



# The Role and Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Societies in the Slovene Lands Until the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary<sup>1</sup>

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

The Philharmonic Society (*Philharmonische Gesellschaft*), founded in 1794,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> Franz Sokol (1779–1822)<sup>6</sup> 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),<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> At that time violin lessons were on a basic level in Ljubljana, given only at the Public Music School and privately.<sup>10</sup> 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),<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

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),<sup>13</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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–?),<sup>14</sup> Carl Till and Joseph Leitermeyer (1808–?)<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> The bandmasters were mostly from Bohemia,<sup>17</sup> but the bands usually included about 50 other musicians from various realms of the monarchy. Paul Micheli (1795–?)<sup>18</sup> 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 46<sup>th</sup> Regiment with Johann Schinzl from Bohemia and 79<sup>th</sup> Regiment with Georg Schantl (1839–1875) from Graz participated in the concerts in Ljubljana. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Styrian Graz 27<sup>th</sup> 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, Conscriptio 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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).<sup>19</sup> 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,<sup>20</sup> 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,<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> In addition to Hans Gerstner (1851–1939) and Gustav Moravec (1837–1916),<sup>25</sup> he is credited for the development and rapid progress of chamber music in Ljubljana.<sup>26</sup>

The Prague violinist Hans Gerstner moved to Ljubljana in 1871 and was a decisive turning point for violin playing in the city.<sup>27</sup> 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).<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>

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.<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup> He was followed by a number of professional musicians, again mostly from the Czech lands, among them Václav Procházka and Anton Foerster (1837–1926).<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

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.<sup>36</sup>

*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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup>

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.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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),<sup>41</sup> Gorizia (1900),<sup>42</sup> Celje (1908),<sup>43</sup> Kranj (1909),<sup>44</sup> and Trieste (1909),<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup>

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.<sup>47</sup> Between 1888 and 1918 it gave 300 concerts, over 200 of which involved musicians from abroad, mainly Czechs, as soloists, conductors, or composers.<sup>48</sup>

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 97<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment and the military band of the 4<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> As expected, the first conductor was Talich, the concertmaster was Jaromir Markucci from Litomyšl, and most of the orchestra members were again Czechs.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup>

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,<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup>

*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.<sup>55</sup> A number of Kapellmeisters from Bohemia<sup>56</sup> and other foreign musicians from various crown lands of the Austrian Empire were active at the Estates Theatre (*Ständisches Theater*; founded in 1765)<sup>57</sup> 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,<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup>

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.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup>

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.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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).<sup>66</sup> 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)<sup>67</sup> and Anton Zinauer (1822–1883)<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

In 1801, officials and citizens of Celje (Cilli) founded a music society (*Godbena družba*).<sup>71</sup> The director was Johann Michael Neuner (1773–1854), district treasurer from Bavaria.<sup>72</sup> The society ceased to exist in 1807.<sup>73</sup>

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.<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup> 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.<sup>76</sup>

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.<sup>77</sup> The new teacher and orchestral director, Joseph Leitermeyer, was born in Vienna.<sup>78</sup> He received his musical education there and worked in various theatre orchestras.<sup>79</sup> It seems that in 1830 Leitermeyer was living in Ljubljana.<sup>80</sup> 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.<sup>81</sup> Towards the end of the opera season he moved to Celje, on 1 May 1832,<sup>82</sup> and the following year married Anna Scheibler from Ptuj.<sup>83</sup> At the Lavant Music Association (*Lavanter Musikverein*),<sup>84</sup> 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,<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>86</sup> In search of better financial situation and a more musically stimulating environment,<sup>87</sup> he left Celje in September 1838.<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup>

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.<sup>90</sup>

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*).<sup>91</sup> 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”.<sup>92</sup> The association wanted to hire Franz Czansky (1832–1905) from Bohemia as Kapellmeister.<sup>93</sup> He arrived in Celje in mid-March 1879, and, together with Anton Zinauer, selected the musicians and looked at the available instruments.<sup>94</sup> 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 Drofenik, “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.<sup>95</sup> 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.<sup>96</sup> In addition to his duties, he gave private music lessons.<sup>97</sup> The music school (*Musikvereinschule*) was opened on 1 October 1879.<sup>98</sup> 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).<sup>99</sup> The composer moved to Maribor at the beginning of 1882 and died of tuberculosis there the same year.<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> As a private teacher, he taught a number of instruments.<sup>102</sup> 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.<sup>103</sup> 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."<sup>104</sup> He was said to play the instrument in a gypsy-like manner (*Zigeunerart*), but as a conductor he was not very successful.<sup>105</sup>

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.<sup>106</sup> 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.<sup>107</sup> 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.<sup>108</sup> 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.<sup>109</sup> 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),<sup>110</sup>

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 Křtitel 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.<sup>111</sup> He was not only an excellent conductor, but also a meticulous and kind teacher.<sup>112</sup> 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.<sup>113</sup> Under his direction, important changes took place and the repertoire he performed with the orchestra was quite demanding.<sup>114</sup> 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.<sup>115</sup> 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)<sup>116</sup> 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.<sup>117</sup> 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.<sup>118</sup> 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)<sup>119</sup> 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 soloist<sup>120</sup> 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.<sup>121</sup> 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."<sup>122</sup> 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,<sup>123</sup> 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),<sup>124</sup> 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 Humperdinck 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.<sup>125</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup> 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.<sup>127</sup> 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.<sup>128</sup>

Eduard Interberger (1868–1942)<sup>129</sup> 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.<sup>130</sup>

Following his retirement in 1903 Oskar Friedrich Rieding (1846–1916)<sup>131</sup> 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–?).<sup>132</sup>

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.<sup>133</sup> 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.”<sup>134</sup> As a result, in 1910, Feix was succeeded by another Prague graduate Wilhelm Seifert (1872–1912).<sup>135</sup> 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–?),<sup>136</sup> 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)<sup>137</sup> 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.<sup>138</sup>

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.<sup>139</sup> In 1793 they founded the Association of Dilettantes (*Dilettantenverein*), which organized various events, mainly music and declamation academies and concerts.<sup>140</sup> 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,<sup>141</sup> founded by a teacher named Anton Tremel (1775–1849)<sup>142</sup> from Szentgotthárd.<sup>143</sup> By organizing musical evenings, the members<sup>144</sup> 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.<sup>145</sup>

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),<sup>146</sup> chorister Johann Jocha (1808–1873),<sup>147</sup> 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: Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01517, Trauungsbuch 1749–1836, fol. 168; Nadškofijski 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: Nadškofijski 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: Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Maribor-Sv. Janez Krstnik, sig. 01510, Sterbebuch: 1858–1876, fol. 320–321; Nadškofijski

er Wenzel Größ (c. 1797–1855),<sup>148</sup> and oboist Johann Wlassak (c. 1795–?).<sup>149</sup> 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.<sup>150</sup>

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century Maribor was home to a few outstanding musicians from abroad. Franz Sperka (1817–1864),<sup>151</sup> 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).<sup>152</sup> The quartet consisted of the following members: Franz Sperka, Carl Martini, Felber, Johann Peschke<sup>153</sup> 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.<sup>154</sup>

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).<sup>155</sup> 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.<sup>156</sup> 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.<sup>157</sup>

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.<sup>158</sup>

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 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment Band also performed in the city and gave promenade concerts, and occasionally the 17<sup>th</sup> Regiment Band from Ljubljana and the military band from Klagenfurt made guest appearances in Maribor.<sup>159</sup> 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)<sup>160</sup> 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.<sup>161</sup> 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,<sup>162</sup> such as Peregrin Manich (1812–1897)<sup>163</sup>

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).<sup>164</sup> 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.<sup>165</sup> 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.<sup>166</sup>

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.<sup>167</sup> 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–?)<sup>168</sup> began to teach at the school and cello lessons were introduced. In the fall of 1884, Adolf Binder (1845–1901)<sup>169</sup> 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.<sup>170</sup>

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; Nadškofijski 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.<sup>171</sup> 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)<sup>172</sup> 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.*<sup>173</sup>

The choir was taken over by Emil Füllekruss (1856–1942)<sup>174</sup> 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 Szeznzin (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),<sup>175</sup> 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,<sup>176</sup> but decided in favour of Leo Dobrowolny (1871–?)<sup>177</sup> and Hans Rosensteiner (1864–1911).<sup>178</sup> 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 Dobrovlný) 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–?),<sup>179</sup> 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–?),<sup>180</sup> who was not up to the tasks entrusted to him, and therefore on 1 January 1907 he terminated his contract.<sup>181</sup>

The arrival of Alfred Klietmann (1884–1931)<sup>182</sup> 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 47<sup>th</sup> replacement battalion of Johann Otakar Peshta (1883–1945).<sup>183</sup> The latter was also a violinist and performed the *Sinfonia Concertante* for violin and viola by Mozart with Klietmann.<sup>184</sup> 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.<sup>185</sup> 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.<sup>186</sup>

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).<sup>187</sup>

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.<sup>188</sup> 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.<sup>189</sup> 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 Dilletantes (*Dilettantenverein*).<sup>190</sup> 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.<sup>191</sup>

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.<sup>192</sup> 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,<sup>193</sup> 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.<sup>194</sup>

After 1848 there were German and Slovene efforts to establish musical and literary societies.<sup>195</sup> 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 Eugenie 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.<sup>196</sup> 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.<sup>197</sup> 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.<sup>198</sup> 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.<sup>199</sup> 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,<sup>200</sup> 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.<sup>201</sup> Franz Haring (1861–1895)<sup>202</sup> 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.<sup>203</sup> 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.<sup>204</sup>

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.<sup>205</sup> 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.<sup>206</sup>

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)<sup>207</sup> from Samobor, then Franz Stahl (c. 1855–?)<sup>208</sup> and Josef Steinberger (1849–?)<sup>209</sup> 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 26<sup>th</sup> 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–?).<sup>210</sup> 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.<sup>211</sup> 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.<sup>212</sup> 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 100<sup>th</sup> birthday anniversary of C. M. Weber, at which only his works were performed, and a concert for the 10<sup>th</sup> 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)<sup>213</sup> 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),<sup>214</sup> and also performed with them in duos. Although there were fewer teacher changes under the leadership of Paul Schmidt,<sup>215</sup> 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–?),<sup>216</sup> 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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