

MUSEO EUROPE

EVROPA V ČASU FRANZA LISZTA

EUROPE IN THE TIME OF FRANZ LISZT

REGIONAL MUSEUM MARIBOR

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MUSEOEUROPE 2016

MIRJANA KOREN, Director of the Regional Museum Maribor

It is with great honour that I present to you the collective volume of papers presented at our international symposium **MUSEOEUROPE 2016**.

The symposium is connected with the central temporary exhibition of our museum titled **FRANZ LISZT, THE SMALL EUROPEAN TOUR**. With the exhibition, we commemorate the 170th anniversary of the greatest cultural event which had occurred in Maribor in the course of the 19th century. It is more than obvious that we are talking about the concert which was held by Franz Liszt (1811–1886), when he had been at the pinnacle of his glory, in the Knights' Hall of the Maribor castle. During the years 1839 and 1847, the virtuoso on the piano had performed on the greatest stages of Europe of those times. It was also during these times when he had played a series of five interrelated concerts in the cities of Vienna, Graz, Maribor, Rogaška Slatina, and Zagreb, which our museum interpreted as his small European tour. The cosmopolitan lifestyle of Franz Liszt offered a great number of possibilities for the implementation regarding the mobility of museum and archive material as well as their keepers, which is one of the fundamental starting points of the **MUSEOEUROPE** project. Beside the displayed material of the Regional Museum Maribor, the exhibition also presents material from the Liszt Ferenz Memorial Museum and Research Centre in Budapest, the Regional Museum Burgenland from Eisenstadt, the Styrian Regional Archives from Graz, the University Library Johann Christian Schenkenberg from Frankfurt/Main, the Zagreb City Museum, the Celje Regional Museum, the Historical Archives Celje, the University of Maribor Library, the Regional Archives Maribor, and the National Museum of Slovenia.

The principal topic of the symposium, which was titled **EUROPE IN THE TIME OF FRANZ LISZT**, was therefore not instigated by a particular guest object, but by a wide conception of the 19th century cultural life which had been marked by theatre and music, the emergence of media and contemporary marketing, the urbanisation, the discovery of new lands, the industrial and technological progress, and the world of women, men as well as child prodigies within art. The papers are divided into the five following groups: *Life and Work of Franz Liszt*, *State/City and Art*, *Creative Spaces*, *Art and Gender*, and *Media and Art*. Twenty-four researchers, coming from Hungary, Austria, Croatia, and Slovenia, have taken up the invitation to participate in our symposium and prepared the papers presented in the collective volume. Hungary is represented by the researchers coming from the Liszt Ferenz Memorial Museum and Research Centre from Budapest and the Pázmány Péter Catholic University, the Department of Art History from Budapest. The Austrian researchers came from the Ministry of Education and Women's Affairs from Vienna and European Federation of National Youth Orchestras from Vienna. The lecturers who represented Croatia came from the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Department for History of Croatian Music, the Croatian History Museum, and the City Museum of Split. Slovenia was represented by lectures coming from the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts - Institute of Slovenian Ethnology, Milko Kos Historical Institute, and Research Station Maribor, the University of Ljubljana - Academy of Music, Faculty of Arts, Department of Art History, the University of Maribor - Faculty of Arts, Department of Sociology, the National Museum of Slovenia, the Gorenjska Museum, and the Regional Museum Maribor. Some of the lecturers are also active as independent researchers.

The symposium was exclusively conceived and organised by the Regional Museum Maribor which is regarded as a large museum, if we are to consider the material that it preserves, the fields which it attends to, and the area that it partly covers. But if we are to regard the number of employees, the museum is classified as a small European museum. In such institutions like ours, every employee must attend to a greater amount of tasks as in large museums, which is often physically and mentally tiring. However, in our museum every employee is granted a greater part of our shared social space, our relationships are closer, and the moral support of the colleagues is larger. Therefore, it is my firm belief that the staff's contentment of the Regional Museum Maribor regarding the success of the editors Mag Oskar Habjanič and Dr Valentina Bevc Varl, who accomplished the daunting task of preparing the collective volume with the help of an international group of reviewers, is much greater than it would be the case in any other large museum.

I hope you enjoy reading this edition!

EUROPE IN THE TIMES OF FRANZ LISZT

Valentina Bevc Varl, Oskar Habjanič

The musical Goliath, the giant among piano players, Franz Liszt (1811–1886) lived and was also creatively active in the times marked by an exceptional technological progress, a time when the quality of life had consistently been increased, both at the individual and social level. In addition to the »iron road«, the first electric light bulb, the telegraph, and the first telephone call; we also need to make mention of personal freedom, the abolition of the relations between feudalism and serfdom, the furtherance of education and knowledge, and least but not last, the entirely open path for individual's talent and the power of capital. Even if it had been only for a short period, the Revolution of 1848 made way for the freedom of the press, the power of words written in the feuilletonists and stated by the first professional critics had been emphasised; we also witness the emergence of culture and fashion newspaper supplements, which had opened the way for advertising and critical public.

The world of music of the period concerned was earmarked by musical virtuosi, Nicolo Paganini on violin and Franz Liszt on piano. In the year 1824, Beethoven's *Symphony No. 9* saw the light of day for the first time, in the middle of the century the Vienna Philharmonic and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra had been founded; Adolph Sax invented the saxophone, Johann Strauss composed the Radetzky March. These were also the times of the waltz and ballet. In the year 1887, the gramophone was patented. Already at the beginning of the new century, thus in the year 1908, Camille Saint – Saëns became the first composer to write film music. Two years later, people witnessed the first radio broadcast of an opera from the Metropolitan Opera in New York.

The papers of the authors were presented according to the sets of topics which were predefined within the guidelines that were included in the call for papers. The five sets of topics were the following: *Life and Work of Franz Liszt, State/City and Art, Creative Spaces, Art and Gender, and Media and Art.*

A special word of thanks goes to the following group of reviewers, who were generously involved in helping to create the collective volume *Europe in the Time of Franz Liszt*: Dr Zsuzsanna Domokos from the Liszt Ferenz Memorial Museum and Research Centre, Budapest, Dr Darja Koter from the University of Ljubljana, Dr Martin Czernin from the Regional Museum Burgenland, Dr Polona Vidmar from the University of Maribor, Dr Vjera Katalinič from the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Dr Vlasta Stavbar and Dr Karmen Salmič Kovačič from the University Library Maribor, Dr Maja Lozar Štamcar and Dr Mateja Kos from the National Museum of Slovenia, and Dr Andrej Studen from the Institute of Contemporary history from Slovenia.

The papers gathered in the collective volume of the museoeurope 2016 symposium are organised in the same order in which they were presented at the symposium.

The introducing lecture of the symposium within the scope of the predefined set of topics *Life and Work of Franz Liszt* was held by Mag Oskar Habjanič from the Regional Museum Maribor and presented the power of friendship between Eduard Lannoy and Franz Liszt. In the year 1846, Liszt carried out a tour on the initiative of Lannoy, where he enchanted the listeners in the cities of Graz, Maribor, Rogaška Slatina, and Zagreb. In his paper, Mag Ivan Florjanc from the Academy of Music of the University of Ljubljana analysed Liszt's concert programmes of the concerts which he held in Graz, Maribor and Rogaška Slatina in the year 1846. Ágnes Watzatka from the Liszt Ferenz Memorial Museum and Research Centre in Budapest introduced Liszt's concerts that he held in Budapest. Dr Zsuzsanna Domokos had given herself the task of presenting the Royal Academy of Music in Budapest in the 1880s. She particularly mentioned the collaboration and friendship between Franz Liszt and János Verebi Vég, a composer, lawyer, and one of the more influential members of the Hungarian Royal Academy of Music during the years 1880 and 1887. Dr Vjera Katalinič and Sara Ries from the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts have presented Zagreb in the light of Liszt's visit and also discussed national and international tendencies within the musical life of that time.

The introducing lecture representing the predefined set of topics *State/City and Art* was held by Dr Manica Špental, Emeritus Professor of the University of Maribor, who devoted her academic career to the researching of Maribor's musical past. Her paper introduced the important music and theatre events as well as personalities, which had notably contributed to the cultural development of Maribor in the course of the 19th century. Katarina Kraševc, an independent musicologist and archivist, introduced us to the world of music in Maribor during the years 1793 and 1861. The complex of papers which were connected to the city of Maribor was concluded by the lecture of Dr Maja Godina Golija from the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts and University of Maribor, in which she discussed the private and public life of the citizens of Maribor in the decade marked by Liszt's visit. This lecture was followed by two lectures concerned with the field of Croatian cultural history. Tea Blagaić from the City Museum of Split talked about the musical life in Split in the 18th and 19th century. Mag Jelena Borošak-Marijanović from the Croatian History Museum tackled the topic of introducing the social life in Croatian cities in the times of the Illyrian Movement. Gregor Antoličič from the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Milko Kos Historical Institute, concluded the second set of lectures, which were related to the general title of the symposium *Europe in the Time of Franz Liszt*, with his presentation of political changes in Europe in the time of Franz Liszt. This time was marked by the decline of Napoleon, the state of affairs in Europe in accordance with Metternich's volition, the collapse of Metternich, the rise of nations in the year 1848, the rapid political changes in Italy, and the rise of Otto von Bismarck.

The introducing lecture representing the predefined set of topics *Creative Spaces* was held by Mirjana Koren from the Regional Museum Maribor. She introduced us to the manor house Viltuš; the estate where Liszt resided at the time of his concert in Maribor, and its furniture. In her paper, Dr Darja Koter from the Academy of Music, University of Ljubljana, aimed to discuss the topic regarding the types of pianos that originate from the time of Franz Liszt and are preserved by Slovene Museums. The paper of Mag Darko Knez from the National Museum of Slovenia focused on the piano manufacturer from Ljubljana - Andreas Wittenz who made pianos in the middle of the 19th century. The last lecture within the framework of this set of topics was held by Anna Peternák from the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre, Budapest, in which she presented the complete sculptural oeuvre of the sculptor Alajos Strobl, whose studio had been located on the third storey of the Royal Hungarian Academy of Music in Budapest. This was also the building in which Franz Liszt, who had been portrayed many times by Strobl, had resided at the beginning of the 1880s.

The introducing lecture representing the predefined group *Art and Gender* was held by Mag Magdalena Bruckmüller – Schindler from the Ministry of Education and Women's Affairs in Vienna in which she introduced female opera singers of the 19th century, the apotheosis of Maria Malibran, the exceptional singer and altruist Jenny Lind, and Adelina Patti as an example of a scandalous diva. With her case study of Alma Mahler, Mag Aleksandra Bajde from the European Federation of National Youth Orchestras made way for women, musical composition, and creative imperatives of Otto Weininger. Dr Mateja Kos from the National Museum of Slovenia set herself the task of bringing an emphasis to the curator and volunteer of the Provincial Museum for Carniola, Ana Schiffrer who discovered the body of work of Amalia Hermann von Hermannstahl, an exceptional paintress and musician.

In her paper, Dr Katja Mahnič from the University of Ljubljana focused on the work of Ladislav Benesch who exceeded sheer amateur depictions of heritage with his systematic-analytical approach to drawing. Benesch also reported about his work and realisations to the Central Commission in Vienna.

In his lecture, which was held within the scope of the predefined set of topics *Media and Art*, DDr Damir Globočnik from the Gorenjska Museum in Kranj reported on the first Slovenian satirical magazines and caricaturists of the 19th century. Dr Imre Kovács from the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Budapest introduced the piano as the »*Instrument of the Immortals*«; a slogan which had been adopted by the Steinway & Sons piano manufacturing company at the beginning of the 20th century. Maja Hren Brvar from the Regional Museum Maribor and Dr Katarina Šrampf from the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts have devoted their papers to the clothing culture in the time of Franz Liszt. Maja Hren Brvar focused on fashion trends which had coincided with the charisma of the virtuoso of the 19th century, while Katarina Šrampf introduced the clothing culture of locals and guests of the spa Rogaška Slatina in the time of Franz Liszt and analysed »fashion musts« of the time using numerous lithographs. The last lecture within this group

was held by Dr Valentina Bevc Varl from the Regional Museum Maribor who presented beakers decorated with townscapes and spa glasses, which were characteristic of the Biedermeier period. The later mentioned glasses were considered as popular souvenirs which reminded of the spa visit in Rogaška Slatina.

The international symposium on the topic of **EUROPE IN THE TIME OF FRANZ LISZT** revealed essential questions of the 19th century. With the help of numerous music societies as well as new concert stages and halls, musical giants raised the cultural level of previous amateur performances. Many professional critics either sealed the fate of young aspiring artists or elevated their careers. Multitudinous cultural events paved the way for cultural supplements of local newspapers. The primary goal of the project Museoeurope 2016 was to emphasise the role and meaning of the greatest piano player of his time, Franz Liszt. The artist who, at the peak of his career, made a halt and held a concert in a small rural city in Lower Styria, which in those days had been perceived as an incomparable experience.

FRANZ LISZT AND EDUARD VON LANNOY ON THE SMALL EUROPEAN TOUR IN THE YEAR 1846: GRAZ - MARIBOR - ROGAŠKA SLATINA - ZAGREB

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ABSTRACT

The paper deals with the tour of Franz Liszt which he had undertaken in the summer months of 1846, when he held concerts in the cities of Graz, Maribor, Rogaška Slatina, and Zagreb. The paper traces and exposes the reports of notable music critics, like for example Anselm Hüttenbrenner from Graz and Eduard Lannoy, who was the one to organise the entire 'tour'. Eduard Lannoy published extensive reports regarding the musical life of *Stiria* and the city of Zagreb in the Viennese newspaper *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, as well as in the *Stiria*, a supplement of the newspaper *Grazer Zeitung*, which regularly reported on societal chronicles in the columns called *Nachrichten aus Provinzstädten*.

KEY WORDS

Eduard Lannoy, Franz Liszt, Graz, Maribor, Rogaška Slatina, Zagreb

INTRODUCTION

The personal journey of individuals who lived in the 19th century was characterised by the pursuit of two goals: education, which became the obligation of every individual after the educational reform of Maria Theresia has been carried out; and business success which included hard work, resourcefulness, and socialising. The heritage of the French Revolution is the postulation of the individual who cut its way through life solely by its more or less free will. At the same time, the industrial revolution was the key drive of the widespread dissemination of new technologies which brought change into the every-day life of the society in the 19th century. The newly formed bourgeoisie build their image based on duty, thrift, business career, and family values resulting in a new conception of gender roles, but never before than in 19th century, each individual had a chance to succeed. The way for talent was open.

Eduard Lannoy was born on the 3rd of December in the year 1786 in Brussels, the native city of his father, to the official Peter Josef Albert von Lannoy, and his mother Elisabeth Joseph Meulenbergh. After the French Revolution and the annexation of Belgium to France, the young Eduard was send away from his birth town, to the hinterland of the Austrian Empire, to Graz, where he began with his educational process. Later on, he continues with his studies in Brussel and Paris, and finally settled down with his family in Viltuš in Lower Styria.¹ He found his music fellows in the Styrian capital where archduke John gathered intellectuals from all over the empire to stimulate the cultural life in the region. The way for his career was open.

On the other hand, Franz Liszt was born to the official in small village called Raiding,² where he got the basic knowledge of piano by his father. As a young talent he continued his education in Wiena, having Salieri and Czerny by his side. Latter on he was astonished by the performance of Paganini, who returned Franz Liszt on European stages. The way for his talent was open.

It was in Styria, where brilliant *career* of Eduard Lannoy, and the incredible *talent* of Franz Liszt, set off on the journey.

¹ More about life and work about Eduard Lannoy, see: SUPPAN, W. 1963.

² More about life and work about Franz Liszt, see: WALKER, A., 1988, 1993, 1997.

FRANZ LISZT AND EDUARD LANNOY IN VIENNA IN THE YEAR 1846

In Graz, Lannoy socialised with the editor of the newspaper supplement *Der Aufmerksame*, Ignaz Kollman,³ in the cultural supplement of which he had regularly published his poetry that he wrote under the influence of the spirit of the Enlightenment of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. So it came to pass, that his poem with the title *Geistesblüthen* celebrates the use of reason and the inseparable bond between love and art. Lannoy, entirely wrapped up in art, finishes the poem with the appeal: *Art without love is dead*.⁴ In the year 1819, we find his poems dedicated to Goethe, Schiller, Jean Paul, Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven, which he had published in the newspaper *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*.⁵ He also regularly published in the Viennese newspaper *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, one of the most important newspapers within the monarchy edited by Adolf Bäuerle.⁶

Eduard Lannoy set off from Viltuš to Vienna in the year 1818, where he spent the first part of the concert season. These concerts were organised by the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde der österreichischen Kaiserstaates* (Society of Friends of Music of the Austrian Imperial State), which was established in the year 1812.⁷ Lannoy helped with the organisation of the concerts; he also conducted and prepared new musical works. At that time, he had already successfully performed some of his musical works, with which he had mainly asserted himself on the stages of Graz. In the year 1825, he became the director of the *Vienna Conservatory* and devoted himself to the writing of the statute. He left this position in the year 1835; probably due to the increasing extent of his responsibilities in connection to the *Concerts Spirituels*.⁸ It is quite certain that Lannoy, the musical enthusiast, had already been familiar with the *Concerts Spirituels* since his stay in Paris. His knowledge must have been a great asset to the relatively young Viennese music society. The concert programme included the works of Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Salieri, and others.⁹ Ludwig Spohr even dedicated his Symphony No. 5 in C minor to the organising team of the *Concerts Spirituels*.¹⁰

As Lannoy organised these concerts, he came in contact with the entire music elite which had been active in Vienna from Carl Czerny to Franz Liszt, and many others who performed or held concerts. The concerts were mainly intended for culture enthusiasts stemming from the ranks of the bourgeoisie.¹¹

These times were undoubtedly earmarked by the steep advancement of his career. The melodrama *Ein Uhr oder der Zauberbund um Mitternacht* represents one of his greater accomplishments. The work premiered

³ Ignaz Kollman (1775–1837), writer and painter, who educated himself in Italy. Initially, he had owned a publishing house in Graz; then he got the post of a secretary of Princess Seraphin Porcia from Italy. In the year 1811, he was summoned by Archduke John of Austria to Graz, where he was supposed to work within the framework of the newly established 'inner Austrian national museum'. Then, in the year 1812, he took over the editor's post of the supplement of the newspaper *Der Aufmerksame* in Graz; a position which he had occupied until his death in the year 1837. Kollman was a highly notable person. As a painter he had mainly painted sacred objects; as a poet, he collected and published many sagas, legends, ballads, and romances. Kollman was a typical representative of the Romanticism, which by then had already sparked with the appearance of many young upcoming new hopes (Puff, Seidl, Grün). He was an honourable member of the cities of Graz, Maribor, and Celje. See: ÖBL, IV. 1966, p. 91.

⁴ *Geistesblüthen von Lannoy*: Wan man weiß, gibt gleichviel, es ist hoch immer / nur wenig; / Alles ist, wie man weiß, wie man das Wissen kennt. / Einst waren Höflichkeit, Fleiß, Bescheidenheit / Zierden der Jugend, Jetzt ist Grobheit Verdienst, heißet Anmaßung Talent. / Schwestern sind Liebe und Kunst! Nur dauernd, / einig vereinet, / Rah'n der Vollendung sie, schwingen zum / höchsten sich auf; / Liebe sinkt ohne Kunst in abgeschmackte Gemeinheit; / Kunst ohne Liebe ist Todt; wärmet und rühret uns nicht; see: Eduard Lannoy: *Geistesblüthen*, Grazer Zeitung, No. 128, in: *Der Aufmerksame*, No. 96 (11. 8. 1818), s.p.

⁵ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat, 13th of March, No. 21, 1819.

⁶ Adolf Bäuerle (1786–1859) is one of the most important Viennese publishers. Already at the age of 18 in the year 1804, he started to issue the newspaper *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, which had been considered as the most spread newspaper within the monarchy during the years 1820 and 1847. Bäuerle also wrote a number of novels, in which one can recognise the seriousness of his era. See: WURZBACH, C. 1856, p. 118.

⁷ The society was established in the times of the Napoleonic Wars. The initiative for the establishment of the society came from music enthusiasts stemming from the ranks of the bourgeoisie as well as nobility. The first time when the official name *Gesellschaft der österreichische Musikfreunde* had appeared was on the invitation to the concert Mesija in the year 1815, thus three years after the society had been formally established. On more about the establishment of the society see: HANSLICK, E. 1869, pp. 140–169.

⁸ SUPPAN, W. 1960, p. 15.

⁹ For a more detailed programme for the years 1819–1821, see: HANSLICK, E. 1869, pp. 189–190.

¹⁰ *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Nationalvereins für Musik und Ihre Wissenschaft*, 1840, p. 138.

¹¹ SUPPAN, W. 1960, p. 16.

at the Viennese theatre on the 21st of November in 1822. Until the 3rd of September in 1837, the melodrama was repeated seventy-two times.¹² In the course of the following years, Lannoy asserted his presence on the Viennese music stages. This statement is supported by the fact that, during the years 1823 and 1835, he acted sixteen times as the conductor within the scope of the evenings that were organised by the *Society of Friends of Music of the Austrian Imperial State*, as well as by the fact that he had practically been the first conductor of the society. In the year 1824 the programme of the society included Lannoy's anthem; in the year 1829, he also contributed an overture.¹³ Altogether, Lannoy composed around seventy musical works for various instruments. His works were also marked by the time spent with Archduke John of Austria, who, influenced by the revival of the national consciousness and by the sense of belonging to the imperial crown, encouraged folk and patriotic songs.

During this time Lannoy also actively collaborated on the making of the book *Aesthetisches Lexikon*, which included lexical entries from the fields of poetry, rhetoric, music, statuary art, graphic arts, architecture, painting, theatre, as well as other fields. The lexicon had been conceived in order to gather knowledge about fine arts, which would enable literary figures, musicians, painters, and other artists an insight into the world of art in one single book.¹⁴ Lannoy, who at that time had already been an established music critic and theoretician in Vienna, the honourable member of multiple music societies, the director of the *Vienna Conservatory*, and the promoter of concerts had taken over the editing and preparation of the music section of the lexicon, which represented a large part of the entire book.

The varied music offer of the *Society of Friends of Music of the Austrian Imperial State*, and the organisers of the *Concerts Spirituels* along with a new music hall, philharmonic concerts, the establishment of the *Männergesangverein* (Male Singing Society), and the newspaper *Wiener Musikzeitung*, had brought a great number of renown musical giants to the city on the Danube River. The musical life in the times before the Revolution was marked by the virtuosos of that time. Immediately beforehand Liszt came to Vienna in the year 1838, Sigmund Thalberg¹⁵ and Clara Wieck Schuman,¹⁶ the wife of Robert Schuman had gained fame in the city.

Franz Liszt came back to Vienna in the year 1838, when he had held benefit concerts for the flooded city of Budapest. He returned to Vienna after 15 years of absence, where he, the *Musikalisches Mammuth* (Musical Mammoth), visited his relatives, his teacher Carl Cherny. It was probably during that period that he had also met Lannoy, who at that time acted as the conductor of the *Society of Friends of Music of the Austrian Imperial State* and the promoter of the renown *Concerts Spirituels*.

At the beginning of March and April in the year 1846, Liszt performed in Vienna as a guest within the scope of the *Concerts Spirituels*, which took place under the leadership of Lannoy.¹⁷ For Liszt, Vienna served as a springboard that led him to different parts of the monarchy. At the beginning of April, he performed in Prague, and then at the beginning of May also in Budapest. At the end of May and the beginning of June, Liszt accepted the invitation of Felix Lichnowsky. Lichnowsky hosted him at his castle in Hradec nad Moravicí,¹⁸ where Liszt held two concerts; the first took place on the 27th of May and the second on the 1st of June. The next day, thus on the 2nd of June, he had held another concert in the city Teschen.¹⁹ It is quite possible that that was the time when the two men had agreed on a tour over Styria.

¹² Ibid., p. 19.

¹³ HANSLICK, E. 1869, p. 159.

¹⁴ JEITTELES, I. 1835, p. V.

¹⁵ Sigmund Thalberg (1812–1871) is considered as one of the most important piano players of the 19th century. After he had experienced success in Europe, he set off to South America, where he performed in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires in the year 1855. It was already in the year 1856 when he played in New York as well; see: SCHOLES, A. P. 1985, pp. 1021.

¹⁶ Clara Wieck (1819–1896), married Schuman; performed in Vienna at the age of 18; she was also an excellent piano and song composer. She was married to Robert Schuman. SCHOLES, A. P. 1985, p. 932.

¹⁷ On the concerts in Vienna before Liszt's departure to Styria see the reports of Heinrich Adami in *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 3. 3. 1846, 21. 3. 1846, 25. 3. 1846, 7. 4. 1846 and 19. 5. 1846; see also: Das Jahr 1846: Liszt in Wien und auf Konzertreisen, in: LEGÁNY, D. 1984, pp. 85–113.

¹⁸ Hradec nad Moravicí, German name Grätz, is located in the area of the present-day Czech Republic.

¹⁹ Nowadays the city is located on the border between Czech Republic and Poland and is divided into Český Těšín and Cieszyn in Poland. See: Berichte über Liszts Reisen nach Prag und Pest und seine dortigen Konzerte, in: LEGÁNY, D. 1984, p. 110, footnote 3.

FRANZ LISZT IN STYRIA

Lannoy, who used to reside at his manor house Viltuš near Maribor during the summer months, took over the entire organisation of the concerts which should be held in Graz and Maribor, and later also in Rogaška Slatina and Zagreb. The fact that the agreements regarding the concerts were made immediately after Liszt's concerts within the scope of the *Concerts Spirituels* is supported by a note. The note had been published on the 9th of May in 1846 in *Stiria*, the supplement of the newspaper *Grazer Zeitung*, in which an anonymous source – probably Lannoy – reports that he had found out from reliable sources that Franz Liszt will come to Graz at the end of May or in the middle of June. It was stated that Franz Liszt would be accompanied by Mr Caphir and Mr Reustadt.²⁰ The next news regarding the arrival of Franz Liszt to Styria is already signed by Lannoy, who reported in the *Grazer Zeitung* supplement *Stiria* from Vienna on the 19th of May in 1846. The article was already published in *Stiria* on the 23rd of May and stated that Franz Liszt would hold a concert at the Knights' Hall of the Grazer *Landhaus* on the 7th of June at noon, and two days after that he would give a concert in Maribor *im großen Saale der Burg Marburg* (at the grand hall of Maribor castle).²¹ Meanwhile, Lannoy and Liszt had obviously already elaborated on the programme since the article had also been provided with a detailed programme of the concert. In Graz; Liszt ought to play: 1. Overture from the opera *William Tell*; 2. Schubert's *Trout* adapted by Franz Liszt; 3. Schubert's *Erlkönig* adapted by Franz Liszt; 4. Händel's *Variations* in E-major; 5. *Andante final de Lucia di Lammermoor* adapted for solo piano by Franz Liszt; 6. Mozart's *Réminiscences de Don Juan* performed and authored by Franz Liszt.

The programme which the famous piano player had chosen for his concert in Maribor was as follows: 1. *Phantasy* from *Norma* adapted by Franz Liszt; 2. Schubert's *Hungarian Melodies* and *Hungarian March*; 3. Chopin's *Etudes*; 4. C. M. Weber's *Invitation a la valse*, 5. Schubert's *Ave Maria* adapted for solo piano by Franz Liszt; 6. *Grand galop chromatique* performed and authored by Franz Liszt. The music and art shop J. L. Greiner located at the street Gosposka ulica took over the reservations for the concert of the first piano player of Europe.²² In the meantime, a change of plans had to occur, because Franz Liszt received the invitation of Prince Felix Lichnowsky and scurried away on a shorter tour in Czechia. At the beginning of June, Lannoy notified the public via *Stiria* that changes have been made regarding the time of Liszt's arrival due to the appearance of obstacles. Therefore, the concert in Graz would be held on the 14th and the one on Maribor on the 16th of June. The concert programmes stay unchanged.²³ The very next day, the newspaper *Gratzer Zeitung* published an advertisement in its supplement *Steiermärkisches Intelligenzblatt*, which covered the upper third of the entire page, announcing that the concert of Franz Liszt will be held at the Knight's Hall of the Maribor castle owned by Count Brandis at 7.00. p.m. The advertisement invited all art lovers to reserve their tickets in advance for the price of 2 fl at Tauchman, a shop of art and musical instruments²⁴ because the number of tickets released will be in accordance to these reservations. The price for the tickets in the parterre was 1 fl.²⁵ Lannoy had obviously somewhat feared about the attendance of the concert in the rural city of Maribor. (Image 1)

A short note, which had been published in the *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* on the 13th of June in 1846, reported that Franz Liszt had once again returned to the Imperial capital.²⁶ It is most likely that on that very day, Liszt had set out to Graz by train in the company of Lannoy. Graz was the city where Liszt's mother's sister, Maria Teresa Lager lived. During the years 1824 and 1827, his mother, Anna Liszt also lived with Maria Theresa in the mentioned city. Liszt's aunt Mari cared for him when he had been very sick as a child and saved his life. In the time of Liszt's early youth, his aunt often visited Raiding and cared for the sick child.²⁷ In Graz, Liszt

²⁰ Liszt, in: *Grazer Zeitung*, No. 74, see: *Stiria*, ein Blatt des Nüßlichen und Schönen, IV., No. 56 (9. 5. 1846), p. 224.

²¹ Eduard Lannoy, Franz Liszt in Steiermark, in: *Grazer Zeitung*, No. 82, in: *Stiria*, IV., No. 62 (23. 5. 1846), p. 247.

²² Ibid. The news regarding the reservation of the concert had been added by the editorial office of the newspaper.

²³ Eduard Lannoy, Franz Liszt Concerte, in: *Grazer Zeitung*, No. 87, in: *Stiria*, IV., No. 66 (2. 6. 1846), p. 264.

²⁴ Josef Tauchmann is mentioned with his wife Justina at the present day street Gosposka ulica 26 (the then Kleine Herrengasse 113). They bought the house in the year 1859, thus after Liszt's concert. He attached a woodshed to the house, which had four separate rooms and was roofed with bricks. See: SEMLIČ RAJH, Z., OMAN, Ž., MLINARIČ, L. 2012, p. 121.

²⁵ *Gratzer Zeitung*, No. 88, 3. 6. 1846, see the newspaper supplement *Steiermärkisches Intelligenzblatt zur Grazer Zeitung*.

²⁶ »Liszt ist wieder in Wien eingetroffen.«, in: *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, No. 141, 13th of June, 1846, p. 564.

²⁷ At her death in the year 1857, he sorrowfully wrote to his mother from Weimar: »Dearest Mother, Your dear, good, and excellent sister Therese has passed away! As prepared for this news as one could be, it nevertheless brings a deep mourning to my heart – for you know that I always remember everything good that she rendered me in my childhood, when she rescued me from death, and I remained loyal and deeply devoted to her. If you possess, perhaps, some small object of hers – a book, a cup, or something else of no value, send it to me here, where it will remain dear and precious to me« (Weimar, 2nd of January, 1857), quoted from: WALKER, A. 1987, p. 57, footnote 13.

found a great amount of music notations, which he practised playing as a boy, at »his beloved relative«. The notations were comprised of works by Beethoven, Scarlatti, Clementi, Bach, and other classical composers. One came to realise that, in this case also, the proverb: *Qui studet optatam casta contingere metam multa tulit, fecit que puer, sudavit et alsit*, proved to be true.²⁸ During their train ride, Lannoy got into an interesting conversation with a young traveller from Vienna, who had expressed great admiration for the singer Jenny Lind, with which Lannoy completely disagreed.²⁹

Steiermärkisches Intelligenzblatt zur Grazer Zeitung.
 N. 88. Mittwoch den 3. Juni. 1846.

Franz Liszt's
Concert in Marburg

am 16. Juni Abends um 7 Uhr im Rittersaale in der Burg des Herrn Grafen v. Brandis.
 In diesem seltenen Kunstgenusse, welchen wir nur einer besondern Güte zu danken haben, erfolgt die höchst wichtige Einladung an alle Kunstfreunde.
 Nachdem nur eine bestimmte Anzahl Speerscharten ausgegeben wird, so werden darauf Reflectirende aufmerksam gemacht, selbe sich gegen Erlag von 2 fl. C.M. in der Lauchmann'schen Kunst- und Musikalienhandlung einzulösen. Billete in's Parterre kosten 1 fl. C.M. [69]

Image 1: The announcement of the Franz Liszt concert in Maribor, on the 16th of June in 1846 at the Knights' Hall of the Maribor castle, then in the possession of the Counts of Brandis, in: Grazer Zeitung, 3rd of June, 1846, newspaper supplement Steiermärkisches Intelligenzblatt zur Grazer Zeitung.

Liszt spent the night at the inn called *Zum wilden Mann*. The next day, thus on the 14th of June at midday, he held a concert at the Knights' Hall of the Grazer *Landhaus*. Four days after the first concert in Graz had taken place, Anselm Hüttenbrenner reported on the first concert in Graz, sparing with words, in the *Stiria* stating as follows: »Would the Black Sea, which in reality is not black nor white, become darker, if one was to pour a bottle of ink into it? One can read something quite similar in the *Stiria*, this year's number 62, where it is stated that it would be pretentious and unnecessary to add anything to the praise of Europe's best piano player. According to this statement, we refrain ourselves from any accolade and solely report that Mister Franz Liszt performed seven musical works in front of around seventy listeners on two excellent Viennese grand pianos of the Streicher und Stein brand. He played the overture from the opera *William Tell*, the *Trout*, the *Erkönig*, the *Variations in A-minor* by Beethoven instead of the announced Händel's *Variations in E-major*, the *Andante final de Lucia di Lammermoor*, the *Réminiscences de Don Juan*, and at the end the ardently desired encore the Hungarian folk songs. The gentleman who performed at the concert was positioned in the centre of the hall on a large platform and was, therefore, visible to the entire public received tumultuous applause and shouts after every single musical work.«³⁰

The reason for Hüttenbrenner's meagre report could be his adherence to Beethoven and Schubert.³¹ It is interesting to note that Liszt played Hungarian folk songs as the encore of his »midday ecstasy«, which had not been part of the official concert programme. The virtuoso also forwent Händel's *Variations in E-major* and delighted the 700 listeners with the *Variations in A-minor* by Beethoven instead.

It was at the time of Liszt's visit, thus in the year 1846, when the *Männergesangverein* (Male Singing Society) had been established which set off an avalanche of newly founded male singing societies in other cities across the entire land. It were the members of the society above, who seized the opportunity of Liszt's concert and awarded Liszt, Lannoy and Konradin Kreuzer³² with honorary memberships.³³ It was also on this occasion that the lithograph of Franz Liszt had been made by Josef Kriehuber, a lithograph artist from Vienna.³⁴

²⁸ See the report of Eduard Lannoy with the title: Liszt in Marburg, in: Allgemeine Theaterzeitung, No. 141, 13. 6. 1846, p. 592.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Anselm Hüttenbrenner: Concert des Herrn Franz Liszt, abgehalten in ständischen Rittersaale am 14. Juni 1846, in: Grazer Zeitung, No. 97, in: *Stiria*, IV., No. 73, (18. 6. 1846), p. 291.

³¹ See: SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 303.

³² Konradin Kreuzer (1780–1849), a German composer who also worked for the Vienna Theatre. His daughter Marie sang at Liszt's second concert. He also had a daughter named Cecilija, who also sang the soprano. See: WURZBACH, C. 1865.

³³ SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 304.

³⁴ Josef Kriehuber (1801 - 1876) was a lithograph artist from Vienna, who had depicted a good many musicians, politicians, aristocrats, and bourgeois in his lithographs. Liszt and Lannoy were also among those who had been depicted by Kriehuber. See: WURZBACH, C. 1865, pp. 219 – 231.

After this concert in Graz Liszt and Lannoy set out to Maribor, where everything had been ready for the reception of the musical virtuoso. Liszt held a concert at the Knights' Hall of the Brandis family on the 16th of June at 7. p.m.

Liszt's arrival to the rural city on the Drava river was, without a doubt, a great sensation, which is attested by the highly enthusiastic report of Rudolf Gustav Puff, a chronicler from Maribor, who stated as follows: »Understanding the enthusiasm of our citizens for great figures lies in the very nature of things just as – the avalanches appertain to the highlands; the sky-high waves to the sea; the vast growling echo to the thunder. However, the situation is different when people, who are not intoxicated fashion victims, who are not possessed by the obsession over art within nature, as well as better educated individuals, who are asserting a higher status and standard and are living in the surroundings of this city of a lower position, unite themselves as one man to avouch with a storm of applause that the highest level of artistic technique of the modern era did not only reach their expectations but exceeded them. The city of Maribor must give gratitude to the benevolence of the patron of art, Baron Lannoy, the owner of the nearby summer residence, which is in some way connected to the county town. For it is because of him that the city experienced an unforgettable concert of the illustrious, divine giant among all piano players, F. Liszt on the 16th of June. A Distinguished audience from all parts of Lower Styria and even from the neighbouring Croatia filled up the spacious Knights' Hall of the Counts Brandis, where the paintings of faded military victories of the past gaze upon images of a brighter new era. At the sight of such prestige assembly, one may feel the urge to shout with the words of the poet Leitner:

»The high square hall, otherwise always broad and cool,
has now become much too tight, has now become stuffy.«

To judge Liszt as an artist would mean: wanting to magnify a river with a single drop; to intensify a storm with a breath of air. As he plays, the soul enters into every nerve of the body. And he, the untamed genius blusters over the piano like a storm of sound waves and then loses himself in the soft sounds of the bells; after that yet again rages like a midnight army over fields of ice, and flees like a fairy treads quickly over flower blossoms; such playing is the most adventurous problem which human hands ought to resolve on the piano. If the phantasy from *Norma* (Liszt's composition) spoke to the memories of the Maribor citizens; Schubert's *Hungarian Melody* and *Hungarian March* to our bordering neighbours, Chopin's *Etudes* to the music experts, the *Invitation a la valse* to our rhythmically sure listeners of the old school; then the amiable artist charmed us even more with the kind encore, where he surprised us with *Erkönig* after Schubert's *Ave Maria*. The concert ended with Liszt's *Grand galop chromatique* which was composed for a fairy dance and represents a higher equation for the ear, while the eye gets dizzy when looking at the lightning-quick fingering over the piano keys. Let the stay in Maribor represent yet another leaf in the wreath of glory which the celebrated artist himself had weaved.«³⁵

Just as he did at his concerts in Graz, Liszt also somewhat altered the concert programme for his concert in Maribor. So it came to pass, that after he had performed Schubert's *Ave Maria*, he played the author's musical work *Erkönig*, which Liszt, naturally, arranged for (solo) piano.³⁶ The report regarding the concert and other adventures of Liszt during his visit in Styria was also written by Lannoy and published in the newspaper *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*. Lannoy wrote the report in question full of exaltation immediately the morning after the concert, while Liszt had still been asleep as his guest at Viltuš: »Liszt intended to give a concert in the city of Graz, and I had the desire to visit my property in the vicinity of Maribor in the first half of June. So what would be more natural than us setting off on the journey together? I have wished that List would also perform in Maribor because I love the friendly little city, and I wanted to enable my friends and acquaintances the pleasure of listening to the first piano player of Europe. So, again, what would be more natural than for List to fulfil my wish and to play on the 16th of June in the grand hall of the Maribor castle, which had generously been placed at our disposal by Count Brandis, and to enchant the listeners as he usually does...«³⁷

³⁵ Rudolf Gustav Puff: Liszt in Marburg, in: Grazer Zeitung, No. 100, in: Stiria, IV., No. 75 (23. 6. 1846), p. 300.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Eduard Lannoy, Liszt in Marburg, in: Allgemeine Theaterzeitung, 22nd of June 1846, p. 592.

The concert in Maribor had apparently made a greater impression on Lannoy, as the one which Liszt had held in Graz, as is made apparent when he continued in his report stated the following: »An ordinary reporter of the newspaper *Theaterzeitung* can report on the concert which was held on the 14th of June in Graz.

As for our visit to the capital city of Styria, Graz, I will solely mention that Liszt found an enormous amount of music notations, which he practised playing as a boy, at his beloved relative, who saved his life during his childhood with her diligent and loving care. The notations were comprised of works by Beethoven, Scarlatti, Clementi, Bach, and other classical composers. One came to realise that, in this case also, the proverb: *Qui studet optatam casta contingere metam multa tulit, fecit que puer, sudavit et alsit* proved to be true. The concert in Maribor took place in front of a selected and also numerous audience, which came running from all parts of the land, and yes, from the neighbouring Hungary and Croatia as well, by rail or other overland routes. The applause was »Liszt-like«, which says it all. Liszt played: his *Norma Phantasy*, Schubert's *Hungarian Melodies* and *Hungarian March*, Chopin's *Études*, C. M. Weber's *Invitation a la Valse*, his arrangement for solo piano of Schubert's *Ave Maria*, as well as the overture from the opera *Erlikönig*, which was not on the programme, and at the end his *Grand Galop Chromatique*. How did he play? The answer to this question is a simple one: as if he were the best piano player of the known or even unknown world since there is little probability that one piano player who could surpass Liszt would also exist on an island in the Pacific Ocean or Arctic Ocean. Surely, I could describe the way in which he plays, and that without the usage of old poetic empty phrases, which in reality do not tell a thing. No, I would make use of sincere words; simple and veracious ...«³⁸

As Lannoy continues his report, he recollects the train ride from Vienna to Graz, where he stumbled upon the company of a family from a young girl, who had been enthusiastic over the singing of Jenny Lind; something with which Lannoy could not agree. His example of a good singer was Karoline Ungher, with who he had also performed.³⁹

We can thus conclude that Lannoy's letter reveals the vivid life and music dilemmas of the Biedermeier world from the middle of the 19th century. In this way we witness intense debates during the train ride, the musical self-criticism of the opera singer Karoline Ungher regarding her vocal abilities, and also the »Liszt-like« concert in Maribor. The report on the concert is written in a romantic and very enthusiastic way and is almost completely in accordance with the euphoric description of the unreplaceable romantic chronicler from Maribor, Rudolf Gustav Puff.

Lower Styria was once more the topic of conversation in the Viennese newspaper when Lannoy reported from Rogaška Slatina. He wrote the report on the 8th of June,⁴⁰ whereby it had been published in the *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* on the 20th of June, thus immediately before Liszt's arrival to Rogaška Slatina.⁴¹ It is quite probable that Lannoy had been arranging the details regarding Liszt's concert in Rogaška, which was supposed to take place at the time of the traditional *Anna's ball*. In the report, Lannoy depicts the previously promised details concerning Mrs Sabatier, the former singer Karoline Ungher, who at that time had been in Greece and intended to travel all the way to Constantinople.⁴² But Lannoy makes no further mentions of details about the concert from Maribor.

After his concert in Maribor, Liszt spent the night at Lannoy's manor house Viltuš. The next day, Liszt returned to Graz, where he performed one more concert. The same issue of the newspaper *Stiria* published two reports; the romantic depiction of Liszt's concert in Maribor, as well as the already mentioned report from Hüttenbrenner on the second concert of Franz Liszt in the sold-out theatre in Graz. The latter report was to be found at the margin of the column covering the cultural events and provided solely sparse information: »The second concert

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that we do not find Lannoy's name in the guest book in Rogaška. Lannoy had been in Rogaška Slatina with his wife on the 1st of July of that year and almost every year in the 40s of the 19th century. See: CVELFAR, B. 2002, pp. 239 – 497.

⁴¹ Eduard Lannoy, Liszt in Marburg, in: *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 20. 7. 1846, No.172, p. 688.

⁴² Ibid.

of Mr Liszt, which took place on the 19th of this month, where Mlle Kreutzber and Mr Knopp have also splendidly performed, was very well-attended; it hailed applause, and the curtain calls did not end.⁴³

According to Hüttenbrenner's modest report, Liszt's concert which had taken place on the 19th of June had once again been full of emotions and unending cheers. Liszt had been accompanied by the opera singer Marie Kreutzer, the daughter of Konradin Kreutzer, and the tenor Knopp.

Liszt performed the following works at the concert: 1. *Réminiscences de la Norma* adapted by Franz Liszt; 2. *Rossini's arias* adapted by Mlle Marie Kreutzer; 3. *Weber's L'Invitation de la Valse*, adapted by Franz Liszt; 4. *Rossini's Tarantella* adapted by Franz Liszt; 5. *Chopin's Mazurka* adapted by Franz Liszt; 6. *Polonaise de Puritains* also adapted by Franz Liszt; 7. *Wo weilst du*, a song by Kahlert, which had been composed by Mr Ott and performed by Mr Knopp. Liszt concluded the evening, just like in Maribor, with his own work *Grand galop chromatique*.⁴⁴

An exhaustive report on the concert is to be found in the memories of the historian Franz Ilwof, who states: »In the year 1846, I was 14 1/2 years of age, student of the 5th class of the grammar school, rejoiced in music, played the piano and cello: Reasons enough for me to wish to see and hear the master. Therefore, I scraped together all my kreutzers of my pocket money, just enough to be able to afford a ticket on the fourth storey at *Landständisches Theater* (the Estates Theatre). The building was completely packed, the heat overpowering, the audience and illumination radiant. The ladies in the boxes wore ball gowns and the gentlemen black salon attire. The ticket demand was so significant that the stage had been used to accommodate the listeners. The drop curtain remained pulled up the entire time, and the stage had been as full as possible with seats, which were for mostly taken by elegant ladies. The orchestra was bridged; the piano was located where the prompt box and the conductor are usually positioned. I was on the fourth storey right next to the stage, thus directly looking down on Liszt. Grand candelabras were placed on the right and the left side of the piano: he played just performed the Hungarian Melodies, raised his right hand fervently aloft, touched one of the candelabras, which fell directly on the strings of the open piano. Liszt did not let this to bewilder him, continued to play with his left hand, seized with his right hand the candelabra, and threw it on the ground next to him. Naturally, a huge applause awarding his presence of mind had followed.«⁴⁵

The next day, Liszt travelled back to Vienna which had been considered as the starting point of his tour. The organisation for the concert of Franz Liszt in the popular Styrian thermal spa town Rogaška Slatina started already in the middle of July. In Rogaška Slatina, Liszt was supposed to hold a concert at the famous *Anna's ball* which took place on the 25th of July, on the evening before Saint Anne's day. The announcement of the concert in Rogaška Slatina can be read in the *Stiria* issued on the 18th of July: »On the 25th of this month, thus on the evening before Saint Anne's day, the visitors of Rogaška Slatina will have the pleasure of witnessing the concert of Mister Liszt. The already printed concert programme, which was sent to us from Baron Lannoy, consists of the following musical works: *Sextuor de Lucia di Lammermoor*, arranged for solo piano by Franz Liszt; *Réminiscences de la Sonnambula*, composed by Franz Liszt; *Ständchen (Serenade)*, author Schubert, arranged (for solo piano) by Franz Liszt; Paraphrase on the fourth act of the opera *Dom Sébastien*, author Kullak; *Tarantella* from *Stumme von Portici*, composed by Franz Liszt; *Aufforderung zum Tanz (Invitation to the Dance)*, author Weber. All musical works will be played by Franz Liszt. A sufficient amount of excellence, to surrender oneself to the blissful musing within the kingdom of sounds for a whole hour!«⁴⁶

It was already in July that the concert invitations with the concert programme for the Franz Liszt concert had been printed. It is most likely that Franz Liszt travelled to Rogaška Slatina over Maribor or Viltuš accompanied

⁴³ Anselm Hüttenbrenner, Theater in Graz, Grazer Zeitung, No. 100, see: *Stiria*, year IV., No. 75, 23. 6. 1846, p. 300.

⁴⁴ SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 304; a programme of the second concert had been preserved (Programmzettel in der Theaterzettelsammlung der Steiermärkischen Landesbibliothek am Joanneum, Graz, Bd. 1846).

⁴⁵ Quoted from: SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 305.

⁴⁶ The article was published in *Stiria* under the title: Liszt in Sauerbrunn bei Rohitsch, in: Grazer Zeitung, No. 114, see: *Stiria*, IV., No. 86, 18. 7. 1846, p. 343.

by Lannoy.⁴⁷ If we are to look at the guest book of the spa in Rogaška Slatina, we can see that Liszt's arrival is registered on the 23rd of July, and Vienna being the city from which he came from. The book also reveals that he had been accompanied by a servant and that »artist« had been stated as his profession.⁴⁸ The guest book also gives insight to the people who were actually present at the concert, which Liszt held two days after. The guests of the spa, who were probably also present at the concert, were among others the district commissioner of Maribor, Kriehuber and the district commissioner of Celje, Schmelzer. A great number of guests came from the neighbouring Croatia, who had then allured him to a concert in Zagreb. The manorial lord, Mr Jelachich with his family and the goldsmith Nikolič from Zagreb were also among the guests coming from Croatia.⁴⁹ The guests of the concert or the spa came from Trieste, Klagenfurt, Vienna, Ljubljana, Graz, and the nearby cities of Krapina, Celje, and Maribor.⁵⁰

After Liszt had arrived at the spa town, he took one or two days off to rest. The fact should not be overlooked that, before his stay in Rogaška Slatina, he had already stayed in the popular Imperial Spa in Baden Baden. He performed a concert at the famous *Anna's ball* which took place on the 25th of July, on the evening before Saint Anne's day. *Anna's ball* was considered the highlight of the »spa season«⁵¹ in the then popular spa.⁵²

Lannoy wrote an exhausting report on the concert in Rogaška Slatina on the 3rd of August from Viltuš. The report was published in the *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* on the 14th of August.⁵³ Liszt's concert started at 5 p.m. The concert programme reveals that the guests could enjoy a good hour of the concert performed by the virtuoso at the piano. At this occasion, the central hall called the *Kursaal*⁵⁴ had provisionally been opened to the public. The hall was adorned with paintings of golden floral wreaths and equipped with majestic chandeliers that illuminated the dance hall until late in the night.⁵⁵

At the concert, Liszt stuck to the programme which had been published in the *Stiria*. In the end, he also played Schubert's *Hungarian Melodies* as the encore, with which he had roused many Hungarian guests, who came to the concert from Zagreb. Between 500 and 600 gld.k.v⁵⁶ were raised at the concerts concerned. The

⁴⁷ In this period, Eduard Lannoy is not to be found among the guests of Rogaška Slatina. But on the other hand the report on the concert in Zagreb speaks of Eduard Lannoy's presence at the concert. See: Franjo Liszt u Zagrebu, in: Danica Ilirska, year XII, No. 32, 8th of August, 1846.

⁴⁸ Sadly, the data regarding the room was not entered. See: CVELFAR, B. 2002, p. 366.

⁴⁹ The concert was probably also visited by the Mr Jos. Horvat, a merchant from Zagreb; on the evening before the concert Mr. Svagel, the first mayor and Mr. Merovar, both higher fiscals from Croatia, arrived. See: CVELFAR, B. 2002, p. 367.

⁵⁰ CVELFAR, B. 2002, pp. 366–367.

⁵¹ It is most probable that after the year 1848 one more dance was added, to celebrate the birthday of his majesty, Emperor Franz Joseph I, 18. 8. See: ŽIŽEK, A., CVELFAR, B., MLACOVIČ, D. 2003, p. 37.

⁵² The development of the spa in the first decade of the 19th century was probably on the initiative of the Styrian Governor Count Ferdinand Attems and his son- his successor the governor Ignatius Attems, the Grand Duke Janez, the abbot from Admont Gotthard Kugelmeyer and the abbot from Rein Ludwig Crophius Kaisersieg. See: CVELFAR, B. 2002, p. 6.

⁵³ The article was published in the column *Nachrichten aus Provinzstädten*, where Lannoy had already written about the concert in Maribor. This time he wrote a report on both concerts, the one in Rogaška Slatina and in Zagreb with the title: Liszt in Sauerbrunn bei Rohitsch und in Agram, in: *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 14., 15. 8. 1846, No. 194 and 195.

⁵⁴ The second spa centre was built for 15 years; during the years 1844 and 1859. The main part, where the concert of Franz Liszt took place, was called the *Kursaal*, since the year 1847, when the spa was also visited by the Emperor Ferdinand and Empress Anna; named also Ferdinand's Hall. The Ferdinand's Hall was built during the years 1844–1845. The right wing, also called the *Kaffeehaus* or. House No. 13 was built during the years 1845 – 47; the left wing, also called the *Traiteurie* or *Restauration*, was built during the 1856–1857. The left wing or House No. 2 was reconstructed in the year 1859. See: REŽEK, A. 1964, p. 101.

⁵⁵ Hinko Druzovič reports that Liszt also performed on a concert in Rogaška Slatina in the year 1847, in the times of the visit by the Emperor Ferdinand and Empress Anna and Grand Duke Janez on the 21st of August. This is not probable since during this time Liszt had returned from his tour, which had lead him all the way to Constantinople. In August he was on his way back, but held concerts in Odessa in August and September. See: WALKER, A. 1987, pp. 427–442.

⁵⁶ *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 14., 15. 8. 1846, No. 194 and 195, p. 780.

exhausting report⁵⁷ on the concert reports that the atmosphere at the concert had been, just like at the concert in Maribor, »Liszt-like«. Lannoy devoted some lines to the popular spa of Rogaška Slatina, where wine is mixed with water and produces champagne; but he also warned that the latter should be consumed only according to the prescriptions of the doctor; otherwise it could have damaging effects. Liszt's friend ascertains the benefits of the completion of the Semmering pass,⁵⁸ which will enable the development of these relatively unknown places the contact with Vienna. He is extremely exasperated with the bad service, and would preferably see if the servers were brought from Frankfurt or Vienna. According to Lannoy, the service was too slow, while the food was sometimes good, and sometimes second-rate.⁵⁹ For more tourist information he recommends the recent description of Styria by Seidel.⁶⁰ Lannoy, as a »child« of Goethe and immeasurable admiration of nature, of all beautiful and good, was obviously not in the state of expressing everything with words as he stated: »One cannot depict everything with words.«⁶¹ He states that Liszt follows his genius, his education, his soul, and heart when creating music. When he plays by heart, Liszt shows his purified taste and knowledge about regarding the melody which originates from his self-consciousness. We should not yet judge or damn him as a composer, but we ought to give him time so that he can join the musical greats like Beethoven, Mozart, Weber, and Rossini.⁶²

On the next morning (26th of August) Liszt and Lannoy and most likely the guests from Zagreb had set out towards the capital of Croatia. On their way, they stopped at Count Denis Sermage in Oroslavje near the city of Krapina, who accompanied them to Zagreb.⁶³

When Liszt came to Zagreb, he accommodated himself at the hotel *Zum Kaiser von Oesterreich*. At 11 p.m. the local music society, which had been led by Wiesner von Morgenstern, organised a serenade in his honour. At this occasion, they also performed Lannoy's overture *Ein Uhr*, since he was also an honorary member of the *Musikverein* (Music Society). The next morning, the society also awarded Liszt with a diploma, with which he had been granted honourable membership. Liszt and Lannoy met up with the group of Hungarians with which they have already disported themselves in Rogaška Slatina and talked about the theatre, singers, actors, and dancers. Lannoy then passed the day by abandoning himself to the beauties of Zagreb, for which he had foretold a bright future. He visited the summer residence of the bishop; the cathedral, he walked through the promenades of Zagreb, which he recommended to every visitor of the city. He also visited Ljudevit Gaj with whom he spent one hour. As regards to Gaj, Lannoy said that he strived for the Croats to get to know their country which could become a true paradise. Gaj collected European literature so he would be able to enlighten the greater masses. But Lannoy's opinion on that matter was the following: »This is a beautiful goal, which is unfortunately skipped over many times: Some would like to drag the human race down to the world of animals; others want to form the humanity into angels, the truth lies in the middle. How beautiful and also hard it is to be a human truly.«⁶⁴

⁵⁷ After Lannoy's report in the *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, from the 15th of August, just a week after, thus on the 22nd of August, an offended writing is published in the *Stiria* regarding the report on the tour of Franz Liszt in Styria and its surroundings. The author was none other than the then editor of *Stiria* at that time Franz Ostfeller, who sadly writes: ...hier erlauben wir uns eine kleine Bemerkung. Was verdient Herr Lißt dafür, dass – die Redaktion der Grazer Zeitung mehrmals für ihn ersucht wurde: seine Concerte öffentlich zu annoncieren, aber nicht die Ehre hatte, Herrn Lißt bei sich zu sehen oder ein Wort des Dankes von seiner Seite für ihre Bemühung zu hören? Jeder Mensch arbeitet für Etwas; wenn nun der Redakteur Annoncen und Annoncen schreibt, um einem ohnehin so reichen und verehrten Manne noch mehr Gold und Lorbern sammeln zu helfen, so dürfte es für Herren Lißt keine so große Erniedrigung sein, wenn er manchmal auch zu einem Provinz Redakteur bloß die wenigen Worte spräche: »Mein Herr, Ich danke Ihnen.«. Danken ist Schuldigkeit für jeden Gruß, und für Herren Lißt ist eine kräftige Annonce, die durch eine ganze Provinz schallt, gewiss ein ehrenhafter Gruß, an dem ihm doch gelegen zu sein scheint, wenn auch nur durch dritte Hand darum ersucht wird. Künftig werden wir derlei Höflichkeit Ergebnisse jederzeit öffentlich bekannt machen. In: *Grazer Zeitung*, No. 134, in: *Stiria*, IV, No. 101 (22. 8. 1846), p. 403, article Franz Lißt. This writing is to be understood in the context of Lannoy's report on the concert in Maribor where he apologizes to the newspaper *Grazer Zeitung* regarding his unreadable writing. Obviously, conflicts arose already back then, since the report from Maribor was not published in the *Stiria* or the *Grazer Zeitung*, but in the *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*.

⁵⁸ The Semmering pass was finished in the year 1854. See: BOGIĆ, M. 1998, p. 7.

⁵⁹ *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 14., 15. 8. 1846, No. 194 and 195, p. 780.

⁶⁰ Johann Gabriel Seidl published the work *Wanderung durch Tyrol und Steyermark* in the year 1840. The book obviously caught on well with the readers.

⁶¹ *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 14., 15. 8. 1846, No. 194 and 195, p. 780.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

The beginning of Liszt's concert was at 8 p.m. The event had been recorded by a reporter from the newspaper *Danica Ilirska*: »Because we are in the habit of providing our readers with information regarding every extraordinary event that occurs in the fields of science and art and is in any way related to our homeland, we cannot miss the opportunity to talk about this famous artist on the fortepiano, who elated us with his concert on the 27th of the previous month. He arrived at our city on the 26th of the past month in the company of Mister Baron Lannoy, a renowned music expert and the former director of the Viennese Music Society. He accommodated himself at the hotel *Kod austrijskog cara*, where he was greeted by a great number of art lovers. On that very evening, the local music society organised a magnificent serenade in his honour, which, until now, Zagreb had never been fortunate to witness. The musical works that were performed by the honourable society for the famous virtuoso were classical and carried out with such precision and skill that the renown guests could not restrain themselves and expressed their contentment from their windows by uninterrupted applauding. While the listeners were shouting »long live«, Mister Liszt came from the hotel to the artists and thanked them with heartfelt words for such great honour that they have bestowed on him. Such recognition of our music society, which consists solely of native musicians and can also pride itself with a good many of excellent performers, brings great joy to our hearts and gives us the occasion to ask all our local moguls to support this institution, which brings us suchlike glory, as much as possible...«⁶⁵

In the time of Liszt's visit, the column *Musikalischer Telegraph* of the *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* published an unsigned writing, which had been written precisely during the time of Liszt's visit to Zagreb.⁶⁶ The article summarises the report which had been published in the supplement *Luna* of the newspaper *Agramer Politische Zeitung* and states the following: »On the fly, we can only report that, here too, Liszt's tremendous master at the piano; the throughout brilliant, hearts storming character of his playing had received the same appreciation, and caused the same wide-eyed veneration, which had been bestowed everywhere, in the city where one was so happy to hear him.«⁶⁷

Until this point, the public of Zagreb could follow Liszt solely through descriptions, which was the reason why it had been particularly grateful and excited regarding his concert. The reporter recorded the ovations in a very lively manner: »... the applause was stormy, lasting, and exceptionally warm, so that Liszt himself, the one who is crowned with fame and used to the greatest triumphs, had expressed great courteousness towards his environment;«⁶⁸ while the artist is being described as: »So new, so surprising, so without any imaginable comparison is the effect of Liszt's perfect art, that after hearing his genius playing only once, one almost does not dare to render account about the impact which it creates, and is much less able to portray it precisely.«⁶⁹ At the end of the Liszt's concert, thousands of voices had thanked him for the concert by shouting »long live«.

Not even a month after the concert had taken place, the atmosphere at the concert is described by an unknown reporter again in the prestige Viennese newspaper *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* (on the 20th of August), stating that we cannot say that: »he (Liszt) plays the piano,« but one must say that »he plays with the piano.«⁷⁰ When he performed the musical work *Norma*, he played »so boldly, do mighty, as he was a thrusting Titan, and then again in such an elegiac manner, so melancholic, just like the Ladies in an English storybook.«⁷¹ When he performed Beethoven's *Sonate pathétique*, he immersed the music experts in particular. The concert lasted for two hours, and a mutual love had developed between the performer and the audience.⁷²

Eduard Lannoy gave a deeper insight into the events which had occurred during the concert. Liszt performed: *Réminiscences de la Norma*, adapted by Franz Liszt, Schubert's *Die Forelle (The Trout)*, Rossini's *La Serenata*, Schubert's *Lob der Thränen (In Praise of Tears)*, which had been followed by *Souvenirs d'Espagne*, and at the

⁶⁵ *Danica Ilirska*, year XII, No. 32, 8. 8. 1846.

⁶⁶ *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 3. 8. 1846, No. 184, p. 736.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 20. 8. 1846, No. 199, p. 796.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

end his own musical work *Grand galop chromatique*.⁷³ At the end of the concert, the editor of the newspaper from Zagreb called the *Agramer politische Zeitung*,⁷⁴ Franz Stauduar read a poem devoted to Franz Liszt.⁷⁵ The next day (on the 28th of July), Liszt and Lannoy, accompanied by Count Denis Saramage and the talented Mr Kovachich, who had, besides Staudar, wonderfully hosted Franz Liszt set out towards Rogaška Slatina over the town Oroslavje.⁷⁶ In Rogaška Slatina, the gentlemen enjoyed listening to Hungarian songs and dances.⁷⁷ Then, Liszt left Rogaška and travelled to Vienna over Maribor and Graz.⁷⁸ He held his next concert in Ödenburg (Sopron) at the Great Hall of the Casino.⁷⁹ He gave the collected earnings to the poor. At this occasion, he also visited his birthplace Raiding.⁸⁰ The report on the tour in Rogaška Slatina and Zagreb was written by Lannoy at his estate Viltuš on the 3rd of August.⁸¹ Liszt's tour which encompassed the cities Graz, Maribor, Rogaška Slatina, and Zagreb and was organised by Baron Lannoy was well covered by reports of the local press, as well as the central newspaper of the monarchy regarding culture, *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*. Hüttenbrenner was the one who reported directly about Liszt's concerts in Graz and published his report in the supplement of the newspaper. Lannoy did not report on the concerts which Liszt had held in Graz in the *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*. But he did announce the concerts in the *Grazer Zeitung* or better said the *Stiria*, where he had probably provided a big advertise for the concert in Maribor. The concert in Maribor was covered by the regular reporter who had reported on the events from the capital of Lower Styria, Rudolff Gustav Puff. Baron Lannoy had written an exhaustive report on the concerts in Maribor, Rogaška Slatina, and Zagreb in the *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, where we can also notice yet another report by an unknown writer about Liszt's concert in Zagreb. The newspapers *Danica Ilirska* and *Agramer politische Zeitung* also reported on the latter concert.

THE LAST CONTACTS BETWEEN LISZT AND LANNOY

Franz Liszt and Lannoy had kept in contact even after their tour. In a letter, which Liszt wrote to his mother on the 22nd of October in 1846, he states that she will receive a visit from his Viennese friends Mr and Mrs Lannoy.⁸²

The names of the Baron as well as of the Baroness are also to be found on the silver music stand that had been made in the year 1858,⁸³ thus five years after Count Lannoy's passing. (Image 2) The music stand was dedicated to Liszt by his friends from Vienna and Pest. The middle of the music stand is adorned with a profile portrait of Liszt, which was made after the medallion by Antoine Bovy, and framed with different musical instruments. Under the portrait, we can see a baroque cartouche with engraved vedutas of Pest and Vienna with the inscription in the banderols: »FRANZ LISZT« »SYMPHONIE-FESTMESSE-FANTASIE-TRANSCRIPT«. On

⁷³ The concert programme was issued in different variations. The first report is to be found in the *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, on the 3rd of August, where the reporter reports, in the column *Musikalischer Telegraph*, directly about the concert. We find out that, at the end of his concert, Liszt performed Schubert's *Erlkönig*. The same newspaper also published Lannoy's report under the title: Liszt in Sauerbrunn bei Rohitsch und in Agram, on the 14th/15th of August, where he mentions that Liszt concluded his concert with his work *Gallop chromatique*. Yet another report follows, published on the 20th of August, which states that the second work which Liszt had performed, thus following *Norma*, was Beethoven's *Sonate pathétique*. See: *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 3. 8. 1846, No. 184, p. 736, 14. and 15. 8. 1846, No. 194 and 195, p. 780, 20. 8. 1846, No. 199, p. 796.

⁷⁴ The newspaper was published during the years 1830 and 1848; after 1848 it was renamed into *Agramer Zeitung*.

⁷⁵ »An Franz Liszt: Was die Menschenbrust nur ahnend fühlt, / Was kein Wort dem Sinn vermag zu beuten, / Was, verständlich nur dem kunstgeweichten//Geiste, hehrer Poesie entquillt: / Offenbart der Genius der Töne, / Der in rauschend füßer Harmonie / Gleich geheimer Sphären=Poesie, / Dem Gefühl enthüllt das Ewig Schöne, und Du bist der hohenpriester Einer, / Der, der Kraft und Sendung Dir bewusst, / Mit der Harmonien Götterust / Uns berauscht, begeistert, wie noch Keiner. / Was Dein gottbefeuert Spiel verkündet, / Was so mächtig Deine Brust burchglüht, / Sie gewiss: in unserem Gemüth / Es ein waches, reges Echo findet.« See: *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 14., 15. 8. 1846, No. 194 and 195, p. 780.

⁷⁶ The company is not to be found in the guest book in Rogaška Slatina.

⁷⁷ *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 14., 15. 8. 1846, No. 194 and 195, p. 780.

⁷⁸ *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 20. 8. 1846, No. 199, p. 796.

⁷⁹ For the exhaustive report on the concert see: *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 21. 8. 1846, No. 200, p. 800

⁸⁰ *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 14., 15. 8. 1846, No. 194 and 195, p. 780. WALKER, A. 1987, p. 429.

⁸¹ *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*, 14., 15. 8. 1846, No. 194 and 1195, p. 780.

⁸² »In wenigen Tagen werden Sie den Besuch von herrn Baron und Frau Baronin Lannoy erhalten, die zu meinen besten Wiener Freunden zählen. Ich empfehle sie Ihnen angelegentlich und wünsche, dass Sie ihnen die zuvorkommendste Liebenswürdigkeit erweisen«, in: La Mara, F. Liszts Briefe an seine Mutter. Leipzig, 1918, quoted from: SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 301, footnote 3.

⁸³ The silver music stand is in the possession of the Hungarian National Museum, but is exhibited at the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre in Budapest. The music stand is equipped with the inventory number: HNM 1887.41.24.

the top of the pedestals we can see the bust of Beethoven, further down, on the left side the bust of Franz Schubert, and on the right the bust of Carl Maria Weber;⁸⁴ both of them carried by angels. The stylized legs of the latter mentioned end in candelabras. The mentioned trio of depicted artist made the greatest impression on Liszt, and he also played their musical works at his concerts on a regular basis. One must not overlook the fact that a picture of Beethoven had adorned the wall of the house where he was born in Raiding, that he played his works as a child, and that he had taken over the organization and collecting of contributions for the erection of his statue in Bonn.⁸⁵ 133 names of Liszt's fans are engraved in alphabetical order at the lower edge of the music stand. These fans were aristocrats and patrons, who were connected to the musical virtuoso. Among these names, one should make mention of Liszt's best friend in Hungary Antal Augusz; Liszt's music professor Carl Czerny, the conductor and court organist Ignaz Assmayer, the composer Josef Dessauer, the violin player Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, the piano player and also one of Czerny's students Josef Fischhof, and the piano player Theodor Leschitzky. Among the donators, we also find the piano makers Bösendorfer, Conrad Graf, Schwighofer, Johann Baptist Streicher; as well as the publishers August Artari, the Haslinger family, Carl Mechetti, and Spin Vater. Amongst his supporters, we also find Liszt's uncle, the attorney Dr Eduard Liszt, Liszt secretary Gaetano Belloni and the lithograph artist Kriehuber who had depicted the majority of the musicians of his time. We also find Baron and Baroness Lannoy; Count Felix Lichnowsky, the Counts Esterházy, and many other.⁸⁶ The donations started to be collected already in the year 1846; the gift was then presented to him in the year 1858 in Vienna, whereby Ignaz Assmayer played the role of the keynote speaker.⁸⁷ Liszt also mentions the festive moment when he had been presented the gift in his letter to Princess Carolyn Sayn Wittgenstein, dated 16th of April, 1858: »The famous music stand was presented to me the day before yesterday, at 5 o'clock, and it was Assmayer in his quality of Hofkapellmeister who undertook the address, to which I answered by a simple 'thank you'. However, I added my wish to produce soon some works worthy of being offered as an homage to the three Patrons of music: Beethoven, Weber and Schubert, whose busts seem to command me to go on my own way and perform my task.«⁸⁸

In the times before the March Revolution, Lannoy had regularly been active on the stages of the *Concerts Spirituels*. The last concert was held in the time after the outbreak of the March Revolution on the 13th of April in 1848. The programme included Lannoy's musical work *Kriegslied für die Österreichische Nationalgarde*, and *Trauermarsch für die am 13. März Gefallenen* by Alfred Julius Becher. This concert represented



Image 2: The silver music stand from Liszt's estate, 1858, Hungarian National Museum, Inv. No. HNM 1887.41.24.

⁸⁴ The first publications have initially described Chopin instead of Weber. See: ECKHARDT, M. 2008, p. 61

⁸⁵ WALKER, A. 1987, pp. 60, 269–273.

⁸⁶ I would sincerely like to thank my colleague from the Regional Museum Maribor, Dr Valentina Bevc Varl for the disclosure and directive regarding the names of Baron and Baroness Lannoy. I would also like to thank Anna Peternák from the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre in Budapest regarding additional information on the object.

⁸⁷ ECKHARDT, M. 2008, p. 61.

⁸⁸ LA MARA, 1899, volume IV., letter No. 317, p. 432. Available on: <https://archive.org/details/franzlisztsbrief04lisz> (quoted: 20.4. 2016).

the end of the Concerts Spirituels in the city. Lannoy had withdrawn from public life. He died on the 29th of March in the year 1853 in Vienna after he had suffered a stroke. The commemoration of the exceptional musician was held at the Agustinian Church in Vienna. »His« beloved newspaper *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* also paid tribute to his memory with an obituary.⁸⁹ It is most likely that Liszt and Lannoy met in Vienna in the year 1848, when Liszt visited the revolutionary events in the Habsburg capital.

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FRANZ LISZT IN EDUARD VON LANNOY NA MALI EVROPSKI TURNEJI LETA 1846: GRADEC–MARIBOR–ROGAŠKA SLATINA–ZAGREB

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

V prispevku je obravnavana turneja Franza Liszta v poletnih mesecih leta 1846, ko je koncertiral v Gradcu, Mariboru, Rogaški Slatini in Zagrebu. V članku izpostavljam reportaže znanih glasbenih kritikov, kot je Anselm Hüttenbrenner iz Gradca ter barona Eduarda Lannoyja, ki je celotno »turnejo« tudi organiziral. Obsežne reportažne zapise o glasbenem življenju na Štajerskem in v Zagrebu je Eduard Lannoy objavljaval v dunajskem časopisu *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* in v *Stirii*, prilogi časnika *Grazer Zeitung*, ki sta redno objavljala družabno kroniko v rubriki *Nachrichten aus Provinzstädten*.

POVZETEK

Franz Liszt je v poletnih mesecih leta 1846 koncertiral v Gradcu, Mariboru, Rogaški Slatini in Zagrebu. Izhodišče za koncerte po osrednjem in jugovzhodnem delu monarhije je bil Dunaj, ki se je takrat glasbeno razživel. Koncerti so v obdonavski prestolnici potekali v prostorih Glasbenega društva, samostojno organizacijo koncertov pa je prevzel krog prijateljev v okviru tako imenovanih *concerts spirituel*. Ena osrednjih glasbenih osebnosti na Dunaju med letoma 1820 in 1848 je bil prav gotovo tudi baron Eduard Lannoy, ki je v vročih poletnih mesecih bival na svojem posestvu v Viltušu pri Mariboru, koncertni del sezone pa je preživel na Dunaju. Eduard Lannoy se je na Dunaju uveljavil kot skladatelj, vodja glasbenega konservatorija, organizator koncertov, kot glasbeni kritik in stalni dopisnik osrednjega kulturnega časopisa monarhije *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* ter kot pisec pesmi in glasbenega dela v delu *Aesthetisches Lexikon*. Ko je Franz Liszt spomladi 1846 prišel na Dunaj, ga je Lannoy prepričal, da bi imel koncerte v Gradcu, Mariboru, Rogaški Slatini in Zagrebu. Turneja Franza Liszta je imela v teh mestih velik odmev. Odzvali so se lokalni pisci. V Mariboru je o koncertu poročal mestni kronist in gimnazijski profesor Rudolf Gustav Puff, ki je poročilo o koncertu objavil v *Stirii*, kulturni prilogi časnika *Grazer Zeitung*, iz Gradca pa je o koncertu poročal glasbeni kritik Anselm Hüttenbrenner. Novice o koncertu v Mariboru, Rogaški Slatini in Zagrebu je Eduard Lannoy objavil tudi v dunajskem časopisu *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*. Franz Liszt in Lannoy sta stike ohranjala tudi pozneje. Liszt v pismu materi 22. oktobra 1846 pravi, da jo bosta obiskala dunajska prijatelja gospod in gospa Lannoy.

Imeni barona in baronice Lannoy sta zapisani tudi na srebrnem stojalu za note, narejenem leta 1858, torej pet let po Lannoyjevi smrti. Stojalo je glasbenemu virtuozu Franzu Lisztu podarilo 133 prijateljev z Dunaja in iz Pešte. Na njem najdemo imena ljudi, kot so izdelovalec klavirjev Bösendorfer, Lisztov stric in cenjeni dvorni odvetnik Eduard Liszt, litograf Kriehuber, ki je upodobil domala celoten dunajski glasbeni svet, grof Felix Lichnowsky, grofje Esterházy in mnogi drugi. Vidno ganjen je o darilu pisal tudi princesi Carolyn Sava Wittgenstein.

LISZT'S CONCERT PROGRAM IN GRAZ, MARIBOR AND ROGAŠKA SLATINA IN 1846 – COMPOSITIONAL REVIEW AND INSIGHTS

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ABSTRACT

Liszt's *piano solo recitals* (his invention: *soliloquio*) in Graz, Maribor and Rogaška Slatina (1846) coincide with the peak and the end of his first creative (until 1847). Standing out strongly here is Liszt's unsurpassable virtuosity which unjustly overshadows Liszt-the-composer. He composed his recital programs almost exclusively of paraphrases (*reminiscences*) and transcriptions of works by other composers. Of independent compositions, he only performed *Galop Chromatique*. The article analytically points at Liszt-the-innovator of musical language in the light of recital programs of the tour to Styria in 1846.

KEY WORDS

Franz Liszt composer, Franz Liszt recitals, Liszt transcriptions and paraphrases, *Galop Chromatique*, Franz Liszt and Graz, Maribor, Rogaška Slatina

Liszt's concert tour to Styria – Graz, Maribor and Rogaška Slatina – in 1846 fortunately coincides with the peak but, at the same time, the end of his first creative period. His long creative period of life can – namely – be divided in three major segments.¹ The first period consists primarily of studies in Vienna and in Paris, which continues spontaneously into a decade and a half of concert recital tours all over Europe, and ends in Elisabethgrad in September of 1847.² Bound closely onto it is the second, the so-called Weimar period of Liszt's ripe years (1847/8–1861) when Liszt the conductor as well as, ever stronger, the composer comes to the front. This creative segment of life spontaneously shifts into the third and last, the so-called Roman period (1861–1886), designated by Liszt himself as a 'three-legged life', since he was in fact torn again between Rome, Budapest, and, of course, Weimar and Bayreuth, where he concluded his life pilgrimage.

The triple division seems to reflect the main milestones in Liszt's life, but is also highly accurate in our case when observing Liszt as a composer in the light of his concert program on his tour across Styria in 1846. Since they are among the last concerts of Liszt's first creative period, the concert program in Graz, Maribor and Rogaška Slatina of 1846 is also meaningful in shedding light on Liszt's entire creative character. Today, being able to watch Liszt's creative opus from a distant viewpoint in time, a lot is clearer to us than it could had been to his contemporaries and himself as he was putting together the mosaic of his poliedric creative path. We observe one of its small stones in this discussion.

While he had playfully made fun of himself with the well-known self-ironic slogan 'half gipsy, half Franciscan', he has thus told us a lot about himself. »Gipsydom« expresses his constant moving on the brink of homelessness. And the »Franciscan« aims at his strong inner sense, that he is called to become the »missionary« of the new music, the one in concert halls as much as the one within churches. In 1862, he wrote to his friend Blondel in a letter as follows: »After I have in Germany, in main traits and as much as was possible, completed the task I had set myself in the symphonic field, I now want to complete the task of sacred musician as well«. Liszt's³ running around Europe and compositional searches of new ways can also be seen through the prism of this insight.

¹ Division of Liszt's creative life is summarized after the three volume biography that still remains the ground work. See: WALKER, A. 1983, 1989, 1997.

² See: Letter to Aleksander Seroff of 14th of September 1847.

³ Letter to Blondel, 8th of November 8, 1862. See: GUT, S. 1986, p. 426.

Wherever he appeared, Liszt was both as a man as well as an artist distinctly focused on the social environment. The programs of his concert tours reflect this trait too: in spite of a strong egotypical character, he was constantly focused on others. Precisely this human basis of his is likely of key importance when we want to trickle into Liszt-the-artist in its various nuances. However, we shall only touch Liszt-the-man where it can shed light upon a certain artistic and foremost compositional insight, which is of our sole interest here.

FRANZ LISZT – A VIRTUOSO PIANIST AND CONDUCTOR OR MAINLY A MISUNDERSTOOD COMPOSER?

Approximate beginning of the serried period of Liszt's pianist tours all over Europe (from Portugal to Russia and even Turkey) can be set in the year 1838. From Venice – through Trieste, where he also gave concerts⁴ – Liszt continued his trip to Vienna with the main intention to play a series of concerts and make a transcription of Beethoven's Pastoral symphony.⁵ Tied to this event was the second string of charitable concerts for his Hungarian fellow countrymen who were victims of grave floods by the Danube that year. Both have ultimately affirmed his renown as an exceptional pianist.

A step forward was giving concerts in Italy in 1839 where he was especially touched by his stay in Rome. It seems that it was exactly Italy where he so-to-speak invented his form of '*piano solo recital*',⁶ named '*soliloquio*'⁷ or monologue on this occasion: he created by himself and without participating musicians a comprehensive concert music event. The strength of such Liszt's recitals is best illustrated by Berlioz' claim that Liszt could rightly claim: »I am the orchestra! I am the choir! I am the orchestra conductor too!«⁸ Thus, Berlioz concisely expressed the novelty and the essence, not that much of the then Liszt-the-pianist, but pointing out the composer and improviser. If anyone, Berlioz could realize that, hiding behind Liszt's virtuosity, there was above all a sensitive composer, using his brilliant pianism mainly for expressional purposes even when animating on the piano the works of known and unknown composers in transcriptions, paraphrases and variations. This trait was not even overshadowed by a certain intentional scenic impression Liszt liked to stage advantageously with the purpose of charming the audience (but to the detriment of himself). He particularly liked to do this when faced with a less musically educated environment. All his recital programs from 1839–1847 are too full with such occurrences. Even the programs in Graz, Maribor and Rogaška Slatina are no exception.

There is another view of Liszt's innovativeness in regard to the composition of his recital programs that we need to point out. Namely, Liszt is one of those who was first to not only draw contemporary composers to his creative space of *solo recitals*, but also the ones that were stylistically more distant in time, which happened almost for the first time in the history of music. Refusal of the 'old' by the 'modern' was experienced about a decade earlier by old J. S. Bach even by his sons. Miscellaneous denotations by the 'modern' like 'ars antiqua' are more polemical than stylistic in nature. Here too, Liszt took a different path and expanded his own horizons as well as those of others.

Liszt's piano *virtuosity* (wherein he even overshadowed his idol Paganini) is what marked him the most in public during his first creative period and formed him a worldwide fame as one of the greatest pianists of all time. This fame is alive to this day. But it was precisely the indelible seal of pianistically unsurpassable virtuoso that obscured his other layers of creative genius, among them exactly that of Liszt-the-composer. This virtuosity of Liszt is very likely one of the – now difficult to understand – causes that all too many pianists misunderstand his piano music and therefore often perform it poorly and incorrectly, if not distort it. Composers are just fatally tied to the performers and excellent music loses all content in poor execution. Michele Campanella, perhaps one of the greatest living experts on Liszt's piano music and at the same time an excellent pianist himself, warns about this.⁹ Campanella has perceptively pointed to (Aristotelian) syllogism in regard to Liszt's piano music:

⁴ He gave concert in Trieste on 26th of October 1838 together with singer Caroline Unger whom he met as a boy 17 years earlier in Vienna. WALKER, A. 1983, p. 280.

⁵ Concerts in Vienna took place between 19th of November and 14th of December 1838. See: WALKER, A. 1983, p. 280.

⁶ CAMPANELLA, M. 2011, p. 27.

⁷ GUT, S. 1986, p. 425.

⁸ GUT, S. 1986, p. 426.

⁹ His teacher was the known Italian innovator of piano technique Vincenzo Vitale.

Major: Liszt is a virtuoso.

Minor: Virtuosity is speed.

Conclusion: Liszt is speed.¹⁰

It goes to prove that such composite reasoning (or syllogism) has misled generations of pianists and is perhaps the main culprit for a widespread misunderstanding of Liszt's music in general. Despite the importance that is only being discovered in full today.

Every composing reflects the composer's personality as a whole, it is his mirror. This is especially true for Liszt. Therefore, to only see Liszt as a skilled 'circus' virtuoso was the greatest injustice done to him by numerous, also resounding names of friends, already during his lifetime, and later by a series of musicologists, aesthetes and music historians.¹¹ We would stray too far if we delved into the otherwise well-known polemic with the 'Neudeutsche Schule' composers of Liszt's and Wagner's circle, triggered by their contemporary Edward Hanslik (1825–1904).¹² But that was not the only culprit for the misunderstanding of Liszt-the-composer that has persisted until this day. Having been unjustly ideologically tied to Wagner's German nationalism, even though Liszt was a pure-blooded cosmopolitan, harmed him up until the late 20th century. Price for any ideology is always to the detriment of truth, even in history of music and musicology. Probably the biggest culprit, not that uncommon among musicologists, music historians, and also among artists (pianists and conductors), is the concealed intellectual arrogance, hiding a deficit of independent in-depth research insights. The copy-paste method is no consequence of modern computer programs and online networks, but was present long before the invention of computers, even in scientific circles. When learning about, evaluating, and judging Liszt's opus, a wide in-depth insight in all his creative layers is needed.

It follows clearly from what was stated, that along Liszt the virtuoso, indivisibly coexisting within are above all Liszt-the-composer and prophet of the new style, but also Liszt the improvising¹³ pianist (something even topmost pianists are no longer able to do today), alongside Chopin an inventor of new piano technique possibilities and, during Weimar years, a *pro bono* piano teacher to a number of pianists (Bronsart, Bülow, Tausig, Sgambati, Albeniz, Sauer, D'Albert, Sophie Menter etc.), a tireless and ambitious animator of raising the level of musical culture in Europe (Weimar years, sacred music field during the years in Rome) and with the same purpose the founder of 'pan-German Music Society), Liszt the conductor and choirmaster, Liszt the propagandist of unknown composers' music (including Wagner), furthermore Liszt-the-evolutionary and Liszt-the-saintsimonist (supporter of the French Christian-socialist movement), Liszt the personally true believer of the Catholic version of Christianity (he even became a brother), but most of all Liszt the curious collector of the live musical beat in all forms – from saloons and concert halls to the simplest countryside, and we could continue listing. We can find all this condensed in a single crystal with Liszt. Quandaries of musicologists and performers take root here. There is no need to point out that such a broad multiplicity brought him more harm than good with his contemporaries. Afterall, it is known that great people can easily understand the little ones, while the little can never understand the great. Liszt graphically expressed this in a letter to Ödönu (Edmund) Mihalović (1842–1929), complaining that the whole world was against him, Catholics, Protestants,

¹⁰ CAMPANELLA, M. 2011, p. 158.

¹¹ Very harsh judgements were given by the Schumann spouses. Clara Schumann in her diary in 1851: »He played with a diabolic bravura ..., but his compositions are genuinely terrifying.« R. Schumann on B-minor Sonata that Liszt dedicated to him: »Only blind noise, not a single healthy idea, just confusion, not a single clear harmonical sequence, on top of which I have to thank him. Awful indeed.« Similarly harsh judgements while wrapped in praise are stated by Ch. Rosen in chapter on Liszt in *The Romantic Generation*, pp. 472–541. Similarly Italian Massimo Mila. A lot more balanced are judgements by e.g. A. Einstein in *Music in the Romantic Era*, 1949 (2. rev. edition).

¹² Hanslik was 14 years younger than Liszt. As he was becoming professor at the department of history of music in Vienna, he wanted to use Liszt's fame by having him write the preface to the book 'Vom Musikalisch-Schönen' (1854). Liszt thus knew the contents before it was published and easily perceived a huge gap between his own and Hanslik's views in regard to 'musical poems' that Liszt was conceiving at the time. He clearly avoided writing the preface. This only escalated the polemic including attacks in later reprints. More on this: Altenburg D., Vom poetisch Schönen – F. Liszts Auseinandersetzungen mit der Musikästetik E. Hanslicks, in: *Ars Musica – Musica Scientia*, Festschrift Heinrich Hüschen, Köln, 1981, pp. 1–9; SUPPAN W. 1982, pp. 113–131.

¹³ On the occasion of recital in Milan Scala, the audience challenged him to »paint« the Milan cathedral by improvising on the piano. Information in: CAMPANELLA, M. 2011, p. 36.

Masons, Conservatives and Progressionists, Garibaldians and Vaticanists, not even being a composer to Bayreuth but their propagandist agent, Germans rejecting his music, as if it were French, and the French as if it were German, the Austrians perceiving it as gypsy, Hungarians as foreign, and the Jews for no reason.¹⁴ This confession alone points to Liszt's strong wish to make his way to listeners more as a composer than a virtuoso.

Liszt's pain that he was no composer even 'to Bayreuth' but merely a propagandist agent, aimed at son-in-law and (self-interested) friend Richard Wagner and daughter Cosima, discloses the entire tragic of his contemporaries' misunderstanding for Liszt the composer. Hanslik's attacks are more understandable since – apart from feelings of resentment – the one-sidedness of his ideas was by itself obvious. Despite the pain of not being understood by his closest (Wagner, Cosima, the Schumanns etc.), despite the fact that Liszt did not get the acknowledgement for his work as composer, he planned unhindered and determined. »I am in no rush to have to force among the audience, I can easily let rumours on my thirst for composing spread ... In some years, there will be a better musical environment, more understanding, more just. Until then, let us leave it in peace and thoughtfully go forward,«¹⁵ he wrote in a letter to friend Johann Herbeck. He has waited long, almost to this day.

Time distance and deeper insights into Liszt's compositional work show a completely different picture than that seen by Wagner, Cosima, the Schumanns, etc. Franz Liszt was the whole time, especially in his second and third creative period, a bannerman of progressive musical development in several segments. However, this does not come to pass overnight. He deliberately built his compositional path wherein a youthful fervor for virtuosic perfecting, invention of solo piano recitals and creation of their content design was only one of the segments of this path to composing. Let us exactly in this spot anticipate a fact overlooked to this day, that Liszt's transcriptions, Reminiscences, Fantasies and paraphrases to music by various composers are often more innovative than the works quoted, including Wagner. We encounter something similar in the history of scientific thought in Europe when a general ban on freedom of thought was in force in Middle Ages and thinkers had to hide their inventions in a literary forms of so-called 'commentaries to' one or another thinker of the past that was considered an authority. Yet still, these writings are budding with new. For us musicians, Guido d'Arezzo is a telling example of this.

The history of scientific thought proves that original thoughts and inventions are a fruit of the effort of generations, of persistent evolutions and in no way revolutions, since an (often bloody) revolutionary break is but hardly purified through evolutionary processes.¹⁶ And each individual is consciously involved in such an effort. It is characteristic of innovators that they are cheerfully curious to all that surrounds them, to all current and past insights even when these do not directly touch the object of their interest, but foremost, they can insist for long periods in doubtful situations without ever losing the thread of what they are searching for in the premonitions of their suppositions. *Quaerendo invenies* inscriptions above the enigmatic canons during Baroque point to this: if you will search, you will find. But the Latin *quaerere* initially meant 'to care for', 'love', 'desire' and not merely 'searching' in a browsing sense.

In Franz Liszt, we have a beautiful example of all the stated. From the most tender study years until his death, Liszt absorbed compositional knowledge from anyone who could teach him something. In childhood and his youth, that was Salieri in Vienna (1822), F. Paër (harmony) and A. Reicha (counterpoint) in Paris, but privately, since Cherubini was not allowed to admit him, a stranger, to the Conservatory in Paris. As a 12-year-old, he prints his first composition, Variations on Diabelli's waltz (1823), and composes his first and only opera *Don Satche ou le Château d'Amour* (1824/1825) in Paris at an early age of 14. His father's care and his own effort enabled him all the necessary basic education until his 16th year of age. Left alone with his mother in the middle of Paris after the death of his father, Liszt is a musically independent young man. From now on, he is looking for teachers by himself, similar to our Marij Kogoj. Like a bee, he absorbed knowledge from whomever he could sense compositional pollen for himself. An important period begins of independent self-identifying with the role models, the essence of every genuine personality genesis. If we are attentive readers of Liszt's biography, we can easily see that he was using the creative organ of 'admiration' all his life, not its destructive opposite 'envy'.

¹⁴ See: CHIAPPARI, L. 1987, p. 279.

¹⁵ CAMPANELLA, M. 2011, p. 107, comment 18.

¹⁶ Liszt's relationship toward the revolutionary movement is illustrative in this.

Encounters with eight years older Berlioz, whose program music enchants him, are decisive. Meeting twenty-nine years older Paganini fascinates him with virtuosity to the point that he wants to become »Paganini« on the piano. Essence of this meeting is regularly overlooked at this point: the role model's encouragement is mostly of compositional nature, though it is tested immediately in improvisations and their writing down. Inventions of finger technique for raising virtuosity – as much as they charm the sight – are merely a consequence and a means of compositional expression. Confusing compositional expression and means here can especially with Liszt prove fatal for straying in judgements on the same sideways that have done him injustice so far. Also compositionally important was meeting only one and a half year older Chopin, admiring the poetry he could lure from the piano. These were the most visible and most important characters that marked the young Liszt for life.

As an extension of admiration for these three models, Liszt's same creative organ further expands on the works of his composer contemporaries. Therefore, we read the abundance of transcriptions and paraphrases in Liszt's opus in this key. In this, it must not be ignored that with all of them, he remained self-taught. Like a Carthusian, he meditated each work and the composer's inspiration within in solitude and then poured it into his composition through his own prism. Both moments – composer's inspiration and Liszt's paraphrased 'translation' in his own musical language – are therefore of decisive meaning in his reproductions. Hence derives the great problem and incomprehension of Liszt's works. If we now look at the map of Europe where he ran tirelessly – under the then conditions, without aircraft – on his concert tours, at all that and whom he personally met with, what he could experience first-hand in Italy, Spain, Germany, Slovenia and the Balkans, Russia, and even Turkey, we can notice the range of musical languages and casts of styles that Liszt was absorbing in the 1839-1847 period. They were mostly study trips. This too is Liszt: Europe in miniature.

If we now summarize and condense these insights, we can say that Liszt's strong and almost instinctive need for communicating with the works of composers is equal to his inner hunger for contact with the audience at tour recitals. Liszt's countless transcriptions and paraphrasing of most various works of contemporaries or earlier conductors must therefore be viewed in the light of 'pupil' to 'teacher' relationship, also in the case when there was a purely friendly relationship or a certain folk tune of the country where he held concerts. It is fascinating how Liszt knew to be the pupil first. This Liszt's instinctive need for communicating with others was expressed in its purest form when improvising, listening to the pulse of the audience and talked to them through the medium of piano sounds. There was yet a third person strongly involved in all this going on: Liszt's hidden 'inner observer'. We may be close to the true development if we say that Liszt's high school teacher was his 'inner observer' and to whom he listened deeply in moments of improvising and concerting at recitals, taking into account his every message, comment and advice. Liszt-the-innovator of musical language, forms and style was brought forth particularly in improvisation. That is why Liszt's compositional creativity and style are much closer to the Mediterranean (Italian) melodrama than the German symphonism of three-part sonata form.¹⁷ His musical images and metaphors are born one from another, his piano too requires the color of orchestral nuances that can together with Chopin-like sensibility express emotional and mental impulses with the precision of a philosopher's mind. In this regard, there is almost no difference between Liszt's so-called original works, and his transcriptions and paraphrases of foreign authors.¹⁸ Only today is this slowly becoming part of the general insight.

However, we owe to add the thought that not all of Liszt's paraphrases and even less transcriptions are equally imbued with genius, since he set about some works 'restoratively' and nay mangled them in spots (e.g. some works by Schubert). He translated everything in the style and language of Romantic. In consideration so far, we paid attention mainly to Franz Liszt's substantive innovative contribution to musical development in this field. However, this does not lessen the value of the majority of others. In particular, it does not lessen Liszt's contribution to stylistic evolutionary shift which he carried out in his works, being the first to point out expressive gestures of impressionism and even touching the very origins of expressionism in his final works. These considerations are here deliberately left aside since we are focused on Liszt's first creative period.

¹⁷ CAMPANELLA, M. 2011, pp. 33, 37.

¹⁸ R. Schumann e.g. used Liszt's transcription in his famous analysis of Berlioz' *Symphonie fantastique op. 14* (full title: *Épisode de la vie d'un artiste, symphonie fantastique en cinq parties*).

REVIEW OF LISZT'S CONCERT PROGRAMS IN GRAZ, MARIBOR AND SLATINA IN 1846 AND COMPOSITIONAL INSIGHTS

The 1846 concerts in Styria – Graz, Maribor and Rogaška Slatina – were organized by Liszt's friend, Eduard von Lannoy, who was born in Brussels (1787). Since 1808, he had a permanent residence in his parents' family castle *Viltuš* (Wildhaus) near Maribor.¹⁹ Lannoy was an interesting polyhedral personality of broad humanistic views and interests, a skilled composer, conductor, researcher and collector of folk music, an author on the folk (also Slovenian) and artificial music. He was in close contact with the court in Vienna, which also gave him a certain note in Styria, as well as some envy. It is to him that we owe Liszt's tour in Styria.

Liszt's concerts in Styria took place in two parts. The concerts in Graz and Maribor with programs of Liszt's recitals were published a month before the tour in the Graz newspaper *Stiria* by baron von Lannoy. The announced date of arrival to Graz (7th of June, 1846) and consequently Maribor was one week early. Liszt thus gave the concert in Graz on 14th of June and in Maribor on 16th of June. Returning from Maribor he – due to enthusiastic audience – hosted an unplanned concert addition. Liszt only gave concert in Rogaška Slatina on 25th of July, i.e. the eve of celebrating St. Ann – the spa patroness.²⁰

Program in Graz published by Lannoy in *Stiria* newspaper on 23th of May 1846 was as follows:

- »1. *Ouverture aus Wilhelm Tell*,²¹
2. *Die Forelle, von Franz Schubert*,²² für Piano **übertragen** von Franz Liszt,
3. *Erlkönig, von Franz Schubert*,²³ für Piano **übertragen** von Franz Liszt,
4. *Variationen (E-Dur) von Händel*,
5. *Andante final de 'Lucia di Lammermoor'*,²⁴ für Piano **übertragen** von Franz Liszt,
6. *Réminiscences aus Mozarts Don Juan*,²⁵ **componirt** [sic!] von Liszt.«²⁶

For addition, Liszt also played Hungarian national melodies (Magyar dalok), but it is unclear from Hüttenbrenner's sparing report, which pieces were performed.²⁷ Liszt performed the piano recital in Graz on Streicher and Stein concert pianos made in Vienna.

Liszt performed the entire program, with one exception: instead of *Händel's E Major variations* he supposedly – according to Hüttenbrenner's report – played *Beethoven's Variations in A minor*. This is a problem since Beethoven has no variations in A minor. It seems Beethoven usually liked to avoid A minor.²⁸ And Suppan lists Beethoven's *A-flat major variations* in his article,²⁹ which is again questionable. There are only two options, sonata op. 26 and – less likely – op. 110. Since both authors agree on 'variations', only sonata op. 26 is possible because it opens with '*Andante con Variazioni*'. Furthermore, the tone of the entire sonata – including its soul-stirring sentence '*Marcia funebre sulla morte d'un Eroe*' – could be close to Liszt's aesthetic desires to fill the central sentence of his recital.³⁰ It appears that Liszt liked to pick compositions of other composers with certain compositional and aesthetic weight as the core of his recitals. The question of fourth point of Liszt's recital in Graz remains open still.

¹⁹ On Lannoy and the friendly relationship with Liszt see ground work: W. SUPPAN, W. 1959.

²⁰ All date information, except where otherwise stated, are summarized after the discussion: SUPPAN, W. 1963, pp. 301–310.

²¹ Transcription: *Ouverture de l'opéra Guillaume Tell* de Gioachino Rossini. In Raabe's catalogue R 237 (1838). (Hereinafter only marked 'R' and the number in the catalogue and year of composing or edition, stated in brackets).

²² Transcription: R 248, no. 6; 2nd version (edition 1846, Vienna!). Liszt probably played this version.

²³ Transcription: R 243, no. 4 (1838, published 1838).

²⁴ Paraphrase: *Réminiscences de Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Fantasie dramatique* composée par F. Liszt. R 151 (1835/36, edition 1840). Different themes from Donizetti's opera are used in the composition.

²⁵ Paraphrase: *Réminiscences de Don Juan d'après l'opéra de Mozart*. R 228 (1841).

²⁶ SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 302. Bolded by the author I.F.

²⁷ We can suspect that some compositions from Magyar dalok collection, just at the time being formed. Comp. R 105 (1839/47). Report on the concert, written by a very reserved *Stiria* newspaper correspondent Anselm Hüttenbrenner, is very sparing, likely due to personal tension in relationship toward Lannoy. See: SUPPAN, W., 1963, p. 303.

²⁸ SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 302. Bolded by the author I.F.

²⁹ SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 302. Bolded by the author I.F.

³⁰ The atmosphere in Vienna after Beethoven's monument in Bonn was unveiled a year before (1845) with extensive contribution by Liszt could have helped with the choice.

Analytically interesting are semantics of the announced program. At each point, *Lannoy* subtly hinted at Liszt's compositional contribution in transcriptions and paraphrases. We have highlighted such spots in bold. Even the titles of songs are different from those in the printed editions. Even musical-analytical messages can be detected in these differences. The title Rossini overtures, for example, is given dry and in German. It is in fact Liszt's transcription for piano that opens the concert in Graz. Thoughtful compositional concept of the recital rises over two then very well-known Schubert songs (*Die Forelle and Erlkönig*) to the peak, placed by Liszt in the fourth song, which he had trouble choosing. The last two songs are again two paraphrases of excerpts from the then famous operas: closing Andante from Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, closing with a brilliant reinterpretation of excerpts from Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. The last song has earned Lannoy's hint *componirt*, reminding us of the depth of Liszt's translation of Mozart in the language of romantics. The stated can be the key in analyzing a particular song.

Second concert took place in Maribor on 16th of June, at 7 p.m. in the large castle hall as the only concert hall. *Lannoy* announced the following program in the newspaper *Stiria*:

- »1. *Fantasie aus Norma*,³¹ **componirt** [sic!] von Liszt,
2. *ungarische Melodie und ungarischer Marsch*,³² von Franz Schubert,
3. *Etudes von Chopin*,
4. *Invitation à la valse*,³³ von C. M. Weber,
5. *Ave Maria von Schubert*,³⁴ für Piano übertragen von Franz Liszt,
6. *Galop chromatique*,³⁵ **componirt** [sic!] von Franz Liszt.«³⁶

Liszt also performed the entire announced program in Maribor. W. Suppan again opens a question, claiming that the third point fell out.³⁷ Contrary to this, the *Stiria* newspaper correspondent in Maribor, Dr R. Puff reports that »Chopin Etudes addressed our our connoisseurs of art.«³⁸ But we do not know which etudes these were supposed to be. Dr. R. Puff also reports on an addition (Schubert's *Erlkönig*), already performed by Liszt after the fifth point Ave Maria. The information is valuable since it shows that Liszt, even during concert, changed the program in regard to atmosphere in the audience. In last point, Liszt played his only original composition *Galop chromatique*, which we will discuss separately.

Liszt likely spent one day at Lannoy's in the Viltuš castle. Upon returning to Vienna, he stopped in Graz. He did a concert addition there on 19th of June 1846, to appease the audience enthusiastic about the first concert. This time, Liszt drew two performers in the program, extended by two points:

- »1. *Réminiscences de la Norma*,³⁹ **vorgetragen** von Herrn Liszt,
2. *Arie von Rossini*, *vorgetragen* von Dlle. Marie Kreutzer,
3. *Invitation de la Valse, de Weber*,⁴⁰ **vorgetragen** von Herrn Liszt,
4. *Tarantella de Rossini*,⁴¹
5. *Mazurka de Chopin*,⁴² | **vorgetragen** von Herrn Liszt,
6. *Polonaise de Puritains*,⁴³

³¹ Paraphrase: *Réminiscences de Norma – Grande Fantasie*, d'après l'opéra de Bellini. R 133 (1841); comp. also 378, for two pianos (after 1841).

³² Paraphrases: *Méodies hongroises*, d'après Schubert, R 250 (1838, edition 1840); Schuberts *Märsche für das Pianoforte solo*, R 251 (1846, edition 1847). March was still in manuscript or even improvised, which is also likely.

³³ Transcription: C. M. Weber, *Aufforderung zum Tanz* op. 65 (1819). Composition describes a dance ritual, a suit of a man to a woman, lady's reply, their conversation and departure for the dance floor. Liszt was fond of the composition.

³⁴ Transcription: R 243 no. 12 (1838, edition 1838). Lannoy (Liszt?) instead of dance he uses the word 'waltz' as synonyme.

³⁵ Liszt's original work: *Grand galop chromatique*, R 41 (1838, two-handed) in R 299 (ca. 1838, arrangement four-handed).

³⁶ SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 302.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

³⁸ PUFF, R. G. 1846, Liszt in Marburg, see: *Grazer Zeitung*, No. 100, in: *Stiria*, IV., no. 75 (23rd of June 1846), p. 300.

³⁹ Same composition as number one in Maribor. Paraphrase: *Réminiscences de Norma – Grande Fantasie*, d'après l'opéra de Bellini. R 133 (1841).

⁴⁰ See comment at no. 4 of the program in Maribor.

⁴¹ Lost Liszt's composition or was improvised.

⁴² There is no exact information on which one of Chopin's Mazurkas.

⁴³ Lannoy's announcement is again inexact. It is likely a paraphrase from Bellini's opera 'I puritani' – Introduction et polonaise, R 130 (1840/41, edition ca. 1841/42).

7. 'Wo weist du?' Lied von Hahlert, componiert von Herrn Capellmeister Ott, vorgetragen von Herrn Knopp,
8. Galop (!) Chromatique,⁴⁴ **vorgetragen** von Herrn Liszt.«⁴⁵

At the second concert in Graz, Liszt repeated three pieces from Maribor and introduced three new ones. According to another sparing report by Hüttenbrenner, he performed »hail« of additions while applauses »had no end in sight«.⁴⁶ We have no information on the titles of these compositions. Only now did Liszt in Graz include *Galop Chromatique* that was one of his most performed compositions. We therefore suspect that they had already planned the second Graz concert with *Lannoy* beforehand in Vienna.

In six days, Liszt performed altogether fifteen different compositions. But if we count the additions, he performed over twenty different authorial compositions on this tour. This shows Liszt's incredible strength of concentration as concert virtuoso.

For the concert in Rogaška Slatina⁴⁷ (ger. *Rohitsch-Sauerbrunn*) on 25th of July, 1846, Liszt returned especially to commemorate the celebration of St. Ann, the spa patroness. Program of the recital that began at 5 p.m. was the following:

»1. *Sextour de Lucia di Lammermoor*,⁴⁸ für Piano **übertragen** von Franz Liszt,
2. *Réminiscences de la Sonnambula*,⁴⁹ **componirt** [sic!] von Liszt,
3. *Ständchen*, von Franz Schubert,⁵⁰ **übertragen** von Liszt,
4. *Paraphrase du 4^{ème} acte de Dom Sébastien*,⁵¹ von Kullak,
5. *Tarantella aus der Stummen von Portici*,⁵² **componirt** [sic!] von Liszt,
6. *Aufforderung zum Tanz*,⁵³ von Weber.
Sämtliche Piecen [sic!] gespielt von Liszt.«⁵⁴

The last sentence of the program announcement is meaningful, telling that Liszt would perform all the compositions himself. This was surely not obvious at the time. Lannoy has thus underlined Liszt's 'invention' of solo piano recital. Unfortunately, there was no report on this event in the newspapers. With the exception of the last one, all the compositions in Rogaška Slatina were new. Here, Liszt renounced his »parade horse« *Gran galop chromatique* in favor of Weber's composition. This indicates a chance that Liszt's recital was followed by an evening ball.

Like Beethoven, Liszt too lived in the consciousness that he belonged to an era that is yet forming and its style is not known in advance. It was perhaps because of this that – just like Beethoven – he constantly corrected, supplemented, perfected and edited his works, sensing they were incomplete. Pointing to this are numerous versions also within the same work which he marked *ossia* or *entweder/oder*. Also as composer, he was always »on the way somewhere«. Names like *Fantasie*, *Réminiscences*, *Paraphrase*, *Paralipomènes à la ...*, *Prolégomènes à la ...*, *Après une lecture du ...*, *Préludes et Harmonies poétiques et religieuses*, *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses*, *Rhapsodies* for compositions or the titles of collections e.g. *Album d'un voyageur*, *Années de pèlerinage* etc.

⁴⁴ Same composition as number six in Maribor. See comment there.

⁴⁵ SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 306.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 305.

⁴⁷ Suppan states falsely »Radenska Slatina«. It is obvious from the German version that it is without doubt Rogaška Slatina. See: SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 306

⁴⁸ Lannoy (or Liszt) took the title for this recital directly from Donizetti's opera *Lucia di Lammermoor*, II. part, 1st act (no. 9) – *Chi raffrena il mio furore*. Composition is known in written form as *Réminiscences de Lucia di Lammermoor* R 151 (1835/1836; ed. 1841). Composition was supposedly conceived by Liszt immediately after first performance in Naples (1835).

⁴⁹ Paraphrase: R132 (1840, edition 1842, Leipzig). This title too differs from the ones in print editions and catalogues today: *Fantaisie sur des motifs favoris de l'opéra La Sonnambula*. Meaningful addition is 'componirt'. A version for four-hand piano exists R 348 (1852).

⁵⁰ Transcription but unclear which composition, since there are two Schubert pieces in play, both arranged for piano by Liszt: (a) R 243, no. 9 (1838, published 1838) and (b) 245, no. 7 (1838/39, published 1840).

⁵¹ In the catalogue of Liszt's works, only Humphrey Searle has this Liszt's paraphrase of opera *Dom Sebastian* op. 31 under mark S.744.

⁵² Paraphrase: R 117 (1846, edition 1847, Vienna). First Mechetti (Vienna) edition is titled: *Tarantelle di bravura d'après la Tarantelle de La Muette de Portici*. Liszt composed it in the year of his concerts in Styria.

⁵³ Comp. comments to point 4 in Maribor and point 3 at second Graz concert.

⁵⁴ SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 306.

reflect a restless spirit and a searcher of new ways. Liszt's favourite characters like Hamlet, Prometheus, Orfeus, Faust and even Mephisto co-created a new musical form of symphonic poems that arose immediately at the beginning of the second creative period (since 1847). But it did not arise out of nothing. As we had mentioned, Liszt merely made use of his virtuosity, and his tours all over Europe – including Styria – are simply Ulysses' creative aimless ramblings needed for being able to listen his compositional 'inner observer'. Compositionally, Liszt was Ulysses, searching a path to homeland to generations still to come, including two-years-younger Wagner. His sole entirely authorial composition of the tour to Styria in 1846 shows us this.

Liszt wrote *Grand galop chromatique (Galop Chromatique in programs)* in 1838, thus in the beginning of pianist tours over Europe. Everything within reflects his creative spirit of this first period until 1847. There are two versions, for two-handed piano (R 41) and for four-handed piano (R 299). A simplified version also exists.

Lannoy meaningfully added »*componirt von Liszt*« in the announcement. Liszt's primary intimate intention when conceiving this composition was the searching for new musically-expressive compositional paths. In searching for the outer image of musical thoughts, he mainly saw the wide crowds in the cities and the countryside. Therefore, the composition is systematically playful, striking and consciously flirts with the borders of superior virtuosity. Liszt decided with this composition to rouse, awaken the audience and lift them on their feet. This is Liszt as a genuine romantic, but above all Liszt-the-saintsimonist. He fully succeeded in this second purpose. The sale alone shows that people have straight-out snatched the composition.⁵⁵ The simplified version of the composition is aimed in the same direction, as well as even an attempt of orchestration with his fans.⁵⁶ Duality of Liszt's creative thinking in this and similar compositions was not even understood by his closest ones (Wagner, the Schumanns etc.). Because of provocative virtuosic brilliance that stirred the masses, they could not see the compositional heart of this and similar compositions of the first creative period.

C. Dahlhaus in one of his discussions⁵⁷ insightfully pointed to »redende Prinzip« (rhetorical principle) or the rhetorical loquacity of Liszt's themes that he uses in symphonic poems. Liszt wanted the music to speak, message and address. Short and concise musical thoughts (later Leitmotiv with Wagner) are grateful sonorous matter when building large compositional structures. Liszt was among the first to follow this path. Linking in two-/three-measure half-sentences, and then equally symmetrical sentences and periods, so close to the classics, has become too tight for Liszt. Therefore closer to Liszt's poetics and aesthetics is the free oratorical rhythm of e.g. Gregorian chant and Renaissance polyphony. This changed ideal will obviously reveal itself in Liszt's final years, but is already clearly present in his paraphrases, reminiscences and transcriptions.

Liszt's *Galop Chromatique* is a model example, despite deliberately preserving two- and four measures (we are in 1838, Liszt is 27 years old). The first A theme, entering anacrusically in the fourth measure, is in fact constructed of second- chromatic gradations, which gives the composition its name. The second B theme, while rhythmically contrasting, does not abandon second- (diatonic) gradation. Thematic bridges, providing a sense of desire for a third topic, remain similar in their compositional matter. The dizzy delirium of an almost diabolically virtuosic dance actually spins between both themes that can be schematically illustrated like this: A-B, A¹-A², A³-B¹, A¹-A², A²-B with *coda*. We let out here the transitions and bridges between quotations of the theme. But it is precisely therein that the otherwise firm structure of eight-measure periods of both themes shakes strongly, and Liszt's searching for a free rhetorical rhythm steps in their place.

Even more interesting is the harmonic construction, where the young Liszt appears as a sovereign master of romantic harmonic syntax. This is a distinctively (in terms of musical function) third construction in the form of parallel and counter-chords, domination of long sections that rest on the tonal axis of the dominant, also mostly very free but expressively third- built sequential gradations, numerous enharmonically interpreted chords (and

⁵⁵ It is probably the most sold Liszt's composition ever. Publisher Hofmeister's information shows that *Grand galop chromatique* was his most successful publication. He sold over 20,000 copies of partiture for piano two- and four-handed. Comp. DEAVILLE, J. 2006, pp. 268 and 280.

⁵⁶ He writes to countess d'Agoult: »Une chose qui vous amusera c'est que Krauss a instrumenté le Galop Chromatique, la Grande Valse et plusieurs des Fleurs mélodiques des Alpes.«. Liszt's letter to d'Agoult, in: OLLIVIER, M. D. (ed.) 1933, p. 307.

⁵⁷ DAHLHAUS, C., 1975, p. 96–130.

not only in cadences), a multitude of extraordinary resolution of seventh chords etc. Standing out in particular is the whole-tone harmonic gradation in a masterfully constructed sequence (measures 231–239), when there was no sound of an esatonic (whole-tone) scale for another half a century, all the way to Debussy, Skrjabin, Ravel et. al. In harmonic regard as well, Liszt is shown to us as the one who first took on the new trails of musical syntax, language and forming of »musical thoughts« that are in music called a shape, a form.

CONCLUSION

A detailed analysis of the composition *Galop Chromatique* as well as Liszt's paraphrases, reminiscences and even transcriptions would bring us to very similar conclusions. Already bursting with Liszt of the first creative period (until 1847) are all the innovative musical sprouts that are about to bloom in the second creative period, and grow ripe partly in the second, but most of all in the third one. Liszt's ripe fruits are namely already knocking on the door of impressionism (*Les Jeux d'eaux à la Villa d'Este*, the entire volume *Troisième année de pèlerinage*) and even expressionism (*Via crucis*) when Debussys, Skrjabin, Ravels etc. were still being born. Not being understood by contemporaries – including with (narcissist) Wagner – very likely has its roots here. Liszt has – as he himself said – took time, a lot of time. He wrote *Zukunftsmusik*, the 'Music of the Future' as he put it.

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LISZTOV KONCERTNI PROGRAM V GRADCU, MARIBORU IN ROGAŠKI SLATINI LETA 1846 – KOMPOZICIJSKI PREGLED IN UVIDI

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

Lisztovi klavirski solistični recitali (njegova iznajdba: *soliloquio*) v Gradcu, Mariboru in Rogaški Slatini (leta 1846) sovpadajo z vrhuncem in koncem njegovega prvega ustvarjalnega obdobja (do leta 1847). Tu je močno izstopala Lisztova nenadkriljiva virtuoznost, ki je po krivici zasenčila Liszta skladatelja. Programe recitalov je sestavil skoraj izključno s parafrazami (»reminiscencami«) in transkripcijami del tujih skladateljev. Od samostojnih skladb je izvedel *le Galop Chromatique*. V članku analitično pokažemo na Liszta inovatorja glasbenega jezika v luči programov recitalov na turneji po Štajerski leta 1846.

POVZETEK

Lisztova koncertna turneja po Štajerski (Gradec, Maribor, Rogaška Slatina) leta 1846 sovпада z vrhuncem in hkrati koncem njegovega prvega ustvarjalnega obdobja (do leta 1847). Leta po 1838 so bila v znamenju *klavirskih solističnih recitalov* (njegova iznajdba!), ki jih je poimenoval *soliloquio*. Na turnejah po vsej Evropi (od Portugalske do Rusije in Turčije) je izstopala predvsem Lisztova nenadkriljiva virtuoznost, vključno z načrtno uporabo iskrivo udarnega scenskega vtisa (zasenčil je vzornika Paganinija), s katero si je ustvaril ime enega največjih pianistov vseh časov. Njegova vrhunska virtuoznost je verjetno eden od vzrokov, da celo pianisti napačno razumejo njegovo klavirsko glasbo, ko postavijo enačaj med virtuoznostjo in hitrostjo. Nerazumevanje in ostre sodbe je doživljal celo pri najbližjih (Wagner, zakonca Schumann idr.). Tako je bil po krivici do danes spregledan izjemen inovativno-ustvarjalni vidik Liszta skladatelja. Berliozova pronicljiva trditev »Orkester sem jaz! Zbor sem jaz! Dirigent orkestra tudi jaz!« meri na videz na Liszta virtuozna, v resnici pa izpostavi Liszta komponista. Kot človek in kot skladatelj je s pridom uporabil organ »občudovanja«. Vase je z lahkoto vsrkaval najboljše, kar so mu nudili tisti, ki jih je srečal. Za njegov kompozicijski slog so pomembni predvsem trije: Berlioz (programska glasba), Paganini (virtuoznost) in Chopin (poezija klavirja). Tudi zato je v svoje recitale prvi pritegnil skladatelje oddaljenih slogov. Izraz tega so brezštevilne parafraze del znanih in neznanih skladateljev, odlomkov ljudske glasbe ipd. Ob najrazličnejših oblikah transkripcij (dobesedno ali v »prevodu« v jezik romantikov), fantazij in reminiscenc v obliki parafraz, perifraz, antonomazij, paronomazij si je Liszt ustvarjal svoj kompozicijski besednjak in svojo glasbeno sintakso. Z obojim je nato ustvarjal svoja dela in kompozicijsko pomaknil glasbeni jezik naprej vse do meja impresionizma (*Les Jeux d'eaux à la Villa d'Este*) in celo ekspresionizma (*Via crucis*). Liszt je zato enako originalen v svojih skladbah kakor v parafrazah ali transkripcijah. V delih Lisztovih recitalov v Gradcu, Mariboru in Rogaški Slatini leta 1846 so že prisotni vsi ti inovativni glasbeni brstiči (*Galop Chromatique*), ki so drugim postali očitni šele v njegovem drugem in zadnjem ustvarjalnem obdobju.

THE CONCERTS OF FRANZ LISZT IN BUDAPEST

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

From 1823 to 1879 Franz Liszt gave over 100 concerts in Budapest. Until 1846 he appeared as a virtuoso pianist, performing difficult pieces – his own compositions – with remarkable ease and sensitivity. From 1856 Liszt appeared as the conductor of his own symphonic and vocal compositions. Some of his pieces were presented as world premieres: *The Gran Mass*, the symphonic poems *Hungaria*, *The Legend of Saint Elizabeth*, *Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters*. Some of these premieres were outstanding events, at which 300–500 musicians took part.

KEY WORDS

Franz Liszt, Budapest, concert, pianist, conductor, composer

Franz Liszt's name is written in golden letters in the chronicles of the European culture. *The king of the piano*, as his coevals liked to call him, was not only the most amazing piano player but also the father of modern conducting and the teacher of a whole generation of piano virtuosos. More than that, he was a pathbreaking composer, who opened new horizons for the development of music, anticipating all the exuberant inventions of the 20th century, including Impressionism, Atonalism and Serialism.

Franz Liszt was also an unequalled original thinker, whose musical writings were collected in six volumes.¹ But above all, Liszt was a dynamic and magnetic personality, being able to step over social conventions and to win sympathy not only among the musicians and intellectuals but also gaining the admiration and friendship of princes and kings.

Born to a German-speaking family in Western Hungary,² Liszt assimilated the fervent patriotism of his father. Living most of his life in other countries, Liszt became a cosmopolitan, holding on strongly to his Hungarian identity, establishing connections and friendships in Hungary, mostly in the Hungarian capital.³ Thus the twin cities on the banks of the river Danube became an important site for Liszt's activity not only as a concert pianist, but also as a composer and conductor of his own works, and, in the last period of his life, as a teacher.

Liszt gave his first concert in Budapest in 1823, and the last in 1879. In this period stretching over 56 years, Liszt participated at more than one hundred concerts at the most different locations: the German and the Hungarian theatre, the Mathias Church, the Downtown church and parish, the Redoute concert hall, the state-rooms of the National Museum and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the state-rooms of different hotels, and the private music rooms and drawing rooms of his noble and well-to-do friends. From this great number of concerts, I would like to present a small selection, trying to depict what a concert - especially a Liszt-concert, could be like in the fervent atmosphere of the 19th century.

Franz Liszt was a child-prodigy. As his father became aware of the boy's outstanding musical qualities, he started to teach the six-year-old boy. Three years later, in October 1820, Franz appeared at his first public concert in the Cassino of the city Sopron, playing the piano concerto by Ries, accompanied by the local or-

¹ LA MARA, 1880–1883, vol. 1–6.

² Raiding, the village where Liszt was born, was located in the western part of Hungary. Since the Trianon treaty, it belongs to the region Burgenland in Austria.

³ Since the middle ages, the capital city of Hungary was Buda, where the lieutenantcy and the Regent had their headquarters. The city Pest, located on the opposite site of the Danube, was a flourishing industrial, commercial and cultural centre, slowly taking precedence over the capital. However, the two cities were only united in 1873, and the name Budapest was only attributed at that time, in the fifty years preceding the unification, they functioned as one great city.

chestra. From September 1822, Franz Liszt studied with Carl Czerny in Vienna. The peak of this study-time was Liszt's concert in the smaller concert-hall of the Imperial Redoute on the 13th of April in 1823, when Liszt played the concerto in B-minor for piano and orchestra by Hummel and the *Grandes Variations* for piano and orchestra by Moscheles, accompanied by the orchestra of the Imperial Vienna Opera House.⁴ This concert is considered as the beginning of Liszt's career as a mature pianist, at the age of eleven years and a half. Planning to travel to Paris, Adam Liszt, the father, took his son to the Hungarian capital.

In 1823, there was no special concert hall in Pest. There was a City Theatre, built in 1819 and inaugurated with Beethoven's *Die Ruinen von Athen*, which had been composed especially for this occasion. However, Adam Liszt chose a different location for his son's concert: the large state-room of the Inn of the Seven Prince-Electors. This inn was built in 1777, in the heart of the city, in the vicinity of its most important buildings: the city hall, the parish church, and the city theatre. Its state-room was the site of important balls and concerts. It was smaller and more familiar than the theatre, but yet big enough to host a greater audience.⁵

The concert took place on the 1st of May in 1823, in the early afternoon. Liszt once more played the *Grandes Variations* by Moscheles, a few other pieces, and "free fantasies" on themes submitted by the audience. This last "number" was not only appropriate to show the creative capacities of the young artist, but it created moments of familiarity and fun for the public. Liszt's playing of the "free fantasies" on themes given by the audience helped the public to compare the young artist to the greatest musical prodigy of all times: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

The Newspapers did not miss to comment the event. A most interesting review of the concert appeared in the Hungarian journal Hazai's *Külföldi Tudósítások*:

"The eleven-year-old boy from the District of Sopron has unfolded his talents on the Klavir [sic] to our astonishment. In all pieces, the handsome blond youth has shown such a skill, lightness, accuracy, sentiment, pleasant strength, and masterful grip that the entire gathering was filled with joy and admiration. Because of his splendid playing, everybody came to hope that he will bring glory to his homeland ... We wish this beautiful soul health and a long life ... who with this concert wished to pay his respect to his homeland before he leaves for France and England, where he will certainly bring honour to the Hungarian name."⁶

One cannot omit to notice the patriotic accents of this review. Living in a country incorporated into the Austrian Empire, Hungarian intellectuals followed a double goal: to assimilate the European culture reaching Hungary through German mediation, and to create an equally valuable Hungarian culture. Franz Liszt was not only a child prodigy but a Hungarian child, who was preparing to represent Hungary in the world.

The child Liszt's success on this first concert in Budapest brought him further opportunities to play: on the 10th of May, between the acts of the opera *Deux mots*, and on the 24th of May, between the acts of the comedy *The Man from Calabria*, at the Royal City Theatre.

Sixteen years passed until Liszt, established in Paris, got the chance to return to the Hungarian capital. In March 1838, after a severe winter, the huge pieces of ice floating on the Danube were blocked on a narrower track, forming a natural dice a few miles south of Budapest. Within three days, the water rose 29 feet above normal, inundating the lower sides of Buda, and the whole area of Pest. Nearly three thousand houses collapsed in the water, about half of the same number were severely damaged. More than one hundred and fifty people drowned, fifty thousand were made homeless, and thousands more faced disease and famine.

Liszt was having his morning coffee in Venice when he noticed a German newspaper bearing news of the catastrophe. He travelled in a hurry to Vienna and gave a series of eight concerts for the benefit of the sin-

⁴ WALKER, A. 1983, pp. 77–81.

⁵ WATZATKA, Á. 2011, p. 57.

⁶ MONA, I. 2015, p. 59. English translation from WALKER, A. 1983, p. 87.

istrated in Hungary. One year later, in December 1839 he returned to his homeland, reaching first Bratislava and arriving at the capital on the 24th of December. The audience of Buda and Pest were anxious to see the artist who fascinated them sixteen years earlier, and who became, as predicted, the pride of the nation.

Liszt's first concert in Pest was held on the 27th of December in 1839, in the great concert hall of the Redoute. The Viennese architect Johann von Amann planned two twin buildings, adjacent to their back sides. The City Theatre was erected in 1819, the ball and concert hall could only be built during the years 1829–1832. The building was called Redoute, and it included a greater and a smaller concert hall, a restaurant, and several smaller rooms.⁷

According to the 19th-century practice, Liszt shared the concert with the singers of the Pest-Buda Musical Society, who sang arrangements for four male voices. Liszt played his own transcriptions of popular operas and lieder: *Réminiscences des Puritains*,⁸ *La Serenata e l'Orgia Grande Fantasia sur des motifs des Soirées musicales*,⁹ and *Ständchen* and *Ave Maria*, the piano transcriptions of two lieder by Schubert.

Thus Liszt appeared before the Hungarian audience not only as a pianist but also as a composer, because his *transcriptions, reminiscences, fantasias* were original compositions. Only the starting themes of these were taken from popular works of famous composers; the “borrowed” themes were developed and moulded in an original way, to create a completely new work which bore the individuality of Liszt's own musical fantasy. One might wonder, why Liszt did not play his completely original works. We should think, that he had to be aware of his unusual style as well as of the success granted by the popular vocal melodies.

We find interesting descriptions of Liszt's playing in the reviews of the concert concerned. In the journal *Honművész* we find the following lines:

“It would be a long and unsuccessful, maybe even impossible attempt to describe the different aspects of his extraordinary talent. One must hear him, hear that sea of sounds, which he creates through the almost inapprehensible manual skill, hear that beauty, which he induces through the imitation of the human voice while also providing the accompaniment, which is one of his outstanding capacities. Nothing seems impossible to him; he is capable of issuing with a vertiginous speed those difficult arpeggios of one, two, three, four notes, which we could only imagine to be performed by one or more string instruments.”¹⁰

This review helps us to understand that Liszt's amazing virtuoso playing was far from being mechanical or rough; on the contrary, it was extremely refined and sensitive, producing a genuine imitation of the human voice.

The stage was placed in the middle of the large concert hall, surrounded by the audience. Two pianos were placed on the stage, opposite to each other, facing north and south respectively. Liszt played in turn on both, making it possible to everyone to see his hands.

There were about one thousand people attending this concert. They received Liszt with prolonged shouts of *Éljen!* and they rewarded him after each piece with long and enthusiastic applause.¹¹ As the encore, Liszt played one of his *Hungarian Rhapsodies*, which increased the already culminating enthusiasm.

Liszt gave altogether nine concerts during this sojourn in Buda and Pest. Five were held at the Redoute, two at the Hungarian Theatre and two at private houses. Liszt only held the income of three concerts for himself, the incomes of the other eight concerts were donated to different institutions and purposes: the Pest-Buda

⁷ WATZATKA, Á. 2011, p. 43.

⁸ *I Puritani* (The Puritans), Opera by Bellini, Paris, 1835; Liszt's transcription was made in 1836 and was issued in 1837.

⁹ *Soirées musicales*, a series of twelve songs composed by Gioacchino Rossini. Liszt published the transcription of the whole series in 1838. *La Serenata* and *L'Orgia* are the 10th and 11th pieces in the complete series. Liszt already made a transcription of these two songs in 1835–1836. He performed this earlier transcription.

¹⁰ DÖMÖTÖR, ZS., KOVÁCS, M. 1980, p. 27.

¹¹ *Éljen!* means *Long live!* in Hungarian.

Musical Society, the National Theatre, the Institution of the Blind in Pest, for a poor violinist, and for the establishment of a music school in Budapest. The series of concerts given in Budapest marked the starting of Liszt's career as a travelling virtuoso.

Liszt returned to Hungary in 1846, the year when he also visited Maribor and Rogaška Slatina. He spent two weeks in Buda and Pest, from the 30th of April to the 14th of May, when he gave six concerts to the benefit of the Conservatory in Budapest and the Saint Joseph Orphanage, and then once again returned for three days in October (October 10th–12th).



Image 1: Franz Liszt standing by the piano. Drawing of Miklós Barabás, May 1846. Lithography, Pest, Walzel, 1846, Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre.

The programme of his concerts differed a little from those given in 1840; he played alone on several of these concerts, without sharing the stage with anyone else. Back then, this had been an unusual thing; the public was used to hear 2–3 or even more performers at each concert. Liszt was the one to introduce the instrumental *recital*, the concert which is being performed by a single artist.¹²

Another interesting feature of the concerts given in 1846 was the appearance of a piece by Beethoven in the programme. Beethoven embodied the model of the musician and composer, which Liszt chose to follow. Liszt strived to become an independent artist, who, similarly to Beethoven, was not the servant, but the friend of the princes and magnates who sponsored him. For him, this independence represented, as it did for Beethoven, the condition to compose a progressive music, which did not have to match anyone's taste. Liszt admired in Beethoven that he was a pathbreaking artist. In 1846 he could not know that he was to become an even more exuberant pathbreaker, than his ideal, Beethoven.

¹² On the 17th of March in 1839, Liszt played alone in the music room of Prince Galitzin in Rome for the first time. In Paris, he was bitingly criticised after a similar concert. The term of *recital* was first used in London in connection with the concert he gave on the 9th of June in 1840.

In 1840, Liszt mostly played Schubert's *Hungarian Melodies* as Hungarian pieces and improvised on the *Rákóczi March*. In 1846 the first series of eleven *Hungarian Melodies* and *Hungarian Rhapsodies* were already issued, and Liszt played his own melodies and rhapsodies as final pieces or encores at his concerts.

Liszt played three concerts in the Redoute concert hall on the 30th of April, the 3rd of May, and the 10th of May, and three concerts at the National Theatre on the 6th, 9th, and 13th of May.

The most interesting review was written by Imre Vachot about the concert that occurred on the 10th of May. He did not mention any of the works Liszt performed, but he gave an interesting description of Liszt's performance.

"Sitting at his piano, this outstanding phenomenon of the musical world seems not to be a living man; even his appearance seems to be covered by a certain unearthly magnificence. The body, this miserable clod, seems to be a drag to him. The whole man is nothing but spirit, from top to bottom, crowned by the brightest gloriole. A peculiar, imperceptible power lies in him, which renders fire wings to the soul of the listener, to be able to scour together with him the highest, the deepest, the most mysterious places of the etheric world of the thoughts and feelings, without borders. The imaginative listener may experience Liszt's performance as the smooth, sweet harmony of the angels, or he may hear the wild noise of the tortured souls and furies of the inferno ring out of it; now the happy melody of the nightingale of a smiling spring fairy garden, then the howling of the most furious windstorm, or ghostly wailing from the depth of graves, or the hollow complaint of an oppressed nation seem to impress our hearts in a mixture from afar."¹³

At this time, Liszt already occupied himself with the idea of settling down, but he was still waiting for something to happen in his life. In 1847 he got acquainted with the Princess Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein, he recognised in her the woman he wanted to share his life with, and he fulfilled his earlier plans to settle in Weimar, where he was employed as the extraordinary conductor of the court orchestra and chorus since 1842.

In the year 1856, Liszt came to Hungary as a conductor and as a composer of symphonic and vocal works. At this time, he already composed nine symphonic poems, two masses, a series of choruses and motets, and a well-experienced conductor.

Liszt was already commissioned to compose a mass for the consecration of the Pécs / Fünfkirchen cathedral in 1846, but his commissioner, Bishop Szcitovszky became Archbishop of Esztergom / Gran¹⁴ and Primate of Hungary. The works on a new cathedral in Esztergom came to their end, and Liszt was happy to present his friend, the Archbishop with the piano reduction of a wonderful festive mass.

The consecration of the new cathedral, the centre of the Catholics in Hungary, was a religious and political event of international importance. Emperor Franz Josef I was supposed to take part at the ceremony, having to sign the consecration document, which was to be walled in the high altar. He arrived at Esztergom with a large entourage consisting of heads of the Austrian church, members of the imperial family, and the high officials of his Vienna court. The ceremony was fixed for the 31st of August.

Liszt arrived by ship from Vienna three weeks earlier, he booked an apartment in Pest and commuted between Pest and Esztergom. The performance of the mass was assigned to the ensemble of the National Theatre – chorus, soloists and orchestra; Liszt was to conduct the performance personally at the ceremony.

The musicians started to study the mass earlier; Liszt only planned three dress rehearsals. Two of these were held in Budapest, on the 26th and 28th of August, in the Ceremonial Hall of the National Museum, the temporary replacement of the Redoute, which had been in ruins since the War of Independence in 1848–1849.

¹³ *Pesti Divatlap*, 14th of May, 1846.

¹⁴ The Austrian administration gave German names to the more important civic communities on the territory of the Austrian Empire. The city Esztergom is wider known as Gran, thanks to Liszt's famous mass.

Liszt allowed the public to participate in the dress rehearsals, the income from the tickets was meant to support the construction of the Saint Stephen Basilica.¹⁵ An audience of several hundred appeared at both events. Only a small part was able to get a place in the Ceremonial Hall; the rest were happy to take their perch on the huge flights of steps. Liszt was pleased with his audience: they were grateful to have the chance to hear Liszt's inspiring music, and they rewarded him with long and enthusiastic applause.¹⁶

After being performed at the consecration of the Esztergom Cathedral, Liszt's *Esztergom Mass* was presented to the citizens of the Hungarian capital in the Downtown Church on the 4th of September.¹⁷ It was a festive mass celebrated as a thanksgiving for the long awaited consecration of the Esztergom Cathedral. The mass was performed by the same artists of the National Theatre, who played and sang in Esztergom. The church was packed, and the music produced a deep impact on most participants, many being moved to the tears. This performance confirmed the maxim spread after the first dress rehearsal: "This is certainly an entirely new music, but one to kneel down!"¹⁸

Four days later, on the 8th of September, Liszt could conduct his earlier mass, the *Mass for male choir* at the consecration ceremony of the Hermina chapel, erected in the memory of Hermina, the daughter of Archduke Joseph, Regent of Hungary.¹⁹ Archbishop Szcitovszky celebrated the ceremony, and a small circle of faithful, mainly members and friends of the imperial family, attended the mass.

There was one more important concert on this day, held at the National Theatre. We already mentioned the building of the National Theatre, which was a *par excellence* Hungarian institution, where stage plays and operas were performed solely in the Hungarian language. The attraction of this evening concert was Liszt conducting two of his symphonic poems, one of them as a premiere.

The symphonic poem was a genre invented by Liszt. The German Symphony reached its peak and endpoint through Beethoven's last symphony. One considered that it was not possible to create anything more in this genre, without being an epigone of Beethoven. Music critics spoke about the crisis of the symphonic genre.

Liszt's most important goal as a composer in Weimar was to give a new impetus to the symphony, dislocating it from its crisis-point. Liszt came up with several innovations. He made a synthesis of the Sonata form and Sonata movement, creating large one-movement pieces, in which one could identify the four distinct parts characteristic for a Sonata or a Symphony, and which could also be understood as a large Sonata movement. Liszt's symphonic works have a programme, a content given by the literary work – the novel, legend, ballad or poem –, which inspired it. This *programme* appears in the respective titles, too: *Orpheus*, *Prometheus*, *Tasso*, *Mazeppa*, *Die Ideale*, etc. This new type of symphony was so far from what Haydn, Mozart or even Beethoven composed, that Liszt gave it a new name: the *Symphonic poem*.

The evening concert started with Liszt's two symphonic poems: *Les Preludes*, inspired by Victor Hugo's poem bearing the same name, and *Hungaria*, a vivid and transporting Hungarian march, performed as a world premiere. The audience received both pieces with indescribable enthusiasm. Edmund Singer, Liszt's Hungarian concertmaster in Weimar performed one of Paganini's violin concertos, then József Ellinger, a soloist of the National Theatre, sang fragments from Rossini's *Stabat Mater*, followed by Ida Komlóssy, who recited the poem *Mary Stuart* by Béla Tárkányi. The last piece was the Hungarian National Anthem, conducted by Liszt, and sung not only by the chorus of the National Theatre but by the entire audience. The concert was a resounding success, and a review stressed, that Erkel's National Anthem conducted by Liszt was even more uplifting than when conducted by its composer.²⁰

¹⁵ The church was originally dedicated to Saint Leopold, patron saint of Austria. In 1896 the leadership of the town decided to dedicate the church to Saint Stephen, the patron saint of Hungary.

¹⁶ SEBESTYÉN, E. 1944, p. 47.

¹⁷ The Downtown Church is the oldest church in Pest, built in the 14th century on the site of an 11th-century earlier church, rebuilt and modernised on more occasions.

¹⁸ FRANZ LISZT'S BRIEFE IV., p. 325.

¹⁹ Hermina Maria Amalia von Habsburg (1817–1842) was the regent's beloved first daughter, who became a nun. She died at the age of 24. The chapel was erected in 1842–1854. The deceased princess was portrayed in the figure of the Virgin Mary on the high altar.

²⁰ SEBESTYÉN, E. 1944, p. 49.

In 1858 Liszt resigned his position of the extraordinary court conductor, and in August 1861 he left Weimar and settled in Rome. Considering his task of giving new impetus to the symphonic music accomplished, and having already composed two masses, Liszt started experiments with a genre new to him: the oratorio.

In 1865, the Conservatory of Budapest celebrated 25 years of its existence. Liszt was its most important founder, donating the income of two concerts for the foundations of the first music school in the twin cities. The leading board of the Conservatory invited Liszt to the celebrations, and Liszt agreed on the condition that he could present some of his newer compositions.

The location chosen for the celebrations was the new and beautiful Neo-Renaissance concert hall built on the site of the old Redoute, similarly including a great and a smaller room, which could be united by the opening of the large doors. It was given the name *Vigadó*, which means Merry-making Place, a name suitable for a ball- and concert hall.

The first of the four jubilee concerts was held on the 15th of August, at seven p.m. Adjusted to the festive occasion, it was opened by a hymn from Erkel's opera *Dózsa György*, a historic Hungarian opera. A poem commemorating the 25 years of the Conservatory was recited by Flóra Munkácsy. The main part of the concert was reserved for Liszt's new oratorio, *The Legend of Saint Elizabeth*.



Image 2: Franz Liszt conducting *The Legend of Saint Elizabeth* in the Vigadó. Etching by Károly Rusz. Outcut from the journal *Vasárnapi Újság*, 1865, Nr. 36.

Liszt's entry was certainly a most impressive one, as it was described by Kornél Ábrányi.

"The figure of Liszt appeared in the background, and, dressed in his cassock, he approached the rostra as a *Jupiter tonans*.²¹ There is no pen, which could describe the windstorm of applause, the bluster of enthusiasm which arose, and which continued for more than five minutes. [...] The *Long-live-storm* smoothed down only for a few seconds, to arise powerfully again when Gábor Mátray²² stepped to the great artist to hand over a baton made of rosewood with a silver grip in the name of the Conservatory. The greater part of the audience stood up, they waved their kerchiefs, raved with enthusiasm, and shouted hurrah for long minutes to the great son of the homeland and the brightest star of the century."²³

²¹ Jupiter tonans (lat., thundering Jupiter).

²² Gábor Mátray (1797–1875), musicologist, composer, and librarian; the first director of the National Conservatory.

²³ *Zenészeti Lapok*, 17th of August, 1865.

This world premiere of *The Legend of Saint Elizabeth* was a resounding success despite the fact that Liszt's music sounded very new and unusual to the Hungarian public. We can understand that from the words of Kornél Ábrányi:

“This musical composition shows so many inimitable images of the creating force, the shaping capacity, the poetical inspiration and the power of processing, and it unfolds the almost unbearable graduation of so many surprising beauties and elevated, wonderful momentoes, that we get most confused when trying to assign the priority to any of the ideal goods opulently outpoured onto us.

A totally new world of sounds opens to us, the fairy images and wonderful landscapes of which were never foreseen by the musical world. After the last chords we stand overwhelmed, our soul sinks stupefied by the extasy of the sounds we heard, and we only feel, that we arrived at the farthest border of the musical poetry.”²⁴

The success of this concert convinced the organisers to repeat it a week later, on the 22nd of August. This second performance of *The Legend of Saint Elizabeth* was a similar success. On the 17th of August, a great concert was held, with the participation of three Hungarian composers: Robert Volkmann, Mihály Mosonyi, and Ede Reményi. On this occasion, Liszt conducted not only his *Dante Symphony* and the orchestral version of his *Rákóczy March* but also the piece *Festive Music* by Mihály Mosonyi.

The success of the three concerts lead Liszt to the decision to fulfil the wish of his compatriots and play the piano for them. Since 1848, when Liszt gave up his concert tours, he only played one or two pieces on a few special occasions. Now he played a full concert, which was held on the 29th of August. The programme was the following:

1. a) *Ave Maria* (Schubert-Liszt)
b) *Cantique d'amour*, performed by Franz Liszt
2. *Die drei Zigeuner*, performed by Ede Reményi and Nándor Plotényi
3. *Hungarian Rhapsody* (probably No. 12), performed by Ede Reményi and Franz Liszt
4. *Two legends for piano*
 - a) *Saint Francis of Assisi preaching to the birds*
 - b) *Saint Francis of Paula marching on the waves*, performed by Franz Liszt
5. *Hungarian Rhapsody* for two pianos (probably No. 14. in the transcription for two pianos by Hans von Bülow), performed by Liszt and Hans von Bülow²⁵

We can notice from the first glance that this was not the programme of the young virtuoso. The concert began with two lyric pieces, which were held in the atmosphere of the early Romanticism, accessible to anyone. Two Hungarian pieces followed, their success was ensured by the sentimental and virtuoso performance of the remarkable violinist Ede Reményi.²⁶ Two original compositions of Liszt, which he had composed in Rome, stood in the centre of the concert; the *Two Legends* were two masterpieces of Liszt, in which virtuosity was only used to illustrate the meaning of the music. The last piece, the *Hungarian Rhapsody* played on two pianos was a brilliant coronation of the evening.

The journal *Zenészet* *Lapok* gave a detailed review of the concert, describing the outstanding art of the 54-year-old Liszt with vivid metaphors:

“Under his fingers, the piano is not an instrument anymore, but a heavenly ghost conjured from the overworld, to explain to us the magnificent secrets of the soul. If he plays in his rapture, one ceases to feel a fallible, helpless clod; the materiality dissolves and we experience the immortality of the human soul, the power of which must be felt even by the most sceptic natures. [...] The glittering soap-bubbles of the blinding virtuosity vanished, and he gratifies the curiosity of the audience avid of spectacle with the magic of the spiritualized poetic images. Every sound, which he touches, every melody, which he leads to our heart, is a magnificent apostrophe and peroration which convinces us of the power of art.”²⁷

²⁴ *Zenészet* *Lapok*, 17th of August, 1865.

²⁵ SEBESTYÉN, E. 1844, p. 69.

²⁶ Ede Reményi (1828–1898) was an outstanding virtuoso violinist, who performed even the classic repertoire with a hint of Gipsy sentimentalism, which Liszt liked very much. In 1878 he moved to the United States.

²⁷ *Zenészet* *Lapok*, 32nd of August, 1865.

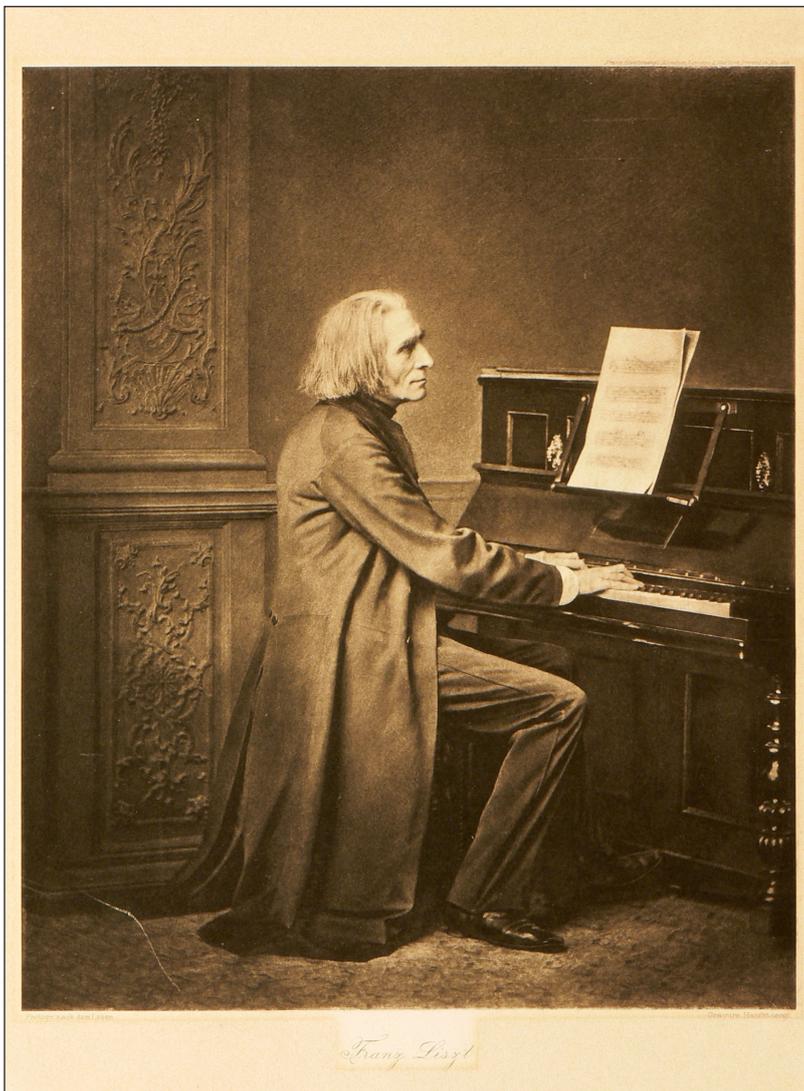


Image 3: Franz Liszt at the piano. Hélio-gravure by Franz Hanfstaengl, München, 1869, Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre.

In the twenty years that passed since 1846, when he was heard to play the piano, Liszt did not lose the flexibility and agility of his fingers, but with the age, his playing gained spiritual depth, and became better balanced and even more powerful, as it was in his youth.

Starting with the year 1869, Liszt visited Hungary every year and spent at least three months here. From this time on he played or conducted concerts every year. From the great number of concerts, I shall present only one: the Liszt-Wagner concert held on the 10th of March in 1875.

The Liszt-Wagner friendship had its roots in the common effort to open new ways to the music of the 19th century. Liszt's life seemed to be much luckier: since his childhood, he had the attention of the audience. His talent and friendly nature won him admiration and sympathy and brought along wealth and recognition. Wagner had to wait a long time for his success, and he had to face insecurity and penury. While Wagner was in exile, Liszt presented his operas in Weimar, having important composers and theorists from the German states, France, and Italy in the audience. The names of Wagner and Liszt were gradually connected: they both were struggling to compose *the music of the future*. Wagner focused from the beginning on the opera; Liszt gradually conquered the greater genres: symphony, concerto, cantata, oratorio. After several unachieved attempts, he gave up composing opera, leaving it to his friend.

Liszt was a generous person, and in Hungary, he proved to be even more generous than usually; he donated the income of most of his concerts in Budapest to charitable purposes. In 1875 he decided to help Wagner to raise funds for a new opera house he wanted to build in Bayreuth, the little town where he settled down in 1872.

In the beginning, two Liszt-Wagner concerts were planned: one in Vienna and one in Budapest, but only the Budapest concert was held in the great hall of the Vigadó, on the 10th of March in 1875.

Liszt prepared for the concert with a newly composed cantata: *Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters*, on a text by Henry Woodsworth Longfellow. It was important to raise a great income, and thus the organisers asked Liszt to play the piano, which would permit to sold tickets at very high prices. Wagner did not like the idea of Liszt playing the piano; he wanted Liszt to participate as a composer as well and to conduct a vocal piece. At the end a compromise was made: Liszt had to participate as a conductor and as a pianist, too.

The programme was the following:

Liszt: *Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters*. Conductor: Liszt.
Beethoven: *Concert for piano and orchestra in E flat Major*. Conductor: Richter.
Wagner: from *Siegfried: Forging Song* (Gassi Ferenc)
from *Twilight of the Gods: Siegfried's Death and Funeral March* (Gassi)
from *The Valkyrie: Wotan's Farewell and Magic Fire Music* (Láng Fülöp)

Liszt held his dress-rehearsal on the 9th of March. Cosima, who arrived on the 6th of March with Wagner, was present, and wrote in her journal:

"Dress rehearsal; an ugly hall, bad acoustics, insufficient preliminary rehearsals; my father absolutely overwhelms us with the way he plays the Beethoven Concerto – a tremendous impression! Magic without parallel – this is not playing, it is pure sound."²⁸

The Liszt-Wagner concert was an outstanding musical event. A plaque on the wall of the Vigadó reminds of this unique concert. The two merged concert halls were full. Both Liszt and Wagner received long applauses and had to reappear several times to thank the audience.²⁹ Liszt playing Beethoven was still the highlight of the evening.

Kornél Ábrányi described Liszt's art with enthusiastic words:

"As in the myth, all elements obeyed the orders of Zeus, and heaven and earth bowed to his power, the situation with Liszt and the piano is similar. Under his fingers, it isn't any more an instrument, but something obeying him blindly, fulfilling all his wishes, enabling him to rule over the senses of his audience. The most perfect human voice, furious storm, susurrus of zephyr, grievous eol-harp, gloomy chattering moonlight, or the outburst of hot passion: just as he wishes. We heard him play this piece about thirty years ago, but we may say, he never played it more perfectly, more poetically, more delightfully. As a Titan, he ruled over his audience, who harked to each sound, and when it was over, they burst in a feverish storm of applauses..."³⁰

This was the 64-year-old Franz Liszt, whose piano playing remained unequalled even in his old days.

The concerts which I presented in this paper are a small selection of the many wonderful concerts Liszt played and conducted in the Hungarian capital. The reviews convince us that Franz Liszt was not only an outstandingly talented person, but a noble character, who understood his geniality as a gift to the humanity, and as a duty to make the world better through it.

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²⁸ DIARIES, 1978. p. 831. The concert hall of the Vigadó was far from being ugly; Cosima shared her husband's German identity, and she could not understand her father's enthusiasm for Hungary, which she disconsidered.

²⁹ LEGÁNY, D. 1992, p. 34.

³⁰ *Zenészeti Lapok*, 11th of March, 1875.

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KONCERTI FRANZA LISZTA V BUDIMPEŠTI

Ágnes Watzatka, Spominski muzej in raziskovalni center Franza Liszta, Madžarska

Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

V obdobju med letoma 1823 in 1879 je imel Franz Liszt več kot 100 koncertov v Budimpešti. Do leta 1846 ga srečujemo kot virtuoznega pianista, ki je težke skladbe – svoje lastne kompozicije – igral z občudovanja vredno lahkotnostjo in občutkom. Od leta 1856 Liszta srečujemo kot dirigenta svojih lastnih simfoničnih in pevskih kompozicij. Nekaj skladb je v Budimpešti doživelo svetovno premiero: *Esztergomska maša*, simfonične pesnitve *Hungaria*, *Legenda o sv. Elizabeti in Zvonovi strasbourške katedrale*. Nekatere teh premier so bile izjemni dogodki, na katerih je sodelovalo od 300 do 500 glasbenikov.

POVZETEK

Franz Liszt (1811–1886) je bil rojen na Madžarskem, v deželi, na katero so ga vezala globoka domoljubna čustva. Čeprav ga je življenje popeljalo v različne dele Evrope, je ohranjal stik s svojo domovino in jo občasno obiskoval.

V Budimpešti je prvič igral kot enajstletni deček. Prvega maja 1823 je nastopil v slavnostni dvorani hotela *Het Valasztofejedelem* (Pri sedmih volilnih knezih) in občinstvo osupnil z živahnim in čutnim igranjem. Pozimi 1839/1840 je v Redouti, Narodnem gledališču in v zasebnih domovih odigral skupaj devet koncertov. Igral je svoje fantazije, zasnovane na znanih temah iz oper in samospevov. Maja 1846 je v Redouti in Narodnem gledališču odigral šest koncertov. Njegove tehnične sposobnosti so bile deležne velikega občudovanja: svoje občinstvo je popeljal v vilinski svet.

Leta 1856 se je v Budimpešto vrnil kot dirigent in skladatelj simfoničnih in vokalnih del. 26. in 28. avgusta je v slavnostni dvorani Narodnega muzeja izvedel dve vaji za svoje delo *Esztergomska maša*. Mašo je ponovno izvedel 4. septembra v mestni župnijski cerkvi Belvarosi Templom. 8. septembra je na svečani otvoritvi kapele, posvečene sv. Hermini, dirigiral svojo *Mašo za moški zbor*, zvečer pa v Narodnem gledališču še svoji simfonični pesnitvi *Les Préludes in Hungaria*.

Leta 1869 se je udeležil praznovanja ob obletnici ustanovitve glasbene akademije, katere najpomembnejši ustanovitelj je bil on sam. 15. avgusta je v koncertni dvorani Vigadó dirigiral svoj oratorij *Legenda o sv. Elizabeti*, ki je takrat doživel svetovno premiero; koncert so ponovili 22. avgusta. Udeležil se je še koncerta 17. avgusta, 29. avgusta pa je odigral klavirski koncert. Od leta 1869 je Liszt na Madžarskem vsako leto preživel več mesecev. Od mnogih koncertov naj omenimo le koncert v sodelovanju z Wagnerjem, ki je bil 10. marca 1875. Ob tej priložnosti je Liszt premierno dirigiral svojo kantato *Zvonovi strasbourške katedrale* in izvedel nepozabno interpretacijo Beethovnovega koncerta v Es-duru.

Lisztovi koncerti v Budimpešti pričajo o dejstvu, da ni bil zgolj izjemno talentiran, ampak tudi plemenitega značaja, saj je svojo genialnost dojemal kot darilo človeštvu.

THE HUNGARIAN ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC IN THE 1880': THE COLLABORATION AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN LISZT AND JÁNOS VEREBI VÉGH

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ABSTRACT

János Verebi Vég (1845–1918) composer and judge was among the leader members of the Hungarian Royal Academy of Music from 1880 to 1887, one year as the member of the Temporary Directorate of the Academy, and from 1881 on as the vice president of the institution. In fact he substituted and helped the president Franz Liszt and helped the director Ferenc Erkel in their operative tasks. He was a close friend of Liszt which is revealed in their correspondence, and also in the transcriptions of each other's works. The correspondence between Liszt and Vég about the Academy, and the original documents in the Academy's archives bring us closer to the development of the institution of that period.

KEY WORDS

Royal Academy of Music in Budapest, János Verebi Vég, Vice President, Franz Liszt, President of the Academy of Music

„Thanks to his confidential friendship with which I was honoured from our first meeting, as well as to my appointment as Vice-president of the newly founded Academy of Music, which required to be in a current contact with the Maestro, as the President of the institution, offered me a lot of possibilities to recognize, respect, moreover, to admire his nobility. His enormous self-discipline, the deep and firm faith, the strict sense of justice without exception, and his endless benevolence really passed for miracle. His attitudes were always far away from the boasting, ostentation, behaviour of the spoilt, world-conquering virtuosos” – wrote János Vég in his memoirs on Liszt.¹



Image 1: János Verebi Vég in 1887, Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum, Academy of Music Budapest, F 360.

¹ VÉGH, J. 1929, p. 73.

János Verebi Végh (Image 1) earned his surname Verebi after the village Vereb about 15 km away from the Lake Velencei where the castle of one of the most highly cultured gentry families was to be found till the 2nd World War. From the 18th century the castle housed one of the most important amateur orchestras, and for a while there was also a theatre operating here. The members of the family – like those of the family Brunswick – were high educated musicians, who played several instruments. The Végh family owned a rich library and music library, as well as a collection of instruments. János Végh Junior was born in 1845 in Vereb, and following the tradition of his ascendants he got an excellent musical training. His piano teacher was Károly Thern, the second conductor – the first was Ferenc Erkel – of the National Theatre, and professor of the Hungarian Conservatory (Secondary Music School called Nemzeti Zenede), and his professor of composition was Mihály Mosonyi. Besides his musical studies he studied jurisprudence, and later in his life he became Justice of the Supreme Court, and also Judge of the Court of Appeal. In the same time he composed music and played on amateur concerts. His musical style followed the traditions of German Romantic, especially that of Wagner. Among his compositions we find especially instrumental chamber music, songs, masses, psalms, and another genres for chorus and orchestra, and most of all piano music, among which we find also a piece with the title *Conversations for 3 pianos, 12 hands*, from the year 1863. Most probably this work intended for high standard private concerts belongs to the seria for which Végh in 1880 transcribed the *Dante Symphonie*, in 1881 the *Csárdás Macabre* by Liszt for two pianos, eight hands.² The transcription of the *Dante Symphonie* was published by Breitkopf & Härtel in the same year of its birth with Liszt's support.

As we learn, János Végh got early in friendly terms with Liszt as soon as the Maestro regularly came home. Liszt mentions Végh's name among his friends, with whom he had the pleasure to spend his leisure time with conversations, playing music, playing cards (whist) in his letter to Olga von Meyendorff of 1876.³

The music collection of the National Széchényi Library in Budapest preserves a score of the four hand transcription of the *Symphonic Poems* by Liszt, which bears a handwritten dedication of Liszt to Végh and to his musically very talented wife Angéla Bezerédj,⁴ dated February 1878. In Liszt's estate at the Liszt Museum Budapest we store numerous publications of compositions by Végh, among them songs, and the piano four hand composition titled *Suite en forme de Valse*, which was transcribed by Liszt to piano two hands.⁵ The original Liszt autograph was copied in 1933 by Gyula Végh, the son of János Végh.⁶ It was also Gyula Végh, the director of Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest, who published in 1930 the unknown diary of Liszt from 1861–1862, which was donated by Liszt to the Végh family together with other unknown relics.⁷

The relationship between Liszt and János Végh became closer in the 1880's, when Végh began to substitute Liszt as the vice-president of the Hungarian Academy of Music when Liszt left Budapest for months. At the same time he assisted the director Ferenc Erkel, too. Végh held the position of the Vice-President from 1881 to 1887, in the years when the Academy in the new building on the avenue Sugár (Rayon) made huge progress teaching about 100 students.⁸ It is now the building of the Old Academy of Music with Liszt's official apartment in it, which is in our days the Liszt Museum.

In the development of the institution these years are decisive, since the new building constructed directly for the purpose of the Academy afforded to introduce new faculties, to appoint new professors and to enlarge the collection of the instruments. However, the direction of an institution with expanded circulation, increasing number of students and staff, with manifold tasks could not be undertaken only by the aging and in teaching highly engaged

² Margit Prahács mentions yet the transcription of the *Grand Galopp chromatique* also for two pianos, eight hands, which was first performed at the Music School by Siposs on 12th of July 1879. (We have no information about the present state of the transcription.) In: PRAHÁCS, M. 1959, p. 542.

³ Letter to Olga von Meyendorff, Budapest, 16th of November, 1876. in: TYLER-WATERS 1979, p. 254.

⁴ Ms. Mus. 3438. see: ECKHARDT, M. 1986, p. 194.

⁵ Konzertwalzer nach der 4 händigen Walzersuite. R 263.

⁶ H-BI, Ms. Mus. L 62b.: Zum Musik-Spiel und Tanz / in Budapest / Walzer / von / J. Von Végh / Transcriptions für Pianoforte / von / F. Liszt nach dem Originalmanuskript Liszt's kopiert v. Julius v. Végh, Juli 1933.

⁷ VÉGH GY, 1930, pp. 22–98.

⁸ SOMOGYI, K. 1992, p. 35.

director Ferenc Erkel and by Liszt, also in his 70s, who was moreover in abroad in the greatest part of the year. That's why Ágoston Trefort, minister for Public Education and Religion founded in 1880 a Provisory Directorate Council with the aim that this staff should offer proposals for the further developments, for foundations of new faculties, for creating the new constitution and for the widening the activities of the Academy. Following the proposals of the Council the Academy of Music opened the faculties for organ, song, choir, Hungarian language and prosody and Italian language in the academic year 1881–1882. New professors were admitted to the Academy to teach these new subjects: Adél Passy-Cornet and Rikárd Pauli were in charge for the singers, Hans Koessler taught organ and choir conducting. The President of the Council was bishop Lőrinc Schlauch from Szatmár, the vice-president János Verebi Végh at that time in his late 30's.⁹ It was his task and responsibility as the president pronounced: „we need a steady hand to create a system, the hand, which with competence, pedagogical knowledge and with vocation for the noble aims could definitely resolve the problems with patience.”¹⁰



Image 2: The building of the Academy of Music in 1883 (now: Old Academy of Music) Reproduction by Ágnes Bakos.

To straighten Végh's commission, the minister Trefort appointed him as Vice President of the Academy of Music on 12th May 1881, that is he became the substitute of Liszt. This way the direction of the institution was divided among the six members of the Directorate Council among them the director Ferenc Erkel and the vice president János Végh and Liszt himself, as the president, with whom the other members, mostly Erkel and Végh carried correspondence on the matters of the Academy.

The documents in the Archives of the Academy of Music prove that the most frequent measures of Végh were about the controlling of the institution's life according to the rules, he made suggestions to improve the faultinesses, to award promotions, to find ways for development. Such a case was for example in 1881 the suggestion to promote the assistant teachers Henri Gobbi and Gyula Erkel to nominate them as regular professors, since they had more lessons as the regular professors.¹¹ Végh's competence was among others the approval of the financial costs, personal applications, the decisions about grants, the decisions about the terms of the exams. For example in 1882 one of Liszt's most beloved student, Aladár Juhász got financial support. Végh continuously kept contact with the ministry, he wrote reports to them about the Academy, and informed them about the decisions of the Directorial Council. On the other side, he transmitted the ordinances of the ministry to the Council of the Academy.

One of his most important task was to create the constitution, and to determine the rules of the institution according to the actual situation. He was always present on the entrance examinations, it was him to open them, and in the most of cases he was their president, too.

⁹ Archives of the Academy of Music, Budapest, 9947/1881.

¹⁰ SOMOGYI, K. 1992, p. 15.

¹¹ SOMOGYI, K. 1992, p. 17; Archives of the Academy of Music, 32771/1881.

He also asked for the opinion of Liszt to the extent not to burden the aging Maestro. But if he got a suggestion from Liszt, he always respected and followed it. In his memoirs he writes about their collaboration as follows:

„Even if he was not interested too much in the details of the educational method of the professors at the Academy, he felt himself to be responsible for the question of the development and reconstruction of the institution. Namely he held a vivid correspondence on nominations of the professors, on determinations of new faculties, and on purchase of new instruments.”¹²

The director Ferenc Erkel also took part in the decisions of the main questions of the Academy, however to his tasks mainly belonged the determination of the time-tables, the decisions about applications of students with hard financial background for free tuition, the decision about the programs and terms of final exams and of the beginning of the academic year, and so on.

In the following I should like to mention some measures of Végh which characterize his activity as a Vice President, and which are of great importance for the development of the institution, especially in the cases he held correspondence with Liszt.

Liszt wrote a letter to Végh on 2nd of October 1883 about Kornél Ábrányi, one of the first professors and the first secretary of the Academy of Music, whose merits were appreciated by Liszt highly:

„I do hope, that at the Academy of Music there is no kind of paralysis, albeit its secretary, Ábrányi has resigned. He writes me sadly about it, he thinks he will be more forgotten than his merits as writer, professor, composer, promoter of Hungarian Music during his long activities should be appreciated. More times I praised him to the minister Trefort, I ask you, my dear friend to emphasise his services and his merits at the Excellence, so that he could gain his reward.”¹³

We do not know precisely, why did Ábrányi feel himself to be offended. According to the documents of the Directory's session on 16th of December 1881 János Végh supported Ábrányi's book on the Hungarian Music History only with some modifications to be accepted as a textbook of the Academy of Music published by the Hungarian government as it had been approved at the previous session of the Directory. Végh proposed definite suggestions to rework the book, and also he supported the use of the new music terms approved by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Végh's proposals had been accepted, and the minister declared Ábrányi's Music History as a textbook of the Academy of Music in his record of 7th of August 1882, and he informed about it also the director Ferenc Erkel.¹⁴

On this session at the end of the year 1881 another two important questions were discussed, which were object to the arrangements of Végh.¹⁵ The session has voted for the organ to be built by Antal Dangel's son in the elegant concert hall, as well as for the designs by the architect Sándor Fellner for the decoration of the hall. This time were made the wooden benches along the walls, and for both of these two tasks the responsibility was taken over by Végh. After his studies in Paris Sándor Fellner arrived at Budapest in 1879, and he was one of the most important architects of his time. In his eclectic style he built more houses and in the country some castles, too. It was him to plan the buildings at the turn of the century as the Ministry of Finances in the Buda castle, at the square of Trinity, and the building of the Ministry of Justice. The Academy of Music employed the best artists for the decoration of its concert hall, like Sándor Fellner and the cabinetmaker Endre Thék for the design of the windows.¹⁶

¹² VÉGH, J. 1929, p. 74.

¹³ Liszt's letter to János Végh, Weimar, 2nd October 1883. First publication in Hungarian by VÉGH, J. 1929, p. 84, the original letters are published by PRAHÁCS, M. 1966, No. 532, p. 262: „Point de paralysie, j'espère à l'Académie royale hongroise de musique quoique son premier secrétaire Ábrányi soit démissionné. Il m'écrit tristement à ce sujet et pense qu'on oublie plus volontiers qu'on ne les récompense ses longs services et mérites comme écrivain, professeur, compositeur et porte-drapeau de la musique nationale. Plusieurs fois j'en parlais avec de justes éloges au ministre Trefort. Veuillez bien cher ami, - appuyez auprès de Son Excellence les services et mérites d'Ábrányi, afin qu'ils reçoivent équitable récompense.”

¹⁴ Archives of the Academy of Music, Budapest, 20616/1882.

¹⁵ Ibid., 7/1881.

¹⁶ Ibid., 17981/ 1881.

We preserve another document from 1883 about the reconstruction of the house which was also addressed to Végh. The director Erkel asks Végh on 20th of September 1883 to contact the Ministry in the sake of the undisturbed tuition of the students: namely that both the painters' ateliers on the 4th floor and the halls of the Museum of Applied Arts on the first floor rented for temporary exhibitions should be separated from the classrooms of the Academy.¹⁷ For the public of the exhibitions a new door was opened in the central corridor. These places unfortunately can not be reconstructed any more, because the building served for another purposes after 1907, when the new building of the Academy of Music in Art Nouveau had been erected, so these rooms were altered according to their new functions.

Returning to the correspondence between Liszt and Végh, we can trace their most important tasks as the substitution of the 1883 passed Volkmann for teaching composition, launching the violin faculty in 1884 and the purchase of the necessary instruments for its running.

Liszt wrote to Végh on first of November 1883 as follows:

„High esteemed Friend!

Please see after the substitution of Volkmann. I do not want to hurt his memory, but he belonged to the Academy more in his name as in his activity.

Do you have somebody in mind for his professor place, which he occupied negligently? Do you think to find him in Budapest or shall we look after his successor somewhere else? I think it would be better not make a definite contract with the successor immediately, unless his merits would certainly justify it. Please, write me! We maintain the principle, that at our Academy it is the quality and not the quantity which decides!

Friendly yours, F. Liszt”¹⁸

Liszt's request could be quickly fulfilled by Végh and by the Academy of Music. The students of Volkmann were undertaken by Hans Koessler. He was warmly greeted by Liszt in his letter to Végh, 12th of November:

„It is very advantageous for the students that the class of Volkmann is undertaken by Koessler” – he writes.¹⁹

Liszt's prophecy has been fulfilled: Hans Koessler, the ex-Professor of the Conservatory in Dresden, the conductor of the Theatre of Cologne, has built a school at the Budapest Academy of Music who taught most of the important composers and musicians of the early 20th century with Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály as his most famous students.

In 1884 the teaching of violin was introduced in the schedule of the Academy of Music led by Károly Huber. The purchase of good quality violins was ensured by Liszt using his good personal acquaintances in Vienna.

He writes to Végh from Vienna on 24th of April:

¹⁷ Ibid., 86/1883

¹⁸ First publication in Hungarian by VÉGH, J. 1929, p. 84; original publication PRAHÁCS, M. 1966, No. 534, 263. „Très honoré ami, Vous aviserez du remplacement de Volkmann. Sans faire tort à sa mémoire il était plus nominatif qu'effectif à notre Académie royale de musique. Pour sa poste de professeur qu'il occupait négligement avez vous quelqu'un en vue? Se trouve-t-il à Budapest, ou faut-t-il le chercher ailleurs? Probablement il conviendra de ne pas faire aussitôt un engagement définitif avec successeur à moins que le mérite de l'individu ne le motive de façon peremptoire. Veuillez m'en écrire. Maintenons comme principe, qu' à notre Académie ce n'est pas le nombre mais la qualité qu'importe.” Bien à vous F. Liszt.”

¹⁹ Liszt's letter to János Végh, Weimar, 12th of November 1883. First publication by VÉGH, J. 1929, 85. Original: PRAHÁCS, M. 1966. No. 535, 264: „Dass Koessler die Classe Volkmann's übernimmt ist für die Schüler vortheilhaft.”

„My dearest Friend!

Hellmesberger is willingly at service to purchase the necessary violins for the new class of Huber. I let you write him without delay, because yesterday he mentioned me an advantageous combination to our Academy, in relationship with the violins at the Hofkapelle in Vienna. The thing is to make the best of this combination, in which I trust you entirely.

Yours sincerely, F. Liszt.”²⁰

Since Liszt had not got any affirmation about the purchase of the violins in a couple of time, he urged Végh in his letters at first and 9th of May, respectively:

„I can not understand that you have not got any response from Hellmesberger yet. Usually I do not deal with things without result. If Hellmesberger did not answer you, please inform me and then I should write him to remember him that the Royal Academy of Music desires to buy a number of violins, about which he has recently offered me an advantageous purchase.

Yours cordially, F. Liszt”²¹

According to the records in the Archive of the Academy of Music the director Ferenc Erkel was informed by the ministry on 25th of October 1884 that the sum for the new violins had been transmitted.²²

After the unexpected death of Károly Huber in December 1885 Liszt was seeking his successor in abroad, as well as a proper professor for the new violoncello faculty. He was yet the president of the Academy when the new professors, Jenő Hubay and David Popper were nominated as the violin and violoncello professors by János Végh on 1st of July 1886, but he had already passed by the time when Hubay and Popper began their activities at the Academy in September. In 1886 Liszt was yet promoting in more his letters to Végh to launch a cymbal faculty at the Academy of Music, that of the par excellence Hungarian instrument. As its professor he suggested Géza Allaga, artist of the Hungarian National Theatre.²³ This desire could not have been fulfilled any more similarly to his intention to hold a seria of lectures at the Academy in January 1885, the invitation of which by Liszt hand was to be read on the door. I quote:

„From the middle of January 1885 till the Holy Week Franz Liszt will give lectures on the theory and practice of composition, harmony, and instrumentation. The lectures will take place in the grand concert hall of the Royal Academy of Music.”²⁴

It was János Végh, who represented the Academy of Music in Bayreuth, on Liszt’s burial on 5th of August 1886. The necrology of Liszt written by Végh in the diary of the Academy ends with the following words:

“The Academy of Music held its first assembly on 9th of September 1886, on the occasion of which the President János Végh had a memorial speech on Liszt underlining the irrecoverable loss of the Academy with his death, it was decided that every year on 22nd of October, the anniversary of the Master’s birth a commemorative concert and feast should be held on his honour in the grand hall of the Academy.”²⁵

²⁰ First publication in Hungarian by VÉGH, J. 1929, p. 85, original: PRAHÁCS, M. 1966, No. 546, 267. „Cher excellent ami, Hellmesberger est on ne peut mieux disposé à nous rendre de bons services pour l’acquisition des Violons nécessaires à la nouvelle classe de Huber. A ce sujet je vous engage à lui écrire de suite, car il me parlait hier d’une combinaison avantageuse pour notre Académie, à faire relativement à des Violons disponibles à la Hofcapelle de Vienne. Il s’agira de bien combiner cette combinaison, ce que je vous confie en parfaite assurance. Votre cordialement dévoué F. Liszt.”

²¹ First publication in Hungarian by VÉGH, J. 1929, p. 85, original: PRAHÁCS, M. 1966, p. 268. (No. 548, 9th of May): „Je ne m’explique pas que vous n’avez pas encore reçu réponse de Hellmesberger. D’ordinaire je ne me mêle guère des choses qui n’aboutissent point. Si Hellmesberger tardait à vous écrire, veuillez m’en informer, et je lui écrirai de mon côté pour lui rappeler que l’Académie royale hongroise de Musique désire faire l’acquisition d’un certain nombre de violons, sur lesquels il m’a proposé récemment à Vienne un achat avantageux. ”Cordial dévouement F. Liszt.”

²² Archives of the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, Budapest, 136/1884.

²³ Liszt’s letters to János Végh, Budapest, 10th of March 1886, and Paris 29th March, 1886. First publication by VÉGH, J. 1929, p. 86. The originals have not been published, most probably they have been lost.

²⁴ VÉGH, J. 1929, p. 86.

²⁵ Diary of the Academy of Music, 1886, p. 15, quoted by PRAHÁCS, M. 1959, p. 463.

In the year of Liszt's death, in 1886 János Végh resigned as the Vice President of the Academy of Music and continued his activities as a Judge of the Court of Appeal. The professors of the Academy of Music presented him a decorated memorial album.

Liszt, as in numerous cases, expressed his thanks and appreciation to his friend also by transcribing one of his works. The fact that he transcribed one of his Valses and included it in his own oeuvre, made Végh's name known worldwide also for the next generations of music lovers. He wrote his friend on 2nd of October 1883 from Weimar as follows:

“My honoured dear Friend,

Your composition titled *Suite en forme de Valse* is one of the most distinguished and charming works, rich in good and tasteful ideas. It has not too much, not too little. I have played it several times, and made it played by outstanding pianists, and its publicity will naturally continue even in America, because your Suite is due to be performed and applauded everywhere.”²⁶ (Image 3)

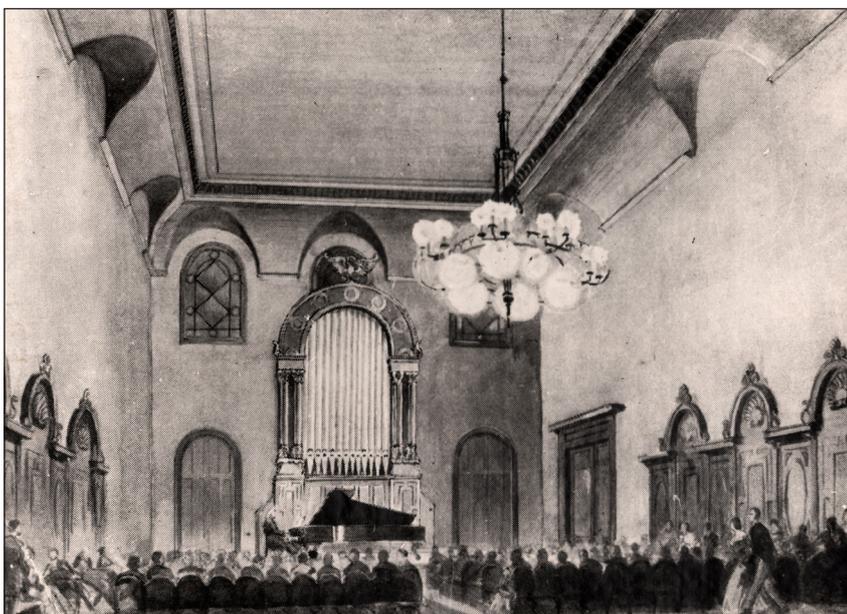


Image 3: The concert hall in Liszt's time of the Academy of Music, Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum, Academy of Music Budapest, Repr. 36.

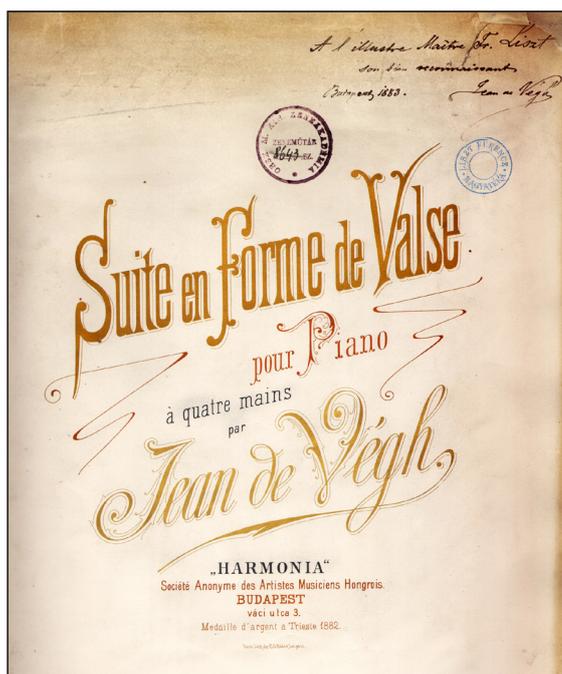


Image 4: The title page of the score of János Verebi's Suite, Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum, Academy of Music Budapest, LH 5971.

²⁶ First publication in Hungarian by VÉGH, J. 1929, p. 84, original PRAHÁCS, M. 1966, No. 532, p. 262: „Très honoré cher ami, votre Suite en Forme de Valse est une oeuvre des plus distinguées et charmantes, pleine de saillies heureuses de bon goût, sans rien de trop, ni de trop peu. Je l'ai joué et fait jouer ici par des pianistes de marque, la propagation se continuera comme de raison, jusqu'en Amérique car votre suite mérite d'être suivie et applaudie partout.”

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KRALJEVA AKADEMIJA ZA GLASBO V OSEMDESETIH LETIH 19. STOLETJA: SODELOVANJE IN PRIJATELJSTVO MED LISZTOM IN JÁNOSEM VEREBIJEM VÉGHOM

dr. Zsuzsanna Domokos, Spominski muzej in raziskovalni center Franza Liszta, Madžarska

Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

János Verebi Vég (1845–1918), skladatelj in sodnik, je bil med letoma 1880 in 1887 eden vodilnih članov madžarske Kraljeve akademije za glasbo. Leto dni je deloval kot član njenega Začasnega direktorata, od leta 1881 pa kot podpredsednik te ustanove. Nadomeščal je predsednika Franza Liszta ter pomagal njemu in ravnatelju akademije Ferencu Erclu pri njihovih operativnih nalogah. Z Lisztom sta bila tesna prijatelja, kar nam razkrivata njuno dopisovanje in dejstvo, da sta aranžirala dela drug drugega. Korespondenca med Lisztom in Végom v zvezi z akademijo in originalni dokumenti iz arhivov akademije nam približajo razvoj ustanove v tistem času.

POVZETEK

János Verebi Vég (1845–1918), skladatelj in sodnik, je bil med letoma 1880 in 1887 eden vodilnih članov madžarske Kraljeve akademije za glasbo. Leto dni je deloval kot član njenega Začasnega direktorata, od leta 1881 pa kot podpredsednik te ustanove. Nadomeščal je predsednika Franza Liszta ter pomagal njemu in ravnatelju akademije Ferencu Erclu pri njihovih operativnih nalogah. Z Lisztom sta bila tesna prijatelja, kar nam razkrivata njuno dopisovanje in dejstvo, da sta aranžirala dela drug drugega. Korespondenca med Lisztom in Végom v zvezi z akademijo in originalni dokumenti iz arhivov akademije nam omogočajo vpogled v razvoj ustanove v tistem času. Ta leta so bila odločilnega pomena za razvoj akademije, saj so si lahko v novi stavbi, zgrajeni posebej za ta namen, privoščili ustanoviti nove fakultete, zaposliti nove profesorje in povečati zbirko glasbil. Toda vodenje ustanove z večjim obsegom obveznosti ter s povečanim številom učencev in osebja s številnimi zadolžitvami je bilo prevelik zalogaj, da bi mu bila lahko kos zgolj starajoči se in s poučevanjem zelo zaposleni Ferenc Erkel in Liszt, tedaj star že čez sedemdeset let in večino leta živeč v tujini. Zaradi tega je leta 1880 minister za šolstvo in religijo Ágoston Trefort ustanovil Začasní direktorat, in to z namenom, da bi njegovi člani dajali predloge za nadaljni razvoj akademije, ustanovitev novih fakultet, oblikovanje novega statuta in širitev dejavnosti akademije. Akademija je sledila predlogom direktorata in v študijskem letu 1881/82 odprla fakulteti za orgle, pesem, zbor, madžarski jezik in intonacijo ter za italijanski jezik, leta 1884 fakulteto za violino, leta 1886 pa še fakulteto za violončelo.

Dokumenti iz arhivov akademije za glasbo dokazujejo, da so se Végovi najpogostejši ukrepi nanašali na nadzor življenja ustanove v skladu s pravili. Dajal je tudi predloge za izboljšavo pomanjkljivosti, za dodelitev napredovanj in za iskanje možnosti za razvoj. Med Végove pristojnosti so med drugim sodile tudi odobritve finančnih stroškov, osebne mape, odločitve v zvezi s štipendijami in termini sprejemnih izpitov. Vég je po eni strani vzdrževal stalen stik z ministrstvom, zanj pisal poročila o akademiji in ga obveščal o odločitvah direktorata, po drugi strani pa je direktoratu akademije prenašal odloke ministrstva. Ena njegovih najpomembnejših nalog je bila napisati statut in določiti pravila ustanove v skladu s trenutno situacijo.

Z Lisztom je nepretrgano vzdrževal pisne stike, ki so zadevali glavna in konkretna vprašanja o akademiji; pri teh vprašanjih se je vedno ravnal po navodilih predsednika. O prijateljstvu med Lisztom in Végom pričajo tudi medsebojni aranžmaji njihovih glasbenih del.

NATIONAL VS. INTERNATIONAL? FRANZ LISZT IN ZAGREB IN 1846

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ABSTRACT

One of the stops on his grand tour was the concert in Zagreb, which Franz Liszt gave on the 27th of August in 1846. His sojourn was remembered mostly after the interpretation of the Croatian musicologist Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911) in his article *Memories on Dr Franz Liszt*, published in 1908: “Liszt did not come to Zagreb because it was on his route, but because of the invitation of the members of the Zagreb *Hungarian Casino*. They thus intended to weaken the patriotic enthusiasm for the Croatian music of the supporters of the Illyrian (National Revival) Movement, and wanted Liszt to give his expert opinion on the opera *Love and malice* by Vatroslav Lisinski, performed for the first time on the 4th of April in 1846.” However, the local press, as well as local musicians and music lovers, observed his performance to some extent in a different way. The paper will present the schedule of Liszt’s activities in Zagreb, the reaction of the audiences and the echoes of this sojourn in the context of the National Revival Movement strivings and activities.

KEY WORDS

Franz Liszt, Vatroslav Lisinski, Zagreb, 1846, National Revival Movement

Zagreb was included into the map of locations attracting itinerant musicians mostly during the second half of the 18th century. As soon as the border towards the Ottoman Empire was moved further to the east and the Military Frontier shifted to the east of the town of Karlovac, Zagreb became an important stronghold and trading centre. Data on theatre companies testify about their arrival in Zagreb and performances at the open-air stages until the first buildings were adapted to host them.¹ Scarce documentation on this issue has been preserved in the Croatian State Archives and points at the operatic companies of various qualities offering series of staggioni-like guest performances² in the new capital.³ However, the first outstanding soloist will arrive in Zagreb only in the early 19th century. They gave performances in the local theatre but were usually also invited to private salons, especially in the palace of the Zagreb Bishop Maximilian Vrhovec, an outstanding patron of music and musicians. In 1811, three singers from Vienna were among his guests; in 1815, the pianist Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837)⁴ gave concerts in Zagreb, and in 1817 the piano virtuoso Jansen,⁵ etc. In short, at the house of the bishop, the Banus (Vice-roy), the military commander Radivojević as well as in houses of local noblemen, musical *accademiae* were organised, where domestic as well as international musicians took part.⁶ The majority of individual foreign musicians came from Vienna, while the operatic and theatrical companies came primarily from Graz, Villach, Klagenfurt or Trieste.

The lack of musically well-educated domestic musicians left space for guest appearances, not only for outstanding performers but also to less known members of the itinerant theatre companies or other migrant musicians.⁷ However, some more demanding musical pieces (in quality and quantity) could have been re-

¹ On the first adapted theatre buildings, see: BATUŠIĆ, N. 1978, pp. 220–226.

² On the first operatic performances in Zagreb, see: KATALINIĆ, V. 2010, pp. 325–334.

³ Zagreb became the capital of Ban’s Croatia since 1776, when the fire devastated the previous political centre – Varaždin.

⁴ Both, the singers and J. N. Hummel were mentioned in: GOGLIA, A. 1926, p. 74.

⁵ Probably it was Johann Anton Friedrich Jansen (? – Milan, 1827), a composer and pianist who was active as a piano teacher in Venice and from 1817 in Milan. Cf. Uwe Harten, Jensen, Johann Anton Friedrich. URL: <http://www.musiklexikon.ac.at.oesterreichischesmusiklexikon.han.kug.ac.at/ml?frames=yes> (quoted 1. 7. 2016).

⁶ GOGLIA, A. 1926, p. 74.

⁷ It was already in 1788 when Maximilian Vrhovec hired six choralists from Vienna for the cathedral, who were later also active as music teachers and most of them remained in Zagreb for good.

alised with joint forces of military musicians, musicians from the theatre and local amateurs. Thus, in 1819 Mozart's *Requiem* had been performed, followed by Haydn's oratorio *Die Schöpfung* in 1821. It was only after the foundation of the Zagreb *Musikverein* (Music Society) in 1827 and its school in 1829 when the possibility was offered for the systematic education of future professionals, even though all those who were searching for the highest educational level headed (mostly) for the Viennese conservatory. One of the best-trained musicians in Zagreb in the 1820s and 1830s was Karl Georg Wisner von Morgenstern (1783–1855), who moved from Arad to Varaždin (1819, to the Erdödy family estate) and soon afterwards came to Zagreb. Although a lawyer by profession, he made his living as a music teacher, composer, performer and organizer. His important role in the establishment of the *Musikverein* in the legal, as well as musical aspect, was undeniable.

Simultaneously, with the growth of the intensive musical life in the Croatian capital, the National Revival Movement, initiated in the early 1830s,⁸ gained more and more supporters in all estates. They could be traced among nobility (count Janko Drašković, countess Sidonija Rubido Erdödy, etc.), clergy (beside Vrhovec himself, the Franciscan composer Fortunat Pintarić), intellectuals (the leader and ideologist Ljudevit Gaj, the writer Stanko Vraz, the lawyer Antun Mihanović, etc.) as well as artisans and peasants. Musicians were also enthralled by the Movement, as, for example, Ferdinand Wiesner-Livadić, an author of solo-songs, rousing songs and instrumental miniatures.⁹ Military musicians joined it as well, like Ferdo Rusan or Josip Runjanin.¹⁰ Given a specific context of the period, the Revival was consequently ideologically very similar to other national movements in the early 19th century Europe. It can be seen as a reaction to Croatian economic position within the Habsburg monarchy and increasing pressures of Germanization and Magyarization what culminated in the 1848 revolution and the establishment of Banus Josip Jelačić. Political disputes in the Croatian Parliament were sometimes so fierce that they caused unrest in the streets of Zagreb.

For example, on the 29th of July in 1845, violent clashes erupted at St. Mark's Square, the casualties of which were to become known as the "July victims." Some musicians were among wounded as well. Despite such events, Hungarian officials were unable to crush the movement. The Croatian Revival left permanent consequences: firstly, it created a unique Croatian standardized language and Croatian Latin script, and secondly, it laid the ground for contemporary Croatian literature and culture at large.

Music was conceived as an extremely vigorous medium of expression and a potent vehicle of political propaganda. Patriotic songs written by Illyrian poets were performed during the intervals of various foreign (mostly German) plays and soon they earned their place in concert halls.¹¹

In 1840, a young Revival enthusiast Alberto Štriga (1821–1897), also an amateur singer, founded the *Prvo ilirsko skladnoglasja društvo* (The First Illyrian Choral Music Society) and encouraged the young composer Vatroslav Fuchs (Fux; known as Lisinski, 1819–1854) to take over the position of the society's conductor and arrange popular songs for choir as well as to lead a small orchestra. Around 1843, Štriga began to contemplate the first Croatian opera and encouraged Lisinski to compose music for it. He had even found a libretto, *Ljubav i zloba*, (Love and Malice) written by an amateur poet Janko Car, that was later drastically revised by the dramatist Dimitrija Demeter.¹² Such an opera, sung in the Croatian language, would have undoubtedly been a confirmation of current nationalist strivings. The multiple successful performances in April and May of 1846 (the leading female role was sung by Countess Sidonija Rubido-Erdödy¹³) in the new theatre at St Mark's Square received an enthusiastic reception from the audi-

⁸ The roots in the national issue can also be traced back to the actions of bishop Vrhovec, in his appeal to the parish priests to collect national heritage (1813), in his adaptation of a national song as a dance for the nobility (in 1818), etc. (cf. TUKSAR, S. 2011, pp. 180–182).

⁹ An entire book was dedicated to this interesting musician (cf. KATALINIĆ, V. 2003).

¹⁰ The latter composed a rousing song *Lijepa naša domovino* (Our Beautiful Homeland) on the text of Antun Mihanović, later to become the Croatian anthem.

¹¹ On the parallel performances of international and national pieces as well as their interweaving, see: KATALINIĆ, V. 2010, pp. 323–340.

¹² Dimitrija Demeter (1811–1872), a playwright, poet, dramatist, short story writer, and literary critic played a major role in the Croatian National Revival.

¹³ Sidonija Rubido-Erdödy (1819–1884) was a promotor of the National Revival Movement, singing many patriotic songs in the Croatian language. On the problems and obstacles in the creation of the "first national opera", see: KATALINIĆ, V. 2016, pp. 67–80.

ence, both as the musical creation in itself as well as an important national work of art. Even the German *Agramer politische Zeitung* delivered some flattering remarks: “Mr Frasinelli sang a demanding virtuoso aria with the text in the national language, composed by Mr Fuchs, as a specimen from an opera, which would be – as it is said – executed by an amateur company as a benefit performance.”¹⁴ Foreign musical newspapers and journals also announced it as a “national” one – *Gazzetta musicale* (Milan), *Révue musicale* (Paris) and some Austrian newspapers.

However, the triumphant performance of Lisinski’s work, according to the 19th-century Croatian musicologist Franjo Ksaver Kuhač,¹⁵ was a sort of a provocation for the Hungarian oriented politicians and their supporters (the Magyarons). They used to gather in their cultural centre in the Casino, a palace of the late prefect of Zagreb, Anton Amadé de Várkonyi.¹⁶ “Liszt gave concerts in Zagreb, during his European Grand Tour, on the 27th of August in 1846. Liszt did not come here because that was in his touring plan, but because the members of the Zagreb Magyaron Casino invited him to come. They wanted, namely, that Liszt weakens the enthusiasm of the Illyrians for Croatian music, and especially that Liszt gives his expert judgement about Lisinski’s opera *Ljubav i zloba* that was sung for the first time on the 4th of April in 1846. Our Magyarons have hoped that Liszt’s judgement would be devastating. The board for that Liszt’s concert has defined that the Musikverein has to organise a serenade in front of the hotel *K caru austrijanskomu* (To the Austrian Emperor), and that the overture from the opera *Ljubav i zloba* should have been performed. But Lisinski spoiled their plans and a few days earlier left for Marija Bistrica (in Croatian Hinterland) and took his score with him.”¹⁷ Although there were no proofs for such a judgement, the facts about Liszt – that can be traced in the newspapers and some secondary sources – are as follows:

Liszt began his eighteen months long tour on the 1st of March in 1846 in Vienna, where he held ten concerts by the end of April. Afterwards, he travelled to Brno, Prague, Pest, Graz, and Zagreb. On the 3rd of August, he started his big Hungarian tour, which would last until the end of the year. Liszt arrived in Zagreb on the 26th of August, accompanied by Heinrich Eduard Joseph von Lannoy (1787–1853), an Austrian composer and conductor,¹⁸ a nobleman befriended with many outstanding musicians of his time. They stayed in the famous inn *K caru austrijanskom*¹⁹ near the main square. The evening before the concert, the *Musikverein* presented a serenade and the following day, after the concert, they held a ceremony during which he was awarded an honorary membership. Karlo Wisner von Morgenstern, conductor and music pedagogue, conducted the serenade. The concert was announced in several newspapers, such as *Agramer politische Zeitung*, *Luna: Belletristisches Beiblatt zur Agramer politische Zeitung* and *Novine horvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinske*. The announcements stated that Liszt would perform on his own instrument.²⁰

The concert was one of the first piano recitals given in Zagreb.²¹ Unfortunately, no concert booklet was preserved, so one can rely exclusively on the newspaper to reconstruct the programme. On the 25th of July the concert and its programme were announced for the 27th of August in Zagreb’s newspaper (*Novine horvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinske*):²²

¹⁴ *Agramer politische Zeitung*, year’s issue 19, 1844, 20, p. 6.

¹⁵ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911) was a piano teacher, choral conductor, composer, and musicologist who studied Croatian music history and folk music. His fields of interest were ethnomusicology, aesthetics of music, historiography, music criticism, etc. On the issue on Lisinski and Liszt (and being Liszt’s pupil in Weimar) he wrote in: KUHAČ, F. K. 1904, pp. 73–75, and in his article *Uspomene na Dra Franja Liszta* (Memories of Dr Franz Liszt), (cf. KUHAČ, F. K. 1908, p. 55).

¹⁶ The palace served as the first theatre in Zagreb from the 1780s until 1834. Before Várkonyi, its owners were the Counts Kulmer and Pejačević.

¹⁷ KUHAČ, F. K. 1908, pp. 54–55.

¹⁸ SUPPAN, W. 1999, pp. 251–258.

¹⁹ After the disastrous earthquake in Zagreb in 1880, and until the beginning of the 20th century, a shopping mall was progressively arranged in the building. Today it is the shopping mall *Nama*, whose final design dates back to the period between the two world wars when it was operated by the Austrian Kastner & Öhler.

²⁰ The announcement from the newspaper *Agramer politische Zeitung*, year’s issue 21, 18th of July, 1846, vol. 57, p. 264: “Der weltberühmte Künstler auf dem Piano wird am 27. d. im hiesigen Theater ein Concert geben, und hierbei nachstehende Piecen auf seinem eigenen Instrument votragen.”

²¹ It might have been the first after the guest performance of J. N. Hummel. Until then, concerts were usual organised as *accademiae* with mixed programme and performers.

²² In the announcement, it was pointed out that it was the only concert that Liszt will give in this city; cf. *Agramer politische Zeitung*, year’s issue 21, 18th of July, 1846, vol. 57, p. 264. The best seats were immediately sold out; cf. *Agramer politische Zeitung* year’s issue 21, 21st of July, 1846, vol. 58, p. 268.

1. F. Liszt: *Reminiscence de Norma*, paraphrase on Bellini;
2. L. v. Beethoven: *Sonate pathétique*;²³
3. F. Schubert: *Die Forelle*, Liszt's transcription;
4. G. Rossini: *La serenata e l'orgia*, Liszt's transcription;
5. F. Schubert: *Lob der Thränen*, Liszt's transcription;
6. F. Liszt: *Souvenir d'Espagne*

The theatre was shining in festive illumination; the hall was completely sold out, and the critic regretted that the artist could not have given more performances.²⁴

As well as at the other concerts in 1846, Liszt presented himself more as a transcriber and performer than a composer. This time being the era of his “virtuoso years”, his main feature as a musician was his supremacy on the piano, which subsequently led to his accolades as “the greatest pianist in the world”, accompanied by the ever-famous support of his composer colleagues. It was not until a year later that he paved a new path in his career in music – that of a composer, which is mainly due to the intervention and endorsement of his partner and companion, Carolyne zu Sayn-Wittgenstein. Looking at the other side of the coin, that beside the virtuosity, one can think of Liszt's stupendous work on his transcriptions – it is fairly known that Liszt transcribed many of Schubert's works, with *Die Forelle* as one of the most famous transcriptions along with the broader audiences favourite – *Erlkönig*.²⁵ That piece he added as an encore at “the special demand of the excited audience.”²⁶ Adding a work of Beethoven in his program shines the light on his never-ending advocacy of his music – beside concert halls, a few years before the Zagreb concert Liszt helped fund the construction of Beethoven Monument in Bonn, which was unveiled in August of 1845.²⁷

The review of the concert, written by the already mentioned writer Dimitrija Demeter, was published in the newspaper *Danica*.²⁸ He penned that the audience was numerous, despite the fact that the ticket prices were three times higher than usual.²⁹ Demeter claimed that his playing could only be heard and felt, but under no circumstances described by words. However, he noted his exquisite and brilliant playing technique, as well as his musical originality that no one could hope to attain. In the Feuilleton in *Luna* another reviewer was enthusiastic: “So neu, so überraschend, so ohne denkbaren Vergleich ist die Wirkung von Liszt's vollendeter Kunst...”³⁰

According to some later (and unreliable) sources, he also gave a concert in a small town of Samobor near Zagreb. However, according to the reports, Liszt left Zagreb already the day after the concert, on the 28th of July in 1846,³¹ to meet Count Denis Sermage at Oroslavje, where he had also stayed before coming to Zagreb. Therefore, it is possible that he prepared a small house concert there, at the Sermage estate, and not in Samobor.³²

Nevertheless, Liszt made some local acquaintances with Zagreb nobility who cherished music, theatre, and dance. Among his Zagreb contacts was probably also the Count Ambroz Vranyczany-Dobrinović Jr (1801–1870), a Croatian patriot and supportive member of the *Musikverein*.³³ He was the first on the list of supporters who collected money for Vatroslav Lisinski's musical education in Prague. Lisinski thanked him in a way as it was announced in *Wiener Zeitung*: “Vatroslav Lisinski's neulich angekündigte Kompositionen cechis-

²³ There is an unverified account that Liszt made a change in the programme and performed the Andante from Beethoven's *Sonata in A-flat major*, op. 26.

²⁴ Feuilleton. Franz Liszt (...), *Luna*. Belletristisches Beiblatt zur Agramer politische Zeitung, 60, 28th of July, 1846, p. 240.

²⁵ As, for example, noted in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, year's issue 25/2, 5th of July, 1846, vol. 1, as well as in: SUPPAN, W. 1963, p. 302.

²⁶ Feuilleton. Franz Liszt (...), *Luna*. Belletristisches Beiblatt zur Agramer politische Zeitung, 60, 28th of July, 1846, p. 240.

²⁷ Franz Liszt involved himself in the project in October 1839 when it became clear there is lack of financial support. He contributed financially and personally and organized concerts and recitals, thus raising funds for the construction of the statue.

²⁸ Unsigned article: Franjo Liszt u Zagrebu, in: *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska*, 32, August 1846, pp. 129–130.

²⁹ As stated in the concert announcement: “Preise: Eine Loge im Parterre und ersten Rang ohne Entrée 5 fl – Eine Loge im zweiten Range 3 fl – Cercle, Sitz 1 fl 30 kr – Sperr, Sitz im Parterre 1 fl 20 kr (...)” See: *Agramer politische Zeitung*, year's issue 21, 18th of July, 1846, vol. 57, p. 264.

³⁰ Feuilleton. Franz Liszt (...), *Luna*, Belletristisches Beiblatt zur Agramer politische Zeitung, 60, 28th of July, 1846, p. 240.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² VINKOVIĆ, H. 1933, p. 13.

³³ PREMÉR, N. 2016, p. 273.

cher [sic!] Lieder mit beigefügter kroatischer Uebersetzung haben bereits die Presse verlassen und geben ein neues Zeugniß von der Befähigung dieses jungen südslawischen Komponisten; Lisinsky's Lieder sind dem bekannten Ambros von Vranicany dedicirt."³⁴ Lisinski dedicated his piano composition *Fantasia vrhu slavjanskih napěvah* (A Fantasy on Slavic Tunes) to Vranyczany's daughter Clotilda (later married Buratti).³⁵ Clotilda was an educated and self-possessed young lady, for whom her father also ordered an Italian ballet teacher. Pietro Coronelli got this honouring position; after his arrival to Zagreb, he settled down and later opened a famous ballet and dance school here. Finally, their relative Josip Vranyczany (1831–1866) was a very good basso singer, also a (law) student in Prague who wrote about Lisinski and his (financial) problems.³⁶ Father and daughter Vranyczany, accompanied by her husband Ivan Buratti, met Liszt once again in 1868 in Rome when he invited them to meet his beloved Countess von Wittgenstein. Clotilda went there with her husband and, as stated in one of Ambroz's letters to the poet and Banus Ivan Mažuranić, Countess Wittgenstein received them very friendly and said that she had the intention to reconcile the Croats and the Hungarians."³⁷

The aforementioned political turbulence, the feud between the 'Illyrians' and Magyarons, was to be further complicated with this concert – the latter (as presented by Kuhač) wanted to use Liszt's influential personality and his Hungarian roots to diminish the influence of the Illyrian movement, thus demonstrating their supremacy towards Illyrians, but it is plausible to assume that their plan completely failed. Namely, it happened that music prevailed and that politics did not taint the serenity that Liszt's recital brought upon the audience – either those nationally or pro-Hungarian oriented. Considering foreign newspapers, they did not bring any information on Liszt's Zagreb performance apart from the one published in *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung*,³⁸ written by Lannoy himself, that later served as a basis for some other, more recent descriptions of that Zagreb event.³⁹ Comparing it to other stops of his Grand Tour, it was certainly not an especially interesting fact for their readers, although the journalists were accompanying him on his journey as they did with Paganini and some other important and/or eccentric artists.⁴⁰ Despite of scarce information on that event so significant for Zagreb, it could be detected from the newspapers that it was then – as it is today – primarily regarded and praised as a grand musical sensation of the period and as an artistic feast for those who could attend the concert, when the hall was sold out. It did not only bring information to the audience and – especially – to the musicians on the artist himself but undoubtedly raised the level of quality and judgment of performances in the city in general.

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³⁴ Wiener Zeitung, No. 206, 29th of August, 1850, p. 16. For more on that topic, see: KATALINIĆ, V. 2016, pp. 73–74.

³⁵ She bequeathed the famous Dverce palace in Zagreb in 1912 to the municipality as representative rooms, still used today with pride.

³⁶ PREMIERL, N. 2016, p. 273.

³⁷ IVANJEK, Ž. 2016, pp. 305–306. It has to be kept in mind that 1868 was the year of the Croatian-Hungarian compromise!

³⁸ LANNOY, E. 1846, vol. 194–195.

³⁹ This is above all the article by Hinko Vinković, published in Morgenblatt in 1933.

⁴⁰ At that time, as it is also today, it was an important issue, to inform readers about the earnings of such stars, as well as to include various types of anecdotes and (often) bizarre events in the reports.

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NARODNO PROTI MEDNARODNEMU? FRANZ LISZT V ZAGREBU LETA 1846

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

Za Franza Liszta je bil koncert v Zagrebu, ki ga je odigral 27. avgusta 1846, eden izmed postankov v sklopu njegove *velike turneje*. Njegov obisk so si zapomnili predvsem po interpretaciji hrvaškega muzikologa Franja Ksaverja Kuhača (1834–1911) v članku o dr. Franzu Lisztu, ki je bil objavljen leta 1908: »Liszt v Zagreb ni prišel zaradi tega, ker bi mesto stalo na njegovi poti, ampak zaradi vabila članov zagrebškega *Madžarskega kazina*. Na tak način so nameravali oslabiti rodoljubno navdušenje podpornikov ilirskega gibanja (narodnega preporoda) nad hrvaško glasbo in želeli, da bi Liszt povedal svoje strokovno mnenje o operi *Ljubav i zloba* avtorja Vatroslava Lisinskega, ki je bila prvič uprizorjena 4. aprila 1846.« Toda lokalni časopisi ter tudi glasbeniki in ljubitelji glasbe so ta nastop do neke mere opazovali na drugačen način. V prispevku bo predstavljen urnik Lisztovih dejavnosti v Zagrebu ter odzivi občinstva in odmevi na njegov obisk v kontekstu prizadevanj in dejavnosti narodnega preporoda.

POVZETEK

Franz Liszt je v Zagreb prispel 26. avgusta v spremstvu Heinricha Eduarda Josepha Lannoyja v okviru turneje, na kateri je nastopal na koncertih na Dunaju, v Brnu, Pragi, Budimpešti, Gradcu in Zagrebu. 3. avgusta je Liszt začel veliko turnejo po Madžarski, ki je trajala do konca leta. Na predvečer koncerta so mu člani zagrebškega glasbenega društva (*Musikverein*) zaigrali serenado. Naslednji dan, torej 27. avgusta, po koncertu pa je društvo priredilo svečanost, na kateri mu je podelilo naslov častnega člana. Liszt je v Zagrebu, tako kot v drugih mestih, večinoma igral aranžmaje Beethovnovih, Schubertovih in Rossinijevih del in izvedel le dve svoji lastni skladbi. Naslednji dan je Zagreb zapustil. Vrnil se je v Oroslavje in od tam nadaljeval svojo turnejo.

Njegovega obiska so se spominjali predvsem po interpretaciji hrvaškega muzikologa Franja Ksaverja Kuhača (1834–1911), ki jo je zapisal v članku z naslovom Spomini na dr. Franza Liszta, objavljenem leta 1908: »Liszt v Zagreb ni prišel zaradi tega, ker bi mesto stalo na njegovi poti, ampak zaradi vabila članov zagrebškega 'Madžarskega kazina'. Na tak način so nameravali oslabiti rodoljubno navdušenje podpornikov ilirskega gibanja narodnega preporoda nad hrvaško glasbo in želeli, da bi Liszt povedal svoje strokovno mnenje o operi *Ljubav i zloba* avtorja Vatroslava Lisinskega, ki je bila prvič uprizorjena 4. aprila 1846.«

V prispevku obravnavamo kulturne in politične okoliščine v Zagrebu kmalu po premieri »prve hrvaške narodne opere« in spore med hrvaškimi rodoljubi in člani promadžarske stranke. Predstavljamo najave koncerta Franza Liszta v časopisih, odzive in odmeve ob njegovem obisku v Zagrebu in druge dogodke, povezane z glasbo. Odkrivamo tudi nekatere njegove stike in poznanstva s hrvaškim plemstvom v času tega obiska in morebitnega drugega koncerta v bližini Zagreba.

NOTABLE SLOVENIAN AND FOREIGN MUSICAL FIGURES AND MUSIC EVENTS, WHICH HAVE VITALLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF MARIBOR

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[Review article \(1.02\)](#)

ABSTRACT

The paper deals with notable native and foreign composers as well as musical artists who have resided in Maribor, for a longer or shorter period, in the course of the 19th century and who had left a significant mark on the musical life of the city. The paper will also discuss some music events which have now passed into the history of Maribor within the course of this century.

KEY WORDS

Maribor, 19th century, Franz Liszt, Eduard Lannoy, Hugo Wolf, Amalie Schneeweiss-Joachim, Rudolf Wagner, Janez Miklošič, Robert Stolz

Throughout history, Maribor had always asserted an inferior position in comparison to other larger cities. In the era of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, it had been inferior as compared to the ducal capital of the Duchy of Styria – Graz. In the time between the two World Wars, and even after World War II it had been inferior in comparison to Ljubljana, where the conditions for development have been more favourable, both material and administrative. In the times of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Maribor, as a small city which was located in the vicinity of the administrative centre of the province Graz, where the cultural life of entire Styria had been concentrated, asserted the position of its suburbia. Thus, Maribor's position had been entirely different within the space of the Austrian state.

In the course of the 19th century, notable foreign and Slovene composers as well as musical artists have been active in Maribor, for a longer or shorter period, and left a significant mark on the musical life of the city. Among these figures, one can also find Franz Liszt, Eduard Lannoy, Hugo Wolf, Amalie Schneeweiss-Joachim, Rudolf Wagner, Janez Miklošič, Robert Stolz, et al. It is thanks to researchers that the names above are more and more present in international encyclopaedias and lexica, scientific debates, symposium volumes, etc.

The concert of Franz Liszt in the castle of Count Brandis had without a doubt been the biggest cultural event that Maribor had witnessed in the course of the 19th century. Liszt came to Styria in the year 1846. The greatest credit for this is due to his mother Anna Liszt, who had lived with her sister in Graz during the years 1824–1827. He came to Maribor in the year 1846 as a result of the efforts of Eduard von Lannoy (1787–1853), who had been a renown Austrian composer of melodramas, conductor, and organiser of the musical life in the cities of Graz and Vienna.¹ That same year, Eduard's father, Peter Joseph Albert von Lannoy (1733–1833) who had been a Dutch privy council purchased the manor house Viltuš (Wildhaus). Initially, Eduard von Lannoy studied music, literature, philosophy, languages, and mathematics in his native town Brussels, but then continued his education in Paris and Graz. His closest circle of friends not only consisted of Liszt, but also of Hector Berlioz, Gaetano Donizetti, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Henry Vieuxtemps, and Archduke John of Austria. In the year 1808, the manor house Viltuš (Wildhaus) which was located near the city of Maribor became his home, where he had stayed in the summer time, while he resided in Graz and Vienna (from 1818) in the time during the concert season. In the capital of Austria, Lannoy had been active as a conductor, composer, member of the board of directors of the Viennese Society of Friends of Music of the Austrian Imperial State, director of the Vienna Conservatory, and the organiser of the Concerts Spirituels. Thus it does

¹ ŠPENDAL, M. 2011, p. 2.

not strike us as odd that he is considered as an important figure that had helped to shape the musical life in Vienna. Lannoy invited Liszt to his manor house and organised his first concert in the spaces of the Knights' Hall of the Maribor castle, which had been in the possession of Count Brandis.²

First, Liszt gave two concerts in Graz (on the 14th and 17th of June), then on the 16th of June in Maribor, and on the 25th of the same month in Rogaška Slatina. According to the report of the historian Rudolf Puff, Liszt experienced a genuine triumph. »Understanding the enthusiasm of our citizens for significant figures lies in the very nature of things just as – the avalanches appertain to the highlands; the sky-high waves to the sea; the vast growling echo to the thunder. However, the situation is different when the expectations of higher educated people, who are living in the surroundings of this city of a lower position, have not only been met but, as the enthusiastic acclamations have shown, were more than exceeded. The city of Maribor must give gratitude to the benevolence of the art lover and patron of art, Baron Lannoy, the owner of the nearby manorial residence, a regular summer resident and a sort of resident of this county town. For it is because of him that the city experienced an unforgettable concert of the illustrious, divine giant among all piano players, Franz Liszt on the 16th of June. A distinguished audience from all parts of Lower Styria and even from the neighbouring Croatia filled up the spacious Knights' Hall of the Counts Brandis, where the paintings of faded military victories of the past gaze upon images of a brighter new era. To judge Liszt as an artist would mean: wanting to magnify a river with a single drop; to intensify a storm with a breath of air. As he plays, the soul enters into every nerve of the body. And he, his immeasurable genius creates a storm of sound waves which transform themselves into soft sounds of bells; these are the sounds of fields of ice, flights of fairies over flower fields; such playing is the most adventurous problem which human hands ought to resolve on the piano. The citizens of Maribor were elated by the phantasy from *Norma*, our Hungarian neighbours by Schubert's Hungarian March, the music experts by Chopin's Etudes, and the representatives of the older generation by the Invitation à la valse. But, the amiable artist charmed us even more with the kind encore which was not part of his programme, where he surprised us with Schubert's Ave Maria and Erlkönig. The concert ended with Liszt's Grand Galop chromatique which was composed for a fairy dance and exemplifies a wealth of experience for the ear, while his fingering over the piano keys is of breath-taking speed. Let the stay in Maribor represent a kind contribution to his glory.«³

In his report about the two concerts of Liszt in Rogaška Slatina, Hinko Druzovič also wrote: »On the 25th of July, Liszt performed at a concert in Rogaška Slatina. He was accompanied, as well as later to Zagreb, by Baron Lannoy himself. By then, a festive hall had been constructed in the spa of Rogaška Slatina. The hall was swiftly arranged so that it was suitable for a concert on the evening before Saint Anne's day, the patron of the spa. It is an old - well, it still is – an ancient custom to celebrate Saint Anne's day as ceremonially as possible! Liszt's concert had begun at 5.00. p.m. The programme consisted of the following musical works: 1. Liszt: *Paraphrase on the Sextuor de Lucia di Lammermoor* (Donizetti), 2. Liszt: *Reminiscences de Somnambule* (Bellini), 3. Liszt: Transcription of Schubert's *Ständchen* (Serenade), 4. Kullak: *Paraphrase on the opera Don Sébastien*, 5. Liszt: *Tarantella from Stumme von Portici* (Aubert), 6. Weber: *Invitation à la valse*.«⁴

Druzovič also commented the second concert and stated: »It was on the 31st of August. Emperor Ferdinand, Empress Maria Anna, and Archduke Ivan, who was closely connected with our lands, have visited Rogaška Slatina, especially for this occasion. And it was on this occasion, that Liszt held a concert once again. It was due to the initiative of the Primate of Hungary, Jan K. Scitovsky, who had heard Liszt perform in Rogaška Slatina a year before, that this concert has taken place.«⁵

The guest performances of the theatre group of Carl Meyer at the Maribor Theatre in the years 1840/1841 and 1841/1842 are also to be counted among the most important events which have taken place in the course of the 19th century. In the period between the years 1806 and 1852, the performances of guest thea-

² SUPPAN, W. 2009, p. 82.

³ PUFF, R. G., Liszt in Marburg, see: Grazer Zeitung, No. 100, in: Stiria, IV., No. 75 (23rd of June 1846), p. 300.

⁴ DRUZOVIČ, H. 1934, p. 236.

⁵ Ibid. We have to say that there is no clear evidence about second concert which suppose Franz Liszt allegedly gave in Rogaška Slatina.

tre groups and the native Society of Theatre-Lovers concert performances, as well as other cultural events have taken place in a rather unsuitable space – at the secularised Church of the Holy Spirit, which had been located at the square Slomškov trg, the current location of the post office.⁶

The stylistic physiognomy of the dramatic repertoire of German theatre groups, which had given guest performances at the Maribor Theatre in the period from the year 1785 until 1861, displays the same features as those which we witness at the majority of smaller Austrian theatre stages. These primarily show the repertoire characteristics of Viennese suburban theatres, which mainly staged *Singspiele* (a form of German-language music dramas), folk plays, theatrical burlesques, and plays accompanied by singing. The most advanced impresarios of more important theatre works, especially from the field of Viennese folk play (Raimund Nestroy), were introduced to the audience of Maribor already in the same year or not long after their premieres. That way, the audience mentioned above had been continuously familiarised with the newest achievements within these genres.⁷

Sources show that Carl Meyer, the impresario who had been engaged at the Maribor Theatre during the above mentioned seasons, is not to be confused with the famous comedian and theatre director Carl Meyer (1750–1830), who founded the Viennese Theater in der Josefstadt in 1788. But it is almost certain that Carl Meyer, who had been a guest in Maribor in the years 1840/1841 and 1841/1842, is the same impresario who had been engaged at the theatre in Zagreb on two occasions; during the seasons in 1830–1834 and 1838/1839. This fact is proven by the comparison of some of the performances which he had staged at the Maribor Theatre or the Zagreb Theatre.⁸

Despite the unfavourable conditions, Meyer also staged more profound literary and music-theatre works like for example the works of Schiller, Kleist, Shakespeare, as well as Weber's *Preciosa*, and the works of two popular Austrian representatives of folk music for stage productions Wenzel and Adolf Müller.⁹

The native Theatre-Lovers who have staged theatre plays and concerts, with the collaboration of the members of the Music Society, at the Maribor Theatre have played a paramount role throughout the entire 19th century. In the year 1843, they performed an entire opera – Bellini's *Norma* - for the first time, which had been the only complete opera that had been carried out in the first half of the 19th century. The Theatre-Lovers were also the first to launch the initiative and to show the need for the construction of a new theatre building, which had been finished in the year 1852. The new facility was inaugurated with the staging of the opera *Martha* by Flotow, which had been performed by a guest theatre group from Graz.¹⁰

If we are to compare Meyer's theatre company with others, it is certain that his company had been of the best quality in regards to its programme as well as its production. The fact that Meyer's name had not been completely unknown before his theatre company is being supported by the words of R. G. Puff, the theatre reporter in the newspaper *Der Aufmerksame*: »Our audience which is interested in art will most certainly get to know the good reputation which the current entrepreneur of the local theatre, Carl Meyer is enjoying as a person and director.«¹¹

It stands to reason that Meyer's endeavours in regards to the repertoire in Maribor could not evolve into the same direction as in Zagreb, where he included operas of greater importance as well. The theatrical works which could be incorporated into the programme in Maribor had to correlate with the mindset of the provincial audience, such as plays accompanied by singing, comedies, etc.¹²

⁶ HARTMAN, B. 1991, pp. 678 – 679.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ ŠPENDAL, M. 1975, p. 18.

¹¹ PUFF, R. G. 1840, p. 4

¹² ŠPENDAL, M. 1975, p. 18.

The opening of the new theatre building in the year 1852 is also considered an important event. Upon its construction, the building concerned had been very modest. It was a corner building located on the present-day streets Gledališka ulica and Slovenska ulica. It extended itself solely to the foyer of the present-day theatre and was equipped with a short and low frontage on the street Gledališka ulica. It was not until the year 1863 that the theatre building received its current image with its frontage on the square Slomškov trg (the former Stolni trg / Cathedral Square) when the Kazina building had been added.¹³

The founders linked the opening show, which was held on 20. 1. 1852, with the seventieth anniversary of Archduke John of Austria (Erzherzog Johann), or to put it in the words of Puff »the keeper of what is beautiful and good in Styria, the greatly kindhearted owner of the vineyard in Maribor«. ¹⁴ The opera *Martha*, which was composed by F. von Flotow, was chosen to be performed for this highly solemn occasion. According to the hitherto data available, we can state that this was the second time when an entire opera had been performed (the first being Bellini's *Norma* in the year 1843) at the Maribor Theatre. Because Gruber's acting ensemble had been, in all likelihood, unsuitable for this kind of performance, the founders invited the theatre group of Franz Thomé, which at that time had been guesting at *Landständisches Theater* (the Estates Theatre) in Graz. At the beginning of the opening, Thomé read a prologue, written by Puff especially for this occasion, which was followed by the performance of Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (The Magic Flute), and then the opera *Martha*.¹⁵

Flotow's opera *Martha* was a perfectly successful show of Franz Thomé's theatre group, which is also being supported by the fact that it had been carried out at the Estates Theatre in Ljubljana in the season 1850/1851 with utmost success before its performance in Maribor.¹⁶

Janez Miklošič (1821–1901), the brother of the famous Slovene linguist Fran Miklošič, is without any doubt the central figure in the world of music in the course of the first half of the 19th century. Janez got acquainted with numerous musicians in Maribor. He was in constant contact with the cathedral organist Peregrin Manich in particular, with the help of whom he had deepened and perfected his musical knowledge. Since the year 1861 and until his retirement in 1900, Miklošič was employed as an elementary teacher at the primary school. He also gave vocal and piano lessons at the college of education. With the beginning of the school year 1873/1874 and 1879/1880 he gave vocal lessons at the grammar school as well. Beside all these activities, he had also been the head of the choir of the Slavic Reading Room since its foundation in the year 1882, he was an active member of the Lavant Cecilija Society, and the member of the music society Glasbena Matica in Ljubljana. Janez Miklošič died on the 3rd of August in 1901 in Maribor.¹⁷

Miklošič's importance for the development of Slovene music in the city of Maribor is to be ascribed to his activities as a choirmaster, vocal teacher, and composer. His most significant merit was a greater appreciation of choral singing by the citizens of Maribor. He had evoked the love for singing in his students, which is proven by the extraordinarily high number of students who have participated at this, then elective, class. In this way, Miklošič had laid the foundations for the spreading of Slovene choir singing in Styria, where the conditions have been significantly worse if we are to compare them with those in Carniola and Slovene Littoral. It was under the lead of Miklošič (2nd of August in 1858) when the school choir of the Maribor Grammar School had also performed a Slovene song with the title *Zvonikarjeva* authored by Blaž Potočnik for the first time in public at the Maribor castle. But the activities which he carried out as the conductor within the scope of the Slavic Reading Room in Maribor are considered as the most important of all.

Miklošič was without any doubt one of the leading members of the Slavic Reading Room concerned, besides Janko Sernec, on whose initiative the organisation had been founded, and Slomšek, who had designed the plan for the programmes of the initial events. People were mainly attracted to visit events especially because

¹³ PUFF, R. G. 1852, p. 2.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 3–4.

¹⁶ ŠPENDAL, M. 1975, p. 43.

¹⁷ ŠPENDAL, M. 1991, pp. 648–652.

of the singing, choir singing in particular. Singing had a much greater influence on national consciousness as declamations or speeches. It was right after the Reading Room had been founded (17. 7. 1861) when Miklošič, who at that time did not dispose of a singing cadre, gathered some of his best students - singers - and formed a small choir. Soon after seminarians, Czech engineers and employees, who were then employed for the construction of the Carniolan railway in Maribor, and the renown vocal quartet of the teacher Mihael Vučnik from Fram joined the mentioned choir. Benjamin and Gustav Ipavec also helped to resolve the teething troubles. The Ipavec brothers came from Graz, where they already organised the events *Besede* with students from Graz in the years 1850–1851, to attend choir rehearsals and greater events. So it came to pass that the reinforced choir counted around 40 (male) voices.¹⁸

The visit of Lovro Toman, which occurred a good month after the opening of the Slavic Reading Room (23rd of August in 1861), is also considered as a special event in the history of Maribor. It was on this occasion when he »spoke the famous words«, with which he had explained the name of the city of Maribor and provided the Slovenes of Maribor with a programme. He said: »Gentleman! We have to care for the rights of our nation, but we need to fight for them as well. Take a look at the slogan of your efforts »in the name of Your friendly little city«. Toman's visit was also honoured by the choir of the Slavic Reading Room under the lead of Janez Miklošič. Toman had promised the singers of Maribor a proper poem with the slogan »in the name of your friendly little city«.«¹⁹ Shortly after that, he actually transformed the thought, which he had stated when he visited the Slavic Reading Room in Maribor, into verses. The Slavic Reading Room chose the last of the three verses as its slogan. The verse concerned is as follows: »Therefore everybody, old or young, takes an oath that he shall always care about the happiness of his nation, that is why they choose the patriotic choir, for their city Mar i bor! (Mar i bor = to care and be willing to fight)«. ²⁰ Immediately after it had received the poem, the board of the Slavic Reading room invited Slovenian musicians to set it to music.

Janez Miklošič, the organist Peregrin Manich, Benjamin Ipavec, and the teacher Jožef Zemljič (Josef Semlitsch) were the ones to take up the invitation. Miklošič's musical work had won this »race«. The work concerned is not of greater artistic value, but it had been chosen because »it was« - as Ivan Majciger stated in his speech – »the most appropriate for our singing conditions at that time, due to its simple beauty«. Miklošič's musical work premiered at the first event called *Velika beseda*, which occurred on the 3rd of August in 1863. The largest event of the Slavic Reading Room, when it still had been in its early stages, occurred on the 3rd of August in 1863, when the Slovenes from Maribor celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the arrival of Ciril and Metod to Moravia. Around six thousand people have attended the event.²¹

Rudolf Wagner (1851–1915), an Austrian conductor and composer, is also to be counted among the figures who had played a significant role in the musical life of Maribor in the course of the 19th century. Wagner completed his study of the flute in his native city of Vienna, where he also attained the title »master flute player«. He was part of various orchestras of the former Austrian Monarchy. Since the year 1878, Wagner had also been active as a military bandmaster, all until he had settled down in Maribor (Marburg), where he initially worked as a permanent organist. It was not long after when he became the choirmaster of the Male Singing Society (Männergesangverein) in the year 1882, a position which he held for 33 years (1882–1915). Wagner was also the bandmaster at the Maribor Theatre in the seasons 1877/1878, 1881/1882, and 1882/1883 and the director of the Railroad Workers Choir. He taught music at the college of education and at the classical grammar school. Wagner's opus (around 250 works) comprises choir music, music composed for various theatre plays, overtures, dances, marching music, and church music.²²

Amalie Schneeweiss-Joachim (1839–1899), a former notable opera and concert singer from the second half of the 19th century, a mezzo-soprano, an alto, and later also contralto, is counted among important female

¹⁸ ŠPENDAL, M. 2000, p. 248.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 219.

²⁰ »Zato priseže vsak al' mlad al' star, da mu za srečo roda zmir je mar, zato si voli rodoljubov zbor, za mesto svoje Mar i bor!«, ŠPENDAL, M. 1991, p. 650.

²¹ ŠPENDAL, M. 2000, p. 248.

²² Ibid., p. 23; STOINSCHIEGG, A. 1936, p. 77.

figures who were born in Maribor. Amalie Schneeweiss (Weiss)-Joachim was born on the 10th of May in 1839 in Maribor (Marburg). The data is entered in the register of births as well as the baptismal register, which are to be found at the Regional Archives Maribor. She was married to the renowned violin virtuoso, Joseph Joachim, a Hungarian Jew (born in 1831 in Kitsee, Burgenland; died in 1907 in Berlin). They were both friends of Johannes Brahms, Clara Schumann and many other figures from the world of music. Amalie had been famous as the best performer of Lieder, which were composed by Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms. In the *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, cited by C. Wurzbach from the year 1886, we can also find the following statement: »Weiss Amalie (a singer born in Marburg in Styria on the 10th of May 1839). The real last name of the concert singer is Schneeweiss, which she had replaced with Weiss after she had gotten married to the renowned violin player... The singer lives in Berlin since the year 1866 (in reality since 1868 A/N), where she had evolved into a first-class concert singer under the reliable guidance of her husband. When it comes to her interpretations of Schumann's works, she is unsurpassable. In the course of the last decades, her creations within the oratorios and German songs have bestowed her with the most significant accolades, which are just as worthy as her husband's...«²³

The memory of Amalie Schneeweiss had faded into obscurity after she had passed (in contrast to her husband) in Berlin, on the 3rd of February in the year 1899. We can find only some short articles about her in some of the major lexica- The German musicologist Beatrix Borchard (from the Hamburg School of Music and Theater) was the first to call attention on the once grand artist only a few years ago. In her monograph *Voice and Violin (Stimme und Geige)* – biography and interpretation story, which was published by the publishing house Böhlau (Wien-Köln-Weimar) in the year 2005, Borchard investigated the life of the Joachim couple. Her investigation was mainly based on the autobiographical writings of Amalie and the correspondence between Joachim and Amalie, Brahms and Joachim, Brahms and Amalie, as well as Clara Schumann and Amalie. Borchard came to the conclusion that Amalie Schneeweiss had been befallen by the same fate as many other female artists, who reached worldwide fame during their lifetime, but have then fallen into oblivion after their passing. These female artists were also ignored by the authors of music history texts.²⁴

Amalie's autobiographical writings also describe her visit of the rehearsal for Bellini's *Norma* (which had been performed by the amateurs of Maribor, the members of the Society of Theatre-Lovers and the Music Society; it premiered on the 25th of July in 1843, and was the first whole-evening opera which had been carried out in the Maribor Theatre). A. Schneeweiss writes about her visit of the rehearsal: »For some reason unknown to me, the amateurs have studied the opera *Norma*... I was about three years of age and was allowed to attend the rehearsal. And what an experience this had been! The impression which it imposed on me was enormous and, for the first time, I became aware of my father's wish for me to become a singer. I came home late in the evening and performed the grand scene where *Norma* wants to kill her children... Then, at night, as I laid in my bed, I started singing in my bed as if a fever befell me. So it came to pass that, for many months, I have sung only *Norma*...«²⁵

Amalie's father, a lawyer, was an imperial civil servant, who had been transferred to Maribor from Eisenerz. Her mother had inherited estates in Carinthia, in Wolfsberg and Klagenfurt, after her father, which she had unfortunately lost, due to a corrupt administrator. Amalie's entire family was musically talented. Her brother played the piano and cello, and her older sister the piano. Thus, the house, which had been located in what were then the suburbs of Maribor, was filled with the sounds of music many times (according to the description). Then, in the year 1850, Amalie's father had been transferred from Maribor to the city of Bruck an der Mur, where he passed away in the year 1851. As she had left Maribor, Amalie wrote the following farewell words in her autobiography: In the fall of the year 1850, we have moved from our beloved, sunny Maribor to the cold Bruck an der Mur, which lies hidden far away in the hills.«²⁶

One of the most famous composers who also resided in Maribor for two years was Hugo Wolf. Wolf came to Maribor in the fall of 1873 with his younger brother Gilbert and older sister Modesta. All of Wolf's hitherto

²³ WURZBACH, C. 1886, Vol. 53, p. 89.

²⁴ BOCHARD, B. 2005, p. 145.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

biographers state that the siblings lived with their uncle Liebezeit for two years, but there is no specific mention of their residence. The Regional Archives Maribor preserve two school reports. These bear witness to the fact that, in the first year, Hugo lived with his uncle on the former street Kazinska ulica (Kasinogasse 169), the present-day street Miklošičeva ulica (nowadays, the house does no longer exist). Then in the second year, he lived with his sister Modesta on the street Bürgergasse 188 (present-day street Mladinska ulica 5). Hugo was admitted to the third grade at the grammar school in Maribor, where he felt badly. He lacked interest in all subjects with the only exception being music. He regularly studied and played piano extracts of symphonies composed by Viennese classics, especially Beethoven. His classmates showed no understanding for his enthusiasm for music. He was unsuccessful in school.²⁷

Hugo truly enjoyed participating in church concerts during masses at the cathedral. He was one of the first violin players of the orchestra. Because of his desire to perform as often as possible, Hugo started to neglect his school teachings. He also did not attend morning masses at his school. On the 27th of June in 1875, he participated in the performance of Johann Nepomuk Hummel's *Mass in G-minor*. When his professor of religious education, Dr Žager had reproached him with his absence at morning mass, Hugo replied that he had been playing in the orchestra during mass. Žager did not settle with this answer. Wolf's classmate, Richard Kukula had been present at this unpleasant conversation. Kukula later stated that Wolf initially endured his professor's attacks in a stoic manner, but when the angry Žager shouted »This damn music«, Wolf reached the decision to leave Maribor and to ask his father to enable him to study music at the Conservatory of Vienna. There is a deeply moving letter, which had been preserved, where Hugo writes to his father and assures him that he needs music just like »food and water. /.../ But, since you, by no means, want me to become a musician – not a muso, as you think – I shall be obedient and commit to some other profession. But, God forbid, that you will open your eyes after it is already too late for me to devote myself to music...« The problem of Hugo's ongoing studies was resolved by his father's sister, Katarina Winzenberg.²⁸

Wolf started to compose in the first half of 1875 as a fifteen-year-old student when he attended the fourth grade of the grammar school in Maribor. His first musical work was the *Piano Sonata in E-flat major, Op. 1*. He precisely described the creation of the mentioned sonata in his diary, which is being preserved in the music collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna. Wolf composed the work from the 11th until the 29th of April during his walks through the city park and in the forest which rises behind the Three Ponds (Trije ribniki). He dedicated the sonata to his father, Philipp. His second piano composition is the *Variations for piano in G-major, Op. 2*; the date of origin is not noted down on the cover page, but they originate from the year 1875. These Variations were also dedicated to his father.²⁹

Aside Wolf's piano creations, there are five more Lieder, which also originate from the year 1875, thus from the last year of his studies in Maribor. The altered Lied *Na jezeru* (On the lake), which already shows some characteristics of Wolf's mature works, is particularly interesting. The date and place of origin are not noted down on the autographs (preserved by the Austrian National Library in Vienna).

All five Lieder are published in the Critical Complete Edition of the works of Hugo Wolf, which was issued by the publishing house *Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag Wien*. The cover page of all five Lieder bears the date; before the middle of September in 1875. *The Lieder No. 1, 2, 3, and 5* have been equipped with the writing: *In Maribor or Slovenj Gradec*; while the place of origin of the Lied with the title *Wanderlied* remains unlisted.³⁰

The festive celebration that was held in Slovenj Gradec in the year 1990 had also awakened the citizens of Maribor. We started to realise the importance of the fact that Wolf began to compose right here, in Maribor. It was also in this city where he had reached the decision to devote himself entirely to music while he was still studying at the Classical Grammar School. The unveiling of a commemorative plaque on the frontage of the house on the street Mladinska ulica 5, where the artist lived during the years 1874 and 1875, also rep-

²⁷ ŠPENDAL, M. 2000, pp. 253–259.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

resented a humble token of appreciation, aside from the first Yugoslav performance of the opera *Corregidor* (2nd of March in 1990) at the Slovene National Theatre in Maribor, and a greater number of Wolf's works (especially Lieder), which were included in concert programmes. The plaque was uncovered at the twentieth anniversary of the University of Maribor by Dr Ludvik Toplak on the 5th of October in 1995. In his speech, Toplak stressed the fact that in the times when the University is in the search of its roots, we cannot ignore one of those people who have resided in Maribor and created works of European high culture. The president of the International Hugo Wolf Society, Leopold Spitzer from Vienna had also been present at this event. Spitzer said that Wolf's two-year stay in Maribor marks a watershed in his life because it was in this time when he proved that: » ... he was born to create music, and now his works belong to the entire world.«

The exhibition which was prepared on the 22nd of February in 2003 at the Regional Archives Maribor marking the hundredth anniversary of the composer's death also attracted a significant amount of attention. At the exhibition the public was introduced to Wolf's musical works, unfortunately, mostly fragments (among these also autographs), photo material, letters, poems, school reports, etc. which are being preserved by the Regional Archives Maribor. The exhibits originate from the former collection of the Hugo Wolf Museum in Slovenj Gradec. The mentioned collection was arranged by the Austrian music publicist Hans Wamlek. The material was lent (in the year 1943) by Wolf's niece, Kornelia Strasser from Graz. Many objects have been lost after World War II, and that is why the inventory list, which is being preserved by the Regional Archive Maribor, is incomplete.

When he was just eighteen years of age, Robert Stolz, who later on became a world-renowned Viennese conductor and composer, and the last great representative of the newer Viennese operetta, was appointed as the second conductor at the Maribor Theatre in the season 1898/1999. Stolz stayed in Maribor for three theatre seasons (until the year 1901). Based on the biographical records and documents, which have been gathered by Arram Bakshian Jr., we can conclude that the operetta *Der Zigeunerbaron* (The Gipsy Baron) by Johann Strauss II had been the first musical work that Stolz conducted for the theatre.

Stolz described Maribor as a small and uninteresting place, solely having a cathedral and a medieval city hall. But Maribor was also a garrison city of the Imperial-Royal infantry regiment and possessed a casino at the most elegant hotel, which had been the hub of Maribor social life. The casino/hotel was also the venue for theatre plays for a few months. When describing his years in Maribor, Stolz also told his biographer that, many years later, the state president, Marshal Tito visited the theatre performance *The Bat* (*Die Fledermaus*) composed by J. Strauss II (conducted by Stolz) in Vienna and remembered him as the »king of the waltz of Maribor«, whereupon he had awarded him with the Order of the Yugoslav Flag with Sash (I rank). Stolz composed his first theatre-music work *Studentenulke* (*Student prank*), *Op. 15* in Maribor. When talking to his biographer, Bakshian, Stolz defined the mentioned work as an operetta, whereas Bakshian later, in the biography, characterised it as a Singspiel. Stolz's work premiered at the Maribor Theatre on the 21st of March in 1901.³¹

It was already in the times of »old« Austria in the 19th- and the first half of the 20th century, when the development of Slovene musical artistry was notably marked by some foreign musicians, particularly of Czech origin, who had moved to Slovene territory. These highly educated musicians (composers, reproductive artists: instrumentalists, conductors) and music teachers have mostly naturalised in our lands and enriched Slovene musical culture with their contributions.³² Henrik Korel from Chrudim was one of the first Czech musicians in Maribor. Korel was the first director (in the year 1881) of the founded Maribor Philharmonic Society (Philharmonischer Verein), which he managed until the year 1885. He had also been the head of the choir of the Slavic Reading Room in Maribor for a shorter period (in the year 1894). After the year 1885, Korel founded a private music school, the so-called »School of singing and music«, which had been located at the crossroad of the present-day streets Partizanska ulica and Ulica heroja Šlandra.³³

³¹ Ibid., p. 29.

³² ŠPENDAL, M. 1991, p. 651.

³³ Ibid.

At the end of 1881, the German musicians and music lovers from Maribor founded the *Marburger Philharmonischer Verein* (Maribor Philharmonic Society). The society concerned organised concerts with its orchestra, as well as male and mixed choirs. The members of the society also immediately organised a music school, which was mainly intended for the education of the future members. Initially, the school had only a vocal and violin section and offered classes of three hours per week.³⁴ The vocal teacher at the college of education and Cathedral choir singer, August Satter was the one to give singing and violin lessons. Then in March of 1882, the society also founded a vocal school for girls, and some time later for boys as well. But the school also organised lessons for wind instruments, and after some time had passed piano lessons as well. As long as it appeared that the society's primary objective had solely been the education of the future members, there were also some Slovenes and Czechs who were active within the society concerned. Among these, we also find the choirmaster of the Slavic Reading Room, Gabrijel Majcen. Majcen took over the role of the violin player in the orchestra and that of a teacher at the music school. The Czech bandmaster and organist, Henrik Korel from Chrudim, who had also been the first director of the society (since the foundation of the society in the year 1885) is also someone who is worth of mentioning.³⁵

The students of the grammar school and teachers from the college of education have voluntarily participated in the choir on several occasions. When the Germans started to exploit the society for the purposes of the Germanisation; the Slovenes began to cross over to the Slavic Reading Room, and after 1910 also to the newly founded Music Society.³⁶ As it had already been mentioned before, H. Korel founded the private music school, the so-called »School of singing and music« in 1866. Korel's music school was located at the crossroad of the present-day streets Partizanska ulica and Ulica heroja Šlandra. Alfred Klietmann was one of the most renown pedagogues, a violin and piano professor, who had taught at the School of the Philharmonic Society at a later time. Three hundred students were visiting the school in the time during the years 1900 and 1910. After the year 1914, their number dropped rapidly, and in the year 1918 the school stopped operating due to the lack of teaching staff and a too small number of enrolled students. The music society Glasbena Matica took over the heritage of the school – its inventory, spaces, and archive (located on the third story of the Union building).³⁷

Hinko Druzovič also makes mentions of some distinguished guest musical artists who had performed at concerts in Maribor. One of these was the famous Austrian opera singer, the soprano singer Amalie Materna (1844–1918), who had been a member of the Vienna State Opera and one of the most renown interpreters of Wagner's soprano figures (she already performed at the first Bayreuth Wagner Festival in the year 1876). There were also other guest musicians who have visited Maribor: the violin player Pablo de Sarasate (1844–1908), the Czech violin player František Ondříček (1857–1922), the German violin players Willy Burmester (1869–1933) and August Wilhelm (1845–1908), the Polish piano player and composer Theodor Leschetizky (Leszetycki) (1830–1915), as well as the Austrian piano player and composer August Grünfeld (1852–1924).³⁸

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POMEMBNEJŠI GLASBENI IN GLASBENOGLEDALIŠKI DOGODKI TER OSEBNOSTI, KI SO VIDNEJE PRISPEVALE H KULTURNEMU RAZVOJU MARIBORA V 19. STOLETJU

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

V prispevku so obravnavani vidnejši domači in tuji skladatelji in poustvarjalni glasbeni umetniki, ki so v 19. stoletju krajši ali daljši čas bivali v Mariboru in pomembno zaznamovali kulturni razvoj v mestu. Opisani so tudi nekateri glasbeni dogodki, ki so se zapisali v zgodovino Maribora v tem stoletju.

POVZETEK

V Mariboru je v 19. stoletju ustvarjalo nekaj vidnejših skladateljev in poustvarjalnih umetnikov slovenskega in tujega rodu, ki so pomembno zaznamovali glasbeno življenje v mestu. To so bili Franz Liszt, Eduard Lannoy, Hugo Wolf, Janez Miklošič, Amalie Schneeweiss-Joachim, Rudolf Wagner, Robert Stolz in drugi. Po zaslugi raziskovalcev se njihova imena vedno pogosteje pojavljajo v mednarodnih enciklopedijah in leksikonih, znanstvenih razpravah in drugje.

Največji glasbeni dogodek v 19. stoletju v mestu je bil nedvomno koncert pianista in skladatelja Franza Liszta v viteški dvorani grofa Brandisa 16. junija 1846. Liszt je prišel v Maribor na povabilo barona Eduarda Lannoya, nekdanj priznanega avstrijskega skladatelja, in prebival v njegovem dvorcu Viltuš (Wildhaus).

MUSICAL LIFE IN MARIBOR IN THE PERIOD 1793–1861

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

This article addresses amateur musical societies during the first half of the 19th century in Maribor in a way that offers the reader an overall view of the cultural situation at the time and its effect on improving awareness about the interesting and rich national cultural life of the past. It is based on archived materials and documents stored at the University of Maribor Library, the Regional Archives in Maribor and the Archdiocesan Archives in Maribor. The purpose of this research is to promote the awareness, respect and preservation of the cultural values of our predecessors that contributed significantly to preserving the Slovenian identity.

KEY WORDS

musical societies, concerts, cultural life, Maribor, 19th century

INTRODUCTION

At the end of the 18th century, Maribor had three squares, 31 streets, 246 houses and around 2,150 inhabitants.¹ It was deemed a small town within the then Habsburg Empire. The town's population was divided into the nobility and townspeople who were later joined by the working class, which together with the peasant population lived in the suburbs of Maribor. The cultural life of Maribor's upper class (the nobility and townspeople) was likely quite colourful prior to 1793. The primary focus was on social gatherings for an elite few, who organised such events in the parlours of their own houses. The assertion that the nobility were above all else lovers of the fine arts is not far from the truth, particularly in light of the finding that certain social evenings were enriched by performing musicians, some of whom were most probably locals. Such events were amateurish, as there are unfortunately no written sources to confirm the existence and work of professional musicians prior to the establishment of the first society that organised public concerts. In contrast to the nobility, the social life of the townspeople was quite modest at the end of the 18th century. In addition to professional musicians, members of a military musical ensemble from a regiment stationed in Maribor at that time performed at social events which, according to sources, mostly included dancing events² that were organised in squares and public areas to mark holidays and other celebrations.

SOCIETIES

The origins of organised cultural life in Maribor date back to the end of the 18th century with the establishment of *Dilettantenverein* (Amateur Society) in 1793, which organised theatrical performances in German for the townspeople, as well as occasional concerts from 1793 on. It was joined 29 years later by *Lese- und Geselligkeitsverein* (Reading and Social Club), established in 1823 under the name *Casinoverein* (Kazina Society). The latter was followed by *Musikverein* (Music Society) in 1825 and much later by *Männergesangverein* (Male Choral Society) in 1847. To the extent permitted by their financial means and available space, the aforementioned societies organised parties with and without music, cultural evenings with literary content, music and recital academies and concerts by local and foreign musicians, and thus established the bases for the gradual formation of a cultural environment in Maribor.³

DILETTANTENVEREIN (AMATEUR SOCIETY)

Dilettantenverein was founded on 3rd of June 1793 by Baron Ignac Lamotte, who drew up rules and a plan for the society. The society's committee comprised four members from Maribor's cultural and political elite

¹ PUFF, R. G. 1999, p. 29.

² Three events were recorded on posters (from 1798, 1810 and 1817) that are stored in the Regional Archives in Maribor. PAM, Archival fond, Zbirka gledaliških plakatov 1780–2013.

³ PUFF, R. G. 1999, pp. 158–159.

of the time. Only a few travelling theatre groups visited Maribor prior to the establishment of *Dilettantenverein*. The tendency of the townspeople to establish societies was that much more understandable, as performances organised on the stage of the theatre in Maribor were modest, both in terms of their scope and performers.⁴ In addition to theatrical performances organised on occasion by its members, the aforementioned society carried out other charitable and social tasks. To that end, they organised various performances, primarily musical in nature (music and recital academies, productions and concerts), later in cooperation with *Musikverein*. The money they collected was used to help the poor.⁵ They thus supplemented and fulfilled the desire for socialising, helped create or supplement individual theatrical seasons, and with their charitable acts also demonstrated their willingness to provide humanitarian assistance to others.⁶

LESE- UND GESELLIGSKEITVEREIN (READING AND SOCIAL CLUB)

The society known as *Casinoverein*⁷ was established by the teacher Anton Tremmel⁸ in 1823. It faced early problems on account of spatial issues, and was forced to frequently change venues. The primary task of the society's members was the purchase of newspapers and books. With the committee's consent, they also organised recital evenings, pre-carnival celebrations, bingo, raffles and humoristic evenings with musical pieces. By organising musical evenings, the society's members raised money for charitable purposes.⁹ The nobility provided the impetus for such acts, and because the society itself faced spatial and financial difficulties, it is assumed that there were very few events of this type.¹⁰ Amateurs and a military musical ensemble from a regiment stationed in Maribor at that time participated in other events.¹¹ Most members of the society were townspeople, primarily Maribor's residents of German descent.¹² Because educated Slovenes living in Maribor at the time did not have their own society, they likely joined existing cultural institutions, as nationalistic intolerance was not yet an issue.¹³ The society began to gradually fade into irrelevance, until it ceased to exist altogether in the 1850s.¹⁴ The reasons for cultural stagnation lie in the difficult economic situation that plagued Slovenian cities and towns during the first half of the 19th century.

MUSIKVEREIN (MUSIC SOCIETY)

The beginnings of this society's creative work date back to 1825. However, the society's achievements in terms of its work and creativity were modest until 1841. The reasons for this situation can be found primarily in the mutual relations between the society's members, which were likely disorganised. With regard to its history, Rudolf G. Puff wrote that the society »came to life in 1841«. ¹⁵ It would therefore be in vain to search for reports on events organised by the society between 1824 and 1841. The finding that the society did not begin to function normally until after 1841 is thus accurate. Radical changes relating primarily to the reorganisation of the

⁴ ŠPENDAL, M. 1975, pp. 13–15.

⁵ HARTMAN, B. 1996, pp. 10–11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

⁷ Der Lese= Verein wurde durch Genehmigung Sr. Majestät am 19. Mai 1823 als Casino= Verein gegründet, um a) die erlaubten Zeitschriften zu halten, b) Spiele und Gesellschaften mit oder ohne Musik zu geben. Er miethete das geräumige Girstmaier'sche Locale und richtete es ein. Eine Aufnahmestare von 6. fl. W.W. und ein jährlicher Beitrag von 12 fl. W.W. wurden festgesetzt. Er gedieh anfangs herrlich, hatte viele Mitglieder und gab treffliche Unterhaltungen, unterstützt von den hiesigen Musikfreunden und der Capelle des Regiments Kinsky. Austritt vieler Mitglieder, örtliche Verhältnisse stellten die großen Unterhaltungen, endlich die musikalischen Productionen ein. Das Locale kam zu Klindera Graf v. Schärffenberg, und nun Herr Dr. Malli, und wurde in einem beschränkteren Zustande noch völlig zu groß für den bloßen Lesezirkel. Erst in den letzten Jahren stieg die Zahl der Mitglieder auf 40, der Zeitschriften 20, trotz dem ephemeren Auftauchen kleinerer Winkel=Vereine. Die Direction führen gegenwärtig Herr Comissär Opravill, Herr Duchatsch und Herr Dr. Puff. PUFF, R. G. 1847, pp. 262–263.

⁸ STOINSCHEGG, A. 1936, p. 1.

⁹ HARTMAN, B. 1996, pp. 10–11.

¹⁰ ŠPENDAL, M. 1975, pp. 13–15.

¹¹ PUFF, R. G. 1847, pp. 232–234.

¹² DRUZOVIČ, H. 1932, p. 14.

¹³ VRBNJAK, V. 1996, p. 531.

¹⁴ HARTMAN, B. 1970, p. 6.

¹⁵ Der Musikverein ist in's Leben getreten 1841. Er hat gegenwärtig zahlende Mitglieder 149, ausübende 62; Ehrenmitglieder 10; Musikschüler im Durchschnitte 160; Musikmeister: Carl Martini, Johann Joha, Wenzel Gruß und Johann Wlasak; Director ist Herr Graf Brandis; Capellmeister Andreas Nagy; Secretär Johann Wisiak; Kassier Hr. Schneeweiß; ...Die Statuten wurden, nachdem der projectirte Verein in Folge allerhöchster Entschliessung vom 13. April 1825, Zahl 11314, genehmigt war, abgefaßt, und deutlich der Hauptzweck, Unterricht in Vocal= und Instrumentalmusik, in Folge Ausführung von Kirchenmusik und Concerten festgesetzt... PUFF, R. G. 1847, p. 261.

society's leadership were made by Puff at that time, when he drew up new a charter and rules for the society, which all members were required to sign. He thus ensured that the rules were respected by all and introduced a certain order that was foreign to the members of previous societies in Maribor. The next important step by Puff was to elect a director, secretary, treasurer, bandmaster and the musicians Carl Martini, Johann Joha, Wenzel Gruß and Johann Wlasak. This step was urgently needed for the normal functioning of the society.¹⁶

The newly elected committee also set long-term objectives that it strove to achieve: the decision was made to organise monthly musical evenings where the society's members sang and played various instruments for the public; at the end of the school year, the music school that functioned under the auspices of the society from 1841 on organised public productions by its students. They successfully organised concerts by foreign and local musicians, and established cooperation with *Dilettantenverein*, as the joint organisation of concerts extended many theatre seasons in Maribor, which were shorter due to the infrequency of performances by travelling theatre groups. The somewhat regular functioning of *Musikverein* after 1841 was accompanied by an increase in the number of reports on cultural events in Maribor, which were published by various authors in the cultural pages of the newspapers *Der Aufmerksame* and *Stiria*, including by Rudolf G. Puff.¹⁷

CONCERTS ORGANISED BY THE SOCIETY

There is no data available prior to 1841 that confirms the society organised concerts prior to that date. The idea that *Musikverein* was stagnant or only functioned on paper for 16 years can be linked to the correspondence of Rudolf G. Puff in the newspaper *Der Aufmerksame*, where his articles were regularly published. Those articles related to the cultural work of the theatre and societies. Thus the first record of a public performance and the presentation of the society's members were not published in *Der Aufmerksame* until 1841. On the evening of 1 February of the same year, the society organised a production at the theatre where members performed seven vocal and instrumental-orchestral numbers. A second event, at which the orchestra of the *Musikverein* and an enlarged choir of 115 singers performed, was organised six months later.¹⁸

PRODUCTIONS AND CONCERTS BY STUDENTS OF THE MUSIC SCHOOL

At the time it was founded, the committee of *Musikverein* set itself a difficult and important creative task, the objective of which was long in planning: to establish a music school where staff would be trained for the needs of the society. The plan was adopted and young members were given the opportunity to study music as their primary education at the music school. The objective had two aims. Firstly, a great deal of attention was given to the musical education of young members for the later needs of the *Musikverein* orchestra. Secondly, the society was afforded the opportunity to organise an increased number of productions and events at which young members performed. If we take into account the fact that the work of previous societies was modest, the progressive ideas of *Musikverein* took organised musical life a step further. Although records regarding such work are scarce, some have been preserved. From those records we are able to discern a partial picture of the programme performed by students.¹⁹ Also of interest is a concert at which a composition of the Croatian composer Vatroslav Lisinski²⁰ was performed. That performance was significant primarily due the nationality of the composer, as this was the first publicly performed composition of a Slavic composer in Maribor.

¹⁶ PUFF, R. G. 1847, p. 261.

¹⁷ Prof. Rudolf G. Puff was born on 10th of July 1808 in Holzbaueregg (Western Styria) and died on 20th of June 1865 in Maribor. He travelled a great deal and learned about the Styria region. He published notes about his travels under the pseudonym Rudolph Bacherer in the local newspapers *Grazer Zeitung*, *Der Aufmerksame*, *Stiria*, *D. Magnet*, *Steir. Nat. Kalender* and others. He also wrote many books about the history of Lower Styria (Maribor and the surrounding area), which are preserved (in print and manuscript form) at the University of Maribor Library. BAŠ, F. 1952, p. 593.

¹⁸ *Was der Sinn für das Schöne und Große bei vereinten Kräften Großes und Treffliches zu schaffen vermag, bewies die am 2.d.M. abgehaltene große Production unseres jugendlichen Musik-Vereines*. According to the notes of Rudolf G. Puff in the column »Correspondenz«, the event was a public production in which the students of the society's music school also performed. We can also understand the citation »große Production unseres jugendlichen Musik-Vereines« to mean that young members (pupils of the music school) performed in the production and that a »new society« was presented to the public. The society was revived and began functioning again in 1841. According to information in the report that the students of the music school sat for an exam on 19th of July, it is possible to discern that the event of 2nd of August was a joint production of the members of the society and the music school's students. This is highly likely, taking into account the number of performers (more than 115) and the content of the programme. PUFF, R. G. 1841, see: *Grazer Zeitung*, 1841, No. 133, in: *Der Aufmerksame*, No. 100 (21. 8. 1841), s. p.

¹⁹ PUFF, R. G. 1841, see: *Grazer Zeitung*, 1841, No. 133, in: *Der Aufmerksame*, No. 100 (21.8. 1841), s. p.

²⁰ PUFF, R. G. 1845, see: *Grazer Zeitung*, 1845, No. 85, in: *Stiria*, year's issue 3, No. 64 (29. 5. 1845), p. 256.

CONCERTS BY FOREIGN ARTISTS AND PERFORMANCES AT CHARITABLE EVENTS

The work of the society was far-reaching in the 1830s, and was thus deemed »progressive« in terms of organised cultural life in Maribor. By all means, the events and productions organised by the society were an attempt to fill the void and time gap that arose in the 1830s. The concerts by foreign artists and charitable events with music that it organised were seen as positive and as pioneering work in Maribor. In addition to »music academies« and concerts, *Musikverein* also organised charitable concerts at the theatre. There is a record of one concert, the proceeds of which were sent to the unfortunate inhabitants of the mountain village of Übelbach in Styria.²¹

Dilettantenverein and *Musikverein* pooled their strengths to successfully organise musical and literary events, although they were rare. One major and noteworthy joint project was the performance of Vincenzo Bellini's opera *Norma* at the theatre in Maribor in 1843, an extremely important event for the townspeople. Compared with the frequency of opera performances in larger cities such as Graz and Ljubljana, Maribor, as a small provincial town whose theatrical repertoire fluctuated between comedies, *Singspiels* and musicals, struggled to expand its cultural horizon. A joint decision was taken by the heads of the two societies to earmark the proceeds from the performance for charitable purposes. Although the presentation of the opera *Norma* on the stage of the theatre in Maribor was of lesser quality (there were no known performers of that time), that performance and six encores were a special experience for the provincial town or suburb of Graz, as Maribor was called by some of its inhabitants.²² In addition to collecting money for a new theatre building, the two societies organised joint concerts. On 9th of October, as an introduction to the 1844/1845 theatre season, *Theaterfreunde* (Friends of the Theatre Association),²³ organised a »musical-recital« event that included an encore performance of Variations for the Violin and the orchestra of Vatroslav Lisinski, which can be interpreted as the beginning of the »Pan-Slavism« movement.²⁴

MÄNNERGESANGVEREIN (MALE CHORAL SOCIETY)

Existing societies were joined in 1846 by the new *Männergesangverein* (hereinafter: *MGV*). The majority of thanks for this new and fresh approach goes to the management policy of the committee, which had the opportunity to identify mistakes in the functioning of previous societies prior to the establishment of *MGV*. This new and different approach provided the foundations for *MGV*. Of interest is information regarding the choir's first performance found in August Stoinschegg's book, *Chronik des Männergesangvereins in Marburg, 1846–1936*. Stoinschegg wrote that he found a concert programme in *MGV*'s archive. He is convinced that the aforementioned concert was to be performed by the society's members to mark the arrival of Emperor Ferdinand I and his wife Anna Marie in Maribor on 22nd of April 1847.²⁵ Maribor experienced another great honour at around the time *MGV* was established: the town was visited by the composer and pianist Franz Liszt on 16th of June 1846. Liszt performed five compositions in the ceremonial hall of the Count of Brandis.²⁶

Despite the enthusiasm and commitment of the committee, bandmaster and members, *MGV* also faced spatial problems (known to other societies) that might erode the foundations of the new society. In 1851 the society was forced to move from the premises it had leased since it began to function in 1847. Because the society did not have its own premises in which to practice from 1854 on, the problem was solved by the then mayor and notary Otmar Reiser, who was actively involved in *MGV* on the committee and as a

²¹ Dahin gehört die am 23. Mai im städtischen Theater zum besten der durch Feuer verunglückten Bewohner von Uebelbach gegebene große musikalisch=deklamatorische Academie der Sängerin Annette Ambrosich. So ungünstig das Wetter, der etwas spät bestimmte Anfang (8 Uhr) und die gar zu spät besorgte Ankündigung wirkten, so fand sich doch im nett decorirten Locale ein zahlreiches und ausgewähltes Publikum ein, welches der wackeren Sängerin den reich verdienten Beifall zollte. PUFF, R. G. 1844, see: Grazer Zeitung, 1844, No. 92, in: Stiria, year's issue 2, No. 69 (8. 6. 1844), p. 276.

²² PUFF, R. G. 1852, p. 6.

²³ *Theaterfreunde* is how the author of the article, Rudolf G. Puff, referred to members of *Dilettantenverein*. There are no references to »*Theaterfreunde*« as a society or institution in any sources. It is thus highly likely that Puff referred to members who were particularly active in the organisation of individual events as *Theaterfreunde*.

²⁴ CVETKO, D. 1960, pp. 35–36.

²⁵ STOINSCHEGG, A. 1936, p. 3.

²⁶ PUFF, R. G. 1847, p. 300.

²⁷ STOINSCHEGG, A. 1936, p. 4.

singer.²⁷ He offered premises in his own apartment as a solution, which was temporary but extremely important for the society's continued existence.²⁸

Following the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Emperor Franz Joseph I in 1853, a mass was held in St. Aloysius Church (on 6th of March) for the recovery of the emperor. Members of *MGV* were among those who participated. The mass simultaneously served as the opening performance of the 1853/1854 season.²⁹ Very little information has been preserved regarding the possible concerts and musical events at which *MGV* participated in the period 1853–1861. It is evident from chronicles that reports regarding concerts and events were very scarce. *MGV* did in fact perform publicly but spatial pressures took their toll. *MGV* nevertheless participated at major events in Maribor. Detailed reports regarding *MGV* concerts were also recorded for 1859 and 1860. *MGV* obtained its first piano at the beginning of 1860, an event that was celebrated with a concert on 29th of January.³⁰ It is my opinion that the establishment of *MGV* in Maribor marked the start of the second stage of development of musical life in the town.

THEATRE

Comedies, Singspiels, romantic fairy tales and plays, vaudeville acts, melodramas, dramas, operettas and operas were all performed in the theatre.³¹ In addition to theatre performances, various concerts by foreign artists were also organised in the theatre.³² The purpose of such performances was to fill the gaps in modest theatre seasons. The impresarios of the theatre in Maribor were Carl Meyer and Moritz Römer, who demonstrated a special appreciation for these types of events.³³

The first such event, *Musikalisch – deklamatorische Akademie* (Recital and Music Academy), was held on 29th of December 1841. The event was organised by the impresario Carl Meyer and included performances by the instrumentalist Peter Singer and the singer and actor Karel J. Osinski.³⁴ A concert held in 1846 is also worthy of note. An Italian opera company performed in Maribor at the invitation of Moritz Römer. During the concert, the soprano Adelaide Mozza and bass Giuseppe Luzzi sang excerpts from the operas of Gaetano Donizetti, Vincenzo Bellini and Giuseppe Verdi, while members of the theatre group performed the comedy *Die beiden Luisen*.³⁵ It can be derived from the report that the audience was also knowledgeable about the achievements of contemporary Italian opera, while Römer was credited with the staging of Schubert's now-popular one-act Singspiel, *Die Zwillingbrüder*.³⁶

Impresarios (and even more so concert organisers) were keenly aware of spatial problems, as concerts and other cultural events were organised in theatre premises that did not serve their purposes. Thus, a special fund for the construction of a theatre was established in 1843 following the first performance of *Norma*. Charitable events were also organised, with the proceeds being earmarked for construction. However, activities dragged on until 1847, when the need was once again voiced for the construction of a new and bigger theatre.³⁷ The board met on 15th of April 1847 and elected a 15-member committee.³⁸ The main task of the committee was the organisation of charitable events and raffles. The only charitable event whose net proceeds went into the special fund for the construction of a theatre was held on 22nd of July 1847.³⁹ The theatre was completed in 1852 using the modest funds available. One of Friedrich von Flotow's operas, *Martha or Der Markt zu Richmond* was selected to mark the occasion.⁴⁰

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 4–5.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 6–7.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 10–11.

³¹ PAM, Archival fond, Zbirka gledaliških plakatov, 1790–2013.

³² KRALJ, V. 1937, pp. 14–15.

³³ ŠPENDAL, M. 1975, pp. 18, 20, 32, 33.

³⁴ PAM, Archival fond, Zbirka gledaliških plakatov, 1790–2013.

³⁵ Correspondenz, 1846, see: Grazer Zeitung, 1846, No. 24, in: Stiria, year's issue 4, No. 18, (10. 2. 1846), p. 72.

³⁶ ŠPENDAL, M. 1991, p. 33.

³⁷ PUFF, R. G. 1852, pp. 1–2.

³⁸ HARTMAN, B. 1970, p. 2.

³⁹ Correspondenz, 1847, see: Grazer Zeitung, No. 127, in Stiria, year's issue 5, No. 95 (10. 8. 1847), pp. 379–380.

⁴⁰ PAM, Archival fond, Zbirka gledaliških plakatov 1790–2013.

The theatre was not, however, the only place where concerts by visiting musicians were organised. The parlour in the Tappeiner House⁴¹ was above all a meeting place for artists and art lovers, who were then part of Maribor's upper class. The theatre performances and concerts of *Musikverein* and *Dilettantenverein* were thus supplemented by occasional literary-humoristic evenings that were enhanced by musical pieces. A report described two literary-humoristic evenings (6th and 8th of June 1845) in *Stiria*. Those evenings also included the reading of humorous poems.⁴²

STÄDTISCHE MUSIK-CAPELLE (TOWN BAND)

The municipality established *Städtische Musik-Capelle* in 1855 and thus filled the gap that arose in Maribor's musical life due to the irregular functioning of *Musikverein*.⁴³ Although musical life improved with the establishment of *MGV* in 1846, it remained quite modest primarily due to the gradual fading of societies. The town council found a solution in the town band (comprising former members of the military band of Count Kinsky's infantry regiment, members of *Musikverein* and the former pupils of the society's music school), with the aim of carrying on the tradition and work of the once promising and active *Musikverein*. The band members were tasked with participating in performances at the theatre, organising independent productions and concerts, and playing at dances and parties. The members of *Musikverein* also wanted to revive the orchestra. However, the newspaper *Der Aufmerksame* only reported on the active functioning of *Städtische Musik-Capelle*.

Städtische Musik-Capelle organised its own concert on 23rd of September 1855 in Löschingg's Great Hall. On 19th of November *Städtische Musik-Capelle* organised a second concert, which it called *Soirée*, to mark the name day of the Empress Elizabeth I. The programme included *Elisabethmarsch* (Elizabeth's March) by an unknown composer, which was repeated several times.⁴⁴ The members of *Städtische Musik-Capelle* also occasionally organised joint concerts with members of *Musikverein* or *MGV*. A joint performance or production, most likely to celebrate the opening of the music school, was organised on 5th of November 1855.⁴⁵ In addition to *Städtische Musik-Capelle*, which »saved the honour« of Maribor's musicians, *MGV* also contributed to the diverse cultural life.

MILITARY BAND

Musicians, singers and instrumentalists who visited Maribor were accompanied by both the members of *Musikverein* and the musicians of the military band. The first written report of a musical event can be found in the newspaper *Der Aufmerksame* in 1819. The members of the military band of the emperor's infantry regiment led by Count Vogelsang organised a concert on 31st of December 1819. The programme was not given, so we can only guess what was performed.⁴⁶ In addition to Count Vogelsang's military band, the members of Count Kinsky's 47th Infantry Regiment Band also performed. The soprano Annette Ambrosich and the tenor Theodor Smitter from Trieste performed together for the public on 8th of May 1845.⁴⁷

CONCLUSION

The first society, *Dilettantenverein*, was established in Maribor in 1793, with the aim of improving the period's theatre performances (which were modest both in terms of quantity and quality) and performing a charitable function through the collection of donations. The arrival of the Hungarian music teacher Anton Trem-

⁴¹ PUFF, R. G. 1847, p. 86.

⁴² Correspondenz, 1845, see: Grazer Zeitung, 1845, No. 94, in: *Stiria*, year's issue 3, No. 71 (14. 6. 1845), p. 284.

⁴³ Mit der Bildung der städtischen Musikcapelle geht es rasch vorwärts, und sie dürfte noch in diesem Monate zu musikalischen Productionen kommen. Eine rüstige junge Kraft arbeitet mit allem Zifer an der Organisirung des neuen Köpers, der, wie die Dinge jetzt stehen, dem Musikvereine wieder aushelfen dürfte. Das Orchester des Theaters, jenes der Casinobälle werden ebenfalls durch die neue Capelle besetzt werden. Correspondenz, 1855, see: Grazer Zeitung, 1855, No. 424, in: *Der Aufmerksame*, No. 47, (15. 9. 1855), p. 188.

⁴⁴ Correspondenz, 1855, see: Grazer Zeitung, 1855, No. 550, in: *Der Aufmerksame*, No. 79, (29. 11. 1855), pp. 315–316.

⁴⁵ Unser Musikverein, nun Hand in Hand mit der städtischen Capelle, die in wiederholten Soiréen unter der Leitung ihres verdienstvollen provisorischen Capellmeisters einen immer mehr ermunternden Beifall erntet, erwacht zum neuen Leben. Joint production of *Städtische Musik-Capelle* and *Musikverein*. Anon, 1855, see: Grazer Zeitung, 1855, No. 518, in: *Der Aufmerksame*, No. 71, (10. 11. 1855), p. 284.

⁴⁶ Anon, 1820, see: Grazer Zeitung, 1820, No. 10, in: *Der Aufmerksame*, 1820, No. 10 (25. 1. 1820), p. 1.

⁴⁷ PUFF, R. G. 1845, see: Grazer Zeitung, 1845, No. 86, in: *Stiria*, year's issue 3, No. 65 (31. 5. 1845), p. 260.

mel in Maribor was extremely significant. A second society, *Lese- und Geselligkeitsverein*, was established in Maribor in 1823 with his help. *Lese- und Geselligkeitsverein* was also known as Kazina Society, through which committee members attempted to arouse interest among Maribor's citizens for planned social events of a cultural nature. Although they may not have been musical productions in the true sense of the word, such events represented the first step in the development of musical production. Anton Tremmel also established *Musikverein* in 1825 with the aim of improving and increasing the existing cultural offer of modest dimensions. Unfortunately, he miscalculated when he established the society, as culture in Maribor was not sufficiently developed. It was not until 1841 that culture reached a level of maturity at which the society could function normally with the help of Rudolf G. Puff, who lived in Maribor from 1830 on and monitored its cultural pulse. Anton Tremmel thus already had the experience he needed to establish *Männergesangverein*. Although it is my opinion that the establishment of the latter in Maribor marked the start of the second stage of development of musical life in the town, it should be noted that sources for the period 1848 to 1852 do not provide any reports regarding musical events. For the most part, reporters were not attentive enough to local events; the economic and political situation was adverse, and people gave more attention to the major changes occurring throughout Europe.

The direction of the programme of musical events in Maribor from this initial period thus paints an interesting picture. Although certain concert programmes were modest, not a single composition by a Slovenian author or author of Slovenian descent was performed at such musical events. The exception was a performance by the members and students of *Musikverein* on 9th October 1844, where a work by the Croatian composer Vatroslav Lisinski was performed. It is no surprise that the works of Slovenian composers were not performed at concerts. Ljubljana, with its own societies, composers and creators, is more removed from the likes of Graz and Vienna than Maribor (it is thus no surprise that unknown names of local German composers can be found among the names of known composers). Concert programmes comprised the works of German and Italian composers, which is understandable given Maribor's geographical position. Overtures to different operas were performed most frequently, followed by various vocal-instrumental compositions and compositions of a lighter nature. Symphonies were not performed in Maribor, except for two, primarily due to the inexperience of the *Musikverein* orchestra, whose members were amateur musicians and music school pupils. Although Maribor was deemed a provincial town, we may find the musical programmes of its societies rather interesting. Likewise the directions of programmes during the first half of the 19th century indicate a Western European influence over musical life in Maribor. Artists who performed in Maribor were unknown to the wider circle of connoisseurs. However, they included artists who visited Maribor as part of their European tours. Contacts were established through the theatre's impresarios, the members of *societies* and through individual residents of Maribor.

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

V prispevku je obravnavano delovanje ljubiteljskih glasbenih društev v prvi polovici 19. stoletja v Mariboru. Bralcu je ponujen splošen vpogled v tedanje stanje v kulturi, prispevek pa nenazadnje vpliva tudi na boljše ozaveščenost o nacionalnem kulturnem življenju, ki je bilo vsaj v preteklosti zanimivo in bogato. Besedilo temelji na arhivskem gradivu in dokumentih, ki jih hranijo Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor. Namen raziskave je (s)poznavanje, spoštovanje in ohranjanje kulturnih vrednot naših predhodnikov, ki so pomembno (so)vplivale na ohranitev slovenske samobitnosti.

POVZETEK

Začetek razvoja glasbenega življenja sega na konec 18. stoletja, natančneje v leto 1793. To je čas ustanovitve prvega društva s kulturnim poslanstvom, namreč *Dilettantenvereina*, katerega člani še niso bili neposredno povezani z glasbeno, temveč z gledališko umetnostjo. Člani društva so tako sodelovali pri snovanju in uprizoritvah domačih gledaliških predstav, saj je gostujoče gledališke skupine pot le redko zanesla v Maribor. Društvo je imelo večjo in pomembnejšo vlogo predvsem na področju dobrodelništva. Prvi resnejši koraki v razvoju glasbene umetnosti so bili narejeni kasneje, leta 1823, v okviru *Lese- und Geselligkeitsverein* oziroma *Casinovereina*. V tem društvu so pripravljali družabne prireditve, na katerih so muzicirali njegovi člani (le redko so igrali na prireditvah zasebnega značaja). Verjetno so pripravili tudi glasbene večere. Motiv za ustanovitev naslednjega društva, *Musikvereina*, leta 1825 lahko iščemo v povečanem zanimanju med meščani, saj so namreč gledališke predstave in prireditve *Casinovereina* v tedaj skromno življenje vnesle pestrost in razgibanost. Prireditve, ki so jih organizirali v društvenih okvirih, so se po vsebinski zasnovi med seboj razlikovale. Tako so pripravljali večere, na katerih so recitali literarne odlomke in jih popestrili z glasbenimi točkami. Pripravljali so tudi glasbene akademije, na katerih so igrali člani. Posebej je treba poudariti, da so bile redke in izjemne tudi priložnosti, ko so meščani imeli možnost slišati gostujoče profesionalne glasbenike, ki so se na svojih turnejah ustavili v mestu. Njihovi koncerti so bili na višji kakovostni ravni, kajti glasbeno-deklamatorske akademije niso ponujale visokokakovostne izvedbe, kar je bilo razumljivo glede na glasbeno izobrazbo nastopajočih. Četudi je bila vsebinska zasnova posameznih prireditev zanimiva in raznolika, orkestralnih del v prvem obdobju glasbenega razvoja meščani žal niso slišali, kar je povsem jasno, saj v Mariboru ni bilo orkestra, ki bi lahko izvajal dela te glasbene zvrsti. S tega zornega kota lahko ocenimo, da je bila glasbena produkcija, ki se je v tem času predstavljala v okviru društev in gledališča, do leta 1841 izjemno skromna, tako z vidika kvalitete kot vidika kvantitete, ter namenjena meščanom predvsem kot vir zabave in sprostitve. Za prvo obdobje družabnega življenja lahko tako sklenemo, da je bilo izjemno skromno, je pa utiralo pot, po kateri se je začela glasbena reprodukcija sistematično in načrtno razvijati. Prizadevanja za bogatejšo ponudbo glasbenih prireditev so se tako začela šele po letu 1841 po reorganizaciji *Musikvereina* in ustanovitvi *Männergesangvereina*, ki je težavam navkljub nepretrgoma delovalo do leta 1936. Glasbeni prostor so v drugi polovici petdesetih let 19. stoletja dopolnili tudi člani *Städtische Musik-Capelle*, ki je sčasoma nadomestila počasi usihajoči *Musikverein*. Pomembno je tudi dejstvo, da so v tem obdobju v Mariboru gostovali umetniki iz tujih dežel, ki so za mesto vsekakor pomenili napredek, saj se je Maribor tako počasi izvijal iz mreže provincialnosti.

SOCIAL LIFE OF MARIBOR BOURGEOISIE IN THE DECADE OF FRANZ LISZT'S VISIT TO MARIBOR: BETWEEN THE PRIVATE AND THE PUBLIC

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

In the 1840s, the bourgeois of Maribor led the life similar to that in other Austrian provincial towns. Their economic pursuits were tightly linked with the fertile agricultural area in the vicinity, which for many families denoted the basic source of income. The town had a pronounced German character and the German language was the external symbol of the upper classes, much like their attachment to German culture and artists. Music and theatre played an important role in their social life. Just as important was the reading society that organized theatrical performances and balls. Other important venues for socializing were dance halls that organized balls during the Carnival season and in the period of grape harvests. Parties were also held in the privacy of people's homes.

KEY WORDS

Maribor, social life, German culture, Franz Liszt, Musikverein

INTRODUCTION

The Maribor of the first half of the 19th century had the character of a small provincial Austrian town. At the time of Franz Liszt's concert on the 16th of June in 1846, the town had 3 town squares, 31 streets, 246 houses, 4 public wells, 3 churches, 6 military facilities, two schools, 2 health clinics, and a theatre (in the former church of the Holy Spirit). By that time the town had already removed the six city gates, filled up the moats, and arranged free passage to the streets and squares.¹ The centre of the town was surrounded by three suburbs: the suburb of Graz (*Graško predmestje*) with 98 houses, the suburb of Carinthia (*Koroško predmestje*) with 67 houses, and the suburb of Magdalena (*Magdalensko predmestje*) with 66 houses. According to Rudolf Puff's notable work *Marburg in Steiermark, seine Umgebung, Bewohner und Geschichte* (Graz 1847), the entire urban area had 477 houses and 5216 inhabitants.² The town had 303 trade shops and 30 shops, most of which were in the historic town center; less than one third were in the suburbs. The trade also flourished in the three annual fairs (on Candlemas on the 2nd of February, on St. Ulrich's Day on the 4th of June, and on St. Luke's Day on the 18th of October). Vendors sold foodstuffs and grain in the Main Square, hay and straw on Church Square (now Slomšek Square), flour on Rotovž Square, and wood on the quay of the River Drava.

There were few very wealthy families in Maribor. Most citizens were closely linked to the fertile agricultural area surrounding the town, especially in the northeast and southeast. West and southwest of the town spread mighty forests, and large-scale trade in timber and rafting on the River Drava flourished.³ Over 1000 sawmills had operated in the Drava Valley before the Southern Railway was built. It is estimated that in the early 1840s about 800 boats and 1,200 rafts navigated along the Drava through Maribor. They did not transport only timber and timber products but also other goods, for example, tinware, pottery, and colonial goods. The trade related to river transport did not have a purely local significance but stretched as far as Novi Sad, Zemun, and Pančevo.⁴

¹ CURK, J. 2002, p. 45.

² PUFF, G. R. 1999. p. 130.

³ GODINA GOLIJA, M. 2002, p. 92.

⁴ BAŠ, F. 1934, p. 17.

In addition to the rafting trade, which brought a significant income to the town, trade in wine and fruit was quite important as well, particularly for those Maribor residents who had landed agricultural property in the vicinity. The most profitable trade for town merchants was the trade with places in the west and the north, especially with Carinthia and Upper Austria, where the merchants sold agrarian products such as fruit, honey, and wine. Wine trade, which started to flourish already in the early 19th century, became increasingly important for Maribor residents. Wines from the Maribor district were sold to Salzburg, Klagenfurt, Graz, Vienna, Italy, and Ljubljana.⁵

Industrial plants were rare in the 1840s. The town had several small breweries, which preceded Tschelig's brewery but were of lesser importance and only served the town. The town also had several dye works that dyed linen and cloth but traded only locally. They frequently traded textiles for raw goods as well. The mills and tanneries on the Drava operated in a similar manner and sold most of their products at fairs. The first somewhat larger industrial plant in the town was established in 1825. It was the spirits and liqueur factory Jakob Felber that operated in Pristaniška Street and also the first in Maribor with steam drive.⁶ In 1843 the Gerdes surrogate coffee factory started to operate in the former church of St. Celestine in Gospejina Street. The largest industrial plant of this period was the tartar factory in today's Strossmajerjeva Street. The refinery had several boilers and produced more than 130,000 kilograms of tartar a year, which was exported to Bavaria, Vienna, and Trieste.⁷

The craftsmen of Maribor were members of as many as 16 guilds. Their work was supervised by the Town Hall. The guilds included artisans who worked chiefly in the town, for example, blacksmiths, potters, and millers as well as those who were active in the broader region of Styria, such as shoemakers, carpenters, potters, and stonecutters. They traded throughout Styria, especially in fairs, which at the time were an established trading venue. In that period, trade was very important since it was, in addition to the ownership of a house, a prerogative for receiving the rights of citizenship.⁸ In order to attain town privileges, tradesmen who had moved to the town from elsewhere as well as natives had to own a house in the town and an estate in its vicinity. This was usually a viticulture estate that enabled trade with wine and other agricultural products. This agricultural pursuit, in addition to the ownership of property in the town and its vicinity, bound long-time Maribor residents with the newcomers to create the joint bourgeois community of Maribor.

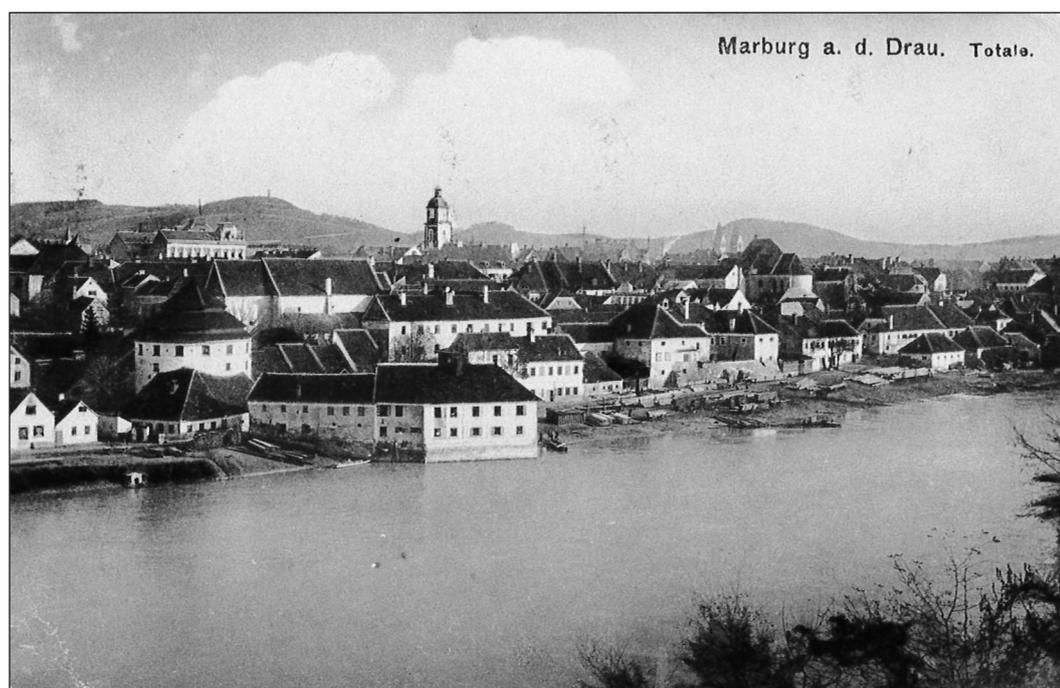


Image 1: The view of the Maribor Venice with rafts, around 1870, Regional Archive Maribor.

⁵ BAŠ, F. 1934, p. 18.

⁶ LESKOVEC, A. 1991, p. 316.

⁷ BAŠ, F. 1934, p. 28.

⁸ CURK, J. 2002, p. 45.

It is clear from the above that in the period of Liszt's visit to Maribor the town had a rural character. Most of its citizens were closely connected with agricultural activities, which were of great importance for the town's trade and crafts. Agricultural pursuits had a marked impact on the leisure time of the citizens and affected the external appearance of the town. Descriptions of its houses found in older sources mention, in addition to residential quarters, outbuildings for agricultural tasks, for example, stables, granaries, and wine cellars. According to Mally, there were fields of rippling grain in 19th-century Maribor, stretching from the train station to the town proper, and next to houses, some of which still had thatched roofs, stood stables and wine cellars. In the suburb of Graz, a large wooden podium was erected for threshers to thresh grain in the summertime. Like in the countryside, benches were placed in front of houses, where people performed a variety of chores or merely chatted to one another and exchanged gossip.⁹

The Southern Railway connecting Vienna and Trieste, which reached Maribor in 1846, brought major changes to the lives of its residents and greatly accelerated the town's development and growth. In 1863, a system of workshops for the Southern Railway was constructed in the suburb of Studenci; it was the largest and most modern industrial plant in the town.¹⁰ After the construction of the railway and the March Revolution of 1848, the town acquired several civic buildings. There was an influx of newcomers from different parts of Austria, who worked as officials or were employees of the Southern Railway. They were mostly Germans and had brought along their families, thus substantially increasing the German population in the town.¹¹ Although not autochthonous Germans, they formed German islands within the Slovene territory.

NATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE MARIBOR POPULATION

Outwardly, Maribor seemed to be a German town. It was dominated by Germans while Slovenes lived in the surroundings. The town was classified as the so-called "original German town" which was, at least according to most published sources of that time, allegedly built by German colonists on the ruins of Roman buildings. Most residents used German as their first language of communication, which set them aside from the Slovene-speaking rural population that came to town on errands or worked there as domestics, apprentices, and in trade and other workshops and industrial plants. The German language functioned as an external symbol of the town bourgeoisie and their urban lifestyle, much like their attachment to the German cultural space and German artists.¹² Due to various political reasons, there were no distinctive German and Slovene groups yet, and regional affiliation seemed more important than national. The majority of the townspeople adhered to the Styrian affiliation and felt deeply connected and fiercely loyal to their town.¹³

In his renowned work about Maribor, Puff states that around 1846, 5216 inhabitants lived in the town's urban area, of these 2228 in the very centre. This area was also populated by 1244 foreigners, particularly military staff. A total of 3470 people thus lived in the city centre proper. The suburb of Graz, which due to the construction of the railway between Graz and Celje grew and developed the most rapidly, had 657 inhabitants. The suburb of Carinthia numbered 593 people while the suburb of Magdalena had 442 residents.

According to the professional and social structure of the town, tradesmen dominated. In 1846 there were 201 tradesmen in the city centre while 102 lived in the suburbs. Among these were 21 tavern owners, 11 shoemakers, 10 tailors, 8 coopers, 3 soap makers, 3 turners, 4 glovers, 2 bookbinders, and 3 tinsmiths. Several new trades appeared in the town as well, for example, carriage drivers, confectioners, knife makers, brush makers, cap makers, and others.

There is no precise data on the ethnic composition of the population in the middle of the 19th century. However, it is possible to infer from the 1830s entries in the register of citizens that a few years later, the situation was rather similar. Only 166 locals were entered in the register of burghers while all the others were mostly newcomers from German states. 87 people had moved to Maribor from Slovene Styria, 94 from German

⁹ BAŠ, F. 1934, p. 18.

¹⁰ GODINA, M. 1991, p. 17.

¹¹ CURK, J. 2002, p. 77.

¹² NEMCI IN MARIBOR, 2012, p. 30.

¹³ Ibid., p. 30.

Styria, 45 from Carniola and Moravia, 15 from Bavaria, 14 from Croatia and Hungary, 5 from Italy, and 5 from other places.¹⁴ The ratio between foreigners, who had mostly come from German rather than Slovene provinces, and locals was almost two and a half to one.¹⁵ Nevertheless, regional affiliation was still much more important than national and was emphasized and expressed in various ways, for example through attendance at public events and active participation in various Maribor societies. Only the events after the March Revolution, the abolition of bondage, and the subsequent reorganization of the country started to stimulate the importance of national affiliation.¹⁶ Since the censuses of that period generally recorded the colloquial language, and because before the second half of the 19th century German was prevalent as the colloquial language of all towns in South Styria, it is virtually impossible to determine the true national structure of the population in Maribor. Despite the dominance of German in these towns, the German-speaking population knew at least some basics of the Slovene language in order to communicate with the rural population and servants who spoke only Slovene.¹⁷ As pointed out by historians, there were also numerous Slovene newcomers, for example, apprentices and domestics, who started to use German as their colloquial language quite soon after their arrival to Maribor. It is estimated that only a smaller percentage of people who were born in the Slovene-speaking environment but moved to the town where German was used as the principal language of communication cited Slovene as their colloquial language. Most of them opted for German, which had a strong impact on the entire public life in the town.¹⁸

SOCIAL LIFE OF MARIBOR BOURGEOISIE

In the mid-nineteenth century, Maribor had a reputation as a town with a rich and diverse social life. Puff states that the town and its surroundings were particularly lively during grape harvests when each vineyard cottage turned into a “merry temple of joy.” Music resounded from the cottages and cheerful mortar shots echoed around the area. Just as lively was the Carnival period when the burghers of Maribor held Carnival parties in their homes or invited their friends to parties organized by restaurants. During the spring and summer months, they enjoyed outings, for instance, walks through the vineyards, hikes to Pohorje Hills, to Urban Hill, or to a tavern in the vicinity of the town.¹⁹ Maribor’s noble families - the Schärffenbergs, the Brandis family, the Rasts, the Kriehubers, and the Langers - greatly enhanced Maribor’s social life, as did its goodhearted, vigorous, determined, and sincere burghers who could easily compete with any of their peers in Europe.²⁰

Home parties, the so-called *hausballi*, were very popular. People also socialized at dances and balls, in restaurants and pubs, on trips to the surrounding area, in wine cellars, at the shooting range, and in other places. Theatre, concerts, and evenings of the Reading Society were also in vogue. The less affluent segment of the population attended only certain social events, for example, the merrymakings and events organized by different societies in the suburbs, and socialized in suburban pubs. But most of the other forms of social life remained inaccessible to them due to their poor financial position.

Social gatherings in homes were especially popular with the wealthy bourgeoisie and the nobility, and one weekday was set aside for visitors who were announced. Soirees and tea parties were well-liked as well. The richest Maribor citizens and the nobility also gathered at home parties organized on their estates, the so-called *herrenhouses*, in the vicinity of the town, where they had their vineyards with dwellings for vineyard workers and their own residential quarters. On Saturday nights, especially in the summer and fall, they organized parties that lasted well into the night, and their guests spent the night on the estate.

Most of the socializing, however, took place in the numerous restaurants, pubs, and cafés in the town. A typical meeting place was the café. The first one opened as early as 1748.²¹ These coffee shops were frequented by people from the upper and the middle classes, for example, lawyers, merchants, professors, physicians, court

¹⁴ PAM, Knjiga meščanov okrožnega mesta Maribor 1762–1836–1918.

¹⁵ CURK, J. 2002, p. 77.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ FERLEŽ, J. 2002, p. 93.

¹⁸ ZWITTER, F. 1936, p. 67.

¹⁹ GODINA GOLLIJA, M. 2002, p. 240.

²⁰ PUFF, R. G. 1999, p. 157.

²¹ GODINA GOLLIJA, M. 1996, p. 111.

officials, artists, military staff, etc. Some of these establishments had their own café societies, guests who were regular patrons and even had their regular table, the so-called *štamtiš*, reserved solely for them. In addition to socializing and exchanging news, patrons also read newspapers and magazines and listened to music.

Other popular meeting points were the *pušenšanki* or the *pušeljšanki*, places which served mostly wine. They were situated in the vicinity of the town, mostly in Vinarje, Košaki, towards Kamnica and Rošpoh, Pekre, and on the slopes of Pohorje Hills. Hiking there, notes Puff, represented one of the most popular leisure activities. Families usually set there after a hearty Sunday lunch. While adults sat around on benches, sang, and chatted children soon found new friends to play with.²²

During that period, dances represented one of the most beloved forms of entertainment. They were held by different societies and associations, particularly the Kazina Society, which was founded in 1823. Its renowned dances and parties were prepared in cooperation with the Kinsky regiment band.²³ Many restaurants also organized dances on Saturdays and Sundays.

A special form of entertainment with dancing was the merrymaking. These celebrations were organized by various societies, for example by the volunteer fire squad, choral, and reading societies. They were usually held on Sunday afternoons. Starting at 3 p.m., they generally lasted until the wee hours of the morning and were frequented by people from the middle and the lower classes. Only those events that were organized for charity were attended by individuals from the more affluent strata of the society who wished to pay tribute to the organizers; otherwise, they perceived this form of entertainment as shallow.

Societies played an important part in the social life of Maribor's citizens. In addition to the afore-mentioned Kazina Society, the *Männergesangsverein*, the Maribor male singers society founded in 1846, was particularly active and organized concerts, tours, and society evenings.²⁴ Locals, men, in particular, were also closely linked with the oldest social unit in town, the Shooting Association, which already existed in 1700. In the middle of the century, the association had a shooting range by the Devil's Mill in Orešje, which was later disbanded and constructed anew above the Three Ponds.²⁵

The Friends of Arts Association was responsible for dramatic arts and the theatre. For several years, its members organized amateur drama and opera performances, some of which, for example, the opera *Norma*, were a great success. Later on, the theatre was rented to different theatre companies. These performed on the premises of the former chapel of the Holy Spirit in the period between All Saints' Day and Easter.²⁶

Musikverein (Music Society) was another important generator of social life in Maribor. Founded in 1841, it had 149 members, sixty of whom were actively engaged in the society's pursuits.²⁷ Its main purpose was the instruction of vocal and instrumental music although it also prepared concerts of domestic and foreign musicians, particularly those whose concert tours brought them to towns in the proximity of Maribor. Members were expected to attend these concerts and other events with their families. Heinrich A. Brandis was one of the noblemen who were very active in the society.

Local noblemen played a significant part in the organization and execution of Franz Liszt's concert in Maribor. Liszt came to Maribor on the 16th of June in 1846, when he was on his European tour. His host in the town was Baron Lannoy from Viltuš, who was a great admirer of music, a composer, and a promoter of musical life. He organized the concert in Brandis' castle, in the Knight's Hall, which was most suited to such performances.²⁸ Liszt's concert was attended by a large audience from across the Lower Styria and even from Croatia. Liszt

²² PUFF, R. G. 1999, p. 158.

²³ PUFF, R. G. 1999, p. 159.

²⁴ BAŠ, F. 1934, p. 52.

²⁵ BAŠ, F. 1934, p. 53.

²⁶ HARTMAN, B. 2009, p. 86.

²⁷ PUFF, R. G. 1999, p. 159.

²⁸ ŠPENDAL, M. 2016, p. 92.

played six pieces, the first three by Schubert, Chopin, and Weber, and then three of his own compositions.²⁹ His concert marked a peak in Maribor's musical life of the 19th century, which in spite of the small size of the town was extremely varied and rich, and due to the unselfish endeavors of some citizens also of high quality.

CONCLUSION

The social life of Maribor's citizens in the decade of Liszt's visit to the town had all the characteristics of the social life in other small towns in the Austrian Empire. Locals felt a strong affiliation to their town and the Styrian province and were not yet divided into the Slovene and the predominant German bourgeoisie.³⁰ They generally socialized in restaurants and taverns, through events organized by different societies such as dances, theatrical performances, and concerts, and in their homes. Some prominent citizens, for example, the teacher Anton Tremmel, professor and historiographer Rudolf Gustav Puff, and members of Maribor's noble families - the Lannoy's, the Schärffenbergs, and the Brandis family, were responsible for the vibrant musical life of the town. They were very active in the Friends of Arts Association that brought together art lovers, in the Music Society, and in the theatre, which even staged operatic performances. One of the most famed ones was Bellini's *Norma* organized in 1843. A testament to the rich musical life and the popularity of concerts in Maribor's social life of that period was the creation of the male choral society, which was one of the first such associations in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.³¹

All of these social pursuits led to the organization and implementation of Franz Liszt's piano concerto in the Knights' Hall of Maribor's castle. In order to accomplish this, Maribor's citizens, particularly Baron H. E. Lannoy and Count Heinrich A. Brandis, combined their experience, knowledge, and opportunities to organize the most prominent music and social event in nineteenth-century Maribor. A significant part of this event was played by an important novelty, namely the Ocean locomotive, which only a few days prior to the concert had brought to Maribor the very first train. On that train were also Liszt and some other prominent figures who wished to see with their own eyes the Southern Railway – a momentous innovation that led to rapid economic, social, and cultural development of the town and other places along the railway.

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DRUŽABNO ŽIVLJENJE MARIBORSKIH MEŠČANOV V DESETLETJU LISZTOVEGA OBISKA V MARIBORU – MED ZASEBNIM IN JAVNIM

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

Mariborsko meščanstvo je v štiridesetih letih 19. stoletja živelo podobno kot meščanstvo v drugih avstrijskih provincialnih mestih. Njihove gospodarske dejavnosti so bile povezane z bogato kmetijsko pokrajino v bližini Maribora, ki je dajala mnogim družinam osnovni dohodek. Na zunaj je imelo mesto nemški značaj, nemščina je bila zunanji simbol meščanstva, tako kot navezanost na nemško kulturo in umetnike. V njihovem družabnem življenju so imele pomembno vlogo glasbena in gledališka umetnost ter mariborska čitalnica. Prirejala je gledališke predstave in zabave s plesom. Pestro druženje je potekalo tudi v plesnih dvoranah, kjer so bili plesi ob pustu ali v času vinskih trgatav, del zabave pa je potekal tudi po domovih.

POVZETEK

Maribor je imel sredi 19. stoletja značaj provincialnega mesteca v Avstrijski monarhiji. V tem obdobju je mariborsko meščanstvo živelo podobno življenje kot meščanstvo v drugih delih Avstrije. Njihovo življenje je bilo močno povezano z gospodarskimi dejavnostmi, ki so temeljile na kmetijstvu, za katero je imelo mesto z okolico odlične pogoje. Lastna kmetijska posestva v bližini mesta so tedanjim Mariborčanom, predvsem obrtnikom in trgovcem, nudila poroštvo in potrebna sredstva za življenje in gospodarski razvoj. Pomembnejše gospodarske panoge v mestu so bile: trgovina z vinom, sadjem, mesom in mesnimi izdelki ter z lesom, pivovarstvo, izdelava žganih pijač, mila, kovinarskih in usnjarskih izdelkov. Mariborski obrtniki so bili organizirani v 16-ih cehih, njihovo delovanje pa je nadzoroval mestni magistrat.

Mariborsko meščanstvo je na zunaj kazalo nemški značaj in praviloma se je sporazumevalo v nemškem jeziku. Nemški pogovorni jezik jih je ločil od slovensko govorečih okoliških kmetov, ki so v mesto prihajali po opravkih ali pa so se zaposlovali kot posli, in je bil nekakšen zunanji simbol meščanstva, podobno kot navezanost na nemški kulturni prostor in nemške umetniške ustvarjalce. V tem mikrokozmosu mariborskih meščanov sta imeli pomembno vlogo predvsem glasbena in gledališka umetnost, ki sta zaznamovali njihovo družabno življenje. V času od vseh svetih do velike noči se je meščanstvo družilo na predstavah v starem gledališču, ki je tedaj stalo na prostoru današnje glavne pošte na Slomškovem trgu, v poletnem času pa je dajalo prednost drugim oblikam družabnosti. Te so bile predvsem veselice, izleti in obiski vinotočev, ki jih je bilo v bližnji okolici mesta veliko. Priljubljena oblika druženja so bili tudi plesi, npr. v pustnem času ali v času vinskih trgatav, ter druženje po domovih. Velik del družabnega življenja je bil torej povezan z glasbo. Koncerti klasične glasbe in pevskih društev ter operne predstave so bili med meščani zelo priljubljeni, njihovo izvedbo so organizirali posamezniki iz bogatih mariborskih meščanskih in plemiških družin. Ti so poskrbeli, da je Franz Liszt v okviru svoje evropske turnee 16. junija 1846 izvedel klavirski koncert tudi v mariborskem gradu.

MUSICAL LIFE IN SPLIT (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY)

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

By the end of the 18th century (in 1797) Split was under the Venetian rule. All the power in the commune was held by a count and captain, who was appointed by Venice. By the early 18th century, Split experienced strong economic momentum, which influenced the overall life in the city. The fall of the Venetian Republic ended a lasting Italian rule in Split. In the next fifty years of the 19th century in Split and Dalmatia three regimes were replaced, which significantly affected not only the social but also the cultural life of the city. During the 19th century, especially during the national Revival in its second half of the century, gradually the Italian influence weakened, whereas the Autonomists, pro-Italian political orientation in Dalmatia was taken over by the Populists, pro-Croatian idea, which saw the prosperity of the Dalmatia in the future in her connection and, eventually, unification with the continental parts of Croatian lands.

KEY WORDS

Split, Croatia, cultural life, music, City Museum of Split

Split and Dalmatia as the border area between East and West have always been a converging point of peoples and worlds, cultures and civilizations which brought their influences and blend them into the framework of the current cultural and civilizational heritage. Split is a city with a long history. Even in the middle Ages due to its extraordinary geographical position in the maritime trade route between Central Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, the city has developed into a strong urban environment, which enabled its residents to express themselves in various forms of cultural activities, including music. Despite the various hardships that the city suffered throughout the course of history, Split has been one of the leading cities in the field of culture all the time.

Throughout the 18th century the Croatian lands were politically and administratively divided. Northern parts were governed by the Habsburgs and Dalmatia by the Venetians. On the basis of the Pragmatic Sanction from 1713, Maria Theresa gained the right of succession to the Hungarian and Croatian throne after her father's death (1740–1780). At the beginning of her reign and despite being involved in dynastic confrontations with Prussia, Bavaria and France over Austrian legacy, she was focused on unification of Slavonia with Croatia, while Banska krajina remained under the governing of Ban. The reforms which Maria Theresa undertook aimed to centralize and Germanize her Monarchy. Maria Theresa's son and heir to Hungaro-Croatian throne, Joseph II (1780–1790), continued to implement centralized management policy and Germanization, with addition of some radical reforms regarding state matters and social life.¹

The situation in Dalmatia was altogether different. The arrival of the Venetians in 1420 brought along a change in administrative management of Dalmatian cities. The autonomous communes that came under the Venetian rule were Rab, Cres, Lošinj, Nin, Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Split, Hvar, Brač, Korčula and Kotor; each already having its statutes and established municipal autonomy.² Venice did not deal with communal statutes, provided their being in accordance to the law of the Republic, but it did abolish one of the crucial traits of communal autonomy, that is, the freedom of appointing a count. The Venice selected a count from the ranks of her nobility in the Great Council. The count (*conte*) was usually elected for a two years term, during which he primarily served as an executant of orders coming from Venice. The counts answered only to the Venician government and did not depend on the communal councils in any way. They convened and presided the city councils, approved some of

¹ KLAIĆ, V. 1915, pp. 61–135; ŠIŠIĆ, F. 1975, p. 338.

² NOVAK, G. 1944, p. 173.

their decisions, arbitrated in civil and criminal cases, and commanded garrisons and city defence. Therefore, for almost two centuries Dalmatian communes had their own administrative bodies, which were independent one from another and directly subordinated to the authority of Venice.

Upon the arrival of Venetians, Split, along with other Dalmatian cities, lost the greatest and the most valued segment of its previous municipal autonomy. Remained thereof only the right to apply some of the less important provisions of the Statute. Venice exploited Dalmatia economically, particularly as a trade route towards Bosnia and Orient, and used it as a bullwark against Ottoman invasions.

All the power in Split was in the hands of the count appointed by Venice. As of 1467 the count bore the titles of Count and Captain. His power derived from the government in Venice, whose orders and instructions he observed. The count presided over municipal, judicial and military administration, and was also the judge of the Second Instance Court in the commune of Omiš. Following the proposition of the Venetian Council, he was appointed by the Doge for a two years term and was paid by the commune of Split.

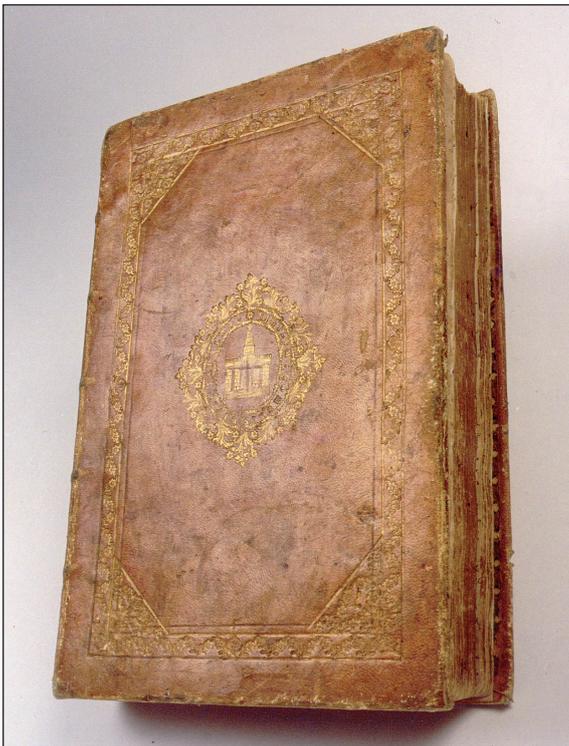


Image 1: Libro d'oro, the City Museum of Split, Inv. No. 8289.

The remainder of municipal autonomy in Dalmatia was represented by Major and Minor Councils whose members could have only been nobles. In the 17th and 18th century the Major Council was experiencing an overall decadence and was unable to provide sufficient number of men for certain positions, therefore, one person had to take on several offices. Other than Split nobles, who formed the City Council and were referred to as *signor* in communal records, in Dalmatia also existed another type of nobility, which was granted that status and the title of count by Venice for their merits in wars with Turkey. The majority of noble titles was given from 1718 to 1797. The title of count was associated with allotment of the lands appropriated by the Republic upon the withdrawal of the Turks, regardless of the previous property rights.

The 18th century Split was densely populated counting 12,000 inhabitants. The number varied, mainly due to the outbreaks of plague recorded in 1731–1732, 1763–1764, and 1783–1784.³ At that time, suburbs were no longer inhabited by peasants and fishermen exclusively, although they still made up the dominant majority.

Split underwent unique economic and social progress. Owing to trade, which increased after the construction of a lazaretto, its developmental dynamics differed from the rest of Dalmatian towns. By the time of the Morean War (1684–1699), the city had become a prominent port of export. Numerous caravans were arriv-

³ NOVAK, G. 1978, p. 179.

ing in it and the traffic was very lively. In the second half of the 18th century, Venice granted more freedom to the city regarding trade affairs, which was considerably felt in Split bypass traffic after 1783. Such an economic growth and standard of living that was felt strongly throughout the city, especially in the second half of the century, was made possible by the afterwar period of peace.⁴ At the end of 18th century, Lavallée and Cassas remarked how the opulence deriving from trade affected the manners of the citizens of Split: »...luxury, urbanity, and politeness. The inhabitants of Spalatro are obliging, affable, and hospitable to strangers.«⁵



Image 2: General view of the Diocletian's Palace, draughtsman L. F. Cassas, 1782, the City Museum of Split, Inv. No. 1855.

Upon the fall of the Republic in 1797 which ended years of Italian rule over Dalmatian territories, the exchange of three different regimes⁶ took place in the next fifty years of the 19th century in Split and Dalmatia, affecting considerably not only social but also cultural life of the city. It is surprising that people, in spite of being restricted in freedom⁷ and exhausted by war, still led an active life, rich in musical events.

The musical life of Dalmatia and Split in the last centuries was very intense and always in line with European ideas and aspirations, which placed Dalmatia within the circle of Western civilization where the whole of Croatia has always belonged.

As opposed to artistic and architectural environments, which clearly indicate the importance and historical role of the city, the traces of musical art are less noticeable. The earliest period of music disappeared from collective memory but, based on Liturgical manuscripts kept in the Split Cathedral, it can be ascertained that it was embedded in church musical tendencies of the Mediterranean Europe.

The first known origins of music making in the Cathedral date back to the end of the 11th century. Up to the beginning of the 17th century, any creative efforts in this church are not known. The works of *maestri di cappella* from later periods, especially from the middle of the 18th century up to the end of the 19th century, are mainly kept in the Split Musical Archives and Holdings.⁸ Some of their works, and sometimes the complete opuses, reveal centuries long efforts to enrich and foster musical creative works in Split. Up to the beginning of the 17th century, data on early *maestri di cappella* and organists of the Split Cathedral are scarce and infrequent.

The flourishing of trade and craft in the medieval Dalmatian cities required the establishing of city schools. Within the subjects of *Quadrivium*, theory of music was studied as well. There was such a school in Split at the time of the full municipal autonomy. During the supreme Venetian rule, the school was periodically closed but continued to exist until the 18th century despite all of the backsets.⁹

⁴ BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, D. 1981, p. 12.

⁵ LAVALÉE, J., CASSAS, L. F. 1802, pp. 121–123.

⁶ Austria (1797–1806); France (1806–1813); Austria (1813–1918).

⁷ Each of the regimes forbade the use of Croatian language as means of official communication.

⁸ TUKSAR, S. 1977, p. 185; GRGIĆ, M. 1990, pp. 201–202.

⁹ ZANINOVIĆ, M. 1990, pp. 24–25; NOVAK, G. 1978, pp. 525–526, 1411; URLIĆ, Š. 1919, pp. 18–19; LEŽAIĆ, M. 1922, pp. 12–14.

In general, it can be said that earlier musical history and tradition of the city have not been sufficiently researched. However, within the major thematic units, there are certain number of articles that touch briefly on details of musical life in the city. By all means, the largest series of articles regarding Dalmatian musical history was written by Cvito Fisković. Grga Novak also made quite a few references on the subject in his extensive book on the history of Split. However, it is not possible to mention here all the books and studies that touch upon musical life in the city.

Throughout centuries of the Venetian rule, and mainly during the Austrian rule over eastern shore of the Adriatic, Dalmatia was an isolated and marginalized borderline province, to which some travel writers referred to as a half-forsaken land. Despite having coped with meager life conditions, mostly caused by economic limitations, all Dalmatian littoral cities have had a long cultural tradition.



Image 3: Unknown author, Saint Dominus over the city, end of 18th century, the City Museum of Split, Inv. No. 717.

Although having suffered great losses in the 1667 earthquake, Dubrovnik remained the leader in the cultural and artistic field, unlike other Dalmatian cities which did not reach her high achievements due to their lack of political independence and material prospects.¹⁰

Nevertheless, the musical life in other eastern Adriatic cities, such as Split, Zadar, Cres and Krk was rich, which today's classified archives and catalogue editions in musicology testify to. It can be said that, after Dubrovnik, Split was next to dominate the field, which is confirmed by a large number of preserved music scores, names of composers, *maestri di cappella*, organists etc.

Among this abundant heritage, music had the prominent role in church as well as in public and private life of Split which, along with Zadar, was one of the main cities of the province. Generally speaking, Split was fostering musical culture by cultivating connections with overseas music centers, from where many professional musicians, touring theatrical and musical companies and recent music pieces were arriving to the city and similar.¹¹ As Split had been politically and economically subordinated to the Venetian Republic for a long

¹⁰ GRGIĆ, M. 1997, p. 21.

¹¹ BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, D. 1981, pp. 144–145; TUKSAR, S. 1977, pp. 171–190; TUKSAR, S. 1989, pp. 7–10.

time, just like other Dalmatian cities, the strongest influences were coming from Venice. As of the 16th century, Italy became the center of music development in Europe. In regard to music, it held the most prominent position in the world, imprinting its artistic stamp in highly developed cultures.

The early Dalmatian musicians can be classified in two groups: Dalmatians by origin and birth, and musicians from abroad, mainly from Italy. Many of them were looking for work upon graduation. The Dalmatian Chapters could easier find capable organists and *maestri di cappella* among Italians than among the locals, because the former brought along their homeland's artistic traditions and musical techniques. The center of musical activities in Dalmatia should be sought primarily in the area of spiritual music. As church was the main patron of music in Split, as well as in the entire Dalmatia, the cathedrals in diocesan seats were centers of musical life, especially in Šibenik, Split and Hvar. The musical tradition of the 17th century church practice (Gregorian chants, singing the lives of saints, Glagolitic chants) was continued in the first half of the 18th century.¹²

Spiritual and secular music was highly valued in Split, the latter implies a polyphonic artistic form. In Dalmatia existed two parallel political and social trajectories of musical development, namely two separate musical worlds: traditional and ancient folk music of the Slavic population, as well as artistic music in the cities which was open to influences from the other side of the Adriatic coast.¹³

The tradition of musical stage performances gradually cultivated the opera and concert audience. In the first half of the 17th and the 18th century, as a result of their economic shortcomings, Dalmatian cities were not able to erect theater buildings. Therefore, the Council City Halls or arsenals, as in Dubrovnik and Hvar, served as theatre premises. Such theatres already had loges, a parterre and a permanent stage. During the 17th century the number of noblemen and members of the City Councils was decreasing, the Council Halls were mostly empty and money was short, therefore the Halls were transformed into entertainment venues. Even larger European cities did not raise theatre buildings at that time.¹⁴

Since the Baroque period up to date, several theaters were built in Split.¹⁵ The first of them was erected on the site of the old City Council Hall, which the authorities had battered down in 1821 for its dilapidated condition. However, today we are able to reconstruct the size and the features of the Council Hall from the old drawings.¹⁶ It was situated between the demolished old Count's Hall and today's City Council Hall. It had a dressing room and backstage room, a backdrop storage, a hall, a stage, the floor with parterre and three rows of loges.¹⁷ When Split was then left without a theatre, which due to its disastrous condition and the lack of funds the Austrian authorities did not intent to repair and had it eventually pulled down in 1820–1821, Josip Veljković and Ante Bure constructed in 1825 a new one in the courtyard of the old lazaretto on the waterfront, made of wood, with the parterre and forty loges. It was pulled down in 1845 due to ruinous condition. In 1859, Split got another theatre building commissioned by Antonio Bajamonti, the mayor of Split at that time. Ten years later, the Mayor dr. Gajo Bulat, laid down the foundation stone for the construction of the new Municipal Theatre.¹⁸

Since Renaissance until today, in Split as well as in other Dalmatian cities, music was performed on the streets, squares, in palaces of nobility and in the city cathedral which, with its choir and orchestra, was the center of musical life.

¹² PLAMENAC, D. 1938, pp. 77–125.

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ FISKOVIĆ, C. 1971, p. 173.

¹⁵ Approximate perspective on musical performances and the locations of their staging can be obtained primarily owing to Cvito Fisković, who studied the history of Dalmatian theaters and Danica Božić-Bužančić, who researched the cultural and urban life of the city in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. Furthermore, Mirjana Škunca elaborated on the musical life of Split from 1860 to 1918, and contributed to thorough insights on the Revival period and the transitional decades up to the end of World War I.

¹⁶ FISKOVIĆ, C. 1954, pp. 73–74.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 73–102.

¹⁸ NOVAK, G. 1978, pp. 325, 429–437.

At the beginning of 17th century, the Cathedral of Split, St. Domnius, established the office of *maestro di cappella*, who became promoters of Split musical works. The duties of organist and *maestro di cappella* were mainly performed by two persons who complemented each other in their daily tasks. As of the second decade of the 19th century, arose the need that only one person take on both duties. These efforts came to life and became practice in the course of next hundred years. After this period the old practice was reinstated. The office of *maestro di cappella* became more complex and more esteemed so it was entrusted only to professionals with adequate theoretical and practical knowledge. Up to 1818 the service of *maestro di cappella* was performed by priests musicians whereas from then on *maestri di cappella* were lay persons who sometimes had academic degree acquired at foreign universities. The title of *maestro di cappella* held professionally educated musicians, skilled performers and distinguished pedagogues and composers. They were tutors to clergy and the city youth, administered the cathedral chapel and composed music correspondingly. Although being bound by their office to the Split Cathedral, *maestri di cappella* did not compose sacral music only. Among their musical legacy there are secular compositions showing that, in this period of history, the musical creativity in Split was not developing solely in one direction. There were noticeable differences in the productivity, and the second half of 18th century particularly stands out for its abundant and diverse heritage. The opulent and dynamic life of the Split community in that historical period was grounded in the works of its composers and *maestri di cappella*, as well as in the music scores brought from abroad. By their creative and pedagogic work, *maestri di cappella* strongly influenced the development of musical culture in Split.¹⁹

Franciscan monasteries cultivated music in a special way. In earlier period, the position of *maestri di cappella* in the Cathedral was held by the Franciscans, such as: Andria Andreis, Jeronim Sperutti (from Milan), Gaetano de Stephanis (from Venice) and Carl Antonio Nagli (from Rimini).²⁰ The office was entrusted to the representatives coming from both clergy and laity, regardless of their provenience and community. Still the priests and monks, to whom the music was only a secondary profession,²¹ were predominant. In the beginning, the balance in alternating local musicians with Italian ones was steadily maintained in *maestri di cappella* of the Split Cathedral. However, since the beginning of the 18th century up to the end of the 19th century, this highly esteemed office was held predominately by Italian *maestri di cappella*. All these facts point to the conclusion that Split was exposed to multidirectional musical influences from Italian cultural zones.

Up to the end of the second decade of the 19th century, *maestri di cappella* usually held two vocations and professions, as required by regulations of the ancient chapter statutes, by which the position of *maestro di cappella* was to be entrusted only to the religious brothers. Regardless of the strictness of the mentioned regulations, these were infringed from time to time, particularly at the turn of the 18th century when the office was entrusted to Split intellectuals and secular persons such as Julije Bajamonti and Ante Alberti.²²

By the time of Benedetto Pellizari (from Vincenza), the office of *maestri di cappella* was entrusted to many first-rate musicians, such as Tomo Cecchini (from Verona), and aforementioned Franciscan friar. A rather small opus of Friar Carlo Antonio Nagli is particularly interesting. He was twice appointed as *maestro di cappella* to the Cathedral (1707–1726, 1738–1743). Several of his handwritten church musical pieces are preserved, along with *Inno di S. Doimo*²³ dating from 1740.

The prolific period of Pellizari's work lasted from 1753 until 1789, while he served as *maestro di cappella* of Cathedral in Split. Because of him the music in the Cathedral started to flourish and, in 36 years of his service in Split, he completed a voluminous opus of more than 400 pieces containing almost solely church compositions. During that period Julije Bajamonti and Ante Alberti acquired musical training as *Maestro [di musica]*. One should not exclude the possibility that both might have acquired musical training with Pellizari and maybe even completed his musical master program.²⁴

¹⁹ BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, D. 1981, pp. 144–145; TUKSAR, S. 1977, pp. 174–181; GRGIĆ, M. 1997, pp. 30–33, 57–58, 86–91, 137–140.

²⁰ KALOGJERA, N. 1924, pp. 126–128; GRGIĆ, M. 1990, pp. 107–118.

²¹ SUPIČIĆ, I. 1964, p. 77.

²² GRGIĆ, M. 1997, pp. 30–33.

²³ MGS M – 1.5.1/1-3 Muzej grada Splita (explanation: MGS is the abbreviation for the Croatian name of the City Museum of Split) fund Music manuscripts, box 4.

²⁴ GRGIĆ, M. 1997, pp. 22–23.

In the second half of the 18th century the most famous musician was aforementioned Julije Bajamonti,²⁵ a medical doctor, polyhistor and intellectual of European standard. Sources of his versatile interests are found in the new context of European culture, in the Enlightenment and ideas of the French Encyclopedists. His entire and rich musical opus, along with his large and still not sufficiently researched correspondence,²⁶ testify to that. He was a composer, and more than 150 of his musical compositions were found in the archives of the Split Cathedral. He composed sonata for the organ, a symphony, individual arias for voice and orchestra and the first oratorio in the Croatian lands, *La Traslazione di San Doimo*, performed in 1770. He aspired toward a balanced development of the musical culture in his environment. He founded a theatrical company and composed for it.²⁷ He also organized concerts of Zadar's violinist, Galli, and his amateurs, and was responsible for guest performances of theatrical companies. During the second half of the 18th century Split hosted many opera troupes from abroad.²⁸ In the last decade of the same century, concerts performed by domestic and foreign companies alike were put on stage more often.²⁹ In May 1793, Bajamonti organized a charity concert for the benefit of the poor at which his vocal and instrumental compositions were performed with the participation of singers and players from the Cathedral.³⁰

At the end of the 18th century Bajamonti endeavored to preserve musical collaboration between the Cathedral and the Franciscan monastery. As appointed *maestro di cappella* he provided musical teaching in that monastery.³¹ The building of the organs in the monasteries in Dobri and Poljud set preconditions for more active engagement in music.³²

Among other things, Bajamonti wrote *Musical Dictionary* that is kept in the City Museum of Split.³³ In the volume containing 165 sheets, which were later on paginated, Bajamonti covered basic musical terms, forms and music instruments of his time. The text was written in Italian and in lesser part in French, with addition of some quotations in Latin. This was the first musical dictionary in Croatia composed in encyclopedic manner.³⁴

On Bajamonti's creative work exists a number of studies, articles and two monographs. The archives of Split Cathedral contains the bulk of his musical opus and, according to the last classification, there are 256 registered items in the manuscript.

²⁵ The complete bio-bibliographic information about Julije Bajamonti were collected as early as 1912 by Ivan Milčetić, the most deserving Bajamonti biographer (cf.: Dr. Julije Bajamonti i njegova djela, in: Rad JAZU, vol. 192, Zagreb, 1912, pp. 97–250). Arsen Duplančić made certain corrections in Milčetić study, while arranging Bajamonti legacy in Split's Archaeological Museum (cf.: Ostavština Julija Bajamontija u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu i prilozi za njegov životopis, in: Splitski polihistor Julije Bajamonti (ed. Ivo Frangeš), Književni krug, Split 1996, pp. 13–80). Žarko Muljačić wrote on Bajamonti literary opus several times (cf.: Iz korespondencije Alberta Fortisa, Građa za povijest književnosti Hrvatske, 23, Zagreb 1952, pp. 69–140; Splitski književnik Julije Bajamonti, Mogućnosti, 10, Split 1955, pp. 795–800; Novi podaci o splitskom književniku Juliju Bajamontiju, Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor, knj. XXVII, sv. 1-2, Beograd 1961, pp. 45–53; Od koga je A. Fortis mogao dobiti tekst *Hasanaginice*, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, 11, Zadar 1973, pp. 227–289; Putovanje Alberta Fortisa po Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji [1765–1791], Split 1996). Bajamonti's Zapisi o gradu and a selection of other works, along with the introduction and commentaries, were published by Duško Kečkemet in the Split issue of Marko Marulić in 1975. Musicologists Ivan Boskovic and Miljenko Grgic made a significant contribution to the clarification of Bajamonti's work as a composer. The wide range of Bajamonti's interests, his thorough insight into a variety of knowledge, and his intellectual, scholarly and artistic authenticity were the occasion for the meeting of experts in various fields at the scientific colloquium on Julije Bajamonti, held on 30th of October 1994 in Split, as a part of Knjiga Mediterana. On that occasion a number of valuable scientific contributions were collected and published during 1996 in a journal titled Splitski polihistor Julije Bajamonti (ed. Ivo Frangeš), published by Književni krug Split, cfr. 1, p. 15., in: I. Tomić Ferić, Julije Bajamonti (1744–1800). Glazbeni rječnik, transkripcija, prijevod, komentari, The Croatian Musicological Society, Zagreb 2013.

²⁶ The study on Bajamonti corespondence is currently being carried out by Vjera Katalinić and Ivana Tomić Ferić.

²⁷ BAJAMONTI, J. 1975, p. 326.

²⁸ NOVAK, G. 1978. p. 1527; NOVAK, G. 1959. p. 47; FSKOVIĆ, C. 1971, pp. 169–171.

²⁹ BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, D. 1981, pp. 142–145; BOŠKOVIĆ, I. 1976, pp. 5–6, 58–65; MILČETIĆ, I. 1912, p. 205, 206, 223, 228.

³⁰ GRGIĆ, M. 1997, p. 50.

³¹ ROŠČIĆ, N. M. 1990, p. 29.

³² BULIĆ, F. 1918, p. 161; ŠABAN, L. 1974, pp. 217–260.

³³ MGS, Inv. No.: 27419; The Croatian Musicological Society published the book by Ivana Tomić-Ferić in 2013, Julije Bajamonti (1744–1800) Glazbeni rječnik, transkripcija, prijevod, komentari, which is a slightly modified version of the doctoral thesis defended in 2006 at the Department of Musicology at the Music Academy in Zagreb.

³⁴ TOMIĆ FERIĆ, I. 2013, pp. 23–26.

Of that number 172 items have been proven authentic. Other items are non-signed autographs, therefore some of them may be presumed to be the composer's original works.³⁵

Music making in the 18th century Split, just like in the previous century, developed under direct influence from Italy. Very little is known about musical performances within the milieu of the noble and wealthier middle-class city families.³⁶ Both church and secular music was performed in the houses of wealthier and more notable citizens of Split, The Tartaglia family owned a harpsichord and some of the city stores sold violins and guitars, as well as all necessary musical accessories.³⁷ A gifted craftsman, Juraj Politeo, »made every type of musical instruments; one of his pianos was considered a rare invention for its remarkable structure.«³⁸ There was a constant increase of interest for the music in general and especially for music playing. The intellectuals and citizens, as well as clergy and nobility, were involved with music on a more regular basis that was somewhat in line with western European tendencies in the pursuit of democratization in music. During this period, some individuals, who mostly belonged to the class of citizens (apart from Alberti), distinguished themselves in considerably enriching the musical life of their native city.

»In the 18th century dilettantism stood out as a certain populist movement which took powerful hold of the citizen class. It is likely that most of Split dilettantes belonged to the middle class.«³⁹ It was this very middle class that dictated the taste and development of musical art throughout Europe in the 18th century,⁴⁰ whereas the same characteristics were seen in Split and Dalmatia in the 19th century. The *dilettantes* of Split were a band of amateur players, who most likely acquired the basic practical and musical-theoretical knowledge in their own city.⁴¹ On the basis of the preserved music scores, it may be concluded that the citizens of Split had particular affinity for the vocal-instrumental music and also that, in this context, an interest for more systematic musical education and professional dealings with music was of particular importance.

The abrupt changes in administrative-political authority, as well as sporadic riots they were causing, reflected negatively on the cultural life of Split.



Image 4: Music box, middle of 19th century, the City Museum of Split, Inv. No. 4642.

³⁵ TUKSAR, S. 1977, pp. 174, 183, 186.

³⁶ BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, D. 1981, pp. 142–143.

³⁷ BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, D. 1981, p. 143.

³⁸ MGS DSK – 40, fund D. S. Karaman, Zaslužni Splječani, knj. IV., p. 471, manuscript.

³⁹ GRGIĆ, M. 1997, p. 51.

⁴⁰ HAUSER, A. 1966, pp. 1–32, 73–76.

⁴¹ GRGIĆ, M. 1997, p. 79.

New musical ideas, set in motion by an overall spirit of enlightenment and philosophy of rationalism, reached even small and remote places along the Croatian coast so that from the middle of the 18th century we find not only musicians and composers associated with church, but also vocal-instrumental ensembles (*banda cittadina* or *orchestra*). Musicians often travelled from place to place and shared their musical knowledge, ideas and even music manuscripts.

Near the end of the 18th century, the Croatian theatre was enriched with new musical repertoire. The advancement in musical education and establishment of musical enthusiast societies provided a crucial precondition for development of professional music life in the first half of the 19th century. Musical societies founded in the period before the Revival were still related to the church.

The birth of advanced national ideas and aspirations, particularly in a small number of *Intelligenza*, inspired a desire for music playing and public performances, which always assumed national aspect. At that time, cultural and artistic associations and institutions were founded which cultivated musical production, and many attempts in composing and public performances were recorded.

In the period of Revival, music became the instrument of political confrontation and propaganda. The national and political division in Split soon spread onto the field of culture. This division and antagonism was manifested through duplication of musical institutions and events visible in all aspects of musical life and culture.⁴² Through music, the citizens of Split expressed their national feelings and political identification. The mutual animosity between the musical and cultural societies reveal the general circumstances of the time. In the beginning, the Autonomists were predominant and more influential regarding musical happenings in the city. Within the sphere of their influence belonged *Banda cittadina*,⁴³ *Orchestra civica* and *Società filarmonica di Spalato*.⁴⁴ In the second half of the 19th century, the musical performances, including concerts, were held in Bajamonti Theatre, which was built in 1859 and was burnt in a big fire in 1881. The Bajamonti Theatre was named after the autonomist city mayor of the time, who initiated the construction of a theatre building on location of *Marmontova poljana*, on which *Trg prokurativa*, that is today *Trg Republike*, was later formed by successive building. From the Bajamonti Theatre remained only the façade of today's square.

To counterbalance the Autonomists, the National Party opened in 1862 *Slavjanska narodna čitaonica* (*Slavic people's library*) in Andrić's house on the waterfront and through its activities influenced the musical culture in the city. In that library the instrumental music was performed, the bourgeois opera romantica and vocal lyric were cultivated, and national manifestations took place. According to Dr. sc. Škunca, the library played an important role in laying down the foundations for cultural as well as musical life bearing characteristics of urban environment. In the premises of *Slavjanski napredak* library, the traditional folk music was nurtured as an integral part of everyday life,⁴⁵ and the singing society *Zvonimir*.⁴⁶ performed there until the completion of the Municipal theatre. The founding of people's public libraries⁴⁷ and societies⁴⁸ took place even in the smallest places along the coast and on the islands. *Slavjanski*, and later on *Hrvatski napredak*, was a center of national aspirations for independence, and *Narodna glazba* along with *Zvonimir* played a significant role in fighting the Autonomist Party, which was supported and helped by the Austrian regime. Almost all of the public musical life of Split was held in these venues. Preserved are regulations and programs of various stage performances and lectures given by prominent public individuals of that time. Many places and cities saw the establishing of music societies and amateur acting troupes which fostered patriotic songs and music. These recently founded musical societies aimed to accomplish their cultural task according to their national orientation and program. They exchanged visits, celebrated festivities, adorned the premises with the Croatian three-color flag, and sang patriotic songs.

⁴² NOVAK, G. 1978, p. 2313.

⁴³ *Gradska glazba*, founded in 1877.

⁴⁴ *Filharmonijsko društvo*, founded in 1881.

⁴⁵ *Narodna glazba* was founded on 5th of May 1877 and was operating within the society of *Slavjanski napredak*.

⁴⁶ Founded on 2nd of June 1884.

⁴⁷ GRABOVAC, J. 1969, pp. 191–218.

⁴⁸ ŠKUNCA, M. 1983, pp. 114–119; PERIČIĆ, Š. 1984, pp. 213–222; GRABOVAC, J. 1987, pp. 900–909; BUBLE, N. 1987, pp. 910–933.

The Austrian authorities were not in favor of these events, and the Autonomists were fighting them. The patriotic zeal rose up in all social classes, and the climax of these events was the introduction of Croatian language in all schools and surrendering of municipalities, one by one, into the hands of Croatian parties.⁴⁹

Around 1835, the Austrian authorities in Split established a Military Band which, along with local dilettantes, participated in celebrating the most important city festivities. When operas were performed in Veseljković and later in Bajamonti theatre, they played as well. The milieu of wealthier citizens and intellectuals cherished the chamber music.⁵⁰

The Municipal Theatre, which was built in 1893 by Split community during the tenure of the mayor, Gajo Bulat, enabled staging of concert performances in a new, representative ambient of the big hall and foyer. In the festive days of the theatre opening, the first concerts performances accompanied by string and piano concerts and soloists' vocal performances were staged by the Split People's Band. The Nationalists administration put an effort in creating conditions for diverse and rich cultural and musical life trying to engage all layers of society. From that time on, the Split Theater not only staged drama, opera and dance performances, but also hosted large social gatherings and spread nationalist ideas. Therefore, ever since the time of Revival, music proved to be a powerful instrument for encouraging and strengthening of national self-consciousness, as well as significant factor in transformation and expansion of the spiritual perspective of all classes in Croatian society.

Throughout its history, Split usually experienced lack of foreign music experts and was therefore very welcoming to foreign ones. Contrary to the prior exposure to Italian influences, collaborations with the artists from broader area of the Austro-Hungarian Empire became more frequent.⁵¹



Image 5: View of Split from Marjan, around 1900, the City Museum of Split, Inv. No. 15018.

⁴⁹ PERIĆ, I. 1971, pp. 49–51.

⁵⁰ BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, D. 1979, pp. 380–399; ŠKUNCA, M. 1991, pp. 43–60.

⁵¹ ŠKUNCA, M. 1991, pp. 161–193.

The Collection of music manuscripts in the City Museum of Split bears witness to the development of musical life in Split. The musical pieces of composers and *maestri di cappella* from Split changed owners so that with time a part of manuscripts went missing and a part was destroyed due to the fact that outdated music pieces had not been preserved with care. Some fragments or sets of these music manuscripts are kept today in the archives and museums throughout Croatia.⁵² However, the largest number of works are being kept in Split.⁵³ The actual amount of preserved heritage could not be determined by summing up the registered items in so far arranged collections, the reason being that the fragments or the whole musical pieces were sometimes registered two or more times within the same musical collection.⁵⁴ Additionally, many musical pieces from the 18th century were left unsigned or are considered partly unreliable because of the subsequent data entries. The Split composers and *maestri di capella* sometimes did not autograph their works, so it is most likely that they were attributed authorship posthumously at the time of the item classification in collections and archives. Also, music manuscripts from the 18th century very rarely reveal data on time and place of its origin. Data on origin of a musical piece were sometimes recorded in the scores, and at times an individual movement manuscript revealed the year of its copying.

From today perspective, it can be concluded that since the ancient time music was integral part of the social life in Split and its rich cultural tradition.

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⁵³ The archives and collections of Split register circa 600 units, which are attributed, with some reserves though, to Alberti, Bajamonti and Pellizzari.

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Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Do konca 18. stoletja (do leta 1797) je Split spadal k Beneški republiki. Vsa moč v občini je bila v rokah grofa in kapetana, ki so ga imenovali Benečani. V začetku 18. stoletja je mesto doživelo velik gospodarski vzpon, ki je vplival na vse vidike mestnega življenja. S padcem Beneške republike se je končala dolgotrajna italijanska vladavina v Dalmaciji. V naslednjih petdesetih letih, do sredine 19. stoletja, so se v Splitu in Dalmaciji zamenjali trije režimi, ki so močno vplivali na družabno in kulturno življenje v mestu. V 19. stoletju, zlasti v času narodnega preporoda v drugi polovici stoletja, je italijanski vpliv postopoma pojenjal. Tako so avtonomiste, ki so bili proitalijanska politična struja v Dalmaciji, nadomestili populisti. Ti so zastopali prohrvaško idejo, ki je blaginjo Dalmacije v prihodnosti videla v njeni povezanosti in sčasoma združitvi s celinskimi deli hrvaških dežel.

POVZETEK

Do konca 18. stoletja (leta 1797) je Split spadal k Beneški republiki. Vsa moč v občini je bila v rokah grofa in kapetana, ki so ga imenovali Benečani. Mestni statut je izgubil svoj dotedanji pomen in so ga uporabljali zgolj pri reševanju manjših sporov. Vrhovni in nižji svet sta bila ostanek avtonomije. V mestu je bilo plemičev malo, zato je vrhovni svet od leta 1761 med plemiče sprejemal tudi posameznike iz vrst meščanstva, to pa je pomenilo dokaj zgodnji razvoj srednjega sloja.

Gospodarski in družbeni razvoj Splita je nekaj posebnega. Zaradi trgovine, ki se je razvila po izgradnji lazareta pred začetkom morejske vojne, je Split postal mogočno izvozno pristaniško mesto. V začetku 18. stoletja je doživelo velik gospodarski vzpon, ki je vplival na vse vidike mestnega življenja, potem pa sta Dalmacija in Split nezadržno in zanesljivo padala v zaton. Družbeni in gospodarski zaostanek Dalmacije za naprednejšimi državami je imel negativen vpliv tudi na kulturno življenje.

S padcem Beneške republike se je končala dolgotrajna italijanska vladavina v Dalmaciji. V naslednjih petdesetih letih, do sredine 19. stoletja, so se v Splitu in Dalmaciji zamenjali trije režimi, ki so močno vplivali na družabno in kulturno življenje v mestu. V 19. stoletju, zlasti v času narodnega preporoda v drugi polovici stoletja, je italijanski vpliv postopoma pojenjal. Tako so avtonomiste, ki so bili proitalijanska politična struja v Dalmaciji, nadomestili populisti. Ti so zastopali prohrvaško idejo, ki je blaginjo Dalmacije v prihodnosti videla v njeni povezanosti in sčasoma združitvi s celinskimi deli hrvaških dežel.

Kljub mnogim težavam, ki so doletele Split, pa je bilo mesto vodilno na kulturnem področju. Pomembno vlogo je imela glasba, in to tako v cerkvi kot v javnem in zasebnem življenju. Na splošno gledano, je Split svojo glasbeno kulturo razvijal preko odnosov, ki jih je imel s prekomorskimi glasbenimi središči. Najpomembnejši vplivi so prihajali iz Benetk, ker je bil Split tako kot veliko drugih dalmatinskih mest dolgo časa politično in gospodarsko podrejen Beneški republiki. V 16. stoletju je Italija postala središče glasbenega razvoja v Evropi in tudi na svetu. Svoj umetniški pečat je pustila v visoko razvitih kulturah.

THE DANCE AS CHARACTERISTIC OF SOCIAL LIFE IN CROATIAN TOWNS AT THE TIME OF THE ILLYRIAN MOVEMENT (1835–1848)

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

On the basis of preserved documents (invitations, poetry publications, adds, dance cards, newspaper articles, etc.), the article discusses the ball events as the dominant form of entertainment in social life that have taken place in the Croatian cities, which were considered as centres of Croatian National Revival (Zagreb, Križevci, Varaždin). In this period, balls are considered principally as social events, and less in their diverting aspect. The peak moment in this time of *splendid balls* starts with the construction of the theatre and its great ballroom located on Mark's Square in Zagreb (1835). Just like in Vienna, people in Zagreb also danced the waltz, Slavic polka, galop, and mazurka. Moreover, they also danced traditional Croatian folk dances, such as the *kolo*, which was first introduced by the Countess Sidonija Erdödy in 1842. The male participants of these balls wore the so-called *Illyric* folk costume – brown cape jackets and red beanies. The ladies were dressed in white cape jackets and European-style skirts. As their hedgear, they wore an ancient Croatian traditional lace women's cap called the *poculica*.

KEY WORDS

Illyrian movement, folk dance, Croatian National Revival, folk costume, surka, kolo

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ILLYRIAN MOVEMENT¹

In the 1830s and 1840s, the Croatian National Revival, also known as the Illyrian Movement, played a crucial role in the formation of the Croatian nation in Civil Croatia, i.e., in the part of the lands of the Croats under the government of the ban. The existence of a revival phase in the creation of nation states is typical of the nation-formation of small, not independent and politically disunited nations, such as the Croatian. Social forces in the integrative core in the area of Civil Croatia at the time of the revival were the aristocracy and the haut-bourgeoisie as well as the corresponding intelligentsia. The movement, spearheaded by the younger generation of the intelligentsia of noble and commoner origin, which brought national contents into politics, while offering resistance to Magyarisation, with the support of the middle-ranking and lower nobility, formulated a social and national programme, using the term Illyrian, creating thus a social integrative core of the nation. From the first third of the 19th century, the nobility and bourgeoisie, through this revival campaign, developed and defended the identity of the nation, a community of a new type, aspiring for political independence for Croatia, within the framework of the lands of the crown of Hungary and the monarchy, but on the basis of Croatian state right, as well as for the revival of its territorial integrity. In the context of the movement, a common standard or literary language and rules of usage were created, for the sake of overcoming the fragmentation of the Croatian ethnic territory. The revivers took on the name of Illyria as a common family name by which to overcome the different provincial and genealogical names primarily among the Croats, but also among the other South Slavs.

As a process of cultural modernisation, the Illyrian Movement created a framework for the building of political institutions necessary for the development of civil society in Croatia. The movement's symbol was the crescent moon and the six-pointed star called (the) *Leljiva*, a phrase that signified the celestial unification of Illyrian Venus (or *Lada*) and Eros (or *Lelja*), deities of love and beauty taken from the Slavic, or national, mythology.

In other words, at the time of the Illyrian Movement, people from different social strata were combined into a group by a common idea and by the struggle for national awareness. Writers, schoolchildren and students, nobles and traders wrote, and agitated, and felt their writing to be a patriotic obligation. Others felt it their

¹ STANČIĆ, N. 1986, pp. 6–17.

duty to take part in politics and social life. This ethnic movement made its way into everyday life. Coffee was drunk from cups with patriotic verses printed on them; hairpins with Illyrian symbols were used in coiffures; cards with national motifs were used for games, and there were changes in the way people dressed.

In this period, the dance was primarily a social event, and only after that entertainment. Ballrooms were places for people to get together for the sake of socialisation, and the patriots used this fact for the dissemination of their political idea about a national language and the unity of all the South Slavs, and thus we can say that the ballrooms and assembly halls became, as it were, theatres of politics.

Why is Dancing Not Just Entertainment?

In the 1830s, little Zagreb generated a new kind of life for itself. In all things, it wanted to keep step with Europe. Dances were organised in a dozen halls or rooms, and yet then the population of the city was a mere fifteen thousand. On the whole, dances and other entertainments were held in winter, during Carnival time.

As in Vienna, in Zagreb too and other little towns in Croatia, they danced the waltz, the Slavic polka, the galop and the mazurka. But still the order of dances contained the more complicated dances of the 18th century – the cotillion, the polonaise and the quadrille, as shown by still existing Biedermeier dance cards. The order of dances was always exactly determined on the cards. The organisers of the dances took care that every lady and gentleman on the entry into the room obtained a decorated card, a fan or booklet with a list of the dances, which was called *the order of dances*. Along with the indication of the dance, there was a free space for the name of the dancer, male and female. This would be recorded by the pencil often tucked into the card. The orders of dances show us that the balls were highly organised occasions. The basic features of the graphic design of these pieces of fancy stationery were their simplicity and modesty in design, which was typical of the Biedermeier period. On the whole they are cards with the list of the dances in the form of a visiting card, decorated with a perforated or lacy edge, sometimes with some vignette or Illyrian symbol, often with a patriotic song on the back.

The present paper, drawing on extant documentary material and original museum objects (invitations, occasional literary works, orders of dances, adverts, newspaper articles, decorative ribbons and clothing), presents the dance as the dominant form of entertainment in the social life of the towns that were, along with Zagreb, centres of the Croatian National Revival – Karlovac, Varaždin and Križevci. Announcements of the holding of 'brilliant balls' were published in the press – in Illyrian national papers, and extensive reports were given in the weekly supplement called *Danica Ilirska*.

From the beginning of the 19th century, the inhabitants of Zagreb would go off on Sunday or during carnival time to dances in the brewery hall, and they would also dance in the City Council Chamber, while entertainments with dancing were organised in private houses in the Upper Town.

The real epoch of 'brilliant dances' started in 1830 with the construction of a theatre in *Trg Svetog Marka* (St Mark's Square) in Zagreb, which had the first public ballroom or redoubt room. Two years later the building of the Shooting Range was built, in which the Society of Zagreb Marksmen brought the 'better kind' of Zagreb people together. Put on in the Shooting Range were sparkling balls for the 'patriotic public', and this building became for decades the centre of social life in Zagreb. The activity of the Society of Zagreb Marksmen, particularly the holding of dance entertainments in the hall of the Range, is inextricably connected with the personality of the Illyrian figure, Count Juraj Oršić, lifelong honorary colonel of the Society. Also needing to be considered is the ballroom in the palace of Count Karlo Drašković in Opatička ulica, which in 1846 was bought by the Illyrian Movement and turned into the National Home, which became the centre of culture, politics and entertainment in Zagreb life. And it was from the large ballroom or dance hall on the first floor that the whole building acquired the name 'the Hall'. The grand opening came on 8th of February, 1847, crowned with a great dance that was attended by more than eight hundred invitees.² Alas, the order of dances has not survived.

² Svečano otvorenje dvorane zagrebačke u narodnom domu, in: *Danica Ilirska* 7, 13. 2. 1847, pp. 51–52.

Balls were also organised by the political opponents of the Illyrians – the Magyarons, who in these years bought a house with a dance hall known as the Casino, which would have been a Hungarian counterweight to the Illyrian Hall.

It has already been noted that reports were given of all these entertainments and dance events by the papers of the time, primarily the *Danica Ilirska*, which came out all the time between 1835 and 1849 as a supplement to Ljudevit Gaj's *Narodne novine*. But the first reports about the many dances began to be published only from 1840. As well as describing the course of events at the dances in detail, the articles also published the names of the organisers, the host and hostess, and those who took part, the most prominent of which was Sidonija Rubido Erdödy. In their commentaries, they represented an expression of the patriotic mood and conjured up the atmosphere among the participants in the dances. This is best expressed in the articles written by Ljudevit Vukotinović, a writer and politician, one of the ideologues of the Croatian National Revival.



Image 1: The order of dance in shape mirrors, Croatian History Museum, Inv. No. PMH 25113.

Preserved in Croatian museums today are dozens of different specimens of dance cards from the time of the Illyrian Movement. From the documentary records we can conclude that the most active organisers of the dances were in the legal profession, and from their dance the oldest known invitation has been preserved, with an order of dances from 1838. From the invitation we can see that they danced waltzes, quadrilles and new waltzes to patriotic songs. And from newspaper adverts we can learn that dancing masters were appearing in Zagreb and Karlovac,³ offering lessons in domestic and foreign dances.

It is generally agreed that the waltz was the leading dance of the 19th century. This idea is confirmed by all the dance cards still in existence. Constantly attacked and criticised by contemporaries, the waltz was nevertheless

³ SCHNEIDER, M. 1964.

the favourite and most popular dance in the dance halls. Held against it was its non-Slavic origin, as well as the close contact between the couples. But it was also the biggest draw to the younger dances, for whom the dance was an opportunity for acquaintance with the fragrance, touch and encircled body of the partner. The couples danced in an embrace creating together an imaginary circle in a rapid and busy rhythm. In addition, the musical compositions to which the waltz would be danced were sometimes based on Croatian folk songs.



Image 2: A silk cockade in the form of a Croatian historical coat of arms, Croatian History Museum, inv. no. PMH 33657.

The earliest memento of the Illyrian balls still in existence is without doubt a silk cockade (Image 2) in the form of a Croatian historical coat of arms with a red and white ribbon that, in the words of the donatrix, who was herself a participant in the ball, graced members of the fair sex at the Gentlefolks' Dance in Križevci in 1837. According to the report of *Danica ilirska*, during the period of Carnival in 1840,⁴ the enterprising director of the theatre, Heinrich Börnstein, put on two to three balls in the theatre each week. To the dance programme he added various games and a lottery, which was then much in fashion. Most of the dances were dressed in national surka jackets, and at the costumed ball the first prize was won by a costume decorated with an Illyrian coat of arms.

The article also discusses the dancing of what was called the folk (national) round dance (*kolo*). In addition, it says that the dancing of the waltz, the dominant dance, was supplemented with 'national Illyrian songs'. 'Four gorgeous balls' that took place in the Shooting Range in patriotic spirit organised by the Society of Zagreb Marksmen led by Count Juraj Oršić are also mentioned. From the text we can learn that patriotic ladies came to the marksmen's ball with decorations in the form of the Illyrian symbol (*Leljiva*).

Among the entertainments, most prominence is given to the event organised by the Patriotic Youths of Zagreb, also in the Shooting Range, on 24th of February, 1840, dedicated to the most patriotic lady Countess Franjica Drašković, wife of Janko Drašković. The lady participants were decked with silken ribbons bearing patriotic verses, while the patriotic youths distributed to the female dancers a poem for the occasion about love, harmony and patriotism.

⁴ Prošaste poklade kod nas u Zagrebu, (s.n.), in: *Danica ilirska* 11, 14. 3. 1840, pp. 43–44.

According to the reports of *Danica Ilirska*, in 1840 a number of Carnival balls were held in Križevci.⁵ From the reports we find out that the participants were dressed in Illyrian style, and that the members of the fair sex (so contemporaries called members of the female gender who had adopted and propagated the ideas of Illyrianism) wore decorations of silk in the form of the *Lejliva*, and that the hall was decorated with Illyrian

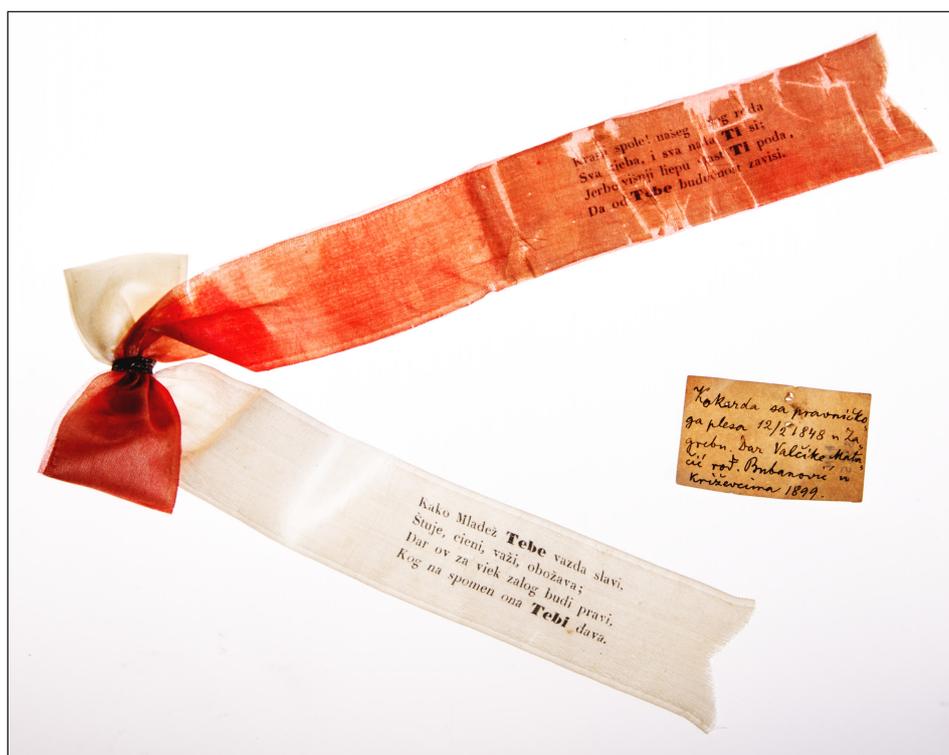


Image 3: A silk ribbon with patriotic verses, Croatian History Museum, inv. no.: PMH 33656.

symbols and the motto ‘God calls Illyrians all / To agree and to spread.’ It is said that they danced ‘the ancient folk dance the *kolo*,’ which is one of the first mentions of the performance of the folk *kolo* at a public dance in the time of the Illyrian Movement.

The year 1841 was also marked by balls. Among them was an unforgettable ball that was organised by the Patriotic Youths in the Shooting Range on 20th of February, 1841,⁶ which evinced in all its elements the ideas of the Illyrian Movement. The hall was decorated with Illyrian coats of arms and the rhyming motto „A nation without ethnicity is a body without the bones”; the patriotic ladies bore on their breasts silken decorations with patriotic verses, and so on. The host and hostess were Baron Franju Kulmer and Countess Franjica Drašković.

In the period under observation, the dance was a very important social event, motivating the organisers to the maximum, competing with each other to decorate the halls as beautifully as they could and to create a setting and atmosphere to which people gladly came.

In 1842 the greatest attention was excited, according to the newspaper,⁷ by the patriotic dance on 27th of January in the Shooting Range, at which the *kolo* was danced, allegedly led at the instigation of Ljudevit Gaj by Countess Sidonia Rubido Erdödy, according to choreography composed by Marko Bogunović⁸ (1841), a first lieutenant of the Brod Regiment. The *kolo*, the folk or national *kolo*, the ball and the salon *kolo*, as well as the Illyrian *kolo*, are terms used to refer to the Slavonian and Croatian *kolo*. As stated above, the choreography for the Slavonian and Croatian *kolo* was composed by Marko Bogunović in 1841, and both *kolos* were first of all danced in 1842 at the dance in the building of the Shooting Range, in which the Society of Zagreb Marksmen brought together the members of the patriotic public at their brilliant dances. After that the *kolo* spread to other Zagreb and Croatian dance halls. The structure or choreography of the *kolo*, which linked together

⁵ Dopis iz Križevaca o poslednjih pokladah, in: *Danica Ilirska* 13, 28. 3. 1840, pp. 43–44.

⁶ L. V., Hvala Bogu ... , in: *Danica Ilirska* 9, 27. 2. 1841, p. 34.

⁷ Ljudevit Vukotinović, Salon u Zagrebu, in: *Danica Ilirska* 6, 5. 2. 1842, pp. 23–24.

⁸ KUHAČ, F. Š. 1872, No. 4, pp. 55–61; No. 7, pp. 106–107; No. 8, pp. 123–124; No. 9, pp. 138–140; No. 10, pp. 154–155; No. 11, pp. 170–172.

the dancers and so merged the individual into the community, suited the patriotic ideology of the Illyrians about the unity of the Slavic peoples. The *kolo* brought out the cultural identity of the Croats, as against other social dances of the 19th century, such as for example the waltz and the polka. And so individual dance figures or just parts of them came into the civic dance halls as a component part of the dance repertoire of the Illyrian dances for Carnival. The small pocket-sized book by an unknown author that was sold under the bilingual title of *Kolo hervatsko – Das kroatische Kolo*, printed in the Župan Printing Works in 1848 must have contributed a lot to the dissemination and popularity of the kolo. From the simplicity of its approach, it was meant for the widest circle of dance-lovers. It was advertised in *Narodne novine*, and contained an extensive description of the six dance figures. They were entitled: Courtesy, Wreath, Chain, Star, Rings and Illyrian Coat of Arms. The *kolo* is a figural social dance. It's basic characteristic is that it is danced in couples, the relation between their partners and their positions vis-a-vis the other participants in the dance creating figures in space, the names of which are suggested by the character of the movement and the formations that the dancers describe on the surface of the dance floor. For the *kolo* to be performed, eight couples are required. The dance consists of two parts. In the first part, after the couples are set, all the participants dance in a circle, holding hands. In the second part the dancers form the dance figures. The Croatian and the Slavonian *kolo* differ in the number of bars set for the performance of the *kolo* between the individual figures, which is visible from the extant musical notation composed by Vatroslav Lisinski and entitled *Gudba za kolo horvatsko* (String music for the Croatian kolo), 1842, 1843. As a dance the *kolo* was determined according to the figures, and the choreography had to be learned and practised before one went to the ball; for other dances that had no set choreography it was just necessary to have some skill and a basic knowledge of the steps.

We can say that the bourgeois couple dance the *kolo* arose as a patriotic response to the charms of the waltz. In the Revival period, in the battle to overcome foreign domination in all spheres of life, and thus in the social life of the ballrooms, an endeavour was made to create a dance that could be added to other dances of Slavic origin, and would express the individuality of the Croatian ethnos. A model was found in the folk *kolo*, which, because it was so widespread, represented the most typical dance of the region. Universal significance was added to the *kolo*, directly including it into the social events of the time, by the concluding figure in the shape of an Illyrian coat of arms, explicitly endorsing the generally recognisable idea of the Revival.

As well as at the time of carnival in 1842, a big ball was organised in September of that year, when the sixth centenary of the proclamation of the Golden Bull was celebrated, the whole city being lit up with a mass of candles. The inscriptions in Latin and in *Illyrian* with which the houses were decorated were written by the well-known printer Lavoslav Župan. The three-day-long celebrations were concluded with a great ball held in all the rooms of the theatre.

Although at the beginning of 1843 it was forbidden to use the word Illyrian, at the dances no kind of change was felt, and they were even put on in greater numbers (organised by both ban and bishop as well as by the Marksmen). Particularly prominent among the balls was that organised by the Society of Zagreb Marksmen in honour of the return of their president, Juraj Oršić, from treatment.⁹ A special booklet for the occasion was printed, meant for the fair sex, and entitled, *In Praise of Beauty*, with 19 patriotic poems. But the organisation of dances started to wane after 1844. They were replaced by private soirees or circles. Such meetings were aimed at providing uplifting entertainment, through conversation, singing, declamation and music. The political situation that ensued when the word Illyrian was banned did inevitably however affect the fervour of the patriots, and at that time they had no feeling for the organisation of large dance entertainments.

When the palace of Count Karlo Drašković was purchased for the National Home with a large ballroom (1846), on the eve of the events of 1848,¹⁰ dance once again became one of the principal characteristics of social life in Zagreb.

CLOTHING OF THE ILLYRIANS¹¹

As mentioned above, in the time of the Illyrian Movement, a change occurred in the manner of dressing. National or folk costume, particularly the Illyrian *surka*, a kind of jacket, was increasingly brought in. The

⁹ Ljudevit Vukotinović, *Letošnje poklade u Zagrebu*, in: *Danica Ilirska* 10, 11. 3. 1843.

¹⁰ *Gradjanski bal* (s.n.), in: *Danica Ilirska* 11, 11. 3. 1848, p. 48.

¹¹ SCHNEIDER, M. 1985, pp. 371–79.

Illyrian *Leljiva* would be applied to clothing and to accessories, showing the typically bourgeois utilisation of the symbols of a political and cultural movement. The propagation of national or folk attire did not have only a political aim and a historical and cultural role. Dressed in national uniforms, citizens became walking advertisements for costumed ethnicity. According to contemporary sources, participants of the balls were dressed in what was called Illyrian costume – often a brown *surka* jacket with the obligatory red bag-shaped hat, and the fair sex wore white *surka* jackets and pleated skirts in European fashion, and on their heads the old fashioned Croatian cap called the *poculica*.

Illyrian costume consisted of the *surka*, a short jacket or coat of red, white or brown woollen cloth, trimmed around the hems with woven braids. The pants were mostly blue, fitting tight to the legs, and decorated with braiding. On their feet they wore rawhide sandals, and on their heads red caps with the Illyrian emblem.

Women moved by patriotic ardour also accepted Illyrian style clothing, covering themselves with a white *surka*, also decorated with braiding, and on the heads the Posavina *poculica*. The little book of Count Janko Drašković of 1838, *Ein Wort an Iliriens hochherzige Tochter*, in which the author skilfully explained and brought out the beauty of the mother tongue and the feeling of national belonging was a particular stimulus here.

The *surka* was analogous to the peasant item of apparel, the *surina*, an outer coat that was either worn or just thrown over a waistcoat or *dolama*. It was cut straight or flared, particularly the back part, which in some cases was expanded in the lower part by gussets. As a rule it had no collar, and did not fasten as it had no buttons or galloons. It closed at the chest with a fastening of braiding or a special metal chain, with a crescent moon and star at the end. The arms were broad, straight or flared, often with the front partially or entirely slit. All the hems of the *surka* were decorated with variously patterned braiding. They were often red or brown, white, occasionally blue. Below the *surka* the Illyrians put on waistcoat or *dolama*, snug to the body, with long narrow sleeves and little cuffs, buttoned at the breast with buttons or braiding loops or metal buckles, with a small upright collar. They were done in red and white.

The aim of this article has been primarily to show the dance as the dominant form of social life, with all its characteristics, in the time of the Illyrian Movement, mostly on the basis of articles published in *Danica Ilirska*. However, in the context of the theme to which this symposium is dedicated, I would also like to draw attention to the fact that in Zagreb and in other towns, such as Karlovac and Varaždin in this period, numerous theatrical and musical performances were put on.

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PLES KOT ZNAČILNOST DRUŽABNEGA ŽIVLJENJA V HRVAŠKIH MESTIH V ČASU ILIRIZMA (1835–1848)

mag. Jelena Borošak-Marijanović, Hrvaška

Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

V članku obravnavamo ples kot prevladujočo obliko zabave v družabnem življenju v hrvaških mestih, ki so veljala za središča hrvaškega narodnega preporoda (Zagreb, Križevci, Varaždin). Osnova za članek so bili ohranjeni dokumenti (vabila, pesmarice, oglasi, plesni red, časopisni članki idr.). V tem obdobju so na ples gledali predvsem kot na družabne dogodke, njihovemu »zabavnemu« vidiku pa so posvečali manj pozornosti. Vrhunec obdobja »imenitnih plesov« se je začel z izgradnjo gledališča in njegove velike plesne dvorane na Trgu svetega Marka v Zagrebu (1835). Tako kot na Dunaju so tudi v Zagrebu plesali valček, slovansko polko, galop in mazurko, pa tudi tradicionalne hrvaške narodne plesne, na primer kolo, ki ga je javnosti prva predstavila grofica Sidonija Erdödy leta 1842. Plesalci so bili oblečeni v tako imenovano ilirsko narodno nošo, v rjavo surko, pokriti pa so bili z rdečimi čepicami. Plesalke so nosile bele surke in krila v evropskem slogu, glavo pa jim je krasilo hrvaško tradicionalno žensko čipkasto pokrivalo, imenovano »poculica«.

POVZETEK

Hrvaški narodni preporod, znan tudi kot ilirizem, je v tridesetih in štiridesetih letih 19. stoletja odigral odločilno vlogo pri oblikovanju hrvaškega naroda, živečega v delih dežele pod vladavino bana. Faza preporoda je pri nastanku nacionalnih držav značilna za oblikovanje naroda pri majhnih, odvisnih in politično razdeljenih narodih, kot so bili na primer Hrvati. V času preporoda so bili na Hrvaškem v povezovalnem jedru družbe gonilna sila plemstvo, višji sloj meščanstva in nekateri izobraženci. Ilirizem kot proces kulturne modernizacije je ustvaril okvir za gradnjo političnih ustanov, potrebnih za razvoj civilne družbe na Hrvaškem. To narodno gibanje je našlo svojo pot v vsakdanje življenje. Kavo so pili iz skodelic, ki so jih krasili domoljubni verzi, frizerji so uporabljali lasnice s simboli ilirizma (polmesec in šesterokraka zvezda), opaziti je bilo tudi spremembe v načinu oblačenja ljudi. V tem obdobju so ples dojemali predvsem kot družabni dogodek in šele nato kot zabavo. Plesne dvorane so bile prostor, kjer so se ljudje družili; postale so politična gledališča. V tridesetih letih 19. stoletja je mali Zagreb ustvaril novo obliko življenja. V Zagrebu in drugih hrvaških mestih (Varaždin, Karlovec, Križevci) so plesali valček, slovansko polko, galop in mazurko, kar je razvidno z bidermajerskega plesnega reda. Vrsten red plesov je bil na plesnem redu vedno natančno določen. V časopisih (*ilirskih narodnih časopisih*) je bilo objavljeno, kje vse bodo priredili »imenitne plesne«, o njih pa so izdatno poročali v *Danici ilirski*, tedenski prilogi časopisa *Novine horvatske*. Hrvaški muzeji hranijo na desetine različnih primerkov plesnih redov iz časa ilirizma. Najstarejši spominek z ilirskih plesov je nedvomno svilen kokarda v obliki zgodovinskega hrvaškega grba z rdečim in belim trakom (HPM/PMH 33657), ki so si jo kot okras pripele ženske na elitnem plesu v Križevcih leta 1837. Plesi so zaznamovali tudi leti 1840 in 1841. V časopisu lahko preberemo, da je leta 1842 največjo pozornost vzbudil domoljubni ples na strelišču v Zagrebu, na katerem so plesali kolo. Kolo oziroma narodno ali nacionalno kolo, ples in salonsko kolo ter ilirsko kolo so pojmi, ki se uporabljajo v zvezi s slavonskim in hrvaškim kolom. V nasprotju z družabnimi plesi, ki so se plesali v 19. stoletju, na primer valček in polka, je kolo na dan priklicalo kulturno identiteto Hrvatov. Kolo je družabni ples v slikah. Njegova osnovna značilnost je, da se pleše v parih. Meščansko kolo se je pojavilo kot domoljubni odgovor na očarljivost valčka. V obdobju preporoda se je v boju proti tuji nadvladi v vseh sferah življenja in v družabnem življenju v plesnih dvoranah pojavilo prizadevanje za ustvaritev plesa, ki bi ga lahko dodali k drugim plesom slovanskega izročila in bi izražal individualnost hrvaške etnične skupine. Model so našli v narodnem kolu, ki je bil zaradi razširjenosti najznačilnejši ples tega območja.

Kolo je svoj vsesplošni pomen, zaradi katerega je bilo takoj vključeno v družabne dogodke tistega časa, pridobilo z zaključno sliko v obliki ilirskega grba (polmesec in šesterokraka zvezda), ki je nedvoumno podpirala splošno prepoznavno idejo preporoda. Plesalci so bili oblečeni v tako imenovane »ilirske noše« – pogosto rjavo surko z obvezno rdečo vrečasto čepico. Plesalke so bile odete v bele surke, plisirana krila, skladna z evropsko modo, glavo pa jim je krasilo hrvaško tradicionalno žensko čipkasto pokrivalo, imenovano »poculica«.

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

In the lifetime of Franz Liszt between 1811 and 1886 Europe went thru fundamental political changes. The era of Napoleon, which was slowly finding its end at the time when Liszt was born, marked the first milestone in European history of the 19th century. After the total defeat of Napoleon, the European leaders, among which Metternich in particular, tried to restore the old system and suppress any new revolutionary movements. But the year 1848 brought new changes for Europe and it created an atmosphere in which new political ideas found fertile soil. In this second half of the 19th century, Germany and Italy were united, and another political figure from the German-speaking area became the main European political figure. His name was Otto von Bismarck, and his Alliance System marked the whole period until the eve of the Great War.

KEY WORDS

Napoleon, Metternich, revolutions, Holy Alliance, Europe, 19th century

Franz Liszt was born in 1811 in the city of Doborjan (Raiding), today part of Austria but at the time of his birth, this was part of the Austrian Empire. In 1811 this Empire was a young country, created in 1804. The Habsburg ruler of that time was Francis II, who raised his Austrian homeland to the status of an empire in 1804. The main reason for this decision was the fact that Napoleon Bonaparte had proclaimed himself as an emperor in the same year. Just two years later in 1806 Napoleon dissolved the Holy Roman Empire and Francis II abdicated as the Holy Roman Emperor. From that time on he ruled only in the Austrian Empire under the name Francis I. Although the Habsburgs lost their title as emperors of the Holy Roman Empire after the defeat at Austerlitz and the Treaty of Pressburg (Bratislava), they kept the imperial title until the end of World War I. After Napoleon dissolved the ancient empire he created the Confederation of the Rhine. Although this was a short-lived Napoleonic imperial construction, this event marked the beginning of Germany as a de-imperialized confederation of states.¹

In the time of Liszt birth, the problems with Napoleon had not been solved. In 1810 Napoleon married Marie-Louise, the daughter of Francis I and became part of the Habsburg family. Two years later he decided to attack the Russian Empire with the biggest army in the history of humanity yet. In June 1812 the French Grande Armée (450,000 men) crossed the river Neman without a war declaration. After Napoleon's victory at the Battles of Smolensk and Borodino, the Grande Armée marched into Moscow. Napoleon entered the city, assuming its fall would end the war and Tsar Alexander would negotiate peace. However, on orders of the city's governor Feodor Rostopchin, rather than capitulate, Moscow was burned, and the Tsar rejected any peace negotiations. After five weeks, Napoleon and his army left Moscow.² During the retreat, Napoleon learned in early November, that General Claude de Mallet had attempted a *coup d'état* (putsch) in France. He abandoned his army on the 5th of December and returned home on a sleigh to repress the rebellion. In the next two years, 1813 and 1814 the final battles for Europe took place. On one side the Napoleonic French Empire and on the other side an Alliance of European powers which had only one goal, to defeat Napoleon for once and for all. On the 18th of October in 1813, the French army was pinned down by a force twice its size and lost at the Battle of Leipzig. After the French defeat, the Allies offered peace terms in the Frankfurt proposals in November 1813. The proposal included the fact that Napoleon would remain an Emperor of France within its natural frontiers (approximately to France territorial limits in 1797). In fact, that meant that France could retain control of Belgium, Savoy, and the west bank of the Rhine River. On the other side, Na-

¹ MORRISON, B. 1989, p. 17; TWIST, C. 2005, pp. 128–132; RAHTEN, A. 2010, p. 20; PRUNK, J. 2015, pp. 120–121; JOHNSON, L. R. 2002, p. 125; DTV-ATLAS WELTGESCHICHTE 2, 2005, p. 307; McLYNN, F. 1998, p. 346.

² TWIST, C. 2005, p. 132; DTV-ATLAS WELTGESCHICHTE 2, 2005, p. 313; NICOLSON, H. 1946, pp. 1–14.

napoleon would lose power over Spain, the Netherlands and most of Italy and Germany. This proposal, which had mostly been made by Metternich, was very lenient towards Napoleon. Metternich told the France emperor that these were the best terms the Allies were willing to offer. After another French defeat, Metternich continued, the conditions of peace would become harsher and harsher. But Napoleon willing and expecting to win the war delayed too long with an answer and by December 1813 the Allies had withdrawn their offer. At the beginning of 1814, the situation for Napoleon seemed confused, so he tried to reopen peace negotiations by accepting the Frankfurt proposals. And now Metternich's prediction became reality, and the Allies presented harsher terms that included the retreat of France to its 1791 boundaries, which meant the loss of Belgium. Although France would lose Belgium, Napoleon could still remain emperor. But he refused this offer, withdrew back into France and was faced with being surrounded by the Allied powers which were at this point three times stronger than the French. In the battles which followed, Napoleon won a series of victories in the Six Days' Campaign, although these were not significant enough to turn the tide. The leaders of Paris surrendered to the Allies in March 1814. On the 2nd of April, the French Senate passed the *Acte de déchéance de l'Empereur* (Emperor's Demise Act). When Napoleon learned that Paris is lost, he proposed his army to march to Paris, but his officers and marshals rebelled.³

Napoleon was on his knees and abdicated on the 4th of April to the benefit of his son, with his Austrian wife Marie-Louise as regent. A few days earlier Napoleon wrote a letter to his wife Marie-Louise to convince her not to stay and fight in Paris. Napoleon wrote: »If I lose a battle ... get the Empress and the King of Rome (Napoleon's son) to leave for Rambouillet ... Never let the Empress and the King of Rome fall into the hands of the enemy ... I would prefer my son to be killed rather than see him brought up to Vienna as an Austrian prince.«⁴ But at that time Napoleon had not lost a battle but the whole war. Although Napoleon was no longer the French Emperor, he kept his imperial title. On the 11th of April in 1814, the Allies signed the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Napoleon abdicated in Fontainebleau on the same day by putting his signature under the following text: »The Allied Powers having declared that Emperor Napoleon was the sole obstacle to the restoration of peace in Europe, Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of his life, which he is not ready to do in the interests of France«.⁵ Although Napoleon abdicated as French Emperor, the treaty granted him the title of Emperor and gave him sovereignty over the island of Elba. Napoleon was sent to the Mediterranean island together with around 800 men.⁶

It was the idea of Tsar Alexander of Russia to put Napoleon on the Elba Island, whereas his allies thought that this proposal was too generous. Metternich, for instance, believed that Elba was too close to Italy, and Castlereagh thought it was too close to France. But in the end, because nobody wanted to offend the Tsar, Elba was chosen as the new »Empire« for Napoleon. The doubts of the Allies soon became reality. Napoleon, separated from his wife and son, who had returned to Austria, escaped from Elba, with 700 men on the 26th of February in 1815. Napoleon arrived in Paris on the 20th of March and governed for a period called the Hundred Days. Meanwhile, the new French king from the house of Bourbon, Louis XVIII, who was very unpopular among the French people, fled to Belgium after he realised that he had very little political support. The other European powers, who had gathered at the Vienna Congress in November 1814, declared Napoleon, an outlaw on the 13th of March in 1815. Four days later, Austria, Russia, Great Britain, and Prussia each pledged to put 150,000 men into the field to end Napoleon's rule for good.⁷

The final act in the Napoleon tragedy played out on the 18th of June in 1815. On this day at the Netherland city, Waterloo, Napoleon clashed with the Allied powers commanded by the Duke of Wellington and Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher. After a bloody battle, Napoleon was defeated, and he returned to Paris where he was confronted with the fact that both the legislature and the people had turned against him. Now, still affected

³ DAVIS, N. 2013, pp. 700–702; PALMER, A. 1988, pp. 108–111; DTV-ATLAS WELTGESCHICHTE 2, 2005, p. 315; FEUCHTWANGER, E. J. 1972, pp. 148–149; KISSINGER, H. A. 1976, pp. 127–131; LEGGIERE, M. V. 2007, pp. 42–63; McLYNN, F. 1998, pp. 510–512, pp. 575–576 and p. 585; GATES, D. 2003, p. 259; NICOLSON, H. 1946, pp. 1–14 and pp. 46–62.

⁴ McLYNN, F. 1998, p. 588.

⁵ BULLETIN, 1814, p. 35. URL: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4861135/f57.item.langFR> (quoted on 2. 6. 2016).

⁶ PRUNK, J. 2015, p. 123; McLYNN, F. 1998, pp. 588–591; DTV-ATLAS WELTGESCHICHTE 2, 2005, p. 315; TWIST, C. 2005, p. 132.

⁷ McLYNN, F. 1998, pp. 590–607; DAVIES, N. 2013, pp. 708–711.

by his escape from Elba, the Allies sent Napoleon to an island far away. He was sent to the British island of Saint Helena where he died on the 5th of May in 1821.⁸

After Napoleon's last defeat, Europe that was at war for many years finally gained peace. But a new order had to be made which would guarantee peace in Europe. The need for this order is the reason why the European powers gathered in Vienna in 1814. The so-called Congress of Vienna was held in the Austrian capital from November 1814 to June 1815. The Congress was a conference of ambassadors of European states led by Austrian statesman Metternich. The first task of the Congress was to restore the old dynasties which ruled in the time before the Napoleonic wars. The Bourbons returned to the thrones of France, Spain, and southern Italy; the Savoy dynasty returned to the throne as Kings of Sardinia; while Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg were united in the new Kingdom of the Netherlands under the reign of the Orange dynasty. But the return of royal families to the thrones which Napoleon took away from them, was only a small part of Metternich's plan for a new Europe. Although Metternich was working for Austria, he had a broad framework for Europe in his mind. This is the main reason why he wanted to create a Europe of independent states equal in their rights, status, and security. On the other side, Metternich and the other European leaders were conservative with little use for new ideas around republicanism, revolutionism, liberalism, and nationalism. All these new ideas emerged from the French Revolution and were considered as the largest threat to upset the status quo in Europe. After the French revolution in 1789 and the end of Napoleon in 1815, the European culture was set about absorbing the lessons from this period. All these fragments helped to create the new system of balance between the European powers. In Metternich's view on this new system, Austria and Prussia should be the guardians of peace in central Europe. But the creation of such a system was not so easy because there was the question regarding the role which ought to be assigned to England and Russia within this game. England did not want to participate in matters of Continental Europe, but after Napoleon had disturbed the British on the Sea, English politicians wanted to keep and protect the English position as the leading marine and trading power on Earth. The English task within the balance of power was not a problem for Austria and Prussia. However, Russia on the other side was interested in gaining territories in Poland and Transnistria (along the Dniester River) and influence in Central Europe and the Balkans. But the leaders of the great European powers solved their disagreements in an easy way. Those countries which were in a way dissatisfied were compensated with territories from the defeated powers. In that way, Prussia, who wanted to gain Alsace, Lorraine, and Warsaw, got Saxony instead. Austria, who lost its territories in the Netherlands, gained power over the main part of North Italy. Sweden lost Finland but gained Norway. Russia on the other side got Finland, Lithuania, and East Poland. Britain, who wanted to remain the greatest sea power in the world, got a bunch of islands from Helgoland in the North Sea to Ceylon in Asia.⁹

The Congress of Vienna also changed the political structure in Central Europe. After Napoleon abandoned the Holy Roman Empire and created the Confederation of the Rhine, the re-uprising powers decided to give up the Confederation of the Rhine and create the German Confederation. This new political creation was a loose association of 39 German states. Austria because of Metternich's diplomatic and negotiations skills got the position of the president of the Confederation. This position made Austria the main power in the German speaking area. Although the Habsburgs were no longer Holy Roman Emperors, they reclaimed power in Central Europe with the help of Metternich. On the other side, Prussia was accepted by Austria as the second power in the German Confederation. But this perception was the basis for the rivalry between Austria and Prussia who would remain or who would become the leading power in the German Confederation. As we will see later, the struggle for power between Austria and Prussia ended not earlier than in 1866.¹⁰

To secure all these conclusions from the Congress of Vienna, the Holy Alliance was created. This Alliance was a coalition between Austria, Prussia, and Russia. It was created on the 26th of September in 1815 in Paris

⁸ TWIST, C. 2005, p. 134; DTV-ATLAS WELTGESCHICHTE 2, 2005, p. 315; McLYNN, F. 1998, pp. 619–627, 636, 655 and 661–662.

⁹ RAHTEN, A. 2010, pp. 19–21; PRUNK, J. 2015, pp. 131–134; BROERS, M. 1996, pp. 9–19; DAVIES, N. 2013, p. 716; PALMER, A. 1988, p. 140; RUMPLER, H. 1997, pp. 132–140.

¹⁰ RAHTEN, A. 2010, p. 19; DAVIES, N. 2013, p. 716; TAYLOR, A. J. P. 1956, pp. 37–38; PALMER, A. 1988, p. 115; NICOLSON, H. 1946, pp. 196–200.

after Napoleon was finally defeated. The three rulers of the signing countries Francis I, Frederick Wilhelm III, and Alexander I saw this new alliance as a force in the battle against revolutionary movements. With the signing of the alliance, these rulers had solemnly declared that the basis of their behavior in the internal and also external matters would be the commandments of the Christian faith and the commandments of justice, love, and peace. With this agreement, the balance of power was created, and it guaranteed peace in Europe for a long time. In fact, when we take a look at the 18th century it was full of military conflicts between European countries. On the other hand, through the calculations of Vladimir Benko, Europe witnessed a long time peace era in the course of the 19th century after the Napoleonic wars and the creation of the balance of power. In the time between 1816 and the beginning of the Great War in 1914 the European countries clashed only three times for a short period. The first conflict occurred in 1859 and lasted for six months, the next was in 1866 and also lasted six months, and the last one in 1870/1871 which lasted nine months. The guarantee for this long-time era of peace was also enabled by the fact that all European countries joined the Alliance, except Britain. Although the English king did not join the Holy Alliance, England was also drawn into the alliance circle. On the 20th of November in 1815, the second Treaty of Paris was signed. Within this treaty, the royal courts of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England signed an alliance in which they renewed the agreements from the Treaty of Chaumont, which was signed on the 1st of March in 1814 (this treaty was intended to draw the powers of the Sixth Coalition into a closer alliance), and the Treaty of Vienna from the 25th of March in 1815 (Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia agreed to put 150,000 men in the field against Napoleon). In the second Treaty of Paris Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England guaranteed to each other that in the case of disturbance of the peace, all four countries would meet and determine the necessary measures. The first congress, held by the Holy Alliance at which England participated as well, was the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle held in Aachen between the 9th of October and the 21st of November in 1818. During this congress France was again recognised as the fifth power in Europe and the occupation of the country was finished.¹¹

The second Congress of the Holy Alliance was held in Troppau (modern Opava) from the 20th of October to the 20th of December in 1820. During the two years between the first and the second congress, the first problems for the Holy Alliance appeared. In the beginning, there were some issues in the German Confederation. Among students, some national and liberal ideas began to emerge. But such ideas were totally in contrary to Metternich's conservatism. A tightening situation occurred after the murder of the conservative writer, dramatist, and agent of the Russian intelligence service, August von Kotzebue on the 23rd of March in 1819. Kotzebue was killed by Karl Sand, a student of theology from Jena. To solve this situation Metternich and the Prussian King Frederick Wilhelm III met on the 27th of July in 1819 in Teplitz. After a few days of discussion on the 1st of August the Convention of Teplitz was signed. In this convention, Austria and Prussia agreed on a common course of action against subversive endeavors. After a meeting of ministers from ten German states in Carlsbad and a subsequent conference in Vienna, a system of censorship and surveillance measures within the German Confederation was created. For Metternich, this was a great victory, and he believed that he had established Austrian or Habsburg primacy in the German confederation like in the good old times of the Holy Roman Empire. The next Congress of the Holy Alliance was held in Ljubljana from the 26th of January to the 28th of February in 1821. The conclusion of this Congress was the authorization of Austrian military actions to crush a rebellion against Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies.¹²

In the post-Congress of Vienna time, the young Liszt showed, to his father's joy, an obsessive love for music and playing the piano. The new wonder boy like Mozart before him could read music long before he knew the alphabet and at the age of eight Liszt began composing in an elementary manner. At the age of nine, he performed in concerts at Sopron and Pressburg in October and November of 1820. Two years later in 1822 Liszt had his first public debut in Vienna at a concert at the Landständischer Saal. In 1823 Liszt performed at a concert in the centre of the Habsburg imperial power, the Wiener Hofburg. Other concerts followed, and soon the enthusiasm for Liszt spread from Vienna to France and England.¹³

¹¹ RAHTEN, A. 2010, p. 21; ŠENK, V. 1944, pp. 15–21; BENKO, V. 2000, pp. 112–113; NICOLSON, H. 1946, pp. 80–81, p. 207, p. 230, pp. 242–247 and pp. 263–266; BAINES, EDWARD 1818, pp. 433–434.

¹² RAHTEN, A. 2010, p. 21; KISSINGER, H. A. 1976, pp. 287–304; ŠENK, V. 1944, pp. 21–27; PALMER, A. 1988, pp. 181–185; NICOLSON, H. 1946, pp. 267–269; RUMPLER, H. 1997, pp. 203–205.

¹³ MORRISON, B. 1989, pp. 17–19; Österreichischer Beobachter, 12th of April 1823; Wiener Zeitschrift, 23rd of March 1824.

After Liszt moved to Paris in 1827, his new hometown soon became the centre of a new revolution. In 1824 after the death of Louis XVIII, who, upon the defeat of Napoleon I, and by agreement of the Allied powers, had been installed as King of France, the new king became Charles X (the younger brother of Louis XVIII). The French capital welcomed the new King, but the mood of the people quickly changed. New laws like the Anti-Sacrilege Act (against blasphemy and sacrilege passed in January 1825) and the provisions for financial indemnities for properties confiscated by the 1789 Revolution and Napoleonic Empire made clear that Charles X wanted to restore the old nobility system. In the same time Liszt settled down in Paris, and the young musician attracted the most affluent students. One of those was Caroline de Saint Crique, the seventeen-year-old daughter of Pierre de Saint Crique. The later was Charles X's Minister of Commerce. However, Caroline's father insisted that the affair has to be broken off. But as she had to break up with Liszt, the French people wanted to separate from their king. On the other side, Charles X was also slowly losing patience with his people, so he decided to call upon an extreme clericalist reactionary, Jules de Polignac, to form a government (1829). Polignac was very unpopular among the French people, so his rule brought France, although the country conquered Algeria, into a political crisis. In March 1830 Charles X dissolved the chamber because liberal members objected to the Polignac ministry. Two months later Charles called for new elections, but the majority of the votes were unfavourable to the king.

To remain in power Charles and Polignac proclaimed the July Ordinances in July 1830, also known as the Four Ordinances of Saint-Cloud. This series of decrees suspended the liberty of the press, dissolved the newly elected Chamber of Deputies of France, excluded the middle-class from future elections, etc. But these ordinances with their repressive measures provoked a revolution by the Paris radicals. Only after three days of fighting on the Paris barricades, everything was over. Unprepared for such a revolutionary outbreak, Charles first fled to Versailles and then to Rambouillet. As a result of this short-lasting revolution France became a constitutional monarchy and Charles X and his son Louis Antoine abdicated their rights to the throne and departed for Great Britain. Even though Charles wanted for his grandson Henri to take the throne, the provisional government did not agree. Instead of Henri, a distant cousin, Louis Philippe of the House of Orléans was placed on the throne. He became Louis Philippe I and ruled as king of France until the revolution in 1848. The July Revolution inspired Liszt to sketch a Revolutionary Symphony based on the events in Paris. But this symphony laid dormant until the revolution in 1848 when Louis Philippe I was like his predecessor overthrown.¹⁴

The new revolution in France also had effects on other European countries. The events in Paris shocked Metternich. When he received the news from France, he collapsed at his desk with the words: »My whole life's work is destroyed.«¹⁵ It is clear that these new revolutionary movements in France, Poland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy endangered the system Metternich has been building since 1815. For Liszt's homeland, the Austrian Empire, the most threatening revolutionary movements were those in Italy when in 1831 a revolutionary wave captured Modena, Parma, Romagna, and the Papal State. The Italian revolutionists were encouraged by the declarations from Paris that France would protect the liberty and independence of other people. With such a promise the revolution in Italy quickly spread, so the rulers of Parma and Modena sought refuge in Austrian Lombardy; and the power of the Papal State was reduced only to Rome and Orvieto. A National Congress, which gathered in Bologna, proclaimed the United Provinces of Italy and hung the red, white, and green flag over the city. At the same time, this National Congress appealed to the French king Louis Philippe I for recognition and material help. Although the National Congress was assembled in Bologna, the political centre of the revolution in Italy was Paris. In the French capital, political emigrants from all parts of Italy gathered around Filippo Buonarrotti (Italian utopian socialist, writer, agitator, etc.) to unite their political ideas for a new Italy. Anti-Austrian books like Enrico Misyey's *L'Italie sous la domination Autrichienne* and Charles de la Varennes' *Les Autrichiens et l'Italie* were also published in Paris. Beside Buonarrotti another fa-

¹⁴ MORRISON, B. 1989, pp. 25–27; DAVIES, N. 2013, pp. 754, 756; SCHMIDT-FUNKE, J. 2011; ROUSSELOT, J. 1967, pp. 67–74; DTV-ATLAS WELTGESCHICHTE 2, 2005, p. 327; ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA ONLINE, p. v. "July Revolution", (quoted on 8. 6. 2016), <http://www.britannica.com/event/July-Revolution>; ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA ONLINE, s. v. "Charles X", (quoted on 8. 6. 2016), <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-X>; PALMER, A. 1988, pp. 244–245; MERICK, P. 1987, p. 3; HOLZAPFEL, K. 1990, pp. 6–31; TAYLOR, A. J. P. 1956, p. 46; PRUNK, J. 2015, p. 171; SCHMIDT-FUNKE, J. A. 2011.

¹⁵ PALMER, A. 1988, p. 246.

mous Italian politician began his strong agitation for the unification of Italy. His name was Giuseppe Mazzini. In 1831 Mazzini wrote his famous letter to Charles Albert of Sardinia in which he called for his decision for or against the Italian unification. In 1831 Mazzini travelled to Marseille, where he became a popular figure among the Italian exiles. There he organized a new political society called *La giovine Italia* (Young Italy) with the aim to create a united Italian republic. But again Metternich solved the problems in Italy in his way. He sent Austrian troops to occupy Modena and Parma. On the 5th of May, Ciro Menotti, one of the leaders of the revolution was hanged in Modena, and the revolution was over. Metternich's system was once again saved.¹⁶

In the next years, while Liszt was again travelling around Europe the last period of Metternich's political career took place. While Metternich completed a quarter of a century as the principal minister of Austria in February 1835, Emperor Francis I died. On his deathbed, Francis signed two political testaments for his son Ferdinand who would become the new emperor Ferdinand I. These two testaments which were written by Metternich a long time ago ordered the new emperor two things. The first task was to liberate the Church from the orders from Emperor Joseph II and the second task was that he should not change anything in the fundamental organisation of his country. But because of Ferdinand's medical issues, he had epilepsy; his father wished that he would in any internal matters consult Archduke Ludwig (Francis' younger brother) and Metternich whom Francis I called his most faithful and servant friend. The era from the coronation of Ferdinand I and the revolution in 1848 got the name *Vormärz* (pre-March) era. With the mentally challenged Ferdinand on the throne, Metternich had the opportunity to control the internal and external affairs of the Austrian Empire. In this way, Metternich finally became the real ruler of the Habsburg Empire.¹⁷

The next milestone in the European history became the year 1848. This revolutionary year also known as the »Spring of Nations« was a time of political turmoil which blew through Europe. Like the previous two revolutions in Europe, this one also started in France in February 1848 and immediately spread to most of the Europe except England and Russia. In France, the revolution was spread among the general public which was laced with nationalist and republican ideas. The revolution ended in the dissolution of the constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe I and the establishment of the French Second Republic. This new government was led by Louis Napoleon, who in 1852 became emperor Napoleon III. When the revolutionary wave of 1848 hit the Austrian Empire, the first big change in Austria was the end of Metternich's rule. The Austrian State Chancellor and Foreign Minister resigned on the 13th of March in 1848 and, like Charles X in 1830, fled to Great Britain. After Metternich's fall, the revolution captured all parts of the Monarchy. In Italy once again a desire to be free from foreign rule spread among the divided country. The revolution was led by the state of Piedmont. In the beginning, the Austrian forces under the command of General Radetzky were forced to retreat. But Radetzky planned a counterattack to regain the lost ground. It took time, but on the 23rd of March in 1849 at the Battle of Novara Radetzky reached his final triumph against the Italian revolutionaries. On the other side of the Empire, the Hungarians also took their chance in the revolutionary wave. This revolution grew into a war for the Hungarian independence. But under the military command of Josip Jelačić, Ban of Croatia, and the help of Russia (Tsar Nicholas I send over 300,000 troops into Hungary) after one and a half year of fighting the revolution was crushed. As a result of the revolution in the Habsburg Empire Ferdinand I abdicated and the new emperor became Francis Joseph I. He then ruled the country until his death in 1916.¹⁸

The revolution of 1848 also spread in the German states. In this time Liszt was living in Weimar. The revolution in the German states lead to the assembly of an all-German parliament which met together on the 31st of March in Frankfurt's St. Paul's Church. The members of the parliament called for free elections to an assembly of all German states. On the 18th of May in 1848 the National Assembly opened its session in St. Paul's Church. But in the autumn of 1848, the assembly come to the conclusion that Germany should unite without Austria. In March 1849 the assembly offered the crown of the future German Empire to Prussia's

¹⁶ HOLZAPFEL, K. 1990, pp. 108–116; PALMER, A. 1988, pp. 246–249; RUMPLER, H. 1997, pp. 164–169; PRUNK, J. 2015, p. 177.

¹⁷ MORRISON, B. 1989, pp. 50–52; TAYLOR, A. J. P. 1956, pp. 51–53; RUMPLER, H. 1997, p. 262; PALMER, A. 1988, pp. 265–271.

¹⁸ TAYLOR, A. J. P. 1956, pp. 63–91; SLOVENSKA NOVEJŠA ZGODOVINA, 2006, pp. 24–25; DAVIES, N. 2013, pp. 754, 756, 759, 772; PRUNK, J. 2015, pp. 183–192; RUMPLER, H. 1997, pp. 296–305; TAYLOR, A. J. P. 1968, p. 44; RAHTEN, A. 2010, p. 26; CROCE, B. 1934, pp. 145–150; PALMER, A. 1997, pp. 298–328; DTV-ATLAS WELTGESCHICHTE 2, 2005, pp. 333–337.

King Frederick William IV. After one month of consideration, Frederick William rejected the crown. After this defeat, the National Assembly disintegrated at the end of May in 1848.¹⁹

Although the revolution of 1848/49 was crushed within Europe, the effects of this period brought a change which marked the path of European policy in the second half of the 19th century. The revolution eliminated the last vestiges of the feudal system, ended the social and political reforms which were stopped after 1815, established fundamental human rights and freedoms and equality before the law. After the revolution of 1848 and Liszt's death in 1886, Europe went through the last political changes which would end the old system. The first crisis after the revolution of 1848 became the Crimean War between 1853 and 1856. Russia lost this war to an alliance of France, the United Kingdom, the Ottoman Empire and Sardinia. The cause of the war was the decision of France and the United Kingdom to help the Ottoman Empire to defend the Danubian principalities and rejected Russian requests for a protectorate over the Christian inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire. Austria declared herself neutral and even occupied the Wallachian and Moldavian lands on the Danube and in this way helped the United Kingdom and France. On the other side, the Austrian Empire resisted Russian diplomatic attempts to join the war on the Russian side. This fact changed the relationship between Russia and Austria. The Russians were angry because the Austrians forgot that they stumped down the civil war in Hungary in 1848/49 only with the help of Russia. The Austro-Russian alliance finally broke up, and this also meant the end for the Holy Alliance. From this point on the struggle between Austria and Russia for supremacy in the Balkans began. The war was officially ended by the Treaty of Paris, signed on the 30th of March in 1856.²⁰

Italy came in the focus of Napoleon III foreign policy after the end of the Crimean War. The country was still not united and the desires of Italian politicians, especially those from the Kingdom of Sardinia, to unite the country grew stronger and stronger. On the 20th of July in 1858 Napoleon III and Camillo Cavour, the prime minister of the Kingdom of Sardinia, met in Plombières-les-Bains where Napoleon III promised Cavour French military help if Austria would attack his country. Cavour on the other side agreed to cede Savoy and the County of Nice to France (these two provinces came under France on the 10th of November in 1859). Because the Austrians wanted to keep their position in North Italy, they declared war to the Kingdom of Sardinia in April 1859. But now there was no one like Radetsky on the Austrian side and the Italians with the help of France, in particular, defeated the Austrians at the Battle of Solferino on the 24th of June in 1859. The next even more catastrophic war for Austria took place in 1866. In this time the Austrian Empire fought a war against Italy on one side and Prussia on the other side. On the Italian battlefield the Austrians lost at the battle of Custoza on the 24th of June in 1866 and less than a month later at the sea Battle of Lissa. After this Austrian defeats the emerging Italian state gained control over the north Italian states which belonged to Austria. Four years later when the Franco-Prussian war took place, Italy occupied the main part of the Papal State and closed the Pope into the Vatican City. In this way, the main part of the territory populated by Italians came under the Kingdom of Italy, which was created in 1861. But the major problem for the Austrians became the war against Prussia. In the Battle of Sadowa on the 3rd of July in 1866, the Austrian army was disastrously defeated by the Prussians. Now the situation in the German states changed and, just as Metternich did in the first part of the 19th century, now the Prussian prime minister, Otto von Bismarck seized the opportunity to put his country in the first line above all German states. Although the Austrians were defeated by Prussia, Bismarck did not want to humiliate the Austrians completely. He knew that his next enemy in the consolidation of the German states or the creation of a new German Empire would be France. After the war had been finished, Austria and Prussia signed Peace Treaty of Paris on the 23rd of August in 1866 in which the German Confederation was dismissed, and Austria retreated from any participation in a new political organization of Germany. Beside the exterior affairs, the war with Prussia also brought fundamental changes in the internal affairs of the Habsburg Empire. With the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, the Austrian Empire became the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. When Francis Joseph and his beautiful wife Sisi were coronated in Budapest as king and queen of Hungary the music for the coronation ceremony was written by Franz Liszt. The Mass,

¹⁹ MORISSON, B. 1989, pp. 70–73; TAYLOR, A. J. P. 1956, pp. 79–91; PRUNK, J. 2015, pp. 188–192; RAHTEN, A. 2010, p. 25; CROCE, B. 1934, pp. 151–154.

²⁰ PRUNK, J. 2015, p. 192; RUMPLER, H. 1997, pp. 365–369; DAVIES, N. 2013, pp. 814–815; RAHTEN, A. 2010, pp. 26–28.

called the *Missa Coronationalis*, was first performed on the 8th of June in 1867 at the coronation ceremony in the Matthias Church by Buda Castle.²¹

The last big political change during the life of Liszt was the unification of Germany. After Bismarck had defeated, but not destroyed, the Austrians he turned his focus towards France. Bismarck knew that he would need Austria in a conflict with France not only for military help but mostly to cover his back. This concept of Bismarck despite the Austrian defeat to form an alliance with the former enemy has proved to be an excellent move. Napoleon III on the other side despite his role as a mediator during the peace negotiations between Austria and Prussia, although he wanted to gain some territories, ended up with nothing. So he tried to convince Austria to join him in a war of revenge against Prussia. But in this diplomatic struggle Bismarck came out as a winner and when the war between France and Prussia started in 1870 Napoleon III soon realized that he had no allies on his side. After German victories in eastern France and the final victory at the Battle of Sedan, where Napoleon III had been captured on the 2nd of September (like Charles X and Metternich Napoleon also went to exile in England), a new government in Paris declared the Third Republic. But the new government did not stop fighting against Prussia and the war continued for another five months. In the end, the Prussian Army was unstoppable for the French and on the 28th of January in 1871, Paris fell into the arms of the Prussians. After that, a new revolution was launched in Paris called the Paris Commune. But only after two months, the Paris Commune was suppressed violently. Before the French capital was finally conquered by the Prussians, Bismarck made the last step in the unification of Germany. On the 18th of January in 1871 in the Hall of Mirrors at the Versailles Palace, the Prussian King was proclaimed as German Emperor William I.²²

Like Metternich's foreign policy, Bismarck's new policy of secret Alliances also changed the relations between the European countries, and when Liszt died in 1886, Europe stood on the edge of a new time. Only two years later, William II became the new German emperor, and he slowly began to dream about his *Weltpolitik*. It was within these new fundamental changes for Europe that created the basis for a conflict, which would not only change Europe but the entire world, had been laid.

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²² RAHTEN, A. 2010, pp. 30–31; CROCE, B. 1934, pp. 204–218; JOHNSON, L. R. 2002, pp. 160–165; BENKO, V. 2000, pp. 148–150; PRUNK, J. 2015, pp. 227–228; DTV-ATLAS WELTGESCHICHTE 2, 2005, p. 349; DAVIES, N. 2013, p. 814; TAYLOR, A. J. P. 1968, p. 191 and pp. 204–207; FEUCHTWANGER, E. J. 1972, pp. 217–222.

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

V času življenja Franca Liszta (1811–1886) je Evropa doživela temeljite politične spremembe. Napoleonova doba, ki je počasi doživela svoj konec v času rojstva Liszta, je bila prvi mejnik v evropski zgodovini 19. stoletja. Po Napoleonovem porazu so evropski voditelji, med njimi najbolj Metternich, poskušali obnoviti stari sistem in streti kakršnakoli nova revolucionarna gibanja. Toda leto 1848 je prineslo spremembe za Evropo in ustvarilo ozračje v katerem so nove politične ideje padle na plodna tla. V drugi polovici 19. stoletja sta nato Italija in Nemčija doživeli nacionalno združitev, nova politična osebnost iz nemško govorečega prostora pa je postala glavna figura v evropski politiki. Njegovo ime je bilo Otto von Bismarck in sistem zavezništev, ki ga je slednji ustvaril, je nato zaznamoval celotno obdobje do prve svetovne vojne.

POVZETEK

V času življenja Franca Liszta so se politične razmere v Evropi dramatično spremenile. Leta 1811, ko se je Liszt rodil, je bil Napoleon sredi priprav na vojno proti Rusiji, poraz v tej vojni pa je pomenil konec Napoleonove nadvlade v Evropi. Da bi zmagovalci obnovili stari sistem, so v letih 1814 in 1815 organizirali dunajski kongres. V novem evropskem političnem redu po kongresu je avstrijski kancler Metternich postal glavna politična osebnost. Ko je Liszt leta 1823 prispel v Pariz, je Ludvik XVIII., vladar iz dinastije Bourbonov, vladal kot kralj Francije. Toda samo dve leti kasneje je francoski kralj postal Karel X. Njegova vladavina se je končala leta 1830 z juljsko revolucijo. Takrat je francoski kralj postal Ludvik Filip I. Toda tudi njegovo vladavino je končala revolucija, in sicer tista leta 1848. Tega leta je ne samo Francijo, ampak celotno Evropo pretresel revolucionarni val, ki je s seboj ponovno prinesel spremembe. Metternich je bil prisiljen zapustiti Avstrijo, avstrijski cesar pa je postal Franc Jožef I. Naslednja politična sprememba se je zgodila na jugu Evrope, ko so se po porazih Franca Jožefa v severni Italiji začele italijanske dežele združevati v enotno državo. Novi italijanski kralj je postal Viktor Emanuel II. iz dinastije Savojevcev. Viktor Emanuel je nadaljeval z združevanjem Italije, to pa je leta 1866 pripeljalo do nove vojne z Avstrijo. Istega leta so se Avstrijci borili tudi proti Prusiji. Iz obeh vojn je Avstrija izšla kot poraženka. Posledično so Benetke postale del Italije, Prusija je postala glavna politična sila na nemškem območju, Avstrijsko cesarstvo pa se je na podlagi kompromisa iz leta 1867 preoblikovalo v dvojno monarhijo Avstro-Ogrsko. Leta 1866 je Liszt napisal skladbo za kronanje Franca Jožefa in njegove soproge Sisi za madžarskega kralja in kraljico. To Lisztovo delo je bilo prvič izvedeno 8. junija 1867 na kronanju Franca Jožefa v cerkvi sv. Matije v Budimpešti. Naslednja dramatična sprememba je Evropo doletela leta 1871 po francoskem porazu v francosko-nemški vojni. 18. januarja 1871 je bil namreč pruski kralj Viljem I. uradno razglašen za nemškega cesarja. Tako je za Italijo tudi Nemčija postala enotna država. Glavna politična osebnost nemške združitve in evropske zunanje politike med letoma 1871 in 1890 je postal Otto von Bismarck. V času smrti Franca Liszta je novi nemški cesar Viljem II. že začel sanjariti o svoji novi zunanji politiki, imenovani tudi *Weltpolitik*. S tem je bila tlakovana pot za nov konflikt, a ta ni spremenil samo Evrope, pač pa cel svet.

MANOR HOUSE VILTUŠ, THE SUMMER RESIDENCE OF EDUARD VON LANNOY

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ABSTRACT

The author devotes the first part of the present paper to the introduction of the manor house Viltuš, which originates from the 17th century, as well as four great building alterations of the manor house itself and its environs. In the course of the 18th century, a baroque chapel and a linking wing were added to the existing building. In the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the manor was added a side wing and a tower, and the owner's wing was altered. The building also got a new façade in the Historicistic style. It was also during this period that a landscape park with a pond was set up. Among all former owners of Viltuš, the paper gives prominence to the highly knowledgeable musician Eduard von Lannoy, who invited numerous guests of refined Europe of that time. Franz Liszt was also one of these guests in the year 1846. In the second part of the paper, the author presents the most important objects of the altogether 130 objects stemming from the manor house Viltuš, mostly originating from the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, and are being preserved at the Regional Museum Maribor.

KEY WORDS

Viltuš, Eduard Lannoy, Franz Liszt, Regional Museum Maribor

Mirjana Koren, Pokrajinski muzej Maribor, Slovenija

IZVLEČEK

V prvem delu prispevka avtorica predstavi dvorec Viltuš iz 17. stoletja in kasnejše štiri velike gradbene posege vanj in njegovo okolico. V 18. stoletju sta bila prizidana baročna kapela in vezni trakt. V 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja sta bila prizidana stranski trakt in stolp, predelana gosposka stavba, narejena nova historicistična fasada, urejen pa je bil tudi krajinski park z ribnikom. Med lastniki dvorca je izpostavljen široko razgledani glasbenik Eduard Lannoy. Ta je v Viltuš vabil številne goste takratne omikane Evrope, med njimi leta 1846 tudi Franza Liszta. V drugem delu prispevka avtorica predstavi najpomembnejše med 130 predmeti iz dvorca Viltuš, ki so shranjeni v Pokrajinskem muzeju Maribor in datirajo večinoma v drugo polovico 19. in začetek 20. stoletja.

POVZETEK

V Spodnjem Slemenu, približno deset kilometrov iz Maribora je bil v 17. stoletju zgrajen dvorec Viltuš. Postavljen je bil na ravnico med vznožjem hriba Tičnica, na katerem je bil v 12. stoletju postavljen Viltuški grad, in cesto, ki je Štajersko povezovala s Koroško. Dvorec je bil še štirikrat dozidan in prezidan. V 18. stoletju sta mu bila na zahodnem delu najverjetneje po načrtih mariborskega arhitekta Jožefa Hoferja dozidana baročna kapela in vezni trakt z vinsko kletjo v pritličju in spalnicami v nadstropju. Pred letom 1825 je bil stavbi na vzhodni strani dozidan stranski trakt. Med letoma 1890 in 1903 je bila po načrtih graškega arhitekta Hansa Prucknerja predelana gosposka stavba, dozidan stolp in narejena nova historicistična fasada. V pritličju gosposke stavbe so bili upravni prostori s kuhinjo, pralnico, prostori za služinčad, shrambami in kurilnico. V prvem nadstropju je bila organizirana slavnostna dvorana z jedilnico in teraso, ki je bila z mostovžem povezana z novozgrajeno oranžerijo. V drugem nadstropju so bili spalni prostori družine in knjižnica oziroma »grofičina soba«. V stolpu je bila velika lovska soba. V tem obdobju je dvorec dobil tudi krajinski park z domačimi in eksotičnimi drevesi ter ribnikom. Med letoma 1942 in 1944 so bili v Viltušu vojaški zapori. Po vojni se je dvorec iz družinskega prebivališča spremenil v vojaško okrevališče in leta 1953 v dom za ostarele. Leta 1971 je bil za te potrebe še zadnjič prezidan. Od leta 1989, ko se je dom za ostarele preselil v nove prostore, je dvorec Viltuš prepuščen vandalizmu in propadu. Leta 1999 je bil razglašen za spomenik državnega pomena. Zadnja leta za park skrbi Turistično društvo Selnica ob Dravi.

Viltuš s Franzem Lisztom povezuje Eduard Lannoy (1787–1853), sin barona Petra Josefa Alberta Lannoyja, ki je dvorec kupil leta 1808. Ko je Peter Josef Albert leta 1825 v Viltušu umrl, je dvorec podedoval Eduard in ga v lasti obdržal trideset let. Eduard je bil rojen v Bruslju. Z osmimi leti se je začel šolati v Gradcu in študij glasbe, književnosti, filozofije, prava in matematike nadaljeval v Bruslju in Parizu. Leta 1808 se je z družino preselil v Viltuš in prav tukaj je dozorela Eduardova odločitev, da se zapiše glasbi in poeziji. Okoli leta 1818 je začel delovati na Dunaju in tam bival v času koncertnih sezon, vsa poletja pa je preživel v Viltušu. Sem je vabil številne goste, med katerimi je bil tudi njegov dobri prijatelj, klavirski virtuoz Franz Liszt. Liszt je v dvorcu dokazano prebival poleti 1846, ko je imel koncert v mariborskem gradu.

Pokrajinski muzej Maribor hrani v svoji zbirki 130 predmetov iz Viltuša. V muzej so prišli v dveh strnjениh skupinah. Prva skupina predmetov je bila pripeljana po letu 1945, ko so dvorec spremenili v vojaško okrevališče, druga pa do leta 1989, ko se je iz njega izselil dom za ostarele. V zbirki je 16 slik in grafik, dve kiparski deli, 15 kosov pohištva, nekaj svetil in drobnih uporabnih predmetov ter lovskih trofejev. Posebej zanimiv je klavir dunajskega proizvajalca Ehrbarja iz časa okoli leta 1880, na katerega pa Liszt ob obisku v Viltušu zagotovo ni mogel igrati.

THE 19TH CENTURY PIANO LEGACY IN SLOVENIAN MUSEUMS: PIANO MAKERS ASSOCIATED WITH FRANZ LISZT

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ABSTRACT

The article presents research on 19th century pianos housed in Slovene museums which may share a link with Franz Liszt and his preferred piano makers. Among the collected pianos, some have been identified as similar to those that Liszt preferred to play, for instance, instruments made by Peter Rumpel (1820) in the style of Conrad Graf and similar in some details to Nannette Stein's pianos, as well as a piano by Ignaz Bösendorfer (cca. 1840) and one by J. B. Streicher & Sohn (1870). An Ignaz Bösendorfer piano (opus 264) kept by the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož, with a range of six and a half octaves (CC-g4), Viennese mechanics and two pedals (*una corda* and *damper*), is the most outstanding instrument in the Slovene piano legacy, displaying some characteristics directly linked to Liszt's performance practice during his golden era from 1838 to 1847.

KEY WORDS

Musical instrument collections, piano, Peter Rumpel, Conrad Graf, Nannette Streicher (b. Stein), Ignaz Bösendorfer, J. B. Streicher & Sohn

The anniversary of Franz Liszt's piano concerts in Maribor and Rogaška Slatina in 1846 presents an opportunity to research the 19th century pianos from the musical instrument collections of Slovene museums. Firstly, it would be interesting to establish if these collections contain pianos characteristic of Liszt's most active period as a solo pianist, 1820 until 1847, and any which belonged to him. It is well known that he preferred to play on instruments which won him over with their technical and musical strengths, among them the French Erard, the English Broadwood, the Viennese Conrad Graf, the Bösendorfer, the Streicher, and last but not least the German Bechstein.¹ During his career, however, he performed on different kinds of instruments, sometimes not only on grand pianos but also on square and even on cottage pianos. There is some evidence of, and indeed legends about, Liszt performing on pianos that were unsuitable for his powerful playing style.² Piecing together what we know about the favored pianos of Franz Liszt, we can say that the pianos from the Slovene collections which are most similar are those by Peter Rumpel (from 1820), made in the style of Conrad Graf and similar in some details to Nannette Stein's pianos, then Ignaz Bösendorfer's piano (cca. 1840), and the piano produced by the firm J. B. Streicher & Sohn (1870).

It is known that Franz Liszt, like the majority of great pianists, had a preference for certain makes of piano, sometimes not only for their technical capabilities but also for practical and diplomatic reasons. Just as there are no sources detailing Liszt's performances from the 1820s on, there is no information on the pianos he played at his first Viennese concerts in the early stages of his career. We have to look instead at the development of the piano industry in Vienna at the beginning of the 19th century to see which makes of piano were most popular and suitable for public performances, particularly in eminent halls or noble salons. For example, Liszt's first public concerts in Vienna in 1822 took place in the town hall and at the Redoutensaal,³ and it is presumed that he played the piano of one of the eminent Viennese piano manufacturers at both events. The onset of the 19th century saw a growth in musical instruments manufacture for a variety of reasons, including economic, social and musical factors. As a result of the corresponding increase in the popularity of piano performance, the piano industry began to flourish in several locations: London, Paris and some German towns; Vienna, the capital of the Habsburg Empire, which extended from northern Italy to Hungary and the

¹ WALKER, A. 1993, Vol. 2, pp. 76-80; HAMILTON, K. 2005, pp. 175-177.

² WALKER, A. 1988, Vol. I, pp. 286-287.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80.

Czech lands. From the end of the 18th century, a number of well-trained and renowned piano makers from south Germany arrived in Vienna, ready to develop trade and improve their financial position. The majority of them proved to be successful, employing scores of local workers and hundreds of others from throughout the Austrian empire.⁴

From the beginning of the 19th century, fortepiano making became an influential sector of Viennese industry, which influenced the development of a variety of mechanical tools and machines, and resulted in technical and musical improvements, leading to several new patents. The records show that as early as 1815 there were around two hundred instrument makers working in Vienna and its surroundings, of whom more than a hundred were piano makers. By the middle of the century, the number had increased to almost 400 and many of them had their own workshop.⁵ Pianoforte production in the Viennese style developed by Anton Walter and his followers became a profitable business. The main characteristics of Viennese pianos were Prellmechanik with escapement action, light hammers covered with soft leather, a clear sound and shallow touch, convenient for fast passage and neat articulation, and lastly the dampers, ideal for subtle legato, staccato, and silence.⁶ Consequently, the grand pianos made by the Parisian Erard brothers, just as respected as the Viennese, used the English grand action, keys with a deeper touch than the Viennese type, a longer hammer stroke and a wide spectrum of dynamic opportunities, practicable with four pedals, etc. century Sebastien and his nephew Pierre Erard patented many new actions which delighted pianists and led the way in piano repetition action development.⁷ The third important location in piano development during the first decade of the 19th century was London. One of the biggest global manufacturers was John Broadwood's (1732–1812), known as Broadwood & Sohns. Among the innovations the firm developed was the extension of the keyboard compass up to six octaves (CC-c4), which took place as early as 1794. In the ensuing years the firm also introduced other improvements, most notably using metal to strengthen the piano frame.⁸ Among the most prominent and successful of the Viennese piano makers at the beginning of the 19th century were Nannette Streicher (née Stein, 1769–1833) and her brother and partner Matthäus Andreas Stein (1776–1842). Nannette and Matthäus were trained by their father, the well-known organ and piano maker Johann Andreas Stein (1728–1792) from Augsburg; the business they established grew to be both successful and widely-known. After 1794, when Nannette married Johann Andreas Streicher (1761–1833), an excellent pianist, teacher and visionary, they moved to Vienna. In 1796 she entered into partnership with her brother but established her own firm, named »Nannette Streicher, geboren Stein« in 1802. The firm made between forty-five and sixty instruments a year and its pianos were particularly appreciated among well-educated pianists and composers. Matthäus also became an independent piano maker, working under the name »Matthäus Andreas Stein« or »André Stein«.⁹ We should also point out that Nannette Stein and her husband Andreas Streicher were very close to Beethoven and documents suggest that they discussed technical and acoustic improvements to their pianos. Although Beethoven did not own a Streicher piano, he often borrowed them for his concerts and it is known that they were his piano of choice.¹⁰ Like her father, Nannette was one of the piano makers who made improvements to the »Prellmechanik«, known as the Viennese action, which had been invented by Johann Andreas Stein.¹¹ As a talented and sensitive piano player and maker, Nannette added a back check, which arrests the hammer after it rebounds from the string; she also added a screw for regulating the touch, which influenced the balance and tonal quality. Nannette Streicher's pianos from the 1820s featured a five and a half to six octave range (FF-c4 or f4) and were mostly triple strung. Her pianos had four or five pedals, una corda, bassoon, pianissimo, damper and in some cases even Turkish Janissary bells and drums.¹² Pianos with six and six and a half octaves were standard in 1820; however, in 1816 the Streicher firm produced a piano with seven octaves (Erard after 1823).¹³

⁴ PALMIERI, R. 2003, pp. 30–31.

⁵ PALMIERI, R. 2003, pp. 30–31.

⁶ COLE, M. 1998, pp. 272–280.

⁷ PALMIERI, R. 2003, p. 15.

⁸ PALMIERI, R. 2003, pp. 57–58.

⁹ See: LUTGE, W. 1927, pp. 53–69; PALMIERI, R. 2003, pp. 376–377.

¹⁰ SKOWRONECK, T. 2000, pp. 168–170.

¹¹ See: COLE, M. 1998, pp. 179–188.

¹² PALMIERI, R. 2003, p. 385.

¹³ ROSENBLUM, S. P. 1988, p. 35.

Like many piano makers, the Streicher family had a concert room for demonstrating their instruments, playing them for friends, notable musicians, patrons and visitors to the city. Concerts were performed by Nannette, her husband Andreas, his pupils, and their daughter and son.¹⁴ Although there is no evidence that Liszt was ever a guest at the Streicher family salon, he respected Streicher's pianos, which were his preferred choice among Viennese-produced instruments.¹⁵ When in Vienna, Liszt played regularly on Graf and Streicher instruments.¹⁶ His relationship with the J. B. Streicher company is documented from the late 1830s to the 1860s.¹⁷ The quality and popularity of Streicher pianos grew dramatically after 1823 when Nannette entered into partnership with her son Johann Baptist Streicher (1796–1871). Between 1821 and 1822, he visited a number of leading European piano workshops and soon after patented a new version of the Viennese action, which became extremely popular among renowned pianists such as Clara Wieck, Felix Mendelssohn, and Franz Liszt.¹⁸ Johann Baptist Streicher patented several improvements. He was successful not only in partnership with his mother but also after her death in 1833; he also enjoyed success after 1857 when he worked with his son Emil (1836–1916), who sold the firm in 1896 to the brothers Stingl piano factory.¹⁹

One of the pianos made by Johann Baptist Streicher & Sohn is held in the Regional museum Ptuj-Ormož (inv. No. GL 10 S), and is dated to 1870 (inscription on the resonance desk: *J. B. Streicher / & Sohn / vormals N. Streicher geb. Stein und Sohn / Wien / 7. O., opus no. 7062*). This model was most likely designed for the Paris Exhibition in 1867, inspired by the Stenway design exhibited at the London Exhibition of 1862. Although the Streichers won a prize for this model, its golden era began to fade after 1870, when the influence of Bösendorfer's pianos grew in Vienna.²⁰ One of Streicher's pianos from that period was donated to Brahms in 1873 (made in 1868, opus no. 6713, now lost).²¹ It is known that Franz Liszt was extremely interested in piano technology from his youth. He was one of the most influential pianists to cooperate with leading European and American piano makers, contributing to the mechanical design in accordance with his fondness for instruments of large scope, rich sound, and considerable flexibility.²² Shortly after his first visit to Paris, he came into contact with the Erard family and during the 1830s he regularly performed on Erard pianos, not only in concert halls but also on several tours.²³ Although he performed on many other pianos, Erards remained his instrument of choice because of their outstanding mechanics. During Liszt's »transcendental« European tours of 1838–1847, he played regularly on Graf and Streicher instruments in the Austrian Empire particularly but also elsewhere.²⁴ It is known that because of his sensitive and forceful playing style, Liszt frequently performed with two pianos, turned in opposite directions. His particular style of performance »defeated pianos, breaking strings left and right«.²⁵ There is little evidence relating to the instruments he played during his tour from Graz to Zagreb, including Maribor and Rogaska Slatina. However, a newspaper report of his concert in Graz, where he performed on June 14th, mentioned »that Liszt performed seven works on the two excellent Viennese grands, Streicher and Stein«.²⁶ This report is somewhat confusing, as there was no such firm named »Streicher and Stein«. We can only presume that he played alternately on a »Johann Baptist Streicher« (1833–1859) piano and on a Stein piano (produced by the above mentioned Matthäus Andreas Stein (1776–1842), working under the name »Andreas Stein« or »André Stein«, or his son Carl Andreas Stein (1797–1863), who did not change the name of the family firm.²⁷ Some of the testimonies regarding Liszt's

¹⁴ LUTGE, W. 1927, pp. 53–59.

¹⁵ WALKER, A. 1987, Vol. I, p. 316.

¹⁶ PALMIERI, R. 2003, p. 223.

¹⁷ KEELING, G. 1986, pp. 35–46.

¹⁸ LADENBURGER, M. 1999, pp. 47–48; PALMIERI, R., 2003, p. 385.

¹⁹ FLOTZINGER, R. 2006, p. 2314.

²⁰ PALMIERI, R. 2003, p. 385.

²¹ PALMIERI, R. 2003, p. 385.

²² PALMIERI, R. 2003, p. 223.

²³ WALKER, A. 1987, pp. 92–93, pp. 103–106, p. 409, p. 441.

²⁴ PALMIERI, R. 2003, p. 223.

²⁵ GIBBS, CH. H. AND GOOLEY, D. Ed. 2006, p. 201.

²⁶ Grazer Zeitung, June 18th, 1846, No. 97, see: Stiria, No. 73, p. 292.

²⁷ PALMIERI, R. 2003, pp. 376–377.

appreciation of selected pianos are linked with his house in Altenburg (his Weimar home in 1850's) where he had several instruments, including Beethoven's Broadwood piano, an Erard concert grand, and two Viennese grands, Streicher and Bösendorfer.²⁸

The musical instrument from the Slovene collections which is most similar to a Streicher is a piano made by Peter Rumpel (also Ruml) from 1820, preserved in Tuštanj Manor near Moravče, a private property. It was placed in the so-called »Tafelzimmer«, a room which served as a small museum. Peter Rumpel (1787–1861), born in Kamnik near Ljubljana, was the most successful organ builder in Slovenia during the period from approximately 1812 to 1860. Some sources report that he completed his apprenticeship in Ljubljana under the organ builder Johann Gottfried Kunath,²⁹ who originated from the vicinity of Wittenberg in Saxony and arrived in Ljubljana in 1818. His instruments had the characteristics of the North German type of organ – similar to Gottfried Silbermann's organ in style and action. Rumpel's opus comprises more than 100 organs, which were also scattered around Croatia in the area of today's Austria, and most probably also in Hungary.³⁰ Both of Peter Rumpel's sons, August and Johann, were organ builders too, educated at their father's workshop and subsequently individually active in Vienna.³¹ The documentation on Rumpel's workshop has been lost but recent research suggests that he was, among others, educated in a prominent workshop in Vienna, or perhaps simply perfected his skills there. This assumption is based on features found in Rumpel's fortepiano.³² The rectangular label above the keyboard bears the inscription »Peter Ruml / Orgl.(el) u.(nd) Instrumentm.(acher) / in Wien«. The signature indicates that Rumpel probably resided for a time in the imperial capital while he completed his education. Most probably he worked at one of the prominent Viennese organ and/or piano workshops from 1815 to 1819, most likely at Streicher's or Conrad Graf's.³³ It is possible that he made the above mentioned piano as the final product for the acquisition of his Master's certificate. Rumpel was one of only a few fortepiano makers who are known in the region of today's Slovenia.³⁴ Although the Viennese piano makers successfully sold their products throughout the monarchy, the development of such crafts also flourished elsewhere. However, we have to take into consideration another inscription on the Rumpel piano. On the piano's interior, on the 'Fängerleiste', is a poorly legible inscription in pencil: »Peter Ruml / im Kloster zu Krain / 1820« which opens new questions, especially as to whether the instrument was really made in Vienna or perhaps in a monastery near Kranj. In spite of the lack of clarity in the inscription, the characteristics of the piano guide us towards a link with the Viennese workshops. First of all, it is proven that Rumpel was able to repair pianos³⁵ which may indicate that he was also a piano maker. On the other hand, many of the characteristics of the preserved piano in Tuštanj Manor are comparable to both Streicher and Graf grands produced at the end of the 1820s. Unfortunately, Rumpel's name is not mentioned among the Viennese masters' assistants. The piano was designed in a form that resembled the empire style, while the case, made of walnut and mahogany, is generally comparable to those built by both Streicher and Graf. Furthermore, the Viennese action, the keyboard with a range of six octaves (FF-f⁴), the three strings per note, and the number and functions of the registers support this claim. From left to right, the registers are: una corda, 'Fagotzug' (bassoon stop), damping, piano and pianissimo moderators. These kinds of registers are consistent with performing waltzes, gallops, polonaises, marches and similar light pieces of dance music. Besides, the Rumpel piano contains some features similar to the work of Conrad Graf (1782–1851), another excellent Viennese master, whose workshop was one of the most successful of the time. Graf was of German birth. From 1798 or 1799, he worked for the piano maker Jakob Schelke in the Viennese suburbs and in 1804 he established his own business by marrying Schelke's widow. In 1811 he received his license and moved to the city; in 1822 he was recognized as a master. His instruments are indicative of the development of the so-called golden era

²⁸ WALKER, A. Vol. II, 1993, pp. 76–77.

²⁹ BIZJAK, ŠKULI, 1985, p. 110; DOBRAVEC, J. 2006, pp. 6–8, pp. 11–13.

³⁰ The only evidence of Rumpel's organs in Hungary is to be found in short notes in his older biographies, unfortunately without further or more specific information. Likewise, the accessible literature on organs in Hungary does not reveal any reliable evidence about the existence of his organs.

³¹ KOTER, D. 2014, p. 654.

³² KOTER, D. 2014, p. 661.

³³ KOTER, D. 2014, pp. 664–666.

³⁴ KOTER, D. 2003, pp. 130–152.

³⁵ STESKA, V. 1929, p. 146.

of Viennese piano building in the first half of the 19th century Graf used fine materials and was paid particular attention to case design. His pianos were also known for their brilliance of tone, which earned him the gold medal at the Austrian Exhibition of Industrial Products in 1835. While his original bridge pin influenced the quality of sound, among his many other innovations, he provided an effortless transition from brass to steel strings, developed an action with a particularly responsive touch, and uniformed tone throughout the range of the piano; his dampers and pedals were known as extremely effective and above all his instruments were known for their singing quality in a descant and strong bass tone.³⁶ The superior characteristics of Graf's pianos convinced Beethoven to also appreciate Stein's and Streicher's products.³⁷ Graf's grand from around 1825 belonged to Beethoven (nowadays at Beethoven's House in Bonn), while another grand, built in 1839, belonged to Clara Wieck (housed at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna). Franz Liszt appreciated many of the same pianos as Beethoven, among them Graf's grands.³⁸ One of the distinctive features of his pianos was their powerful and brilliant tone. In spite of their strong construction, Graf's pianos were sometimes lost »in the game« when Liszt performed, as witnessed in 1838 when he gave a concert in Vienna. One such event is described in the diary of Clara Schumann: »We heard Liszt today at [piano maker] Conrad Graf's, who was sweating, as his piano did not survive the great duel-Liszt remained the victor.«³⁹ On 18th of April Liszt gave a concert at the Viennese Musikverein, for which the famous pianist Thalberg had offered the use of his Erard piano. Liszt, however, also played two Grafs. Heinrich Adami, who attended all of Liszt's concerts in Vienna in 1838, reported that at the concert in Musikverein Liszt performed »*Konzertstück* by Weber on Thalberg's English grand – *Puritaner Fantasie* on the Conrad Graf – *Teufelwalzer* and *Étude* (twice) on a second Graf-all three destroyed but everything full of genius-tremendous applause-the artist informal and kind-everything new and unbelievable-only Liszt.«⁴⁰ His performance on Graf's grand is documented on the well-known piano portrait from 1840 by the Viennese painter Joseph Danhauser (1805–1845), and held in the Viennese Akademie der Bildende Künste.

One of the most prominent Viennese masters of the 1830s and 1840s was Ignaz Bösendorfer (1794–1859), former apprentice of the well-known piano maker, Josef Brodmann (1771–1848). In 1828 Bösendorfer took over the Brodmann business and soon became a renowned piano maker in Vienna. However, as a connoisseur of contemporary virtuosos, his instruments with Viennese mechanics followed demands for loudness and stability of tone. The pianos had a stronger construction than usual and stringing which produced a deep resonance, especially in the lowest bass notes, yet these instruments had a soft and melodious sound. According to one of the legends, only a Bösendorfer piano survived an evening of Liszt's playing.⁴¹ In 1830 Ignaz Bösendorfer received the title *kaiserlich und königlich* piano maker, while in 1839 Emperor Franz Joseph I. bestowed the title of »Imperial and Royal Piano Purveyor to the Court« upon him and Ignaz Bösendorfer become the first piano maker to be granted this honour. He was also a medalist at the second and the third industrial exhibition in Vienna in 1839 and 1845.⁴² Franz Liszt performed on Bösendorfer grands with resounding success, which enhanced the manufacturer's reputation and built a close relationship between Liszt and Ignaz Bösendorfer.⁴³ An Ignaz Bösendorfer piano, a very rare piece nowadays, is kept by the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož (ca. 1840).⁴⁴ Fortunately, in former times this instrument belonged to an unknown aristocratic family. The extremely well-preserved case, veneered in cherry and designed in the Biedermeier style, carries a signature: »Goldene Medaille / I. BÖSENDORFER / Kaiserl. Königl. Hof Fortepianoververtiger / Ausstellung 1839«. The instrument (opus 264) has a range of six and a half octaves (CC-g4), Viennese mechanics, and two pedals (*una corda* and *damper*). Unfortunately, it is not playable but it is in solid condition and suitable for restoration. However, it has to be stressed that the Ignaz Bösendorfer piano is the most important instrument

³⁶ PALMIERI, R. 2003, pp. 155–156; GROVE, 2014, Vol. 2, p. 460; WYTHE, D. 1984, pp. 446–60.

³⁷ SAKKA, K. 1967, pp. 327–337.

³⁸ PALMIERI, R., 2003, p. 156.

³⁹ GIBBS, CH. H., GOOLEY, D. 2006, p. 184.

⁴⁰ Summarized by editors CH. H. GIBBS, D. GOOLEY, 2006, pp. 198–199.

⁴¹ GROVE, 2014, Vol. 1, p. 378; PALMIERI, R. 2003, pp. 52–53.

⁴² About Us – Bösendorfer, www.boesendorfer.com/en/about-us/history (quoted 12. 6. 2016).

⁴³ PALMIERI, R. 2003, p. 52.

⁴⁴ Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož, Musical Instrument collection, inv. no. GL 16S.

in the Slovene piano legacy which shares characteristics directly linked to Liszt's performing practice during his golden era of 1838 to 1847.

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

Prispevek obravnava dediščino klavirjev 19. stoletja, ohranjeno v slovenskih muzejih in pri posameznih zasebnikih. Predstavljeni so tisti klavirji, ki jih glede na izdelovalce in značilnosti lahko povežemo s Franzem Lisztom. Nekateri med njimi sodijo v vrsto tistih, katerih vitalne značilnosti kažejo na prav takšne, kakršne je Liszt igral v času svoje pianistične kariere. To je klavir Petra Rumpla (1820), danes v dvorcu Tuštanj pri Moravčah, izdelan v stilu glasbil priznanega dunajskega izdelovalca Conrada Grafa in Nannette Streischer, r. Stein. Ob njem sta še izpostavljena klavirja Ignaza Bösendorferja (ok. 1840) in firme J. B. Streicher & Sohn (1870), oba iz Pokrajinskega muzeja Ptuj-Ormož. Instrument Ignaza Bösendorferja (opus 264) s klaviaturo v obsegu šest oktav in pol (CC-g⁴), dunajsko mehaniko in dvema pedaloma (*una corda in forte*), je eden najpomembnejših v slovenski glasbilarski dediščini in vsebuje značilnosti instrumentov, na kakršne je igral Franz Liszt v času njegove zlate dobe solistične kariere od leta 1838 do 1847.

POVZETEK

Obletnica koncertiranja Franza Liszta v Mariboru in Rogaški Slatini poleti leta 1846 je priložnost za raziskavo o dediščini klavirjev iz 19. stoletja, ki jih hranijo slovenski muzeji oziroma zasebne zbirke, in sicer s stališča vprašanj, ki se nanašajo na to, ali je v slovenskih zbirkah mogoče najti instrumente, ki jih tako ali drugače povežemo s časom, ko je bil Liszt najaktivnejši kot klavirski virtuoz (1820 do 1847). Iz dosegljivih virov ni bilo mogoče ugotoviti, na katera glasbila je igral na obeh omenjenih koncertih na Slovenskem, za graški koncert istega leta pa je znano, da sta bila na odru klavirja Streicher in Stein. Izmenično igranje na dveh klavirjih je bilo Lisztova značilnost, saj je s svojim temperamentnim igranjem redno uničeval strune. Pomembno izhodišče za raziskavo so bila dejstva, ki potrjujejo, na kakšna glasbila je najpogosteje koncertiral, katere znamke je preferiral in pri katerih je sodeloval pri izboljšavah mehanike, pa tudi, katere klavirje je imel v osebni lasti. Kot je znano, je bil pri izbiri glasbil za svoje koncerte izjemno izbirčen, saj je za virtuozno igranje potreboval instrumente najboljšega kova, kot so bili francoski Erard, angleški Broadwood, dunajski Conrad Graf, Streicher in Bösendorfer ter ne nazadnje nemški Bechstein. V svojem weimarskem obdobju v petdesetih letih 19. stoletja je imel v posesti klavirje podjetij Broadwood, Erard, Streicher in Bösendorfer. Med klavirji slovenske dediščine, ki jih lahko povežemo z Lisztovim koncertiranjem, je bilo mogoče izvzeti nekaj tehtnih primerkov. Kot prvega izvemamo klavir kamniškega orglarja Petra Rumpla (datiran v leto 1820), ohranjen v dvorcu Tuštanj pri Moravčah, ki je tako po ohišju kot mehaniki izdelan v manirah delavnic Conrada Grafa in Nannette Streicher (r. Stein). Izpostavljamo tudi klavir Ignaza Bösendorferja (ok. 1840), ohranjen v zbirki glasbil Pokrajinskega muzeja Ptuj-Ormož, ki zaradi svojih kvalitet sodi v sam vrh glasbene dediščine slovenskega prostora. Bösendorferjev klavir predstavlja glasbila, na kakršne je igral Franz Liszt na vrhuncu svoje pianistične kariere v letih od 1838 do 1847, kamor sodi tudi njegova tako imenovana »mala turneja« po Štajerski leta 1846. Kot tretji je z Lisztovim časom povezan klavir firme J. B. Streicher & Sohn (1870), prav tako iz ptujske zbirke, ki predstavlja izdelek slovitega podjetja Johanna Baptista Streicherja. To podjetje je pod Lisztovim vplivom patentiralo številne izboljšave klavirske mehanike. Čeprav v slovenski glasbeni dediščini ni ohranjenih klavirjev, na katere je dejansko igral Franz Liszt, nekateri primerki iz muzejskih in zasebnih zbirk potrjujejo, da so tudi v naših krajih uporabljali glasbila, na kakršna je igral Liszt v svojih najslavnejših pianističnih letih.

made by Bitenc. One is certainly his,⁴ while the other⁵ is only believed to be his. It is not known why these two pianos have been overlooked by the previous curators since they have been registered as National Museum of Slovenia inventory already in 1918. The origin of the first piano undoubtedly belongs to Bitenc as it has his signature. The assumption that the third piano in the National Museum of Slovenia collection (and the fourth in Slovenia) was also made by Bitenc can only be proven to be right or wrong after the piano has been compared to the instruments proved to have been made by Bitenc and with the products, we believe were made in his workshop. We plan to compare the original materials of all instruments using scientific methods. We will look for specifics in the execution of the mechanics and for the typical patterns which the tools used in making of the piano left behind. The findings will be published in the bilingual scientific monograph *Instrumentalna dediščina / Glasbila in glasbeni avtomati iz zbirke Narodnega muzeja Slovenije / Instrumental Heritage / Instruments and Musical Machines from the National Museum of Slovenia Collection*, which will be published in the collection *Viri. Gradivo za materialno kulturo Slovencev 14* (Sources. Topics in Slovenian Material Culture 14), at the end of 2016, and will include photographs, documentary material, and critical apparatus.

The field of instrument making in Slovenia has been thoroughly researched, predominantly by Darja Koter^{6,7} who has also researched Andrej Bitenc and whose findings are the base of the present study.

THE COLLECTION OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARTS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SLOVENIA

The National Museum of Slovenia, renowned for the oldest musical instrument in the world – the 60,000-year-old flute of Divje babe,⁸ keeps a collection of musical instruments and musical machines in the Department of history and arts. The collection holds over one hundred museum exhibits and as such, it is the second largest collection of musical instruments in Slovenia, right after the one in the Regional Museum Ptuj Ormož. The entire collection will be presented in the aforementioned intended monograph *Instrumentalna dediščina / Glasbila in glasbeni avtomati iz zbirke Narodnega muzeja Slovenije*, (Instrumental Heritage / Musical Instruments and Musical Machines from the National Museum of Slovenia Collection), which will be published as part of the book collection called *Viri. Gradivo za materialno kulturo Slovencev 14* (Sources. Topics in Slovenian Material Culture 14), scheduled at the end of 2016. In line with its politics of collecting artefacts, National Museum of Slovenia has been systematically collecting musical heritage. Decades of collecting activities have resulted in several exceptional examples of musical instruments made by European and Slovenian masters. We can mention a pochette from 1679 made by the French maker François Sarailac, a chamber organ from the late 18th century that was made in the renowned Göble organ workshop in Ljubljana, two clavichords from the 18th century made by the local organist Janez Jurij Eisl, as well as other string and wind instruments, percussions, brass, and keyboard instruments. This collection also includes two pianos made by Andrej Bitenc and one that has not been confirmed as his work yet.

ANDREAS WITTENZ (ANDREJ BITENC)

Andrej Bitenc was born on the 15th of November in 1802 in Št. Vid near Ljubljana. He got married late, when he was 40 years old, to Terezija, née Treffenschedl, from Graz, who was the daughter of the manager of the Ljubljana castle.⁹

We know very little of Bitenc's early years. The notes made on his centenary¹⁰ and in the booklet issued on the centenary of the primary school Šentvid,¹¹ which includes his portrait, describe him as a carefree young

⁴ National Museum of Slovenia, History and Arts Department, inv. No. N 23115.

⁵ Ibid., inv. No. N 37272.

⁶ KOTER, D. 2001.

⁷ Darja Koter, PhD, a professor at the Academy of Music at the University of Ljubljana. She was once a curator of the cultural-historical department in Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj-Ormož / Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož, where she was responsible for the Collection of Musical Instruments. My predecessor Jasna Horvat, PhD, who was in charge of the Collection of Musical Instruments before me, also co-operated well with Ms Koter. This co-operation remains fruitful even today.

⁸ TURK, I. 2014.

⁹ ŽIROVNIK, J. 1903, pp. 3–4.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 3–4.

¹¹ KOCIPER, V. A. 2011, pp. 8–9.

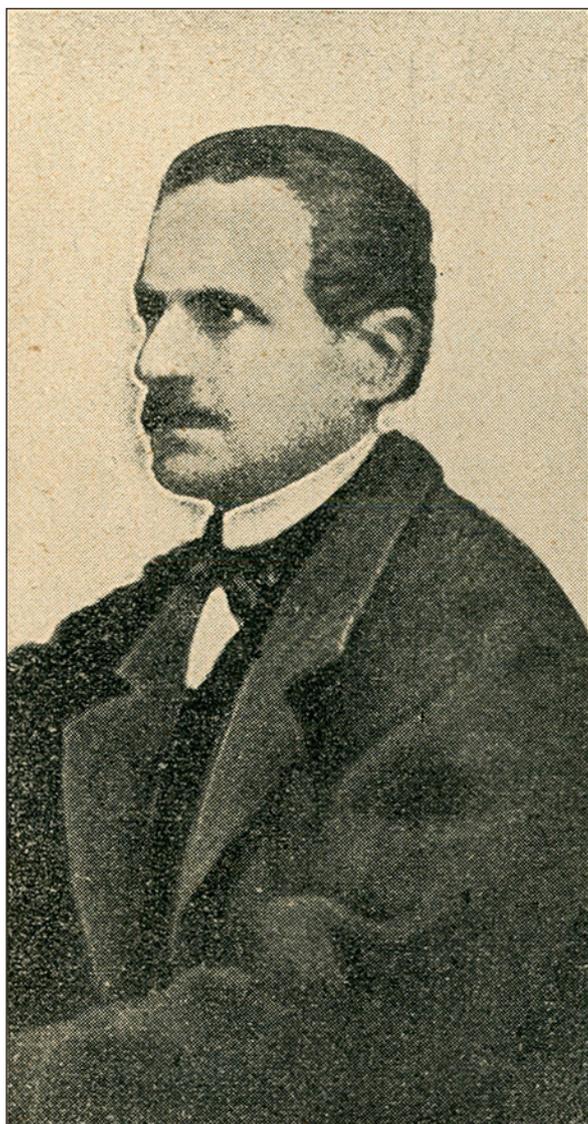


Image 2: Andrej Bitenc (1802–1874) (photograph: Photo documentation of the Slovenian School Museum in Ljubljana).

boy until he was 13 years old. Then his father sent him to Kranj, where he was to learn carpentry with master Tepkovec. Later he honed his carpentry skills in Graz but within six months he went to Vienna to work with a master piano maker. In Vienna, Bitenc worked as a regular carpenter. However, he would carefully observe how the pianos were made and tuned. Although Bitenc spent several years in Vienna, we unfortunately do not know the name of the master he worked with. Some believed he must have learned with one of the better Viennese masters. Certain features can be compared to those of the renowned workshop of Ignaz Bösendorfer.¹² It is certain, though, that Bitenc learned and gained all his skills and certifications in a workshop in Vienna, from where he brought the high standards of his craft to Ljubljana. His mastery can be seen from his pianos preserved in the Slovenian museums. While still in Vienna, he most likely must have seen a business opportunity in the making of pianos. So, when he returned to Ljubljana, where there were no piano workshops at the time, he started making pianos, he was then in his thirties. He borrowed the starting capital from his old friend Holzer.¹³

Bitenc applied for a trade licence in 1835. However, the municipal committee responsible for granting trade licences in the city considered that his business would not benefit the citizens of Ljubljana.¹⁴ In Koter's opinion, this decision means that there was no need for a piano maker in the city, either because there had already been a maker with these rights in the city or because the needs for pianos were met in a different way.¹⁵ Some important information about Bitenc can be found in the newspaper *Laibacher Zeitung*, which

¹² The instrument and its condition were assessed by Aleksander Langer, a restorer from Klagenfurt. (KOTER, D. 2001, p. 132.)

¹³ ŽIROVNIK, J. 1903, p. 4.

¹⁴ SLOKAR, I. 1977, p. 67.

¹⁵ KOTER, D. 2001, p. 130.

states that besides making instruments, he also sold pianos from Vienna,¹⁶ and he rented out,¹⁷ tuned, and repaired the instruments as well. Žerovnik writes that Bitenc would also repair the instruments outside Ljubljana, in the countryside.¹⁸

At the second exhibition of crafts and industry in Graz Bitenc received an honorary diploma and a silver medal for his product. This diploma is undoubtedly a testimony of his excellence; it shows that his good name reached outside the city limits of Ljubljana.¹⁹ Three years later, in 1844, Andrej Bitenc took part at the third exhibition of crafts and industry in Ljubljana that hosted 284 exhibitors, more than ever before. There was only one other maker of instruments from Ljubljana at the exhibition, Simon Unglerth, a turner who made wooden wind instruments.²⁰ The report from the 1844 exhibition includes a praise of the excellent quality of Bitenc's products.²¹

We cannot find Andrej Bitenc in the registers of the future exhibitions, although we know he remained active. Žirovnik reports that he treated his workers well; he demanded punctuality and diligence, but also fed them well and paid them fairly.²²

Bitenc and his wife Terezija, who died two years before him, did not have any children; therefore, he bequeathed his assets (190,000 krone) to the school in Št. Vid. (currently Primary School Franc Rozman Stane – Primary school Šentvid above Ljubljana). Consequently, a Bitenc school fund was set up, which financed a new school building in 1911. He also left part of his property to the five children of his brother Mihael.²³ All this shows that Bitenc was a successful man, as the wealth that he was able to bequeath after his death puts him among the more affluent people of Ljubljana.

That he was a respected man can also be understood from the fact that his funeral was attended by many members of the Ljubljana bourgeoisie as well as the entire local parish. The choirs of the Ljubljana Reading Room and the Philharmonic Society sang at his funeral.²⁴

It seems that after Bitenc there was no other piano maker active in Ljubljana for the next fifty years. The reason for that must have been the development of trade and vibrant trade routes. The preserved musical instruments in Slovenia show that the big and respected workshops from Vienna and Graz and some German cities had no problems covering the Slovenian market. The next piano maker from Ljubljana was Rudolf Warbinek, as evident from the documents from 1895. His company »Germania« was registered in Trieste in 1894,²⁵ which artefact is also in National Museum of Slovenia collection.²⁶

THE PIANOS OF ANDREJ BITENC

From the point of view of the history of musical instruments, Bitenc's pianos are not innovative by any measure as they were made following Viennese designs that had been at least ten years old by the time he made his instruments. Still, his skills and knowledge are obvious when we look at his preserved pianos. They are in many ways exceptional if compared to the modest heritage of Slovenian products. These pianos are an invaluable proof of the activities and the quality of the Slovenian master from the mid-19th century and whose skills and knowledge contributed to the creation of the Slovenian heritage of musical instruments.

¹⁶ Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung, 13th of December, 1836, p. 948.

¹⁷ Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung, 16th of June, 1838, p. 485.

¹⁸ ŽIROVNIK, J. 1903, p. 4.

¹⁹ Graz was the centre of the inner-Austrian countries, which also included Slovenian territories. In the 1930s an inner-Austrian Assosiation of Crafts and Industry was set up, which among others organised exhibitions. In 1838 an exhibition took place in Klagenfurt, three years later there was an exhibition in Graz and finally in 1844 there was an exhibition in Ljubljana.

²⁰ KOTER, D. 2001, p. 130. See also: SLOKAR, I., in: ZAL, Reg. I, file 292 folio 1286 picture.

²¹ National Museum of Slovenia, archives, Jasna Horvat: Vloga za odkup gradiva, 9. 10. 1990.

²² ŽIROVNIK, J. 1903, pp. 5–6.

²³ Ibid., p. 7.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 6–7.

²⁵ KOTER, D. 2001, p. 133.

²⁶ National Museum of Slovenia, History and Arts Department, inv. No. N 37502.

ANDREJ BITENC'S PIANO NO. 1

The first piano known to be made by Andrej Bitenc²⁷ dates back roughly to the year 1835. In 1990 it was sold for the price of 25,000 dinars to the National Museum of Slovenia by its last owner from Križe in Tržič in Gorenjska.²⁸ Above the keyboard, the piano boasts a veneered insignia, decorated in golden ornaments, with the



Image 3: Insignia above the keyboard of the piano by Andrej Bitenc from Križe in Gorenjska, today part of the musical instruments collection in National Museum of Slovenia, with the inscription: A. WITENZ / IN / LAIBACH (photograph by Tomaž Lauko).

inscription: »A. WITENZ / IN / LAIBACH«. The preserved piano features a Biedermeier case with a beautifully rendered lid and artfully made octagonal legs that thin towards their lower part. Such legs were made by few masters. It is a classic Viennese form (fortepiano) but of an exceptional length (l. 237,5 cm, w. 129,5 cm, h. 89,5 cm). Its construction is entirely made of wood, and all the strings are parallel. The keyboard range is six and a half octaves (CC-g4), the keys (80) are narrower than those of the comparable concurrent instruments, while the mechanics do not differ from the Viennese tradition typical of the 1830s. In line with this tradition, the pedal lyre has two pedals; one serves as a muffler while the other prolongs the sound. The casing is polished in black, which is probably due to one of the past renovations. The original veneer is nicely visible under the quickly applied and wrinkled polish, which was not polished so well as to hide the wooden pores.

In 1990 a keyboard instruments restorer Boris Horvat restored the piano and made it fit to be used for concerts. After the restoration, the musicians, as well as the music lovers, have been finally able to enjoy in the exceptional sonority of the instrument.²⁹ Today, this piano is part of the permanent exhibition in the History and Arts Collection – *Ellipses of Arts + Music* (paintings and musical instruments) and can be seen in the National Museum of Slovenia in Metelkova Street.

ANDREJ BITENC'S PIANO NO. 2

The second known piano by Bitenc³⁰ was for a long time owned by the Mežek family from Gorenjska. Today it is held in the Regional Museum Ptuj Ormož. According to the word of mouth this piano by Andrej Bitenc came to be owned by the Mežek family at the beginning of the 20th century from the so called Rikli Villa in Bled. Janez Mežek (born in 1859) bought it for his son Anton (1889–1946) right before the young man joined the army. Anton used to attend the organ school of professor Anton Foerster (1837–1926) in Ljubljana. The piano served the organist and choir master Anton Mežek well throughout his life. Later his son Ladislav Peter Mežek, called Slave, a versatile self-taught musician, inherited the instrument. The piano remained in good hands as Slave's son Slavko (born in 1952) dedicated his professional life to music and qualified as a music pedagogue and choir master. However, the timeworn and »obsolete« instrument

²⁷ National Museum of Slovenia, History and Arts Department, inv. No. N 23114.

²⁸ Access and inventory book of the History and Arts Department, National Museum of Slovenia.

²⁹ National Museum of Slovenia, archives, Boris Horvat: Mnenje o klavirju Andreja Bitenca, 26. 9. 1990.

³⁰ Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož, Culture and History department, inv. No. GL 105 s.

was almost disposed of, even if it was to be »only used for firewood«. When it seemed that the piano was beyond saving, it was delivered to the safe hands of the curators and restorers in the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož, due to the tireless efforts of Slavko Jr.³¹

The quality of the instruments is in its casing and mechanics. The casing (with a secondary coat of black paint) has the typical features of the Biedermeier style and is a work of a skilled master carpenter. The mechanics and other parts vital to the instrument's sound also stand out. Therefore, it seems that the piano was made in the 1840s, around 1845 the latest.³²



Image 4: Bitenc's piano originally belonged to the Mežek family from Gorenjska. Today it is part of the Musical Instruments Collection in Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož. (photograph by Boris Farič).

In 2000 the piano's mechanics was thoroughly restored in the Aleksander Langer Workshop in Klagenfurt. Langer is considered a specialist for this kind of instruments from the first half of the 19th century. The casing was restored by a conservationist – restorer, a specialist in wooden artefacts, Boštjan Roškar from Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož. Both restorers renovated all the vital parts of the piano and brought to life its features from the time it was first made. Thus, this piano has become a model example of instruments that were used by the bourgeois and aristocracy.³³ Today the piano can be seen, as well as played on, in the Regional Museum Ptuj Ormož in the Ptuj castle, where it makes part of their permanent collection of musical instruments.

³¹ Slavko Mežek kindly conveyed the history of the Bitenc piano and the family photos to Darja Koter. The documentation is held in Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož, Culture and history Department. (KOTER, D. 2001, p. 130)

³² KOTER, D. 2001, p. 132.

³³ KOTER, D. 2014.

ANDREJ BITENC'S PIANO NO. 3

The third, piano made by Bitenc³⁴ has not been known to the public, until now. It came from the Mala Loka manor in Dolenjska and was in 1918 gifted to the Regional Museum of Karniola Rudolfinum (today this is the National Museum of Slovenia) by the Regional Board of the Duchy of Carniola.³⁵

The instrument has six octaves with an added quint; it has walnut veneer and an insignia above the keyboard. The inscription, framed in a brass frame, *ANDREAS ~ WITTENZ IN LAIBACH* is written in black ink on white paper next to an eagle. This indicates³⁶ that Bitenc most probably did not have the trade rights as an instrument maker, otherwise he would have added »Instrumentenmacher« or »Klaviermacher« to his name. Occasionally, some masters did apply for a trade licence several times, either to make sure the number of applicants was exceeded, or the rules limited trade licences to several years, after which the licences needed to be renewed or prolonged. The preserved piano, like Bitenc's piano No. 1, features a Biedermeier case with beautifully finished lid and three artfully made legs that few master used to do and could be mostly found in Vienna. The brass endings (wheels) on the legs are the same as on the piano No. 1. In the same way, the keys are narrower on both pianos (No. 1 and No. 3), while the mechanics does not differ from the standard Viennese mechanics, typical of the 1830s. The pedal lyre has three pedals: the left, *una corda* or *piano* (the hammer hits just one string and not two or three, therefore the sound is quieter), the right *forte* (all mufflers are lifted from the strings) and the third (when there are three) prolonging – *sostenuto*. The white keys are coated in ivory, the black keys are made of wood and painted in black lacquer.

Similar instruments were produced in Vienna in the 1820s and considering the usual time lag during which knowledge and changes in style were slowly adopted in Slovenia, we can date this piano in the 1830s or even 1840s, although at that time pianos in Vienna were already considerably different.



Image 5: Until recently unknown piano by Bitenc from the Mala Loka manor in Dolenjska, today in the Musical Instruments Collection of the National Museum of Slovenia. (photograph by Tomaž Lauko).

³⁴ National Museum of Slovenia, History and Arts Department, inv. No. N 23115.

³⁵ National Museum of Slovenia, archives, act 461/1918, dated 19. 9. 1918, No. 9444.

³⁶ The same applies for the inscription on the Bitenc's piano No. 1.

During the preparation of the monograph, Tomaž Lauko photographed the piano for the photo documentation, but only after it was conserved by conservator and restorer Irma Langus Hribar from the National Museum of Slovenia. The veneer, the polished case, and the metal parts still need further conservation and restoration work; however, the mechanism of this instrument will not be restored as we wish to keep it as a document of its time and the last condition in which the piano was still being played.

ANDREJ BITENC'S PIANO NO. 4 (?)

The fourth piano,³⁷ until recently unknown to the public, also has 6 octaves with the additional quint and the typical Viennese mechanics. All mechanical parts are wooden; the case is veneered in the walnut root veneer. The piano is missing its legs, the pedal lyre and the lid.

Based on the comparison, we assume that the instrument was made in the late 1830s or early 1840s (even if it turns out that the piano was not made by Andrej Bitenc from Ljubljana). There are no inscribed insignia nor the maker's signature above the keyboard. Our suspicion that this might be a piano by Bitenc and therefore belief there is a cause for research were generated by a rather old label found on the bottom part of the case. The faded label contains a handwritten inscription »Wittenz«, written in black ink. A quick analysis and comparison of keys, clamps, parts of the mechanics, and the materials with the Bitenc's known pianos have made us believe that this could very well be another piano by Andrej Bitenc. Still, we will be able to confirm our suspicions only after conclusive expert and scientific analyses have been done. The piano is in a fairly bad condition. Therefore it will need extensive restoration works on the casing and the interior with the mechanics, on the strings and the soundboard.

CONCLUSION

There is little data on the making of instruments in our archives. Moreover, not many old instruments have been preserved, and many of their makers remain practically unknown. In this vein, little is known about Andrej Bitenc. He did not sign his instruments as a piano maker – »Instrumentenmacher« or »Klaviermacher«, but the newly discovered pianos contribute to our understanding of his work and add to his worth and importance within otherwise modest Slovenian heritage of musical instruments. From now on, we cannot determine the piano heritage of Andrej Bitenc only on the basis of his two preserved pianos. Because of the newly discovered piano and another instrument allegedly made by Bitenc, we will have to reassess his entire heritage. We will have to wait for the analyses and the new expert opinions and only then will we get a clearer picture of the importance and the work of this Slovenian piano maker.

All pianos known to have been made by Andrej Bitenc are preserved in Slovenian museums, where the collections of musical instruments are not exactly flagship collections. Based on this case, I can say that despite that, the museums perform their duties admirably, as the instruments made by Andrej Bitenc are undoubtedly some of the most important examples of musical instruments made by a Slovenian master maker.

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mag. Darko Knez, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Slovenija

Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Prispevek prinaša raziskavo o ljubljanskem izdelovalcu klavirjev Andreju Bitencu (Andreas Wittenz, 1802–1874), ki sta ga v strokovni literaturi označevala dva do danes ohranjena klavirja. V Narodnem muzeju Slovenije so v Zbirki glasbil nedavno prepoznali še dva, doslej neznana, Bitenčeva klavirja. Ti štirje ohranjeni klavirji, ki jih je izdelal Andrej Bitenc, najbolje pričajo o njegovem znanju in njegovih sposobnostih, saj so med skromno dediščino domačih izdelkov po svojih značilnostih v marsičem izjemni. So dragocen dokaz o dejavnosti in kakovosti domačega mojstra iz sredine 19. stoletja, ki je s svojim znanjem in veščinami ustvarjal slovensko glasbilarsko dediščino.

POVZETEK

Andreja Bitenca (Andreas Wittenz), ljubljanskega izdelovalca klavirjev (1802–1874), sta v strokovni literaturi označevala dva do danes ohranjena klavirja. Prvega hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije, drugega pa Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj-Ormož. V Narodnem muzeju Slovenije so nedavno v zbirki glasbil odkril še dva Bitenčeva klavirja, od katerih je eden zagotovo izdelek Andreja Bitenca, drugi pa domnevno.

Bitenc se je izučil in pridobil vsa potrebna znanja in dokazila v neznani delavnici na Dunaju in od tam v Ljubljano prinesel visoka merila umetne obrti. O njegovem mojstrstvu pričajo štirje njegovi klavirji, do danes ohranjeni v omenjenih slovenskih muzejih.

Na klavirje se ni podpisoval kot izdelovalec klavirjev (*Instrumentenmacher* ali *Klaviermacher*), kot je bilo običajno, kadar je izdelovalec imel obrtne pravice v določenem mestu. Njegovo obrtno dejavnost dokazujejo napisne ploščice z imenom »A. WITTENZ / IN / LAIBACH« in »And. Wittenz IN LAIBACH« oziroma »ANDREAS ~ WITTENZ IN LAIBACH« ter seznam obrtnikov mesta Ljubljane. Ti klavirji so dragocen dokaz o dejavnosti in kakovosti domačega mojstra iz sredine 19. stoletja, ki je s svojim znanjem in veščinami ustvarjal slovensko glasbilarsko dediščino.

Tako na novo odkrita klavirja dopolnjujeta vedenje o njegovem delu in mu dajeta večjo težo ter pomen za sicer skromno slovensko glasbeno dediščino. Bitenčeve klavirske dediščine odslej nikakor ne moremo soditi samo po doslej ohranjenih dveh klavirjih, ampak bo treba ob na novo odkritem in ob domnevno še drugem znanem izdelku prevrednotiti njegovo celotno dediščino ter počakati na analize in nova strokovna mnenja. Šele tako bomo dobili natančnejšo sliko o pomenu in delu tega slovenskega izdelovalca klavirjev.

BEHIND THE LISZT STATUES OF ALAJOS STROBL

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

In 1882, the Hungarian sculptor Alajos Strobl (1856–1926) was commissioned to create full-size figure statues of the composers Ferenc Erkel and Franz Liszt, which were to be placed in front of the new Royal Hungarian Opera House in Budapest. This essay focuses on the circumstances around the creation of the Liszt statue located at the Opera House and examines the characteristics of this portrait in the context of other sculptures (mainly Liszt portraits) by Strobl and his master Zumbusch, mentioning excerpts from Liszt's letters and the memoirs of Strobl's son.

KEY WORDS

Alajos Strobl, Franz Liszt, sculpture, portrait, Academy of Music, Royal Hungarian Opera House, Budapest

The permanent exhibition in the Liszt Memorial Museum – the apartment of Franz Liszt in Budapest – holds several statues of Liszt created by Alajos Strobl (1856–1926), the famous Hungarian sculptor. In the entrance hall, a life mask of Liszt can be seen, which was a plaster study for a bronze portrait. In addition to these, a replica of Liszt's right hand from 1884 in Liszt's bedroom-study, two busts and a small seated statue of Liszt from 1883 in the drawing-room, go some way to prove that the composer was truly one of Alajos Strobl's favourite models. The small seated portrait of Liszt is the model of the statue which can be seen at the entrance of the Opera House in Budapest.¹ The manufacture of the statues at the Opera House was Strobl's first monumental commission, launching what would become an illustrious career. My presentation focuses on the circumstances around the creation of the statue of Liszt located at the Opera House and considers the key features of this piece alongside other important portraits of Liszt made by Strobl.²

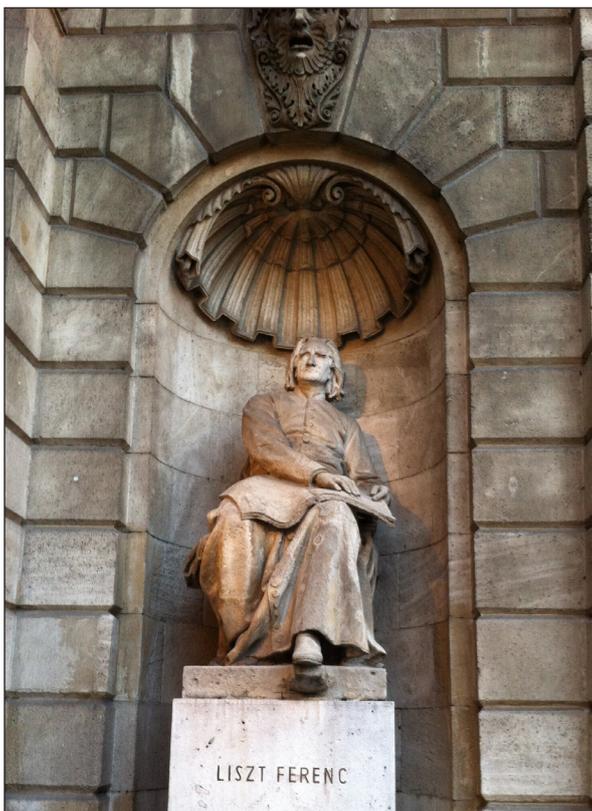


Image 1: Alajos Strobl, Model of the statue of Liszt at the Opera House, bronzed plaster cast, 1883, Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum, Budapest.

¹ Strobl made several small plaster versions of the artist's statue for the Opera House in various sizes and with minor alterations. Other copies are to be found in the Hungarian National Gallery, the National Széchényi Library, and a private collection.

² Special thanks to Anna Ricciardi and Katalin Avar for the linguistic revision of the text.

Alajos Strobl studied art at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna (*Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien*). His professor was the German sculptor, Kaspar Clemens von Zumbusch, the creator of massive monuments in Vienna. For example, Zumbusch designed the Beethoven monument in Vienna between 1878–1880; Liszt gave a Beethoven memorial concert for charity on this occasion, held in the *Musikvereinsaal* in 1877.³ After the celebration, Liszt was very pleased to have received a small-size version of the main figure of the Beethoven Memorial in Vienna.⁴ In addition to this statue, the Liszt Memorial Museum Budapest also possesses a bust of Liszt by Zumbusch, which had been created several years earlier in 1867, in Munich.⁵ This particular statue became very popular, whereby several copies were ordered and fabricated for institutions in Vienna and Pest. For instance, Liszt mentioned this portrait in a letter to Eduard Liszt on the 28th of January in 1873 from Pest: »Many thanks for the trouble you are taking about the bust by Zumbusch, and which I very much wish to present personally to Bösendorfer in Vienna as an Easter egg.«⁶

Strobl was a student of Zumbusch between 1876 and 1880 at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. It is certain that he saw the creation of the Beethoven Monument in the studio of Zumbusch,⁷ and he will have known the famous Liszt portrait by his mentor. So when Strobl was commissioned to create his first Liszt statue, it is probable that he remembered these portraits of the composer by Zumbusch and used them as models for his first major work.

The young Alajos Strobl moved to Budapest in September 1881 and got a studio on the third floor of the Royal Hungarian Academy of Music. The Academy of Music rented the space from the Hungarian Fine Arts Society. Strobl's move happened at the same time as Franz Liszt had moved into his Budapest apartment within the same building – the present-day Liszt Memorial Museum. Liszt was the first president and piano teacher of the Academy of Music, and he received this apartment as an official accommodation where he could live and teach his students. Hungarian friends of Liszt had furnished the apartment beautifully.⁸ Liszt used this Budapest location from 1880 until 1886, but not uninterruptedly, since he maintained his residence in Weimar and Rome as well. Meanwhile, the first director of the Academy, Ferenc Erkel also moved into this building – Liszt had his apartment on the first floor, and Erkel lived on the second.

³ »At the Beethoven memorial concert, on the 16th of March, he played the Emperor Concerto and the Choral Fantasy for piano, orchestra, and chorus. He also accompanied Caroline Gomperz-Bettelheim in Beethoven's Scottish Songs. The great Musikvereinsaal was specially illuminated for the occasion, and the piano was festooned with flowers. Liszt was sixty-five years old and he no longer practised. Nevertheless, according to Hanslick his playing »delighted his audience« and was characterised by »nobility and refinement.« WALKER, A. 1996, p. 366.

⁴ On the 13th of May in 1880, Liszt wrote to Nikolaus Dumba, a member of the parliament in Vienna about the Beethoven Monument by Zumbusch: »This marvelous masterpiece is the pride of the city and the sculptor Zumbusch, and places Beethoven on the deserved pedestal in the hearts of people and statuary.« SZATMÁRI, G. 2004, p. 179.

⁵ Other copies of this bust can be found for example in the Musikverein (Vienna), in Raiding, and in the Musée de Dieppe (Museum of Dieppe, France). Zumbusch might have created this portrait of Liszt while the composer stayed in Munich visiting his daughter Cosima and Cosima's husband Hans von Bülow, from the 20th of September to the 28th of October in 1867. At that time Zumbusch worked in Munich, and it was not until 1872 when he settled down in Vienna. SZATMÁRI, G. 2004, p. 178.

⁶ LA MARA, 1894, p. 227.

⁷ »In his first year at the Academy, Strobl unexpectedly met the king at Zumbusch. Franz Joseph had a quite common habit to visit the best artists; these were sometimes anticipated, at times unexpected visits. On one of these unexpected visits, Zumbusch showed his semi-finished monument and Beethoven's statue in the studios. Alajos Strobl was working in a studio and surprisingly saw his mentor entering the room at the side of the king, in the company of the indispensable aide-de-camp and Prince Hohenlohe. Zumbusch – passing by Strobl with the king and his company – cordially explained that Strobl was his talented student from Hungary who started his first year at his class after finishing his studies at the College of Applied Arts. [...] It is possible that the result of this meeting was that Alajos Strobl became the protege of his great patron, Prince Hohenlohe. Hohenlohe liked fine arts very much; Strobl later created a portrait of him.« STRÓBL, M. 2004, p. 37.

⁸ »Liszt's apartment had three rooms and a servant's room. The largest was the salon or sitting room which had two windows and French windows opening onto the balcony. [Sándor] Fellner had it papered peacock-blue and the ceiling decorated with richly painted ornaments in 16th century Renaissance style. The furniture was old oak, which was also the colour of the doors, and the windows were stained. Each piece of furniture, designed by Fellner himself, was strictly in early French Renaissance style (meubles Henri II), but with the innovation that leather, as well as plush, were used.« LEGÁNY, D. 2008, p. 20.

In 1882, Strobl was commissioned to create full-sized figure statues of Ferenc Erkel and Franz Liszt, which were to be placed in front of the new Royal Hungarian Opera House (built between 1875–1884). Strobl created this portrait of Liszt in his studio in the attic of the Academy of Music. Mihály Stróbl,⁹ the son of the sculptor, described the event when Liszt sat as a model.

»Liszt, wearing a cassock, sat as a proper model and vigorously chatted with the rapidly working sculptor. They had several common points of interest and many mutual friends as well. Liszt, for instance, knew Prince Konstantin Hohenlohe¹⁰ and Zumbusch whose Beethoven statue had recently been erected in Vienna. Strobl talked about his adventures at the Vienna Opera House where he worked as a figurant in Wagner operas¹¹ which Liszt found highly interesting being the father-in-law of the composer of the Nibelung cycle... When they had a break, Liszt sat at the harmonium¹² and improvised. When Alajos told his sister Zsófia¹³ about these sessions, she asked to be invited, offering to make coffee for the artists. Strobl and his sister brought a special coffee machine from home which they used for this unique occasion. Alajos Strobl introduced his sister to Liszt and after that, every time they met again, Zsófia received a kiss on the forehead from Liszt.«¹⁴



Image 2: Alajos Strobl, Portrait of Franz Liszt at the entrance of the Hungarian State Opera House in Budapest, limestone statue, 1882–1883.

⁹ Mihály Stróbl changed his name from Strobl to Stróbl.

¹⁰ Konstantin von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (1828–1896) was the husband of Marie von Sayn-Wittgenstein, daughter of Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein (1819–1887). Princess Carolyne was the companion of Liszt for several years, and they kept their good relationship after Liszt had received the four minor orders of the Catholic Church and became an abbé. Konstantin von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst supported Alajos Strobl very much. For example, he obtained that Franz Joseph sat as a model in front of Strobl for a marble bust. It is interesting to mention that Strobl got inspiration from another bust of Franz Joseph created by his master Zumbusch. STRÓBL, M. 2004, p. 48.

¹¹ Mihály Stróbl mentions in his book that Alajos Strobl liked to participate as a figurant in Wagner's operas with his brother, József Strobl. Mihály Stróbl tells a story about the two brothers who had to go to the barber's to cut off their beards because the director of the Vienna Opera House said that figurants with a beard could not be accepted. STRÓBL, M. 2004, p. 44.

¹² Strobl's appreciation of music can be seen to have been influenced by their relationship in other ways too. He was a proficient trumpet player. After moving to this studio at the Academy, Strobl immediately bought a modern harmonium with many registers, created by a harmonium factory in Philadelphia, the very same harmonium that Liszt played.

¹³ Zsófia Strobl, the sister of Alajos Strobl, was a painter.

¹⁴ STRÓBL, M. 2004, p. 46.

Liszt also wrote about the event of sitting for his statue in a letter to Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, 4th of February in 1883, Budapest – he not only mentioned his statue for the Opera House but his bust as well:

»The large portrait that Zhukovsky painted of me continues to obtain numerous and serious votes. And now, a young sculptor with a great deal of talent, by the name of Strobl, is undertaking a bust of me, after having modelled a large seated statue of my person last winter, which is to be executed in marble and placed as a pendant to the statue of the most celebrated composer of Hungarian operas, F. Erkel. He is the composer of Hunyady, Bánk bán, etc., which have had hundreds of performances here, without ever passing the Hungarian frontier. The two statues will be placed at the entrance to the new grand theatre, in the Radialstrasse. His Majesty the King has ordered the opening of this theatre, now being completed, for October or November next year, '84. My Strobl made a very good bust of your son-in-law, Konstantin.¹⁵ This artwork will be a present for Magne,¹⁶ for the next celebration of her name day.«¹⁷

According to this letter, it was in the winter of 1882 when Liszt sat as a model for the large seated statue. Strobl prepared the portrait of Erkel as well, although Erkel was not entirely comfortable with the idea of establishing a monument of him in his lifetime. While Liszt was content with his portrait, he was critical towards the placement of the statues: »Strobl put us here like we were two door-keepers«.¹⁸ The two statues were installed in the niche, as the statues of the Medici Chapel, the princes Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici by Michelangelo – Strobl saw this chapel, and had drawn sketches of the princes, so it is probable that he used these high Renaissance sculptures for models when he prepared the portraits of Liszt and Erkel. Ildikó Nagy mentions this parallel in her study:

»Certain works of Stróbl evoke antitypes. For example, the statues of Liszt and Erkel at the front of the Opera House evoke the figures of Giuliano and Lorenzo of the Medici Chapel by Michelangelo, and we might see the personification of the *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*. The statues of Michelangelo were also examples and almost tropes like the antique works of art.«¹⁹

Liszt was also profoundly influenced by Michelangelo's statues depicting Lorenzo de' Medici as the contemplative man (representing *vita contemplativa*) and Giuliano de' Medici, the man of action (*vita activa*). The statue of Lorenzo inspired Liszt to write *Il Penseroso (The Thinker, Années de pèlerinage, Deuxième année: Italie)* in 1838–1839.²⁰ This sonnet is a significant work written for the dark, lower regions of the piano, a slow funeral march²¹ with chromatic twists and turns.

Did Strobl think of creating a parallel between the portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici and figure of the Liszt statue? There is no evidence to prove that Strobl knew Liszt's composition at the time when he was modelling the composer's portrait, but the question is compelling. What is certain is that the sculptor knew the statues of the Medici Chapel and may well, at the very least, have gained a source of inspiration from them. However, any physical resemblance is only slight, regarding the construction and composition of the sculptures. The statue of Liszt does not bring to mind the character of Lorenzo de' Medici. As a matter of fact, it is Erkel's por-

¹⁵ Konstantin von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (1828–1896).

¹⁶ Magne was the nickname of Princess Marie von Sayn-Wittgenstein, later Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (1837–1920), daughter of Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein.

¹⁷ WILLIAMS, A. 1999, p. 896.

¹⁸ STRÓBL, M. 2004, p. 46. Liszt was not present at the inauguration of the Royal Hungarian Opera House. He wrote to Amália Fábry on the 17th of September in 1884 from Weimar: »When the National Theater (Opera House) will be inaugurated, I shall only be present in the niche in front of the building, in the form of a statue made by Strobl. For the inside of the building I sent Erkel my Magyar Király Dal.« Liszt composed the Magyar Király Dal for the opening ceremony of the Opera House, but this composition was refused because of political reasons.

¹⁹ NAGY, I. 2006, p. 312.

²⁰ The composer quotes from a Michelangelo sonnet in the preface to the piece as well: »I am thankful to sleep and more thankful to be made of stone. So long as injustice and shame remain on earth, I count it a blessing not to see or feel; so do not wake me – speak softly!«

²¹ After the death of his son Daniel in 1859, Liszt rewrote this piece as *La Notte* (The night), one of the *Trois Odes Funèbres*. According to Liszt's remark at the end of the autograph score, *La Notte* should be played at his own funeral. From this, it is clear that *La Notte* refers to death.

trait which tends to express better the introverted character of *vita contemplativa* represented by Lorenzo de' Medici's sculpture – although the posture of Erkel's statue is more similar to Giuliano de' Medici's, aside from the appearance and position of the head.

However, the parallel between Zumbusch's statue of Beethoven and Strobl's statue of Liszt seems much clearer. If we compare their posture, the similarity is conspicuous. Both are seated portraits, the right hand is in the same position, in the same angle, the right feet stands in front of the left, with drapery on the legs – which is, of course, natural in the case of Liszt who was already an abbé at that time and dressed in a long black abbé cassock.

The portraits were executed in the main style of the end of the 19th century, in the style of Historicism, characterised as such by idealistic representation, the monumentality of the statues indicating the composers' intellectual magnitude, the transformation of mental virtues into physical qualities, etc. Zumbusch's statue of Beethoven sits on a pedestal, surrounded by allegorical figures placed around the footing of the pedestal. For the Royal Hungarian Opera House, besides the statues of the two Hungarian composers, Strobl created additional mythological figures (two sphinxes) as well. But these sphinx statues do not belong to the composer portraits, they are placed separately from the main building, at the left and right side of the Opera House.

Nevertheless, one of Strobl's monuments resembles the Beethoven monument very much, especially in its composition. This monument represents the famous Hungarian poet János Arany; it is placed in front of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. The poet's statue is atop a pedestal, and similarly to the Beethoven monument, it has two additional figures (a male and a female figure) sitting near the tall pedestal. In this instance, they are not mythological, although fictional heroes, characters from the Toldi trilogy, epic poems by János Arany.²² We can see from these examples that the young Strobl learnt a lot from the works of his master Zumbusch.



Image 3: Alajos Strobl, Bust of Franz Liszt, bronzed plaster cast, 1883, Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum, Budapest.

²² The main character of the trilogy, Miklós Toldi and his love, Piroska are these additional figures.

Subsequent Liszt portraits by Strobl were also created in the same idealistic style of Historicism, but they are more dynamic and lively than the sculptures by Zumbusch. This becomes particularly evident if we compare it with the aesthetic - elegant, but cold, lifeless bust of Liszt by Zumbusch that is wildly different from another Liszt bust by Strobl from 1883, which seems, by contrast, to be full of vital expression.

A few months after Liszt's death (31st of July in 1886), there was an exhibition in the Art Hall (*Kunsthalle*)²³ in Budapest just next to the building of the Academy of Music, opened by Emperor Franz Joseph on the 9th of November in 1886. With the architect Albert Schickedanz, Strobl presented a design for a Liszt monument which piqued the Emperor's interest. This plan of the Liszt monument can be seen in a painting - a painter friend of Alajos Strobl, Hans Temple depicted Strobl while creating the model of this Liszt statue. Mihály Stróbl, the son of the sculptor, mentions this monument in his book,²⁴ stating that it was erected in the City Park, Budapest (Városliget) in 1933, but afterwards, he gives a description which does not fit the monument, referring to a marble Liszt portrait on a huge grey block of stone. He mistakenly interfused two different sculptures, the plan of the Liszt monument which was never realised and never executed on a large scale,²⁵ and another Liszt portrait by Strobl, which was actually erected in the City Park of Budapest in 1933, seven years after the death of Strobl. In the journal *Fővárosi Lapok* 26th of November in 1886²⁶ an article mentioned the Liszt monument, which was planned to be placed in the Swan isle²⁷ of the City Park, near the so-called *Vajdahunyad Castle*.²⁸ In contrast with the never realised monument, the above mentioned Liszt portrait was initially placed in the *Epreskert*,²⁹ later transported to the City Park, erected on the road towards the Vajdahunyad Castle – not exactly the same place where the monument was planned. In 1945, the portrait was taken to the Museum of Fine Arts; now it is the property of the Hungarian National Gallery.³⁰ So it is clear that we talk about two different portraits in different styles, the monument plan with Rococo elements is the work of the young Strobl, while the head of the other Liszt statue was created several years later.

Strobl used his studio at the Academy of Music between 1881–1884, moving to another studio at *Várkert Bazár* (Castle Bazaar) in Budapest afterwards and it is this studio that Hans Temple's painting features. In 1889, Strobl moved to the *Epreskert* where a sculpture master class was founded in order to develop the skills of the students of the Hungarian Royal Drawing School and Art Teachers' College, and what eventually became the Academy of Fine Arts.³¹ Strobl was the leader of this master class. Thanks to Strobl, the garden was transformed into a real artist residence where the students and teachers could work, socialise, and relax together. This tradition has continued up to the present day, albeit in more modest conditions. Strobl installed sculptures in the *Epreskert* with the help of his students; he brought antique sculptures, statues related to the Hungarian history, especially the era of King Mátyás Hunyadi. They often organised fantastic costume parties in the garden, to which photographs and memoirs attest.³²

²³ Today, the building is the home of the Hungarian Academy of Fine Arts.

²⁴ STRÓBL, M. 2004, p. 55.

²⁵ GÁBOR, E., VERŐ, M. 1996, pp. 98–99.

²⁶ *Fővárosi Lapok*, 26th of November, 1886, Vol. 26, No. 327, p. 2387.

²⁷ This small isle does not exist anymore.

²⁸ A similar, but smaller version of the Vajdahunyad Castle in Transylvania.

²⁹ A garden in Budapest, 26–28 Kmety György street. Now the *Epreskert* belongs to the Hungarian Academy of Fine Arts.

³⁰ STRÓBL, M. 2004, p. 55. and NAGY, I. 2002, p. 49.

³¹ The first building of the *Epreskert* was made in 1884 for the painting master class lead by Gyula Benczúr. Only later it has been suggested to establish a sculpture master school as well. It was Strobl who presented his proposal to the ministry of religion and education. Strobl was the teacher of the Hungarian Royal Drawing School from 1885, and when the education was started in the sculpture master class in *Epreskert*, Strobl gave his job at the Drawing School to Antal Loránfi. See more: B. MAJKÓ, K., NAGY, I. 2006.

³² Particular attention has been paid by Strobl to his friends and colleagues concerning these costume parties. Strobl enjoyed creating grandiose decors and settings with the help of his students and not only for the parties at *Epreskert*. The Hall of Fine Arts was completed in 1896, at the end of Andrassy Avenue. The Union of the Hungarian Fine Artists inaugurated the building by holding a masquerade party on the 14th of March in 1897, which was named »The Way to the Source of Immortality«. The decorations were prepared by Alajos Strobl and his pupils: Miklós Ligeti, Ede Margó and József Damkó. The son of Alajos Strobl, Mihály Stróbl describes the decoration as follows: »Here at the source, the spring of Hippocrene flew from the hole created by the kick of Pegasus and next to the spring, the winged horse was just leaving. From the spring, the artists came pouring down (in portrait form of course), and Munkácsy, Zichy, Benczur, and Lotz were sitting on the back of Pegasus (horse). Many artists are trying to mount the horse that is ready to leave.« STRÓBL, M. 2004, p. 82.

Ten years after Liszt's death, Strobl was commissioned to create the King St. Stephen Memorial, which is next to the Fishermen's Bastion in the Castle Hill, Budapest. The sculptor started to work on it in 1896, and the monument was inaugurated in 1906. On the frieze of the pedestal, there are portraits of several famous Hungarians. On the relief to the right side, Liszt is part of the coronation scene in the role of a priest holding a double cross. Queen Elisabeth as Gizella, St. Stephen's wife, the two ladies in waiting are Strobl's wife, Alojzia, and his sister Zsófia. In addition, the portraits of Frigyes Schulek, architect, the painters Károly Lotz and Mihály Munkácsy and the face of Strobl himself can be seen in the frieze.

The composition of the most monumental Liszt portrait by Strobl was based on his first Liszt statue at the Opera House. Its face is almost the same as the face of the Liszt portrait erected in the City Park in 1933 – this means that they were created around the same time. The monumental statue decorates the façade of the new building of the Academy of Music in Budapest. The building, in the style of Art Nouveau, was designed by Flóris Korb and Kálmán Giergl and was inaugurated in 1907. The massive bronze sculpture is out of the normal line of sight, placed several meters higher than the entrance. However, this obstacle to our view of the monument is somewhat fitting. As Liszt holds out his hand giving benediction, we can see that Strobl created a real apotheosis of the composer in this work; something beyond a faithful representation of physical features, not to merely see but to feel the presence and creative essence of Franz Liszt and his legacy as the founding father of the Academy of Music.

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³³ The author is the grandson of the sculptor Alajos Stróbl.

Anna Peternák, Spominski muzej Franza Liszta in raziskovalni center, Madžarska

Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Leta 1882 je madžarski kipar Alajos Strobl (1856–1926) dobil naročilo za izdelavo celopostavnih kipov skladateljev Ferenca Erkla in Franza Liszta. Kipa naj bi postavili pred novo Kraljevo madžarsko opero v Budimpešti. Z navajanjem odlomkov iz Lisztovih pisem in spominov Stroblovega sina se v prispevku osredotočamo na okoliščine, ki so vplivale na nastanek Lisztovega kipa, postavljenega pred opero. Raziskujemo tudi značilnosti tega portreta v kontekstu z drugimi skulpturami (večinoma Lisztove upodobitve), ki sta jih izdelala Strobl in njegov mentor Zumbusch.

POVZETEK

Madžarski kipar Alajos Strobl (1856–1926) se je septembra 1881 preselil v Budimpešto in si za atelje izbral prostor v tretjem nadstropju Kraljeve akademije za glasbo. Takrat se je v svoje stanovanje v Budimšepšti preselil tudi Franz Liszt. Njegovo stanovanje je bilo v isti stavbi kot Stroblov atelje – danes v stavbi deluje Spominski muzej Franza Liszta. Liszt je bil prvi predsednik Akademije za glasbo, zato mu je bilo stanovanje dodeljeno kot uradno bivališče.

Leta 1882 je Strobl prejel naročilo za izdelavo celopostavnih kipov Ferenca Erkla (madžarski skladatelj in prvi ravnatelj akademije) in Franza Liszta, ki so ju nameravali postaviti pred madžarsko Državno opero. Strobl je Lisztov portret izdelal v svojem ateljeju na podstrešju akademije. Da je Liszt poziral kot model za izdelavo kipa, je povedal kiparjev sin Mihály. Strobl in Liszt sta imela veliko skupnih interesov in prijateljev. Mlademu kiparju je uspelo ustvariti realističen sedeči kip Franza Liszta, ki še danes stoji pred vhodom v operno hišo.

Na stalni razstavi Spominskega muzeja Franza Liszta je mogoče videti veliko Lisztovih kipov, ki so delo Alajosa Strobla: model zgoraj omenjenega kipa in dva doprsna kipa, ki stojita v Lisztovi risalni sobi, maska v preddverju muzeja in bronasta kopija Lisztove roke (1884), ki je postavljena v Lisztovem delovnem kotičku v spalnici. Kipi dokazujejo, da je bil Liszt zagotovo eden najljubših Stroblovih modelov. Kipar je še vrsto let po Lisztovi smrti ustvarjal njegove portrete, med njimi je najzanimivejši skrivnostni portret na spomeniku kralja sv. Štefana v bližini Ribiške bastije v Budimpešti.

THE DIVA BETWEEN ADMIRATION AND CONTEMPT: THE CULT STATE OF EXCEPTIONAL MUSIC ARTISTS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

The article is discussing some aspects about the star cult of female opera singers in the beginning of the 19th century. It starts with a short introduction about stars and virtuosos who were deeply burnt into the collective memory such as Liszt or Paganini and then focuses on the “prima donnas”, who during their lifetimes were enormously successful and even venerated almost godlike. Nowadays they have been almost forgotten but during their lifetimes some of them filled newspapers with gossip, led to astonishment but also to extreme forms of admiration. The apotheosis of the “Diva” Maria Malibran in the hour of her early death is the first out of three “episodes” which are told in this article. The second is about the “Swedish Nightingale” Jenny Lind, who was equally venerated like a saint – also because of her modest character and her charitable activities. Adelina Patti as the third in the group shows, how the word “Diva” was reversed into a negative sense. Diva became a synonym for a scandalous and wasteful lifestyle – and was even used in a chauvinistic way.

KEY WORDS

prima Donna, star cult, media, Maria Malibran, Jenny Lind, Adelina Patti

INTRODUCTION

In the 19th century, we saw the beginning of a phenomenon which during the 20th century (through the possibility of recording and the development of media) got a bigger dimension: the ecstatic veneration of stage artists. Franz Liszt (1811–1886) is a very suitable example to illustrate this phenomenon: he was admired and hysterically hyped. His personal items and souvenirs were collected, such as pipes, curls or handkerchiefs. But what was it that attracted the audience so much? Liszt was a genius on the piano, looked great in his youth, brought women to collapse, caused “fever” and “mania”. As for him, the veneration as a pianist was not exactly what he would have desired from his professional career as a musician – he would have much more preferred to be recognized as a composer – but still, his piano skills brought him singular recognition, wealth, and fame when he was still a very young man. Some years before Niccolò Paganini (1782–1840) - the *Devil violinist* had been hyped all over Europe. He had constructed a self-image which preceded his reputation and was one of the first virtuosos, whom we would call a “star”. Still, in the first place he was a virtuoso – because of the extraordinary ability as a violinist – and in the second place as the famed star.¹

The definition “virtuoso” initially meant somebody, who possesses brilliant technical ability in a particular field of art (such as fine arts, music, singing, playing an instrument, or composition). Since the 19th century, the term has been used in music only. It has defined somebody who plays an instrument or who sung on a perfect level and has overwhelming performing qualities at the same time. The feminine “virtuosa” existed as well – until 1800 it was primarily used for opera singers which were later called “Prima Donna.” Whereas the word “virtuosa” was neutrally descriptive, the later used “prima donna” was not free of attributions – in an idealised and also in a negative sense, which I will discuss in my article.

Some artists – such as Liszt and Paganini – have been deeply burnt into the collective memory until nowadays. Other 19th century stars who had been equally hyped during their lifetimes as the before mentioned virtuosos Liszt or Paganini, have been (almost) forgotten – mainly female opera singers. Who would know that similar to the “Lisztomania” there was a “Lindomania” (for the Swedish singer Jenny Lind), which to some extent even exceeded the hype around Liszt? Lind caused epidemics of “fever” – nearly forgotten nowadays. To

¹ HÜGEL, H.-O. 2003, pp. 492–493.

give an example, who knows that Maria Malibran gave a name to a sorbet in Milan and that her jewellery was extremely well sold during an auction after her death? That Adelina Patti was admired for her talent already as a child but was criticized for her stinginess? This article follows the traces in newspapers, journals, and poems, which these three famous prima donnas left during their lifetimes. As persons of public interest, the prima donnas gave (renewed) cause for speculation, astonishment, and more or less benevolent comments. Some writers analysed intensively questions like what captured the fans so much or what caused the hype around these singers. What stands out is the change from a distanced admiration to pejorative statements in the course of the century.

OPERATIC ROLES, THE SINGING VOICE AND THE “PRIMA DONNA” IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The primadonnas of the 19th century opera were celebrities also because the opera became, more than any other cultural medium, part of everyday life and had a decisive influence on the sociocultural life. In a time of political, social, and industrial upheavals opera permitted the audience to get carried away by big emotions of tragic love stories, perfidious killings or dying beauties and to share the thrills of the artists. For this development the operatic literature of the 19th century was decisive. Opera was more and more transformed in an opera of the prima donna – as proven by the operatic literature. The prima donna often played leading roles in operatic plots, which permitted her to achieve an undeniable cult state. Bellini’s operas such as *La Sonnambula* or *Norma*, operas by Rossini (*La Cenerentola*, *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*), Gaetano Donizetti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and later Giuseppe Verdi’s *La Traviata*, offered a unique stage to female vocal artists.

The female voice not only conquered the operatic stage; at the same time singing became a very common, an indispensable part of music education – especially for girls and women – in higher social classes up to the Royal Courts. Who would take wonder that Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy admired Queen Victoria’s phrasing, intonation, and long breath, that the Neapolitan Princessa Campo-Reale sang Isoldes’s closing scene accompanied by none less than Charles Camille Saint-Saëns and in the presence of the composer Richard Wagner himself, etc.?²

Singing was a well-received female’s occupation. One important reason for that was that women could not choose instruments they wanted to play. Movements were required which misbecame to women when playing the violin or cello. Wind instruments also did not fit women within the conventions of the 19th century society. Even in this point, the gender stereotypes regarding women determined their possibilities. What also restricted the decision was the lack of opportunities to play instruments in, say, a professional orchestra, as the access to all female instrumentalists was denied – except for harpists,³ a tradition, which the Vienna Philharmonics maintained until the 1990s! The fact that this custom, which was not questioned until that time, stemmed from the 19th century had probably long been forgotten. Then the only instruments, which befitted women, were guitars, harps, and pianos to accompany their singing.

Another interesting aspect, which was attributed to singing, was its moral influence. The singing tutor and former priest, Joseph Mainzer, who also taught children and adults from the poorer social classes, formulated some ideas about singing:

“It perfects the sense of hearing, purifies the voice, strengthens the lungs and ameliorates the heart. Singing is taking from school its stiffness renders it more gay and attractive, the paternal home more sacred, and adds to the sublimity of public worship. It softens the rigours of poverty, makes the rich benevolent, consoles those who suffer, makes the happy happier. If it diminishes sorrow, so it doubles pleasure.”⁴

Other articles emphasize that music through its “pure and majestic harmonies” ennobles and corrects the moral feeling.

The voice became an object of study as well. The first laryngoscope was invented by Manuel Garcia II, who was the brother of the famous prima donnas Maria Malibran and Pauline Viardot-García.

² RUTHERFORD, S. 2006, p. 75.

³ Ibid., p. 49.

⁴ MAINZER, J., 2006, cited in: RUTHERFORD, S. 2006, p. 51.

DEFINITIONS REGARDING THE ATTRIBUTIONS TO THE "PRIMA DONNA" AND THE "DIVA"

From domestic concerts to the great operatic stage. In research or definitions about the prima donna, it was often mentioned that female opera singers were a very untypical phenomenon in the 19th century, which constructed the duties of women as mothers and housewives in a very rigorous and narrow way.⁵ Rutherford wrote about the "prima donna":

"Yet the prima donna was perhaps a particularly puzzling phenomenon for nineteenth-century society. In the midst of an era that was attempting through various kinds of indoctrination (social, cultural, political and educational) to restrict woman's access to the public domain, the prima donna stood indomitably on the operatic stage demonstrating musical prowess, financial independence, sexual freedom – and eliciting in return praise and monetary reward. Already in place before the notion of the 'feminine ideal' reached its corseted apogee in the mid-Victorian period, and still prominent in the later age of the New Woman at the fin-de-siècle when various singers lent their support to the women's suffrage movements, the prima donna provided a powerful – and disturbing – example of women's capabilities beyond the domestic confines."⁶

In a glossar of the University of Graz the following description can be read:

"The term has derived from the Italian "prima donna", actually "the first lady" and means the first singer of the opera who sings the main role. These ladies have the reputation to be very sensitive. If somebody in a metaphoric way is called a "prima donna," these characteristics are meant. The literal reading "first opera singer" exists free of negative connotations. Küpper also mentions a joking, punning variant of this designation: "Prima tonne": busty stage artist, a term which Hans von Bülow (1830–1894) coined, in relation to the heroine singers in the operas of Richard Wagner."⁷

But how did it happen that the word "prima donna" got a negative attribution of meaning someone who is capricious, whimsical, and morally dubious? In 1862, for example, the social researcher Henry Mayhew, in his survey "London Labour" identifies the prima donna as a sort of courtesan. To be a prima donna was not so much to be a great interpreter of operatic music. Mayhew used the word prima donna for prostitutes in a metaphoric way.⁸ Mentioning the wretches in the Haymarket in London he wrote: "In the more respectable circles they may be regarded with aversion, but they here reign as the prima-donnas over the fast life of the West-end."⁹ At that time the negative connotation of the prima donna obviously already existed.¹⁰

The term "Diva" was not free of negative connotations as well. In the *Handbuch Populäre Kultur* (Handbook of Popular Culture) the term defines female stage artists from the end of the 19th century onward (1860s–1870s) as somebody who "self-stages/self-enacts herself – also off-stage."¹¹ Furthermore, the excessive admiration by the audience is one aspect, which allows the use of the word "Diva".¹² In the German-speaking area the term probably entered the linguistic usage some years later – in the encyclopaedias (as for example Meyer's conversations lexikon) it is mentioned from 1880 onwards: "*Diva* (Italian: The Divine), *title of a celebrated*

⁵ See e.g. RUTHERFORD, S. 2006, p. 33 or CHRISTIANSEN, R. 1995, p. 2

⁶ RUTHERFORD, S. 2006, p. 33.

⁷ <http://wortschaetze.uni-graz.at/de/wortschaetze/musik/belegdatenbank/p/primadonna/>. »Die Bezeichnung leitet sich ab von italienisch 'prima donna', eigentlich 'erste Dame' und meint in der Oper die erste Sängerin bzw. die Sängerin der Hauptpartie. Diese Damen stehen im Ruf, besonders empfindlich und eingebildet zu sein. Diese Eigenschaften werden kritisiert, wenn man jemanden metaphorisch eine 'Primadonna' nennt. Die wörtliche Lesart 'erste Opersängerin' besteht jedoch daneben frei von negativen Konnotationen. Küpper führt auch eine scherzhafte, wortspielerische Variante dieser Bezeichnung an: Primatonne ('Prima 'Tonne): vollbusige Bühnenkünstlerin. Entstellt aus 'Primadonna' mit Anspielung auf 'Tonne = beleibter Mensch'. Soll von Hans von Bülow (1830–1894) geprägt worden sein mit Bezug auf die Heldensängerinnen in den Opern von Richard Wagner." KUPPER, H. 2000.

⁸ MAYHEW, H. 1862, p. 359.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ CHRISTIANSEN, R. 1995, p. 1.

¹¹ HÜGEL, H.-O. and MOLTKE, J. 2003, p. 158.

¹² GROTTJAHN, R., SCHMIDT, D., SEEDORF T. 2011, p. 8.

lady, as e.g. a singer.”¹³ In Italy the term has been used long before, as can be read in panegyric texts of the 17th century for the opera diva Anna Renzi.¹⁴

THE APOTHEOSIS OF MARIA MALIBRAN

Maria Malibran (1808–1836) was one of the most remarkable singers, if not the outstanding singer of the early 19th century. As a mezzosoprano with an impressive range (of more than three octaves), she interpreted amongst others the main parts in the operas of Bellini, Rossini or Donizetti, but also in the stage works of her father Manuel García I. She started her singing career very young – at the age of sixteen and captured the audience not only with the perfection of her wonderful voice but also with her beauty and the expressive acting of the roles. Maria was talented, but what brought her talent to full development, was the hard vocal training with her strict father, a tenor and composer, who was an impatient and quick-tempered teacher but still successful.¹⁵

The García family is being ascribed special merits in vocal artistry – not only because of the high virtuosity of Maria Malibran. Pauline Viardot – García (1821–1910), her younger sister, could look back on a long career not only as an opera prima donna, but also as a composer and vocal teacher. She stood in contact with musicians and artists of her time – also with Franz Liszt, who was her piano teacher when she was still a child.¹⁶ Pauline would have desired to become a pianist, but her mother decided that she had to become a singer in order to replace her sister Maria - who died young- in the opera performances of the family opera troupe. Her brother was also part of it, but vocally he did not have the capabilities for an opera career. He became a famous vocal tutor.

La Malibran fascinated most of all. For her, the term “Diva” or “Dea” (used in Italian) seemed to be apt to express the enormous aura she must have had. In different articles about “prima donnas” La Malibran became the reference point – many singers had to bear comparison with “The Malibran” after her early death, but hardly anyone would achieve her level, so the unanimous opinion in music journals. Malibran died in 1836 – at the age of 28 after she had fallen from a horse. Many articles expressed the consternation, which seized the whole of Europe.

On the occasion of her death the *Blätter für Literarische Unterhaltung* wrote an obituary:

“In fact there are talents which in the moments, in which their creative-excited being is divinely fulfilled, give cause to rejoice. But amongst these mightful there are just few, who are capable of transforming this public cheer to the more quiet stage of common life through the the power of soulful grace.”¹⁷

The French romantic writer Alfred de Musset (1810–1857) who was a friend of the García family, wrote a long panegyric poem about “La Malibran”. One of the 27 stanzas ran as follows:

„Qu'as-tu fait pour mourir, ô noble créature,
Belle image de Dieu, qui donnais en chemin
Au riche un peu de joie, au malheureux du pain?
Ah! Qui donc frappe ainsi dans la mère nature,
Et quel faucheur aveugle, affamé de pâture,
Sur les meilleurs de nous ose porter la main?”¹⁸

¹³ Meyers Konversationslexikon Autorenkollektiv, Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, Leipzig und Wien, Vierte Auflage, 1885–1892, Vol. 5: Distanzgeschäft – Faidherbe, in: <http://www.retrobibliothek.de/retrobib/seite.html?id=104403>, (quoted 18. 5. 2016)

¹⁴ In 1644 Strozzi published a collection of essays and poems in praise of Renzi, *Le glorie della signora Anna Renzi romana* (The Glories of Roman Lady Anna Renzi). Strozzi’s introductory essay describes Renzi’s abilities as a singer and actress—the inexhaustibly beautiful quality of her voice, the physical gestures and poses that she used to help portray her characters, and her intellect and imagination.

¹⁵ FISCHER-DIESKAU, F. 1990, p. 42.

¹⁶ LISZT, F. 1859, p. 50.

¹⁷ “In der That gibt es Talente, welche in den Momenten, wo ihr schöpferisch-erregtes Wesen von dem Göttlichen erfüllt ist, zum lauten Jubel der Bewunderung hinreißen; aber unter diesen Mächtigen sind wieder nur Wenige, welche diesen allgemeinen Jubel durch die stillere, bestrickende Gewalt der Seelenanmuth auf die ruhigere Bühne des gewöhnlichen Lebens überzuleiten und so die lodernde Glut des Bewunderungsenthusiasmus in ein stilles Feier der innigen Zuneigung in eine ruhige und ewig glimmende Lampe heimlich – traulicher Verehrung zu verwandeln wissen.“ See: *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 3rd of December, 1836, p. 1419.

¹⁸ http://poesie.webnet.fr/lesgrandsclassiques/poemes/alfred_de_musset/a_la_malibran.html (quoted 17. 5. 2016)

In another poem Musset wrote on the occasion of Malibran's death:

“Man sage nicht, die Quelle sei versiegt.
Die heil'ge, die Unsterbliches uns spendet,
der Himmelsfunken, noch verglomm er nicht,
noch ward uns Irdischen die Gottheit nicht entfremdet,
noch strahlt uns deines Genius' reines Licht.“¹⁹

In the hour of her death, Maria Malibran had reached apotheosis. This was partly due to very concrete ideas about heaven corresponding to the spirit of the time in which the presence of God and a very present idea of heaven were in the minds of the people. Also, the term “divine” or “diva” presupposed the presence of God. It was God who bestowed his heavenly gifts to someone chosen and what is more, Maria Malibran was admired like a God or saint because of her artistic talents. These talents were the reason for the sacred veneration and not the scandalous connotations which were attributed to the “Diva” later on. The veneration had nothing to do with her way of life. Maria Malibran was a woman, who did not care much about the high moral standards of her time. She had a child, of whom she did not care about at all, several abortions, a divorce, etc. But still, it was her singing, which brought her near to God, and the rest was not even mentioned, which may also have to do with her early death, but nevertheless the term “Diva” referred to her skills as an artist and not to her as a person. Furthermore, at that time the word was used rather in Italian, “Dea”, and in a positive way. The time of gossip in the yellow press was yet to come. We can say that if a singer at the beginning of the 19th century is called ‘The Divine’, then rather to criticise the hype around her ironically and not to recognise the admiration of her, as does Vellinghausen – Schulze,²⁰ is thus only partly correct. This interpretation became common in the 20th century:

“The heroine (on the theatre stages of the 19th century) became the “Diva” – a universal creature who was enthroned above the prude customs and was allowed to host all the moods, vices, freedoms legitimately [...], which a woman, a virgin from well-educated circles were not allowed. She was “superwoman”, even in the morning *déshabillé*, and thus had a mission: She conveyed men of the “Belle Epoque”, that behind female vanity, outrageous waste and scandalous openness also human greatness was hidden. Partly it was a protest against the shut dullness of a socially corrupted world of men.”²¹

This quotation illustrates quite appropriately the common image of “Divas”, which is present until nowadays. Years later, Maria Malibran was also called a “Diva” in a rather disparaging way.

“Some years have already passed by since Madame Malibran died. Some years! (...) But nevertheless: despite this long period of time, the name of Malibran stays still on the lips of all who have heard her. The ‘Diva’ wore for all her roles – as Elvira, Norma, Rosina, Semiramis, Desdemona, a more or less rich jewellery. As Malibran was called to heaven in order to occupy a vacancy in the heavenly choir, all her riches were sold in Brussels. The whole of Europe went there to participate in the auction. (...) The crier took a collier in his fingers and shouted: “100 Louisd'or, this is the collier she wore in the Sonnambula. (...) There are just a few great and powerful men, whose legacy would bring as many pennies as Malibran's legacy brought gold coins.”²²

¹⁹ Alfred de Musset, cited in: LOGES, B. F. 2010. “One should not say that the source has run dry. The holy that gave us immortal(ity), the heavenly spark, it has not gone out yet, to us people here on earth the Goddess has not been alienated yet, the pure light of your genius is still shining us.”

²⁰ HÜGEL, H.-O., p. 160.

²¹ „Die Heldin (auf der Theaterbühne des 19. Jahrhunderts) wurde zunächst “Diva” – ein universals Geschöpf, welches über der prüden Sitte thronte und all die Launen, Laster, Freiheiten legitim beherbergen durfte (...) welche einer Frau, einer Jungfrau aus guten und gebildeten Kreisen nicht anstanden. (...) Sie war Überweib, auch noch im morgendlichen *Déshabillé*, und hatte insofern eine Mission zu erfüllen: den Männern der Belle Epoque lebte sie vor, dass hinter den weiblichen Eitelkeiten, unerhörter Verschwendung, skandalöser Offenheit sich menschliche Größe verstecken kann; Protest gegen die geschlossene Dumpfheit einer sozial korrupten Herrenwelt.“ See: VELLINGHAUSEN-SCHULZE, A. 1962, p. 5f. Cited in: HÜGEL, H.-O., 2007, p. 187.

²² “Es sind schon einige Jahre, dass Madame Malibran todt ist. Einige Jahre! Scheinen sind nicht ein Jarhundert zu sein! (...) und doch, trotz dieser langen Zeit, ist der Name der Malibran noch auf den Lippen alle jener die sie gehört haben. Die „diva“ hatte für jede ihrer Parthien, für die Elivira, Norma Rosine, Semiramis, Desdemona einen andern mehr oder minder reichen Schmuck. Da nun die Malibran in den Himmel berufen wurde, um eine vakante Stelle im himmlischen Chore einzunehmen, wurden all diese Reichthümer, denen es an einer Herrin mangelte, kürzlich in Brüssel lizitando verkauft. (...) Der Ausrufer nahm ein Collier zwischen die

What certainly irritated and gave cause to write pages and pages, was the financial wealth of the primadonnas – during their lifetimes and even afterwards. Especially the last sentence: “There are just a few great and powerful men, whose legacy would bring as many pennies as Malibran’s legacy brought gold coins,”²³ shows the male indignation regarding the financial success of a woman; even post mortem. In just a few years the “heavenly gift” Maria was transformed in a wealthy “Diva” of jewellery and gold.

THE JENNY LIND – FEVER

Jenny Lind (1820–1887) was another prima donna who had immensely fascinated her contemporaries. Born as Johanna Maria Lind, she became the “Swedish Nightingale” and was one of the most highly regarded sopranos of her century. She came from a poor background and started to attend the Conservatory of Stockholm at the age of nine and gave her debut in 1838 as Agathe in *Der Freischütz*.

She performed soprano roles in Sweden as well as in Berlin, London, Paris, and Vienna. She also undertook an extraordinarily popular concert tour to America with its beginning in 1850.

Her best performances were in the operas of Bellini, Meyerbeer, Rossini or Donizetti. She was courted by the European Royal Houses, as by King Oscar of Sweden and Norway, Frederic William IV of Prussia, and Queen Victoria of Great Britain.

In 1850, Lind went to America at the invitation of the showman P. T. Barnum. She gave 93 large-scale concerts for him, then continued to tour under her own management and earned more than 350,000 pounds from these concerts, donating the proceeds to charities, principally to schools for poor children in Sweden.

The “fever” and “mania” she caused, gave again and again, the reason for astonishment, snappy comments, but also for serious analysis of her abilities as a singer. In his book *Das Buch der Narrheit* (The Book of Folly) the German writer Ludwig Kalisch wrote an ironic treatise on phenomena which – in his opinion – deprived his contemporaries of their minds. He dedicated the first chapter of the book to the Jenny Lind fever and let a fictitious fan of her express his thoughts and feelings:

“Since I have heard the unspeakably great Jenny, I venerate my ears. Why not? They are the gates, through which the celestial sounds entered into my heart! If I may compare the incomparable to somebody, then I would compare her to the divine lad, on whose hands every finger is of God, with the audacious, curled Liszt.”²⁴

This quotation illustrates the diction of the 19th century and even more: it witnesses the great enthusiasm for virtuosos which captured the crowds – beyond social classes. In the case of Jenny Lind, it was a fever which overwhelmed the audience and broad parts of the population – a phenomenon which Franz Liszt caused in a similar way. Kalisch referred to these two exceptional musicians: “Liszt is Napoleon of the piano; Jenny is Semiramis of singing.”²⁵ An analysis within the gender perspective shows the precise ascriptions for these two virtuosos: Liszt was Napoleon, the hero on the battlefield, while Jenny might have been the oriental Queen, who possessed one of the Seven World Wonders – in this case not the hanging gardens of Babylon, but an astonishing voice. Jenny Lind was compared to the most fascinating female figures, in particular during her American tour: “Never before, at least since the Trojan war, has a female being caused such a furore.”²⁶ It was none other than Helena who was meant.

Finger und schrie: „Hundert Louis d’or für dieses Collier.“ (...) Ein indischer Rabob erhielt das Collier um 20.000 Francs. Zu solchen Preisen ging der ganze Schmuck der Malibran weg. Es gibt wenige große und mächtige Männer, deren Hinterlassenschaft nur so viele Groschen einbringen würde, als jene der Malibran Goldstücke eingebracht hat.“ In: *Der Humorist*, 28th of August, 1840, p. 696.

²³ *Der Humorist*, 28th of August, 1840, p. 696.

²⁴ “Seit ich die unaussprechliche Jenny gehört, verehere ich meine Ohren. Warum auch nicht? Sind sie doch die Pforten, durch welche die himmlischen Töne in mein Herz gezogen! Wenn ich die Unvergleichliche mit irgend Jemand vergleichen darf, so würde ich sie mit jenem Götterjüngling vergleichen, an dessen Hand jeder Finger ein Finger Gottes ist, mit dem kühnen, lockenumwallten Liszt.“ In: KALISCH, L. 1845, p. 13.

²⁵ „Liszt spielt Schlachten, Jenny flötet Schöpfungen.“ In: KALISCH, L. 1845, p. 13.

²⁶ *Grazer Zeitung*, 2nd of October, 1850, No. 217, p. 3

She was one of the 19th-century music stars who reached an almost mystic dimension, whose veneration came near to the veneration of saints – especially as regards the high esteem of relics. A curl or an everyday item, which the artist may have used before, became objects of desire. This fact is being demonstrated by a report of a concert in Berlin: “The Jenny-cult proliferated, and many fans tried to get relics and were willing to pay enormous prices. A toothpick, which the immeasurable (Jenny Lind) let on a table in a restaurant, became the reason for a quarrel between a young banker and a baron.[...]”²⁷ Similar anecdotes were also reported from over the ocean. Someone who had found Lind’s glove had the idea to let people kiss the glove and to charge these kisses – two shillings for the inner side of the glove and one shilling for the outside of the glove.²⁸

Furthermore various sonnets and odes for both female and male singers – glorified Lind on a quasi-religious or mythological plane. On a tour of Vienna in 1846 the poet Franz Grillparzer heard her and raved in romantic words:

„Und spenden sie des Beifalls Lohn Den Wundern deiner Kehle.
Hier ist nicht Körper, Raum, noch Ton Ich höre deine Seele.“²⁹

Jenny Lind became an early superstar. But what was it that justified this unbelievable success, the so-called “fever”? It may have been the combination of her singing and her modest personality, which conformed to the spirits of her time.

“Who hears her on the stage, is ravished, enchanted by the combination of seldom talents; but who knows her off the stage, feels genuine respect towards the girl, which has an equally high standing because of her chastity and kindheartedness, her modesty and natural humbleness as of her artistic skills. Without exaggeration, I assert that Jenny Lind is one of the most remarkable personalities of the music world because of her spiritual consecration, and regarding her youth and the tireless desire, it is possible to expect that she could be appointed to found a new era of the opera.”³⁰

Lind’s angelic attitude became part of the marketing attitude during her tour in the United States in 1850–1851. It was pointed out that it was her “sentimentality” in particular which became popular, in the sense of the emotional and philosophical ethos that celebrated human connection. This idea also fits the vision of womanhood of these days. The sentimental woman was benevolent, restrained, and faithful.³¹

Many years later, in 1889, Jenny Lind was posthumously captured by the German national ideology. It was professor Mähry, a Latin philologist who wrote a pointed comparison between Jenny Lind and Adelina Patti (1843–1919), the undisputed prima donna of the second half of the 19th century. In contrast to Adelina Patti, the Italian Diva, he called the German Virgin, chaste and poor, who was not only admired because of her art but because of her personality, which was so „magically attractive“ and because of her outer and inner qualities.³²

Jenny Lind was never called “Diva” during her lifetime. She went down into music history as the “Swedish Nightingale.” More than in the case of Maria Malibran, who was wrested from this earth too soon and became the admired singer and perfect woman because of her early death.

²⁷ KALISCH, L. 1845, p. 16.

²⁸ Grazer Zeitung, 2nd of October, 1850, No. 217, p. 3.

²⁹ URL: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jenny_Lind. (quoted 17. 5. 2016)

³⁰ „Wer sie auf der Bühne hört, ist hingerissen, bezaubert von diesem Verein seltener Gaben, wer ist aber außer der Bühne kennt, fühlt sich auch von wahrer Achtung für das Mädchen durchdrungen, das durch Sittenreinheit und Herzengüte, durch Anspruchslosigkeit und ungekünstelte Bescheidenheit wenigstens ebenso hoch steht, wie als Künstlerin. Man kann ohne Übertreibung, die Behauptung anstellen, dass Jenny Lind durch geistige Weihe eine der merkwürdigsten Erscheinungen der Musikwelt ist, und es steht bei ihrer Jugend und dem unermüdlichen Drang, mit dem sie vorwärts strebt, zu erwarten, das sie berufen sein dürfte, eine neue Ära der Oper zu begründen“, in: Theatralische Miscelle, Jenny Lindt. Eine biographische Skizze von Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, in: Der Wanderer, 25. 9. 1845, p. 920

³¹ BECHTHOLD, R. 2012, p. 499.

³² Grazer Tagblatt, 13th of August, 1898, p. 6.

ADELINA PATTI, THE WEALTHY "PRIMA DONNA"

The third prima donna, whose reputation I would like to sketch in this paper, is Adelina Patti, born in 1843 and thus belonging to the generation after Maria Malibran or Jenny Lind. The Spanish opera singer with Italian roots was classified as one of the best coloratura sopranos of her time. She had been a child prodigy who as a seven-year-old girl sang the most difficult arias by heart. Patti gave her opera debut in 1859 as Lucia di Lammermoor, which laid the foundation for her meteoric and long career, during which she sang the leading roles in the operas of Bellini, Rossini or Verdi.



Image 1: Adelina Patti in Wiener Salonblatt, 27th of March, 1875, p. 1.

Patti performed on European stages as well as in South America, Russia, and New York earning millions. She had a private train she toured with – with 50 suitcases, her private cook, a menagerie of pets and her personal secretary. No prima donna would get higher salaries. Was Adelina Patti’s way of life triggering the negative usage and meaning of the word “Diva”? Some indications can be found in contemporary newspaper articles – leastwise in Austria. La Patti frequently filled negative newspaper articles. In 1865 the *Wiener Kirchenzeitung* wrote an indignant article about the millions of the sisters Adelina and Carlotta Patti (both opera singers), in which their monthly income was estimated around 30,000 to 40,000 francs per month each.³³ The article also mentioned cancellations of concerts if they were not profitable enough:

“Here we have the confirmation of what we have stated above: that the singers are not satisfied with mere admiration without hard cash. We just want to mention en passant that a priest in Vienna has to work five years to earn 1500 fl., for which Mrs Adelina Patti did not seem enough to sing one single concert.”³⁴

Adelina Patti was the ideal subject for biting comments because she had the reputation of being extremely stingy and extravagant. But not just this, obviously national resentments intensified the spitefulness towards

³³ Wiener Kirchenzeitung, 18th of November, 1865, p. 722.

³⁴ „Da haben wir die Bestätigung für unsere obige Behauptung, dass man hier mit der leeren Bewunderung, die nicht mit klingender Münze begleitet ist, nicht zufrieden sein will. Im Vorbeigehen sei nur noch bemerkt, dass ein Seelsorgepriester in Wien für jene 1500 Gulden, um welche Fräulein Patti nicht ein einziges Mal singen wollte, volle fünf Jahre dienen muss“, in: Wiener Kirchenzeitung, 18th of November, 1865, p. 722.

her. In the article mentioned above, the difference between the “German” Jenny Lind and the “Italian” Adelina Patti was carved out – under nationalistic aspects.³⁵ In another journal, the author laid unflattering and also chauvinistic words in her mouth as her answers to a *Questionnaire*:

Questionnaire for Diva Adelina Patti:

Your profession? - Primadonna.

Which profession seems to be most desirable? - That of a millionaire.

Where would you love to live? - In a cash desk by Wertheim.

Your favourite food? - Bohemian pancakes and plum jam dumplings.

Your favourite names? - Anuczka, Wenzel, Jaroslaw, Marianka.

Your favourite poet? - Matias Nprsk, Wenzeslaus Wiskocil.

Your favourite occupation? - Counting money.

Your historic heros? - Hus, Ziszka.

Your favourite language? - Czech-Spanish mixed.

What do you hate most? - Benefit concerts.

Your slogan? - You shall be embraced, millions!³⁶

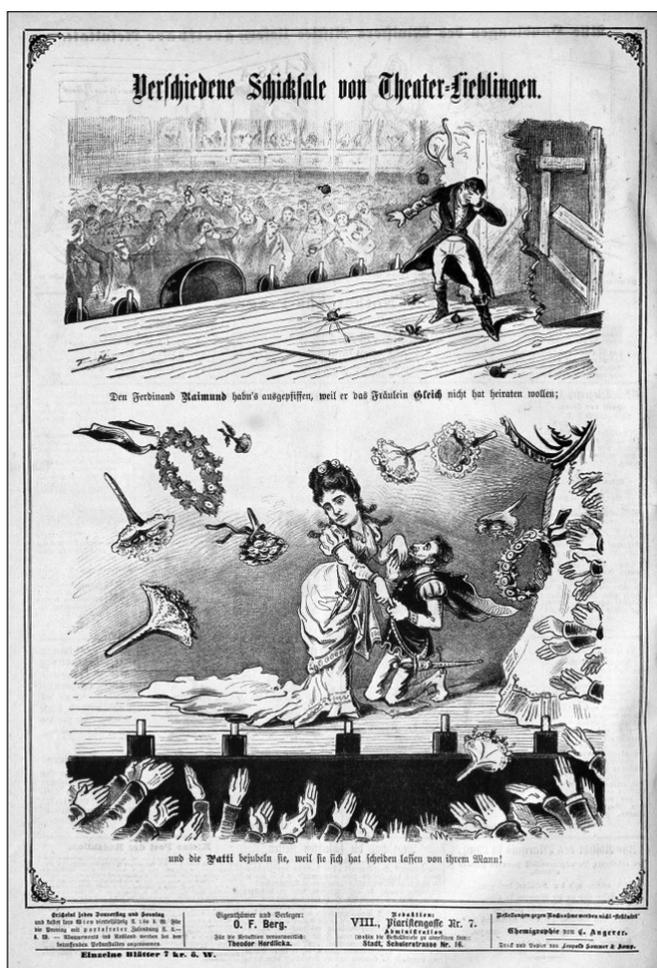


Image 2: A caricature of Adelina Patti, with the subtitle: “And they cheer her because she got divorced from her husband”, in: Kikerikiki, 8th of March, 1877.

³⁵ Grazer Tagblatt, 13th of August, 1898, p. 6.

³⁶ “Ihr Beruf? - Primadonna. (...)

Welcher Beruf scheint Ihnen der Beste? – Der einer Millionärin.

Wo möchten Sie am liebsten leben? – In einer Wertheimschen Kassa.

Haben Sie eine Lieblingspeise? – Böhmisches Dalken und Powidl-Knödel.

Ihre Lieblingsnamen? – Anutschka, Wenzel, Jaroswal, Marianka.

Ihre Lieblingsdichter? – Matias Nprsk, Wenzelslaus Wiskozil.

Ihre Lieblingsbeschäftigung? – Geldscheine zählen.

Ihre Helden aus der Geschichte? – Hus, Ziszka.

Ihre Liebessprache? – Tschechisch-spanisch gemischt.

Ihre unüberwindliche Abneigung? – Gegen Wohltätigkeitskonzerte.

Ihr Motto? – Seid umschlungen, Millionen!” In: Die Bombe, 5th of April, 1891, p. 2.

These lines could lead to the presumption that Adelina Patti might have had special connections to Bohemia – which is not proven biographically. Thus only one explanation remains for these obscure lines: the national conflicts within the Habsburg Monarchy led to a negatively connoted chauvinistic tirade of both, the Roman and Slavic bogeyman, of which Adelina Patti became part of.

Patti could not escape the attacks of the media – obviously over decades. The satirical journals had a convenient victim. When the municipal council of Vienna was requested to approve a tax for driving artists in 1879, *Die Bombe* wrote a short poem; Patti was once again the target of the attacks.³⁷

What also discredited La Patti, was the divorce process from her husband, Marquis Le Caux. But what else could be expected from this Diva, Primadonna assoluta, "die Göttliche", than scandals? Indeed, Adelina Patti fulfilled all the negative and dubious attributions of the Diva who was no longer admired only for her vocal art but was deeply scorned for her "vices".

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The star cult of female opera singers offers a vast field of research, of which the etymological research represents only a small aspect. What truly fascinated me was the heavenly veneration on the one hand – for example of Maria Malibran in the hour of her death. Hardly a word would be holy enough to express the admiration of her "divine" skills.

Jenny Lind became an almost holy star as well – ultimately because of her unique aura, her voice but also her charity. She was a star with enormous incomes, which irritated her contemporaries to a lesser amount than in the case of Adelina Patti who might have become the "prototype" of the Diva who earns and wastes money and leads a life of luxury.

The articles in newspapers and books originating from the 19th century show a very interesting development from the time when Maria Malibran had died in the year 1836 and until the times of Patti's lifetime. By then, the yellow press obviously had gained free hands to judge persons of public interest such as Patti also in the form of cartoons, which had hardly existed (at least regarding opera singers) in the first decades of the 19th century.

The suggestions concerning further research are the negative connotations of the word "Diva" regarding national resentment. In the English language, the term "prima donna" was even used for courtesans, which really irritates and has nothing to do with the opera singers. However, I could not find indications of a similar use of the term in German literature.

But what surprised me, was the shifting meaning of the word "Diva" from a goddess (such as Malibran) – la "Dea del canto", to a decadent Diva at the end of the 19th century. Who or what caused this development? The secularisation? The decline of a belief in celestial images as they were still omnipresent in the 18th and 19th century? Or were it the male commentators who observed the wealth and freedom of the Divas with a jaundiced eye? All these questions are still waiting for further analysis.

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OPERNE PEVKE V 19. STOLETJU - OBČUDOVA NE IN PREZIRANE

mag. Magdalena Bruckmüller-Schindler, Ministrstvo za izobraževanje in ženske, Dunaj

Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

V članku raziskujemo kult zvezdnitva, ki so ga bile deležne operne pevke 19. stoletja. Podobno kakor glasbeniki, ki so vse do danes ostali v kolektivnem spominu, na primer Franz Liszt ali Niccolò Paganini, so bile tudi primadone tedaj ravno tako oboževane in čaščene. Toda danes se le še malokdo spomni nanje. Za časa njihovega življenja so se pisci v časopisih ali tudi knjigah z njimi ukvarjali na različne načine: teme so segale od golih čenč do oboževanja in čudenja ob njihovem uspehu (tudi glede zaslužka).

Maria Malibran, ob svoji zgodnji smrti imenovana tudi »pevska boginja«, je prva od treh, o katerih pišemo v članku. Druga je Jenny Lind, »švedska slavčica«, ki so jo v Evropi in zlasti v Ameriki oboževali kot izredno pevko, zaradi skromnega življenja in dobrotelčnosti, skoraj kot svetnico. Tretja primadona je Adelina Patti, morda prototip škandalozne dive, ki rada zapravlja in živi v razkošju. Beseda diva je v avstrijskih časopisih dobila celo malce šovinistično konotacijo.

POVZETEK

V članku raziskujemo kult zvezdnitva, ki so ga bile deležne operne pevke 19. stoletja. Podobno kakor glasbeniki, ki so do danes ostali v kolektivnem spominu, na primer Franz Liszt ali Niccolò Paganini, so bile tudi primadone tedaj ravno tako oboževane in čaščene. Komaj so ostale v spominu do danes. Za časa njihovega življenja so se pisci v časopisih ali tudi knjigah z njimi ukvarjali na različne načine: teme so segale od golih čenč do oboževanja in čudenja ob njihovem uspehu (tudi glede zaslužka).

V članku analiziramo, kako sta bili uporabljeni besedi primadona in diva – v pozitivnem in negativnem smislu. »Pevsko boginjo« (la dea del canto) Maria Malibran, na primer, so občudovali zaradi lepega glasu, igralskega talenta in lepote. Po svoji zgodnji smrti je bila »la Malibran« v pesnitvah povzdignjena v nebesa. Nebeško oboževanje se je nanašalo nanjo kot na pevko, ne kot žensko.

Druga obravnavana pevka je Jenny Lind, »švedska slavčica«, ki so jo v Evropi in še zlasti v Ameriki tudi zaradi skromnega življenja in dobrotelčnosti oboževali kot svetnico. Vročico ali manijo, ki jo je povzročala, bi lahko primerjali z lisztomanijo. Poskrbela je za veliko mero navdušenja. Pisatelj Ludwig Kalisch je napisal knjigo *Das Buch der Narrheit* (Knjiga norosti), v kateri je tudi poglavje o neverjetnem fenomenu Jenny Lind.

Adelina Patti, tretja v članku opisana primadona, pa je morda prototip škandalozne dive, ki rada zapravlja in živi v razkošju. Beseda diva je v avstrijskih časopisih dobila celo malce šovinistično konotacijo. Zanimiv je razvoj časopisja v 19. stoletju, če opazujemo vedno bolj nedistancirano pisanje o življenju znamenitih pevk. Maria Malibran je umrla leta 1836. Takrat še ni bilo v navadi, da bi se časopisi razpisali o škandalih ali sodili o morali pevk, to pa je proti koncu stoletja postalo običajno, posebno če je šlo za bogate pevke, kakor je bila na primer Adelina Patti.

Predlog za nadaljevanje raziskave je raziskovanje negativnih konotacij besede diva, tudi v šovinističnem smislu. V angleščini redko najdemo primere, ko je bila beseda primadona rabljena za prostitutke, kar res nekako zavaja. V nemški literaturi beseda nikoli ni imela tega pomena. Pomen besede primadona kot ženske, polne kapric in zaljubljene same vase, se je v jezikovni rabi obdržal vse do danes.

Prav tako me je presenetil spremenjen pomen besede diva: od boginje (Maria Malibran) do dekadentne dive konca stoletja. Kaj je povzročilo spremembo? Sekularizacija? Konec nebeških predstav, ki so bile vseprisotne v 18. ali 19. stoletju? Ali so morda pisci (pretežno moški) spremenili pomen besede, ko so z zavistjo opazovali ali opisovali ali pa zaničevali bogastvo in svobodo občudovanih pevk? Vsa ta vprašanja še čakajo na nadaljnjo raziskavo.

QUESTIONING THE QUESTION: WOMEN, GENIUS, AND MUSIC COMPOSITION: OTTO WEININGER'S CREATIVE IMPERATIVES: A CASE STUDY OF ALMA MAHLER

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ABSTRACT

This paper questions the concept of female genius in music composition, using as a case study the female Viennese composer, Alma Maria Mahler Gropius Werfel (1879–1964). The primary source for this paper is *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Sex and Character), by Otto Weininger (1880–1903), an Austrian philosopher who published his book in 1903 in Vienna. Otto Weininger's worldview depends on his conception of genius as a phenomenon that can be attained only in art and philosophy. Hence he downgrades the intellectual and creative status of women, whose accomplishments until that time in those fields were not what they were to become. Interestingly, Alma Mahler's personality and body of work serve as a representative case for Weininger's thought.

KEY WORDS

female, genius, music composition, gender, sexuality, psychology

INTRODUCTION

History has acknowledged relatively few women in the fields of art, literature, science, or philosophy. Ironically, Otto Weininger (1880–1903), the fin de siècle Austrian philosopher best known for his extreme misogyny, cites a number of notable exceptions, including Angelica Kaufmann (1741–1807), a Swiss-Austrian Neoclassical painter; Mary Somerville (1780–1872), a Scottish science writer and polymath; Sophie Germain (1776–1831), a French mathematician, physicist, and philosopher; Clara Schumann (1819–1896), a German musician and composer, and many more.¹ According to Weininger, however, even the works of these figures cannot compare to the work of the male genius.

Discovering the intellectual, personal, and psychological foundations of Weininger's ideology is my primary interest in conducting this study, which will eventually interrogate the question of female genius in musical composition. One of the most common pieces of evidence used for justifying the modern representation of the woman is historical: not based on woman's capabilities but the tradition of virtually universal and continuous inequality, suppression, and educational deprivation throughout the centuries. The question of whether a woman can actually be a genius, as well as whether she can attain such genius on her own, however, necessarily puts the term »genius« under pressure, and what exactly does it mean in the context of musical composition?

In *Sex and Character*, published 1903 in Vienna, Weininger reflects on the diverse understandings of sex and gender in his time. He explores the relationship between the female and male characteristics that he presumes each person contains, and he constructs an ideal – that of the typical Woman and the typical Man² – on which every woman or man is patterned. Weininger in his book explores the nature of sex, the value of femininity, and the reality of the self³ aiming at investigating the relationship between sex⁴ and

¹ WEININGER, O. 1906, p. 91.

² Woman and Man or Female and Male with capital initials are used in this paper to indicate opposed ideal types that do not exist in empirical reality.

³ SENGGOPTA, C. 2000, p. 21.

⁴ The biological characteristics of the reproductive anatomy of an individual.

⁵ A range of feminine and masculine characteristics referring to sex, social roles, and gender identity.

gender⁵ hoping to resolve the »woman question,«⁶ and further examining women's genius from biological, cultural, and metaphysical perspectives.

Weininger states that the female's desire for emancipation and her artistic abilities both originate from the amount of maleness in her. He describes emancipation not as a »wish for an outward equality with man, but what is of real importance in the woman question, the deep-seated craving to acquire man's character, to attain his mental and moral freedom, to reach his real interests and his creative power.«⁷ He asserts that the genuine female element has neither the appetite nor the capability for emancipation in this context.

According to Weininger, all women who endeavor for true emancipation, who are actually widely known and are of outstanding mental capacity, at first glance have some external physical similarities to a man: »Those so-called 'women' who have been held up to admiration in the past and present, by the advocates of women's rights, as examples of what women can do, have nearly invariably been what I have described as sexually intermediate forms.«⁸ History gives us examples of females who in artistic and in philosophical fields pursued what is today understood as public emancipation, meaning equal job opportunities and equal treatment in the workplace. Moreover, to imply (as is popularly done), that until the beginning of the 20th century females had absolutely no favorable educational circumstances for the development of their mental abilities, is incorrect. Weininger asserts that a collective group cannot achieve true intellectual independence; an individual must attain it.⁹

As this paper focuses on the »question« of female genius and attempts to unpack the reasoning that underlies this »question«, it must engage with both biological and non-biological matters. Weininger's peculiar arguments about women and the negative characteristics he ascribed to them continue to generate controversy.¹⁰ I emphasize here that his theory is not fully representative; indeed, it is quite eccentric. However, it can inspire a productive inquiry into the fundamental ontological questions regarding gender. His theory is especially important in the re-contextualization of early feminism, a subject essential to this research: How do different views on gender approach the question of female genius? Of special interest are such questions as: What evidence has been used for claiming that women have less potential to attain and possess genius based on either biological or non-biological characteristics?

The aim of the extensive literature review is to explore what others have said on the subject of whether women's subjective and objective capacities hinder them from achieving historical greatness. This investigation will pay close attention to the historical example of Alma Mahler, a female composer and an important figure in turn-of-the-century Viennese artistic circles. The cultural ideology and subjective capacities under discussion take their inspiration, paradoxically, from Weininger's theoretical framework of the biology of sex, as well as his analysis of gender, which – as we will see – remains surprisingly applicable in the post-feminist period.

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Investigating theories of men and women as psychological types and supporting this view scientifically entails reconstructing femininity and female individuality, as well as the nature and meanings of gendered identity, through the examples of hysteria, of female and male sexuality, and of consciousness and psychology. The next logical step is to define the concept of genius from Weininger's perspective, including the androgynous

⁶ Generally used in relation to social change (in the later half of the 19th questioning the roles of women in their suffrage, reproductive rights, marriage, autonomy, and property, legal, and medical rights, etc.

⁷ WEININGER, O. 1906, p. 65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁰ ANDERSON, S. C. 1996, pp. 433– 453.

characteristics that he believed the mind of a genius clearly possessed, through a case study of Alma Mahler. In my conclusion, I critically discuss my findings in comparison to the academic literature in the fields of biology, psychology, and sexuality on the subject of the female genius.

This paper hopes to illuminate further and contextualize postmodern feminism by reassessing assumptions about Weininger's hatred of women. If we interpret Weininger stereotypically, we find that he appears nearly to nullify women, whereas a more peculiar interpretation that takes his hope for change into account means that a different reading of his belief in female passivity and self-denial can be offered.

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF WEININGER'S THEORY – MALE, FEMALE, AND UNIVERSAL BISEXUALITY

The phenomenon of bisexuality of life, in other words, the lack of full biological sexual distinction, is very old. Traces of it can be found as early as ancient Chinese myths, although it took on a more active role in Greek philosophy and literature.¹¹ The mythical personification of bisexuality can be found in the *Hermaphroditos* and Aristophanes's speech in Plato's *Symposium*, in which the word »androgynous« is used as a term of reproach.¹² The next indication chronologically seems to be that of a Gnostic sect of the Ophites, in which primary man was a »man-woman.«¹³

The concept of bisexuality appeared in psychiatric and philosophical literature only at the end of the 1880s, when Sigmund Freud proposed that all human beings are born bisexual.¹⁴ Later in life they develop, Freud claimed the ability to discover whether they are homosexual or heterosexual. He based his theory on anatomical and in this case also embryological facts.¹⁵ If we look at the human embryo, before the stage of the fifth week, the sex that will later develop cannot yet be determined; the embryonic stage is neutral or ambivalent as regards sex. At this stage, the fetal sexual differentiation process begins, and at the end of the fifth month, a sexual foundation begins shaping the form that will later represent the baby's gender, and which will have then determined the sex of the whole organism.¹⁶ It can be shown that, nevertheless, in distinctly unisexual human beings, a certain persistence of the bisexual characteristics is always present; this can be applied to animals and also to plants. There is never a complete disappearance of the characteristics of the undeveloped sex, which means that all peculiarities of the male sex may be present in some form or weakly developed in the female. Therefore, a woman's non-basic sexual features may continue to exist in a man. The features of one sex can occur in the other sex in a residual formation.¹⁷

For example, even the most feminine women have at the anatomical level facial hair in the same position as that of men's beards and even the most masculine men have masses of glandular tissue under the skin on their chests connected with nipples. Weininger, thus, viewed that »males and females are like two substances combined in different proportions, with either element never wholly missing.«¹⁸

Freud also stressed the significance of bisexuality in psychological phenomena: »Without taking bisexuality into account, I think it would scarcely be possible to arrive at an understanding of the sexual manifestations which are actually to be observed in men and women.«¹⁹ Furthermore, he continues that »it would be impossible to comprehend the conflicts that derive from it, which sometimes result in neurosis and sometimes in perversion.«²⁰

¹¹ WEININGER, O. 1906, p. 10.

¹² Ibid, p. 10.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ DRESCHER, J. 2007, pp. 204–228.

¹⁵ WEININGER, O. 1906, p. 12.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ SENGGOPTA, C. 2006, pp. 47–48.

¹⁸ WEININGER, O. 1906, p. 8.

¹⁹ FREUD, S. 1905, p. 220.

²⁰ FREUD, S. 1954, p. 179.

FEMALE AND MALE SEXUALITY

In the first place, it is important to understand the structure of the division of sexes through sexual relations.²¹ Both Freud and Lacan rejected any essential psychological distinction between the sexes, which suggests no innate male or female existence. In their view, sexual difference is the result of a split, without which these two could not even exist; because no human being can become an entity outside the division of two sexes, this means that each person only partly occupies the position of a man or a woman, and this does not only apply to their biological characteristics.²²

In examining the sexual relationships or sex life of an adult individual, we must first analyze the psychological form of the sex life of a child. In this area of a study, we encounter the Oedipus Complex, which is twofold in boys, namely, passive and active. The first element of the boy's sexual period is the identification with the father; the second element refers to masturbation activity that is related to genital organs, which controls and activates the Castration Complex.²³ In the case of the Oedipus Complex,²⁴ inasmuch as it exists in girls, it presents an additional problem. When a girl competes with a boy who maintains it, her Oedipus complex is abandoned. We find the reason for it in the girl's discovery of her lack of a penis, of which a boy can boast, and for which she envies him. After this discovery, the girl abandons the attachment to her mother and establishes her father as an object of love.²⁵ In Freud's view »conditions for femininity are satisfied only when her desire for a penis is replaced by her desire for a child and a child – with symbolic equivalence – replaces the penis.«²⁶

For Weininger, the state of sexual excitement is thus the most powerful moment of a woman's existence as she is fully committed to sexual activity in terms of reproduction.²⁷ In this way of thinking, a woman's relationship with her husband and children mostly fulfills her life, whereas it is more than only reproduction for the male. Here we have at least what we can take to be an actual contrast between the sexes. It is crucial to differentiate between the intensity with which the sexual subject is pursued and the number of other activities and interests in life to which he or she is committed. In sum, according to Weininger, the female principle is nothing more than sexuality; the male principle is sexual and more than that.²⁸

Speaking in terms of sexuality and excitement, the male body parts are limited to one area and can only be stimulated in one place and thus fully localized; while in women, they are spread out over her entire body; therefore, she can be stimulated practically from any part, according to Weininger.²⁹ Weininger argues that there is a clear separation of the areas of intense excitability in women – unlike in men – between the sexual areas and the body in general. The morphological division of the sexual areas from the rest of the body in the example of a man can be used as a symbolic link between sex and his entire disposition so that sexuality can be considered as sublimated into art.

²¹ The sexual relationship is inevitably associated with eroticism, which Antony Giddens explains as a phenomenon in which »two individuals cherish feelings by expressing their personal feelings in a communicative context. Sexual relation constitutes the art of giving and receiving pleasure. If we determine eroticism in such a way, it is opposed to all forms of emotional instrumentation in sexual relationships. Eroticness is sexuality, which is again merged in a wider range of emotional purposes and among the most important, is communication«, GIDDENS, A. 2000, p. 203.

²² BAHOVEC, D. E. 2007, p. 175.

²³ Because of the castration complex, females recognize the powerlessness of males as well as their inferiorities; however, they also resist this situation. This is precisely because of the following three facts: Firstly, a female does so to deter sexuality; secondly, it is a threat to masculinity, as she longs for a penis; and thirdly, it is the realization of the Oedipus Complex by a girl, which she transfers to her father. For a boy, the Oedipus Complex coincides with the castration complex, whereas for a girl the castration complex introduces and enables her Oedipus Complex. From this, we can conclude that the castration complex represses masculinity but encourages femininity, BAHOVEC, D. E. 1991, pp. 20, 28.

²⁴ The Oedipus Complex causes a child to be attached to a parent of the opposite sex. Boys are attached to their mothers, while girls are only initially attached to their mothers, and later they become attached to their father. For girls, it is precisely this phase of attachment to and dependence on their mother that result in hysteria and neurosis in women, BAHOVEC, D. E. 1991, p. 25. A woman is afraid of losing love in her Oedipus Complex, while a man is afraid of castration through his Oedipus Complex, SOLER, C. 1997, p. 31.

²⁵ BAHOVEC, D. E. 1991, pp. 15–20.

²⁶ FREUD, S. 1995, pp. 39–55.

²⁷ WEININGER, O. 1906, p. 88.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

In Weininger's formulation, the limited and yet continuous sexuality of the female has significant physical and psychic consequences. »A man possesses a sexual organ; a woman's sexual organ possesses her.«³⁰ As sexuality is an addition to a man's life, he is able to maintain his sexuality in the physiological background and out of his consciousness. Consequently, he can easily set his sexuality aside. For Weininger, it is impossible to understand female sexuality, because women are solely sexual. Therefore, recognition of anything else in her life requires duality. In the case of a man, he is not only sexual, because he can anatomically and physiologically detach himself from his sexuality. That is the reason why he has the ability to enter into any sexual relations he wants. That indicates that there is a larger division in a man, as in him, the sexual and the non-sexual parts of his disposition are clearly separated. The potential of being aware of a specific object simply implies that he can be conscious of any object. This demands the consideration of the disposition of the female consciousness. For Weininger, psychophysical parallelism represents an entire coordination between the psychic and the physical; in Females, the ability to perform mental exertion is necessarily stunted; it is mere as it occurs in relation with and in subjection to sexual instincts.

CHARACTER

Weininger imagines the essence of a male mental type and a female mental type; however, these exact types do not exist as real individuals, merely because in the body and the mind, all varieties of sexual intermediate forms are present.³¹ A person's character appears to be simply female or male; nevertheless, it is commonly accepted among scientist that biologically, an individual is to a certain degree male and up to a certain degree female.³² According to Weininger, the extent to which the male or female component is present, or the percentage of maleness and femaleness an individual possesses, can even be recognized in an individual's mental qualities.³³

Weininger believed that similarities between physical and mental elements in a person are more common than differences, although uneven distributions over the body may occur. The balance between the fundamental female and male qualities in the same individual must not be considered constant. Each individual differs or alternates between the femaleness and the maleness of his or her constitution. Oscillations are always present; in some cases, they are atypically severe and in others, they are nearly completely unnoticed, and when they are severe, they might even reveal themselves in the visual appearance of the body.³⁴

Weininger thus affirms that »the character of an individual is not something seated behind the thoughts and feelings of the individual, but it is something revealing itself in every thought or feeling of one (self).«³⁵ No emotion is ever separated from thought; rather, it is rooted in an entire sphere of other emotions, and the entire person is manifested in each moment of the psychic experience, even though now one side is more present, then the other side is more apparent: »This existence that manifests in each moment of psychic experience, is the object of person's characterology.«³⁶

GENDER AS A SOCIAL CONSTRUCT

It is a truism that two educational systems have historically dominated in Europe: academic education (and upbringing) for boys and a more practically oriented separate education (and upbringing) for girls. Since the 19th century, parents have mostly dressed boys and girls differently, taught them to play different games, have instructed them differently, and so on.³⁷ Intermediate people are placed at a disadvantage. In addition, their natural instincts reveal themselves relatively early, often even before puberty. Later, after puberty, there is a still stronger display of this innate distinctiveness. In the statement »one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman,« Simone de Beauvoir summarized the view of gender as a social construct,³⁸ the way culture and

³⁰ Ibid., p. 92.

³¹ WEININGER, O. 1906, p. 56.

³² Ibid., p. 53.

³³ Ibid., p. 54.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 83.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 58.

³⁸ DE BEAUVOIR, S. 1973, p. 301.

society have reformulated what began as the basis of femininity and masculinity. The male ideational structure and its view of women have evoked norms that shaped women's behaviour; indeed, the woman is a construct of the male gaze considerably,³⁹ Hence, female relations with males, as well as how women think of themselves, are closely connected to the way they are seen by men.⁴⁰

Furthermore, as we have assumed, according to Lacan, »Woman« does not »exist,«⁴¹ not because the patriarchal society that apparently relegates her to insignificance and invisibility; on the contrary: patriarchal society is the result of »Woman« not existing. With the statement that »Woman does not exist«, he implies that something of the psyche escapes castration, limitation, signification, and the demands of the law of the father. In such a society women certainly do exist, but through a chain of symbolic roles – as wife, sister, housekeeper, daughter, etc., and Woman is the common denominator of all these roles. Here, Lacan's approach is very important, because it brings something new to femininity, something extreme.⁴²

MALE AND FEMALE PSYCHOLOGY AND CONSCIOUSNESS

If the Female comprehends neither logical nor moral necessity, the inference that she possesses a most-sensual character is absolutely justified. The true Female has no ego.⁴³ Weininger asserts that Woman is emotional, and she knows sentiments, but she does not possess mental eagerness. The most definite evidence for the accuracy of this view of Woman and the separation of thinking and feeling in Man results in a fundamental sexual contrast. Although, according to Weininger, a genius possesses the full Female in himself, the Woman herself is merely a small part of the universe, and this small part can never be complete.⁴⁴ In this way, she cannot help but identify herself with a man.⁴⁵

In brief, the Woman collaborates in the production of a criterion for manliness: the male should be superior mentally; she should be commanded and influenced by the man; this as such is enough to question all ideas of equality of the sexes. The Woman's actual disposition of thinking is clearly the consequence of her less absolute consciousness of her desire for an ego. An individual such as a Female, without the ability to act, is incompetent in making judgments. Weininger states that in Female perception, subjective and objective are not independent; there is no capability in Woman to make judgments, and no potential of attaining, or even of desiring truth.⁴⁶ The Female receives her consciousness from the Male: the capacity to place into consciousness what was external. Hence, the sexual purpose of the typical Male with relation to the typical Female is an essential part of his supreme completeness.

Moreover, the Woman is always living in a position of union with all the people she knows, except when she is alone. According to Weininger, continuity with the rest of humanity is a sexual trait of the Female, represented by the longing to touch or to communicate with the object.⁴⁷ These sexual traits of a Woman mean failing to make a sharp dividing line between one character and another. A Female does not experience actual solitude because she is always aware of herself in connection to others. Another view of the vanity of Women is the desire for the recognition of her body, to feel that her body is admired or sexually preferred by a man. This diffused existence is one of the most basic features of the Female character. Even more strongly implicated in a Woman's unconscious mind is perhaps that she only values herself based on the relationship with the man who has chosen her.⁴⁸ She considers a man's inclination for her to be recognition of her true value, or a deep insight into her character, like the quality with which she proves herself in front of others.⁴⁹

³⁹ BERGER, J. 1990, pp. 45, 47.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Woman with a capital W indicates something universal and according to Lacan, this is precisely characteristic that women lack, HENDERSON, D. 2012, p. 133.

⁴² ZUPANČIČ, A. 1995, pp. 59 – 60.

⁴³ WEININGER, O. 1906, p. 186.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 189.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 262.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 194.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 198, 201.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 202.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 203.

HYSTERIA - THE HEART OF WEININGER'S ANSWER TO THE »WOMAN QUESTION«

For Weininger, hysteria⁵⁰ served as proof for why a Woman does not deserve autonomy: She has no intelligible self.⁵¹ For him, hysteria indicated the struggle of opposing innate feminine sexuality and an artificial character, which women develop because of their natural subordination to masculine power.⁵² Therefore, in hysteria, a woman's authentic self resists control against suppression and impinges on her consciousness.

The question arises why only women suffer from hysteria. Weininger's explanation was that the hysterical woman was extremely passive and that she adopted men's ethical principles obsequiously, to such a degree that she totally suppressed her real feminine (i.e. sexual) self.⁵³ In his view, hysteria was the main reason for degradation of femininity. Hysteria demonstrated that Woman was sexuality alone and that this sexuality did not carry any ontological significance; it preceded the person and was not connected with a distinctive maleness. Her singular, true individuality consisted of being a sexual object for a man or a mother to a child.⁵⁴ Still, hysteria or neuroticism seems to be the leading originator for the creative and intellectual activity of many women.⁵⁵ However, the common belief that these examples are pathological is inadequate.

GENIUS

A genius has the ability to possess a greater understanding of other men and women than they have of themselves because within himself he also possesses the opposite of his character and this duality is crucial for observation and understanding. »The ideal of an artistic genius is to live in all men, to lose himself in all men, to reveal himself in multitudes; and so also the aim of the philosopher is to discover all others in himself, to fuse them into a unit which is his own unit.«⁵⁶ According to Weininger, this greater understanding of other men and women is thought to be the essential condition of one's deeper consciousness. In his view, only artists and philosophers have demonstrated a claim to genius.⁵⁷ In his belief, music is the closest possible approach to the organization of a sensation.⁵⁸ Nothing is more exact and powerful than a melody; nothing will more effectively resist obliteration.

The ideal genius' perception and understanding are a matter of accessing his/her higher consciousness. The competence that allows differentiation is at the root of this alert consciousness. Only in a genius is embodied the universality of men, moreover, all nature. Genius' ego is the principal aspect, the entity of comprehension, the union of all manifoldness, thus »the highest individualism is the highest universalism.«⁵⁹ A genius comprehends all things deeply, as he is capable of providing insight into numerous matters that must be differentiated and compared. The degree of genius is not to be ascertained from the acuity of the sense organs, but from that of mental perception.

In Weininger's view, no woman exists in the history of thought, not even the manliest one, who could possibly compete with male geniuses. In his opinion, the Woman has no consciousness of her own genius, only the one received from the male individual in particular who imposes his character, knowledge, and insights on her. In addition, the genius has a fundamental desire for immortality, while the absence of the desire for immortality in Women is due to the lack of reverence for their own character. She does not have direct consciousness; the Woman attains a somewhat incomplete consciousness from a man.⁶⁰ Character and individuality, ego and soul, will and intelligible character – all these are various expressions of the same entity, and this actuality is what the Male acquires and the Female lacks: Although there are women with certain characteristics of genius,

⁵⁰ Hysteria – defined by the ancient Greeks as a condition in which a woman's uterus "wandered", and which Freud defined as a disorder that was described by unmanageable emotional excesses, GILMAN et al. 1993, pp. 10, 23.

⁵¹ SENGUOPTA, C. 2000, p. 104.

⁵² Ibid., p. 109.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 114.

⁵⁴ WEININGER, O. 1906, p. 124.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 96.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 106.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 141.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 120.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 108–109.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 102.

no female genius exists, and there has never been one.⁶¹ The distinction between men of genius and others is quantitative, not qualitative, a matter of degree and not of kind. Thus, we shall take that all levels of genius exist; no male completely lacks genius. Total genius represents an ideal; no man is in reality without that quality, and no man has obtained it entirely. Even the greatest genius is not totally a genius at each moment of his life and is not able to recognize the disposition of all men at the same moment. The inclusive and various rudiments that a man maintains in his mind can mature gradually and by degrees through his entire life.

EMANCIPATED WOMEN

For Weininger, a woman's need for emancipation and her ability to achieve it is in direct relation to the amount of maleness in her. By using the concept of woman's emancipation, Weininger implies that emancipation is not a desire for visible equality with a man. What is of real relevance to the »woman question« is the deep-seated craving to attain a man's character, to »attain his mental and moral freedom, to reach his real interests and his creative power.«⁶² He asserts that the »genuine« Female has neither the wish nor the ability for emancipation in this context.⁶³ All women who strive for emancipation, who are actually well-known and are of apparent mental capability, display some of the anatomical features of the male, some external bodily similarities to a man: »Those so-called 'women' who have been held up to admiration in the past and presented by the advocates of woman's rights as examples of what women can do, have nearly invariably been what I have described as sexually intermediate forms.«⁶⁴ In sum, emancipation does not apply to the real Female feature, the conceptual »Woman«; only the male element in emancipated women craves it.

Interestingly, a majority of common examples continues to exist in which the talent of an intellectual or artistic family appears to reach its highest potential in a female member of the family. However, according to Weininger, it is not genius but talent that manifests itself in this way. Alma Mahler (1879–1964), an Austrian composer; Clara Schumann (1819–1896), a German musician and composer; and Fanny Mendelssohn (1805–1847), a German pianist and composer, are typical illustrations of the type of composers who have been influenced in their decision towards an artistic profession by their family members.

According to Weininger, showing great interest in music, philosophy, or science was for women mainly a way of drawing the attention of a certain individual (they have been interested in charming) or a group of individuals of the other sex. He affirms that women truly interested in intellectual subjects are sexually intermediate. This desire for equality and freedom is only found in masculine women. It follows that the female element is not conscious of the necessity for emancipation, according to Weininger. He states that emancipation encourages women who do not have a genuine or unique capacity but obvious imitative abilities to attempt to study or write, for various reasons, like egotism or the wish to charm admirers. Nevertheless, it must be said that many women who have a true desire for emancipation and higher education do exist.⁶⁵

It is crucial to struggle for full equality; even the most masculine woman is only barely more than half a male, according to Weininger, and it is solely in her male component that she possesses her distinctive capacity.⁶⁶ It would be ridiculous to compare the few intellectual women with one's average experience of men, and then to even claim the superiority of the female sex. If the list of well-known and acknowledged women and men in music composition were compared and cautiously examined, the list of names of female composers would confirm the credibility of Weininger's theory of the »maleness« of their genius. Weininger argues that it is also an exaggeration that men form an obstacle to women's mental progress and development, or that women have been trapped by men, and that it was difficult for them to stand up for themselves and assert their natural rights. Clearly, Weininger does not take into account the numerous »womanly women« in relation to the woman question, the wives of the productive artisan class who were required to do factory or fieldwork because of economic pressure.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 188.

⁶² Ibid., p. 65.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 70.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 71.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 74.

Total obliteration of men is the predetermined outcome of any emancipation movement that tries to place sex in a new relation to society, and to view men as its continual oppressor.⁶⁸ Weininger asserts that a woman cannot achieve intellectual freedom from an agitated crowd; she must attain it by herself, and one of the greatest enemies of women's emancipation is woman herself.⁶⁹

ALMA MAHLER LIFE AND WORK

Alma Maria Mahler was born on the 31st of August 1879 in Vienna into an artistic family of a painter, Emil Jako Schindler, and a singer, Anna Sofie Bergen. Her father encouraged her talent for music and her interest in literature. She was a gifted pianist and had a modest talent for music composition. Already as a young girl, she started taking music composition lessons from Alexander Zemlinsky.⁷⁰ Soon she married the nineteen-year-old successful composer and conductor, Gustav Mahler.⁷¹ He wanted her to abandon her music career. However her aspirations as a composer did not stop her, and she continued composing music and publishing her works.⁷² She gave birth to two daughters, Maria and Anna, but soon after the births of those daughters she became bored, lonely, and unhappy as a result of her husband's unworldly character; he preferred to be alone and compose his music.⁷³

She started a love affair with Walter Gropius, a well-known Viennese architect.⁷⁴ After her husband's death in 1911, she entered a very passionate and turbulent relationship with the expressionist painter Oskar Kokoschka; however, she married Gropius, with whom she had her third daughter, Manon. In 1920 they divorced and in 1929 she married for the third and last time, to a well-known expressionist lyricist, Franz Werfel, who was more than ten years her junior. The last decade of her life was spent in New York, where she became and remained a major cultural figure. She died on the 11th of December 1964 in New York City.⁷⁵

During her lifetime Alma Mahler wrote more than 100 *Lieder*, many instrumental pieces, and an opera overture.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, only 16 songs have been preserved; most of them were lost during the Second World War.⁷⁷ Listening to her early work, and her *Five Songs* for piano and voice in particular, which were published in 1910 by Gustav Mahler, we see that they fit into the typical late Romantic German tradition with expressionistic influences. The structure is often in strophic or A-A-B-A form and has a Brahmsian weight of purpose and resolve. The harmonic language she used is formed from the influences of her teacher, Alexander Zemlinsky, as well as from early Arnold Schoenberg and Alban Berg. At this stage, her harmonic shifts were not assertive enough, but we can hear that she aimed to extend her harmonic possibilities by harmonic exploration. Mahler possessed a rare gift of melody, and she strongly connected melody and lyrics, for which she chose the texts of Richard Dehmel and Rainer Maria Rilke.⁷⁸ The texts expressed a sensual empathy with nature and intensifying emotions, besides being dramatic, distant, dark, and perverse at the same time.⁷⁹ Her music is melodically rich, very personal, partly flirtatious, voluptuous, and Wagnerian in intensity and harmony, yet intimate, sensual, charming and surprising – simply a fountain of emotions.⁸⁰ In some sense her music possesses traces of originality; however, this unique musical language did not develop.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 75.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 336.

⁷⁰ HART, H. 2001, June 3. Fitting for a woman ahead of her time. *Los Angeles Times on the Web*. <http://articles.latimes.com/2001/jun/03/entertainment/ca-5690> (quoted 20. 5. 2016).

⁷¹ SWED, M. 2004, October 4. Sex, lies and artists. *Los Angeles Times on the Web*. <http://articles.latimes.com/2004/oct/05/entertainment/et-alma5> (quoted 20. 6. 2012).

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ ALMA MAHLER, Life with Gustav Mahler, www.alma-mahler.at (quoted 15. 3. 2016).

⁷⁴ SWED, M. 2004, October 4, Sex, lies and artists. *Los Angeles Times on the Web*. <http://articles.latimes.com/2004/oct/05/entertainment/et-alma5> (quoted 20. 6. 2012).

⁷⁵ ALMA MAHLER, La Grande Veuve (1945–1964), http://www.alma-mahler.at/engl/almas_life/almas_life5.html (quoted 17. 3. 2016).

⁷⁶ ALMA MAHLER, Alma the Composer, http://www.alma-mahler.at/engl/almas_life/almaunddiemusik.html (quoted 17. 3. 2017).

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ CONNOLLY, S. 2010, December 2, The Alma problem. *The Guardian on the Web*.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/musi/2010/dec/02/alma-schindler-problem-gustav-mahler> (quoted 6. 4. 2016).

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Alma Mahler's song *Die stille Stadt* (The Silent City) was written sometime during her study period with Alexander Zemlinsky. The Silent City is much more daring – both structurally and harmonically – in comparison to her earlier songs *Bei dir ist es traute* (With You It Is Pleasant) and *Ich wandle unter Blumen* (I Stroll Among Flower). At the beginning of the piece, Mahler used a D major triad, but an F half-diminished seventh, the *Tristan* chord, appears in the second half of the first beat, in order to color the gloomy, somehow foggy atmosphere, to prepare the listener and put him or her in a floating sound field.⁸¹ The piece is through-composed, and the form is not strophic, as it is in most of Alma Mahler's songs. The harmonies of the piece include diminished sevenths in the major and the minor mode. The mood, which she colors with slowly shifting chromatic harmonies, progresses from dark to light. In the last part of the piece – *Doch als den Wanderer graute, da ging ein Lichtlein auf im Grund, und durch dem Rauch und Nebel began ein Lobgesang aus Kindermund* («Yet as the wanderer shuddered, a small light began to shine below; and through the smoke and fog, a quiet song of praise began to rise, from a child's mouth») – the accompanying chords of the part strongly emphasize the treble register.⁸² Interestingly, she used Dehmel's asymmetrical meter of the text with prolonged notes on the word *Kindermund*.

Mahler had a special affinity for melody, expressing emotions, and conveying them through music and text. The question arises whether this expression of emotion in her music, melody, or text is generally a result of female's strongly developed feminine qualities? If we take a look at male and female composers of the late-Romantic period, it is simply the era that characterizes this extensive expression of emotion in music and texts; therefore, looking at emotions, we cannot say that it is limited to one gender, as it is clearly present in both. However, examining the history of male and female composers' works reveals that women composers tend to compose shorter pieces of music or pieces for smaller ensembles. It was rare for a woman composer to write a symphony or an opera, particularly in the late-Romantic era.

If we interpret and apply Weininger's theory correctly, we assume that feminine and masculine qualities are clearly present in musical forms or in the approach to writing music. Therefore, for female composers, in fact, because of their supposedly lesser rational capacity, as Weininger states, it is more »natural« for them to write songs in the smaller setting of a musical work. Again, the aforementioned supports Weininger's notion of the genius (i.e. females cannot attain genius because of the strongly dominated feminine quality in the female gender).

ANALYSIS OF HER CHARACTER

Mahler is considered one of the most inspiring women of her time.⁸³ She was a connoisseur of talent, deeply committed to art and music, purposefully lavishing her admiration and her affection on eminent Viennese artists. Certainly, there were many beautiful, outspoken women in that place and time, but Mahler must have represented something more than this: »It was the brilliance of cultural and intellectual life translated largely into the terms of a personality.«⁸⁴ However, neither beauty nor intellect/creativity alone could exist without the other in establishing such a persona. She was a headstrong and privileged young woman, with opinions of her own.⁸⁵ In her first conversation with Gustav Mahler, already a famous composer and conductor of classical music, she offered a sharp critique of his musical works, stating his music was repetitive and full of foreign influences. The way she talked, she was just like a »woman's man« one moment and then a very feminine woman another moment.⁸⁶ According to Weininger, her unconventional and free-spirited self and intense creativity would be classified as that of the emancipated woman, a manly woman.

⁸¹ FOLLET, W. D. 2014, October 1; Redeeming Alma: The songs of Alma Mahler. *College Music Symposium*. http://symposium.music.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=2210:redeeming-alma-the-songs-of-alma-mahler&Itemid=124 (quoted 20. 4. 2016).

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ BOEHM, M. 2004, September 26, 'Alma' is a muse in motion. *Los Angeles Times on the Web*. <http://articles.latimes.com/2004/sep/26/entertainment/ca-boehm26> (quoted 20. 5. 2016).

⁸⁴ Walsh, David. (2001, August 17). Too little. *World socialist web site*. <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2001/aug2001/brid-a17.shtml> (quoted 20. 4. 2016).

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

In the analysis of her character, one observes that Mahler's function was to »play« a role of a man and at the same time to create him. She had a talent for writing music, with which she was creating »a man in herself.« In this sense she consequently demonstrated that »Woman« does exist,⁸⁷ meaning that she was able to do something – to write music. For this type of woman, it is usually difficult to be only a woman, as she wanted to be a woman in the truest sense – to be unique. Mahler embodied a subjectification of her own desire; in a sense, she even moved away from it. She was instead embedded in the desire of another – her father. Her desire was therefore determined by the other. In this way, she merged her imaginary polar opposite with the symbol, which had its own desires and which she faithfully followed. This display of autonomy in a woman is evidence that Mahler showed the independence of women who have such a strong character: After nearly belonging to a man, she succeeded in men's fields. As Weininger states, a true emancipation is not for the masses but an individual; here, the example of Mahler confirms precisely this, keeping in mind that this was a time when »there simply was no other woman in Vienna (or almost anywhere else) doing anything comparable.«⁸⁸

CONCLUSION

At the turn of the 19th-century, the crisis of masculine identity and the feminist movement simultaneously influenced the awareness of male intellectuals, and the »New Woman« did not yet present a clear danger to patriarchy. It is evident that Freud, Weininger, and Lacan all harshly critiqued women. However, considering there is no total Woman, every single woman has at least fragments of an intelligible self, and a person has to respect that indication of true humanity, even though a person might despise femininity.⁸⁹ For Weininger, woman and man had the same rights. He stressed that females had the right to justice and the right to be treated as free human beings.⁹⁰ Moral relations with women require the prevention of all sexual encounters and even love; nevertheless, in a sexual encounter, a man treats a woman as »a means to an end.«⁹¹ According to Weininger, a man must only try to understand them. He asserts that in theory men mostly respect women, though they detest them in practice; it should be the opposite.⁹² On the one hand, his book might disparage femininity, however, on the other hand, at a more profound level, it presents an immense tribute to women.⁹³

According to Weininger, each woman should be encouraged to develop a germ of the good capabilities she possesses. Moreover, in his view woman should minimize her femininity and develop her masculinity – become a manly woman. He emphasizes that this does not mean attempting to appear masculine; instead, they should transcend their femininity and masculinize their inner selves, which in his terminology means transcending sexuality itself.⁹⁴ Only abstinence could negate the purpose of woman's existence – or sexuality – and take away the strongest barrier to feminine emancipation. Thus, a woman would be »destroyed as a sexual being; however, she would rise rejuvenated as a genuine human being« – treated by men as free and equal individual.⁹⁵ It is more valuable to deal with individuals as ends in themselves than to comply with the biological imperative of reproducing the species. Weininger's study led to some extreme outcomes: »The reproduction of the species is a sexual, and therefore, contemptible task; in this task, however, Woman was supreme.«⁹⁶ While aiming to deny woman's subjectivity, he confirmed the absolute domination of women over reproduction and her significant domination over the spiritual productivity of creative men. In the obscure terms of Kantian ethics, he may have determined that »Woman is Nothing«. In more concrete terms, nevertheless, his complicated, discourse closed by affirming women's dominance over life, men, and creativity.⁹⁷ Undoubtedly, this was the greatest paradox of the *Sex and Character*.⁹⁸

⁸⁷ See Lacan's notion of "Woman does not exist" on page 167.

⁸⁸ CONNOLLY, S. 2010, December 2, The Alma problem, *The Guardian on the Web*. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/musi/2010/dec/02/alma-schindler-problem-gustav-mahler> (quoted 6. 4. 2016)

⁸⁹ SENGOPPTA, C. 2000, p. 65.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 67.

⁹² Ibid., p. 65.

⁹³ WEININGER, O. 1980, p. 451.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.453.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 457.

⁹⁶ SENGOPPTA, C. 2000, p. 135.

⁹⁷ ŽIŽEK, S. 1994, pp. 112–113.

⁹⁸ SENGOPPTA, C. 2000, p. 136.

To sum up, I have attempted to cover many of the important topics that are relevant for carrying out this paper, which questions the female genius in music composition. Weininger was taken as a theoretical framework as his theory compares and discusses sexuality, consciousness, and the psychology of men and women, though many of the facts he includes contribute to demonstrating the denigration of the female genius in such terms that a Female subject is not able to attain genius. In this context, gender is seen as a social construct; feminine and masculine characteristics are persistent, as well as the differences on the biological basis, and many other subtle distinctions of character. Biological differences serve as a foundation for the development of other qualities of character. Evidently, there are obvious differences between men and women, from biological and sexual differences to differences in character. Those biological aspects (secondary sexual characteristics) are expressed more strongly in women; particularly the way hormones affect their sexuality, their perception, their whole human being. However, women seem to have a lesser motivation to explore and to use these inner states and characteristics to externalize them through creativity. This lack of externalization has traditionally been attributed to Women's passivity, or to a more passive character in general. Nonetheless, according to Weininger, a genius possesses the highest amount of femaleness in himself and therefore is the most sensual among men. Still, geniuses of the male gender will possess higher or more focused mental capabilities that perhaps result even from his sexuality (e.g. in Weininger's terms his pleasure is focused mainly on his sexual organ, while in women is spread through the whole body).

The question of female genius is inherently sensitive, and it offers much more material for investigation. Certainly, the woman is biologically and by evolution predetermined to play this role (being a mother). However, this does not imply that she is not able to attain genius. I assume that in the general belief of the 21st century, a woman has the same potential and capability to attain genius as a man. That was the first century in which women had more or less formal universal education in the industrialized world and the number of women in music composition has increased over the past few decades. It would be curious to see what the next decades will bring when the gender equality will assume a wider and more profound dimension. Hopefully, women will get their chance, respect, and simply the room to develop and to flourish their different abilities, which they might shape into female uniqueness, and what we could one day name it – female genius. Time will tell and most likely resolve the question of female genius itself, or maybe the »question« will be revealed to be irrelevant.

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A NOTE ON SOURCES

This study makes extensive use of www.alma-mahler.com, a site that includes the data for all the biographical information.

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PREIZPRAŠEVATI VPRAŠANJE: ŽENSKO, GENIJ IN GLASBENA KOMPOZICIJA, KREATIVNI IMPERATIVI OTTA WEININGERJA S ŠTUDIJO PRIMERA ALME MAHLER

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Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

V prispevku raziskujemo koncept genialnosti žensk na področju glasbene kompozicije s študijo primera dunajske skladateljice Alme Marie Mahler Gropius Werfel (1879–1964). Primarni vir za pričujoči prispevek je delo z naslovom *Spol in značaj (Geschlecht und Charakter)* avtorja Otta Weiningerja (1880–1903), avstrijskega filozofa, ki je to knjigo izdal leta 1903 na Dunaju. Weiningerjev svetovni nazor je odvisen od njegovega pojmovanja genija kot fenomena, ki ga je mogoče doseči zgolj v umetnosti in filozofiji. Tako degradira intelektualni in kreativni status žensk, katerih dosežki na omenjenih področjih do takrat še niso bili to, v kar so se razvili pozneje. Zanimivo je, da osebnost in korpus del Alme Mahler služita kot reprezentativni primer Weiningerjeve misli.

POVZETEK

V prispevku raziskujemo vprašanje genialnosti žensk na področju glasbene kompozicije. Za ilustracijo je vključena študija primera dunajske skladateljice in pomembne osebnosti, sprva v dunajskih umetniških krogih in kasneje v Los Angelesu, Alme Marie Mahler Gropius Werfel (1879–1964). Primarni vir za pričujoči prispevek je delo z naslovom *Spol in značaj (Geschlecht und Charakter)* avtorja Otta Weiningerja (1880–1903), avstrijskega filozofa, ki je to knjigo izdal leta 1903 na Dunaju. Weiningerjev svetovni nazor je odvisen od njegovega pojmovanja genija kot fenomena, ki ga je mogoče doseči zgolj v umetnosti in filozofiji. Tako degradira intelektualni in kreativni status žensk, katerih priznanja, če ne celo dosežki, na omenjenih področjih so bili do takrat omejeni. Weininger v knjigi trdi, da »sta v vseh ljudeh prisotna tako ženstvenost kot tudi moškost«. Ironično je, da avtor sprejema idejo univerzalne biseksualnosti in biološke, psihološke in seksualne »vmesnosti«, ki jo je Freud že predstavil v sodobnem smislu in ki sega v preteklost vse do Aristofanovega govora v Platonovem *Simpoziju*. Weininger te principe za potrebe svoje teorije razvija postopoma in idejo inteligibilnega jaza povezuje z genijem. Tako zavrača kreativne potenciale ženske zavesti, vsaj v smislu kulture, ko pravi »ženska je nič«. Danes Weiningerja na splošno zavračajo in označujejo kot mizogina in antisemitista; kljub temu pa njegovo delo ponuja edinstven vpogled v vprašanje o bistvenih razlikah med moškim in žensko. Čeprav večina strokovnjakov ne podpira njegovega nazora o inferiornosti ženskih intelektualnih in kreativnih sposobnosti, je kljub temu koristen za ugotovitev načinov, na katere se »ženskost« izraža v naši družbi, in vpliva, ki bi ga lahko imel na ženske kot skupino. V prispevku se torej osredotočamo na raziskovanje reprezentativnih kvalitete »ženskosti« in »ženskega«. Na splošno pa prispevek ponuja raznovrsten diskurz o temah, ki se tičejo seksualnosti, etike in jaza, ter jih povezuje s sodobnimi koncepti in teorijami spola. Ob tem podaja tudi novo dimenzijo interpretacije Weiningerjeve nenavadne ideologije o ženskem jazu s pristopom iz zornega kota postfeminizma.

ANA SCHIFFRER, CURATOR OF THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM FOR CARNIOLA AND HER ROLE IN MUSEUM'S ART COLLECTION RESEARCH

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ABSTRACT

Ana Schiffrer worked as a volunteer at the Provincial Museum for Carniola in Ljubljana between 1912 and 1915. A large part of her work was the preparations for the permanent exhibition of the museum's collection of paintings. Thus, she came across valuable data on Slovenian paintress Amalija Hermann von Hermannsthal whose works are now in the National Museum of Slovenia and the National Gallery. Her study revealed that Amalija was all-around talented. She was not only a master paintress, among others an excellent portraitist, but also a very accomplished musician.

KEY WORDS

Amalija Hermann von Hermannsthal, 19th century, painting, Ana Schiffrer, Provincial Museum for Carniola

At first sight, there seems to be no connection between Ana Schiffrer, a volunteer and assistant curator at the Carniolan Provincial Museum, and the period marked by Franz Liszt. The connection only emerges when we study her life and work in detail, especially her activities dedicated to the museum's collection of paintings. Following the instructions of Josip Mantuani, the museum's director, she was indeed the first to engage in a comprehensive collection of data on the painters, portrayed persons, and former owners of the paintings in the collection. She managed to dig up a range of interesting and important data, which among other shed light on 19th-century painting and the cultural history in the territory of present-day Slovenia.¹

Ana Schiffrer was born in Lukovica in 1867. She took her Ph.D. degree in archaeology and art history at the Faculty of Arts, University of Graz, in 1908. The theme of her doctoral dissertation was highly interdisciplinary, as we would say today since it addressed antique depictions of the human fish, *proteus anguinus* (*Die antiken Proteusdarstellungen*).² She was one of the first university-educated women in Slovenia. The teachers' journal *Učiteljski tovariš* reported on her doctoral promotion ceremony at the Faculty of Arts, University of Graz, in 1908. The article mentions that she was the daughter of the late factory owner Viljem Schiffrer from Dol near Ljubljana, the founder of a paint factory.³

She attended primary school in Varaždin and transferred to the Sacré Coeur School in Vienna in 1883. After her father's death in the late 1880s, she returned to Dol and managed the factory together with her brother Viljem, a financier, who used to live in Vienna. When their mother died in 1899, they sold the factory.

In her youth, she wanted to become a nurse and first worked at the Children's Hospital in Ljubljana, later in Vienna, where she also completed a nursing course. She then wanted to study medicine, but first had to complete grammar school. Thirty-two years old, she enrolled at the Graz Grammar School and completed the eight-year course in two and a half years. After studying medicine in Graz for two months, she switched to archaeology and art history at the Faculty of Arts. She was particularly interested in Roman Christian archaeology. During her studies, she travelled around Italy on two occasions. As mentioned above, she took her Ph.D. degree in 1908. She returned to Ljubljana in 1912.

¹ KOS, M. 2013, pp. 74-76.

² HÖFLECHNER, W., POCHAT, G. (eds.), 1992, p. 171.

³ *Učiteljski tovariš*, year's issue 48, volume 47 (20. 11. 1908), Priloga, Razgled po šoljskem svetu, s.p.

Anna Schiffrer died in Vienna on the 25th of July in 1915. Her sole heir was her maid Beti Maierhofer, who inherited, in addition to her house in Graz, also a collection of art objects and antiques, but a year later all trace of it was lost.⁴ Schiffrer's documents and biography were donated to the Archives by Marija Zalar, Ana's friend.

Ana Schiffrer started her job as a volunteer at the Provincial Museum in 1912, and she was promoted to assistant curator in 1913. She worked in the library, archives, and art collection, and researched epigraphs, while another of her tasks was the organisation and supervision of archaeological excavations.

Ana Schiffrer was employed at the Provincial Museum for a little over two years. She participated in archaeological excavations and the preparations for the permanent exhibition of the museum's collection of paintings. Although she worked at the museum for more than two years, very little documents have been preserved about her or her work in the museum's archives. She was in fact practically unknown until a few years ago,⁵ not only at the museum but in Slovenia's cultural history as well, although she was one of the first Slovenian women with a Ph.D. degree, which she achieved at the University of Graz. The material (personal documents, correspondence, and reports, including her work on the museum's collection of paintings – one of her tasks at the museum was indeed to gather data on the painters of the works of art selected for the permanent exhibition) is in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (holdings SI AS 998). This material is much more extensive than that in the archives of the National Museum of Slovenia. It indeed includes the material she collected while working on the museum's collection of paintings and consists of over one hundred individual items. Some biographical information on her is in a manuscript preserved by Marija Zalar.



Image 1: Rudolfinum: Provincial Museum for Carniola, before 1919, National Museum of Slovenia, unknown photographer.

It is this material, collected for the permanent exhibition of paintings, which reveals the importance of Ana Schiffrer for the study of the period in which Franz Liszt dominated the world of classical music. Her research indeed shed light on the well-known paintress Amalija Hermann von Hermannsthal, whose works are at the National Museum of Slovenia and the National Gallery. Previously, only some biographical data and a very approximate list of her paintings were known. In the mid-19th century, the artist was a very interesting figure because she was all-around talented. She was not only a master paintress, among others an excellent portraitist, but also a very accomplished musician. Looking at her life, we encounter two art domains - the visual arts and music. The entry about Amalija Hermann von Hermannsthal in the Biographical Lexicon of the Austrian Empire, published in 1869, mentions that "She played the piano as excellently as she drew and painted".⁶

⁴ SI AS 998, fundus Ana Schiffrer.

⁵ The study of the museum's archival sources concerning the collection of paintings revealed information of previous unknown museum's volunteer. KOS, M. 2013, pp. 74–76.

⁶ "Sie spielte ebenso meisterhaft den Flügel, als sie zeichnete und malte." HERMANN VON HERMANNSTHAL; The lexicon includes an entry on the paintress herself, but it only refers to the entry about her husband and mentions an article by Kukuljević Sakcinski with her biography. See: KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, I. 1858, p. 323.

The portraitist Amalija Hermann von Hermannsthal was born in 1813 as Amalija Oblak in Vrhnika. She spent her youth in Ljubljana and was one of the first Slovenian bourgeois girls to be educated in Vienna. She moved to Vienna when she was sixteen and studied music with Carl Maria von Bocklet (in the source from the legacy of Ana Schiffrer the name is spelled Karel Boklet), and painting with Leopold Kupelwieser. Her studies lasted only two years as a cholera epidemic forced her to return to Ljubljana. She later married the poet Franz Hermann von Hermannsthal, who belonged to Slovenian poet France Prešeren's circle.

The earliest mention of the paintress's work dates from 1844 and stems from a list of donations to the Provincial Museum, published in *Illyrisches Blatt*.⁷ The report reads: "Item no. 34 was donated by Amalia von Herrmannsthal, née Oblak, and is an excellent portrait of Franc Hladnik, the famous headmaster of the Imperial and Royal Grammar School of Ljubljana." The supervisory board of the museum thanked her most sincerely for the donation; not only, as is explicitly mentioned, because it was a painting of a Carniolan, who was very important to science and the first botanic in Slovenia, who was painted "live", but also because he was painted by a domestic paintress, who revealed in it her feeling for the arts and her mastership, making the painting an invaluable work of art.⁸



Image 2: Amalia Oblak Hermann von Hermannsthal, Portrait of Franc Hladnik, National Museum of Slovenia (photograph by Tomaž Lauko).

In the 19th century, the education of girls from well-off families included training in music and the visual arts. A basic knowledge of these two skills was highly appreciated. At a time when family life included music evenings with instrumental performances and singing, a family's daughters were expected to excel in these skills. Another popular pastime was painting. The young ladies painted landscapes, still-lives, and floral paintings, while monumental historical and allegorical compositions and portraits were almost exclusively reserved for academically trained painters. Bouquets in richly decorated and gilded vases were composed on the basis of flower symbolism, which was highly appreciated and often used by our ancestors. This fact is confirmed by

⁷ *Illyrisches Blatt*, No. 8, 22.2. 1844, p. 32.

⁸ KOS, M. 2014, pp. 169–186.

the popularity of floral still-lives in the first half of the 19th century. The young ladies even took their easels into nature or painted modern motifs at home, on their own or in the company of their peers.

Those who had higher ambitions were able to train with acknowledged painters. Matevž Langus, for instance, taught a group of girls in Ljubljana. Most of them were Ursuline nuns, e.g. Josipina Strus (also referred to as Marija Jožefa Struss, her baptismal name was Barbara, 1806 Kukuljević Sakcinski 1880), who later was a teacher at the Ursuline School and the abbess of the Ursuline Convent;⁹ Alojzija Marija Jožefa Petrič, another Ursuline nun, was the abbess of the Ursuline Convent in Ljubljana from 1842 to her death in 1858;¹⁰ Marjeta Venedig belonged to the same order. Strus and Petrič are presumed to have made several paintings for the Ursuline Convent, including the Holy Trinity of the high altar in the Ursuline Church.¹¹ Other sources mention that Langus himself was involved in creating the painting.¹² Another student of Langus was his niece, Henrika Langus, who later took up teaching herself, and the other girls in Langus's painting course were Terezija Lipič-Köstl, Countess Hermina Auersperg and Amalija Oblak.¹³ With permission of the convent's abbess, Langus taught the course at the convent and the convent's drawing and painting school amounted to an academy, as Viktor Steska noted.¹⁴

Viktor Steska considered Langus a skilful painter and an able teacher of drawing but added that he did not have the right students as he taught Jožef Kogovšek and Matej Tomc only for a short time. Steska, however, mentions that Langus had several talented female students, and we mentioned them above.¹⁵

Rihard Jakopič's opinion of Langus was totally different, though. In the catalogue of the *Art Exhibition celebrating the 80th birthday of His Highness Emperor Francis Joseph – 80 years of visual arts in Slovenia* – he writes about Langus's shortcomings and flaws in drawing and composition.¹⁶ Jakopič was particularly critical of Langus's frescoes and altar paintings, using terms like dead Baroque, forced monumentality, spiritual feebleness, crude drawing, and dreary colours.¹⁷ Amalija's work was represented in the exhibition by her two portraits from the Provincial Museum (Matija Čop and Franc Hladnik), and there was also a portrait of Henrika Langus, painted by her Amalija's daughter Theodora. Other students of Langus represented in the exhibition were Jožefa Strus, on whose work Jakopič caustically commented in the epilogue that "the portraits by M. J. Strus are the crudest possible imitations of master Langus" and Henrika Langus, whom Jakopič defined as a classicist paintress.

There is no reference in the chronicles to the person, who suggested to Amalija to continue her training in painting with Leopold Kupelwieser. Based on Ana Schiffrer's note it was her father who approached Kupelwieser. It is however quite possible that Matevž Langus recommended her to Kupelwieser. Langus indeed arrived in Rome in the same year as Kupelwieser, and he kept company with another group of (German) painters, but we may well assume that he was acquainted with Kupelwieser, who was a very popular portraitist at the time.

Leopold Kupelwieser (1796–1862) studied at the Academy of Vienna, where he first acted as a corrector (from 1831), later as professor of historical painting. In 1823 the Russian aristocrat Aleksander Beresin sent

⁹ On Ursuline school see KLEMENC, A. 2002, pp. 243–266. Josipina Strus became a nun in 1823 and taught at the Ursuline Girls School from 1826. Together with Alojzija Petrič and Marjeta Venedig she was taught by Langus at the convent, and the painter is supposed to have assisted them in painting the fresco of the Holy Trinity in the convent. She painted for the requirements of the Ursuline Convent, including frescoes and other church commissions. Hers is supposed to be a portrait of Schellenburg from 1847. Melita Pivec Stele writes about her in PIVEC STELE, M. 1940, p. 156 in which she mentions a record from *Bleiweisove novice* from 1850 about the paintresses J. Strus and Alojzija Petrič, students of M. Langus. – Her reference to them is in the context of the cultural activities of the Ursuline nuns. Strus is also mentioned in a note in *Slovenski narod* from 1878, stating that the 68-year-old was appointed abbess of the *Ljubljana nuns* (i.e. the Ursuline nuns; see also Slovenec, years's issue 8, No. 2, 1880, s. p.), and the note praises her as an excellent teacher, who was the "headmaster of the girls' school".

¹⁰ SBL, VII, p. 326.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² SBL, XI, p. 532.

¹³ Langus also made a portrait of Amalija Oblak and it is mentioned by PREININGER, K. 2002, p. 92, where she refers to data provided by Emilijan Cevc, published in CEVC, E. 1995. Langus also made the portrait of Alojzija Petrič that is now preserved in the Ursuline Convent in Ljubljana.

¹⁴ STESKA, V. 1904, p. 398, in: Dom in Svet, year's issue 17, No. 7, 1904.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ JAKOPIČ, R. 1910, s. p.

¹⁷ Ibid.

him on a journey to Italy. While travelling he made a lot of sketches, and some of his later paintings (in particular those which are today at the Austrian Gallery in the Belvedere and the Provincial Museum of Lower Austria in Vienna) derived from these sketches. In this period, he was under the influence of the Nazarenes. He returned to Vienna in 1825. At first, he dedicated himself mainly to portraits but was later totally enchanted by Christian iconography.¹⁸ Amalija Hermann was not the only painter from Carniola, who studied with Kupelwieser. Later, i.e. from 1839 onwards, when he was already a professor of historical painting, Matija Brodnik from Dolenjske toplice was one of his students. Brodnik was active in Ljubljana from 1836 to 1839 and among others belonged to the circle of Franz Seraph von Thurn und Goldenstein. Another student of Kupelwieser was Matija Kogovšek.¹⁹ It is interesting to note that the to date most exhaustive monograph on Kupelwieser, written by Robert Feuchtmüller, which includes published written sources and letters, makes no mention of any Slovene among his students.²⁰

Leopold Kupelwieser is considered to have been one of the more accomplished Biedermeier portraitists. He is particularly known for his so-called bourgeois portraits and figural portrait scenes of the group of friends of the pianist and composer Franz Liszt.²¹ He was very successful in combining the traditional accurate classicist way of using drawing, a personal characterisation of the portrayed persons, and a sentimental note, which breathed life into them. At the Academy, where he was a professor of historical painting (in his last years he was very much engaged in painting motifs from Christian iconography) he was considered a traditionalist, but as a portraitist, he was quite popular and successful. In addition to teaching at the Academy, Kupelwieser also taught elsewhere, e.g. at the Girls Boarding School in the district Josefstadt.²²

Besides Kupelwieser, other artists were active as private teachers in Vienna. Teaching young ladies and men from the middle and higher classes had indeed been an activity that helped them to survive. Most of the authors who wrote about Amalija emphasized her painting talent. Only a handful mentioned her musical talent as well, although she continued to engage in music when she abandoned painting after giving birth to her daughters.

Amalija's music teacher Carl (or Karl) Maria von Bocklet (1801–1881) was Liszt's contemporary but belonged to Schubert's circle. Born in Prague, he was a composer, pianist, violinist and music teacher. In addition to composing and performing at concerts, he also engaged in teaching from 1820 onwards.²³ He moved to Vienna in 1821 and was on good terms with his peers: Beethoven appreciated him, and Schubert was his friend.²⁴

Amalija's outline biography, written by her daughter Theodora, mentions among the listed paintings a portrait of the musician Fr. Boklet,²⁵ painted "live", meaning that he posed for the paintress. To date, it has been impossible to trace this portrait. It is highly unlikely that the lithograph with his portrait by an unknown artist in the French National Library, dating from 1830, is identical with the painting by Amalija Hermann von Herrmannsthal.²⁶

We do not know anything about the piano lessons Amalija Hermann von Herrmannsthal was given. All records refer to her as a very talented pianist, who performed in concerts at the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society on several occasions. An article in the magazine *Die Dioskuren*,²⁷ for instance, mentions her concert performance for a private music society, where she played a demanding piano concerto by Hummel²⁸ so brilliantly

¹⁸ FEUCHTMÜLLER, R. 1970, p. 213.

¹⁹ JAKI, B. 2000, p. 125.

²⁰ FEUCHTMÜLLER, R. 1970, supplement.

²¹ JOPPING, G. 1987, p. 223f.

²² FEUCHTMÜLLER, R. 1970, p. 213.

²³ ÖBL, I., p. 95

²⁴ ÖBL, I., p. 95; GIBBS, C. W, GOOLEY, D. 2006, pp. 171, 172; CLIVE, P. 1997, pp. 16, 17.

²⁵ The name is spelled incorrectly in the manuscript.

²⁶ BOCKLET PORTRAIT.

²⁷ *Die Dioskuren*, year's issue 5, 1876, pp. 486–487.

²⁸ Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778 –1837) was a composer and a piano virtuoso. He was Mozart's pupil, later also Haydn's and Salieri's. He was a friend and a rival of Ludwig van Beethoven. In 1828 he published a piano textbook *Die Klavierschule* (The Piano school). Encyclopedia Britannica, see: Hummel J.N. His life and work are presented in the monograph, see: KROLL, M. 2007.

In 1827, Johann Nepomuk Hummel wrote in his textbook *Ausführliche Theoretisch – praktische Anweisung zum Pianoforte – Spiel*: »Music is the most important and most valuable of the fine arts. It is the most important part of the education, since it influences the feelings and the taste and stimulates ethics and esthetics education; see: CIGOJ KRSTULOVIĆ, N. 2012, p. 21.

that she attracted the interest of the young lawyer Hermann von Hermannsthal, whom she later married. According to the data in the article, she played Hummel's Concerto in 1826 and again in 1831. 1831 is the year when she became engaged to the young lawyer.

Similarly to drawing and painting, teaching musical instruments, music education, and performing music were important elements of people's leisure and as such part of the bourgeoisie's everyday social life. Piano lessons occupied an important place in these activities. Playing the piano was a matter of prestige and part of the new social code.²⁹

Amalija Hermann von Hermannsthal was probably taught the piano in the early 1820s. Quite a lot of information is known about the teaching of instruments in Ljubljana in the 1820s and '30s. Nataša Cigoj Krstulović writes that newspapers reported on the actual offer of piano compositions at the time in Ljubljana as quite comparable to that of major music centres. Noticeable is the share of compositions intended for amateur musicians, i.e. adapted to the skills and requirements of non-professional musicians. The Ljubljana bookshops Licht, Paternolli, and Kleinmayr, offered sheet music published by well-known publishing houses like Schott's Söhne, T. Haslinger, Schubert, Mechetti, and Diabelli.³⁰ The author mentions that these were mainly "then fashionable dance compositions, waltzes by Lanner and Strauss, and cover versions of popular operas for the piano." Pleasant compositions intended for domestic performances were written by a great number of today forgotten "minor masters". The publishers followed the fashion trends by publishing individual popular compositions, special collections of the most popular opera overtures for piano (usually for four-hand playing), and music magazines for fans, featuring popular dance compositions. Such collections and magazines were available for subscription in Ljubljana as well.³¹ The Paternolli bookshop among others advertised subscriptions to the magazine *Terpsichore*, which monthly published new dance compositions for the piano, the magazines *Euterpa*³² and *Wiener musikalische Pfennig Magazine für das Pianoforte*, edited by Carl Czerny in Vienna.³³

The Ursuline nuns seemed to have educated bourgeois girls in music as well. The archives of the Ursuline Convent indeed contain several editions of fashionable dance compositions and cover versions of operas for the piano, dating from the first half of the 19th century, purchased from Ljubljana bookshops and largely consisting of waltzes by Sigismond Thalberg, Johann Strauss, and Joseph Lanner.³⁴

Nataša Cigoj Krstulović describes which piano lesson books were available from the 1820s onwards. As early as 1826, Gašper Mašek promoted a piano lesson book for beginners (*Kleine Clavierschule für Anfänger*), Diabelli's Sonatine for piano in all keys, Assmayer's piano compositions for beginners, and others.³⁵ In 1823 Gašper Mašek advertised piano lessons and general bass lessons.³⁶

Amalija Oblak performed at the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society on several occasions.³⁷ On the 14th of January in 1825 (aged 12) she performed Schubert's Potpourri Concertant for piano, viola and orchestra (together with Franz Sch.), on the 4th of March of the same year Czerny's Divertissement for piano and orchestra, and on the 15th of April once more Schubert's Potpourri Concertant (with the same co-performer). On the 3rd of June of the same year, she performed Leidesdorfer's Variations for two pianos (with Julie Kogl). On the 7th of January in 1826, she played Czerny's Rondo Brilliant for piano and orchestra, on the 12th of May of the same year Leidesdorfer's Concerto for piano and orchestra, and on the 24th of November in 1826, Hummel's Concerto for piano, violin, and orchestra (with Joseph Benesch). Later her name does not appear for several years, as she was in Vienna at the time. After she had returned to Ljubljana, she performed again at the Philharmonic Society; she played Hummel's Concerto Grande for piano on the 27th of

²⁹ CIGOJ KRSTULOVIĆ, N. 2012, p. 22.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 24.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 28.

³⁷ ŽELEZNIK, S. 2013, pp. 98, 100, 101, 105, 112, 116, 121, 148, 151.

May. In the same year, she performed again on the 2nd of December in 1831, playing the Concerto militaire for piano and orchestra by Chr(istian) Rummel.

During the first year of her performances, she played the same composition by Franz Schubert on two different occasions, suggesting her excellence and the public's great interest.

In 1826 her brother Eugen Oblak performed as a violinist in one of the concerts (playing Janša's Variations for violin on the 29th of December).³⁸ After 1831 Amalija Hermann von Hermannsthal no longer performed at the Philharmonic Society.

As we know from the legacy of assistant curator Ana Schiffrer, Amalija dedicated herself entirely to her daughters born in 1833, 1835, and 1839. Occupied with educating her daughters, she stopped painting. The same source mentions that after 1847, when she moved with her family to Vienna, she continued playing music, but much less than before. She died in 1860.

Our research into the work of the nearly unknown Ana Schiffrer, assistant curator at the Carniolan Provincial Museum, unearthed a lot of interesting details about Slovenian painters. Among the most important ones, which her work sheds light on, certainly, is the all-around artist Amalija Hermann von Hermannsthal.

In her notes, Ana Schiffrer assessed the paintings of Amalija Hermann von Hermannsthal and her role of artist, wife, and mother in a very sketchy way. Unfortunately, the same was not possible for her music performances, because much less information was available on them than on her painting. From what has been preserved, we can establish what educational and career options were open to girls in this interesting period. Information on female artists from the 19th century is quite scarce, and therefore particularly interesting. And this refers to both women - the artist and the curator.

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ANA SCHIFFRER, KUSTODINJA DEŽELNEGA MUZEJA ZA KRANJSKO IN NJENA VLOGA PRI PROUČEVANJU LIKOVNE UMETNOSTI

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

Ana Schiffrer je bila med letoma 1912 in 1915 kot prostovoljka zaposlena v Deželnem muzeju za Kranjsko v Ljubljani. Njeno delo je obsegalo predvsem priprave na stalno razstavo muzejske zbirke slik. Pri tem delu je odkrila dragocene podatke o opusu Amalije Hermann von Hermannsthal. Njene umetnine danes hranita Narodna galerija in Narodni muzej Slovenije. Ana Schiffrer je odkrila, da je bila Amalija nadarjena tudi na drugih področjih: bila je izjemno dobra slikarka, predvsem odlična portretistka, po drugi strani pa tudi zelo dobra glasbenica.

POVZETEK

Ana Schiffrer (1867–1915), umetnostna zgodovinarica in arheologinja, je le dobri dve leti službovala v Deželnem muzeju za Kranjsko. Sodelovala je pri arheoloških izkopavanjih in pripravah na stalno razstavo muzejske zbirke slik. Do leta 2012 je bila pravzaprav popolnoma neznana, čeprav je ena prvih Slovenk z doktoratom, ki ga je ubranila na Univerzi v Gradcu. V arhivu Narodnega muzeja Slovenije je le nekaj informacij o njenem delu, veliko bogatejši pa je Arhiv Republike Slovenije. V arhivu se pod oznako AS 998 hrani gradivo, ki ga je zbrala pri delu z muzejsko zbirko slik, pa tudi gradivo o njej, ki ga je zbrala njena prijateljica Marija Zalar.

Naloga Ane Schiffrer v muzeju je bila, zbrati podatke o slikarjih, avtorjih umetnin, odbranih za stalno razstavo. V zapisih, ki obravnavajo kar 60 umetnic in umetnikov, je največ prostora posvečenega družini Künl in Amaliji Hermann von Hermannsthal, portretistki, rojeni na Vrhniki. Amalija je mlada leta preživela v Ljubljani in je ena prvih meščanskih deklet, ki se je izobraževala na Dunaju – tja je odšla, ko je bila stara šestnajst let –, in sicer v glasbi pri Carlu Marii von Bockletu, v slikanju pa pri Leopoldu Kupelwieserju. Njeno šolanje je potekalo samo dve leti, nato pa se je zaradi izbruha kolere morala vrniti v Ljubljano. Kasneje se je poročila s pesnikom Franzem Hermannom von Hermannsthalom, ki je sodil v Prešernov krog.

Izobrazba deklet iz premožnejših družin je v 19. stoletju obsegala tudi pouk v glasbeni in likovni umetnosti. Osnovno znanje teh dveh veščin je bilo zelo zaželeno. V času, ko je družinsko življenje obsegalo tudi večerne zabave z glasbo in petjem, so se domače hčere lahko s tem znanjem izkazale. Del priljubljenega kratkočasa je bilo tudi slikanje. Mlade dame so se s svojimi slikarskimi stojali lahko podale celo v naravo ali pa slikale moderne motive doma, same ali v družbi drugih deklet. Tiste z večjimi ambicijami so se lahko šolale pri katerem od uveljavljenih slikarjev.

Carl Maria von Bocklet je bil Lisztov sodobnik, sodil je v Schubertov krog. Posvečal se je skladanju in koncertiranju, pa tudi poučevanju. O pouku, ki ga je bila deležna Amalija Oblak, ne vemo pravzaprav ničesar, razen tega, da je bila zelo nadarjena pianistka. Več vemo o njenem slikarstvu, saj so njena dela shranjena v Narodni galeriji in v Narodnem muzeju Slovenije. Med njimi je nemara najbolj znan portret Matije Čopa, naslikan v tipični maniri dunajskega slikarstva sredine 19. stoletja.

Ana Schiffrer je v svojih zapiskih sicer zelo skicozno ovrednotila slikarski opus Amalije Hermann, pa tudi njeno vlogo umetnice, žene in matere. Iz ohranjenih vrstic lahko razberemo, kakšne možnosti izobrazbe in kariere so se ponujale dekletom v tem zanimivem obdobju. Podatki o slikarkah v 19. stoletju so precej redki in zato še posebej zanimivi.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, PAINTER AND CORRESPONDENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMISSION

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ABSTRACT

Ladislav Benesch often copied the medieval fresco paintings in the churches of Carniola. He was also interested in heraldry. For Karl Dežman he made copies of the fresco paintings in the old castle chapel at Turjak Castle and drawings of prehistoric artefacts found during the excavations at Vače and Barje. With his amateur approach to the study of heritage Benesch represents the end of an important period in the development of its protection. The professionalization of the protection of monuments implemented by the reform of the Central Commission in 1911 which assigned the responsibility for the care of the heritage to the academically trained scientists and the expansion of the use of photography which became the main tool for the study and preservation of heritage set completely new standards to the field.

KEY WORDS

Ladislav Benesch, cultural heritage, interpretation, visualization, protection of monuments, reform

BENESCH'S »PAINTING ENCOUNTERS« WITH THE HERITAGE OF CARNIOLA

In 1913, Lieutenant Colonel Ladislav Benesch, a retired officer of the Austro-Hungarian Army and an amateur painter, held a lecture for members of the Society of Art Lovers, a section of the Austrian Tourist Club.¹ On Wednesdays, the section held regular weekly meetings for its members, at which, among other things, artists and researchers of art would discuss various topics connected with art.² The central topic of Benesch's lecture was his copying of the mediaeval frescoes in the old chapel in Turjak Castle. As he stated at the very beginning of his lecture, in 1887, during his vacation, which he often spent in Carniola, he had gone to Turjak with his wife's uncle, Karl Dežman, the director of the Carniolan Provincial Museum. They went there to see the frescoes which had been discovered in »some cellar«.³

As it was a lecture for the lay public, the lecturer could afford a slightly more casual approach to the topic he was discussing. While showing the pictorial material he had prepared to illustrate his narrative,⁴ he enthusiastically explained to his listeners the impression Turjak Castle had made on him when he visited it for the first time in the company of Dežman a good quarter-century earlier. After a brief introduction to his work in the protection of monuments, he first showed them a painting of Turjak Castle, as seen from the east side. He especially pointed out the big round tower and the »heraldic animal of the Auerspergs in a beautiful Renaissance frame« which was built into it.⁵ This was, of course, the famous Traian's Plaque, of which he showed them a picture. While showing the next two paintings, for which we do not know what they depicted, he mentioned a few general architectural characteristics of the castle and concluded his description by dating individual architectural elements.⁶

In the next two paintings, he showed them the entrance to the castle and the castle's courtyard. He added that the castle and main portal was a feast for the eyes, but that he and Dežman nevertheless eagerly awaited the painted cellar.⁷ Hence he immediately began describing it. Firstly, he pointed out that as soon as they

¹ A typescript of Benesch's lecture has been preserved and is kept by the Austrian Museum of Ethnology in Vienna; BENESCH, L. 1913.

² Österreichische Touristenzeitung, Bd. XXXIV, Nr. 1, 1914, p. 11.

³ BENESCH, L. 1913, p. 2.

⁴ That Benesch used pictorial material in his lecture is evidenced by his direct comments in the text, and by the handwritten comments in the typescript of the lecture.

⁵ BENESCH, L. 1913, p. 2.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

had entered the cellar space through the small door, he and Dežman were taken by surprise. They beheld the sight of a Gothic-style room with beautiful vaulting, which was completely covered in religious frescoes. They immediately realised that they were standing in a former chapel which had been converted into an underground room when the castle had been rebuilt, and which was afterwards used as a cellar.⁸ He presented the painted cellar room to the listeners with two paintings.

He carried on by precisely describing the frescoes, first of the east and then of the west wall of the chapel, again making use of two paintings which he showed to the listeners. He stated that these two paintings were copies of the original frescoes which he had made for the Carniolan Provincial Museum at the express wish of Dežman. It allegedly took him ten to twelve days to make them; he still fondly remembered the time he had spent painting and living in Turjak.⁹ He listed the depicted scenes to the listeners, pausing in particular at the portrayal of the man who had allegedly commissioned the painting, contemplating on his potential identity. He also stated that the apse of the old chapel had originally been painted, but that upon his visit the depicted motifs could no longer be recognised.¹⁰

He continued his presentation of the frescoes in the old Turjak chapel by attempting to identify their author. He told the listeners that the author of the Turjak frescoes could be the master whose name he had come across on one of his walks through the surroundings of Turjak. His path once led him to the nearby small church of St Nicholas, where he discovered the inscription »*Malar zu Villach, Purger zu Laybach*« in a fresco on the exterior of the building; sadly, the painter's name had chipped off.¹¹ While showing two paintings, he stressed that he believed this to be an important painter, who had, in addition to saints and donors, also depicted an allegory, a woman plagued by conscience. He especially apologised to his listeners for only being able to present the frescoes with the rough sketches he had hastily drawn at the time. He pointed out that he had immediately reported his discovery of the painter's signature to the Central Commission, which had been his duty as its correspondent. He drew the conclusion that it had been the first report about this artist, who was important for Carniolan art.¹²

Benesch concluded his description of the old Turjak chapel by describing the forty-two coats-of-arms which were painted on the apex of its vault in the form of a series and gave the listeners his own explanation of the contents and meaning of the series of the coats-of-arms.¹³ In the continuation of the lecture, Benesch presented to the listeners a few other interesting facts from the time he had spent in Turjak; among other things; he described to them the famous heads of Herbard von Auersperg and Friedrich von Weixelburg. He also told them that during his stay in Turjak he had made two watercolours for his host, Leo von Auersperg – a portrayal of the castle's courtyard and a view of the mausoleum in which Countess Auersperg had been buried not long before.¹⁴

Although he did not expressly mention that for all of the paintings, Benesch thus wished to familiarise his listeners with the topic he was discussing through depictions he had made during his stay in Turjak. A year after his first visit, at the beginning of June 1888, he made not only a copy of the frescoes of the old chapel, which Dežman had asked for¹⁵ but also drew its ground plan and two views of the interior.¹⁶ That his stay at Turjak Castle was a truly special event for him is demonstrated not only by his own words in the Vienna lecture but also by the sketches and pen-and-ink drawings in his sketchbook from this period.¹⁷ In them, he captured parts of the castle and its surroundings which he found particularly exciting.

⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁵ The two pen-and-ink drawings are kept by the Graphics Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia (Inv. No. R-417 and R-418).

¹⁶ BENESCH, L. 1913, p. 7.

¹⁷ All three depictions are combined on one sheet, which is kept by the Graphics Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia (Inv. No. R-274).

We can gather from this that he was not only fascinated by Turjak Castle aesthetically speaking but that he also assessed it through the eyes of a historian. In addition to the almost mandatory genre motifs from the castle and its surroundings (a young couple under a lime tree in front of the castle; a woman carrying a load on her head; picturesque views of the castle and its surroundings), the sketchbook also contains two sketches and two pen-and-ink drawings of the castle's portal. Especially in the case of one of the pen-and-ink drawings we can deduce beyond a doubt that the coat-of-arms plaque, built in above the castle's main portal, had attracted his attention at least as much as the romantic castle architecture.¹⁸ In addition to the pen-and-ink drawing of yet another heraldic plaque – the so-called *Trojan's Plaque* – which he had made during his stay in Turjak,¹⁹ Benesch's interest in heraldry is also evident from the numerous copies of coats-of-arms from various parts of Carniola, which can be found in his sketchbooks.

As mentioned in his lecture, one of his walks through the surroundings of Turjak once led him to the Church of St Nicholas in the village of Visoko beneath the Kurešček hill. On the exterior of the church, he discovered a fresco which attracted his attention due to its motif and the signature of its master. Thus one of his sketchbooks from that time contains a copy of the master's name, in addition to a ground plan and two views of the church in Visoko, and sketches of several frescos.²⁰ Benesch reported his discovery to the Central Commission twice. He called the master, who is nowadays known as Janez Ljubljanski,²¹ »Master of Villach« (*»Malar von Villach«*).²² This is understandable. When Benesch was in Visoko in 1887, he could only see the inscription in one of the frescoes on the exterior of the church. His drawing clearly shows that it was only a part of the inscription. The frescoes in the interior were still partially covered by whitewash. They were revealed between 1910 and 1912. At that time the border of the fresco on the chancel arch wall revealed the following inscription: »*per manus Johannis concivis in Laybaco filij magistri Fridericis pictoris in Villaco*«.

On his numerous journeys across Carniola Benesch frequently came across frescoes which for one reason or another aroused his interest. Thus his copy of the scene *The Journey of the Magi* from the old parish church in Bled has been preserved in the form of stereotype prints; he must have copied the fresco before the church was demolished in 1903 for renovations. It is possible that he visited Bled in 1888 since his sketchbook of that year contains the copies of two coats-of-arms of the Bishop of Brixen, Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, which attracted his attention in the succursal churches of St John the Baptist at Lake Bohinj and St Andrew in Rečica.²³ He also copied the »stylised plant ornament in the frescoes from Radovljica«. ²⁴

The copying of frescoes and heraldic symbols was not the only form of Benesch's »drawing encounters« with heritage. In the introductory part of his lecture in Vienna, in which he briefly outlined his interest in heritage, he pointed out another task which he had performed for Dežman.²⁵ Ten years before their visit of Turjak, he had drawn 150 objects and a burial ground in Vače for a publication on prehistoric settlements and burial grounds in Carniola, which Dežman had published together with Ferdinand von Hochstetter.²⁶ Though there is little information about the circumstances surrounding the making of these drawings,²⁷ based on Benesch's remark during the lecture and the few preserved sketches in his

¹⁸ This concerns sheets 12, 13, 14 and 16 in the sketchbook with the Inv. No. R-425.

¹⁹ The depiction of the so-called *Trojan's Plaque*, together with a few other sights from the history of the Auerspergs, is combined with the depiction of Turjak Castle and the entrance to the so-called Lutheran Chapel on one sheet. It is kept by the Graphics Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia (Inv. No. R-275).

²⁰ Today the depictions are kept by the National Gallery of Slovenia (Inv. No. NG G 1385 and NG G 1386).

²¹ As pointed out by Stele, Benesch was the first to draw attention to the inscription in the fresco from Visoko in his two reports to the Central Commission; STELE, F. 1921, p. 9.

²² BENESCH, L. 1913, p. 5.

²³ The sketchbook is kept by the National Museum of Slovenia (Inv. No. R-425).

²⁴ TURK, P. 1973, p. 114.

²⁵ BENESCH, L. 1913, p. 1.

²⁶ DESCHMAN, C., HOCHSTETTER, F. 1879.

²⁷ Dežman states that the drawing of the site was made on the spot on 13th of September; DESCHMAN, C., HOCHSTETTER, F. 1879, p. 13. This is corroborated by the date Benesch placed on one of the sketches (Waatsch, 13. 9. 1878). Today the sketchbook is kept by the National Gallery of Slovenia (Inv. No. NG G 8385).

sketchbook we can, nevertheless, deduce that he had tackled the task with as much care and planning as the copying of the frescoes from Turjak a decade later.

There is no doubt that Benesch visited the site in Vače in person. Once again, he took a careful look at the surroundings, which, as has been mentioned, is evidenced by the preserved sketches: in one of them he roughly sketched the spatial arrangement of the burial ground; another sketch served as orientation for the position of two skeletons; while another two sketches contain drawings of pieces of jewellery.²⁸ It is unclear where exactly Benesch afterwards made the drawings of the discovered objects. These objects were given to him to draw in the exact state in which they had been excavated and, as he said in Vienna, he first had to clean them. He told his listeners four decades later how thrilled he was when a horn figurine of a warrior or a bronze fibula appeared from the lump of earth.²⁹

Benesch also made drawings of ceramic objects, most likely for Dežman, which had been excavated at the Ljubljana Marshes between 1875 and 1879. Grozdana Kozak presumes that these drawings were also most likely made for a publication which Dežman had been preparing, but never published.³⁰ Benesch drew not only objects from archaeological heritage, but also from the ethnological one. Over the course of several decades, he formed a substantial collection of lamps, which he then donated to the imperial court collection and wrote a special publication about it.³¹ He complemented the publication with photographs and drawings of individual types of lamps. Moreover, he also collected embroidery, which Franja Tavčar later purchased from him. In connection with embroidery, Prvenka Turk mentions that Benesch made drawings of typical Carniolan embroidery patterns (and arts and crafts products), which he used as vignettes for his, though never published, travel journal *Bilder aus Krain II*.³²

THE DISCIPLINE ON BENESCH AS A PAINTER AND CORRESPONDENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMISSION

The graphics collection of the National Museum of Slovenia contains more than four hundred works by Benesch in the form of individual sheets, in addition to eight sketchbooks and five oil paintings.³³ A part of the collection consists of works which the museum bought directly from Benesch himself in 1912,³⁴ while the other part consists of drawings which were donated to the museum in 1959 by the heiress of Benesch's daughter Julija, Dora Herz.³⁵ On this occasion, the museum organised a retrospective exhibition four years later, which was accompanied by a short catalogue containing basic information on Benesch's activity in painting and the protection of monuments. In addition to the aforementioned text in the catalogue of 1963, its author, Grozdana Kozak, discussed Benesch again twenty years later in a short paper on his drawings of archaeological finds from Vače.³⁶ The activity of Ladislav Benesch in the field of painting and the protection of monuments was researched a bit more thoroughly by Prvenka Turk in the period between the publications of both papers by Kozak.³⁷

Kozak and Turk evaluated the collection of Benesch's works rather similarly. In the opinion of both authors, the importance of his drawings and sketches lies mainly in their documentary quality, whereas their artistic value is said to be small.³⁸ The authors connected both characteristics of Benesch's works, i.e. their small artistic value and their emphasised documentary quality, with the fact that he was a soldier by profession and was not formally, i.e. academically, educated as a painter; they applied a similar logic when evaluating his

²⁸ A sketchbook kept by the National Gallery of Slovenia (Inv. No. NG G 8385).

²⁹ BENESCH, L. 1913, p. 1.

³⁰ KOZAK, G. 1980, pp. 520–521.

³¹ BENESCH, L. 1905.

³² The stereotype prints are kept by the National Museum of Slovenia; TURK, P. 1973, p. 114.

³³ For the oil paintings see HORVAT, J., KOS, M. 2011, cat. items No. 474–476, 792 and 800.

³⁴ On the course of the purchase of Benesch's works see MAHNIČ, K. 2013.

³⁵ TURK, P. 1973, p. 110.

³⁶ KOZAK, G. 1980, pp. 519–522.

³⁷ TURK, P. 1973, p. 110.

³⁸ KOZAK, G. 1963, p. 4; TURK, P. 1973, p. 119.

activity in the protection of monuments. Thus they viewed Benesch as more or less passive in the field of the protection of monuments; as someone who received outside incentives to work, and whose findings never rose from the amateur level to the scientific one.³⁹

Albeit an amateur, Benesch acted as a correspondent of the Central Commission for the Investigation and Conservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments. This fact is not surprising, seeing that upon its establishment the Commission purposely set up its activity with help from the existing network of amateur researchers of history and art.⁴⁰ Franjo Baš, who compiled a list of Slovenian conservators and correspondents of the Central Commission and confidants of the Monument Preservation Office in Ljubljana, based on their work reports which had been published in the Commission's newsletter, states that Benesch functioned as a correspondent for Carniola between 1890 and 1898, and afterwards as a correspondent for Upper Styria.⁴¹ In doing so, he overlooked Benesch's first report on the frescoes in Visoko, which had been published in 1889.⁴² The earlier beginnings of Benesch's activity in the protection of monuments are evidenced by his own statement in the Vienna lecture, in which he stated that he had reported his discovery of the frescoes in Visoko in 1887 to Vienna, already being a correspondent of the Central Commission at the time.⁴³

Benesch's correspondence was also discussed by Kozak and Turk in their papers. In her older paper, when mentioning the fact that he was a correspondent of the Central Commission, Kozak emphasised that he had primarily reported about the frescoes he had come across in various churches. She pointed out one report in particular, due to its importance – the report on the frescoes in Visoko beneath the Kurešček hill, emphasising that in addition to a hasty sketch of the fresco, Benesch had also copied the master's signature into his sketchbook. Furthermore, the author added her evaluation that material similar to the sketches of these frescoes could be found in Benesch's drawings of the frescoes in the Lutheran Chapel in Turjak. In her later paper, Kozak merely mentioned the statement by Baš that Benesch had been a correspondent of the Central Commission for Carniola between 1890 and 1898.⁴⁴

Turk also wrote about Benesch's function as a correspondent of the Central Commission. If Kozak had limited herself to the most basic information about this aspect of Benesch's activity in the protection of monuments, Turk, on the other hand, also evaluated the importance of the findings which he had reported to Vienna. Similarly to Kozak, when presenting the beginnings of Benesch's activity in the field of cultural heritage, Turk pointed out Dežman as the key figure behind his collaboration with the Central Commission. He was allegedly the one who »had recognised Benesch's painting or drawing skills and soon stirred an interest in him for his line of work« and for the circle of collaborators of the Commission. In addition to his painting and drawing skills, Dežman is said to have recognised Benesch's »connoisseurship of art and his proper attitude towards works of art«, which is why he was accepted as a correspondent of the Central Commission. Likewise interesting is Turk's evaluation of the findings he had reported to Vienna. She claims that they were not scientific, as they had been reached in passing, by chance.⁴⁵

After the introduction, Turk devoted herself a bit more to the discussion of selected Benesch's successes in discovering and preserving cultural heritage. She began with his reports on the frescoes in various churches in Carniola in the Commission's newsletter of 1889. The report on the frescoes and signature of their author in Visoko is said to be particularly interesting; its importance being that much greater since »the signature and votive painting are no longer preserved today«.⁴⁶ This is followed by a description of

³⁹ For their evaluation of Benesch's activity in painting and the protection of monuments see MAHNIČ, K. 2011.

⁴⁰ More on the topic in FRODL, W. 1988, particularly in the subchapter Anfänge der Organisation und Wirksamkeit. Baubehörden - Konservatoren und Korrespondenten, pp. 85–110.

⁴¹ BAŠ, F. 1953/54, p. 35.

⁴² *Mittheilungen der k.k. Central-commission*, n.F. XV, 1889, p. 268. It is true, however, that Benesch reported about the frescoes in Visoko again a few years later; *Mittheilungen der k.k. Central-commission*, n.F. XXI, 1895, p. 198.

⁴³ BENESCH, L. 1913, p. 5.

⁴⁴ KOZAK, G. 1980, p. 521.

⁴⁵ TURK, P. 1973, p. 113.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 113–114.

Benesch's discovery of the frescoes in the parish church in Bled. As regards his copy of a part of these frescoes, she pointed out that Benesch »used academic precision to copy the tiniest figure, thus preserving the special iconographic features which are already partially smudged in the preserved photograph of the same fresco. In Benesch's case, the frescoes were not copied by today's standards, but were merely drawings of frescoes, which is why the artist copied only the schematic contour of the figure and the entire scene«. ⁴⁷ Lastly, Turk mentioned his copy of the ornament in the frescoes from Radovljica and concluded her discussion of Benesch's activity with the following evaluation: »Benesch's documentary drawings of frescoes were that much more valuable because photography was still in its early stages. Plans and drawings which served as documents for the monument protection service had to render as authentic an image as possible of the monument in its current state. Benesch's drawing of the frescoes in Turjak Castle complied with these requirements.« ⁴⁸ Thus she mentioned another one of Benesch's documentary projects, though by the by – his copying of the frescoes in the old Turjak chapel.

It was precisely this documentary quality of Benesch's depictions of heritage that subsequent researchers could rely on, although they did not comment it explicitly. According to his notes, in 1911, two years before Benesch held his lecture in Vienna, the pioneer of the Slovenian discipline of monument protection, France Stele, had seen Benesch's ground plan of the former castle chapel, both views of its interior and the two copies of the frescoes on the north and south wall in the Carniolan Provincial Museum. ⁴⁹ Based on the view towards the east section of the chapel he noted down that the apse also contained traces of frescoes, but he, of course, had not been able to identify their programme due to the dimensions and schematic nature of the pen-and-ink drawing. However, both of the larger pen-and-ink drawings did enable him to do so, which is why he was able to continue with an incredibly detailed description of the motifs on the north and south wall.

It can be discerned from the detailed description in his notes that Stele read Benesch's copies of the frescoes on the north and south wall as if he were looking at photographs, i.e. recordings of the »actual state«. He used the copies not only as starting points for identifying the individual depicted motifs, but he also jotted down individual compositional and stylistic details of the Turjak frescoes based on both pen-and-ink drawings. Moreover, he used Benesch's depictions as a basis for determining their period and style. Thus the length of St Joseph's hair was allegedly typical of the second half of the 15th century; the old king had a hook nose as the one in Krtina; and in the escort of the third king he identified a »buffoon« on a small horse, which reminded him of a similar figure in Mače. Stele went to see the frescoes in Turjak no later than 1927, as can be discerned from his notes of that year. ⁵⁰ Stele later used Benesch's copy of the frescoes on the north wall instead of the photographs in his discussion on the development of mediaeval painting in Slovenian lands. ⁵¹

Benesch's copies were also used by Janez Höfler as an aid in reconstructing the composition of the Turjak frescoes and some of their stylistic details. ⁵² He similarly used Benesch's copy of the frescoes from the old parish church in Bled. His importance for the knowledge of the special iconographic features of the frescoes had already been pointed out by Turk. Höfler used Benesch's works not merely for the iconographic interpretation, but also as a starting point for determining the style of the frescoes from Bled. Together with Mantuani's descriptions and old photographs, Benesch's depiction helped him to determine the stylistic circle from which their author originated. ⁵³

HERITAGE AND DILETTANTES

Turk and Kozak, therefore, present Benesch in his role of a correspondent of the Central Commission as someone whose primary, or even sole task was to document cultural heritage and not to interpret it. Both authors point out in particular his copies of frescoes from various Carniolan churches, emphasising their

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 114.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ STELE, F.: Turjak. Protestantska kapela v gradu, Zap. CIII, 1911, 100. At the beginning of his notes, Stele expressly pointed out that they concerned a description of Benesch's depictions.

⁵⁰ STELE, F.: Turjak. Turjaški grad, kapela, Zap. LXX, 1927, pp. 1–6.

⁵¹ STELE, F. 1969, p. 119.

⁵² HÖFLER, J. 2001, pp. 20–21 and 195–199.

⁵³ HÖFLER, J. 1996, p. 68.

documentary quality. They merely mention Benesch's reports to the Central Commission; Turk even explicitly characterises them as unscientific, accidental, and created in passing. He is said to have been involved in heritage more intuitively than reflectively, since Dežman was allegedly the one who recognised his »proper attitude towards heritage«⁵⁴ and invited him to become active professionally. Such an understanding of Benesch's work or his importance is completely understandable in the light of the development of the discipline of monument protection.

On the 31st of July in 1911, the Central Commission was given a new statute.⁵⁵ It signified the end of the process of transforming the Commission, which lasted almost four decades and had begun with the first reform of its statute in 1873. During that time the Commission changed from an administrative commission, which oversaw the efforts of professional societies and individuals involved in the protection of cultural heritage under Austria-Hungary, into a hierarchically organised office, which led the monument protection activity at the administrative and professional level. In parallel with the change in the organisation of the Commission's operation, the statute of 1911 also enforced a new understanding of the discipline of monument protection, particularly of its field of operation and of the necessary professional qualifications of individuals who wished to be involved in the protection of monuments. In other words, in addition to defining heritage, the new statute also clearly specified which scientific disciplines were in charge of its definition, research, and protection, and what kind of education the experts working in this field must possess.

The conditions above served as a basis for slowly replacing conservators (the method of gradually replacing professionally unsuitable, old conservators was in fact already foreseen in one of the statute's articles).⁵⁶ Simultaneously, the requirements regarding education provided a starting point for the parallel process of negatively evaluating the work of those who had worked in the protection of monuments prior to the introduction of these changes. If the operation of the Commission had initially been based on the activity of »friends of art and archaeology«,⁵⁷ six decades later they became unwanted in the monument protection service. This had great consequences. New conservators – experts had to refer to the work of their »dilettante« predecessors, over and over again. However, the words they used to evaluate their efforts (their work was said to have been unplanned, unsystematic, subject to random discoveries and full of incomprehension, while the methods they had used were allegedly unprofessional or unscientific)⁵⁸ made it more than obvious that it was not a simple upgrade of previous findings, but a planned and systematic disqualification.

The statute of the Central Commission of 1911 or the reorganisation of its operation which it had enforced must, therefore, be viewed as a fundamental stage in the process of establishing the authority of new conservators – experts. In the subsequent development of the monument protection activity, they assumed full control over the definition of heritage, its research, evaluation, preservation, and presentation. Their predecessors, especially those from the generation directly preceding theirs, came out of this struggle for the takeover of power more or less as complete losers, who are still waiting in vain to be rehabilitated.⁵⁹

Aware of the new situation, in his lecture in Vienna in 1913 – in the same year as the Provincial Conservation Office for Carniola was established – Benesch did explicitly emphasise that what he was about to discuss was not the result of rigorous historical and art historical research, but continued that he believed it was nevertheless worth discussing.⁶⁰ He had, after all, copied the frescoes from Turjak with the utmost care. As can

⁵⁴ TURK, P. 1973, p. 113.

⁵⁵ Mittheilungen der K. k. Zentral-Kommission, Dritte Folge, Band X, Nr. 7, Juli 1911, pp. 323–328.

⁵⁶ See Article 17 of the Statute; Mitteilungen der K. k. Zentral-Kommission, Dritte Folge, Band X, Nr. 7, Juli 1911, pp. 327–328.

⁵⁷ Comp. Article 10 Gesetzliche Bestimmungen über den Wirkungskreis der k. k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale, der Konservatoren und Baubeamten of 1853; an excerpt was published in FRODL, W. 1988, pp. 196–204.

⁵⁸ Comp. e.g. Dvorak's text on local museums which was published in the same issue of *Mittheilungen* as the new statute of the Central Commission; DVORAK, M. 1911.

⁵⁹ The Croatian researcher Marko Špikić emphasises in the introduction of his book on one of the early Croatian conservators, Francesco Carrara, that the oblivion into which fell Carrara, his predecessors and contemporaries in the field is downright tragic; ŠPIKIĆ, M. 2010, p. 7.

⁶⁰ BENESCH, L. 1913, p. 1.

be discerned from the preserved drawings of the ground plan and of the views of the interior of the chapel, he had precisely measured the room before starting his work. He had also precisely examined the spatial arrangement of the frescoes, which is evidenced by the preserved sketch of the distribution of individual zones of the frescoes on one of the walls, accompanied by measurements.⁶¹ Considering the fact that it was a complex fresco with many scenes, we can imagine that he had made a number of sketches of individual motifs and their details prior to making both copies.⁶²

Hence, we cannot really be surprised by the fact that he was able to offer his listeners in Vienna his own interpretation of the architectural history of the original Turjak chapel, and the importance and potential author of its frescoes. Benesch namely did not merely copy the heritage but also contemplated on it. His stay in Turjak, the long hours he had spent in the old chapel while making the drawings, his walks through the castle and its surroundings provided Benesch with the necessary intellectual stimulus to form his own idea of why the old chapel was located where it was and why its furnishings were the way they were; in addition, he successfully explained the construction of the younger chapel. In other words, his systematically analytic approach to making the drawings and sketches and his broad knowledge enabled Benesch to reach conclusions regarding the Turjak chapel that were professionally quite appropriate, given the circumstances, as he had undoubtedly also reached about many aspects of the heritage which he had encountered in his travels.

With his amateur, yet undoubtedly scholarly approach to the study of heritage Benesch denotes the end of an important era in the development of the investigation and protection of heritage. The professionalisation of the protection of monuments, brought about by the reform of the Central Commission, and the simultaneous boom in the use of photography, which became a necessary tool and technical resource for quality professional work in the protection of monuments that allowed for a nearly perfect reproduction of heritage, constituted completely new obstacles to this activity. In other words, the investigation of heritage was passed over to academically educated scientists from the relevant disciplines. Its visualisation, as is best demonstrated by the term which has become established in the discipline (of art history) – reproduction – has a more or less technical significance and not so much an interpretative one; hence it can also be carried out by those who otherwise lack the necessary academic knowledge or understanding of heritage.

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⁶¹ This sketch can be found on the first sheet of the sketchbook, which is kept by the Graphics Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia (Inv. No. R-426).

⁶² Thus in one of his sketchbooks we can see e.g. a sketch of a field with three martyrs from the south wall of the chapel. This depiction can be found on sheet 21 of the sketchbook, which is kept by the Graphics Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia (Inv. No. R-425).

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GOSPOD PODPOLKOVNIK, SLIKAR IN DOPISNIK CENTRALNE KOMISIJE

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

Ladislav Benesch je pogosto prerisoval srednjeveške freske v kranjskih cerkvah, navduševali so ga tudi grbi. Za Karla Dežmana je izdelal preris poslikave stare turjaške kapele ter risbe prazgodovinskih najdb z Vač in Ljubljanskega barja. Benesch z ljubiteljskim pristopom k proučevanju dediščine predstavlja konec pomembnega obdobja v razvoju spomeniškega varstva. Profesionalizacija, s katero je skrb za dediščino prešla v roke akademsko izobraženih znanstvenikov, in razmah fotografije, ki je postala glavni pripomoček pri proučevanju in varovanju dediščine, sta postavila dejavnosti povsem nove okvire.

POVZETEK

Leta 1888 je podpolkovnik Ladislav pl. Benesch na Turjaku za Karla Dežmana, direktorja Kranjskega deželnege muzeja, izdelal preris poslikave stare grajske kapele. Prosti čas je izrabil za sprehode po okolici. Ta ga je očitno navdušila, saj v njegovi skicirki iz tega obdobja najdemo številne skice in risbe. Iz njih lahko razberemo, da ga turjaški grad ni fasciniral le v estetskem smislu, pač pa ga je ocenjeval tudi z očmi zgodovinarja. Poleg skoraj obveznih žanrskih motivov z gradu in njegove okolice najdemo v njegovi skicirki tudi upodobitve grajskega portala z grbovno ploščo in znamenite Trajanove plošče.

Prerisovanje poslikave turjaške kapele ni bilo edino Beneschevo srečanje z dediščino. Deset let prej je za Dežmanovo publikacijo narisal 150 predmetov in grobišče na Vačah, poleg tega pa je za sicer nikoli izdano publikacijo izdelal tudi risbe keramičnih predmetov, ki so bili izkopani na Ljubljanskem barju. Tudi freske je prerisoval večkrat: v njegovih skicirkah najdemo prerise fresk iz župnijskih cerkva na Bledu in v Radovljici, najbolj znani pa so prerisi fresk z zunanjsčine cerkve sv. Nikolaja v Visokem pod Kureščkom. O njegovem zanimanju za heraldiko pričajo številni prerisi grbov z vseh koncev Kranjske, ki jih najdemo v njegovih skicirkah.

Benescha kot slikarja stroka prišteva med tako imenovane male mojstre. Njegova dela naj bi imela majhno umetniško vrednost, odlikovala naj bi jih predvsem dokumentarnost. Prav zaradi te so bile njegove risbe dediščine toliko bolj pomembne za spomeniško varstvo, saj so nastajale v času, ko je bila fotografija še v povojih. Vendar pa Benesch dediščine ni le prerisoval, pač pa je o njej tudi razmišljal. Njegov sistematično-analitični pristop k izdelavi risb in široko znanje sta mu omogočala, da je o marsikaterem vidiku dediščine prišel do strokovno povsem ustreznih zaključkov. O nekaterih svojih odkritjih je kot dopisnik centralne komisije poročal tudi na Dunaj.

Benesch s svojim eruditskim, a amaterskim pristopom k proučevanju dediščine predstavlja konec pomembnega obdobja v razvoju proučevanja in varovanja dediščine. Profesionalizacija spomeniškega varstva, ki jo je prinesla reforma centralne komisije leta 1911, in razmah fotografije sta postavila dejavnosti povsem nove okvire.

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[Review article \(1.02\)](#)

ABSTRACT

The first Slovenian satirical journal *Brencelj* was first issued in January 1869 in Ljubljana. The first issue of the satirical journal *Juri s pušo* appeared at the end of February 1869 in Trieste. In the light of the modest achievements of Slovenian newspaper caricature and opposition from the leading 'Old Slovene' politicians in Carniola, the poet, writer, linguist and political publicist Fran Levstik (1831–1887) decided in 1870 to find a caricaturist for the satirical journal *Pavliha* in Vienna. For the front covers of *Pavliha* Karel Klíč (1841–1926) drew full-page caricatures which were far better than the caricatures appearing in the satirical journals *Brencelj* and *Juri s pušo*. The satirical journals *Škrat* (1883–1885), *Rogač* (1886–1888) and *Brus* (1889–1891) were the result of efforts by the Slovenian liberals during the 1880s to have their own satirical journal. The caricatures were the work of the well-known Czech caricaturists Karel Krejčík and František Karel Kolár, who cooperated with the Prague satirical journal *Humoristické listy*.

KEY WORDS

Satirical journal, caricature, *Brencelj*, *Pavliha*, *Škrat*, *Juri s pušo*, *Rogač*, *Brus*

In the mid-19th century, political caricatures became commonplace in satirical magazines, and at the beginning of the 20th century, they also became a regular feature in the daily press. We first see them in Slovenian satirical magazines at the end of the 1860s. The publication of the first satirical magazines was influenced by journalistic tradition and the importance Slovenian newspapers had gained in public life, as well as by the liberalisation of political life and the examples given by other nations. Satirical journals represent one of the first forms of illustrated Slovenian periodicals. They too were the stage on which political conflicts flared up.

The first Slovenian satirical journal *Brencelj* was first issued in January 1869. The editor of *Brencelj* was the journalist, dramatist, satirist and story-teller Jakob Alešovec (1842–1901), who was probably also the author of most of the satirical texts. As a result of Alešovec's eye troubles and problems with subscribers who refused regular payment of subscription fees, *Brencelj* ceased to be issued at the beginning of 1886.

Slovenians welcomed the appearance of *Brencelj*. They saw this Slovenian-language satirical journal as further confirmation that they too are a cultured nation. Alešovec used *Brencelj* to speak in favour of the political views of the *staroslovenci* (Old Slovenes), and that is why he entered into polemics with the *mladoslovenci* (Young Slovenes).

Alešovec strived to make *Brencelj* resemble foreign satirical journals. In the beginning, *Brencelj* changed the style of its masthead every year which was an idea taken from German satirical journals. In 1871 Alešovec published the satirical anthology *Brencelj v koledarjevi obleki*.

Brencelj published a series of caricatures of the opponents of the Slovenian national movement, turncoats or *nemškutarji*, liberals, and Carniolan Germans. Caricatures drew attention to some important political events (elections, the coming into office of Taaffe's government, etc.). The dispute between the *staro-* and *mladoslovenci* in 1872 was followed by caricatures of *mladoslovenci*.

The origins of the caricatural motifs are various. There is an obvious influence from caricatures from foreign satirical journals. The *Brencelj* caricaturists used personification (the personification of Austria) and the language of symbols (the Slovenian linden tree, the German oak). As regards events abroad, *Brencelj* gave most attention to conflicts in the Balkans.

Brencelj was ever under the watchful eye of censorship. The public prosecutor first ordered *Brencelj's* seizure in June 1869 due to caricatures which hinted at a fight between Slovenian peasants and the Ljubljana *turnarji* (members of the German gymnastics club, the Turnverein) in Janče, and two articles which were deemed disrespectful towards the mayor of Ljubljana and members of the municipal council. The legal case in December 1869 was the first legal case in Ljubljana. The jury found Alešovec to be innocent. At the end of 1871, an article published in *Brencelj* landed Alešovec in prison for two months. In memory of his prison sentence, he published a satirical anthology entitled *Ričet iz Žabjeka* in 1873.¹

The first caricatures were drawn according to Alešovec's instructions by unknown Viennese artists who depicted the editor's head on a horsefly's body (he was also known as *Brencelj-Alešovec*). In 1874, some of the caricatures were drawn by a Slovenian artist who signed himself as »Pražanski«. From 1877 onwards the caricatures were drawn by Franc Zorec, who became acquainted with Alešovec while studying theology in Ljubljana.

The first issue of the satirical journal *Juri s pušo* appeared at the end of February 1869 in Trieste, which was at the time the only large city in the territory populated by Slovenians and in which the awareness of belonging to the Slovenian national community grew amongst the Slovenians in parallel with economic growth. The editor of *Juri s pušo* was Gašpar H. Martelanc (1829–1884), a type-setter in the Austrian Lloyd printing-house in which the journal was also printed. *Juri s pušo* also featured caricatures. Some were the work of foreign authors as Martelanc probably printed caricatures from clichés available in the printing-house, while some caricatures were drawn by »Kranjski« (the first Slovenian newspaper caricaturist whose pseudonym testified to his Slovenian identity) who drew them specifically for *Juri s pušo*.

Unlike Alešovec, who followed an 'Old Slovene' policy in *Brencelj*, Martelanc joined the 'Young Slovene' opposition. Above all, *Juri s pušo* made a tough stand against Germans, Italians and other opponents of Slovenian national interests in Trieste. That is why the editor had to defend himself in court in December 1869. Thanks to a skilful defence he succeeded in obtaining his acquittal.²

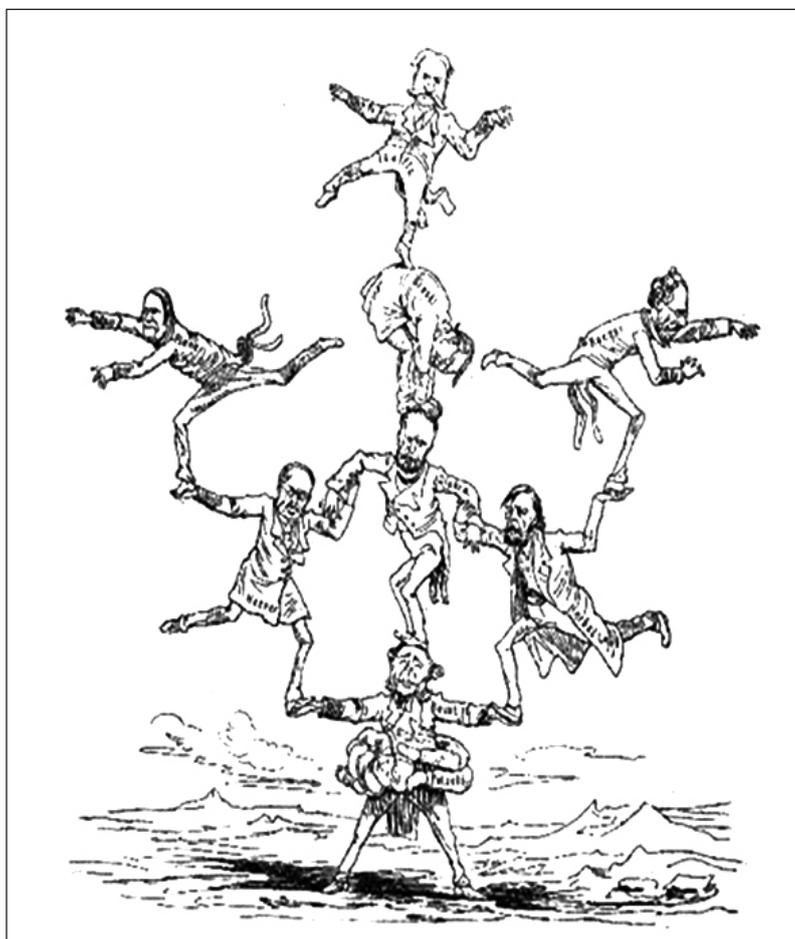


Image 1: *Juri s pušo*, 1869, No. 4.

¹ GLOBOČNIK, D. 1999, pp. 176–179.

² GLOBOČNIK, D. 1999, pp. 180–182.

In the light of the modest achievements of Slovenian newspaper caricature and opposition from the leading 'Old Slovene' politicians in Carniola, the poet, writer, linguist and political publicist Fran Levstik (1831–1887) decided in 1870 to find a caricaturist for the satirical journal *Pavliha* in Vienna. He came in touch with one of the most important Czech caricaturists of the 19th century and the inventor of the photomechanical printing procedures Karel Václav Klíč (1841–1926). Between 1869 and 1871, Klíč was the main illustrator and editor of the leading Viennese humoristic newspaper *Der Floh*, the first Austro-Hungarian satirical journal which had a French or English-style layout.³

For the front covers of *Pavliha* Karel Klíč drew full-page caricatures which were far better than the caricatures appearing in the satirical journals *Brencelj* and *Juri s pušo*. He drew the caricatures from photographs. As regards the content of the caricatures he probably followed Levstik's instructions consistently. The satirical effect is heightened by attributes, which symbolise political or ideological allegiance and the activities of the caricatured persons (e.g. the *nemškutar* top hat and tailcoat).

Klíč's caricatures all have large heads on proportionally very small and weak bodies. Around 1870 this was a relatively new caricatural technique in deforming the human body which Klíč took from French examples.

Levstik's cooperation with Karel Klíč is the first known Slovenian-Czech cooperation in the field of art. The satirical illustrations that were featured in *Pavliha* (e.g. the heroes of permanent columns) were contributed by the Czech caricaturist Gustav Jaroslav Schulz (1846–1903).⁴

Klíč's caricature of Dr. Valentin Zarnik, who was Levstik's friend and political ally, did not appeal to *mladoslovenci* from Maribor, who stopped supporting *Pavliha*. The editor of the *mladoslovenci* newspaper *Slovenski narod* published a critique of *Pavliha*, which due to the loss of *mladoslovenci* subscribers had to cease activity after the seventh issue. Levstik's work as editor together with his written contributions, which reflect his literary ambitions and Klíč's caricatures make *Pavliha* one of the most interesting satirical journals of the Habsburg monarchy.

The satirical journals *Škrat* (1883–1885), *Rogač* (1886–1888) and *Brus* (1889–1891) were the results of efforts by the Slovenian liberals during the 1880s to have their own satirical journal. The editors had different editorial policies, but they all remained liberal. All three journals were printed by the liberal Narodna tiskarna in Ljubljana. The satirical journals also reflect the development of the Slovenian press, which at the end of the 19th century had caught up with and overtaken the German press.

The editorship of *Škrat* was directed mainly by the radical section of the liberal camp and that is why it attacked not only *nemškutars*, Catholics and the movement of small businessmen of Ljubljana but also the more compromising liberal »elastics«. The caricatures were the work of the well-known Czech caricaturists Karel Krejčík (1857–1901) and František Karel Kolár (1829–1895), who cooperated with the Prague satirical journal *Humoristické listy* (1858–1914).⁵ The caricatures were not drawn specifically for Slovenian satirical journals. The caricatures of František Kolár, who was also one of the most popular 19th-century Czech actors, often feature the typical figure of the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who was one of the most frequently caricatured people in Europe at the time.

The editor of *Brus* was the journalist Ivan Železnikar (1839–1892), only the third professional Slovenian journalist who also edited *Slovenski narod* (and two issues of the satirical journal *Sršeni* from 1871). *Brus* featured above all Czech caricatures. *Brus* vehemently attacked Catholic priests and in particular the editors of three Catholic magazines that began life in 1888: the editor of *Rimski katolik* the Catholic cultural philosopher and spiritual father of Slovenian political Catholicism Dr. Anton Mahnič, the editor of the magazine *Dom in svet* Dr. Frančišek Lampe and the editor of *Domoljub* Andrej Kalan. In 1891, editor Železnikar had to defend himself in court because of a letter. He was acquitted but soon fell seriously ill, and *Brus* ceased activity.

³ HOFFMEISTER, A. 1955, pp. 38–40.

⁴ GLOBOČNIK, D. 2007, p. 78.

⁵ Ottův slovník naučný, p. 115, pp. 532–533.

A less well-known satirical journal is *Juri s pušo* (1884–1886), which was issued in Trieste and featured caricatures from the predecessor of the satirical journal *Juri s pušo*. Some caricatures, which commented on the circumstances in Trieste, were drawn especially. The editor Ivan Dolinar (1840–1886) was one of the main Slovenian political and cultural figures in Trieste. Among other things, he was the publisher and editor of the newspaper *Edinost* for several years.⁶

One of the first (and probably partly original) stereotypes to appear in Slovenian caricature is the »nemškutar«. The *nemškutar* or »nemčur« (German: der Deutschthümler) was a turncoat. Such a person was of Slovenian origin but decided to belong to the German social, cultural and political sphere.

The front cover of the first issue of Levstik's *Pavliha* featured a caricature of the paunchy Dr. Vincenc Ferreri Klun (1823–1875). The caricature is of the style in which the disproportion between a large head and small body accentuates the satirical effect. The caricaturist and Levstik (Klič drew the caricatures according to Levstik's instructions) placed on Klun's fat head a high »German« or »nemškutar« top hat. Klun is dressed in a tailcoat, which alongside the top hat was considered in the second half of the 19th century to be a »symbol of capital and intelligence« (a translation of the German liberal slogan »Besitz und Bildung«). People who possessed one or both of these values were the German party's main supporters.⁷



Figure 2: Karel Klíč, Dr. Vincenc Ferreri Klun, *Pavliha*, 1870, No. 1.

Klun's journalistic and public activity in the 1850s bore the signs of an awareness of national or provincial belonging. In 1867, he was elected to the Carniolan provincial diet as a candidate of the Slovenian Party on the basis of a federalist program. In June 1867, he separated from the Slovenian deputies in the Reichsrat in Vienna over the question of the concordat. Insurmountable differences between Klun and the Slovenian camp arose when Klun, faithful to his liberal persuasion, voted for the December constitution (1867) and the following year for the separation of Church and schools.

The caricature on the front cover of the 4th issue of *Pavliha* features Karel Dežman praying before what symbolised German culture and the *nemškutarji* – the liberal top hat, without which the liberal or »free-thinker« »is akin to a virgin devoid of innocence« (Fran Levstik, *Dragutin Dežman*, *Pavliha*, 1870, No. 5). The top hat is adorned with poppy heads: Dežman was intoxicated by German culture.

The top hat was considered at the time to be German headwear. It was supposed to be worn by correspondents for German newspapers from Vienna and Trieste who were based in Ljubljana.

⁶ GLOBOČNIK, D. 2002, pp. 28–29.

⁷ GLOBOČNIK, D. 2010, pp. 68–71.

In the caricature *Prazno delo* (Empty Work) (*Brencelj*, 1871, No. 23), Dežman lets go of the rake for a moment in order to blacken the Slovenian candidates with the help of the German-speaking Ljubljana newspaper, the *Laibacher Tagblatt*. Dežman applies black paint to the Slovenian deputies (to blacken: to sully or defame).



Figure 4: *Prazno delo* (Empty Work), *Brencelj*, 1871, No. 23.

Another *nemškutar* was the liberal Karl von Wurzbach (1809–1886), state and provincial deputy who was Governor of Carniola from 1866 onwards. In the caricature, *Governor Wurzbach welcomes his friends* (*Brencelj*, 1871, No. 11) Wurzbach holds the »damn rake« in his hand. *Nemškutarji*, including Karel Dežman, cheer him with raised top hats.

It is interesting that the caricature of Dežman as a turncoat prevailed over other portrait depictions (Dežman's painted portrait, photographs, and statue in the National Gallery).

The stereotypical depiction of a *nemškutar* probably came about through the Slovenian word »škrice« which denotes either of the tails of a tailcoat but can also mean a bourgeois dressed in a tailcoat. From oral tradition, the word *škrice* made its way into the journalistic and literary language.

Maybe *Brencelj* adopted the manner of depicting a German bourgeois from German satirical magazines and connected him with the stereotypical way of presenting Germans and *nemškutarji* who in caricatures almost always appear dressed in a tailcoat and top hat. In the 19th century, the Slovenian norm was the peasant farmer, while the bourgeois and later *nemškutar škrice* were scorned.

At the same time, caricatures began featuring the Slovenian auto-stereotype (the stereotypical appearance of an average Slovenian). The figure, which we nowadays most often refer to as *Kranjski Janez*, has a predecessor in *Pavliha* (the personification of Levstik's satirical magazine *Pavliha*), an illustration of whom appeared at the top of the *Pavliha* column entitled Gregor Potrebnik. Both were drawn according to Levstik's instructions by the Czech caricaturist Gustav Jaroslav Schulz. They are dressed in the national, rural dress; Gregor Potrebnik has an umbrella and stick, *Pavliha* a pipe. *Kranjski Janez* later appears in other variations. The style of his national costume was subject to change, as was his name.¹⁰

Kranjski Janez was also inspired by related figures in foreign satirical journals. Stereotypical ways of presenting individual nations began appearing in European caricatures from the 1830s onwards. The permanent heroes of caricatures became figural types with characteristic physiognomies, dress, headwear and other attributes.

¹⁰ GLOBOČNIK, D. 2010, pp. 74–77.

Normally, certain character, ethnic, folkloric, and other characteristics of the nation are taken as *pars pro toto*. Typified figures must be recognisable; that is why they appear again and again. The best known are: the French Marianne (by extension an allegory of Freedom, a bare-breasted woman with a Jacobin or Phrygian cap, she first appears at the time of the French Revolution), the English John Bull, the German Michel (*Der Deutsche Michel*, from 1843 onwards), the Czech Václav or Wenzel and the American Uncle Sam.

The Slovenian auto-stereotype *Kranjski Janez* is directly inspired by the social structure of the population which saw itself as Slovenian. The appearance of *Kranjski Janez* (a lean man, most often dressed in a ceremonial national costume typical of the Gorenjska region), reflects the farming structure of the Slovenian population, as does the related allegorical figure personifying the nation which appeared later (Slovenia is female as a rule: a girl or woman dressed in the national costume). The part of the population which declared itself to be German lived mainly in the towns and cities.

The satirical journals were, however, aimed above all at bourgeois readers and they represented liberal ideas. At the end of the 19th century, the longest-running Slovenian satirical journal Alešovec's *Brenclj* was an exception in this respect. It was more in line with the views of the conservative and moderate Bleiweis' *Novice*. Many readers came from the rural or farming population. In the 19th century, the difference between the urban population and the people from rural parts was not as marked because part of the farming class gradually merged into the middle class. Social differentiation was accompanied by national differentiation.

The self-taught artist and theology student Franc Zorec (1854–1930), who after 1877 drew caricatures for the satirical journal *Brenclj*, often used symbolic and other typified figures, (personifications of Slovenia and the Slovenian, the German Michel, etc.). That is why in the caricature *Narobe svet* (Upside-down World) (*Brenclj*, 1881, No. 9) we come across a personification of Slovenia and *Pavliha*. After being ordained a priest in 1879, Zorec was a chaplain in various places and from 1900 onwards was a parish priest in Nova Oselica near Sovodenj.¹¹



Figure 5: Franc Zorec, *Narobe svet* (Upside-down World), *Brenclj*, 1881, No. 9.

¹¹ DEBELJAK, T. 1936, pp. 72–73.



Figure 6: Franc Zorec, *Srečen Slovenec* (Happy Slovenian), *Brenclj*, 1883, No. 7.

The process of creating a self-image, an awareness of belonging to the Slovenian national community is also connected with being different from other, especially neighbouring communities – the *nemškutarji* (and for the Slovenes of Trieste and Gorizia, the »Lahoni«) could be referred to as »internal neighbours«.

Stereotypes (especially negative stereotypes) always comment on a bilateral relationship. The auto-stereotype and the hetero-stereotype (a simplified idea of foreign nations and groups) help each other because the opponent is attributed negative characteristics which it is supposed we do not possess ourselves. The person creating a negative stereotype sees himself in it like in a mirror. The negative stereotype of the *nemškutar* (the bourgeois *škric* who is a German liberal by persuasion), is the mirror-image of the rural *Kranjski Janez*. Meanwhile, the opposite German camp had the stereotypical conviction that all Slovenians were clerical and reactionary due to the large influence of the clergy on Slovenian public life and politics.

It is interesting to consider the editorial views of the satirical journals: with the exception of *Brenclj*, which represented the views of the conservative political camp, all Slovenian satirical journals at the end of the 19th century showed liberal tendencies.

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

Prvi slovenski satirični list *Brencelj* je izhajal od januarja 1869 do začetka leta 1886 v Ljubljani. Satirični list *Juri s pušo* je izhajal v letih 1869 in 1870 v Trstu. Pesnik, pisatelj, jezikoslovec in politični publicist Fran Levstik (1831–1887) se je zaradi nasprotovanj vodilnih staroslovenskih politikov na Kranjskem leta 1870 odločil, da karikaturista za satirični list *Pavliha* poišče na Dunaju. Levstikovo sodelovanje s Karlom Václavom Klíčem (1841–1926) velja za prvo izpričano slovensko-češko sodelovanje na likovnem področju. Karikature v liberalnih satiričnih listih *Škrat* (1883–1885), *Rogač* (1886–1888) in *Brus* (1889–1891) so bile delo znanih čeških karikaturistov Karla Krejčíka in Františka Karla Kolárja, ki sta sodelovala s praškim satiričnim listom *Humoristické listy*.

POVZETEK

Prvi slovenski satirični list *Brencelj* je začel izhajati januarja 1869. Njegov urednik, časnikar, dramatik in pripovednik Jakob Alešovec (1842–1901) je bil najbrž tudi pisec večine satiričnih besedil. Zaradi Alešovčevih težav z očmi in naročniki, ki niso redno plačevali naročnine, je *Brencelj* na začetku leta 1886 prenehal izhajati. *Brencelj* je objavil vrsto karikatur nasprotnikov slovenskega narodnega gibanja, renegatov oziroma nemškutarjev, liberalcev in kranjskih Nemcev. Karikature so opozarjale na nekatere pomembne politične dogodke (volitve, nastop Taaffejeve vlade, spopadi na Balkanu). Karikature so po Alešovčevih napotkih risali neznani dunajski risarji, ki so urednika upodobili kot brencelja s portretno glavo. Od leta 1877 je karikature risal Franc Zorec (1854–1930), ki je Alešovca spoznal v času, ko je v Ljubljani študiral bogoslovje.

Satirični list *Juri s pušo* je izhajal v letih 1869 in 1870 v Trstu, tedaj edinem velemestu na slovenskem ozemlju. Urednik Gašpar H. Martelanc (1829–1884) je bil stavec v tiskarni avstrijskega Lloydja, v kateri so list tudi tiskali. V nasprotju z Alešovcem, ki je v *Brencelju* sledil konservativni staroslovenski politiki, se je Martelanc pridružil mladoslovenski opoziciji.

Pesnik, pisatelj, jezikoslovec in politični publicist Fran Levstik (1831–1887) se je zaradi skromnih dosežkov slovenske časopisne karikature in nasprotovanj vodilnih staroslovenskih politikov na Kranjskem leta 1870 odločil, da karikaturista za satirični list *Pavliha* poišče na Dunaju. Navezal je stike z enim najpomembnejših čeških karikaturistov 19. stoletja in izumiteljem fotomehaničnih tiskarskih postopkov Karlom Václavom Klíčem (1841–1926). Klíčeve karikature na naslovnica sedmih števil *Pavlihe* spadajo v tako imenovani karikaturni tip »glavonožcev«, ki ga je Klíč povzel po francoskih zgledih. Levstikovo sodelovanje s Klíčem velja za prvo izpričano slovensko-češko sodelovanje na likovnem področju. Satirične ilustracije za notranje strani *Pavlihe* je prispeval češki karikaturist Gustav Jaroslav Schulz (1846–1903).

Satirični listi *Škrat* (1883–1885), *Rogač* (1886–1888) in *Brus* (1889–1891) so bili rezultat prizadevanj, da bi slovenski liberalni tabor v osemdesetih letih 19. stoletja dobil svoj satirični list. Karikature so bile delo znanih čeških karikaturistov Karla Krejčíka (1857–1901) in Františka Karla Kolárja (1829–1895), ki sta sodelovala s praškim satiričnim listom *Humoristické listy* (1858–1914).

THE INSTRUMENT OF THE IMMORTALS: THE REMEMBRANCE OF LISZT IN THE STEINWAY & SONS ADVERTISEMENT CAMPAIGN

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

The study examines the advertisement campaign launched by the Steinway & Sons piano manufacturing company in 1919 having the famous slogan *The Instrument of the Immortals*. It seeks to answer how the establishing of the Steinway genealogy with the intent to create a myth unfolds on the advertisement pages of newspapers and what role the figure of Liszt plays in it. The message aimed at the potential customer is clear. Owning a Steinway piano is a kind of privilege, through the brand, one can identify with the spirit of the immortal pianists of the past and the present.

KEY WORDS

Liszt, Steinway, advertisement, Rubicam, Hiller, Johansen, Healy

A comprehensive history of the 19th–20th century promotional activities of piano manufacturing companies needs yet to be written. This paper is my contribution to such a work. Liszt, one of the greatest piano virtuosos of the 19th century stands at my focal point. Numerous companies – among others Erard, Graf, Bechstein, Bösendorfer, Chickering, and Steinway – courted him, offering their instrument free of charge to the master as a kind of advertisement.¹

New possibilities opened up for piano advertisements with the appearance of the print media. The present study examines one of these: the advertisement campaign launched by the Steinway & Sons piano manufacturing company in 1919 having the famous slogan *The Instrument of the Immortals*. As Lieberman explained in his fundamental monograph on Steinway, the piano brand had become a kind of national symbol by the period under study.² It became the symbol of the classical American upper-middle class home radiating elegance, suggesting safety and security as opposed to the impersonal, disintegrating world. In agreement with the above statement, the present study aims at examining how the advertising campaign with its peculiar message contributed to the overtones of Steinway representing these traditional values. Starting out from one of the basic tenets of modern advertisement psychology, according to which the advertisement creates a kind of “meta reference” between the advertisement and its recipient by using the basic formula for myth creation,³ the following question is formulated: can *The Instrument of the Immortals* campaign be interpreted from the aspect of “mythological topoi”? And this brings up further questions: what could have been the essence of the message aimed at the target customer; with the use of what kind of visual and text patterns was this realised; and what role did the memory of Liszt have in this?

With respect to the beginnings of the campaign, it is best to start out from the memoirs of Raymond Rubicam, the creator of the advertisement.⁴ The copywriter was hired by N. W. Ayer & Son – the company dealing with the advertising affairs of Steinway – late in 1919. He was entrusted with the everyday task of writing advertisements to various magazines in accordance with the previous practice. But he wanted something more. He was surprised to see that the earlier advertisements lacked an overall concept, and Steinway’s rich traditions were not referred to either. “When I found the ads in the proof book I discovered that they consisted of lovely ladies sitting at pianos in lovely drawing rooms, and the text (without headlines) told nothing of the

¹ On the usage of piano by Liszt see: KEELING, G. 1986, pp. 220–232.

² LIEBERMAN, R. K. 1995, pp. 144–146.

³ SOMMER, R. 2011, pp. 569–578.

⁴ WATKINS, J. 2012, p. 45, LIEBERMAN, R. K. 1995, pp. 143–146. On Rubicam: WOOD, J. P. 1962, pp. 77–79.

great Steinway story.”⁵ As Rubicam was faced with the fact that practically speaking all great composers and pianists used Steinway instruments since Liszt and Wagner, he envisioned the creation of a virtual Steinway-family-tree; the construction of a brand that relied on a concept originating from the 19th century, but markedly surviving in the 20th: the artist cult. The slogan of the advertisement was the first to take shape in his mind: *The Instrument of the Immortals*. This was accompanied by another idea of his: he wished to make use of the paintings of contemporary American artists with musical themes in Steinway Hall, New York. However, he was surprised to learn that the advertising agency was not authorised to reproduce the paintings.

As he was thinking in terms of a combined effect of image and text, he was looking for a solution to replace the paintings. Thus he found Lejaren à Hiller, who was known for his advertising photographs using stark light and shadow effects, and who was fond of depicting costumed models in painting like settings.⁶ Rubicam recalled the case as follows: “Knowing Hiller’s ability in dramatic photography Sullivan and I decided to have him dress up a model to look like ‘an immortal’ of the Franz Liszt type, and to pose him with a strong beam of light from above illuminating him and his piano. We were not going to say whom we were portraying, but we were going to be certain that everybody knew we were picturing an immortal of music.”⁷ (Image 1)

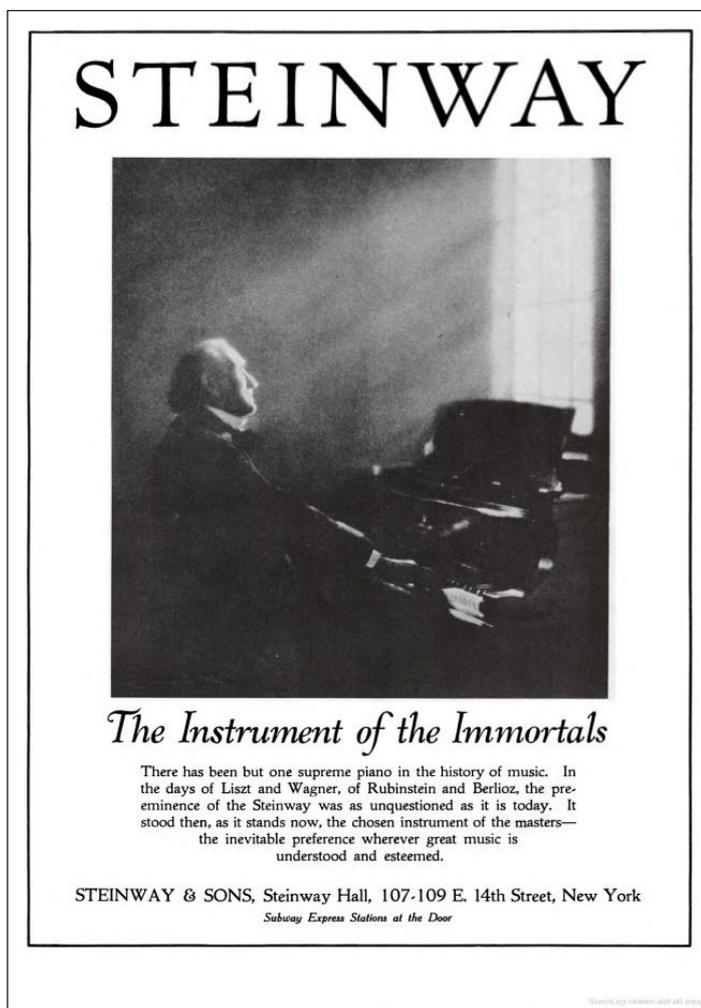


Image 1: Lejaren à Hiller (1880–1969) photograph of Liszt-type model at the Steinway piano, 1919.

We can, however, suspect that Hiller was not only relying on the instructions of Rubicam but adapted an actual painting: the new Liszt portrait painted by John Christen Johansen for the Steinway Collection.⁸

His task was to transpose the stylized imagery of the painting with strong light and shadow contrasts, detached from everyday reality to the language of photography. Hiller solved his task using the so called Rembrandt lighting,

⁵ WATKINS, J. 2012, p. 45.

⁶ PERES, M. R. 2007, pp. 258–259.

⁷ WATKINS, J. 2012, p. 45. <http://img.scoop.it/uoN-ib0xcGoUjYqjHbuKDI72eJkfbmt4t8yenImKBXEejxNn4ZJN22ss5Ku7Cxt> (quoted 22. 5. 2016)

⁸ Presently the Hall of Fame showroom at Steinway & Sons, London. KEELING, G. 2014, pp. 154–155. See: http://www.americanartarchives.com/steinway5_johansen_liszt.jpg

which was rather popular at the time. Not only the Liszt-like model but the piano itself is instantly recognisable in the photo by its elegant shape and inscription. Pianist and piano receive equal emphasis since according to the intention of Rubicam light is projected on both the model and his instrument. Light creates a timeless, mythic effect and also compositional unity. The lighting brings the pianist and his instrument together in an almost symbiotic relationship adorning each with the sign of chosenness. This visual message is labelled by the well chosen slogan and elaborated on in the short text of the advertisement. The first line of this latter was a pronouncement that declared – almost as a dogma – the “superiority” of the piano surpassing all its competitors. It was true in the past, and it is still true; the unquestionability of perfect quality is derived from the all-time chosenness: “There has been but one supreme piano in the history of music. In the days of Liszt and Wagner, of Rubinstein and Berlioz, the pre-eminence of the Steinway was as unquestioned as it is today. It stood then, as it stands now, the chosen instrument of the masters – the inevitable preference wherever great music is understood and esteemed.”⁹

It is worth noting that mythical-transcendent aspects are not only present in the visual but also in the linguistic layer of the advertisement. As the word chosen does not refer to simple selection, but to chosenness as well, it is not by chance that the slogan of the advertisement uses the word *instrument* and not *piano*, thereby allowing a wider range of interpretations that define the piano as the instrument through which the artist can perfectly articulate himself, a kind of medium.

Such an interpretation is justified by the foreword to an in-house Steinway publication entitled *Portraits of Musical Celebrities*, which explicitly states what the advertisement only suggests in terms of the unity of related arts. “Genius, ever yearning for outward expression, demands the perfect medium in which to offer to mankind its God-given inspirations. The painter must have glowing pigments; the sculptor searches out finest marbles. Justly indeed has the title *The Instrument of the Immortals* been bestowed upon Steinway piano.”¹⁰

The role model of the artist genius, who works through the divine inspiration for the elevation of humanity, has its roots in the 19th century.¹¹ Due to his chosenness, the artist himself is an intermediary endowed with a prophetic role, one who is in need of a perfect medium in order to transmit his divine inspiration. Thus the choice – the Steinway – of the “immortal” artist becomes chosen itself through an expansion of meaning.

It is the emblematic image of the artist prophet represented in the “immortal” figure of Liszt that the photo by Hiller associated with the Steinway piano: Liszt, who was often called a prophet already in his lifetime and after his death as well. For example, his poet friend, Lamartine called him so in one of his letters to Liszt,¹² or the composer, Arnold Schönberg, too in his essay commemorating the musician.¹³ An article from the year 1917 in *The New York Times* testifies that the concept associated with Liszt was not unfamiliar in contemporary America either. This article, which compared the great pianists of the past with those of the time, cited Heine, who called Thalberg a king, Chopin a poet, and Liszt a prophet from among the pianists of the past.¹⁴

Why Liszt? – might we ask. Why was it his “immortal” figure that became the first Steinway “face”? Why not the contemporary Steinway stars popular at the time in America? Well, obviously because the Steinway family tree had to take root first, and so they first had to find a Steinway “forefather” with cultic reverence on whom further generations could organically be built.

Nevertheless, linking Liszt to Steinway was not the invention of Rubicam. The idea had already been conceived by Arthur Friedhem, Liszt’s secretary and disciple in Weimar, in a Steinway testimonial of his dating from 1891. It seems that this letter – written from some distance, five years after the death of Liszt – signifies the beginnings.

⁹ See text on Image 1.

¹⁰ STEINWAY & SONS, 1922, p. 9.

¹¹ BÉNICHOU, P. 1977.

¹² „I was very touched by your reminder and by the fine inspirations you chose to bring down from heaven on the already cold relics of my own inspirations [that is, Lamartine’s poem]. You are music’s prophet.” Lamartine to Liszt. Saint-Point, 1st of November, 1835. Quoted: MAIN, A. 1981, p. 136.

¹³ „Ein solcher Mensch ist nicht mehr ein Künstler, sondern bald etwas Größeres: ein Prophet.” SCHÖNBERG, A. 1911, p. 1008.

¹⁴ HUNEKER, J. 1917. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=990DE1DE143AE433A25752C1A9659C946696D6CF> (quoted 22. 5. 2016)

“As Liszt once stood in the midst of the pianists of his time, so stands today the Steinway concert grand among all contemporary instruments of its kind – solitary, without a rival. [...] If Liszt be recognized as the creator of modern piano-technique, Steinway & Sons must be designated as the founders of modern piano-making.”¹⁵ Rubicam, who was familiar with the documents of the family, must have taken a liking to this association formulated with a kind of slogan-like brevity. He “only” had to make it “digestible” and create an advertisement having transcendent overtones based on the unity of image and text that pinpoints the beginnings of the Steinway mythology and suits the piano brand considered the depository of classical traditions.

Despite all the above, Liszt would not have been a good choice had his memory faded in the US by that time. However, it was not so. Although Liszt had already been dead for thirty years, his cult in America actually reached its peak at the time; his fame and greatness were transmitted and kept alive by his popular pianist-composer disciples, and followers. American music critics wrote with reverence about him, considering him a piano-teacher progenitor to whom contemporary pianists all owed something. The aforementioned *The New York Times* article also considered him the first modern pianist. It says: “Liszt was the first. Liszt was a volcano. [...] Liszt in reality had two rivals close to his throne, Karl Tausig, the Pole, and Anton Rubinstein, the Russian. [...] Liszt, it seems, when at his best, was both Rubinstein and Tausig combined.”¹⁶

Liszt’s “immortal” figure shrouded in the mist of the past seemed ideal for the role of the Steinway “forefather”. It should be noted here that the way he was depicted in the advertisement photo, recalling the paintings of Saint Cecilia contemplating celestial secrets, was a setting characteristic already in the pianist’s lifetime. It already appeared on his early portraits, but it also suited Liszt, the Catholic abbé, after having been ordained to the minor orders in Rome in 1865. This type of depiction was not unknown to the American public, and this is well attested by the Liszt portrait painted by George P. A. Healy in 1868.¹⁷

The American painter painted Abbé Liszt, then living in Rome, in a setting similar to the Steinway photo, with a halo of light around his head. The circumstances in which the painting was created are also interesting for our topic, since Liszt, at least as depicted in the painting, is playing on a Chickering piano, the company rival to Steinway at the time. No doubt, Liszt did have a Chickering piano in Rome, the famous instrument which won a gold medal at the 1867 Paris World Exhibition together with a Steinway piano.¹⁸ The importance of Liszt in the eyes of piano manufacturers is well attested by the fact that Francis Chickering took the instrument himself as a Christmas present to the composer with an aim at advertising obviously: the world’s best pianist should have the world’s best piano. It is beyond dispute that the painting is not depicting the award winning piano – which is presently in possession of the Liszt Museum in Budapest – but rather one on which Liszt was playing in the studio while he was being painted as reported by the painter himself.¹⁹ The intention of the artist could not have been other than the linking of the two “touristic spectacles” of Rome; that is Liszt and the Chickering piano. There are contemporary records available concerning the piano of Abbé Liszt that many would have liked to see, or rather hear. Healy returned to America at the end of his life and gave the painting to the Newberry Library in Chicago. We may assume that Liszt’s “immortal” pose in both Johansen’s painting and Hiller’s photograph were transformations of Healy’s portrait that was well-known in America thus appropriating it, and making use of the visual association of Liszt and the Chickering piano in the interest of the rival company.²⁰

So Rubicam ordered a photograph that could carry the message of the advertisement without explicitly naming the depicted model. The continuation proves that the idea was working. Due to the positive feedback the Steinway family – who disliked campaign like advertisements and all kinds of slogans – agreed to an advertisement campaign, which proved to be highly successful in the end. It was built around the slogan: *The Instrument of the Immortals*.

¹⁵ STEINWAY & SONS. 1922, p. 31.

¹⁶ HUNEKER, J. 1917, p. 9.

¹⁷ See: <http://www.szabadsag.ro/szabadsag/upload/article/2011-10-08/64188.jpg>. The painting can be seen at Chicago, Newberry Library. KEELING, G. 2014, pp. 148–152.

¹⁸ KÁRPÁTI, J. 2008, pp. 25–27.

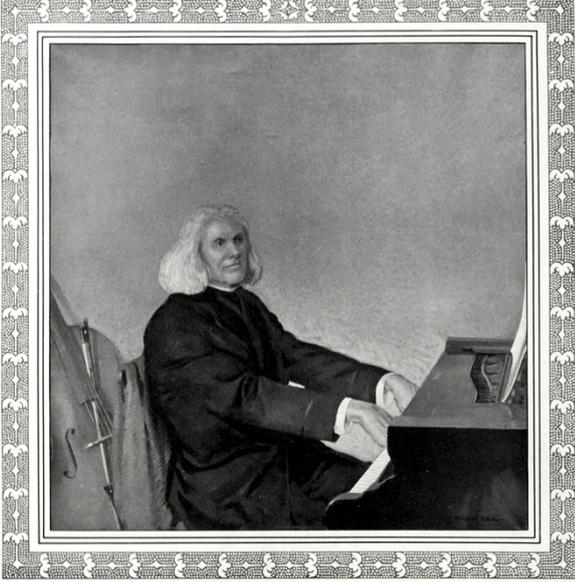
¹⁹ The painter reports to the American poet, Longfellow about it as follows: „In my studio the picture he looked at most often was a large portrait of Liszt seated at his piano. I had recently painted it, and I told the poet how, during the sittings, Liszt had played, for hours at a time.” HEALY, G. P. A. 1894, p. 219. Quoted from: KEELING, G. 2014, p. 148.

²⁰ Keeling, who does not discuss the photo by Hiller, also believes that the prototype of Johansen’s picture could have been the painting by Healy. KEELING, G. 2014, p. 155.

THE STEINWAY - GENEALOGY

In the following section, I would like to focus on the main elements of the creation of the Steinway-genealogy. The objects under study are newspaper ads with colour pictures that appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Literary Digest* and *The Musician* in the first half of the 1920s. The first from among the ads selected for study is one of rather poor quality, which depicts the old Abbé Liszt playing on his Steinway piano.²¹ (Image 2)

The illustration does not strive for anything other than for the reader to be able to identify this at first glance. However, the text of the advertisement is all the more important: it is an attempt to set up the narrative of the Steinway-genealogy in the spirit of a kind of modern myth making, by linking the beginnings of the Steinway-myth to an instrument that is a historic “relic”, namely Liszt’s Weimar instrument.²² The



Franz Liszt at his Steinway

STEINWAY

THE INSTRUMENT OF THE IMMORTALS

IN the old house where Franz Liszt passed his last years, still stands his Steinway. Here the master of Weimar played for the rulers of the earth who came to do him homage. And here, too, played other masters of the piano—friends and disciples of Liszt’s—men such as Rubin-

stein, dePachmann, Joseffy! Many a young genius set fingers to a Steinway for the first time in this house of Liszt’s. And it is worthy of note that almost without exception they, too, chose the Steinway—just as Liszt had done before them, just as the masters of today have done after them.

STEINWAY & SONS, Steinway Hall, 107-109 E. 14th Street, New York
Subway Express Stations at the Door

Image 2: Ad Instrument of the Immortals featuring Liszt at his Steinway Piano, 1920.

master’s Weimar disciples too acquire a major role in this since the text of the ad makes it clear that this piano was not only used by Liszt, but the fingers of his exceptionally talented disciples, Rubinstein, Joseffy and dePachmann also played it. It was the first time the disciples of Liszt had met with a Steinway-piano, and most of them opted for this brand later on too. The text of the advertisement links the ties between Steinway and the disciples of Liszt ever so tightly, saying that being a disciple of the master also meant a commitment to the piano brand. This made the house of Liszt in Weimar the main European centre point of the brand from where his disciples were to carry overseas the fame and cult of not only their master but also that of Steinway. According to the text of the ad, this piano – elevated to a cult position – is still part of Liszt’s Weimar house.

²¹http://teachrock.org/media/img/Steinway__Sons_22Instrument_of_the_Immortals22_Ad_featuring_Franz_Liszt_-_1920.jpg (quoted 22. 5. 2016)

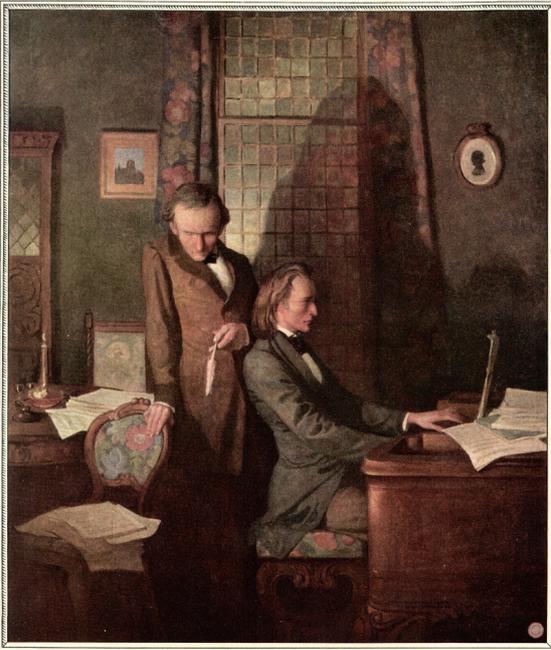
²² “In the old house where Franz Liszt passed his last years, still stands his Steinway. Here the master of Weimar played for the rulers of the earth who came to do him homage. And here, too, played other masters of the piano – friends and disciples of Liszt’s – men such as Rubinstein, dePachmann, Joseffy! Many a young genius set fingers to a Steinway for the first time in this house of Liszt’s. And it is worthy of note that almost without exception they, too, chose the Steinway – just as Liszt had done before them, just as the masters of today have done after them.” (Text on Image 2)

The truth, however, is that the piano in Liszt's house in Weimar (converted into a museum immediately after the composer's death) is his Bechstein piano, which is well attested by contemporary pictures representing the Liszt matinee in Weimar. The copywriter was obviously mistaken in this point, but how far was this mistake a "conscious" one remains a mystery.

No doubt, Liszt did have a Steinway piano in Weimar. This particular piano arrived in Weimar in 1883.²³ But due to the small size of Liszt's apartment, he could not store it there, so he gave it to his good friend, the Baroness Meyendorff for safekeeping. He also authorised the Baroness to make the instrument available for the concerts of his disciples even if he himself was away from Weimar. So the advertisement is correct in asserting that his disciples played on the instrument, but it is also true that on a daily basis Liszt preferred to play the Bechstein at home. Of course, it would not have been too "becoming" to emphasise this in a Steinway advertisement, or the fact that Liszt had never committed himself explicitly to a single piano brand.

Let us now continue the analysis of the advert pages. The reproductions of the paintings in the Steinway Collection soon began to appear in the ads. Seeing the positive reception of the advertisement, the Steinway family granted permission for the use of the paintings for advertising purposes. The colour reproductions became pronounced elements of the advert pages creating a close association with Steinway Hall, where potential customers could not only try out the various pianos but could also see the paintings in their original. Potential buyers were attracted to Steinway Hall using the visual power of the ads supplemented with the paintings; all this in the spirit of the unity of related arts – an idea originating in the 19th century, which served as a basis for the foundation of the Steinway Collection as well.

WAGNER
& LISZT
Painted for the
**STEINWAY
COLLECTION**
By N. C. WYETH



STEINWAY

THE INSTRUMENT OF THE IMMORTALS

OCCASIONALLY the genius of man produces some masterpiece of art—a symphony, a book, a painting—of such surpassing greatness that for generation upon generation it stands as an ideal, unequalled and supreme. For more than three score years the position of the Steinway Piano has been comparable to such a masterpiece—with this difference: A symphony, a book, a painting, once given to the world, stands forever as it is. Its creator cannot bequeath to future generations the task of carrying it to still higher perfection. But the Steinway, great as it was in Richard Wagner's day, has grown greater still with each generation of the Steinway family. From Wagner, Liszt and Rubinstein down through the years to Paderewski, Rachmaninoff and Hofmann, the Steinway has come to be "The Instrument of the Immortals" and the unmistakable token of musical distinction in homes of culture and discrimination everywhere.

*Steinway & Sons and their dealers have made it conveniently possible for music lovers to own a Steinway.
Prices: \$875 and up, plus freight at points distant from New York.*

STEINWAY & SONS, Steinway Hall, 109 E. 14th Street, New York

Image 3: Ad Instrument of the Immortals featuring Liszt and Wagner, based on the painting by N. C. Wyeth, 1920.

²³ Presently in the Museo Tetrале alla Scala in Milan. Actually Liszt already had a Steinway piano in Weimar earlier, too; it arrived in 1873. He received the second one from the company a replacement for the first. On both the Steinway pianos see: KEELING, G. 2001, pp. 89–109.

There were two paintings of Liszt in the Steinway Collection, one by John Christen Johansen, and the other by N. C. Wyeth; the reproductions of both were used for the advert pages. In the latter Liszt is playing the piano while Wagner is standing behind him.²⁴ (Image 3)

The picture intends to recall the Wahnfried; that is Wagner’s house in Bayreuth, where Liszt played several times on Wagner’s famous Steinway piano, which was given to the German master for the 1876 opening of the Festspielhaus in Bayreuth.²⁵ Historical accuracy is not important, only recognisability and the visual association brought about by Wagner’s famous piano. The text of the advertisement, in accordance with the picture, evokes the founding generation – mentioning Wagner, Liszt, and Rubinstein – comparing the Steinway piano to the masterpieces of the geniuses. But, says the text – while the masterpieces are permanent in their completeness, the piano is becoming increasingly perfect through the generations by adjusting to the new requirements. Parallel to the great triad of the past the text sets the contemporary triad – Paderewsky, Rachmaninov, and Josef Hoffmann – who represented and implemented the Steinway tradition at that time.

The Steinway ancestors shrouded in mythical past were only the beginning, the pledge of a glorious future. Obviously, the advertisements could not settle for only the presentation of the founding generation. There appeared a natural demand for the representation of the portraits of contemporary Steinway pianists in the ads. However, portraits had to be painted first, as the Steinway Collection included only deceased “immortals”. Since the main aim was still recognisability, the majority of contemporary pianist-portraits followed the same pattern, using the most direct visualisation: the interconnection of pianist and piano through the playing of the instrument. One of the leitmotifs of the advertisements, the coming of one generation after another was represented now from the aspect of the new one using the portrait illustrations of contemporary Steinway stars.

<h1>STEINWAY</h1> <p>THE INSTRUMENT OF THE IMMORTALS</p>	
	
<p><small>Rachmaninoff at his Steinway</small></p> <p>HALF a century ago Anton Rubinstein, like his immortal contemporaries, Wagner and Liszt, pronounced the Steinway “unrivalled” among pianos. Today Sergei Rachmaninoff, the greatest Russian pianist since Rubinstein, has said: “Only upon a Steinway can the works of the masters be played with full artistic justice.” Generation after generation the Steinway stands supreme—the chosen piano of the masters—the immortal instrument of the Immortals of Music.</p> <p><small>STEINWAY & SONS, Steinway Hall, 107-109 E. 14th St., New York</small></p>	
	

Image 4: Ad Instrument of the Immortals featuring Rachmaninoff at his Steinway Piano, based on the painting by Charles E. Chambers, 1920s.

²⁴ http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-V83mLvEnYtc/UWoDNS_NrMI/AAAAAAACEeY/Uz6lzRpMr1Q/s1600/1921_steinway_wagner_01.jpg (quoted 22. 5. 2016)

²⁵ KEELING, G. 2001, pp. 98–99.

In support of this argument, it is worth recalling the text of the advert page reproducing the painting of Sergei Rachmaninoff by Charles E. Chambers.²⁶ (Image 4)

“Half a century ago Anton Rubinstein, like his immortal contemporaries, Wagner and Liszt, pronounced the Steinway “unrivalled” among pianos. Today Sergei Rachmaninoff, the greatest Russian pianist since Rubinstein, has said: “Only upon a Steinway can the works of the masters be played with full artistic justice.” Generation after generation the Steinway stands supreme – the chosen piano of the masters – the immortal instrument of the Immortals of Music.”²⁷

Analysing these few advertisement pages seems sufficient to formulate one of the main messages of the advertisement campaign. The artists using the Steinway brand form an illustrious company. They are the chosen ones just as the medium through which they make their voice heard, that is the Steinway piano. This is a privilege which passes from generation to generation; the “deceased” immortals pass it on to the great pianists of the contemporary generation, the living ones, who are on their way to immortality. If we take this idea further, the hidden message of the advertisement will be unravelled. “It is the chosen instrument of the masters and the lovers of immortal music,” says the advert page, which depicts the reproduction of a Richard Wagner painting by Harry Townsend. What does this actually mean?

The expression “the chosen instrument of the lovers of immortal music” could, by all means, be applied to the potential buyer of the piano, who thus will be part of the privilege carried by the Steinway pianists. The aura of such a privilege is guaranteed by the brand, which – as a kind of “modern relic cult” reflects on the buyer of the piano as well. She or he is the final link in the chain of the Steinway mythology, becoming a virtual member of the family tree, the origins of which go back to Liszt, the “forefather”.

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²⁶ LIEBERMAN, R. K. 1995, p. 145. http://www.teachrock.org/media/img/Steinway__Sons_22Instrument_of_the_Immortals22_Ad_featuring_Sergei_Rachmaninoff_-_1920.png (quoted 22. 5. 2016)

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GLASBILO ZA NESMRTNIKE: SPOMIN NA OGLAŠEVALSKO KAMPANJO PODJETJA STEINWAY & SONS Z LIZSTOM

dr. Imre Kovács, Katoliška fakulteta Pázmány Péter, Madžarska

Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

V študiji raziskujemo oglaševalsko kampanjo, ki jo je sprožil proizvajalec klavirjev Steinway & Sons leta 1919. Kampanja je imela znani slogan *Glasbilo za nesmrtnike*. V študiji želimo najti odgovor na vprašanje, kako se Steinwayev historiat z namenom, da bi ustvarili mit, razkriva na oglaševalskih straneh časopisja in kakšno vlogo je pri tem igrala podoba Franza Liszta. Sporočilo, ki je ciljalo na morebitne kupce, je jasno: posedovanje Steinwayevega klavirja je neke vrste privilegij, preko blagovne znamke se lahko človek identificira z duhom nesmrtnega pianista iz preteklosti in sedanosti.

POVZETEK

Od šestdesetih let 19. stoletja naprej sta bila ameriška proizvajalca klavirjev Chickering in Steinway boljša od svojih evropskih tekmecev. Boj za Lisztovo naklonjenost med podjetjema je bilo nekaj običajnega. Leta 1867 se je na prvo mesto zavihtelo podjetje Chickering: njegov lastnik je namreč Lisztu, ki je tedaj živel v Rimu, z ladjo pripeljal klavir, za katerega je bil nagrajen na Svetovni razstavi v Parizu. Dogodek je bil velika senzacija. Tako je »najboljši klavir na svetu prišel k najboljšemu pianistu na svetu«. Srečanje je bilo tudi vizualno dokumentirano: ameriški slikar Healy je leta 1868 upodobil Liszta, odetega v meniško oblačilo, ki sedi pri svojem chickeringu in igra, »zazrt v božanske skrivnosti«. Podjetje Steinway je s svojim odzivom čakalo do leta 1873. Lisztu, ki je takrat prebival v Weimarju, so tedaj poslali svoje glasbilo. To je bila osnova za Lisztovo »sodelovanje« v oglaševalski kampanji, ki so jo zagnali leta 1919. Podjetje s sedežem v New Yorku, za katero je imela tradicija velik pomen, je za kampanjo izbralo fotografijo modela, ki igra Steinwayev klavir v pozi, podobni »nesmrtni« pozi meniha Liszta. Očitno so to »nesmrtno« pozo posneli po Healyjevem portretu Liszta, ki je bil v Ameriki dobro poznan. Tako so uporabili in si celo prilastili vizualno povezavo med Lisztom in Chickeringovim klavirjem, glasbilom konkurenčnega podjetja. Uspeh te fotografije in oglaševalski slogan sta vodila k slavni oglaševalski kampanji s sloganom *Glasbilo za nesmrtnike*. Takrat že približno trideset let pokojni Liszt je skladno s Steinwayevim historiatom postal prednik, po čigar poti so stopali tako zelo popularni sodobni skladatelji in pianisti, kot so bili Paderewski, Rahmaninov in Hofmann, ki so prav tako uporabljali klavirje tega podjetja. Izbrani slogan, uporabljen v oglasu, je ob kontinuiteti poudarjal tudi izbranost. Nesmrtni genij ne more izbrati nič drugega kot Steinwayev klavir in preko glasbenika se sij izbranca projicira tudi na njegovo glasbilo.

FRANZ LISZT'S VISUAL POETRY

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

Franz Liszt, the virtuoso piano player, managed to continually amaze the public with his charismatic presence, magnetism, and unique musical interpretation; all of which had turned him into the first music star of the 19th century. The objective of the present paper is to define the terms visual poetry and *Lisztomania* which had denoted Franz Liszt. The main aim of the paper is directed towards understanding of synergy between virtuosity and visuality.

KEY WORDS

Visuality, visual poetry, clothing culture, fashion, Lisztomania

INTRODUCTION

The 19th century is considered as the century of the big turning point within societies of the west. The industrial revolution and the democratic ideals have quickly spread across entire Europe and changed the everyday life of citizens on all levels. Social changes also had a great impact on the life of musicians, composers, and makers of musical instruments.

The musicians of the 19th century were regarded as some kind of employees of either ecclesiastical circles or rich patrons, for which they composed music for plays and manufactured musical instruments. But, with the rise of the middle class, a greater number of people got access to musical performances and musical education. The new artistic aesthetic – Romanticism replaced the prevailing ideals of the time, promoted the natural world, idealised the life of the ordinary man, and emphasised the meaning of emotions within art. A musician was able to support himself; he performed at concerts at theatres or salons for chamber music.¹

The intimate salon for chamber music came to fame in the course of the 19th century. It became the centre of family life. This salon was a space where the families would entertain their guests. More and more children were able to get a musical education, which became an important part of general education. The guitar, harp, concertina, and banjo became very popular musical instruments. But the most popular musical instrument of the 19th century was the piano. It served as a solo instrument or as an accompaniment of another musical instrument. The music event became a real public spectacle. Composers organised grand concerts at which they presented their works to a large number of listeners. The compositions became larger and longer. The new motto was: *Big is better*.²

Those musicians who had succeeded to fascinate their listeners became the first music stars. The violin player Niccolò Paganini (1782–1840) and the piano player Franz Liszt (1811–1886) were the two greatest phenomena of the 19th century. Both musicians had enthused the audience throughout entire Europe and evolved the phenomenon of the musician from being considered a servant to the status of divinity. Their success and fame were documented in numerous art depictions and records.³

FASHION AND VISUAL CULTURE IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The 19th century is also marked by big turning points. The French Revolution changed the entire European society and consequently influenced various aspects of life; especially visuality, including clothing culture in the widest sense possible. These were the times when the concept of fashion had emerged, which is still known today. The clothes became accessible to practically all social classes of the population. The freedom in

¹ KERR, D. J. 2004, p. 2.

² Ibid., p. 3.

³ Ibid., p. 5.

the style of how one had dressed became particularly important, just as the presentation of visual elements, which had mainly been characteristic for artists from different fields.

The definition of the term clothing culture in its widest sense defines the generally accepted point of exterior cultural forms ranging from the life style, customs, and also clothes.⁴ The clothing appearance of individuals encompasses everything that is to be counted to a person's external appearance: clothes, headgears, footwear, clothing accessories, hair styles, and physical cleanliness and personal hygiene.⁵ Clothing fashion as an universal cultural principle does not only encompass and transform the entire human body but also all of its ways of expression.⁶ Franz Liszt had embodied a genuinely special style and way of presentation of visual elements. According to numerous accounts, his appearance had been truly exceptional. He was described as tall and very skinny; his face was small and pale; his forehead high. His long hair fell onto his shoulders and when he had gotten distressed his hair covered his entire face. Liszt's appearance was a bit messy, his coat loosely covering his shirt with a straight collar. He was lively and dramatic.⁷

Hans Christian Andersen described Liszt as follows: "When Liszt entered a room, one got the feeling as if you were struck by an electric shock. It were predominantly the ladies who had blossomed as if the sun would shine on their cheeks; the divine soul shined out of his eyes, with every of his moves he became an even greater object of admiration,..."⁸ Andersen's description reveals a small part of the phenomenon, the so-called Lisztomania. Liszt's visual presentation was very carefully and plentifully documented in many art works, drawings, caricatures, and photographs.

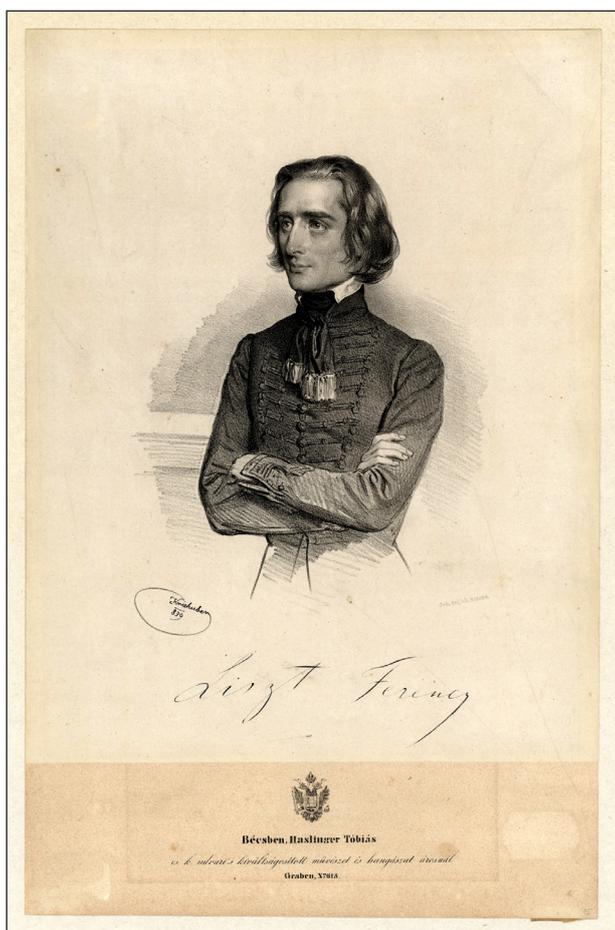


Image 1, Josef Kriehuber, Portrait of Franz Liszt, lithograph, 1839, Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre, Budapest.

Liszt had very highly valued fashion and taste. He was very attentive in regards to his physical appearance, especially during his most successful period. His visual spectacle at the piano was of essential meaning and had been a carefully planned dimension of his performing.⁹

⁴ KYBALOVA, L. 1966, p. 19.

⁵ BAŠ, A. 1987, p. 7.

⁶ KÖNIG, R. 1982, p. 25.

⁷ WILLIAMS, A. 1990, p. 96.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁹ GIBBS, C.H. 2006, p. 541.

In the first decades of the 19th century, the aristocratic male look had still been the reflection of his status and role in society. The image of the aristocratic fashion of the 18th century had still not vanished completely. We witnessed the emergence of exaggerated elegance in male dressing and behaviour, which is known under the name *dandyism*. The colours and patterns were rich, whereby the hairstyles and a slim figure had been of greater importance. The main piece of clothing in the first half of the 19th century was the tailcoat and also various other long jackets. The waistcoats had a fairly high neck line and buttoned up high. The cut of the pants was also high. Around their necks, the men wore neckerchiefs or jabots.¹⁰

Franz Liszt was no stranger to the fashion trend of that time. His fitted buttoned up braided coat ended at his neck in a wide flat-laid collar and the characteristic fashionable bow, a scarf-like tie. (Image 1)

In the course of the 19th century, the male silhouette was very simplified and became less decorative. From the year 1830, Liszt also took over the new fashion, the modern, clean, with pastel colours and fitted cuts. The new fashion required long pants, a shirt, a waistcoat, a tailcoat, and a tie or bow, which had been tied at the neck. (Image 2) The colours were mainly reduced to darker shades and black; the colour to which the well-heeled bourgeois had resorted in order to accentuate their wealth.¹¹

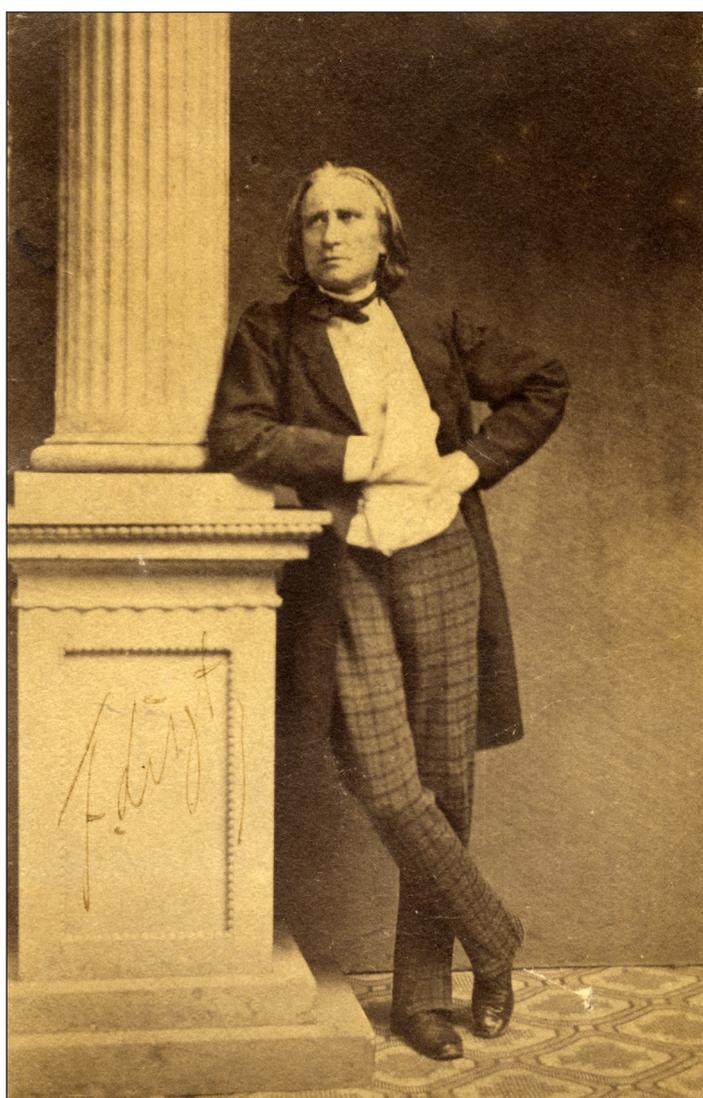


Image 2, Louis Frisch, Franz Liszt, photography, 1861, Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre, Budapest.

Franz Liszt did not only express his status with his clothes but what is more, his national pride with the Hungarian national costume. When he had entered the service of the church in his late years; which was something he had been already thinking about in his youth, he also got new clothes which came with his new role. Thus Liszt always articulated his roles through visual language.¹²

¹⁰ VRIŠER, A. 2004, p. 213.

¹¹ GIBBS, C. H. 2006, p. 541.

¹² QUEEN, E. 2014, p. 267.

FRANZ LISZT AND VISUAL POETRY: THE SYNERGY BETWEEN VIRTUOSITY AND VISUALITY

Franz Liszt was one of the most depicted – sketched, drawn, painted, and photographed artists of the 19th century. The composer Robert Schuman said that if Liszt had played behind the stage, a great part of poetry would have been lost.¹³

The term visual poetry, which denoted the great virtuoso, developed from numerous accounts regarding his genius and the extraordinary way in which he performed and played. Liszt's musical spectacle turned in to a proper visual, theatrical experience, which was intertwined with technical perfection and sexual magnetism; with the synergy between virtuosity and visuality.¹⁴

During the years 1830 and 1840, Franz Liszt had become a musician who impressed the mass public. Despite the fact that the musicians, including Liszt himself, had strived for music to achieve an art status, it was him who had managed to put it on a pedestal of popularity and entertainment as well. Liszt merged his virtuosity with his entire body; theatricality, rhetoric, resulting in immense desirability. Mendelssohn described Liszt as an everlasting contrasting game between scandal and apotheosis.¹⁵

Robert Schumann described the virtuoso when Liszt had performed Weber's concert stating that the artist started to play full of vim, with greatness and power as he would mount an attack on the battlefield; his power increased becoming the leader of the orchestra, which he led to triumph. He slipped into the role of the grand commander – Napoleon, with whom he had been compared visually, and found such an expressive applause as if people were shouting "Vive l'Empereur!"¹⁶ The music event transformed into a spectacular visual event, a real epic *tableau vivant*. The power of music and performance was, despite its implicitness, a truly visual experience. But even though Schumann had admired Liszt's performances, he was also aware of his great narcissistic and self-displaying nature, which he considered being excessive. Chopin had a similar opinion sensing vulgarity and exhibitionism in Liszt.¹⁷ Within the world of culture, the opinions regarding Liszt's image had been divided. He was compared to an exotic earthly paradise or the primitive African jungle. Literary grotesques, satirical depictions, and numerous caricatures had emerged.¹⁸

Charles Halle described Liszt's playing as a visual triumph that exceeds all boundaries and the light of which is infatuating. But that did not hinder him to be fascinated with the artist's performance, which Halle described as crystal clear, practically infallible even in those passages that were impossible and utterly demanding.¹⁹



Image 3, Borsszem Jankó, Illustrated weekly humor Magazine, 6th of April, 1873, p. 5.

¹³ KRAMER, L. 2002, p. 71.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ SCHUMANN, R. 1964, p. 156.

¹⁷ KRAMER, L. 2002, p. 72.

¹⁸ KRAMER, L. 1983, p. 132.

¹⁹ KRAMER, L. 2002, p. 72.

When Franz Liszt performed, his image unified with the sound. When he sat at the piano, he repeatedly ran his fingers through his hair to push it back and then started to improvise on the piano. It was quite often that his playing became powerful and wild like a storm; then here and there a gentle passage followed, which scented like a rose, a blessing that calmed one's mind for a while, but made evoked an even greater feeling of unease at the same time.²⁰ (Image 3)

Liszt's repetitive "hair combing" before and during the concert become his trademark. Something from which the entire process of his divine improvisation originated. This gesture became recognisable and was often imitated.²¹

In the 19th century, the virtuoso Paganini and later also Franz Liszt were famous after their longer hair, with which they tried to conjure up the romantic, sexual wilderness into their playing. Already in the past artist had helped themselves with feminine elements when it came to their appearance. In this way, they projected the image of an ironically fears man of that time.²²

The French critic Ernest Legouvé denoted Liszt's manner as a visual access which represents the source of his ambivalence. According to Legouvé's opinion, Liszt's relationship with the piano resembled a python. His constant "hair combing", the shivering of his lips, and flaring of his nostrils had, again and again, becharmed the crowd in the auditorium. He had some comic tricks, but he was no comedian, he was a Hungarian: a Magyar and a Tzigane at the same time. A true son of the game which danced to the sounds of the spurs. Liszt's identity was constituted by the connection between visibility and music. The professor of musicology and author of the publication *The sight of sound* Richard Leppert argues that the creation of social meaning of music is just as important as the music itself.²³

The German romantic poet Heinrich Heine had described Liszt in detail on numerous occasions. According to his notes, Liszt was regularly overflowed with bouquets of flowers while he had been on stage. There was one occasion when he pulled a red camellia out of the bouquet and pinned it onto the lapel of his jacket. The red camellia reminded Heine of the heroic blood of soldiers, a sort of stain on the battlefield of vision of Liszt's visual performance.²⁴

When Liszt played, a bond between appearance and music was weaved; a sort of sound image emerged. In the year 1870, his student Amy Fay described him very precisely. She had the feeling as if that to which she had been listening to was not music, but some spirit, image that breaths in front of your face and eyes. She described his facial expression, while he was playing, as a synergy between the change of every single modulation and change of his facial expression. Liszt looked exactly like he played. A Parisian critique, which was published around the year 1840, stated that Mr Liszt is not only a piano player but a true actor – because everything he plays is reflected in his face.²⁵

Liszt's facial expression and rhetoric were extremely charismatic and appealing. Eduard Hanslick, a German music critic of that time, who described Liszt's symphonic poems as a true promotion of visibility, wrote about his playing stating that people do not only listen to him with breathless attention, but also observe it in every fine line of his face.²⁶

When Liszt played for the young English writer Marian Evans in the year 1854; she described him as follows: „I sat close to him so I could see both his hands and face. For the first time in my life I heard real inspiration – for the first time I heard the true tones of the piano. He played one of his own compositions, one of a series of religious fantasies. There was nothing strange or excessive about his manner. His manipulation of the instrument was quiet and easy, and his face was simply grand – the lips compressed and the head thrown a

²⁰ URL: <http://www.heinrich-heine-denkmal.de/heine-texte/fr-buehne10.shtml> (quoted 24. 3. 2016)

²¹ KRAMER, L. 2002, p. 73.

²² MCLEOD, K. 2011, p. 121.

²³ LEPPERT, R. 1993, p. 218.

²⁴ EWEN, F. 1948, p. 634.

²⁵ KRAMER, L. 2002, p. 76.

²⁶ KRAMER, L. 2002, p. 76.

little backward. When the music expressed quiet rapture or devotion, a sweet smile flitted over his features; when it was triumphant, the nostrils dilated.”²⁷

The sound of his tones became real when it was revised by the look of his face.²⁸ Hans Christian Andersen vividly described Liszt in the year 1840. Andersen’s first impression regarding Liszt’s personality was connected to the great passion which had prevailed over his pale face. When he lunged at the piano and propelled the piano keys, so they were flying, the sounds stemmed from his blood, his thoughts. Andersen had the feeling that Liszt had turned into a demon, which feeds its soul with playing. As if he were tortured, his blood flowed, and his nerves trembled. A divine image shined from his eyes, and every aspect of him grew into handsomeness. According to Andersen’s description, Liszt’s image created a synergy between the pale face of the virtuoso and the floating sounds, then transforming itself into a true allegorical image.²⁹

Naturally, Liszt’s provocative visuality which arose while he was playing had annoyed quite a few listeners. To those who cherished music above all other things, Liszt presented the symbol of anti-music. The German writer J. W. Goethe shared this belief. According to his opinion, true music which is performed at oratorios and concerts is intended exclusively for the ears. His stand point was that the voice is the most universal means in music. And the one who gives priority to his eyes instead to his ears ruins this effect of universality.³⁰

Goethe was convinced that musicians should be hidden as much as possible because the emotions of the listeners are too diffused and confused due to the musicians’ weird gestures and technical difficulties.³¹ According to this conviction, the music performed by a virtuoso is only a mask and most of all the medium of collective veneration.

The phenomenon of the musician – virtuoso, who hides his insanity, was also described by the German Thomas Mann in his short story *Buddenbrooks*: “Christian sat down at a little harmonium that stood in the dining room and imitated a piano virtuoso. He pretended to toss back his hair, rubbed his hands, and looked around the room; then, without a sound...he bent quite over and began to belabor the bass, played unbelievable passages, threw himself back in ecstasy at the ceiling, and banged the key-board in a triumphant finale.”³²

It is without any doubt that this show describes Liszt and caricatures his masterly performance, but at the same time, he is given the image of a deranged musician – a charlatan. The German music critic of that time Eduard Hanslick forgave Liszt’s dramatically performance when the artist was performing his own musical works. But when he performed symphonic music, which demanded to be a respected musical art, Liszt contaminated it with his visual and literary “tools”. Visuality that leads into theatricality was reproached of being anti-music.³³

According to the German philosopher Friederich Nietzsche, the emergence of the “actor” in music during the 19th century threatens to turn music into an art of lying. Nietzsche believed that music should comprise an independent symbolic value and cultural authority; the solo artists or charismatic performers take complete control over the audience and most of all their emotion. Thus music becomes connected to visuality, uncanniness, and physicality.³⁴

Liszt was accused of being a kind of thief regarding both the performances and composing. Music was supposed to be a fragile symbolic medium and is degraded when it gets mixed with other mediums as visuality, narration, and theatricality.³⁵

²⁷ WATSON, D. 1989, p. 100.

²⁸ KRAMER, L. 2002, p. 77.

²⁹ WALKER, A. 1983, p. 290.

³⁰ KRAMER, L. 2002, p. 79.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

LISZTOMANIA

After years of social and economic misery, many celebrations occurred in the 19th century, especially the revival of carnivals, which soon transformed into public balls. People stemming from different social classes have gathered at the balls, which were meant exclusively for pleasure. One of the dances was also the Can-can, an erotic dance which represented the celebration of life. The renowned Philippe Musard is one of the popular composers from the middle of the 19th century, who lead thousands of people into an ecstasy of dance with his orchestra. People danced with passion as if they were fighting on the battlefield; his music was described as orgasmic-insane.³⁶

Similar descriptions surfaced about Liszt's concerts. The concert of the virtuoso was the combination of a ceremony and carnival. It demanded discipline on one hand and offered the audience the pleasure of the virtuoso spectacle and physical rhetoric, with which the people have identified, on the other hand.

In a way, the merit for Liszt's legendary impact on the ladies from the audience and their untamed sexuality is to be ascribed to the *Bals Musard*. During Liszt's concerts, the cheeks of the ladies were glowing, they were winded, the rhythm of the music was synchronous with their excitement. Liszt's facial rhetoric and his long hair were his striking attributes, the means of his personal magnetism and the objects of desire.

In the course of the 19th century, hair and the exchange of locks represented a substitute for physical intimacy. The ladies of that era wore heavy and uncomfortable clothes that were regimented by specific rules; their hair was tied back. Men also admired Liszt's hair, but the ladies wanted to have a lock of his hair as a souvenir. They snapped up his gloves, handkerchiefs, and snuff boxes, which he had discarded. They also wore the broken strings of his piano as fashion accessories in the form of bracelets, and even scavenged the coffee dregs, and collected his cigarette butts.³⁷

This mass frenzy and mystical ecstasy of the public at Liszt's concerts, called Lisztomania, was described by Heinrich Heine in his critique after visiting one of his concert in Paris in the year 1844.³⁸

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³⁶ KRAMER, L. 2002, p. 90.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

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Maja Hren Brvar, Pokrajinski muzej Maribor, Slovenija

Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Franz Liszt, pianist virtuoz, je s svojo karizmatično prezenco, magnetizmom in unikatno glasbeno interpretacijo vsakič znova presunil publiko in postal prava glasbena zvezda 19. stoletja. Namen prispevka je opredeliti fenomen *lisztomanije* in pojem vizualne poezije, ki je označeval Franza Liszta. Cilj prispevka je usmerjen v iskanje in razumevanje sinergije virtuoznosti in vizualnosti.

POVZETEK

19. stoletje je stoletje velikih sprememb v zahodnih družbah, ki so močno vplivale tudi na življenje glasbenikov. Nova umetniška estetika je idealizirala življenje navadnega človeka in v umetnosti poudarjala pomen čustev. Glasbenik se je lahko preživljal sam, koncertiral je v velikih gledališčih ali komornih salonih. Francoska revolucija je spremenila celotno evropsko družbo in posledično vplivala na različne aspekte življenja, predvsem tudi na aspekt vizualnosti. Preplet vizualnosti, mode in glasbe je posebej upodobil virtuoz Franz Liszt. Bil je eden največkrat upodobljenih – skiciranih, narisanih, naslikanih in fotografiranih umetnikov 19. stoletja. Pojem vizualne poezije, ki ga je označeval, se je razvil iz številnih pričevanj o njegovi genialnosti in svojevrstnem načinu nastopanja in igranja. Lisztov glasbeni spektakel se je spremenil v pravo vizualno teatralno doživetje, ki je bilo prepleteno s tehnično dovršenostjo in seksualnim magnetizmom, s sinergijo virtuoznosti in vizualnosti. Lisztova obrazna mimika in njegovi dolgi lasje so bili orodje njegovega osebnega magnetizma in objekt poželenja. Na njegovih koncertih sta vladali množična histerija in mistična ekstaza publike, ki jo je v kritiki leta 1844 slikovito opisal nemški romantični pesnik Heinrich Heine.

ROGAŠKA SLATINA: THE DRESS CODES OF ITS GUESTS AND RESIDENTS AT THE TIME OF FRANZ LISZT

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Short scientific article (1.03)

ABSTRACT

Rogaška Slatina had already been a well-known spa resort in the 19th century. Due to this fact, it was also an interesting motive for painters and graphic artists. In the numerous prints that are part of the graphic art collection of Kurt Müller, we could mostly see spa architecture complemented by genre scenes with strollers. Although the images did not have the role of presentation of fashion, today they have a documentary value for researching of clothing culture of that time of tourists as well of local inhabitants.

KEY WORDS

Rogaška Slatina, graphic collection, graphics, spa resort, fashion, clothing culture, 19th century

Rogaška Slatina is a place with rich history. The rise of the town started in the 19th century when it became a well-known spa resort where the eminent guests from all over Europe came for their retreat. Because the place enjoyed the reputation of a spa resort for the European aristocracy and wealthy people,¹ it was also attractive for painters and other artists that came to Rogaška Slatina to capture its images or to perform for their guests as did Franz Liszt.

The majority of the hitherto known images of Rogaška Slatina originating from the 19th century is part of a graphicart collection that was donated to the Zdravilišče, the company, which carried spa activities in the town, in 1985. The graphic art collection which contained approximately 40,000 pieces originating from the 16th to the 19th century, was donated by the regular guest of the spa, Kurt Müller.² In 1995 the collection was declared as a monument of local importance. The fact that in 1996 Kurt Müller had been awarded the Order of Freedom of the Republic Slovenia for the deeds regarding the good of Slovenia what also proves the significant value of the collection concerned.

The greatness of the collection is also illustrated by the fact that it contains graphic sheets, covering around 240 different thematic areas ranging from nature, landscapes, agriculture, medicine, crafts to fashion sheets, and portraits. The original or facsimile prints of world famous graphic masters such as Dürer, Holbein, Daumier and others are part of the collection as well.³ Nowadays, the part of the collection that includes depictions of Rogaška Slatina can be seen in the permanent exhibition at the cultural-tourist centre Anin Dvor in Rogaška Slatina.⁴

Most of the paintings of the landscapes with depictions of Rogaška Slatina, which are part of the collection,

¹ The fact that the place was popular among the aristocracy and the rich is also indicated by guest books and visit reports. For more look: CVELFAR, B. 2002.

² Little is known about Kurt Müller. He was born in 1920 and was living in the Swiss place Emmen, which is near Lake Lucerne. He studied art history and archaeology and became an art dealer. In 1957 he devoted himself exclusively to the trade with paintings. First, he wanted to collect paintings of Dutch painters, but this desire could not be realised due to financial reasons. Therefore, he started to collect prints. He had his own art gallery in Zurich. GORJANC, R. 1985, p. 8.

³ FERJANIČ-FRIC, E. 1992.

⁴ Anin Dvor is a multipurpose building in Rogaška Slatina where one can see a few permanent exhibitions, touching the history of Rogaška Slatina (glass and a local history exhibition). One of the exhibitions that could be seen is also an exhibition of graphic prints depicting Rogaška Slatina originating from the 19th century which are part of the Kurt Müller collection. The permanent exhibition of graphic sheets includes about 50 prints from the collection.

were created in the first half of the 19th century when the landscape painting reached its peak. It will come as no surprise that the collection includes around 80 prints depicting the town concerned, created by a variety of authors and publishers, and issued from the 1830s to the beginning of the 20th century; since Rogaška Slatina had at that time already been established as a tourist destination as well as due to the growth of new and cheaper painting techniques (lithography, steel engraving).⁵

The paintings in question represent the romantic interest in nature, and the peculiarities of the local landscape, and are complemented by genre scenes depicting people with strollers. These prints are also ascribed a great documentary value, due to the realistic tendencies within the visual arts of that time.⁶ The prints concerned are not considered as solely valuable documentary material regarding the history of the town. They also contain other data, such as clothing images of depicted people and based on these we could undertake the research of fashion history.⁷

TOURISM AND VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS

The Romantic Movement in the early 19th century motivated the interest in nature and unusual natural phenomena, and thereby generated resorts and beach tourism. The concern for health and the desire to withdraw from the increasingly industrialised cities of Europe had encouraged wealthy people of that time to seek relaxation in the spas.⁸ This trend was also noticed by publishers including the printer and publisher from Graz, Joseph Franz Kaiser.⁹ Kaiser was one of the first who started to publish prints of a small size, which were purchased by tourists as a souvenir of their stay at the spa. This collection of prints is now known as the *New Kaiser Suite*. The sheets, whose size was not much bigger than the half of present-day postcards, depicting local Styrian spas with their natatoria as well as the surrounding sites that were popular with the guests during their holidays or treatments, dominate within this collection. The *New Kaiser Suite* comprises more than 80 tinted or secondary illuminated lithographs; some of them also depicting the spa of Rogaška Slatina. These graphic images, which were created in the 40's and 50's of the 19th century,¹⁰ are the first of numerous depictions of this Styrian spa town.

In the early 1860s, the Kaiser prints were replaced with tinted lithographs by the Austrian painter, Carl Reichert.¹¹ The Reichert graphics that were printed by the publisher from Graz Anton Burger¹² and are preserved in the graphic collection of Kurt Müller predominantly depict the spa buildings such as hotels, natatoria, and a covered walkway.

The construction of the Southern Railway has changed the way of travel. Some of the places that were important at that time were pushed to the periphery; while other were put into the foreground, making them interesting for tourism. The set of thematical landscape memory albums devoted to the Southern Railway even includes some younger albums containing illustrations of the Slovenian spas. One of these albums is also a small album of the painter from Ptuj, Josef Reiterer,¹³ entitled *Sauerbrun bei Rohitsch - Rogaška Slatina*. It contains 24 lithographs of a small size which were printed between 1855 and 1860 by the Publisher Leykam's Erben from Graz.¹⁴

⁵ GLOBOČNIK, D. 2012, p. 639.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ The usage of image resources in the study of clothing culture is constant both abroad as well as in Slovenia. However, we also need to be aware of the author's artistic freedom and the ideals of artistic creativity of the time. BAŠ, A. 1987; MAKAROVIC, M. 1971; VRIŠER, A. 2006; BURKE, P. 2001, pp. 81, 84-87, ZUELOW, E. 2015, pp. 44-68.

⁸ ZUELOW, E. 2015, pp. 44-68.

⁹ Joseph Franz Kaiser (1786-1859) was landscape painter and publisher from Graz who had published tiny lithographic images of the Styrian tourist destinations. STOPAR, I. 2013, pp. 234-235.

¹⁰ STOPAR, I. 2013, pp. 19-20.

¹¹ Carl Reichert (1836-1918) was an Austrian painter who mainly painted animals, genres, and landscapes. For Slovenia, the importance is attached to his Suites (Burger and Reichert Suite), in which the landscapes and images of health resorts of Slovenia had been published. STOPAR, I. 2013, p. 242; GSODAM, G. 2013-2015.

¹² STOPAR, I. 2013, pp. 19-20.

¹³ Josef Reiterer (1821-1895), painter and lithographer. His works, which relate to the Styrian villages, are of particular importance for the study of park architecture of the 19th century. Unfortunately, his works are nowadays extremely rare and therefore less known. STOPAR, I. 2013, p. 243; GSODAM, G. 2013-2015.

¹⁴ STOPAR, I. 2013, p. 22.

Images of Rogaška Slatina were also published in print folders of the same publisher, Leykam's Erben, and were entitled *Ansichten aus den Heilbädern Steiermarksmit erklärendem Texte* – Images of Styrian spas with accompanying texts. The prints for this collection were made by Johann Nepomuk Passini,¹⁵ a painter from Graz, who had a special reputation because of his landscape prints of spa towns based on their own field drawings.¹⁶

Commemorative prints with images of Rogaška Slatina were still popular in the last quarter of the 19th century, despite the popularization of photography. Thus, the graphic art collection of Kurt Müller contains print sheets with images of this well-known spa town that originate from the 1830s to the 1900s.¹⁷ The origin of these prints coincides with the time when the so-called picturesque tourism was popular.¹⁸ Therefore, tourism played an important role in popularising prints with landscape theme, which were among others also intended for the promotion of tourist destinations; Rogaška Slatina certainly being one of them.¹⁹

APPEARANCES OF TOURISTS

Since the graphics had been designed for the bourgeoisie and aristocrats who were able to afford a visit to trendy resorts like Rogaška Slatina, it is not surprising that the vast majority of genre scenes, which complement the depicted buildings, mainly portray guests. This way we can now follow the changes in bourgeois fashion throughout the most of the 19th century.

The first depiction of Rogaška Slatina in the 19th century was made by the Austrian painter, Karl Russ in 1811. Even though there are other known prints stemming from the beginning of the century concerned,²⁰ the oldest print depicting Rogaška Slatina, which is comprised in the graphic collection of Kurt Müller dates back to the year 1835. Due to the small size of the prints, the details are not depicted, but the prints still show the general features of fashion of that time.

The clothing of people depicted in the oldest prints of the collection indicates Biedermeier fashion. The men are depicted in frock coats and long coats called redingote or riding coat.²¹ Both coat types were quite similar in their upper parts, but differed in their bottom parts; that is in the cut of their tails. During the Biedermeier period, as today, the tail of the frock had been extended just at the back; while the tail of the redingote or riding coat had also been extended at the front. The coats were so long that they provided the men, who had worn them, with an hourglass silhouette; a silhouette which had also been popular among women.²²

Basic menswear was also long and consisted of narrowly cut trousers called pantaloons usually worn in bright colours, vests, white shirts that were worn under vests, and ties which served as accessories.²³ Because the prints concerned solely depict outdoor scenes, we can also observe other fashionable accessories such as hats and walking sticks.²⁴

¹⁵ STOPAR, I. 2013, pp. 240–241; SCHÖNY 2013–2015.

¹⁶ STOPAR, I. 2013, p. 22. During the reviewing of the material in the Müller's collection so far no graphics of this author have been detected.

¹⁷ Most graphics in the collection that have been issued in the late 19th or early 20th century were published by the publisher Alexander Kaiser from Graz, the son of Franz Joseph Kaiser.

¹⁸ Picturesque travels or picturesque tourism was a form of travel with the aim of searching for rural idyll and the natural beauty; which had been the opposite of the developing industry in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The interest of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy in picturesque natural phenomena (such as rivers, mountains) and idealised rural life has encouraged mass tourism which included the health and spa tourism. ANDREWS, M. 1989; ZUELOW, E. 2015, pp. 30–32.

¹⁹ GLOBOČNIK, D. 2012; STOPAR, I. 2013, pp. 19–20; Zuelow, E. 2015, p. 41.

²⁰ For more see REŽEK, A. 1964.

²¹ Both coat types, the tail coat as well as the redingote represented the fashionable clothing throughout the entire Biedermeier period. Over the years, naturally, some changes occurred (the form of the sleeves at the shoulders, collars, and flaps) which are unfortunately not visible in the graphics. VRIŠER, A. 2006, p. 29.

²² This silhouette was achieved, both by men and women, by wearing a corset and with closely tailored upper parts with wide sleeves. BOEHN, M. 1976, p. 205; KRAŠOVEC-POGORELČNIK, M. 1997, p. 154.

²³ The larger articles of clothing such as pants, jackets and vests are clearly visible in the prints, while the smaller accessories such as ties and collars are only implied and therefore their forms cannot be inferred from the depictions.

²⁴ BOEHN, M. 1976, p. 208; VRIŠER, A. 2006, pp. 33–34.

Similar menswear, without such a strongly emphasised silhouette, can also be seen in the prints that were released in the period between the 1850s and the 1880s. Still, a lot of men were painted wearing tailcoats and redingotes, while a few of shorter coats already started to appear.²⁵ The period defined above offers a greater number of prints,²⁶ which made it possible to discern the generalised colour- and pattern scheme of men's clothing. So it appears that the jackets and coats were of darker colours, while the pants and vests were still mostly held in brighter colours than the jackets. The top hat was still a popular head covering, but we also come across hats with round crowns and slightly wider brims.

In regards to the study of clothing culture, particular interest is to be ascribed to three prints from the Müller's collection, where some more details could be evidenced. The style of the Biedermeier period is the prevalent fashion style which can be seen in the first print.²⁷ The silhouettes of the depicted men are narrowed at the waistline, and the long redingotes and tail coats are prevailing. The pants are streaked and mostly of brighter colours than the coats. Top hats are the most represented among head covers, but we also encounter some depictions of hats with rounded crowns; probably bowler hats, which are a hat type that became popular at that time.²⁸



Image 1: At the Tempel (Brunnen Tempel), A. Kaiser - by drawing of T. Schneider, 1850, Anin dvor, Zdravilišče Rogaška d.d.

The second print²⁹ is particularly interesting because of the colours of the garments. It gives an insight into the colour scheme of clothes so that we can see the classic combination of menswear of that time; black or dark brown coat and bright, beige or light brown trousers, a red waistcoat, as well as the rarely seen combination of a light beige jacket combined with slightly darker pants. We can also see a coat that resembles the Havelock coat.³⁰ Some of the depicted hats are interesting because of their form. They remind of top hats but are illustrated with a slightly upward tapered conical header. This form was known as the Turf or the Paris Beau.

²⁵ These shorter coats later developed into the so-called Lounge jackets. VRIŠER, A. 2006, p. 59.

²⁶ More than 20 prints from the collection were published during this period.

²⁷ At the Fountain Temple (Brunnen Tempel), A. Kaiser - a drawing of T. Schneider, 1850. Displayed on the wall of Anin Dvor as the third graphic. See image 1.

²⁸ The bowler hat was first introduced by a London hatter in 1850. It was a less formal head cover than the top hat. LENIUS, O. 2010, p. 164.

²⁹ Fountain Temple at the Old Mineral Spring (Brunnen-Tempel in Sauerbrunn bei Rohitsch), J. Passini, 1855. GZKM number 243. See image 3.

³⁰ The Havelock is a type of men's coat, which was usually worn with a cape. It was named after the British General Havelock. (1795–1857). VRIŠER, A. 2006, p. 60.

The third print³¹ already shows some changes in men's fashion. The jackets are shorter and, as the trousers, of darker colours, and combined with bright vests. In this graphic, the clothes of two gentlemen stand out, because they are depicted wearing long jackets called the surka.³² Caps with cords complement their entire ensemble. This graphic also depicts several hats with a lower crown and broader brims, which, in the 2nd half of the 19th century, started to slowly displace then very popular top hats.³³

The prints originating from the 1830s, which are part of the graphic art collection, also show features of women's fashion of the Biedermeier style; wide sleeves and bell-shaped skirts that accentuated the slimness of the waist, resulting in an hourglass silhouette which had been fashionable among men as well.³⁴ But the colors of women's clothes were much more colorful. The prints show pastel-coloured dresses, green, blue, red, purple, and white coloured skirts, some of which were trimmed on the bottom. At that time, the sleeves of the dresses were extremely broad, thus given the names like gigots, wether legs or elephant ears.³⁵ The women's headgear of that time was the bonnet with a large brim which extended over the face and therefore enclosed it completely.³⁶



Image 2: Interior view of the covered promenade (Innere Ansicht der Wandelbahn), C. Reichert, colour lithography, 1864, Anin dvor, Zdravilišče Rogaška d.d.

The closed bonnet, full-skirted gown, and tippets or shawls are considered as the three elements that were characteristic for the women's appearances in the course of the next decades³⁷ which can also be seen in the prints. Almost all women depicted in the prints originating from the period between the 1840s and 1880s are portrayed in the ensemble consisting of the elements mentioned above.

The three selected prints are also interesting for the research of women's fashion, because they show us their appearances with more details. The first black and white graphic depicts fashionable ladies who are wearing skirts which are already a bit fuller, but the sleeves of the dresses are not visible because the women

³¹ Interior of the covered promenade (*Innere Ansicht der Wandelbahn*), C. Reichert, colour lithograph, 1864. Displayed on the wall of Anin Dvor as the seventeenth graphic. See image 2.

³² The surka was a jacket trimmed with decorative strings that were similar to the trimmings on the hussar uniform. This type of jacket was also known by Hungarians, Croats, Czechs, and Slovaks. In Slovenia, it had been particularly popular during the Illyrian movement. Its recognition was achieved via the uniforms of the Sokol gymnastic association. VRIŠER, A. 2006, pp. 32–33; VRIŠER, S. 1990.

³³ ŽAGAR, J. 2004, pp. 122–123.

³⁴ BOUCHER, F. 2004, p. 367.

³⁵ KRAŠOVEC-POGORELČNIK, M. 1997, pp. 154–155; BOUCHER, F. 2004, p. 367.

³⁶ BOUCHER, F. 2004, p. 368; BAŠ, A. 1987, p. 148.

³⁷ BOUCHER, F. 2004, pp. 380–383.

of that time wore the then fashionable shawls,³⁸ or because their portrayals are undersized. But we can see the way in which the poke bonnet had been constructed; consisting of a small crown at the top and a wide, rounded front brim.³⁹

The second print shows a similar clothing image of the women depicted, but in this, we can also see some colours. The depicted skirts, where darker colours such as black, grey, and dark red prevail are hence not in the same pastel colours as those depicted in the graphic originating from the 1830s. It is also interesting that every depicted woman is wearing a cashmere shawl or a jacket which, at that time, had various shapes and names such as mantelet or paredussus. The headgears of these ladies are still bonnets which have slightly smaller brims.

In the third print, we can sense the quantity of fabric that had been used for women's skirts. With the fashion of the Second Rococo, the wastefulness of material usage had returned, which once again allowed a clear distinction between social classes.⁴⁰ The hooped crinoline, which was introduced in the 1850s, allowed much wider skirts and because of that, a larger quantity of material had been needed for their manufacture.

Because the purpose of these prints was not to present the fashion of that time, the dresses are depicted only in outlines and without details. Therefore we cannot see the rapid changes in fashion. Such as tournure fashion which was already present in the 1870s,⁴¹ but cannot be observed in the prints of that time.⁴² But the print sheets from the Kurt Müller graphic art collection still show some changes of the forms and colours of the clothing originating from the period between the 1830s and 1880s.

THE IMAGES OF LOCAL PEOPLE

Very detailed depictions of local people arose when Archduke John of Austria visited Rogaška Slatina and brought with him the painter Karl Russ. During his first visit in 1810, Russ painted the supposedly oldest known painting of Rogaška Slatina.⁴³ A year later, when the painter had again returned to the resort, the four representations of the local population occurred.⁴⁴

The descriptions of local people which stem from the nearby market town of Rogatec⁴⁵ and which complement Russ' aquarelles, originate from the same year as the paintings made by the painter concerned. From these records we can learn that the farmer of that time wore: »a flat and felted hat and, during the winter time, a green and fur-lined cap underneath; a woollen neckcloth; a shirt made of fine linen; a cotton waistcoat; a short jacket with sleeves. The walthier farmers had worn a brown knee-length coat made of cloth, which had buttoned down only to the waist, short black leather pants, all equipped with bright metal buttons, woollen cloth socks, boots, and a wide woollen belt«. ⁴⁶ We learn that, during the weekdays, men wore old worn out garments and clothes which were made of the same sewing pattern as the festive clothing, with the only difference being that they were made from less valuable materials.⁴⁷ Regarding the female clothing, we learn the following:

»his wife wears a bonnet of fine linen lace,⁴⁸ a two to three fingers wide front strap made of black velvet un-

³⁸ Cashmere shawls returned into fashion in the 1840s and were considered as outerwear, due to their large dimensions. BOUCHER, F. 2004, p. 367.

³⁹ PICKEN, M. B. 1999, p. 27.

⁴⁰ The new wastefulness of materials has prompted the French Empress Eugenia, who was a lover of fashion. 450 metres of thin tulle were used for one of her evening gowns, whereby its skirt had been embellished with 103 valances. WEBER-KELLERMANN, I. 1998, pp. 135–136.

⁴¹ WEBER-KELLERMANN, I. 1998, p. 136.

⁴² Skirts with pronounced tails are visible only in the prints issued around 1900.

⁴³ REŽEK, A. 1964, p. 34.

⁴⁴ MAUTNER, K. & GERAMB, V. 1988, pp. 226–229.

⁴⁵ The records are from the extensive collection of topographic data generated by questionnaires of Archduke John (1811) and George Gotha (1842). The copies of the responses to the questionnaires are also kept at the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology ZRC SAZU.

⁴⁶ BAŠ, A. 1984, p. 46.

⁴⁷ BAŠ, A. 1984, p.47.

⁴⁸ These typ of bonnet is called *avba*.

derneath it, and a white headscarf made of fine linen or even muslin over it; then a shirt from fine linen with light buttons at the neck and wrists, a silk scarf around her neck, a long woollen skirt, on which the bodice from another fabric is sewn, white socks from thread or wool, shoes with heels and metal buckles or black leather boots«. ⁴⁹ Peasant women wore garments made from less valuable materials on weekdays. In the summer, women did not wear head and neck scarves, and long woollen skirts, instead of that, they wore a garment called *prsnik* over the chest. ⁵⁰

Despite the fact that the prints from the Müller collection mainly portray tourists, some graphics still show people whose clothing differs from the rest of the depicted persons. Given the fact that these people are often painted when carrying out various works such as selling bottles of mineral water, driving harnesses, etc. and that they are placed in the background of the scene, we can conclude that it is likely that they are locals.

Although some reports from surrounding places state that the peasant population had started to be inspired by the fashion of the bourgeoisie by no later than the mid-19th century, ⁵¹ the prints originating from the same period show us a somewhat different picture. ⁵² Local women like those illustrated in eight prints ⁵³ are



Image 3: Mineral Spring Tempel in Rogaška Slatina (Brunnen-Tempel in Sauerbrunn bei Rohitsch), J. Passini, 1855, Anin dvor, Zdravilišče Rogaška, d.d.

dressed in skirts with bodices. The skirts are painted a somewhat shorter than in Russ' aquarelles ⁵⁴ and in white, red, and brown colours, while the bodies are painted in darker shades. Shirts with wide sleeves are depicted beneath the dresses. Almost all portrayed women have white aprons, except those depicted on the black and white graphics, those are dark, which could indicate that we are dealing with coloured aprons. In the prints, we can also see some white neck scarves and a white headscarf, a type of headwear, called *peča*. The boots are the footwear of the depicted women.

The depicted men are dressed as it is also shown by other similar data. They wear tightly tailored trousers, a red vest, white shirt, and boots. We can even see long coats, most likely coats of the Havelock type, and wide-

⁴⁹ BAŠ, A. 1984, p. 46.

⁵⁰ BAŠ, A. 1984, p. 47. Prsnik is a garment similar to a bodice which women wore on top of the shirt MAKAROVIČ, M. 2004, p. 481.

⁵¹ See the reports from the parishes of Šmarje pri Jelšah, Sladka Gora, and Šentvid pri Ponikvi. BAŠ, A. 1984, p.47.

⁵² Due to the obvious class distinction of the people depicted, the authors of the prints probably deliberately portrayed locals wearing clothes of older forms, which are clearly different from the cuts of clothes worn by the town's people. Even though the reports speak of an approximation of peasant clothing to the outfits of the bourgeois class in the middle of the 19th century, the similarities were not yet as significant due to a preservation of regional clothing images MAKAROVIČ, M. 1971, pp. 88-93.

⁵³ Five prints are exhibited in Anin dvor under numbers 3, 10, 11, 15, 21. Other prints are still in the depo and can be found under the numbers 23 or 65, 47 and 243.

⁵⁴ Skirts with pronounced tails are visible only in the prints issued around 1900.

brimmed hats with a round crown. One image stands out; it is a depiction of a man who is dressed in white pants and shirt, and a dark waistcoat, which was otherwise characteristic for the Pannonian area.

Depending on the prints which only show the outlines of the clothing image of the locals, they do not essentially differ from written and other image sources from that time. These graphics are interesting because they are showing a mixture of Alpine and Pannonian influence on the dressing, about which other sources do not report.

CONCLUSION

Since the discussed prints have had the role of promoting the spa town of Rogaška Slatina, the small scenes that complement the representations of architecture, give us a much-generalized insight into the fashion of that time. Although the images did not have the role of a detailed presentation of fashion, they have a documentary value for clothing culture of that time. They provide us with information regarding general garment ensembles, their length, colour, and general form. They also introduce us with outdoor garments and accessories such as coats, jackets, hats, bonnets, and parasols.

However, the greater value of these prints is seen in connection with the research of the clothing image of local people. Due to the small number of sources which inform us about this image, these prints are considered as important sources.

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

SOURCES

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ROGAŠKA SLATINA: MODNE ZAPOVEDI GOSTOV IN PREBIVALCEV V ČASU FRANZA LISZTA

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IZVLEČEK

Rogaška Slatina je bila v 19. stoletju že znano zdravilišče, zaradi česar je bila kot kraj tudi zanimiv motiv za slikarje in grafike. Med številnimi grafikami, ki so del grafične zbirke Kurta Müllerja, lahko opazujemo predvsem zdraviliško arhitekturo, pogosto dopolnjeno z žanrskimi prizori s sprehajalci. Čeprav te grafike niso imele vloge predstavljanja mode, jim lahko danes vseeno pripišemo dokumentarno vrednost za raziskovanje oblačilne kulture tistega časa tako turistov kot tudi domačinov.

POVZETEK

Rogaška Slatina je zdravilišče, ki sodi z večstoletno tradicijo med starejša in pomembnejša zdravilišča v Sloveniji in Evropi. Kraj se je začel uveljavljati v 19. stoletju, ko je postal prostor oddiha za eminentne goste. Zaradi svojega slovesa kot zdravilišča za evropsko aristokracijo in premožne meščane je postal zanimiv tudi za slikarje in druge umetnike, ki so prihajali v Rogaško Slatino, da bi tam ustvarjali ali nastopali za goste, kot na primer pianist Franz Liszt, slikar Karl Ruß in drugi.

Večina doslej znanih upodobitev Rogaške Slatine iz 19. stoletja je del grafične zbirke, ki je bila leta 1985 podarjena Zdravilišču, podjetju, ki je takrat izvajalo turistično in zdraviliško dejavnost v kraju. Grafično zbirko, ki je obsegala približno 40.000 kosov grafik, nastalih od 16. do 19. stoletja, je podaril dolgoletni gost Kurt Müller. Zaradi realističnih teženj v vizualni umetnosti 19. stoletja imajo danes grafike z motivom kraja veliko dokumentarno vrednost. Niso le pomemben dokument za zgodovino kraja, ampak vsebujejo tudi druge podatke, kot je na primer oblačilna podoba naslikanih ljudi. Te grafike so imele predvsem vlogo promocije in oglaševanja kraja, zato nam majhni prizori, ki dopolnjujejo predstavitev arhitekture, dajejo posplošen vpogled v modo tistega časa: čeprav niso imele vloge predstavljanja mode v podrobnosti, nas vseeno informirajo o splošnih oblačilnih kosih, njihovi obliki, barvi in dolžini. Na upodobitvah lahko vidimo tudi oblačila za zunaj in nekatere dodatke, kot so tedaj modni plašči, jakne, klobuki, kape, čepice in sončniki.

Zaradi manjšega števila virov, ki govorijo o oblačenju lokalnega prebivalstva, so te grafike še posebej pomemben vir. Upodobitve domačinov na njih pokažejo tudi mešanje alpskih in panonskih vplivov v oblačenju na tem območju, česar drugi sočasni viri ne omenjajo. Prav zaradi navedenega je njihov pomen za raziskovanje te teme toliko večji kot za raziskovanje visoke mode.

BEAKERS WITH TOWNSCAPES AND SPA GLASSES FROM THE CITIES ON THE LISZT CONCERT TOUR IN THE YEAR 1846 (GRAZ, MARIBOR, ROGAŠKA SLATINA, ZAGREB)

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ABSTRACT

The 19th century was marked by the rapid development of the glazier's craft. In those times, we witness the emergence of a significant number of new types of glasses that were made from new kinds of glass and decorated with different decoration techniques. The beakers with townscapes and spa glasses, which are especially characteristic of the Biedermeier period and were made for the spas with thermal water, are also to be counted among these new glasses. The paper particularly aims to discuss the beakers with townscapes of the cities Graz, Maribor, Zagreb, and Rogaška Slatina that were visited by Franz Liszt within the scope of his concert tour in the year 1846.

KEY WORDS

glazier's craft, Biedermeier period, beakers with townscapes, spa glasses, Rogaška Slatina

INTRODUCTION

The 19th century was marked by the rapid development of the glazier's craft. In those times, we witness the emergence of a significant number of new types of glasses that were made from new kinds of glass and decorated with different decoration techniques. The beakers with townscapes and spa glasses, which are especially characteristic of the Biedermeier period and were made for the spas with thermal water, are also to be counted among these new glasses. The spas were the main touristic destinations of the nobility and well-heeled bourgeoisie, which in this way also expressed their social status. In the present paper, I have tried to establish the number of preserved beakers with townscapes and spa glasses originating from the cities of Graz, Maribor, Rogaška Slatina, and Zagreb; as well as to answer the questions regarding the forms and quality of the glassware concerned. The glassware in question had also been ascribed the character of a souvenir. Therefore, it testifies to the importance of the mentioned cities as tourist cities. In the process of gathering data regarding the glassware, I have limited my search to the museums from Slovenia, Austria, and Croatia, thus those places where one would expect to find such material.¹ But, I can state with certainty that the mentioned objects are also to be found in private collections, while the spa glasses from Rogaška Slatina are still present on the art market.

GLASSWARE IN THE TIME OF THE BIEDERMEIER PERIOD

The Biedermeier period is earmarked by the Central-European bourgeoisie culture from the first half of the 19th century. In a narrower sense, the period concerned is limited by the years 1815 (Congress of Vienna) and 1848 (March Revolution). The period reflects the values of the well-heeled bourgeoisie (patriarchal family, friendship, decency, amiability, charitableness, etc.). The Biedermeier had predominantly developed in Austria and Germany, as well as Bohemia where it was particularly expressed in the field of the glazier's craft.²

¹ On the data regarding the glassware preserved in the museum collections, I would like to thank: Dr Mateja Kos (Narodni muzej Slovenije/National Museum of Slovenia), Jože Rataj (Pokrajinski muzej Celje/Celje Regional Museum), Mag Branko Vnuk (Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj-Ormož/Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož), Aleksandra Čas, Alenka Verdinek (Koroški muzej Slovenj Gradec/Carinthian Regional Museum), Lucija Zorenč, (Kozjanski park Podsreda/Kozjanska Park Podsreda), Nani Poljanec, Ljudski muzej Rogaška Slatina/Folk Museum Rogaška Slatina, Dr Ulrich Becker (Universalmuseum Joanneum, Graz), Dr Nela Tabuk (Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb/Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb), Jelena Borošak-Marijanović (Hrvatski Povijesni muzej, Zagreb/Croatian History Museum, Zagreb), Marina Perica Krapljanov (Muzej grada Zagreba/Zagreb City Museum), Lada Ratković Bukovčan (Muzej Mimara, Zagreb/Mimara Museum, Zagreb), Radmila Biondić (Muzej Slavonije, Osijek/Museum of Slavonia, Osijek), Ljerka Šimunjić (Muzej grada Varaždina/Gradski muzej Varaždin/Varaždin City Museum), Maša Hrustek Sobočan (Muzej Međimurja/Međimurje County Museum, Čakovec), Dr Martin Czermin (Deželni muzej Gradišćanskega/Regional Museum Burgenland), Dr Zsuzsanna Domokos (Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem/Liszt Ferenc Emlékmúzeum és Kutatóközpont/Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music/Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre).

² BROŽOVA, J. 1995, p. 75.

The main territories where glass had been manufactured were more or less the same as in the 18th century, whereby Bohemia asserted the central role. In Bohemia, the glass was made in different places. The areas of Nový Bor (Haida) and Kamenický Šenov (Steinschönau), which are located in the north of Bohemia, as well as the glass workshops that were in possession of Count of Buquoy in the south of Bohemia, were considered as important centres.³ Important centres of the glazier's craft were also located in Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Russia, and elsewhere.⁴

The greatest progress which the glazier's craft witnessed in those times was within the field of technological development of different kinds of glass. In the wish to imitate gemstones, recipes for various coloured glass, which had been transparent and opaque, were invented. Either the glass was already coloured in its glass composition, or decoloured transparent glass was coated with a layer of coloured glass. The transparent glass was also coloured with transparent glazes (pink, green, blue, purple). A special kind of glass was also the Hyalith glass, which had been patented during the years 1803 and 1816 in the glass workshops of Francois de Longueval count Buquoy who possessed glass workshops in the territory of Nove Hradý (Neuwelt) in the south of Bohemia. Friedrich Egermann (1777–1864) patented the Lithyalin glass which resembled the Hyalith glass.⁵ Since the 1820s, different kinds of Opaline glass in soft pastel shades, pink-shaded glass, green glass, and yellow Uranium glass was manufactured in France.⁶ In those times the surface of the coloured glass was also often coated with a layer of white enamel and then grinded which resulted in interesting and intricate patterns.⁷

In the first half of the 19th century, a significant number of new forms of glass objects have evolved, which were decorated with different decoration techniques: grinding, engraving, and painting with transparent enamel colours. The latter method was the result of experimentations which were carried out by Samuel Mohn (1762–1815) in his own atelier. Mohn otherwise busied himself with porcelain painting, but he had also painted many glass objects. After the vivid transparent colours had been applied on the glass surface, they were also “burnt-in” to achieve a particularly attractive gloss.⁸ The colours were combined with gold painting and also Schwarzlot (a sepia enamel); opaque enamel colours were also used. The glass painting technique for glasses with vivid transparent enamel colours was also carried on in Vienna by Samuel's son, Gottlob Mohn (1789–1825); and brought to its perfection by the Viennese porcelain and glass painter Anton Kothgasser (1769–1851).

In the Biedermeier period, Bohemia, in particular, manufactured large amounts of grinded glass. The dynamics of the decorations composed of complex combinations of different grinded elements (relief rings, medallions, buttons, etc.) was characteristic.⁹

MEMENTO GLASSWARE

At the beginning of the 19th century, in the times of the Empire style (1800–1830) and later in the Biedermeier period (1815–1848), glass objects decorated with depictions of hunting scenes or animals, as well as mythological scenes have enjoyed great popularity among the nobility and well-heeled bourgeoisie. The so-called memento glasses (*Andenkengläser*), also came to the fore. The glasses concerned were adorned with motifs which symbolised fidelity, love, and friendship. A particular type of memento glassware are the beakers with townscapes and spa glasses.¹⁰ In his fundamental work on glasses dating from the Empire and Biedermeier periods,¹¹ Pazaurek writes that the glassware of greatest interest and quality originating from the mentioned period is that which had been bestowed on special holidays, as well as that which was manufactured as a souvenir of travels, especially to spa towns. Such glasses were often decorated with the inscription *Zum Andenken* (In memory of), depictions of coats of arms or with engraved initials of their owners. Numerous of these glasses were made to order.¹²

³ PAZAUREK, G. E. 1976, p. 4.

⁴ PAZAUREK, G. E. 1976, pp. 4–12.

⁵ BROŽOVA, J. 1995, p. 75; see also: BROŽOVA, J. 1995, pp. 145–153; BUQUOY, M. von, 1995, pp. 164–179.

⁶ HOLLISTER, P. 1991, p. 191, in: TAIT, H. (ed.) 1991.

⁷ BROŽOVA, J. 1995, p. 76.

⁸ SPIEGL W. 1995, p. 58.

⁹ BROŽOVA, J. 1995, p. 75.

¹⁰ MARKO, E. 1993, p. 24.

¹¹ PAZAUREK, G. E. 1976.

¹² PAZAUREK, G. E. 1976, pp. 12, 13.

BEAKERS WITH TOWNSCAPES

Beakers with depictions of townscapes enjoyed great popularity in the Biedermeier period. The townscape, regarded as a motif which originates from the landscape, witnessed its heyday in the 17th and 18th century. It is a detailed depiction of a town or individual buildings in painting, graphic, and drawing technique.¹³ The merit for the quick spread of townscapes is to be ascribed to the graphic technique. These townscapes were depicted in topographical-historical publications and graphic series that were published in Europe. In the course of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, the motif of the townscape had also asserted itself as a décor piece which appeared on objects of applied arts – objects made by goldsmiths and silversmiths, furniture, ceramics, and glass. The mentioned graphical depictions served as templates for the making townscapes.¹⁴

The townscapes which decorated glassware in the course of the late 17th and 18th century were usually made in the engraving technique, which coincides with the invention of the hard, impeccably clear, and brilliant potassium-lime glass in the 1770s.¹⁵ The most important centre of the early period was Nürnberg, while Bohemia and Silesia came to the fore in the middle of the 18th century.¹⁶ In the Biedermeier period, the precious pieces with engraved townscapes were also grinded. The greatest master in the field of engraved glass was the Bohemian engraver Dominik Biemann (1800–1857). Apart from numerous different motifs, he also decorated glassware with townscapes. The beaker with the depiction of the Ulm Cathedral and two goblets adorned with the depictions of the Mainz Cathedral are some of the objects originating from the period during the years 1835 and 1838,¹⁷ while the goblet with engraved depictions of buildings in Munich originates from the period during the years 1842 and 1845.¹⁸ It the same time of the manufacture of high-quality artistic objects, we also witness the mass production of cheaper memorabilia which can be defined as souvenirs for tourists. The growing industrialisation caused the decline in quality of the products, which became more inexpensive and also more accessible due to the new transport connections.

But, the engraving of townscapes was not the only decoration technique which had been used, since, at the same time, we witness the emergence of glassware decorated with townscapes that were painted with vivid transparent colours. The products of the already mentioned Samuel Mohn and his son Gottlob Mohn are typical exemplars of such glassware. In the year 1811, Samuel Mohn offered beakers with the townscapes of Rome, Berlin, Pillnitz, Meissen, Weimar, and Dresden, where he lived.¹⁹ His son, Gottlob came to fame in Vienna and earned his keep with the painting of townscapes of the Imperial city on glassware.²⁰ Gottlob was also closely connected to the Viennese porcelain and glass painter Anton Kothgasser, who worked as a porcelain painter at the Imperial Vienna Porcelain Factory for fifty six years (1784–1840).²¹ In the year 1813, Kothgasser also opened a studio in Vienna where he worked as an independent porcelain painter with a group of assistants.²² Just as Gottlob Mohn, he too manufactured a great number of beakers with townscapes which depicted different Viennese buildings.²³

The characteristic shape of a Biedermeier beaker is the so-called rimmed beaker (Ranftbecher), a glass with a concave body and a solid shallow foot that is usually grooved on the outer edge. The townscapes depicting the motifs of Viennese buildings (St. Stephen's Cathedral, Karlskirche, etc.) were at most times painted particularly on this type of glassware. The most popular motif was that of the St. Stephen's Cathedral.²⁴

¹³ JAHN, 1966, pp. 717, 718.

¹⁴ ŠTULAR, H. 1973, p. 125.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 125–127.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁷ LICHTENBERG, P. 2004, pp. 93–96, Cat. 67.–69.

¹⁸ SPIEGL, W. 1995, Cat. II.179.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 58–61, Cat. II.65, II.66, II.68.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 58, II.69.

²¹ PAZAUREK, G. E. 1976, p. 184.

²² LIEFKES R. (ed.) 1997, pp. 77,78.

²³ PAZAUREK, G. E. 1976, pp. 187–191, Fig. 166–171.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 187.

Graz

In the first half of the 19th century, Graz played two important roles; it was the political capital of Styria as well as the capital of cultural life which strengthened the then still prevalent regional awareness. The central character was Archduke John of Austria, who encouraged the development, contributed to the construction of the Southern Railway, which connected Vienna with Trieste, and also founded the Landesmuseum Joanneum and the Graz University of Technology (1811). As the capital of Styria, Graz was also the central educational centre with the university on hand which had already been founded in the year 1585.

We can suppose that in the times of the 19th century Graz, just like other larger cities, also sold memento glass beakers with townscapes. Sadly, a much smaller number of these beakers were preserved as one would expect.²⁵ The central museum Universalmuseum Joanneum in Graz (formerly known as the Landesmuseum Joanneum) preserves the cylindrical beaker with the townscape of Graz dating from the year 1830.²⁶ The beaker is made of decoloured blown glass and is decorated with a deep engraving. In the centre of the composition that is on the walls of the beaker, we see the depiction of a townscape surrounded with five city district's coats of arms which were granted judicial and market rights. The engraving is made after a lithographic template by Wachtl (1778–1839) from the year 1822. This object is a product which had been manufactured in Styrian glass workshops.²⁷

We know of a preserved beaker originating from the immediate proximity of Graz decorated with the townscape of St. Leonhard near Graz.²⁸ Pilgrimage beakers from the most important Austrian pilgrimage centre, Mariazell²⁹ have also been preserved. Eventhough Mariazell lies in the north of Styria; it is still more than 100 kilometres away from Graz. Thus, these beakers have served solely as souvenir glasses which reminded of the pilgrimage to Mariazell.

In the course of the 19th century, the glazier's craft in Styria witnessed its heyday. Therefore, the reasons regarding the absence of suchlike glass beakers adorned with the townscapes of the city of Graz cannot be associated with the lack of the required knowledge and glassware in general. Glass workshops that were located in the west of Styria already operated since the 14th century, whereas they have truly flourished in the 19th century which was in accordance with the spirit of the industrialisation. It was until the beginning of the 20th century that these workshops had withstood the general demise of the glazier's craft at the end of the 19th century.³⁰ But south of Graz, there was another important centre of the glazier's craft located in the territory of the mountain range of Pohorje. Since the beginning of the 17th and until the 20th century there were at least 16 glass workshops that operated on the mountain range of Pohorje and its immediate proximity. These workshops reached their climax in the second quarter of the 19th century.³¹

Maribor

In the 19th century, Maribor was considered as the second most important city of Styria; immediately after Graz. The development of Maribor was additionally furthered by the construction of the railway, which reached Maribor in the year 1846. That was also the year in which Franz Liszt held a concert at the Knights' Hall of the Maribor castle. It was Liszt's friend, Eduard von Lannoy who had invited him to Maribor. Every year, Lannoy would spend the summer months at his manor house Viltuš (Wildhaus) in the vicinity of Maribor.

Even though, Maribor had been the centre of South Styria; we actually do not have any souvenir beak-

²⁵ With the exception of the Universalmuseum Joanneum, we cannot find the beakers with townscapes of Graz in any of the museum collections which have been mentioned at the beginning of the present paper. See: Ref. 1 of this paper.

²⁶ Inventory Book, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Inv. No. 2553. Until the closing of this paper I was not able to research the entire Glass Collection of the Universalmuseum Joanneum.

²⁷ MARKO, E. 1993, p. 28.

²⁸ Inventory Book, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Inv. No. 25300.

²⁹ Inventory Book, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Inv. No. 16304, Inv. No. 17185; Inventory Book, Regional Museum Maribor, Inv. No. N. 006584.

³⁰ On the glazier's craft in West Styria see: ROTH, W. P. 1976.

³¹ On the glazier's craft on Pohorje see: VARL, V. 2006.

ers with the townscape from the Biedermeier period of the city concerned.³² The only preserved specimen originates from the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century. The octagonal beaker is made of decoloured glass with the townscape of the Maribor castle painted on its walls.³³ Under the depiction of the castle lies the inscription *Gruss aus Marburg* (Greetings from Marburg). The beaker is a serial product which had been manufactured with the help of mould-blowing into an octagonal mould. The mouth of the beaker is grinded, while the bottom is massive. The image near the mouth is additionally decorated with a gold line and was probably executed with colorized screen-printing using a paste-like enamel colour. The object is considered a simple product with the character of a souvenir.

The collection of the Regional Museum Maribor preserves a mid-19th-century beaker that is characteristic of the Biedermeier period with the inscription *Andenken an Meran* (Memories of Meran).³⁴ The beaker commemorates the visit of the Merano estate, which had been in possession of Archduke John of Austria and is located only a couple of kilometres from Maribor in the settlement Pekre. The collection also comprises a group of memento glass objects which are connected with Archduke John of Austria. The group is represented by glasses, goblets, and flasks adorned with the portrait of Archduke John of Austria and farming symbols made of glass which had been pressed into a metal relief mould. The objects were manufactured around the year 1840 in the glass workshop Langersvald owned by Benedikt Vivat.³⁵

The Glass workshops from Pohorje also manufactured memento glasses that commemorated the visit of the pilgrimage church the Holy Name of Mary Church in Ruše.³⁶ These glasses are solely a humble representation of a decoration technique (painting with transparent colours) that was applied in the Biedermeier period.³⁷

Zagreb

It almost seems impossible that the most important museums in Croatia, Slovenia, and the Austrian city Graz, which hold collections of glass, do not preserve glass beakers with the townscape of Zagreb. The glazier's craft in Croatia had been well developed in the course of the 19th century in as much there were more than ten glass workshops that had operated since the beginning of the 19th century and until the year 1926. The glass workshop from the settlement Osredok near Samobor (founded in the year 1839 and abandoned in the year 1904), in particular, followed all trends of that time and manufactured high-quality Biedermeier glass. Beside many other objects the workshop also produced souvenirs with patriotic inscriptions, the Croatian coat of arms, Illyrian emblems, etc. At its foundation, the workshop had exclusively employed Bohemian glassmakers from Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad). The glass workshop from Zvečevo (founded in the year 1842 and abandoned in the year 1904) could also pride itself with high-quality products. Until the year 1857, the workshop was in the ownership of the renown Viennese family Lobmeyr.³⁸

Rogaška Slatina

If we are to compare it to the cities which have already been mentioned in the present paper, Rogaška Slatina is to be considered a small town. But it was already in the year 1803 when we witness the foundation of a spa. That is precisely the reason why souvenir glasses with townscapes of the Rogaška Slatina spa buildings were preserved. These glasses are classified as spa glasses to which this paper devotes a whole chapter.

SPA GLASSES

Spa glasses are a special category of glassware, which had evolved out of the need of the spa towns. In a general sense, the spa glasses are divided into two groups. The first group consists of glasses which have served as drinking glassware for the drinking of mineral water. The second group consists of glasses, which have served as memento glasses. The need for glasses for the consumption of mineral water had emerged

³² We do not dispose of any information about the glass workshops from Pohorje that were located in the immediate proximity of Maribor regarding their manufacture of beakers with townscapes of Maribor or any other city. We also do not come across suchlike products in the collections of any of the museums which have been mentioned at the beginning of the present paper. See: Ref. 1 of this paper.

³³ Inventory Book, Regional Museum Maribor, Inv. No. N. 004576.

³⁴ Inventory Book, Regional Museum Maribor, Inv. No. N. 009466.

³⁵ VARL, V. 2006, pp. 98–103, Fig. 52, 54.

³⁶ VARL, V. 2005, Vol. 2, Cat. 91–94.

³⁷ Cf: VARL, V. 2006, pp. 90–97, Cat. 45, 46.

³⁸ RATKOVIČ-BUKOVČAN, L. 2013, in: TRANSPARENTNA LJEPOTA, 2013, pp. 112–114.

in the 18th century when the drinking of mineral water had been attributed a therapeutic purpose. In the year 1835, four different sizes of glasses were introduced in Rogaška Slatina. The glasses have also differed regarding their shapes since the mineral water had been drunk cold, warm, and hot. Glass mugs were used for the drinking of hot and warm mineral water. The shape of these mugs has its source from the already asserted glasses that were intended for the drinking of warm beverages, with the only difference being that spa mugs were additionally decorated with depictions of spa buildings and inscriptions. The glasses which were intended for the drinking of cold mineral water were in the shape of ordinary water glasses without handles but had also been decorated.³⁹

One of the unique categories is represented by spa glasses of a commemorative character. They served as souvenirs or gifts. They were decorated with engravings or paintings and gilding; sometimes the decoration techniques were also combined. Some guests also had their initials engraved on their glasses.⁴⁰ The spending of leisure time at the spas was not solely considered to have a beneficial effect on one's health but was also a way to express one's social status.⁴¹

Various museum and private collections preserve a lot of engraved glasses with depictions of Bohemian, Silesian, Austrian, and German spas. One of the widely known spas was located in Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad) in Bohemia. The spa town was provided with glasses which were manufactured in the then very successful Bohemian glass workshops. Since the 1830s, every year the merchants of glassware and souvenirs, who were working in Bohemian spa towns, would offer new collections of spa glasses which were always made in new fashionable colours.⁴²

It is quite fascinating that the high-quality engraved glassware was best sold and reached the highest prices in spa towns and not elsewhere; like for example in capital cities as one would expect. The demand for spa glasses must have been great, which is also supported by the fact that some glass artists (glass painters, glass grinders, glass engravers) have settled in the spas where they decorated the glassware. A proper centre for the decoration of glassware had formed itself in Karlovy Vary, where several acclaimed glass cutters were active. Beside the townscapes, the craftsmen also made engravings depicting hunting scenes and equestrians upon requests of prestige spa guests.⁴³ Between the years 1826 and 1847, the already mentioned Dominik Biemann worked in the spa town Františkovy Lázně (Franzensbad) during the summer months, where he had reached fame with portrait miniatures of spa guests that were engraved on glassware.⁴⁴ It was already in the year 1811 when Samuel Mohn also offered glasses with painted townscapes of spa towns Bad Schandau and Teplitz in Bohemia.⁴⁵

SPA GLASSES FROM ROGAŠKA SLATINA

Spa glasses were also manufactured in the territory of South Styria, where the glasses were made to popularize the spa towns Rogaška Slatina, Laško, Rimske Toplice, and Dobrna, which were founded at the beginning of the 19th century. In the first half of the 19th century, the glass workshops from Croatia and Styria also flourished. The latter mentioned operated on the mountain range of Pohorje and its immediate vicinity, as well as in the region of Kozjansko. We can safely conclude that Rogaška Slatina was provided with glasses by surrounding glass workshops. Some of these workshops also disposed of their own glass grinding shops and decorated the glass with paintings and engravings. It is, of course, also possible that in Rogaška Slatina we only come across glass decorators who have busied themselves solely with the decorating of glasses. As it was already mentioned, the glass workshop in Osredok near Samobor had initially employed exclusively Bohemian glassmakers from Karlovy Vary, who were undoubtedly familiar with spa glasses. But because back then the shapes of Styrian and Croatian glass had been similar, we cannot claim with certainty which glass workshops had provided the spa with glassware.

³⁹ ŠTULAR, H. 1977, pp. 183, 184.

⁴⁰ ŠTULAR, H. 1977, p. 184.

⁴¹ MARKO, E. 1993, p. 30.

⁴² LICHTENBERG, P. 2004, p. 14.

⁴³ BROŽOVA, J. 1995, p. 77.

⁴⁴ LICHTENBERG, P. 2004, pp. 20–21.

⁴⁵ SPIEGL, W. 1994, p. 58.

The spa glasses from Rogaška Slatina were preserved in various museum and private collections in Slovenia, Croatia, and Austria. The number of the preserved pieces and their presence on the art market testify to the fact that they were manufactured in large quantities. The pieces differ according to the type of glasses and the types and quality of the decorations. In his monograph devoted to Rogaška Slatina,⁴⁶ Adolf Režek mentioned the existence of a private collection in Rogaška Slatina in the year 1952. This collection comprised thirty spa glasses which were decorated with the townscapes of Rogaška Slatina.⁴⁷

SPA GLASSES WITH HANDLES

For the main part, the function of the spa glasses had been their practicability. The National Museum of Slovenia preserves one spa glass with a handle that originates from the middle of the 19th century.⁴⁸ The glass has a characteristic Biedermeier shape with a slightly concave body. It is made of light green mould-blown glass. We find a shallow engraving of a tendril under its mouth. Its walls had been decorated with the depiction, which lies in a rectangular field, of the Temple Spring enclosed on both sides by trees and the inscription *Sauerbrun*.⁴⁹

The spa glass with one handle that is preserved at the Regional Museum Maribor and originates from the time during the years 1830 and 1840 resembles the aforementioned spa glass.⁵⁰ It is made of decoloured mould-blown glass. The body of the glass is bell-shaped and adorned with a shallow and very easily made engraving of the Temple Spring. The inscription: *Sauerbrun bei Rohitsch Turin* lies beneath the engraved motif. (Image 1) The spa glass with a handle that is preserved by the Universalmuseum Joanneum in Graz is made of high-quality decoloured glass.⁵¹ The body is bell-shaped and has a wider mouth. The walls of the body are decorated with three rectangular fields with scraped edges and coated with a layer of red lustre paint. Within the fields, we can see shallow engravings of spa buildings and the inscriptions mentioning them.



Image 1: Spa glass with one handle, transparent glass, grinded, engraved, 1830–1840, Regional Museum Maribor (photograph by Marjan Laznik).

⁴⁶ REŽEK, A. 1964.

⁴⁷ REŽEK, A. 1964, p. 86, NB II.

⁴⁸ Inventory Book, National Museum of Slovenia, Inv. No. N 4543, height: 10 cm.

⁴⁹ ŠTULAR, H. 1977, p. 185.

⁵⁰ Inventory Book, Regional Museum Maribor, Inv. No. N. 006554, height: 11 cm.

⁵¹ Inventory Book, Universal Museum Joanneum, Inv. No. 19688.

The footed beaker with a handle that is preserved at the National Museum of Slovenia⁵² originates from the middle of the 19th century. It is made of decoloured transparent mould-blown glass. The bell-shaped body is decorated with a shallow engraving of a grape vine which encircles three medallions with townscapes of spa buildings in Rogaška Slatina. The medallions were coated with a burnt-in layer of red lustre paint and then engraved. The first field is decorated with the inscription *Andenken von Sauerbrunn bei Rohitsch* (Memories of Sauerbrunn bei Rohitsch); the second field contains the inscription *Brunnentempel* (Temple Spring) and the depiction of the spa temple; the inscription *Wandelbahn* and the depiction of the covered promenade are to be seen in the third field. The spa glass with a handle that is made of decoloured mould-blown glass coated with a burnt-in layer of blue colour and is preserved at the Folk Museum Rogaška Slatina⁵³ is also an interesting piece. Its body is of conical shape and ends in a shallow foot at the bottom. The foot is decorated with an engraved pattern of olives. Three grinded round fields, in two of which we see the townscapes of the Temple Spring (with the inscription *Tempelbrunn*) and the covered promenade (with the inscription *Wandelbahn*) are placed on the body. Within the third field we see a heart with the inscription *Andenken / von / Sauerbrunn / bei / Rohitsch* (Memories / of / Sauerbrunn / bei / Rohitsch). The townscapes were made in gold painting; the inscriptions had been engraved. The mentioned three fields are enclosed by a pattern of grinded smaller circles that were also decorated with gold rings. The band at the mouth is gilded.

FOOTED SPA GLASSES

A specimen of a very beautiful Biedermeier glass is the footed spa glass originating from around the year 1840 from the National Museum of Slovenia.⁵⁴ It is made of decoloured transparent mould-blown glass. The lower portion of the bell-shaped cup is polygonally abraded and flows over a rounded ring into a massive foot. The rim is abraded in such a way that it is bevelled. The bottom of the foot is decorated with star-shaped grooves. The walls of the glass are adorned with four oval medallions which were coloured with a burnt-in red glazing paint and then opaque engraved. The inscription *Badhaus* (Bathhouse) and the depiction of the bathhouse that was built during the years 1842 and 1843 can be seen in the first field. The inscription *Neugebäude* (new building) and the depiction of the building, which was built during the years 1838 and 1839, is placed in the second field. The third field contains the inscription *Triestinerhaus in Rohitsch* (Trieste House in Rogaška) and the depiction of the *Tržaški dom* (Trieste House) that was constructed in the year 1834 and renovated during the years 1840 and 1841. The fourth area is decorated with the inscription *AG*. It is most probable that these were the initials of the owner. This product cannot be categorised solely as an object of utility used for the drinking of mineral water but as a souvenir as well.⁵⁵ The same museum also preserves yet another footed spa glass which originates from the second half of the 19th century.⁵⁶ It is made of decoloured transparent mould-blown glass. The bell-shaped cup flows over a rounded ring abraded with a sequence of oval olives into a massive round rounded foot. The walls of the body are decorated with a rectangular field with scraped edges and coated with a burnt-in layer of red lustre paint. In the fields, there are engraved depictions of the townscapes of Rogaška Slatina as well as the inscriptions.

The footed spa glass that is preserved at the Celje Regional Museum⁵⁷ is also decorated with a simple shallow engraving. A depiction of the Temple Spring lies in the oval medallion. The medallion is enclosed by two flower branches. The body is also decorated with the inscription *Andenken / von / Sauerbrunn* (Memories / of / Sauerbrunn). The same museum holds also a particularly interesting footed spa glass that was decorated with grinding, engraving, and gold painting.⁵⁸ The glass stands on a round grinded foot which flows into a conical body. On the body, we can see six oval grinded medallions into the gilding of which the townscapes of the spa buildings and the following inscriptions were engraved: *Andenken / von / Rohitsch / bei / Sauerbrunn* (Memories / of / Rogaška Slatina) in the first field; the depiction of the Temple

⁵² Inventory Book, National Museum of Slovenia, Inv. No. N 4768, height: 12 cm.

⁵³ Folk Museum Rogaška Slatina; the object is exhibited within the exhibition at the cultural-tourist centre Anin Dvor in Rogaška Slatina.

⁵⁴ Inventory Book, National Museum of Slovenia, Inv. No. N 2982.

⁵⁵ ŠTULAR, H. 1977, p. 186, 187.

⁵⁶ Inventory Book, National Museum of Slovenia, Inv. No. N 4614, height: 13,5 cm.

⁵⁷ Inventory Book, Celje Regional Museum, Inv. No. KZ 52, height: 11,5 cm.

⁵⁸ Inventory Book, Celje Regional Museum, Inv. No. KZ 1845, height: 13,5 cm.

Spring and the inscription *Tempelbrun* in the second field; the depiction of the residential building and the inscription *Wohngebäude / N 5*. These decorations are then followed by medallions with the depictions of the hall and the inscription *Saalgebäude / N 13*, the bathhouse and the inscription *Badehaus / N 2*, and the promenade and the inscription *Wandelbahn*. The medallions are enclosed by ornamental paintings of a gilded grape vine. The band at the mouth and the foot are also adorned with gold painting. The footed spa glass from the collection of the Folk Museum Rogaška Slatina⁵⁹ is made of decoloured transparent glass. The conical cup is polygonally abraded and flows into a stepped polygonal massive foot. The body is coated with red glaze into which the townscape of the Temple Spring with the inscription *Andenken / von / Rohitsch Sauerbrunn* (Memories / of / Rogaška Slatina) and the townscape of the Styrian Spring with the inscription *Styriaquelle* were engraved. The Museum of Slavonia preserves a footed spa glass made of decoloured transparent mould-blown glass.⁶⁰ The body of the glass is decorated with three rectangular fields with cropped edges that were coated with a layer of yellow glazing paint. The fields are also adorned with engravings of the townscapes of Rogaška Slatina and the following inscriptions: *Tempelbrunn, Wandelbahn, Andeken an Sauerbrunn bei Rochitsch*.

BEAKERS

A specimen of a very beautiful Biedermeier beaker with a concave body and expanded bottom and mouth is preserved at the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož⁶¹. It is made of transparent glass and coated with a layer of opaque white glass. The body is decorated with an abraded olive pattern that encloses three round grinded medallions into which the two townscapes of Rogaška Slatina are engraved and coated with a red glaze. In the medallions also the inscriptions *I P Andenken von Sauerbrunn bei Rochitsch, Brunnentempel & Wandelbahn* are to be found. The beaker originates from the middle of the 19th century. (Image 2)



Image 2: Beaker, transparent decoloured glass, coated with a layer of opaque white glass, grinded, engraved, middle of the 19th century, Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož (photograph by Boris Farič).

The beaker made of massive decoloured grinded glass from the collection of the Folk Museum Rogaška Slatina⁶² has a slightly concave conical shape. The body is decorated with a rectangular field with scraped edges, coated with a red glaze and an engraving of the bathhouse in Rogaška Slatina. The inscription *Badhaus b. Ro-*

⁵⁹ Folk Museum Rogaška Slatina; the object is exhibited within the exhibition at the cultural-tourist centre Anin Dvor in Rogaška Slatina.

⁶⁰ Zbirka stakla Muzeja Slavonije, Cat. 24.

⁶¹ Inventory Book, Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož, Inv. No. UO 349s, height: 1,1 cm.

⁶² Folk Museum Rogaška Slatina; the object is exhibited within the exhibition at the cultural-tourist centre Anin Dvor in Rogaška Slatina.

hitsch is to be found below the mentioned field. The same collection in Rogaška Slatina⁶³ also holds a beaker which is of a similar shape than the one mentioned above, but with the difference that this one is made of transparent red glass. The exterior is covered with an ornament of flowers and rocaille of a white paste-like colour and gilding. The inscription *Souvenir / de / Rohitsch* is placed into a rectangular frame. The spa glass of a smaller format that is to be found at the National Museum of Slovenia originates from the second half of the 19th century.⁶⁴ It is made of decoloured transparent mould-blown glass. The body is slightly concave and flows into a much narrower, shallow rounded foot. The body is decorated with a rectangular field with scraped edges in which we find the inscription *Tempelbrunn b(ei) Rohitsch* and the depiction of the Temple Spring in Rogaška Slatina, both of which had been shallowly engraved into a layer of gilding.

A group of polygonal beakers that originate from the second half of the 19th century was also preserved. The beaker decorated with three townscapes of the buildings in Rogaška Slatina is preserved at the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož.⁶⁵ It is made of decoloured transparent glass which was pressed into a nonagonal mould. The body is decorated with four rectangular fields with scraped edges in which we find inscriptions and the townscapes of the spa buildings in Rogaška Slatina. The inscription *Andenken an Sauerbrunn bei Rohitsch* (Memories of Rogaška Slatina) is to be found in the first field. The inscription *Wandelbahn* and the depiction of the covered promenade, which was built during the years 1842 and 1843 lies within the second field. The third field contains the inscription *Saalgebäude* (Building with a hall) and the depiction of the second accommodation facility that was built during the years 1844 and 1859 and burnt down in the year 1910. The inscription *Tempelbrunn* and the depiction of the Temple Spring are positioned within the fourth field. According to the data regarding the end of building constructions of the buildings that are depicted on the beaker, we can assume that it was manufactured after the year 1859.⁶⁶ A spa glass with three townscapes of the buildings in Rogaška Slatina is also being preserved at the Međimurje County Museum in Čakovec.⁶⁷ It is made of decoloured transparent glass which was pressed into an octagonal mould. The body is decorated with four rectangular fields that are framed by shallow tapered arches, painted with motifs of the spa buildings in Rogaška Slatina, and provided with inscriptions. The first field contains the inscription *Andenken / von / Sauerbrunn / bei / Rohitsch* which is placed in front of a gold background. The inscription *Tempelbrunn* and the depiction of the Temple Spring are to be found within the second field. The third field contains the inscription *Saalgebäude* and the depiction of the second accommodation facility, as well as the inscription *No. 13*, which is placed in the right corner. The fourth field contains the inscription *Wandelbahn* and the depiction of the covered promenade. The mouth of the beaker is decorated with a gold rim.⁶⁸ The Celje Regional Museum preserves an octagonal beaker which is made of decoloured mould-blown glass and decorated with the townscape of the Temple Spring.⁶⁹ The engraving is placed into a rectangular frame with scraped edges. Beneath the engraving, we can see the inscription *Sauerbrunn de Rohitsch*. A specimen of an octagonal beaker decorated with the inscription *Andenken / von / Sauerbrunn / bei / Rohitsch* and the townscapes of the spa buildings in Rogaška Slatina is preserved at the Universalmuseum Joanneum in Graz.⁷⁰ The central part of its body is coated with blue glaze paint that forms a contrast to the engraved depictions of the buildings.

TRAVEL GLASSES

The flat – pocket or travel spa glasses form a special group of glasses. They are usually decorated solely with inscriptions or modest decorations. One specimen of such pocket spa glasses that originate from the first half of the 19th century is being preserved at the National Museum of Slovenia.⁷¹ It is made of decoloured

⁶³ Folk Museum Rogaška Slatina; the object is exhibited within the exhibition at the cultural-tourist centre Anin Dvor in Rogaška Slatina.

⁶⁴ Inventory Book, National Museum of Slovenia, Inv. No. N 3113, height: 8,6 cm.

⁶⁵ Inventory Book, Regional Museum Ptuj- Ormož, Inv. No. UO-249/1-S, height: 13,8 cm.

⁶⁶ ŠTULAR, H. 1977, pp. 185, 186.

⁶⁷ Inventory Book, Međimurje County Museum, Čakovec, Inv. No. 6221, height: 11 cm.

⁶⁸ TRANSPARENTNA LIJEPOTA, 2013, p. 147 (cat. 178). Within the exhibition catalogue, Austria is stated as the provenance of the described spa glass; the dating is determined between the years 1815 and 1845. In regard to the dating of the glass, which is decorated with identical depictions of spa buildings, from the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož we are allowed to date this glass to the same time after the year 1859.

⁶⁹ Inventory Book, Celje Regional Museum, Inv. No. KZ 2558, height: 11,8 cm.

⁷⁰ Inventory Book, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Inv. No. 18493.

⁷¹ Inventory Book, National Museum of Slovenia, Inv. No. N 3497, height: 12 cm.

transparent mould-blown glass. The walls of the glass are decorated with the inscription *Tempelbrunn* and an engraved depiction of the Temple Spring in Rogaška Slatina. A travel spa glass that originates from the beginning of the 20th century is also being preserved at the Folk Museum Rogaška Slatina.⁷²

GLASS SETS

The glass collection of the Kozjansko park Podsreda comprises a preserved beaker and bottle with stopper; both made of opaque white glass, originating from the time around the year 1860.⁷³ The bottle has a bulbous body, a slightly concave neck, and an expanded mouth. The stopper has a flattened handle and is decorated



Image 3: Bottle and beaker, opaque white glass, around the year 1860, Kozjansko Park Podsreda (photograph by Izidor Kotnik).

with a gilded ring. The walls of the bottle are painted with three rings and a pattern of 8-petaled blossoms and dots in gild painting. An oval medallion contains the inscription *Andrenken / v. / Sauerbrün / b. / Rohitsch*. The mouth of the cylindrical glass with a narrower bottom is decorated with a gilded ring. The walls are adorned with the same floral pattern as the bottle.

Beakers with townscapes of spa buildings and inscriptions were still popular in the last quarter of the 19th century, but in the 20th century as well. Over time, the quality of these beakers declined substantially. In this sense, we can only speak of mass produced souvenirs. These beakers are preserved at the Folk Museum Rogaška Slatina, Celje Regional Museum, and the National Museum of Slovenia.

CONCLUSION

Only very few glass beakers with townscapes of the cities Graz, Maribor, Zagreb, and Rogaška Slatina that were visited by Franz Liszt within the scope of his concert tour in the year 1846 have been preserved. Rogaška Slatina stands out among the mentioned cities, which had been much smaller if compared to the rest, but enjoyed the reputation of a spa town. So it came to pass that the numerous spa glasses provided with inscriptions and townscapes of spa buildings emerged due to the need of the spa tourism in Rogaška Slatina. The glasses were attributed a value in terms of being objects of utility as well as souvenirs. They were made of decoloured transparent glass; some of them were additionally decorated with a layer of coloured glass or coated with glazes. As regards the shapes of these glasses, they can be categorized into several groups, which are characteristic of the first as well as the second half of the 19th century. They were decorated with shallow engravings, abrasions, gildings, but we do not come across paintings with vivid transparent colours which are characteristic of that time. The most often inscription that appears on the bodies of the glasses is *Andenken an Rochitsch Sauerbrunn*. The 19th century is also the time when we witness the flowering of the

⁷² Folk Museum Rogaška Slatina; the object is exhibited within the exhibition at the cultural-tourist centre Anin Dvor in Rogaška Slatina.

⁷³ Inventory Book, Kozjansko Park Podsreda, Inv. No. S 500, height of the bottle: 18,5 cm; Inv. No. S 501, height of the glass: 9,2 cm; RATAJ, J. 2012, p. 35.

native glass production in the region of Kozjansko and on the mountain range of Pohorje, as well as in the neighbouring West-Styria and Croatia. We can safely conclude that the spa in Rogaška Slatina was provided with spa glasses which were manufactured and decorated in these glass workshops. A more deepened examination is required in order to attain a more detailed determination regarding the origin of the glassware concerned. According to the quality of their decorations, the presented spa glasses cannot be compared to the coeval products of Bohemian masters, but their presence alone confirms that the local glass workshops also followed the trends in the field of spa glasses of that time.

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KOZARCI Z VEDUTAMI IN ZDRAVILIŠKI KOZARCI IZ MEST NA LISZTOVI KONCERTNI TURNEJI LETA 1846 (GRADEC, MARIBOR, ROGAŠKA SLATINA, ZAGREB)

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

19. stoletje je bilo obdobje naglega razvoja na področju steklarstva. V tem času so nastali številni novi tipi steklenih kozarcev, izdelani iz novih vrst stekel in okrašeni z različnimi krasilnimi tehnikami. Mednje sodijo tudi kozarci z vedutami in zdraviliški kozarci, značilni zlasti za obdobje bidermajerja, ki so jih izdelovali za potrebe zdravilišč s termalno vodo. V prispevku so izpostavljeni kozarci z vedutami mest, v katerih je na svoji koncertni turneji leta 1846 igral Franz Liszt (Gradec, Maribor, Rogaška Slatina, Zagreb). Med njimi po številu in raznolikosti oblik in dekoracij izstopajo zdraviliški kozarci, izdelani za zdravilišče v Rogaški Slatini.

POVZETEK

Prvo polovico 19. stoletja zaznamuje v naših krajih obdobje bidermajerja, katerega vplivi so k nam prihajali z Dunaja. V ožjem smislu ga omejujemo z letnicama 1815 (dunajski kongres) in 1848 (marčna revolucija). Na področju steklarske stroke v tem času zasledimo številne nove tendence, ki se kažejo tako v tehnologiji izdelave različnih novih vrst stekel, kot v novih oblikah steklenih predmetov. Za ta čas so značilne krasilne tehnike graviranje, brušenje in poslikave s prosojnimi pisanimi emajlnimi barvami.

V pomembnih steklarskih središčih na območju Češke, Avstrije in Nemčije so zraven drugih predmetov, izdelovali tudi za ta čas značilne spominski kozarce. Nekateri so imeli zasebni značaj in so bili izdelani po naročilu, veliko pa jih je bilo izdelanih za potrebe prebujajoče se narodne zavesti in turizma. Mednje sodijo tudi zelo priljubljeni in dobro prodajani kozarci z graviranimi ali naslikanimi vedutami in zdraviliški kozarci. Slednji so na ostenju imeli upodobljene vedute ali stavbe zdraviliških mest. Namenjeni so bili prestižnim gostom zdravilišč.

Iz mest, kjer se je na svoji koncertni turneji leta 1846 ustavil Franc Liszt – Gradca, Maribora, Rogaške Slatine in Zagreba – se je ohranilo zelo malo steklenih kozarcev z vedutami. Med njimi izstopa Rogaška Slatina, ki je bila v primerjavi z ostalimi mesti mnogo manjši kraj, ki pa je slovel po zdravilišču. S svojimi zdravilnimi vreli je privabljal številne prestižne goste iz monarhije, ki so na svojem oddihu z veseljem prisluhnili koncertu virtuoza in domov odnesli spominski steklen kozarec. Za potrebe zdraviliškega turizma v Rogaški Slatini so tako nastali številni zdraviliški kozarci, opremljeni z napisi in upodobitvami zdraviliških stavb. Imeli so uporabno in spominsko vrednost. Iz njih so pili hladno, toplo ali vročo mineralno vodo, bogato okrašeni gravirani kosi, pogosto opremljeni z napisom "*Andenken an Rochitsch Sauerbrunn*", pa so služili predvsem kot spominki. 19. stoletje je tudi čas, ko je cvetela domača proizvodnja stekla na Kozjanskem in Pohorju, pa tudi na avstrijskem Štajerskem in na Hrvaškem. Sklepati smemo, da so zdraviliške kozarce za potrebe zdravilišča v Rogaški Slatini izdelali in okrasili prav v teh steklarnah.

MUSEOEUROPE

REGIONAL MUSEUM MARIBOR

