kot dve desetletji deluje na področju primarnega izobraževanja. Kot ravnateljica je zaposlena na Osnovni šoli Angela Besednjaka Maribor.

Luba Kijanovska (luba.kyjan@gmail.com)

je bila rojena v Lvovu. Po izobrazbi je muzikologinja, dela pa kot profesorica in vodja oddelka za glasbeno zgodovino na Nacionalni glasbeni akademiji Lisenka v Lvovu.

Glasbeno teorijo in zgodovino je študirala na lvovskem Državnem glasbenem konservatoriju Lisenka. Na Nacionalni glasbeni akademiji Lisenka poučuje od leta 1987, vodja oddelka za glasbeno zgodovino pa je postala leta 1991. Od leta 1995 je članica mednarodnega raziskovalnega projekta »Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa« (Glasbena zgodovina v srednji in vzhodni Evropi) Univerze v Leipzigu v Nemčiji. Skrbi za obujanje pozabljenih imen iz ukrajinske glasbene kulture in spodbuja širjenje ukrajinske glasbe v Evropi.

Darja Koter (darja.koter@ag.uni-lj.si)

je redna profesorica za zgodovino glasbe na Akademiji za glasbo Univerze v Ljubljani. Raziskovalno se ukvarja s historičnimi instrumenti, z glasbeno ikonografijo, zgodovino glasbene poustvarjalnosti, glasbenega šolstva in opusti slovenskih skladateljev. Sodeluje v raziskovalnih projektih Univerze v Bonnu in Univerze v Ljubljani. Monografije: *Glasbilarstvo na Slovenskem* (2001, 2004), *Musica coelestis et musica profana. Glasbeni motivi v likovni dediščini od severne Istre do Vremske doline* (2008), *Slovenska glasba 1848–1918* (2012), *Slovenska glasba 1918–1991* (2012), *90 let Glasbene šole Slavka Osterca Ljutomer* (2018); *Akademija za glasbo 80 let* (2020). Je dobitnica Mantuanijevega priznanja za dosežke v muzikologiji (2014).

Hartmut Krones (krones@mdw.ac.at)

je študiral glasbeno vzgojo, germanistiko, petje, pedagogiko petja in muzikologijo; od leta 1970 poučuje na Akademiji (od leta 1998 Univerzi) za glasbeno in uprizoritveno umetnost na Dunaju; do septembra 2013 je vodil Inštitut za raziskovanje glasbenih slogov (oddelka Stilistika in poustvarjalna praksa ter Znanstveno središče Arnolda Schönberga). Vodja zbirke Kriti-

sche Gesamtausgabe der Schriften Arnold Schönbergs. Sodelavec in član strokovnega sveta za enciklopedijo Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, avtor člankov na področju poustvarjalne prakse stare in nove glasbe, glasbene simbolike in retorike ter glasbe in glasbene zgodovine 20. stoletja (vključno z glasbo v pregnanstvu); avtor knjig, med drugim o življenju in delu L. van Beethovna in A. Schönberga.

Helmut Loos (hloos@uni-leipzig.de)

je študiral glasbeno pedagogiko v Bonnu (državni izpiti), nato muzikologijo, umetnostno zgodovino in filozofijo na Univerzi v Bonnu; leta 1980 je promoviral, leta 1989 pa habilitiral. Od leta 1981 do leta 1989 je bil znanstveni sodelavec Muzikološkega seminarja Univerze v Bonnu. Med letoma 1989 in 1993 je bil direktor Inštituta za vzhodnonemško glasbo v Bergisch Gladbachu. Od aprila 1993 je bil predstojnik katedre za historično muzikologijo na Tehniški univerzi v Chemnitzu, od oktobra 2001 do marca 2017 pa na Univerzi v Leipzigu. 22. oktobra 2003 je bil imenovan za zaslužnega profesorja Glasbenega konservatorija Mikole Lisenka v Lvovu. Med letoma 2003 in 2005 je bil dekan Fakultete za zgodovino, umetnostne vede in orientalistiko Univerze v Leipzigu. 2. aprila 2005 je bil imenovan za častnega člana Družbe za nemško glasbeno kulturo v jugovzhodni Evropi (München), 30. oktobra 2014 pa je postal častni doktor Nacionalne glasbene univerze v Bukarešti.

Je član mednarodnih uredniških svetov revij *Hudebni věda* (Praga), *Lituvas muzikologija* (Vilna), *Menotyra. Studies in Art* (Vilna), *Ars & Humanitas* (Ljubljana), *Musicology Today* (Bukarešta), *Muzica. Romanian Music Magazine* (Bukarešta) in *Studies in Penderecki* (Princeton, New Jersey).

Wolfgang Marx (wolfgang.marx@ucd.ie)

je izredni profesor muzikologije na University College Dublin (UCD) in član humanističnega inštituta UCD. Njegova glavna področja raziskav so postresničnost in glasba, György Ligeti, upodobitve smrti v glasbi in teorija glasbenih zvrsti. Soorganiziral je serijo spletnih seminarjev *Postresničnost in glasbena humanistika (Post-Truth and the Musical Humanities)*, ki so potekali jeseni 2021; najdete jih lahko na YouTubeu. Je tudi splošni urednik Brilllove nove serije *Smrt v zgodovini, kulturi in družbi (Death in History, Culture, and Society)*.

Teresa Mazepa (teresa.mazepa@gmail.com)

je habilitirana doktorica in izredna profesorica na Univerzi v Rzeszówu na Poljskem ter kulturna animatorka. Avtorica več kot 80 znanstvenih člankov in študij, posvečenih glasbeni kulturi, štirih znanstvenih monografij in dveh akademskih učbenikov, udeleženka in organizatorica številnih mednarodnih znanstvenih in znanstveno-praktičnih konferenc, simpozijev in sej na Poljskem, v Ukrajini, Nemčiji in Avstriji. Članica uredniških in znanstvenih odborov poljskih in ukrajinskih znanstvenih revij.

Niall O'Loughlin (N.Oloughlin@lboro.ac.uk)

je študiral in diplomiral na Univerzi v Edinburgu ter doktoriral na Univerzi v Leicestru, specializiral pa se je za glasbo 20. in 21. stoletja v Sloveniji, Veliki Britaniji in na Poljskem. Leta 2000 je v Ljubljani izšla njegova knjiga *Novejša glasba v Sloveniji: osebnosti in razvoj*. Je avtor več kot 30 prispevkov za simpozije Slovenskih glasbenih dni, številnih prispevkov za druge konference, različnih člankov za *Muzikološki zbornik*, *The Musical Times in Tempo*, poglavij v knjigah ter številnih člankov za slovarje *New Grove Dictionaries of Music*. Leta 2007 je bil izvoljen za dopisnega člana Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti.

Danutė Petrauskaitė (danute15petrauskaite@gmail.com)

je raziskovalka in profesorica na Litovski akademiji za glasbo in gledališče ter članica Zveze litovskih skladateljev, Združenja za napredek baltskih študij (AABS) in mednarodnega združenja »Academia Europaea«. Leta 1978 je diplomirala na Litovskem državnem konservatoriju (danes Litovska akademija za glasbo in gledališče); leta 1993 je končala podiplomski študij na Univerzi v Vilni, v letih 2001–2015 pa je vodila Inštitut za muzikologijo na Univerzi Klaipėda. Glavna področja njenega raziskovanja so litovska glasba, kulturna dejavnost litovskih izseljencev, glasba in politika. Podpisala je 5 knjig in okoli 70 člankov ter se udeležila številnih domačih in mednarodnih muzikoloških konferenc.

Vlasta Stavbar (vlasta.stavbar@um.si)

je doktorica zgodovinskih znanosti. Je bibliotekarska višja svetnica in vodja Enote za domoznanstvo in posebne zbirke Univerzitetne knjižnice Maribor. Je skrbnica Rokopisne zbirke, Zbirke raritet in stare periodike ter Maistrove knjižnice, ki ima status kulturnega spomenika državnega pomena. Kot redaktorica Digitalnega repozitorija UKM je zadolžena za upravljanje s kulturno dediščino.

Raziskovalno se je usmerila v proučevanje slovenske politične in kulturne zgodovine v zadnjem obdobju habsburške monarhije in biografiki ter uredniškemu delu. Ima naziv znanstvena sodelavka. Je avtorica znanstvenih in strokovnih člankov s področja slovenske zgodovine in bibliotekarstva, razstavnih katalogov in treh znanstvenih monografij. Njena bibliografija obsega več kot 360 enot.

Od leta 2005 je glavna in odgovorna urednica Časopisa za zgodovino in narodopisje.

V letih 2005–2009 je bila po pooblastilu ravnateljica Univerzitetne knjižnice Maribor. Je prejemnica Čopove diplome (2007), Nagrade Univerze v Mariboru za strokovno delo (2020), Priznanja Janeza Karlina s plaketo ZKD Maribor za opus raziskav in popularizacijo kulturne zgodovine Maribora ter nagrade Kalanovega sklada za leto 2021.

Michal Ščepán (michal.scepan@savba.sk)

od leta 2013 dela na Inštitutu za muzikologijo Slovaške akademije znanosti. Leta 2020 je izdal monografijo, v kateri se ukvarja s pomembnim slovaškim skladateljem Tadeášem Salvo, trenutno pa se posveča proučevanju življenj in del drugih slovaških skladateljev ter razvoju glasbene kulture v 20. stoletju na Slovaškem.

Lana Šehović (lana_sehovic@yahoo.com)

je diplomirala in magistrirala iz muzikologije na Akademiji za glasbo Univerze v Sarajevu. Leta 2014 je doktorirala z disertacijo *Glasbeno življenje v Sarajevu med avstroogrsko vladavino*. Leta 2007 je začela delati na oddelku za muzikologijo sarajevske Akademije za glasbo, kjer ima trenutno status izredne profesorice. Na Akademiji je opravljala funkcijo poddekanje za koncertno produkcijo (2016–2017) in vodje oddelka za muzikologijo in etnomuzikologijo (od 2017 dalje), prav tako pa je tudi glavna urednica mednarodno priznane ter obenem edine bosanske znanstvene muzikološke revije *Časopis za muzičku kulturu Muzika* (2014–2019). Leta 2019 je sodelovala v strokovni ekipi, ki si je prizadevala, da bi *sevdalinko* uvrstili na Unescov Reprezentativni seznam nesnovne kulturne dediščine človeštva. Istega leta je izdala tudi svojo prvo knjigo *Ženske identitete v glasbenem življenju Sarajeva med avstroogrsko vladavino*, ki je hkrati prva in edina knjiga o spolu ter položaju žensk v kulturnem in glasbenem življenju Bosne in Hercegovine.

Katja Škrubej (Katja.Skrubej@pf.uni-lj.si)

je izredna profesorica za pravno zgodovino na Pravni fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Vzporedno s pravom je na Filozofski fakulteti ljubljanske univerze študirala zgodovino in primerjalno jezikoslovje indoevropskih jezikov. V zadnjem obdobju je v ospredju njenega dela domišljanje kompleksne diahrone sheme pravnih prostorov kot teoretičnega pojmovnega orodja, ki naj bi nadomestil anahronistično »iskanje države« v evropskih zgodovini po vzoru nacionalne države moderne dobe z upravno in sodno organizacijo, vzpostavljeno od zgoraj navzdol in z izčrpno kodificiranim teritorialno veljavnim pravom, s čimer je pričela kot gostujoča raziskovalka na Max-Planck Inštitutu za evropsko pravno zgodovino v Frankfurtu. Zadnja tri leta je organizacijsko in vsebinsko vodila aktivnosti ob stoti obletnici Pravne fakultete in hkrati aktivno raziskovala delo njenih prvih profesorjev iz t. i. dunajskega kroga, zlasti Ivana Žolgerja, a tudi Gregorja Gojmirja Kreka. Skupaj z režiserjem Miranom Zupaničem je soscenaristka dokumentarnega filma *Imeti svoj glas* kot tudi istoimenske slavnostne akademije v Cankarjevem domu, k sodelovanju pri kateri je pritegnila med drugim tudi orkester Slovenske filharmonije in gospo Dubravko Tomšič Srebotnjak.

Viktor Velek (viktor.velek@gmx.de)

je muzikolog. Njegova področja raziskovanja so kult sv. Venceslava v glasbi, glasbena kultura slovanskih manjšin na Dunaju v obdobju 1840–1945 ter glasbeno sodelovanje med Čehi in Lužiškimi Srbi oz. Vendi v »dolgem 19. stoletju«.

Jernej Weiss (jernei.weiss@ag.uni-lj.si)

je študiral muzikologijo na Oddelku za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani (1999–2002) in Inštitutu za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Regensburgu (2002–2003). Med letoma 2005 in 2009 je deloval kot asistent na Oddelku za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani in bil (2011–2020) glavni in odgovorni urednik osrednje slovenske muzikološke publikacije *Muzikološki zbornik*. Poleg tega je v uredništvih več drugih znanstvenih in strokovnih periodičnih publikacij ter je vključen v različne domače in mednarodne znanstvene projekte. Since 2016 he has been a full professor of musicology at the University of Maribor, and since 2019 also at the University of Ljubljana. Kot gostujoči predavatelj je nastopil na univerzah v Gradcu, Brnu, Leipzigu, Cardiffu itd.

Raziskovalno se osredotoča na vprašanja, povezana z glasbo od 19. stoletja do danes, posebej s tisto, ki se tako ali drugače dotika slovenskega in češke-

ga kulturnega prostora. Je avtor štirih znanstvenih monografij. V lanskem letu je bila s strani češke založbe KLP – Koniasch Latin Press objavljena predelava njegove zadnje monografije z naslovom *Čeští hudebníci ve Slovinsku v 19. a na začátku 20. století*. Od leta 2016 vodi mednarodni muzikološki simpozij *Slovenskih glasbenih dnevov* in je glavni urednik zbirke znanstvenih monografij *Studia musicologica Labacensia*.

Katarina Zadnik (katarina.zadnik@ag.uni-lj.si)

deluje na Oddelku za glasbeno pedagogiko na Akademiji za glasbo, Univerze v Ljubljani, kjer je docentka za področje glasbeno-pedagoških predmetov. Raziskovalno delo usmerja v procese učenja in poučevanja na različnih ravneh glasbenega izobraževanja, v predšolskem obdobju, splošnem in glasbenem šolstvu. V obdobju zadnjih petih let se intenzivneje ukvarja in preučuje procese učenja in poučevanja pri predmetih nauk o glasbi in Solfeggio v nižji glasbeni šoli. Kot samostojna avtorica je izdala znanstveno monografijo *Nauk o glasbi v slovenski glasbeni šoli: med preteklostjo, sedanjostjo in prihodnostjo*, leta 2019, pri Znanstveni založbi Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani.

Maruša Zupančič (marusa.zupancic@zrc-sazu.si)

je raziskovalka na Muzikološkem inštitutu v Ljubljani. V svojih raziskavah se z uporabo najnovejših računalniških metod digitalne humanistike osredotoča na glasbene migracije v Evropi v dolgem 19. stoletju. Njene raziskave se trenutno osredotočajo na pritek glasbenikov na Slovensko, na uvožene glasbene trende in potujoče violinske virtuozke.

Contributors

Luisa Antoni (musikluis1@gmail.com)

After receiving her diploma in piano from the Conservatory of Music in Trieste, Luisa Antoni went on to study harpsichord and composition. She holds a degree in the aesthetics of contemporary music from the University of Trieste and a master's degree and doctorate from the University of Ljubljana. In 2010 her doctoral thesis was published in Italian by Trauben (Turin) and in Slovene by Mladika (Trieste). She has been studying the musical history of the Trieste and Gorizia areas for more than 20 years. She is a journalist at RTV Slovenia.

Matjaž Barbo (matjaz.barbo@ff.uni-lj.si)

is professor of musicology at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. He was president of the Slovenian Musicological Society. He was editor-in-chief of the journal *Muzikološki zbornik*, is a member of the editorial board of several other scientific and professional journals, and participates in various national and international scientific projects.

His research focuses on issues of music from the 18th century to the present, as well as on various music-aesthetic topics. He has published several book works, scientific articles, popular texts and translations in the field of musicology.

Nada Bezić (nabezic@gmail.com)

is since 1988 head of the library in the Croatian Music Institute (CMI) in Zagreb (Croatia). She got her doctorate in 2011 in musicology at the Academy of Music in Zagreb, and graduated in librarianship at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. Her main fields of research are the history of the CMI and musical life and musical topography of Zagreb in the 19th and 20th centuries. Books: *Glazbena topografija Zagreba od 1799. do 2010.: Prostori muziciranja i spomen-obilježja* (2012), *Glazbene šetnje Zagrebom* (2016), *Tematski popis skladbi Blagoja Berse* (2018).

Friedhelm Brusniak (friedhelm.brusniak@uni-wuerzburg.de)

Studium Schulmusik, Geschichte und Musikwissenschaft in Frankfurt am Main, 1. und 2. Staatsexamen für Schulmusik (1977/1980), Promotion (1980), Habilitation (1998). Seit 1981 Musikwissenschaftler und Musikpädagoge in Augsburg, Erlangen-Nürnberg und Heidelberg, seit 1999 Professor und von 2004 bis 2019 erster Inhaber des Lehrstuhls für Musikpädagogik an der Universität Würzburg. 2011 bis 2015 sowie 2021 Gastprofessor an der Akademia Pomorska w Słupsku (Polen). Seit 2018 Präsident des Fränkischen Sängerbundes (FSB), Präsidiumsmitglied des Deutschen Chorverbandes (DCV) und Wissenschaftlicher Leiter des „Forschungszentrum des Deutschen Chorwesens an der Universität Würzburg“, seit 2022 Präsidiumsmitglied des Bayerischen Musikrates (BMR). Forschungsschwerpunkte: Geschichte der musikalischen Bildung, historische Chorforschung.

Mirosław Dymon (dymon.miroslaw@gmail.com)

Habilitated doctor, Professor at the University of Rzeszów (Poland), director of the Institute of Music at the University of Rzeszów, music therapist, music performer. The area of scientific and research interests concerns issues related to the broadly understood psycho-pedagogical determinants of music education, psychology of creativity, psychology of music and the history of music. The scientific and research achievements to date include a number of scientific publications, including over 80 articles and two monographs. In addition to scientific activities, he is also active as a chamber musician in the Subcarpathian Accordion Quintet “AMBITUS V”.

Manja Flisar Šaupperl (manja.flisar-saupperl@guest.arnes.si)

studied music pedagogy and musicology at the Faculty of Education of the University of Maribor and graduated with the thesis “Koncertna dejavnost Glasbene matice v Mariboru (1919–1948)” under the supervision of Associ-

ate Prof. Edo Škulj, PhD. She holds a master's degree from the Academy of Music, University of Ljubljana. Her master's thesis "Razvoj srednje glasbene in baletne šole v Mariboru" was supervised by Honorary Professor Dr. Primož Kuret. At the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Ljubljana, she obtained her Doctor' degree with the thesis "Delovanje mariborske glasbene matice (1919–1945)" under the supervision of Associate Professor Dr. Aleš Nagode. In her research work she is mainly devoted to topics from the history of music in Maribor. She has been active in the field of primary education for more than two decades and holds currently the post of the principal at Angel Besednjak Primary School in Maribor.

Luba Kijanovska (luba.kyjan@gmail.com)

Born in Lviv. Musicologist, professor, head of the department of history of music at National Lysenko Music Academy in Lviv

Mrs. Kyyanovska studied theory and history of music at State Lysenko Conservatory of Music in Lviv. Since 1987 she has taught at National Lysenko Music Academy in Lviv, since 1991 as head of the department of history of music. Since 1995 she has been a member of the international research project "Musikgeschichte in Mittel-und Osteuropa" (Leipzig University, Germany). She revives the forgotten names of Ukrainian musical culture and promotes Ukrainian music in Europe.

Darja Koter (darja.koter@ag.uni-lj.si)

is full professor at the Academy of Music of Ljubljana University. Research works on various topics like history of musical instruments, music iconography, music performing, music education, and about works of composers. Collaboration in research projects of the University of Bonn and of the University of Ljubljana. Monographs: *Glasbilarstvo na Slovenskem* (2001, 2004), *Musica coelestis et musica profana. Glasbeni motivi v likovni dediščini od severne Istre do Vremske doline* (2008), *Slovenska glasba 1848–1918* (2012), *Slovenska glasba 1918–1991* (2012), *90 let Glasbene šole Slavka Osterca Ljutomer* (2018); *Akademija za glasbo 80 let* (2020). In the year 2014, she has received the Mantuani award.

Hartmut Krones (krones@mdw.ac.at)

studierte Musikerziehung, Germanistik, Gesang, Gesangspädagogik sowie Musikwissenschaft, unterrichtet seit 1970 an der Hochschule (1998 Universität) für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien und leitete bis September 2013 das „Institut für Musikalische Stilforschung“ (Abteilungen „Stilkunde

und Aufführungspraxis“ sowie „Wissenschaftszentrum Arnold Schönberg“). Leiter der Kritischen Gesamtausgabe der Schriften Arnold Schönbergs, Mitarbeiter und Fachbeirat der MGG, Publikationen in den Bereichen Aufführungspraxis Alter und Neuer Musik, Musikalische Symbolik und Rhetorik sowie Musik und Musikgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts (incl. Musik im Exil); Bücher u. a. über Leben und Werk von L. van Beethoven sowie von A. Schönberg.

Helmut Loos (hloos@uni-leipzig.de)

Studium der Musikpädagogik in Bonn (Staatsexamina), anschließend Musikwissenschaft, Kunstgeschichte und Philosophie an der Universität Bonn; 1980 Promotion, 1989 Habilitation. 1981 bis 1989 Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter am Musikwissenschaftlichen Seminar der Universität Bonn. 1989 bis 1993 Direktor des Instituts für deutsche Musik im Osten in Bergisch Gladbach. Seit April 1993 Inhaber des Lehrstuhls für Historische Musikwissenschaft an der Technischen Universität Chemnitz, von Oktober 2001 bis März 2017 an der Universität Leipzig. 22. 10. 2003 Ernennung zum Professor honoris causa der Lyssenko-Musikhochschule Lemberg/L'viv. 2003 bis 2005 Dekan der Fakultät für Geschichte, Kunst- und Orientalwissenschaften der Universität Leipzig. 02. 04. 2005 Ernennung zum Ehrenmitglied der Gesellschaft für deutsche Musikkultur im südöstlichen Europa (München). 30. 10. 2014 Ehrendoktor der Universitatea Națională de Muzică din București.

Mitglied in den internationalen Editionsräten der Zeitschriften *Hudebni věda* (Prag), *Lituvos muzikologija* (Vilnius), *Menotyra. Studies in Art* (Vilnius), *Ars & Humanitas* (Ljubljana), *Musicology Today* (Bukarest), *Muzica. Romanian Music Magazine* (Bukarest) und *Studies in Penderecki* (Princeton, New Jersey).

Wolfgang Marx (wolfgang.marx@ucd.ie)

is Associate Professor in Musicology at University College Dublin (UCD) and a member of the UCD Humanities Institute. His main research interests include post-truth and music, György Ligeti, the representation of death in music, and the theory of musical genres. He was co-organiser of the online seminar series *Post-Truth and the Musical Humanities* in autumn 2021 which is available on YouTube; he also is a general editor of Brill's new series *Death in History, Culture, and Society*.

Teresa Mazepa (teresa.mazepa@gmail.com)

Habilitated doctor, Associate Professor of the University of Rzeszów (Poland), cultural animator. The author of more than 80 scientific articles and studies devoted to musical culture, 4 scientific monographs and 2 academic textbooks, participant and organizer of numerous international scientific and scientific-practical conferences, symposia, sessions in Poland, Ukraine, Germany, Austria. A member of Polish and Ukrainian editorial and scientific and editorial boards of scientific journals.

Niall O'Loughlin (N.Oloughlin@lboro.ac.uk)

studied at the Universities of Edinburgh (MA) and Leicester (PhD) and has specialised in the 20th and 21st-century music of Slovenia, the United Kingdom and Poland. His book *Novejša glasba v Sloveniji: osebnosti in razvoj* was published in Ljubljana in 2000. He has written over 30 papers for Slovene Music Days symposia, given many other conference papers, written numerous articles for *Musikološki zbornik*, *The Musical Times*, *Tempo*, chapters in books and many articles for the *New Grove Dictionaries of Music*. In 2007 he was elected Corresponding Member of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

Danutė Petrauskaitė (danute15petrauskaite@gmail.com)

is a researcher and a professor at Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, a member of Lithuania Composers' Union, Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies (AABS) and international society "Academia Europaea". In 1978 she graduated from Lithuanian State Conservatoire (now Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre); in 1993 completed her post-graduate studies at Vilnius University, in 2001–2015 led the Institute of Musicology at Klaipėda University. The principal areas of her interest are Lithuanian music, cultural activity of Lithuanian emigrants in exile, music and politics. She had published 5 books and about 70 articles, made numerous presentations at local and international musicological conferences.

Vlasta Stavbar (vlasta.stavbar@um.si)

is a doctor of historic sciences. She is a Library Science Senior Councillor and Head of the Local History and Special Collections Department at the University of Maribor. She is the custodian of the Manuscript Collection, the Rarities and Old Periodicals Collection, as well as of General Maister's Library, which holds the status of a cultural monument of national impor-

tance. As the editor of the University of Maribor Library's digital repository, she is in charge of managing cultural heritage.

Her research is focused on examining Slovenian political and cultural history in the final period of the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as on biographies and editorial work. She holds the title of research associate. She has authored scientific and professional articles pertaining to Slovenian history and library science, exhibition catalogues and three scientific monographs. Her bibliography includes over 360 publications.

She has been the editor-in-chief of *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* (The Review for History and Ethnography) since 2005.

From 2005 to 2009, she was authorised to act as Head Teacher of the University of Maribor Library. She has received the Čop Diploma Award (2007), University of Maribor's Award for Professional Work (2020), the Janez Karlin Recognition with a ZKD Maribor plaque (Maribor Association of Cultural Societies) for her body of research and popularisation of Maribor's cultural history, and the 2021 Kalan Foundation Award.

Michal Ščepán (michal.scepan@savba.sk)

has been working at the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences since 2013. After publishing his monograph focusing on prominent Slovak composer Tadeáš Salva (2020), he is currently engaged in studying the life and work of other Slovak composers, as well as in research on the development of musical culture and musical institutions in the 20th century in Slovakia.

Lana Šehović (lana_sehovic@yahoo.com)

completed her undergraduate studies and holds master's degree in Musicology from the Academy of Music, University of Sarajevo. In 2014 she received her PhD with a dissertation on *Musical Life in Sarajevo during the Austro-Hungarian rule*. She started her engagement at the Department of Musicology of the University of Sarajevo's Academy of Music in 2007, where she currently holds the position of an Associate Professor. Her duties at the Academy have included those of the Vice-Dean for Concert Production (2016–2017), and the Head of the Department for Musicology and Ethnomusicology (2017–present), as well as the Editor-in-Chief of the internationally recognized and only Bosnian scientific musicological journal *Časopis za muzičku kulturu Muzika* (2014–2019). In 2019 she was part of the expert team to enlist *Sevdalinka* in the UNESCO's Representative List

of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The same year she published her first book *Female Identities in the Musical Life of Sarajevo during the Austro-Hungarian rule*, the first and only book on gender and position of women in cultural and musical life in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Katja Škrubej (Katja.Skrubej@pf.uni-lj.si)

is Associate Professor for legal history at the University of Ljubljana Faculty of law. Parallel to law, she studied history and comparative Indo-European linguistics at the Faculty of Arts of the same University. In the last period, her work centers on conceiving of a complex diachronic scheme of legal spaces, which should replace the anachronistic “search for the state” in the European history alike the national state of the modern period with a one-tier top-down territorial administration and justice and codes of law, something that she began as a guest researcher at the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History in Frankfurt (am Main). During the last three years, she headed the celebrations of the centenary of the Faculty of law and actively researched the contributions of the first professors, especially of those from the Viennese circle with Ivan Žolger, but also Gregor Gojmir Krek, among others. She co-authored the scripts for the documentary film *To have one's own voice* with the Director Miran Zupanič, as well as for the celebratory convocatory in Cankar Center, featuring the Slovene Philharmonic and Dubravka Tomšič Srebotnjak, among others.

Viktor Velek (viktor.velek@gmx.de)

is a musicologist. His research topics are the cult of St. Wenceslas in music, the musical culture of the Slavic minorities in Vienna 1840–1945, and musical cooperation between the Czechs and Sorbs/Wends in the “long 19th century”.

Jernej Weiss (jerne.j.weiss@ag.uni-lj.si)

studied musicology at the Department of Musicology of the University of Ljubljana's Faculty of Arts, and at the Institute of Musicology of the University of Regensburg. From 2005 to 2009 he was employed as an assistant at the Department of Musicology in Ljubljana. From 2011 to 2020 he was editor-in-chief of Slovenia's principal peer-reviewed musicological journal, *Muzikološki zbornik / Musicological Annual*. He is on the editorial boards of several scholarly journals and specialised publications and participates in various domestic and international scientific projects. A full professor of musicology at the University of Maribor since 2016 and at the Universi-

ty of Ljubljana since 2019, he has been a visiting lecturer at the universities of Brno, Graz, Leipzig and Cardiff, among others. Since 2016 he has headed the international musicology symposium of *the Slovenian Music Days* and has been editor-in-chief of the *Studia musicologica Labacensia*.

His research work covers issues related to music from the nineteenth century to the present day, with a particular focus on the Slovenian and Czech cultural environments. He is the author of four scientific monographs dealing with Czech musicians in Slovenia. In 2021, the Czech academic publisher Koniasch Latin Press published an adaptation of his monograph on Czech musicians in the 19th and early 20th centuries in Slovenia, entitled *Čeští hudebníci ve Slovinsku v 19. a na začátku 20. století*. In 2020 he received the 'Zlata plaketa' (Golden Plaque), the highest research award of the University of Ljubljana, for his research achievements.

Katarina Zadnik (katarina.zadnik@ag.uni-lj.si)

is employed at the Department of Music Education at the Academy of Music, University of Ljubljana. She is an assistant professor in music-didactic subjects. Her research work is focused on learning and teaching processes at different levels of music education in preschool and general education as well as in elementary music-school education. As an independent author, she published the scientific monograph *Music Theory in the Slovenian music school: between the past, present, and future* (2019), at the Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts.

Maruša Zupančič (marusa.zupancic@zrc-sazu.si)

is a research fellow at the Institute of Musicology in Ljubljana, Slovenia. Her research focuses on music migration in Europe in the long nineteenth century using the latest digital humanities computational methods. Currently, her research is centred on the influx of musicians to the Slovene lands, imported musical trends, and itinerant violin virtuosos.



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