

UR. JERNEJ WEISS

SKLADATELJSKA  
DRUŠTVA  
NEKOČ IN DANES

COMPOSERS' SOCIETIES  
PAST AND PRESENT

musicologica  
studia labacensia

*studia musicologica labacensia*  
E-ISSN 2712-2867



Izid monografije so podprli



Mestna občina  
Ljubljana

LJUBLJANA  
*Zmagavka 2016*



**ZELENA**  
PRESTOLNICA EVROPE



REPUBLIKA SLOVENIJA  
MINISTRSTVO ZA KULTURO

Skladateljska društva  
nekoč in danes: preplet  
stanovskega in nacionalnega

*Composers' Societies Past  
and Present: Combining  
the Professional and the National*

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ur. Jernej Weiss



*Skladateljska društva nekoč in danes: preplet stanovskega in nacionalnega*  
*Composers' Societies Past and Present: Combining the Professional and the National*  
Uredil Jernej Weiss

*Studia musicologica Labacensia* 9 (E-ISSN 2712-2867)

Glavni urednik • Jernej Weiss (Ljubljana/Maribor)

Tehnična urednica • Rebeka Glasenčnik Kociper (Ljubljana)

Uredniški odbor • Matjaž Barbo (Ljubljana), Helmut Loos (Leipzig), Wolfgang Marx (Dublin),

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Recenzentki • Darja Koter, Tina Bohak Adam

Jezikovni pregled (slovensko besedilo) • Jernej Weiss

Prevod • Amidas d. o. o.

Oblikovanje • Jonatan Vinkler

Prelom • Primož Orešnik

Izdala in založila

Založba Univerze na Primorskem

Titov trg 4, SI-6000 Koper

Festival Ljubljana

Trg francoske revolucije 1, SI-1000 Ljubljana

Koper in Ljubljana • 2026

Brezplačna elektronska izdaja

<http://www.hippocampus.si/ISBN/978-961-293-555-9.pdf>

<http://www.hippocampus.si/ISBN/978-961-293-556-6/index.html>

<https://doi.org/10.26493/978-961-293-555-9>

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Kataložni zapis o publikaciji (CIP) pripravili  
v Narodni in univerzitetni knjižnici v Ljubljani  
COBISS.SI-ID 268951043  
ISBN 978-961-293-555-9 (PDF)  
ISBN 978-961-293-556-6 (HTML)

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## Skladateljska društva nekoč in danes: preplet stanovskega in nacionalnega

Jernej Weiss

Univerza v Ljubljani / Univerza v Mariboru

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Pričujoča monografija z naslovom *Skladateljska društva nekoč in danes* obravnava mednarodni kontekst delovanja različnih skladateljskih društev v preteklosti in sedanjosti. S prispevki nekaterih najvidnejših domačih in tujih raziskovalcev želimo ob 80. obletnici ustanovitve Društva slovenskih skladateljev osvetliti delovanje primerljivih tujih ustanov. Te so v preteklosti, vsaka po svoje, sooblikovala ne le glasbeno-ustvarjalno področje, temveč tudi številne druge sfere glasbene kulture.

Monografija v ospredje postavlja preplet njihovega stanovskega in nacionalnega poslanstva, ki je, odvisno od različnih družbenih prelomnic ne le pri nas, temveč tudi drugod, odločilno zaznamoval podobo glasbeno-institucionalnega delovanja. Prav tovrsten soobstoj namreč na eni strani opredeljuje pomen skladateljskih društev za ohranjanje glasbene identitete in promocijo nacionalne glasbene ustvarjalnosti, na drugi pa razgrinja njihove dejavnosti za zadovoljevanje stanovskih potreb njihovega članstva.

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Uvodni prispevek odlične poznavalke delovanja slovenskega skladateljskega društva Sonje Kralj osvetli temeljne vidike delovanja Društva slovenskih skladateljev (DSS) skozi prizmo sodelovanja z glasbenimi institucijami, sorodnimi društvi v nekdanji Jugoslaviji, Sloveniji in mednarodnem kulturnem prostoru. Avtorica uresničevanje društvenega poslanstva oriše s prikazom konkretnih pobud v glasbenem založništvu in koncertni dejavnosti ter pri spodbujanju nastanka novih glasbenih del, posredovanju

notnega gradiva, zaščiti avtorskih pravic in mednarodnem sodelovanju v posameznih obdobjih jugoslovanske in slovenske (kulturne) politike. Sledijo članki odličnega poznavalca dunajskega glasbenega življenja Hartmuta Kronesa, ki obravnava sodelovanja in konflikte med dvema sekcijama Avstrijskega združenja skladateljev, vodje Inštituta terezinskih skladateljev Lubomírja Spurnýja, ki v svojem prispevku opredeli pojem »terezinski skladatelj« in opiše vlogo glasbe v ekstremnih življenjskih razmerah v terezínskem getu v letih 1941–1945, ukrajinske kolegice Lidie Melnyk, ki v članku opozori na večkrat ideološko obarvan in pogosto nepopoln prikaz opisa delovanja ukrajinskih skladateljskih združenj v dvajsetih in tridesetih letih 20. stoletja in ene od najpomembnejših ukrajinskih muzikologinj Lube Kijanovske, ki v prispevku osvetli težavno obdobje lvovskega oddelka Združenja skladateljev Ukrajine v konfrontaciji s sovjetsko ideologijo. Mednarodno delovanje skladateljskih društev izza železne zaves na primeru Okrožnega združenja Leipzig v okviru Združenja skladateljev in muzikologov Nemške demokratične republike (NDR), obravnava članek dolgoletnega predavatelja na leipziškem Inštitutu za muzikologijo Helmuta Loosa. Sodelavka in raziskovalka Inštituta za muzikologijo Univerze v Gradcu Ingeborg Zechner v prispevku opiše delovanje Združenja filmskih skladateljev v ZDA v 40. in 50. letih 20. stoletja, britanska muzikologinja Joanna Bullivant pa osvetli vlogo nekdanjega predsednika skladateljskega ceha Velike Britanije, skladatelja Alana Busha in njihovo »neuradno diplomacijo« v Vzhodni Evropi.

V sklopu člankov, ki osvetljujejo vlogo skladateljev in skladateljskih društev na področju bivše Jugoslavije hrvaški raziskovalki Lucija Konfic in Petra Babić prikažeta vlogo skladateljev v glasbenih društvih v celinski Hrvaški v 19. stoletju, makedonska zgodovinarica in muzikologinja Nataša Didenko obravnava preplet profesionalnega in nacionalnega v Zvezi skladateljev Makedonije v preteklosti in sedanjosti, srbski kolegici Maja Vasiljević in Biljana Leković predstavita številne primere glasbenega sodelovanja, izmenjave in prenosa med člani UKS, SAKOJ in SOKOJ ter sovjetskimi institucijami, bosanski muzikologinji Fatima Hadžić in Amra Bosnić pa kot prvi natančneje osvetlita sarajevsko delovanje enega izmed pomembnejših članov DSS ter njegovega nekdanjega predsednika Daneta Škerla.

Izzive nekaterih skladateljskih društev po Evropi naslavljajo prispevki madžarskega skladatelja Matéja Hollósa (*Postati ali ne postati civilno združenje?*), dolgoletnega generalnega sekretarja Hrvaškega muzikološkega društva Antuna Tomislava Šabana (*Hrvaško društvo skladateljev: 80 let*

*soustvarjanja nacionalne kulture in družbenega dogajanja*) in aktualnega predsednika DSS Dušana Bavdka, ki v prispevku (*Društvo slovenskih skladateljev – vloga v družbi in izzivi današnjega časa*) prikaže bogato in vsestransko delovanje Društva slovenskih skladateljev.

Iz zgodovine vemo, da so se slovenski skladatelji že pred ustanovitvijo DSS povezovali v bolj ali manj enotne skupine. Vendar pa je šele ustanovitev Društva slovenskih skladateljev 22. decembra 1945 skladateljem omogočila nove možnosti; sprva je DSS skrbelo za izvajanje novonastalih del, od leta 1954 pa z ustanovitvijo Edicij delovanje razširilo še na področje založništva, s čimer so bili postavljeni temelji za celostno uresničevanje ciljev in potreb slovenskih skladateljev. Poslanstva ter skrbi za kakovost in ugled slovenske glasbe doma in na tujem pa DSS ne uresničuje le na področju glasbenega založništva, zaščite avtorskih pravic, promocije glasbenih del in mednarodnih povezav, temveč tudi z izvirno koncertno dejavnostjo.

S komplementarnimi raziskavami temeljni znanstveni prispevek o DSS iz disertacije Sonje Kralj dopolnjujejo članki odličnega poznavalca slovenskih kulturno-političnih razmer Aleša Gabriča (*Kulturnopolitični milje obdobja začetkov delovanja Društva slovenskih skladateljev*), Nialla O’Loughlina (*Skladatelj Ivo Petrič in Društvo slovenskih skladateljev*) in Jerneja Weissa (*Ansambel Slavko Osterc (1961–1981): glavni promotor ustvarjalnosti članov Društva slovenskih skladateljev v tujini*).

Iz posameznih prispevkov je sicer mogoče razbrati, da se skladateljska društva po vsej Evropi srečujejo s podobnimi težavami: z zmanjševanjem državnega financiranja ter posledično izdaj in koncertnega delovanja, upadanjem članstva ter povezovanjem v večja kulturno-umetniška združenja, kar pogosto vodi v izgubo identitete. Pa vendar članki jasno kažejo, da so kljub večkrat neugodnim razmeram, omenjena društva v večini držav ne le ohranila primarno vlogo zagotavljanja stanovskih potreb, temveč se v posameznih obdobjih delovanja uvrstila med ključne sooblikovalce širšega nacionalnega glasbenega življenja. Tako se zdi uresničevanje nacionalnega poslanstva še vedno ključno za ohranitev njihove identitete, uspešnost njihovega delovanja pa zagotovilo za nadaljnjo rast in razvoj sodobne glasbene kulture.



## Composers' Societies Past and Present: Combining the Professional and the National

Jernej Weiss

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The present monograph, entitled *Composers' Societies Past and Present*, focuses at the international context of the activities of various composers' societies of the past and present. As we celebrate the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Society of Slovene Composers, we aim to shed light on the activities of comparable institutions in other countries, with the help of contributions from prominent scholars in Slovenia and abroad. In the past, these societies played a part – each in their own way – in shaping not only musical creativity but also numerous other fields of musical culture.

A key focus of the monograph is the combination of the professional and the national in the activities of composers' societies. Conditioned by various social turning points, this combination has decisively shaped the nature of institutional activity in the musical sphere, both in Slovenia and elsewhere. If on the one hand this coexistence defines the importance of composers' societies in preserving musical identity and promoting national musical creativity, on the other hand it reveals the range of activities undertaken by these societies in order to meet the professional needs of their members.

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The introductory paper (*The Coexistence of the Social, the Professional and the Artistic in the History of the Society of Slovene Composers*) by Sonja Kralj, a leading expert on the Society of Slovene Composers, sheds light on the Society's activities through the prism of cooperation with

musical institutions and related associations in the former Yugoslavia, in Slovenia and in the international cultural sphere. The author outlines the realisation of the Society's mission by presenting specific initiatives in music publishing and concert activities, in encouraging the creation of new musical works, the distribution of sheet music, copyright protection and international cooperation in individual periods of Yugoslav and Slovene (cultural) policy. This is followed by papers from Hartmut Krones, one of the leading experts on Viennese musical life, who addresses the topic of cooperation and conflict between two sections of the Austrian Composers' Society; Lubomír Spurný, the director of the Terezín Composers' Institute, who defines the concept of "Terezín composer" and describes the role of music in the extreme conditions of the Terezín ghetto between 1941 and 1945; our Ukrainian colleague Lidia Melnyk, who draws attention to the often ideologically coloured and frequently incomplete representation of the activities of Ukrainian composers' societies in the 1920s and 1930s; and one of the most important Ukrainian musicologists working today, Luba Kyjanovska which sheds light on the difficult period of the Lviv section of the Ukrainian Composers' Association in its conflict with Soviet ideology. The international activities of composers' organisations behind the Iron Curtain, using the example of the Leipzig District Association of the Association of Composers and Musicologists of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), are discussed in an article by Helmut Loos, the long-serving former head of the Leipzig Institute of Musicology. Ingeborg Zecher, a researcher in the Department of Arts and Musicology at the University of Graz, describes the activities of the American Screen Composers Association in the 1940s and 1950s and British musicologist Joanna Bullivant sheds light on the role of the former chairman of the Composers' Guild of Great Britain, Alan Bush, and his "unofficial diplomacy" in Eastern Europe.

In a series of articles examining the composers' societies in the former Yugoslavia, Croatian researchers Lucija Konfic and Petra Babić analyse the role of composers in musical societies in continental Croatia in the 19th century. Macedonian historian and musicologist Nataša Didenko discusses the intertwining of the professional and the national in the Union of composers' of Macedonia in the past and present, while Serbian colleagues Maja Vasiljević and Biljana Leković present numerous examples of musical cooperation, exchange and transfer between members of the UKS, SAKOJ and SOKOJ and Soviet institutions. The series of contributions from the former Yugoslavia concludes with the article by Bosnian musicologists

Fatima Hadžić and Amra Bosnić, who for the first time shed light on the artistic activities of one of the most important members of the DSS and its president (1972–1976) Dane Škerl in Sarajevo.

The challenges facing some important composers' societies around Europe are addressed in detail in the papers of the Hungarian composer Máté Hollós (*To be or not to be a civil association?*), the long-serving secretary general of the Croatian Composers' Society, Antun Tomislav Šaban (*The Croatian Composers' Society: 80 Years of Shaping National Cultural and Social Life*) and current Society of Slovene Composers (DSS) president Dušan Bavdek, whose paper (*The Society of Slovene Composers – Role in society and today's challenges*) presents the rich and multifaceted activities of the Society of Slovene Composers and its role in society in the face of today's challenges.

We know from history that, even before the founding of the DSS, Slovene composers formed more or less unified groups. Yet it was not until the establishment of the DSS on 22 December 1945 that new opportunities opened up for composers. To begin with, the DSS occupied itself with the performance of new works. With the establishment of Edicije DSS in 1954, however, it expanded its activities into music publishing, in this way laying the foundations for the comprehensive fulfilment of the goals and needs of Slovene composers. It realises its mission and helps ensure the quality and prestige of Slovene music at home and abroad not only through music publishing, copyright protection, the promotion of musical works and international connections, but also through original concert activities.

Sonja Kralj's fundamental study of the work of the DSS in her dissertation is supplemented by complementary research in the form of papers from Aleš Gabrič, a leading authority on Slovene cultural-political conditions (*The Cultural and Political Milieu of the Initial Period of Activity of the Society of Slovene Composers*), Niall O'Loughlin (*The Slovene Composer Ivo Petrič and Društvo slovenskih skladateljev*) and Jernej Weiss (*The Slavko Osterc Ensemble (1961–1981): The Principal Promoter of the Creativity of the Society of Slovene Composers Abroad*).

The individual papers show how composers' societies throughout Europe are facing similar challenges: above all, cuts in state funding and a consequent reduction in publishing and concert activities, declining membership, and integration into larger cultural and artistic associations, which frequently leads to a loss of identity. At the same time, however, the papers clearly show that, despite frequently unfavourable conditions,

composers' societies in most countries have gone significantly beyond their primary role of meeting professional needs and, in certain periods of their activity, placed themselves among the key (co-)shapers of wider national musical life, cultural policy and national musical identity. Thus the fulfilment of their national mission still appears crucial for the preservation of their identity and continued existence, while the success of their work seems to be a guarantee of the further development of contemporary musical culture.

## The Coexistence of the Social, the Professional and the Artistic in the History of the Society of Slovene Composers

Sonja Kralj

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On 22 December 1945, in the uncertain conditions of a barely established state that was still grappling with the aftermath of the Second World War, a general assembly took place in Ljubljana that resulted in the founding of the Society of Composers of Slovenia, with Danilo Švara as its first president. Slovenia's very own society of musical artists thus took its place alongside its Serbian and Croatian counterparts, founded on 18 February 1945 and 9 June 1945 respectively.

In post-war Yugoslavia, “*new strivings leading to broad and healthy development*” were emerging, which would “*elevate and enrich the popular masses through music.*”<sup>1</sup> This latter optimistic opinion was voiced in early 1946 by Marjan Kozina, an important figure in the history of the Society and of Slovene music in general, after whom the highest award given today by Slovene composers to their fellow composers in recognition of lifetime achievement is named. A certain amount of time would nevertheless have to pass from the formal establishment of the Society, which by 1947 numbered 48 members, the majority of them members of the pre-war Ljubljana section of the Yugoslav composers' association *Udruženje jugoslavenskih muzičkih autora* (UJMA), to the actual commencement of activities.

Although most of the Society's documents covering the period from its founding to 1951 have been lost, references in the daily press give at least a limited insight into the Society's internal dynamics. A report on the

1 Marjan Kozina, “Iz beograjskega življenja,” *Slovenski poročevalec* VII, no. 5 (1946): 6.

second general assembly by the Society's secretary, the composer and ethnomusicologist Radoslav Hrovatin, reveals the author's admiration for those Serbian colleagues who had succeeded in organising six concerts in their first year of activity, while the Slovene members "*remain too entrenched in inherited individualism and are unable to break free from unproductive isolation.*"<sup>2</sup>

The word "individualism" was a dangerous one at that time. Although the first Yugoslav constitutional arrangements guaranteed artistic freedom, at least at the declarative level, Slovenia at that time – as is vividly described by Aleš Gabrič – was characterised by the agitprop-dictated control of the life of society, including cultural life.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore no surprise that the first work programme of the newly established organisation of Slovene composers, drafted in 1947, included explicit ideological guidelines alongside plans regarding music publishing. These guidelines were intended to lure Slovene composers away from *inherited individualism* towards the *cultural construction of the popular masses*, for which a different music created to match *the reality of the new life* was required.<sup>4</sup>

The Slovene version of "socialist realism" differed from the Soviet model, and research to date has not confirmed any blatant ideological interference in musical life by the authorities. It did, however, bring with it another dangerous word: *elite*. Although music, being an abstract art, was considered less dangerous than literature or theatre, and also less "decadent" than certain means of expression in the field of the visual arts, it nevertheless still belonged in the circle of the arts, and therefore by its very existence earned the negative label *elite*, which, in contrast to the more desirable *amateur* cultural activities, was seen as a synonym for dubious and subversive activities that could threaten the fundamental gains of the revolution.

### The beginnings

The first documented traces of the activities of the Society of Composers of Slovenia show that its priority in its earliest period was the protection of copyright. A republic copyright institute, headed by the lawyer Martin

2 Radoslav Hrovatin, "Občni zbor Društva skladateljev Slovenije," *Naši zbori, glasbeno-knjižna priloga* II, no. 3 (1947): 10; Redakcija [Editorial Board], "Iz NR Slovenije, Društvo skladateljev Slovenije," *Muzičke novine* II, no. 12 (1947): 2.

3 Aleš Gabrič, *Slovenska agitpropovska kulturna politika: 1945–1952* (= *Borec* 43, no. 7–9) (Ljubljana: Mladika, 1991).

4 Redakcija, "Iz NR Slovenije," 2.

Briški, was set up under the Society's aegis in 1947, in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright Act. It is no surprise that, of all the professional organisations in the republic, it was Slovenia's composers who were first to take steps to protect copyright, given that they were able to build on the experiences of the pre-war UJMA, of which the majority of the newly established Society's members had been part. In his role as president of the republic institute, the composer Karol Pahor worked diligently to ensure that legislative provisions were implemented in practice. He also managed to secure the cooperation of the professional associations of writers, visual artists, musicians and dramatic artists.

With the establishment of the Union of Composers of Yugoslavia in 1950, the circumstances were right for the transfer of copyright protection from the state to composers' unions and associations. The Society of Composers of Slovenia joined the Union a year later under its new president Matija Bravničar, who would later also head the Union, and with a new name – having renamed itself the Society of Slovene Composers (DSS) in line with the rules. The Society participated actively in establishing the Copyright Protection Institute under the Union's aegis.<sup>5</sup>

The process of setting up the activities of the new institute brought considerable challenges, in part linked to questions of the decentralisation of the distribution of resources among the republics and among individual societies of authors and composers, in part to questions of the internal organisation of the institute, and in part to changes in tax legislation, which was unfavourable to authors and composers. Nevertheless, it may be asserted that in this first post-war decade the Society held far greater powers and influence in the copyright field than at any point in its history to date, and that despite the extraordinarily convoluted and ever-changing legislative framework, it managed to steer a course relatively skilfully between the reefs of this complex and sensitive issue.

The newly founded Union of Composers of Yugoslavia also assumed responsibility for the central planning of international cooperation, which it initially established through reciprocal visits to composers' associations in Eastern European countries. These took place according to predetermined quotas designed to ensure numerically balanced exchanges of representatives of Yugoslav composers and international partners; these were

5 SAKOJ was officially approved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Decision VI, No. 26078, on 8 September 1951. DSS Archive, Registrar I, January 6–December 12, 1951, document no. 311, dated January 3, 1952.

then distributed among the composers' societies of the individual republics, which decided autonomously on the international participation of their own members within the allocated frameworks.

Interestingly, despite the relative closure of the borders, Slovenia's composers' society was visited by a handful of guests from Western countries even in its first decade of activity. The first visit mentioned in the DSS archives is that of the artistic director of the Edinburgh International Festival, accompanied by a member of the festival's committee, in January 1951.<sup>6</sup> The authorities kept a close eye on international contacts and often sent circulars to professional associations with detailed questions about them, on the pretext of preparing lists of prestigious artists to invite to receptions with international guests, and even enquiring about the language skills of association members. It is to the credit of its successive executive boards that the Society of Slovene Composers was not among the most conscientious reporters of information of this kind. Even a request from the Union of Composers of Yugoslavia to submit a list of English-speaking members, apparently with a view to establishing contacts with American composers, was refused on the grounds that it was necessary to cultivate official rather than personal contacts with American composers, and that this would be much easier if the Union were to provide "*stylistically and formally suitable translations*" of texts discussing individual works.<sup>7</sup>

### The second period

The second period of the Society's history was marked by the change to the model of social management that Yugoslavia, having distanced itself from the Soviet model, introduced between 1953 and 1965 under the slogan "4D" (democratisation, decentralisation, de-bureaucratisation and de-Stalinisation). The period is bookended by two changes of headquarters: in April 1954 the Society moved from its premises at the Academy of Music to a new home in the offices of the Copyright Protection Institute at Gradišče 7/I, while in April 1965, after years of effort, it finally obtained its own premises at Number 6, Trg francoske revolucije in Ljubljana, where it still operates today.<sup>8</sup>

6 DSS Archive, Registrar I: January 6–December 12, 1951, documents no. 5, dated January 5, 1951; no. 7 dated January 13, 1951; no. 8 and 9 dated January 14, 1951.

7 DSS Archive, Registrar I, January 6–December 12, 1951, document no. 117, dated April 18, 1951, and document no. 118, dated May 31, 1951.

8 DSS Archive, Registrar IV: April 11, 1954–April 30, 1955, document no. 33, dated April 23, 1954, and Registrar January 1, 1964–December 4, 1965, document no. 1279, dated April 15, 1965.

The most important initiative within the Society in this period was the commencement of independent publishing activities, succeeding a contractual collaboration with the state publishing house *Državna založba Slovenije*, which included a joint programme committee and publishing plan. It also included the music journal *Slovenska glasbena revija*, which appeared in five volumes of four issues each, including a number of double issues, between 1951 and 1960. The journal's music articles and sheet music sections were edited by composers Marijan Lipovšek and Matija Bravničar. Despite its modest scope and limited duration, this journal offers a valuable insight into musical life in the 1950s and, given the conditions in which it appeared, can be seen as a relatively ambitious and successful project.<sup>9</sup>

Independent publishing activities began under the name *Edicije DSS* in September 1954 and were led by composer and pianist Marijan Lipovšek. With a simple yet effective publishing programme, *Edicije DSS* has survived to the present day and represents a pragmatic approach to the possibilities that could be achieved in the given conditions, in other words the publication of solo and chamber works that were manageable in terms of scale and costs and relevant in terms of content, in that they consist of works created *here and now* and, at the same time, enjoy strong support from the Society's membership, based on the direct interest of composers in the accessibility of their works.

The first editions were created in an almost "cottage industry" style. Between 1954 and 1970, the long-serving editor Marijan Lipovšek carried out pioneering work on a Herculean scale, negotiating agreements with calligraphers and transcribers, correcting the proofs and transporting printed materials by bicycle to printing houses and binderies himself.

*Edicije DSS* received a significant affirmation in the Yugoslav context with an exhibition at the first *Music Biennale Zagreb* in 1961.<sup>10</sup>

Although its priorities in the early years were the regulation of copyright matters and the establishment of publishing activities, the Society also promoted concerts of contemporary music in collaboration with other organisers. After a first concert in 1947, at which it presented a programme of Slovene music in collaboration with the Society of Performing Artists, there came a decade of more or less randomly organised collaborations during which the Society, owing to its lack of premises and limited financial

9 Editorial Board, "Editorial foreword," *Slovenska glasbena revija* I, no. 1 (1951): 1.

10 Branimir Sakač, "Uoči Zagrebačkog bijenala. Muzički bijenale i njegova programska koncepcija," *Zvuk*, no. 73–74 (1967): 15–7.

resources, was dependent on the programmatic openness of the Concert Agency of Slovenia, the Slovenian Philharmonic and other partners.

From the systemic point of view, a significant predecessor of autonomous concert activities by the Society was the “*joint working format*” of members of Slovenia’s composers’ and musical artists’ organisations under the name *Collegium musicum*, an ensemble that operated under the artistic direction of composer and pianist Pavel Šivic for a decade after its foundation in 1957. Although foreign exchange restrictions and a shortage of sheet music made scheduling concerts difficult, the “musical comradery” established itself as important patron of the creators of contemporary music by performing an impressive range of contemporary repertoire. One particular achievement of the *Collegium musicum* ensemble was its pioneering work in educating listeners about contemporary music. Through thematically coherent concert evenings enhanced by expert commentary, it presented musical works to which listeners would not otherwise have had access, and did so in an engaging way.<sup>11</sup>

### The third period of the Society’s activity

The social context of the third period of the Society’s activity ranges from liberalisation and the implementation of constitutional changes in Yugoslavia 1966 to the introduction of a system of “self-management cultural policy” in 1974. In the history of the Society, this period represents a heyday in all areas of its activity, fostered on the one hand by external factors such as the relaxation of the social atmosphere and the introduction of relative professional independence for those sectors that were considered “less dangerous” to the political system, and on the other by the acquisition of its own premises and the “thawing” of status restrictions within the Society’s ranks. Thus, among the numerous activities that the Society now organised into sections for the first time, representatives of popular music also found a place – something that a decade earlier, when some members were anxiously warning the public about jazz, which was said to be “*spreading like weeds*”, and causing young people to “*give free rein to their instincts and forget about folk song and serious, noble music*”,<sup>12</sup> would have seemed almost unimaginable.

11 Sonja Kralj, “*Sobivanje družbenega, stanovskega in umetniškega v zgodovini Društva slovenskih skladateljev*” (PhD thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2011), 97–103.

12 Dragotin Cvetko, “Ob sodobnih problemih glasbene vzgoje,” *Slovenska glasbena revija* II, no. 4 (1954): 59–62.

The most important initiative from this period is the *DSS Concert Atelier*, launched in late 1966 at the instigation of composer and then secretary Darijan Božič. The idea behind the initiative was to combine contemporary creative explorations in music and art and give young musicians the opportunity to perform concerts – at which at least half the works performed would be by Slovene composers – in the Society’s new hall. The Atelier’s first concert, on 21 November 1966, featured the mezzo-soprano Eva Novšak and the pianist and composer Ljubo Rančigaj. Before the concert, an exhibition of works by the sculptor Peter Černe and the printmaker Janez Boljka was officially opened in the Society’s premises. Following an introductory address by Jakob Jež, the musical evening in the packed hall proved to be a big success.<sup>13</sup>

Many Slovene musical works commissioned by the *Atelier* team received their premiere performances in the context of the *Concert Atelier* series, while numerous works by international composers were also performed in Slovenia for the first time. One interesting fact to which several writers have drawn attention is that in the 1960s, a period in which other concert organisers were grappling with empty seats, the Society’s hall was packed tight for *Atelier* concerts. Although “packed” is a relative term, given the hall’s small capacity, this consideration should be balanced by the fact that the audience capable of appreciating programmes of this kind was necessarily limited.

Other important aspects of the *Atelier* include the strengthening of cooperation with performers at concert presentations and the promotion of contemporary music. In view of the fact that, by 2005, more than 570 Slovene soloists and around 70 foreign soloists, along with around 70 Slovene ensembles and 20 foreign ensembles, had appeared in concerts of the *Concert Atelier* series, the question arises as to how often works that were performed for the first time as part of this series subsequently appeared on concert programmes in other venues. Research to date has not provided an answer to this question.

An additional attraction in the early years of the *Atelier*’s activity were the accompanying exhibitions, whose openings coincided with concerts. Unfortunately, owing to the Society’s difficult financial position, these came to an end in the second half of the 1990s – a period in which the Society’s concert activities almost dried up too. It is, however, worth asking why

13 Anon., “Koncertni atelje DSS,” *Bilten DSS* I, no. 6 (1966): 5.

this combination of music and art was not resumed following the improvement in the Society's financial situation in the new millennium.

It may be concluded that the *DSS Concert Atelier* established itself as a musical challenge for an educated and curious audience, and that the Society's little hall, which began 1999 under its new name of the *Kogoj Hall*, offered, with its intimate atmosphere, a suitable venue for close encounters with the latest musical explorations.

The third period of the Society's is also characterised by a vigorous expansion of publishing activities and the transition from self-publishing to professionalisation. This formally began on 6 January 1971, when publishing was officially registered at the Commercial Court as a separate service unit for the first time.<sup>14</sup> Marijan Lipovšek had been forced to retire the previous year due to illness and was succeeded by Ivo Petrić, who led the Society's publishing activities from 1970 until 2002. In developing its publishing activities, the Society modelled itself on smaller publishing houses in other countries, particularly in Germany, and received early advice about legal arrangements for sheet music rights from Ivan Hanneberg, who had successfully run the publishing activities of the Croatian composers' society for a number of years, and from Ružica Stanić, who headed the copyright office at the Union of Composers of Yugoslavia.<sup>15</sup> Following the regulation of relationships with its members, the Society broadened its activities and, in 1971, published a joint catalogue of sheet music in collaboration with the Slovenian Philharmonic, RTV Ljubljana and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, all of which owned a considerable quantity of orchestral scores.

A year later, the Society signed its first international general representation agreement for sheet music with the German publisher *Musikverlage Hans Gerig*.<sup>16</sup> The areas of representation were divided between the two publishers in such a way that the Society of Slovene Composers retained the right to represent composers in "socialist countries", while *Musikverlage Hans Gerig* acquired the right of representation in the West. The two partners also collaborated on a form of co-production, whereby the German

14 Ivo Petrić, "Report by the Secretary of the DSS Executive Board on the activities and actions from February 15, 1970, to January 16, 1972," DSS Archive.

15 Kralj, "Sobivanje družbenega, stanovskega in umetniškega," 457.

16 The contract was ceremoniously signed on 14 April 1972 at the Societies' premises by President Dane Škerl, Secretary Ivo Petrić and Rudolf Lück, the Hans Gerig Publishing House's classical music editor. DSS public statement, document no. 313, dated April 14, 1972, DSS Archive.

publisher purchased a specific number of the Society's editions, bound them in covers with its own logos, and presented them on the international market as its own editions.

The signing of the agreement attracted considerable attention in domestic cultural circles, since it was the first of its kind in Yugoslavia. The Society was very proud of it, although from the point of view of revenue, the results for Slovene composers were not exactly encouraging. In actual fact, some aspects of the arrangement, including the printing of additional catalogues and brochures in foreign languages, meant that fulfilling the agreement caused considerable additional expenses for the Society. Even so, the final balance could be said to be positive, primarily because the partnership with *Hans Gerig* was the first direct connection with the international publishing market. At a time when the Society was still establishing itself as an independent music publishing house, it opened the door to opportunities which, for reasons including politics, a lack of business connections and unfamiliarity with market principles, it would not have obtained on its own. Following this first international partnership, the next ones came more easily. In 1974 the Society signed its second international general representation agreement, this time with the German publisher *Edition Peters* of Leipzig.<sup>17</sup>

This was followed by a third agreement in 1978 with the Hungarian publisher *Editio Musica Budapest*. The contract with the largest Hungarian music publisher was signed at the *Edicije DSS* exhibition, which was held at the Franz Liszt Academy of Music in Budapest in March 1978. This agreement granted DSS the rights to represent the publisher's performance materials throughout Yugoslavia, thereby increasing the society's income and furthering its growing reputation.<sup>18</sup>

The publishing activities of the Society also included new initiatives such as a collection of early Slovene works entitled *Slovensko glasbeno izročilo* (The Slovene musical tradition), launched in 1967, which, however, did not remain under the Society's auspices for long and in 1972 was ceded under contract to the publishing house *Obzorje*, along with the funds earmarked for it; the Society's newsletter *Bilten* (Bulletin), produced under the

17 D(ane) Š(kerl), "Veliko priznanje. Glasbeno-založniško sodelovanje med Edicijami Društva slovenskih skladateljev in Edition Peters iz Leipziga," *Delo* XVI, no. 230 (1974): 8.

18 Minutes of the General Assembly of the Slovene Composers' Society, 17 May 1978 and Letter from the DSS to the Slovenian Institute for International, Scientific, Technical and Educational-Cultural Cooperation, 18 September 1978, DSS Archive.

editorship of Borut Loparnik; and promotional leaflets for Slovene composers prepared by Alojz Srebotnjak.<sup>19</sup>

A significant expansion into the publishing of sound recordings came with the launch of the *Musica Slovenica* collection of gramophone records, a joint initiative of the Society, RTV Ljubljana and the Helidon label, which began in 1970. The Society was not as fortunate in this venture as it had been with *Edicije DSS*, for several reasons. First, when planning its release programme it was entirely dependent on RTV's recording schedule and archive recordings; secondly, it was also dependent on Helidon's release schedule, which prioritised commercial sound recordings; thirdly, there was the issue of the lack of availability of high-quality vinyl pellets to press into discs. Once these difficulties were joined by the financial problems that characterised the Society's existence in the subsequent period, the decision was taken in 1979 to surrender the collection to Helidon.<sup>20</sup> This led to a gap in the Society's music publishing activities that would not be filled until the creation of the *Ars Slovenica* digital collection in 1996.<sup>21</sup>

At this point it is worth mentioning another significant expansion of the Society's activities in this period. Although the first initiative to commission new Slovene works came from the Union of Composers of Yugoslavia, which in 1966 invited composers to create works to mark a political jubilee, namely the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the uprising of the Slovene nation,<sup>22</sup> support for the creation of original Slovene musical works was from that moment on a constant part of the Society's programme.

#### The fourth period of the Society's history

The fourth period of the Society's history may be said to have begun after the anti-liberal purges of the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the new Yugoslav constitution introduced a system of "self-management cultural policy". It was in this period that the first tendencies towards centralism and unitarism began to be felt. These became apparent in education and culture through proposals for common core curricula, and also significantly

19 Anon., "Poziv na subskripcio zbirke Slovensko glasbeno izročilo," *Zvuk*, no. 80 (1967): 83; Anon., "Seja UO DSS dne 1. 9.," *Bilten DSS II*, no. 8 (1967): 7.

20 Minutes of the Committee for the Release of Slovenian Art Music Records, December 8, 1969 and document no. 224, 5 July 1979, DSS Archive.

21 Invitation to a press conference on the release of CDs, 18 April 15, 1997, DSS Archive.

22 Minutes of the Executive Board, 30 June 1966, DSS Archive.

marked conditions within the microcosm of the Union of Composers of Yugoslavia.

The period is considered the most difficult in the Society's history to date, since as a result of changed economic, political and social conditions it found itself in a vortex of changes that greatly affected the content and scope of its activities. Self-management and the delegate system were hardly tailored to satisfy professional interests, particularly when combined with a financial crisis and a significant deterioration in relations among the constituent nations of Yugoslavia. At the same time, the composer's art, with the expressive means at its disposal, was not a convenient "*poem to use today*" (to quote the well-known poem by Oton Župančič), and this is probably the reason why, in the whirlwind of turbulent social movements in which the writers' association played an important state-building role, the composers' society stood somewhat to the side.

It could be said of this period that the Society's activities survived in it despite the pressures from the wider social environment and conditions in the Union of Composers of Yugoslavia, where executive board chairman Dane Škerl was faced with a paralysis of the activities of the professional service as a result of the distorted application of the delegate system amid growing interethnic tensions. Škerl would later recall that in that period there was *a lot of talk but little action* in the Union.<sup>23</sup>

The space for international cooperation had also narrowed. Slovene composers took less and less advantage of the opportunities for exchanges offered by the Union, while they themselves had not yet established any more prominent international cooperation.

The Society began to sink into financial crisis in this period. This was partly caused by the inadequate funding of its core activities, with the Society only receiving a third of the necessary funds from the republic's budget, and further exacerbated by the additional costs of expanding the Society's premises and renovating the ground floor of the building, where it planned to open a sheet music shop in conjunction with *Državna založba Slovenije*. A third reason was the temporary halt in the publishing arm's international operations as a result of ownership changes at its Western partners. The situation deteriorated to the extent that the Society was forced to ask the Union for an advance on copyright royalties, without which it would not have been able to pay employees' salaries or cover ongoing expenses.

23 Minutes of the General Assembly of the Slovene Composers' Society, held on 16 March 1977, DSS Archive.

External challenges were joined by internal tensions. The members of the Society no longer felt that it was sufficiently theirs, and therefore no longer participated actively in its activities, while the executive board, headed by Bojan Adamič, was burdened by “*a paper battle that grew worse every day and threatened to turn us into bureaucrats who would completely forget about music, if we hadn’t already.*”<sup>24</sup>

Further complications were caused by a new system of commissioning musical works that seriously affected relations between the Society of Slovene Composers and the Cultural Community of Slovenia, which under the new political arrangements had also assumed responsibility for the field of music. In a heated public debate, the Society accused the representative of the authorities, who advocated a transition from directly supporting composers to supporting performers, of a lack of professionalism and transparency in the allocation of funds, while for its part the Cultural Community hit back with the accusation that funds for the promotion of new musical works had been distributed on too informal a basis in the past.<sup>25</sup>

The strained relations between the two organisations also led to a reduction in funding for concert activities. Despite this, the Society staged a gala concert on 19 December 1989 as a way of thanking the sponsors and donors who had contributed financial means for the renovation of its premises. It was on this occasion that the Society’s clubroom was renamed the *Osterc Room* and the concert hall of the *DSS Concert Atelier* became the *Kogoj Hall*.<sup>26</sup>

### The final period

The final period of the present outline of the Society’s history corresponds to the period in which Slovenia attained independence and its first decade and a half as an independent state, in other words the years 1990–2005, ending with the 60th anniversary of the Society’s founding. The legislative changes adopted in Yugoslavia in 1989 in order to allow multiparty elections had transferred the responsibility for culture back to the state and municipalities. Slovene composers participated actively in the process of establishing conditions for culture in the new state, both by setting out

24 Minutes of the General Assembly of the Slovene Composers’ Society, held on 20 March 1980, DSS Archive.

25 Kralj, “*Sobivanje družbenega, stanovskega in umetniškega,*” 343–9.

26 Minutes from the 10<sup>th</sup> meeting of the DSS Executive Board, held on 6 December 1989, DSS Archive.

programmatically guidelines and by taking part in protests against the proposed tax legislation, which they said would leave artists at the mercy of the market and equate them with tradesmen.

But initiatives regarding programmes took a back seat when Slovenia's barely established statehood was threatened by brute military force. Following the attack on Slovenia, the Society released a public statement in which it condemned the Yugoslav army for usurping "*the decision on the freedom of the Slovene nation, which had exercised its inalienable right to choose a free and independent state.*"<sup>27</sup> It also informed related professional associations and business partners in other countries.

The Society's activities in newly independent Slovenia were characterised by important initiatives regarding concert activities. These included the *Night of Slovene Composers*, an event modelled on Vienna's *Lange Nacht der Musik*, which was inaugurated by composer Marko Mihevc in 1992 and has become a fixture of the Society's programme. The defining characteristic of this event is the presentation of works in a variety of styles and compositional approaches, linked by the common circumstance of having been composed within a short period before the event.<sup>28</sup> Since 1996, the *Night of Slovene Composers* has been an integral part of the programme of the *Slovenian Music Days*.<sup>29</sup> As is the case with the *Concert Atelier* series, a key element of its programme consists of premiere performances of works through which the Society encourages the musical creativity of its members. In 2003 the event included, for the first time, a concert specifically aimed at a young audience, organised in conjunction with *Jeunesses Musicales Slovenia*. This too has since become a fixture of the Society's programme.

With independent Slovenia having become a full member of the International Society for Contemporary Music in 1992, the Society organised the first edition of the contemporary music festival *Musica Danubiana* in 1998. This event, under the artistic direction of Pavel Mihelčič, connected the new creative achievements of composers from ten central European countries. In 2004 the festival was transformed into a biennial international

27 Statement sent by the DSS to the media on 1 July 1991, DSS Archive.

28 Program application to the Ministry of Culture for 1992, dated September 30, 1991, DSS Archive.

29 The Minutes of the 16<sup>th</sup> meeting of the DSS Executive Board, held on 20 December 1995, and the 19<sup>th</sup> meeting, held on 14 May 1996, DSS Archive.

manifestation under the name *Unicum*, and has become a regular part of the Society's concert activities.<sup>30</sup>

Among the most important international events organised by the Society since Slovenia was welcomed as a full member of the International Society for Contemporary Music, following independence, are the *ISCM World Music Days*, hosted by Slovenia for the first time in 2003 (in other words towards the end of the period covered by the present paper). Under the artistic direction of composer Pavel Mihelčič and the slogan *New Music for the Third Millennium*, the Society presented, in collaboration with event co-producer Cankarjev Dom, a programme of 28 concerts running from 26 September to 3 October 2003 and attracting a total audience of around 15,000. The event also included four sessions of the ISCM General Assembly.<sup>31</sup>

Also worth mentioning, although it goes beyond the scope of this article, is that Slovenia hosted the ISCM World Music Days for a second time in 2015.

In the field of copyright, the Society joined the International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Composers (CISAC) in 1993 – in other words before the establishment of the Slovenian copyright agency SAZAS – thus enabling the re-establishment of copyright protection in the Society's own premises.<sup>32</sup>

A decade later, it also encouraged the creation of the Slovenian Music Information Centre (SIGIC), providing it with premises and supporting it in its early years with organisational and human resources.<sup>33</sup>

In the publishing field, *Edicije DSS* has continued to move with the times and in 2003 introduced the *Muzicije* collection of digital editions of sheet music, enabling scores to be printed more quickly and economically and allowing the publishing house to respond more quickly to the actual needs of performers.<sup>34</sup> The Society's publishing activities have expanded in the new millennium and stabilised at a level of sheet music publication and sound recording releases that is appropriate for conditions in Slovenia,

30 Dušan Bavdek, "Report from the Round Table of Delegates from the Music Danubian Countries," 2 November 1998, DSS Archive.

31 Katarina Bogunovič, ed., *Nova glasba za tretje tisočletje = New music for the third millennium: Catalogue Svetovni glasbeni dnevi ISCM* (Ljubljana: s.n., 2003).

32 Document without a number, dated 21 February 1991, DSS Archive.

33 Minutes of the 6<sup>th</sup> meeting of the DSS Executive Board, 8 April 2003, DSS Archive.

34 Letter to members, dated 24 March 2003, DSS Archive.

complemented by strong rights management and representation activity that is providing a solid financial foundation for future operations.

The Society began the celebrations of its sixtieth anniversary with the separation of its operational and programme management, the restructuring of its financial operations, significantly increased activity and renovated premises. It also obtained the use of the premises on the ground floor of its building that it had been trying to secure since the 1980s.

The dynamics of society at that time could be illustrated by the words of its President at the time, Jani Golob. When asked at the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations how he predicted the future, he humorously replied: “*In the next sixty years, we will double or triple what we are doing now.*”<sup>35</sup>

### The importance of the Society of Slovene Composers

The Society of Slovene Composers is a professional association and, as such, in addition to its wide range of programme activities, has also looked after the professional needs of its members throughout the entire period of activity covered by the present paper. This has included giving its opinion on the granting of freelance artist status or increases in the pension entitlements or healthcare and tax benefits of Slovene composers. In its early years it also provided loans to members who found themselves in financial and social difficulties and helped them arrange workspaces, purchase manuscript paper, and so on. It provided them with petrol vouchers and, in the period of foreign exchange restrictions, even helped them buy tax-free musical instruments and tape recorders, in cooperation with the Union of Composers of Yugoslavia. Within the limits of its financial resources, it has contributed to preserving the memory of its late predecessors in their birthplaces and places of remembrance.

The natural companions of the society of musical creators were performing ensembles, including the aforementioned *Collegium musicum* and the *Ansambel Slavko Osterc*. The latter began its artistic journey in 1961 as part of the *Collegium* cycle, still without a name. Although not formally part of the society’s regular activities, the ensemble played an exceptional ambassadorial role in promoting contemporary Slovenian and Yugoslav musical creativity at home and abroad under the direction of its long-standing

35 Jani Golob’s statement from the documentary film “Društvo slovenskih skladateljev in njegov čas [The Society of Slovene Composers and Its Time].” Based on a screenplay by Sonja Kralj, the film was directed by Aleš Žemlja and produced by Television Slovenia’s Cultural and Arts Programme in 2005.

artistic director, Ivo Petrić. The society supported the ensemble throughout, probably also due to the fortunate circumstance that Petrić served not only as the ensemble's artistic director but also as the society's secretary and a member of the executive board, as well as the head of its publishing activities. Another notable ensemble is *Ansambel za sodobno glasbo MD7* (MD7 Contemporary Music Ensemble), which has participated in the *Musica Danubiana* festival since 2001 under the artistic direction of Pavel Mihečič and continues its work under artistic direction of Nenad Firšt. Additionally significant for this article is *Komorni orkester solistov Društva slovenskih skladateljev* (KOS DSS), the Chamber Orchestra of Soloists of the Society of Slovene Composers, which was founded in 2004 on the initiative of its artistic director Marko Mihevc and is predominantly committed to the first performances of new chamber and smaller orchestral compositions by Slovenian composers.

Since the moment of its founding, the society has actively advocated for a place for Slovene music in institutional programmes, which it has attempted to achieve through the presence of its representatives on programme councils and on the advisory committees of cultural policy bodies. It has awarded prizes to performers who made a significant contribution to the dissemination of contemporary Slovene music, drawn attention to the importance of music in education, and frequently expressed its disagreement with the programming policy of leading musical institutions and state radio.

The focus of the Society's efforts in this field is clearly illustrated by the dynamics of its relationships in the early period, most notably in its public dispute with the Slovenian Philharmonic. This incident is highlighted here because it goes beyond merely defending the frequently diametrically opposed interests of the representatives of composers on the one hand and performers on the other. The issue becomes complex because there are professional colleagues on both sides of the dispute. The public request by Matija Bravničar, the president of the Society's executive board, to the Slovenian Philharmonic in 1951 that it increase the proportion of Slovene works in its programme – on the grounds that “*Slovene music should not be a Cinderella amid rich foreigners in its own land*”<sup>36</sup> – was one that the Philharmonic's manager Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, a composer himself, found hard to ignore. It is therefore no surprise that works by Slovene composers

36 Matija Bravničar, “Programska politika Slovenske filharmonije,” *Slovenski poročevalac* XII, no. 18 (1951): 5.

accounted for almost a third of Philharmonic's programme in the following concert season. Yet this ratio was only retained for two years. Faced with a dwindling audience – which, apparently, “*had certain principles, and according to these principles preferred to stay at home*”<sup>37</sup> – the Philharmonic steered its programming in a safer direction and reduced the share of home-grown music to its original proportions, while one of its board members, the critic Valens Vodušek, berated the Society for allowing its executive board to “*arbitrarily arrogate to itself the title of supreme supervisory body of the whole of Slovenia's musical and cultural policy.*”<sup>38</sup>

But the differences of views and contrasting programming interests of the two parties paled into insignificance when survival was at stake. So it was that, in 1968, the Society of Slovene Composers strongly opposed the authorities' mooted plan to combine Ljubljana's two symphony orchestras, which would have meant the end of the Slovenian Philharmonic. Through open letters and appearances by its representatives at round-table discussions, it drew attention to the Philharmonic's valuable role in Slovene musical life, thus justifying its mission as the “guardian” of the interests of Slovene music.<sup>39</sup>

We may conclude with the thought that the activities of the Society of Slovene Composers over the course of its history have been closely linked to changing social and cultural-political circumstances, and that through this historical process it has gone significantly beyond its primary role of satisfying the professional needs of its members and, in certain periods of its existence, taken its place among the key co-shapers of Slovenia's musical life, cultural policy and national musical identity.

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37 Valens Vodušek, “Preokret v glasbeni politiki,” *Naši razgledi* III, no. 22 (1954): 17–8.

38 Ibid.

39 Editorial board, “Prevladuje mnenje, da je potrebno nekaj ukreniti. Pogovor za okroglo mizo o problemih orkestralnega življenja v Ljubljani,” *Delo* X, no. 43 (1968): 5; document no. 14, dated 16 January 1968, DSS Archive.

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## E contra U: Zusammenarbeit und Streit zweier Sparten im Österreichischen Komponistenbund

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Am 14. Juni 1913 schlossen sich Österreichs schöpferische Musiker in einer unter dem Vorsitz des Komponisten und Ehrenchormeisters des Wiener Männergesangvereines Eduard Kremser stattfindenden „constituierenden 1. Versammlung des Oesterreichischen Komponisten-Clubs“ zu einer Interessen-Vereinigung zusammen, die nicht nur gesellschaftliche Kontakte pflegen und Fachgespräche fördern sollte, sondern durchaus kämpferische Aktionen zur Durchsetzung ureigenster Anliegen des Komponistenstandes im Sinne hatte.<sup>1</sup> Zunächst als „Club“ gegründet, war die 1917 in „Komponistenbund“ umbenannte Vereinigung zunächst vor allem ein Zusammenschluß<sup>2</sup> von Komponisten der sogenannten „heiteren Richtung“, also der heute „U-Musik“ genannten Sparte. Unter Präsident Kremser war Carl Michael Ziehrer 1. Vizepräsident, nächster Präsident war dann der Operettenkomponist Heinrich Reinhardt, sein „Vize“ wurde Franz Lehár. Auch Reinhardts Nachfolger Charles Weinbegger war Operettenkomponist, und ihm folgte 1925 mit Rudolf Siczynski ein berühmter Komponist von Wienerliedern, vor allem des Liedes *Wien, Wien, nur du allein*. Siczynski sollte später als christlichsozialer niederösterreichischer Landesbeamter Leiter des

- 1 Zur Geschichte des Österreichischen Komponisten siehe Hartmut Krones, „100 Jahre Österreichischer Komponistenbund 1913–2013“, in *100 Jahre Österreichischer Komponistenbund 1913–2013*, Hrsg. Hartmut Krones (Wien: Praesens, 2013), 11–121.
- 2 Angesichts der zahlreichen Zitate in alter Rechtschreibung folgt auch der Autor den damaligen Regeln.

KZ-ähnlichen Anhaltelagers Wöllersdorf werden, das die Austrofaschisten 1933 errichteten, um linke und rechte politische Gegner zu inhaftieren.<sup>3</sup>

Als dann die RAVAG, die Österreichische Rundfunkanstalt, ab 1926 gemeinsame Konzerte mit dem Komponistenbund veranstaltete, wurden nur „Wiener Weisen“, dann „Chansons und Kabarettlieder“, dann „Tanzlieder“ und sogar „Kinderlieder“ programmiert, weil die „Komponisten ernster Richtung“ ohnehin „in gesonderten Abenden oder in anderen Programmen“ gespielt würden. Erst April 1927 gab es die erste Sendung mit „ernster“ Musik, doch sehr bald stornierte der Rundfunk die speziellen Komponistenbund-Konzerte und bat um Partituren, um selbst die Auswahl vorzunehmen.

1927 gab es eine Statutenänderung, die den ÖKB in eine Sektion für ernste und eine für heitere Musik teilte, wodurch es – unter dem gemeinsamen Präsidenten Siczynski – auch für die ernste Musik einen Teilvorstand gab. Und er war durchaus prominent; ihm gehörten u. a. Joseph Marx als Vorsitzender sowie Alban Berg, Egon Wellesz, Hans Gál, Karl Weigel und Robert Heger an. Dadurch konnten nun auch zahlreiche Konzerte mit avancierter moderner Musik veranstaltet werden, in denen neben den genannten Vorstandsmitgliedern auch Anton Webern, Paul Amadeus Pisk, Josef Matthias Hauer, Ernst Krenek, Ernst Toch oder auch Emil Hochreiter erklangen. – Die Bemühungen um eine Verlängerung der Schutzfrist, die die Werke von Johann Strauß länger tantiemenpflichtig machen sollte, fanden aber nur einen kleinen Erfolg: nach einer Verlängerung „auf vorläufig 32 Jahre“ blieben die weiteren Versuche erfolglos.<sup>4</sup>

1930 wurden die zwei Sektionen dann endgültig selbständig, weil auch die „E-Sparte“ einen eigenen Präsidenten stellte: Joseph Marx. Der Rundfunk präsentierte aber insbesondere Wienerlieder, weil

3 Mitteilung der Witwe Siczynskis auf dem Fragebogen, den Siegfried Lang zur Erstellung seines Lexikons aussandte (Archiv des Österreichischen Komponistenbundes). Siegfried Lang, *Lexikon österreichischer U-Musik-Komponisten im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Österreichischer Komponistenbund, 1986); zu Siczynski s. S. 183f. 1996 erschien noch ein *Nachtrag*.

4 Hiezu siehe: Hartmut Krones, „Der Kampf der Komponisten der ‚heiteren‘ Musik um Anerkennung sowie um eine gerechte Abgeltung ihrer Kunst“, in *Opereta med obema svetovnima vojnama / Operetta between the two world wars* (= *Studia musicologica labacensia* 5), Hrsg. Jernej Weiss (Koper, Ljubljana: Založba Univerze na Primorskem, Festival Ljubljana, 2021), 73–91, hier 77–87.

infolge reichlicherer Sendung von Werken der Literatur und insbesondere von wissenschaftlichen Vorträgen der Zeitraum, der für die Sendung ernster Musik zur Verfügung steht, gekürzt werden mußte.<sup>5</sup>

Dagegen füllten die Eigenveranstaltungen nur einen bescheidenen Rahmen, erreichten allerdings als internationale Austauschkonzerte zahlreiche Länder. Vor allem Egon Wellesz konnte seine Beziehungen, die er als bedeutender Musikwissenschaftler besaß, für diesen Austausch nützen. Zwischen 1931 und 1934 fanden Konzerte mit österreichischer „ernster“ Musik in Kopenhagen, Berlin, Zagreb, Amsterdam, Utrecht, München, Köln, Helsingfors, Warschau, Paris, Posen, Stockholm, Prag, Laibach und Zürich statt, dann änderten sich die Verhältnisse durch die christlich-soziale Diktatur des sogenannten Ständestaates, in dem alle anderen Parteien verboten waren und auch das Kulturleben Einschränkungen erfuhr.

Der politisch wohlgelittene U-Musik-Präsident Rudolf Siczynski wies damals vehement darauf hin, daß das *„Bewußtsein rege werde[n] müßte], daß das Wienerlied als typisches österreichisches Kulturgut einer fortgesetzten, intensiven Pflege bedarf“* und konnte neben den traditionellen Konzerten ernster und unterhaltender Musik noch die sogenannten *„Wienerliederpremierabend“* einrichten, die erneut einen Überhang von „U-Musik“ zur Folge hatten. Trotzdem fanden die internationalen Austauschkonzerte weiterhin statt, bis der Einmarsch der deutschen Armee im März 1938 allen österreichischen Eigeninitiativen ein Ende setzte.

Und typischerweise galt der erste Beschluß der wie alle Vereinigungen mit den NS-Pendants „gleichgeschalteten“ Urheberrechtsgesellschaft A.K.M. den Regelungen für die nur „U-Komponisten“ betreffende „Tonfilm-Verrechnung“ – sie wurden rückwirkend *„dem bei der [deutschen] STAGMA gültigen Schlüssel“* angepaßt. Die Jahre 1938 bis 1945 können aber nicht unser Thema sein, da sie dem Einfluß der österreichischen Komponisten entzogen bzw. nur in Zusammenarbeit mit den Nationalsozialisten zu Aktivitäten führen konnten. Immerhin war die U-Sparte durch den Ehrenpräsidenten der AKM, Franz Lehár, würdig vertreten, da er von Reichsminister Dr. Joseph Goebbels als *„führende[r] deutscher Unterhaltungskomponist, ja sogar als der grösste überhaupt lebende Unterhaltungskomponist“*

5 Feststellung der musikalischen Leitung der RAVAG in der Besprechung mit dem Präsidium des Komponistenbundes vom 18. November 1930. *Österreichische Autoren-Zeitung* II, Heft 4 (Dezember 1930): 8.

in den Beirat der STAGMA berufen wurde. (Alle Dokumente, die die „NS-Jahre“ 1938–1945 betreffen, können nachgelesen werden.)<sup>6</sup>

Nach der Wieder-Errichtung des „Österreichischen Komponistenbundes“ vom November 1947 setzten sich leider auch die Mißstimmungen und Meinungsverschiedenheiten zwischen „E-Sektion“ und „U-Sektion“ fort, die zum Teil sogar weiterhin ideologisch-politische Lager der Jahre 1938–1945 widerspiegeln. Zunächst mußten sich die Mitglieder für eine der beiden Sektionen entscheiden, obwohl in einer Sitzung festgestellt wurde, daß es „nach Ansicht sämtlicher Anwesenden keine speziellen ‚Unterhaltungs- oder ‚ernste‘ Komponisten, sondern nur Komponisten guter und schlechter Musik, die in beiden Sparten vorkommen können“, gäbe.<sup>7</sup>

In den Folge arbeiteten die beiden nach wie vor getrennten Sparten zwar unter gegenseitiger Information, aber trotzdem völlig eigenständig nebeneinander; dabei gaben beide Sparten Schallplatten heraus<sup>8</sup> und verhandelten mit dem Rundfunk über höhere Quoten österreichischer Musik oder mit der Regierung über Subventionen für wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen oder für gesetzliche Maßnahmen zur Förderung zeitgenössischer Musik. Unter der Präsidentschaft von Kurt Rapf profilierte sich die E-Sparte daneben (ab 1970) mit dem von Augustin Kubizek redigierten Fachblatt *Der Komponist*, das Grundsatzartikel, Dokumentationen von Neuerscheinungen oder Berichte über wichtige Konzerte vereinigte, sowie mit dem *Orchesterkatalog*, der sämtliche Orchesterwerke österreichischer Komponisten, die nach dem 1. Jänner 1945 (noch) lebten, zusammenfaßte,<sup>9</sup> die U-Sparte ergänzte mit dem von Siegfried Lang herausgegebenen *Lexikon österreichischer U-Musik-Komponisten im 20. Jahrhundert* (s. Anm. 3), der eine bedeutende Ergänzung der Wissens um die Musikgeschichte des österreichischen 20. Jahrhunderts darstellt.

Die Bereitschaft des Rundfunks zur Förderung der österreichischen zeitgenössischen Musik geriet allerdings unterschiedlich. So gestand der Rundfunk-Intendant von Radio Wien dem ÖKB 7 Sendungen pro Saison

6 Hartmut Krones, *Das Ende der „alten“ A.K.M. (März 1938), die Gründung der „neuen“ AKM (Juni 1945) und die Folgen* (Wien: Selbstverlag der AKM, 2014).

7 Alle zitierten Sitzungsprotokolle befinden sich in der Geschäftsstelle des Österreichischen Komponistenbundes.

8 Eine Liste der erschienenen Schallplatten und CDs erstellte Katharina Bleier: „Schallplatten- und CD-Produktionen des ÖKB“, in *100 Jahre Österreichischer Komponistenbund 1913–2013*, Hrsg. Hartmut Krones (Wien: Praesens, 2013), Anm. 1, 135–50.

9 Emil Lubej, Michael Rot und Walter Szmolyan, Hrsg., *Orchesterkatalog zeitgenössischer österreichischer Komponisten*, 2 Bände, Lose-Blatt-Ausgabe in Heftmappen (Wien: Österreichischer Komponistenbund, 1977).

(primär mit Wienerliedern) zu, was allerdings nicht zuletzt der Tatsache zuzuschreiben war, daß der Intendant selbst Lieder und Liedbearbeitungen verfaßte. Und im ÖKB selbst planten die beiden Sparten unabhängig voneinander eine „Woche der U-Musik“ und eine „Woche der zeitgenössischen österreichischen Musik“, die aber nur der „E-Musik“ vorbehalten war. Die E-Musik-Wochen wurden tatsächlich ins Leben gerufen und florierten jahrelang, weil sich auch die großen Konzerthäuser der Initiative anschlossen. Diese „Wochen“ gingen dann 1988 in dem Festival „Wien Modern“ auf, dessen ebenfalls umstrittene Programmierung ein anderes Kapitel ist.

Als aber 1975 das Angebot des Kaufhauses „Herzmansky“ vorlag, in diesen „Wochen“ in den Verkaufsräumen zeitgenössische Musik statt Radio-Berieselung zu spielen, weigerte sich die U-Sparte, Musik unbezahlt zur Verfügung zu stellen, während die E-Sparte die Aktion als gute Werbung sah. Das Projekt kam dann nicht zustande.

Köstlicherweise gab es selbst in der „U-Sparte“ nicht nur „Geschäftsinteressen“, also den Wunsch nach möglichst guten Verkaufszahlen der Schallplatten (unabhängig von der Qualität der Musik, also unter Inkaufnahme billigsten Kitsches); denn auch hier wollten einige mehr die Qualität der Werke berücksichtigen. Man einigte sich in österreichischer Weise: Man sandte je ein Vorstandsmitglied von U und E in den Produktionsausschuß, dem vor allem Mitglieder der Musikfirmen angehörten; Zustimmung oder Ablehnung von einzuspielenden Werken mußten durch beide Vertreter einstimmig erfolgen (Protokoll vom 15. Juni 1966).

Trotzdem blieb die Trennung aufrecht, allerdings versuchte vor allem der der „E-Sparte“ angehörende Präsident Robert Schollum in den späten 1960er Jahren, mit der „Österreichischen Gesellschaft für zeitgenössische Musik“ und der „Internationalen Gesellschaft für Neue Musik“ zu kooperieren. Das konnte allerdings nur sehr partiell gelingen, weil die beiden genannten Gesellschaften nur E-Musik-Veranstaltungen durchführten und weil zudem zwischen den z. T. eher konservativen E-Musik-Komponisten des Komponistenbundes und den primär der avancierten Moderne angehörenden Komponisten der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Neue Musik deutliche Feindseligkeit herrschte. Letzten Endes ging es aber auch darum, welche Musik im Rundfunk zu spielen sei – und daher letzten Endes um Geld. Und als sich die E-Komponisten des Komponistenbundes um einen diesbezüglichen Termin zur Vorsprache im Rundfunk bemühten, teilte der Vizepräsident der U-Sparte mit, daß er bereits einen Termin im Rundfunk habe – allerdings nur wegen Angelegenheiten der U-Musik (Protokoll vom 17. März 1972).

Im Oktober 1974 standen Neuwahlen des Vorstandes der Urheberrechtsgesellschaft AKM an, und die U-Sparte schlug folgendes vor: „*Da die AKM eine Verteilungsgesellschaft und keine Interessensvertretung ist, sollte derjenige Präsident werden, der die einnahmenstärkste Musik vertritt.*“<sup>10</sup> Und sie schlug den U-Komponisten Norbert Pawlitzki als Präsidenten vor, während sich die E-Sparte eine spätere Stellungnahme vorbehielt, de facto aber nicht einverstanden war. In der nächsten Sitzung lehnte man aber den Vorstoß der U-Musik „*aus repräsentativen und traditionellen Gründen*“ ab. Und versicherte, daß diese Meinung keineswegs „*Ausdruck einer Ablehnung der U-Musik*“ sei. Präsident wurde dann der von der U-Sparte als einseitig abgelehnte E-Komponist Marcel Rubin, der auf Grund seiner Emigrationsjahre beste internationale Kontakte besaß.<sup>11</sup>

1982 wurde die „Interessensgemeinschaft österreichischer Komponisten“ ins Leben gerufen, ein Dachverband der drei Organisationen Komponistenbund (ÖKB), Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM) und Österreichische Gesellschaft für zeitgenössische Musik (ÖGZM), der für Herbst 1983 oder Frühjahr 1984 den „Ersten österreichischen Komponistenkongreß“ vorbereiten und dann auch durchführen sollte. Vertreter des ÖKB in dem Dachverband waren zunächst Robert Schollum und der Musikwissenschaftler (und Nichtkomponist) Hartmut Krones.<sup>12</sup> Der Termin stellte sich dann als allzu optimistisch heraus, der Kongreß fand jedoch im Oktober 1984 statt und widmete sich vor allem der sozialen Lage der Komponisten, wodurch der Zusammenhalt von E-Sparte und U-Sparte wieder enger wurde.<sup>13</sup>

Eine enge Zusammenarbeit des ÖKB mit der IGNM wurde dann am 4. Mai 1984 beschlossen, der Dezember 1984 in einer Kampfabstimmung neugewählte Vorstand der IGNM hatte allerdings Bedenken, wodurch sämtliche Pläne wieder sistiert wurden. Auch die vereinsrechtliche Gründung der Dachgesellschaft IÖK verzögerte sich, da die AKM die Statuten der IGNM einsehen wollte, um genau zu wissen, wen genau und wozu sie die Dachgesellschaft fördern sollte. Im Zuge dessen kam es dann auch zu einer Mißstimmung zwischen ÖKB und IGNM, die zu diversen Austritten aus den

10 Protokoll vom 11. Oktober 1974.

11 Eine ausführliche Darstellung der Aktivitäten Rubins im Rahmen der AKM befindet sich in: Hartmut Krones, *Marcel Rubin*. Band 22 der Reihe *Österreichische Komponisten des XX. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Lafite, 1975), 33f., sowie im *Nachtrag* (Wien: Lafite, 1989), 2; weiters in: Hartmut Krones, „Die Geschichte unserer Gesellschaft“, in *100 Jahre AKM. Autoren, Komponisten, Musikverleger. 1897–1997*, Hrsg. Manfred Brunner (Wien: AKM o. J., 1997), 10–33, hier 28–30.

12 Protokoll vom 29. März 1983.

13 Zu diesem Kongreß siehe: *Österreichische Musikzeitung* 39 (1984): 556f.

jeweiligen „Gegengesellschaften“ führte. Zur IÖK äußerte 1985 zudem die U-Sparte des ÖKB Bedenken, ortete in den von E-Musik-Vertretern durchgeführten Vorbereitungsgesprächen ein „*mangelndes demokratisches Vorgehen*“ und befand auch, „*zuwenig Zeit zur Meinungsfindung*“ gehabt zu haben. Zudem befürchtete man „*zu starke Interessen der E-Sparte*“ innerhalb der IÖK.<sup>14</sup> Daß gegen den als Präsident der IÖK vorgeschlagenen Komponisten Roman Haubenstock-Ramati auch ein gewisser „antisemitischer Reflex“ durchgeschlagen hat, konnte zwar nur gleichsam seismographisch, aber doch festgestellt werden; ausgesprochen wurde das nicht. Jedenfalls wurde der Beschluß gefaßt, nur dann der IÖK beizutreten, „*wenn die finanziell und organisatorisch unabhängige Stellung des ÖKB als Standesvertretung gewahrt bleibt*“.

Als dann trotzdem am 12. November 1986 die Gründungsversammlung der IÖK stattfinden sollte, scheiterte die Gründung an der Frage, welche Gremien dort von wem beschickt werden sollten. Die U-Sparte wollte einem Beitritt nur zustimmen, „*wenn auch zwei Vertreter des ÖKB in den Beirat entstadt werden können*“, von denen einer selbstverständlich der U-Sparte angehören müsse. Und so gelangten die Vorstandsmitglieder nach langen Diskussionen zu dem einstimmigen Beschluß, „*daß die Zeit für einen Beitritt noch nicht reif sei*“.<sup>15</sup> In weiteren Verhandlungen ging es dann auch um die Verteilung der Mittel, wobei der Vorschlag einer Aufteilung 60 % für die U-Musik-Belange und 40 % für E-Musik-Belange entrüstet zurückgewiesen wurde.<sup>16</sup> Auch stellte man fest, daß es keine Vertreter der AKM in der IÖK geben dürfe. Im ÖKB war man zudem der Meinung, daß es

von Beginn an die Zielsetzung der IGNM gewesen [sei], die IÖK-Spitze zu übernehmen, wobei Prof. Burt IÖK-Präsident werden wollte. Zweitens wollte die IGNM dem ÖKB das Recht der Standesvertretung nehmen.<sup>17</sup>

Und so schief das Projekt IÖK gleichsam von selbst ein.

Mittlerweile hatte die E-Sparte des Komponistenbundes in den Saisonen 1983/84 und 1984/85 gemeinsam mit der „Jeunesse“ (der „Musikalischen Jugend Österreichs“) die in großen Sälen stattfindenden Konzertzyklen „Musik und Erotik“ sowie „Musik und Tanz“ durchgeführt. Um mehr

14 Protokoll vom 1. Februar 1985.

15 Protokoll vom 21. November 1986.

16 Protokoll vom 27. Februar 1987.

17 Protokoll vom 18. Dezember 1987.

Publikum anzusprechen, wurden in den Zyklen allerdings auch „tote“ Komponisten des 20. Jahrhunderts aufgeführt (wie z. B. Arnold Schönberg, Alban Berg oder Carl Orff). Da es deswegen sehr schnell Proteste etlicher „lebender“ Komponisten gab – und zwar sowohl aus der E- als auch aus der U-Sparte –, kehrte man 1985/86 wieder zu einer in kleinen Sälen durchgeführten Konzertreihe „Junge Komponistenwerkstatt“ zurück.

Zur Ehrenrettung der U-Musik-Sparte seien noch einige ihrer Großveranstaltungen der letzten Jahrzehnte angeführt, die neben den nach wie vor regelmäßigen, aber kleiner dimensionierten E-Musik-Konzerten die ungebrochene Bekanntheit des Komponistenbundes in der öffentlichen Musikszene sicherten. So gab es 1998 sowohl bei einem Frühschoppen im Haus der Begegnung „Altes und Neues aus Wien“ zu hören als auch im Mozartsaal des Konzerthauses ein Konzert der Militärmusik des Gardebataillons. 1999 führte man Kurkonzerte in Baden durch, und im Akzent-Theater spielte das Große Orchester der Gardemusik zehn Werke, die nach einer Ausschreibung ausgewählt und dann auch produziert wurden. 2012 wurde übrigens eine Fachgruppe „Film und Medienmusik“ gegründet, die seither überaus aktiv ist und die „U-Sparte“ inhaltlich ergänzt. Daß es bereits in den 1960er Jahren die initiative gab, eine Sparte „Zweckmusik“ mit ähnlicher Ausrichtung zu gründen, sei zur Ehre der damaligen Komponisten-Funktionäre nachgetragen.

Ein letzter Nachtrag: Der Österreichische Komponistenbund heißt seit 2021 „Austrian Composers“, weil man das sogenannte „Innen-Problem“ nicht lösen konnte bzw. wollte. „Österreichischer Komponisten- und Komponistinnenbund“ wäre zu lang gewesen, „Österreichischer Komponist:Innenbund“ zu komisch, denn: was ist ein Innenbund (im Gegensatz zum Außenbund). So ist offensichtlich nur in der englischen Sprache die Welt noch in Ordnung, wie ja auch die vielen weiblichen Bachelors und Masters (!) beweisen.

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## Music in Terezín: Cultural Continuity in Extreme Conditions

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### Professional Practice Under Duress

For more than three-quarters of a century, the artistic life of the Theresienstadt (Terezín) ghetto has raised profound questions. Originally conceived by the Nazis as a model community for middle-class Jews, it first received deportees from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and Denmark. Later, Jews from Slovakia and Hungary were also interned here.<sup>1</sup> A unique combination of town ghetto, concentration camp, and transit camp, Terezín was, for a variety of reasons, also a place where artists were permitted – and in some cases even encouraged – to continue their creative work. Beyond their shared Jewish origin and the

1 The ghetto was established in late 1941 and liberated by the Red Army on May 8, 1945. The Theresienstadt ghetto was originally a fortress complex, founded in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It consisted of the so-called Small Fortress (serving as a military and political prison) and the Great Fortress (also called the Main Fortress), which included the town of Terezín. During the war, 140,000 people passed through Terezín, 90,000 of whom were sent further east to extermination camps. At the end of the war, 6,875 Jews from the Protectorate and about 240 from the territory of the occupied Czechoslovak borderlands – the so-called Sudetenland – survived in Theresienstadt/Terezín.

circumstances of internment, however, the connections among these musicians and composers were largely circumstantial, and the term “Terezienstadt Composers”<sup>2</sup> should not be understood as denoting a coherent school.

Among the many notable composers interned there were Viktor Ullmann (1898–1944), Pavel Haas (1899–1944), Hans Krasa (1899–1944), Zikmund Schul (1916–1944), Karel Reiner (1910–1979), Gideon Klein (1919–1945), Carlo Taube (1897–1944), Hans Winterberg (1901–1991), Viktor Kohn (1910–1944), Franz Eugen Klein (1912–1944), Heinz Alt (1922–1945), Lena Stein-Schneider (1874–1958), and Ilse Weber (1903–1944), among others. Most of these belonged to the middle and younger generation of composers, associated with the modern tendencies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Yet they did not share a common aesthetic or ethical programme, they did not employ similar compositional techniques, nor were they united under the patronage of a significant artistic figure.

Michael Beckerman published an inspiring reflection, “Why Study the Music of Terezín?”, on the website of the Terezín Composers Institute in 2018.<sup>3</sup> In it, he draws attention to the profound connection between the music and the place of its creation. The topography of the ghetto here acquires extraordinary significance and transforms the ordinary perception of the works. In this way, the “Terezín programme” confers a special emotional value upon them.

Seen from this perspective, the works created in Terezín have little in common in terms of radical innovation or striking novelty. Instead, the circumstances of their creation deeply permeated them and, in an unusual way, defined their character. Purely practical considerations, determined by the conditions of imprisonment, shaped their design. Thanks to this legacy, we can witness the moment when composition itself became a hidden struggle for survival.

Another factor that played an important role was that the fate of these works – more than is usually the case – was closely bound to particular performers. These performers had often commissioned the works,

2 The term “Terezín composers” is widely used in both scholarly and popular literature (see, for example, Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín 1941–1945* (New York: Beaufort Books Publishers, 1985)), though it can sometimes be seen as problematic. The composers associated with Terezín did not form a coherent school or movement, but rather a historically conditioned group linked by the circumstances of internment.

3 Michael Beckerman, “Why Study the Music of Terezín?” *The Terezín Composers’ Institute, Newsletter* 29, no. 2 (2018): 31–40.

and in a number of cases, they were also the ones who saved the scores from destruction.<sup>4</sup> Among the most important figures were the pianists Juliette Arányi (1911–1944?), Alice Herz-Sommer (1903–2014), Bernard Kaff (1905–1944), Gideon Klein (1919–1945), Karel Taube (1897–1944), Renée Gärtner-Geiringer (1908–1944), Edith Steiner-Kraus (1913–2013), and Karel Reiner (1910–1979). Prominent singers included Bedřich Borges (1909–1992), Hedda Grab-Kermayer (1899–1989), Marion Podolier (1906–1975), David Grünfeld (1914–1963), Harry “Hambo” Heymann (1907–1995), Walter Windholz (1907–1944), and Karel Berman (1919–1995). The ranks of conductors were represented by Karel Ančerl (1908–1973), Franz Eugen Klein (1912–1944), Rafael Schächter (1905–1944), Karl Fischer (1893–1944), and Robert Brock (1905–1979). Other important instrumentalists were Egon Ledeċ (1889–1944), Karel Fröhlich (1917–1994), Paul Kling (1928–2005), and Heinz Jakob “Coco” Schumann (1924–2018).

### Cultural Preludes to Theresienstadt

The cultural life of the Theresienstadt ghetto, established in November 1941, had its beginnings in events that had taken place in the Protectorate capital several months earlier, following 15 March 1939. In Prague, against the backdrop of increasing persecution, there developed a tradition of clandestine home concerts and study circles. These activities were often concealed not only from public view, but above all from the scrutiny of the occupation authorities. They represented a spontaneous response to the systematic exclusion of the Jewish population from public life: from orchestras, schools, concert halls, and publishing houses. Their protagonists – musicians, composers, visual artists, and teachers – strove to preserve creative activity at a time when they were denied the right to perform publicly. Musical evenings held in private apartments in Prague or Brno took the form of semi-legal gatherings. Their programmes included not only chamber concerts but also discussions, poetry readings, and improvised lectures. Several testimonies and concert programmes have been preserved, yet due to the informal

4 At the same time, it should be remembered that a significant number of compositions have not been preserved. Fragments, lost, or even hypothetical works occupy an inseparable place in the cultural memory of the Theresienstadt ghetto. The reasons for these losses were various: they may have been connected with deportations to extermination camps in the East, with insufficient archival resources, or with the chaos of the final days of the war. Some performances also had a more occasional and informal character, and the hastily written compositions were not preserved.

character of these events, the surviving sources are fragmentary and often incomplete.<sup>5</sup>

A significant role in the organisation of these activities was also played by local branches of the Jewish Religious Community in Protectorate towns, above all in Prague, which, for example, initiated the establishment of a music school. This institution provided a base for musicians affected by repressive measures and enabled them not only to teach but also to continue their artistic work. Within this circle of activities also belongs the preparation and first performance of the children's opera *Brundibár* in the autumn of 1942.<sup>6</sup>

By contrast, the situation in Germany had taken a different turn. There, the *Kulturbund deutscher Juden* (Cultural Association of German Jews), founded in 1933, organised concerts, theatre performances, and other cultural activities for Jewish audiences.<sup>7</sup> In the Czech environment, however, no comparable institution emerged. One of the reasons was the relatively short interval between the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939 and the introduction of strict restrictions against the Jewish population, including the prohibition of Jewish organisations in the second half of 1941. From this period onwards, many musicians were deported to Theresienstadt.

The social and cultural bonds that had developed during this earlier period played an important role once transferred to the Theresienstadt ghetto. The ghetto community itself functioned on the basis of certain internal categorisations. One of the key factors determining prisoners' status – at least until the large deportations of the autumn of 1944 – was ethnic affiliation. Since the younger Czech Jews constituted the cultural and social elite of Theresienstadt, this category also significantly shaped the character of the ghetto's cultural life.

5 On the cultural and social life of Jews in Prague in 1939–1941, see the personal testimonies of Holocaust survivors. See also: Milan Kuna, *Dvakrát zrozený. život a dílo Karla Reinera* [Twice Born: The Life and Work of Karel Reiner] (Prague: H&H, 1999), 115–41.

6 *Brundibár* is a children's opera in two acts by Hans Krasa, with a libretto by Adolf Hoffmeister. The opera was first performed by children from the Jewish orphanage in Prague sometime around late 1942 or early 1943. In 1943, the child actors were deported to Theresienstadt, where the opera was staged again. The performances became very popular and were given approximately 55 times between 1943 and 1944.

7 On the *Kulturbund deutscher Juden*, see: Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat* (Köln: Dittrich Verlag, 2000), 81–105.

This predominance of younger Jews from the Czech lands was reflected in the musical life of the ghetto in several ways. It influenced not only the repertoire – where works by composers such as Bedřich Smetana, Antonín Dvořák, Josef Suk, Vítězslav Novák and Leoš Janáček appeared prominently – but also the language of rehearsals and performances, which was predominantly Czech. The organisational structures of cultural activities, including the formation of choirs, chamber ensembles, and later even a symphony orchestra, were likewise shaped by this milieu. Musicians who had been active in the Czech lands took on leading roles in the initial stages, drawing upon networks already established in Prague and Brno. Over time, however, these distinctions gradually diminished, as cultural life in Theresienstadt came to integrate contributions from a broader spectrum of deportees.

### Musical Life

In Terezín, musical life underwent a series of transformations, from strict prohibitions on both public and private performances to periods of cautious tolerance and, eventually, official support. As noted above, the artistic environment of Theresienstadt reflected a continuation of interwar musical traditions, albeit under vastly different conditions. The ghetto became a microcosm of prewar Central European cultural life, where composers, performers, and intellectuals sought ways to sustain artistic expression despite Nazi repression. Prominent composers such as Hans Krasa and Viktor Ullmann assumed leadership roles, mentoring younger musicians including Siegmund Schul and Gideon Klein. Ullmann's "Studio for New Music" functioned as a hub for contemporary composition. Many works produced in Terezín were composed for specific performers and premiered within the ghetto – sometimes in front of fellow prisoners, sometimes even Nazi officials. These personal relationships often played a crucial role in preserving the music. Various formal and informal musical activities took place. These included Czech and German cabaret, children's musical performances, and at least three opera companies.

*Freizeitgestaltung* played a particularly important role in Terezín. The idea of organising leisure-time activities was already under discussion in February 1942. This newly established department was intended both to bring a measure of joy into the lives of the prisoners, and to control or eliminate undesirable social manifestations. With the agreement of the camp

administration, it was formally set up in the autumn of 1942.<sup>8</sup> The opening of a coffeehouse in December 1942 symbolised the launch of cultural activities in Terezín. This event also marked the beginning of the SS propaganda plan. From this moment on, cultural and musical life were not only tolerated but actively supported and promoted – even beyond the borders of the ghetto. Musical instruments and sheet music were gradually brought into the camp, and works that had been banned in the Third Reich were performed there.

Moritz Henschel (1879–1947) was appointed head of *Freizeitgestaltung*, under which all cultural, educational, and sports activities were organised. Administrative matters were handled by the young rabbi Erich Weiner (1911–1944), later succeeded by the German-speaking Prague architect Otto Zucker (1892–1944). Cultural activities in the ghetto reached their peak during 1943–1944. As part of the so-called *Stadtverschönerung* (“City Beautification”) project, *Freizeitgestaltung* was divided into several sections, one of which was the music section. Hans Krasa became its head, while unit leaders included Rafael Schächter (Opern- und Vokalmusik / Opera and Vocal Music), Josef Stross (Kaffeehausmusik / Coffeehouse Music, until 1943), and Pavel Libenský (Instrumentenverwaltung / Instrument Administration), who after Stross’s deportation to Auschwitz also assumed his responsibilities. Gideon Klein directed the Instrumentalmusik unit, which organised all solo instrumental and chamber concerts of classical music.

In order to understand the repertoire and musicians who shaped this cultural life, several important sources must be considered. One of the most valuable testimonies to musical life in the ghetto is Viktor Ullmann’s cycle *26 Kritiken über musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt* [26 Reviews of Musical Events in Theresienstadt].<sup>9</sup> Equally indispensable is the so-called Hermann Collection, a wide-ranging set of documents relating to the social and cultural life of the ghetto, assembled by the prisoner Karel Herrmann/Heřman between 1943 and September 1944.<sup>10</sup> Further insights

8 On the establishment of *Freizeitgestaltung* in Theresienstadt, see: H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt 1941–1945: Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1955); see also: Ruth Bondy, *Elder of the Jews: Jakob Edelstein of Theresienstadt* (New York: Grove Press, 1989).

9 Ingo Schultz, ed., *Viktor Ullmann. 26 Kritiken über musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt, mit einem Geleitwort von Thomas Mandl* (Neumünster: Bockel Verlag, 1993).

10 Before his deportation to Auschwitz in October 1944, Karel Herrmann (1905–1953) managed to conceal a valuable document with one of his fellow inmates. In the ear-

into both operatic and instrumental performances can be drawn from the memoirs of survivors.

Two instrumental orchestras were active in the ghetto: the ensemble of Carlo Taube, sometimes referred to as the Municipal Orchestra of the Ghetto, and the string orchestra conducted by Karel Ančerl.<sup>11</sup> Chamber ensembles included the Ledeč String Quartet and the Theresienstadt Quartet. The young composer and pianist Gideon Klein, together with members of the Theresienstadt Quartet, prepared performances of Dvořák's Piano Quartet in E-flat major, op. 87, Brahms's Piano Quartet in C minor, op. 60, Beethoven's Piano Trio in E-flat major, op. 70 no. 2, and Schubert's Piano Trio in B-flat major, op. 99.<sup>12</sup>

Among the most active performers, measured by both frequency of concerts and the breadth of repertoire, were Renée Gärtner-Geringer (1908–1944), Bernard Kaff (1905–1944), Alice Herz-Sommer (1903–2014), and Edith Kraus-Steiner (1913–2013). Amateur musicians also played an important role: in Ančerl's chamber orchestra, for instance, they made up as many as two thirds of the players.<sup>13</sup> The same pattern was evident in opera and choral ensembles, where the majority were amateur singers, while soloists moved freely between companies as required.<sup>14</sup>

For selected productions, a chamber orchestra was occasionally employed, as were the services of the architect, stage designer, and costume designer František Zelenka (1904–1944). Two operas were composed in the ghetto: *Der gläserne Berg* by Franz Eugen Klein and Ullmann's *Der Kaiser*

ly 1970s, Herrmann's wife sold most of the sheets from his collection to the Terezín Memorial (Terezín Memorial, Collections Department).

- 11 On the activities of both orchestras, see: Milan Kuna, *Hudba vzdoru a naděje: Terezín 1941–1945* [Music of Defiance and Hope: Terezín 1941–1945] (Prague: Editio Bärenreiter Praha, 2000), 92–104. Karel Ančerl later reflected on his activities in the Theresienstadt ghetto in a short memoir, see: Karel Ančerl, "Music in Terezín," in *Terezín: 1941–1945*, eds. František Ehrmann, Otta Heitlinger, and Rudolf Iltis (Prague: Jewish Community in Prague, 1965), 238–41.
- 12 Excerpts from reviews of Klein's performances from the period of his studies in the master class of Vilém Kurz, as well as from his later piano recitals, were published by Milan Slavický in the monograph: *Gideon Klein: A Fragment of Life and Work* (Prague: Helvetica-Tempora, 1996, 90–4), which appeared simultaneously with the Czech-language edition of the book.
- 13 On the significant role of amateurs in the cultural life of the ghetto, see: Gideon Klein, "Několik poznámek k hudební kultuře Terezína" ["A Few Words about Musical Culture in Terezín"], published in the third volume of the cultural journal *Sešit*, which appeared in Czech in 1943–1944; see also: Slavický, *Gideon Klein: A Fragment of Life and Work*, 85–7.
- 14 Kuna, *Hudba vzdoru a naděje*, 22–32.

*von Atlantis oder Die Tod-Verweigerung*. While the former belongs to the group of lost Theresienstadt works, the latter has in recent decades become one of the most frequently performed compositions to have originated in the ghetto.<sup>15</sup> Most of the participants in these cultural activities were deported to Auschwitz in September and October 1944. After the deportations, musical life in the ghetto continued in some form, but never again reached its earlier intensity.

The establishment and functioning of *Freizeitgestaltung* fit neatly with the ideological aims of German propaganda. An opportunity for its suitable exploitation arose in the second half of 1943 with the transport of 450 Danish Jews (5 October 1943). Due to complicated political negotiations, these prisoners were granted several exceptions, including the fact that they were not sent to extermination camps. Their presence in Terezín attracted the attention of the international public. Immediately after their arrival, the Danish government requested permission for a visit by the Danish Red Cross. Adolf Eichmann granted the exception, and at the instigation of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the German Red Cross, the SS launched the above-mentioned *Stadtverschönerung* project. In the spring of 1944, once the ghetto had been prepared, Himmler authorised a visit to Terezín and to one of the labour camps (probably the so-called “family camp” in Auschwitz-Birkenau). The visit of the International Red Cross commission, together with representatives of Denmark and Sweden, took place on 23 June 1944. The delegation was guided primarily through the reconstructed Danish quarters, and some of the Danish prisoners were forced to participate in the filming of the propaganda movie by Geron and Pečený: *Theresienstadt. Ein Dokumentarfilm aus dem jüdischen Siedlungsgebiet* [Theresienstadt: A Documentary from the Jewish Settlement Area]. Edited only in the final days of the war in spring 1945, the film was never presented to the wider public.

The Theresienstadt ghetto also has links to the history of the First Czechoslovak Republic. It became the last site where Czech and German cultures intertwined. Their interaction was not without tension and

15 The opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod-Verweigerung* [The Emperor of Atlantis or the Refusal of Death], composed by Viktor Ullmann to a libretto by Peter Kien, was not performed in the Terezín ghetto. Its world premiere was given by the Netherlands Opera at the Bellevue Centre in Amsterdam on 16 December 1975 (cond. Kerry Woodward). It was subsequently presented in San Francisco (1977), Israel (1978), and England (1979). Further productions followed in Stuttgart (February 1985) and at the Wiener Kammeroper (September 1987, dir. George Tabori), the latter attracting significant public attention.

disagreements, as had often been the case, but it nevertheless gave rise to a deeply creative exchange. Everything that had led to the convergence of the German, Czech, and Jewish cultural communities was destroyed by the imposition of the Munich Agreement in 1938 and the subsequent political events. In the Theresienstadt ghetto, this convergent culture briefly developed, only to then disappear definitively.

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## Vor dem Fall des Eisernen Vorhangs: die unvollendeten Geschichten ukrainischer Komponistenverbände der 1920–30er Jahre

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Die Komponistenverbände in den Republiken der Sowjetunion werden heute zu Recht in erster Linie als ideologisches Instrument der Kommunistischen Partei zur Unterdrückung und Kontrolle jeglicher kreativen Prozesse gesehen. Von Anfang an waren sie jedoch nicht unbedingt Lenkungs- und Kontrollinstrument der Partei, sondern eine relativ autonome Interessenvertretung der professionellen Musiker.

Wie auch Matthias Stadelmann in seinem Artikel „Musik und Macht: Komponieren in der frühen Sowjetunion“ betonte, waren in diesen Zeiten die sowjetischen Komponisten

weder Opfer der Partei, noch deren Diener, sondern Gestalter aus eigener Kraft. Der Komponistenverband war eine mächtige selbstständige Institution, die um die Kontrolle des Musiklebens rang. Zwar konnten Musiker nicht gegen das politische System handeln, doch die Partei kümmerte sich – im Gegensatz zum Feld der Literatur – recht wenig um die Musik und griff nur in seltenen Fällen ein.

Die Impulse, die zur Gründung der ersten Künstlervereinigungen führten, werden in der Forschung weitaus seltener berücksichtigt.<sup>1</sup>

Das Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags ist es, die vielschichtige, facettenreiche, oft romantische und hoffnungsvolle, aber immer noch fast unbekannt Geschichte – oder sogar mehrere Geschichten – darzustellen, die

1 Matthias Stadelmann, „Musik und Macht: Komponieren in der frühen Sowjetunion“, *Osteuropa* 60, Nr. 7 (2010): 184.

der Gründung des Komponistenverbandes der Ukrainischen Sozialistischen Sowjetrepublik vorausging.

In der Nacht auf den 23. Januar 1921 wurde einer der bedeutendsten ukrainischen Komponisten, dessen „*Schtschedryk*“ gerade die größten Bühnen der Welt eroberte, Mykola Leontowytsch während eines Besuchs bei seinem Vater im Dorf Markiwka von einem bolschewistischen Agenten erschossen.

Die Rolle von Mykola Leontowytsch (1877–1921) in der Entwicklung der ukrainischen Musikkultur zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts lag vor allem im Bereich der Erneuerung und moderner Transformationen der Volksliedkunst. Der Komponist stammte aus der Familie eines orthodoxen Landpfarrers in fünfter Generation, was eigentlich auch seine Laufbahn als Geistlicher beeinflussen musste. Nach dem Abschluss des Priesterseminars lehnte er jedoch die geistliche Laufbahn ab, arbeitete mehrere Jahre als Lehrer an Dorfschulen und bildete sich musikalisch autodidaktisch weiter. Zu dieser Zeit begann er sich, inspiriert von den Werken des Nationalklassikers Mykola Lysenko, auch im Bereich der Bearbeitung ukrainischer Volksmelodien zu verwirklichen.

Ab 1909 nahm Mykola Leontowytsch Unterricht in Kyjiw bei dem berühmten Musiktheoretiker Boleslaw Yaworskyj, dessen Theorie des modalen Rhythmus, in welcher mehrere harmonische Systeme gleichbedeutend mit dem Dur-Moll-System begriffen wurden, einer zeitgemäßen und innovativen Erklärung nichtklassischer harmonischer Strukturen darbot. In dieser Zeit entstanden zahlreiche Chorarrangements des angehenden Komponisten, darunter auch das berühmte „*Schtschedryk*“, wohl von dem theoretischen Werk seines Lehrers beeinflusst. 1916 führte M. Leontowytsch diese Bearbeitung mit dem Universitätschor Kyjiw auf, die vom Publikum begeistert aufgenommen wurde. Im Oktober 1921 erklang das Werk in der New Yorker Carnegie Hall. 1936 schrieb Peter Wilhousky, ein NBC-Mitarbeiter, den englischen Text „*Carol of the Bells*“, was der ukrainischen Melodie weltweiten Ruhm einbrachte. Bemerkenswert ist, dass Mykola Leontowytsch gerade in den Jahren 1919–1921 in großer Armut lebte – es fehlte an Nahrung und Kleidung.

Am 21. Januar 1921 reiste Mykola Leontowytsch nach Markiwka. Am Abend des 22. Januar klopfte ein Fremder an die Tür des Vaterhauses, stellte sich als Tscheka<sup>2</sup>-Agent Afanassij Hrytschenko vor und bat um

2 Tscheka (russisch ЧК) ist die Abkürzung für die Außerordentliche Kommission zur Bekämpfung von Konterrevolution, Spekulation und Sabotage (russisch Чрезвычайная Комиссия по борьбе с контрреволюцией, спекуляцией и саботажем), die nach der Oktoberrevolution gegründete Geheimpolizei des Sowjetrusslands.

Übernachtung. Am nächsten Morgen gegen 7:30 Uhr hörte die Familie einen Schuss – Leontowytsch lag schwer verletzt mit einer Brustwunde im Bett. Erst in den 1990er Jahren wurde durch die Öffnung sowjetischer Archive offiziell bekannt, dass er gezielt durch sowjetische Agenten ermordet worden war. In der sowjetischen Zeit war das Thema tabu, der Mord wurde lange verschleiert: Ein viel später veröffentlichter Bericht aus jener Zeit nennt erstmals den Namen des Täters.<sup>3</sup>

Diese perfide Tat wurde nicht nur zur ersten ernsthaften Warnung vor dem roten Terror für die vielen freidenkenden Künstler, sondern auch zum Anlass für die Gründung des ersten offiziellen Komponistenverbandes. Die Ermordung von Mykola Leontowytsch erschütterte die ganze ukrainische Gesellschaft. Am 1. Februar 1921 versammelte sich in Kyjiw eine große Gemeinschaft von Kulturschaffenden, Professoren und Studenten des Kyjiwer Musik- und Dramatischen Instituts namens M. Lysenko, um, wie es der orthodoxe Brauch auferlegt, am neunten Tag nach dem Tod des verstorbenen Künstlers zu gedenken. Ein Komitee zum Gedenken an M. Leontowytsch wurde gegründet. Ein Jahr später wurde das Komitee in die Allukrainische Mykola-Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft umbenannt.

An dieser Stelle ist eine wichtige historische Bemerkung angebracht. Trotz vereinzelter Morde an führenden Persönlichkeiten der Kultur und Kunst wie an M. Leontowytsch oder dem impressionistischen Maler Oleksander Muraschko<sup>4</sup>, die von der neuen Regierung gnadenlos durch Kopfschuss beseitigt wurden, war die allgemeine Stimmung von großer Begeisterung und Hoffnung auf nationale Autonomie und Wiedergeburt geprägt. Die Bolschewiki, die bei den nationalen Minderheiten Unterstützung für

3 Valentyna Kuzyk, „Як загинув Микола Леонтович [Wie starb Mykola Leontowytsch]“, *Literaturna Ukrajina*, 23. Mai 1996; Valentyna Kuzyk, „Ставимо крапку над «і» (про загибель М.Леонтовича) [Über den gewaltsamen Tod von Mykola Leontowytsch]“, *Muzyka*, Nr. 3 (Mai 1996): 21–3.

4 Oleksandr Muraschko (1875–1919) war ein bedeutender ukrainischer Maler und Kunstpädagoge. Nach einer Kindheit in einfachen Verhältnissen und einer künstlerischen Ausbildung in Sankt Petersburg sowie Aufhalten in Paris und München entwickelte er seinen individuellen Stil unter dem Einfluss des Impressionismus und der Sezession. Internationale Anerkennung erlangte er durch das Gemälde „Karussell“ (1906), das mit einer Goldmedaille in München ausgezeichnet wurde. O. Muraschko war Mitbegründer der Ukrainischen Staatlichen Akademie der Künste (1917) und engagierte sich für die kulturelle Entwicklung der kurzlebigen Ukrainischen Volksrepublik. Am 14. Juni 1919 wurde Muraschko während eines Spaziergangs mit seiner Frau in Kyjiw von Unbekannten überfallen. Ein Schuss in den Hinterkopf beendete sein Leben. Einige Kunsthistoriker ordnen Muraschko als erstes Opfer des kommunistischen Regimes gegen ukrainische Künstler ein.

die Gründung der Republiken suchten, erkannten, dass dieser Prozess nicht aufzuhalten war, und beschlossen, sich an seine Spitze zu stellen. In der neugegründeten Ukrainischen SSR wurde diese Politik als „Ukrainisierung“ bezeichnet.

Die „Ukrainisierung“ brachte in den 1920er Jahren bedeutende Fortschritte in den Bereichen Bildung, Kultur und Wissenschaft. 90 Prozent der Schulen und der Schriften, sowohl Bücher, als auch die Presse, waren ukrainisch. Es wurde die Freie Akademie für proletarische Literatur gegründet, die Ukrainische Akademie der Wissenschaften und sogar die Ukrainische Autokephale Orthodoxe Kirche wiederbelebt. Wie auch Andreas Kapeller vermerkte:

Die relativ liberalen Bedingungen der zwanziger Jahre erlaubten eine Entfaltung der ukrainischen Kultur. Opern, Theaterstücke und Rundfunksendungen wurden zunehmend ukrainisiert. In der ukrainischen Literatur wetteiferten eine modernistische, eine neoklassische und eine proletarisch-sozialistische Strömung miteinander. Als eigenwilliger Vertreter einer neuen ukrainischen sozialistischen Literatur trat Mykola Chvyl'ovyj (1893–1933) mit seiner Freien Akademie für proletarische Literatur hervor. Allerdings kam Chvyl'ovyj mit seiner Polemik gegen die Abhängigkeit der ukrainischen von der russischen Kultur (vom „Allunions-Kleinbürgertum“, wie er sie despektierlich nannte) und seinem Appell einer Orientierung nach Westeuropa bald in Konflikt mit der Zentrale und wurde des bürgerlichen Nationalismus bezichtigt. Gefördert wurde auch die ukrainische Wissenschaft. Die neu gegründete Ukrainische Akademie der Wissenschaften entfaltete breite Aktivitäten. Eine Reihe von ins Ausland emigrierten Wissenschaftlern kehrten nach Kyjiw zurück.<sup>5</sup>

Im Rahmen des Konzepts der „Ukrainisierung“, das einerseits eine Fortsetzung der positiven Entwicklungen der vergangenen Jahre darstellte, andererseits jedoch den engen und in hohem Maße pragmatischen Interessen der neuen Macht diente, wurde es selbstverständlich, gerade die ukrainische Komponente des musikalischen Kulturerbes der Ukraine als jene anzuerkennen, die den gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnissen entsprach. Die Folgen dieser Entwicklung waren ambivalent, wie auch ukrainische Musikwissenschaftlerin Maiia Rzhavska betont:

Die positive Seite der Situation bestand darin, dass die ukrainische Kunst erstmals ein dauerhaftes, konsequent strukturiertes Unterstüt-

5 Andreas Kapeller, *Kleine Geschichte der Ukraine* (München: Beck, 2024), 193.

zungssystem seitens des Staates erhalten hat und in diesem Zusammenhang spürbare Präferenzen genoss. Die Kehrseite dieser Situation bestand darin, dass die staatliche Unterstützung die Kunst in einem bisher nicht gekannten Maße abhängig machte – bis hin zur physischen Vernichtung von Künstlern, die den vorgegebenen Kriterien nicht entsprachen und daher als hinderlich betrachtet wurden. Im Verlauf der 1920er Jahre entwickelte sich eine umfassende Reglementierung des künstlerischen Schaffens. Deren fortschreitende Bürokratisierung verlagerte sich von Diskussionen, Empfehlungen und Wünschen hin zu strengen Vorschriften, deren Nichterfüllung unweigerlich den schrittweisen Entzug des Rechts auf Berufsausübung zur Folge hatte.<sup>6</sup>

Die Prozesse der „Ukrainisierung“ begünstigten auf jeden Fall die Gründung verschiedener Künstlerverbände, darunter im Bereich der Musik. So ist es kein Zufall, dass das Komitee zum Gedenken an M. Leontowytsch bald 53 Mitglieder zählte, darunter 45 Einzelpersonen und 8 Institutionen. Es muss jedoch besonders betont werden, dass die Musiker nur etwa die Hälfte davon ausmachten: Es scheint, als hätten sich nach M. Leontowytschs Tod einfach die fortgeschrittensten Künstler seiner Zeit zusammengefunden.

Das Komitee wurde von anderen bedeutenden ukrainischen Komponisten und von M. Leontowytschs Zeitgenossen Kyrylo Stetsenko (1882–1922) ins Leben berufen, der leider schon bald infolge einer Typhus-Erkrankung verstarb.

Zu den Gründern des Komitees zählten bekannte Persönlichkeiten der ukrainischen Kultur jener Zeit: Künstler, Kunsthistoriker und Dichter Yukhym Mykhajliw (1885–1935), der zum ersten Vorsitzenden des Komitees wurde, Journalist Oles Tschapkiwskyj (1884–1935) – Sekretär des Komitees, Komponist Pylyp Kozytskyj (1893–1960) – stellvertretender Vorsitzender, sowie Volkskundler Klyment Kwitka (1880–1953), Kunstwissenschaftler und Philologe Dmytro Rewutskyj (1881–1941), Komponisten, Chorleiter und bekannte Musiker wie Yakiw Stepowyj (1883–1921), Mykola Werykiwskyj (1896–1962), Grygorij Weriowka (1895–1964), Fedir Popadytsch (1877–1943), Porfyriy Demutskyj (1860–1927), Wassyl Werkhovynets (1880–1938), bereits als Lehrer von M. Leontowytsch erwähnter Boleslaw Yaworskij (1877–1942), Borys Lyatoschynskyj (1895–1968), Felix Blumenfeld

6 Maïia Rzhewska, *На зламі часів. Музика Наддніпрянської України першої третини XX століття у соціокультурному контексті епохи* [Am Wendepunkt der Zeiten. Musik der Dnepr-Ukraine im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts im soziokulturellen Kontext der Epoche] (Kyjiw: Autograph, 2005), 208f.

(1863–1931), Nestor Gorodowenko (1885–1964), Schriftsteller, Bandurist und Schauspieler Hnat Chotkewytsch (1877–1938), Dichter und Chorleiter Pawlo Tytschyna (1891–1967), herausragender Theaterregisseur Les' Kurbas (1887–1937), Schauspieler Iwan Sadovskyj (1876–1948), Präsident der Ukrainischen Akademie der Künste Mykhajlo Burachek (1871–1942), der herausragende Wissenschaftler und Kulturhistoriker Serhiy Yefremow (1876–1938), Kunsthistoriker Danylo Schtscherbakiwskyj (1877–1927), Leiter der ukrainischen Zentrale für Außenwirtschaft Dmytro Koliukh, Musikwissenschaftler und Redakteur Mykola Katscherowskyj und v. m.<sup>7</sup>

De facto wurde die Mykola-Leontowych-Musikgesellschaft nicht nur zum ersten Komponistenverband, sondern auch zur einflussreichsten Künstlervereinigung der Ukraine in den 1920er Jahren. Die ambitionierten Ziele wurden bereits in der Satzung der am 1. April 1922 reorganisierten Gesellschaft festgelegt:

#### Satzung der Mykola-Leontowych-Musikgesellschaft

##### Zweck und Zusammensetzung

1. Verewigung des Andenkens an den Komponisten [Mykola Leontowytsh]. Herausgabe seiner Werke.
  - Förderung der Entwicklung der ukrainischen Musik in ihrer Form und ihren Inhalten nach den allgemeinen politischen und erzieherischen Aufgaben des Hauptausschusses für politische Bildung und Aufklärung,
  - Sammlung und künstlerische Verarbeitung der Volksmusik,
  - Förderung der Entwicklung revolutionärer Musik, Aufführung alter Musik und deren Bekanntmachung einer breiten Öffentlichkeit.

Die M. Leontowitsch-Musikgesellschaft kann eigene künstlerisch-schöpferische Einrichtungen gründen sowie staatliche schöpferische Einrichtungen nutzen.

2. Zu den Mitgliedern der M. Leontowytsh-Musikgesellschaft dürfen kooptierte Vertreter der Musikkultur sowie alle öffentlichen,

7 Valentyna Kuzyk, „Комітет пам'яті М. Леонтовича та Музичне товариство ім. М. Леонтовича як феномен культури українського відродження 20–30-х років XX століття [Das Komitee zum Gedenken an Mykola Leontowytsh und die Mykola-Leontowytsh-Musikgesellschaft als Phänomen der ukrainischen Renaissance der 1920er und 1930er Jahre]“, in *IV mizhnarodnyj konhres ukrainistiv. Mystetstvoznawstvo. Knyha 2*, Hrsg. O. V. Mishanich (Odessa, Kyjiw: Асоціація етнологів [Vereinigung der Ethnologen], 2001), 342ff.

wissenschaftlichen, fachlichen und staatlichen Einrichtungen mit eindeutigem Bezug zur Musikkultur gehören.

3. Personen, die sich für die ukrainische Musik besonders verdient gemacht haben, wird der Titel „Ehrenmitglied der Gesellschaft“ verliehen.
4. Die Anzahl der Mitglieder der Gesellschaft ist nicht begrenzt.
5. Mitglieder, die die Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft verhindern, werden ausgeschlossen.

#### Allgemeine Bestimmungen

6. Die Mykola-Leontowych-Musikgesellschaft ist eine allukrainische Organisation.

Sie untersteht dem Allukrainischen Komitee für Musik und Kunst der Hauptverwaltung für politische Aufklärung.<sup>8</sup>

7. Sitz der M.-Leontowysch-Gesellschaft ist in Kyjiw.
8. Ihr Tätigkeitsbereich ist das gesamte Gebiet der Ukraine.
9. Für ihre Tätigkeit richtet die Mykola-Leontowych-Musikgesellschaft Provinz- und Kreisverbände ein, die auf der Grundlage der Satzung der Mykola-Leontowych-Musikgesellschaft tätig sind.
10. Die Musikgesellschaft hat einen eigenen Stempel mit der Aufschrift „Musikgesellschaft namens Leontowysch“.

[...]

#### Vorstand

16. Für die laufende Arbeit wählt die Gesellschaft einen Vorstand, der aus fünf Personen besteht:
  - dem Vorsitzenden,
  - zwei Beisitzern,

8 Das Hauptkomitee für politische Aufklärung (Головний Політико-Освітній Комітет, Головополітосвіта oder auch ГППО) wurde durch ein Dekret des Rates der Volkskommissare der Ukrainische SSR vom 14. Dezember 1920 ins Leben gerufen, mit dem Auftrag, die gesamte politisch-erzieherische sowie agitatorisch-erzieherische Tätigkeit in der Republik zu vereinheitlichen. Das Komitee, das unter der Leitung des Volkskommissars für Bildungswesen stand, übernahm die Organisation und Kontrolle sämtlicher Institutionen, die im Bereich der politischen Bildungsarbeit tätig waren. Gemäß dem Beschluss des Komitees vom 25. Februar 1922 wurde die Leontowysch-Gesellschaft direkt dem Komitee unterstellt und von diesem finanziell unterstützt. Vgl. Yuriy Kondufor, Hrsg., *Культурне будівництво в Українській РСР. 1917–1927. Збірник документів і матеріалів*. [Der kulturelle Aufbau in der Ukrainischen SSR 1917–1927. Sammlung von Dokumenten und Materialien] (Kyjiw: Naukowa Dumka, 1979), Dokumente Nr. 160 und Nr. 252.

- dem Schriftführer,
- dem Schatzmeister sowie

fünf Kandidaten für diese Ämter.

17. Der Vorstand vertritt die Gesellschaft gegenüber staatlichen und öffentlichen Einrichtungen.

Er legt Rechenschaft ab, gibt den Kommissionen die Richtung und Aufgaben ihrer Tätigkeit vor, führt die Geschäfte und setzt die von der Gesellschaft beschlossenen Pläne um.

18. Der Vorstand hat alle drei Monate der Hauptverwaltung für politische Bildung und jeden Monat dem Plenum der Mykola-Leontowych-Musikgesellschaft über seine Arbeit Bericht zu erstatten.

#### Ausschüsse

19. Die Mykola-Leontowych-Musikgesellschaft kann folgende Ausschüsse einrichten: Musikausschuss, Museumsausschuss, Verlagsausschuss.

[...]<sup>9</sup>

Tatsächlich war die Gründung der ukrainischen Musikpresse eine der größten Errungenschaften der Mykola-Leontowysch-Musikgesellschaft (in weitem MLM). Die erste Ausgabe der Zeitschrift *Muzyka* (Die Musik), die im Januar 1923 in Kyjiw<sup>10</sup> erschien, umfasste 32 Seiten, die letzte, die im November–Dezember 1927 in Charkiw herausgegeben wurde,<sup>11</sup> 92 Seiten. Gemäß Editorials hatte die neue Zeitschrift das wichtigste Ziel, „*die heutige ideologische Verwirrung im künstlerischen Leben zu klären*“.<sup>12</sup> In Wirklichkeit war die neu gegründete Zeitschrift von rein ideologischen Narrativen weit entfernt. Sie zeigte vielmehr eine außergewöhnliche thematische Bandbreite sowie stilistische und geografische Weltoffenheit. Nur wenige Jahre später waren diese für die engen Denkweisen der sowjetischen Ideologie undenkbar geworden.

Die Seiten der Zeitschrift sind reich an wissenschaftlichen Abhandlungen führender ukrainischer Musikwissenschaftler, Komponisten und Folkloristen, so wie Pylyp Kozytskyj, Mykola Hrintschenko, Mykhajlo Werykiwskyj, Klyment Kwitka, Hryhorij Werjowka, Lew Rewutskyj und v. m.

9 Institut für Manuskripte der Nationalbibliothek der Ukraine W. I. Wernadskij, Fonds 50: Gesellschaft M. D. Leontowitsch, Nr. 54, Blatt 1.

10 *Muzyka*, Nr. 1 (April 1923).

11 *Muzyka*, Nr. 5/6 (November–Dezember 1927).

12 Redaktion, „12 квітня 1923 р. [12. April 1923]“, *Muzyka*, Nr. 1 (April 1923): 5.

Die Beiträge spiegeln auf besondere Weise das gesamte Spektrum des musikalischen Lebens jener komplexen und zugleich spannungsgeladenen Epoche wider. Die Publikationen verbinden detaillierte musikanalytische Forschung mit kulturhistorischen und gesellschaftlichen Fragestellungen und eröffnen damit einen interdisziplinären Zugang, der weit über die reine Musikwissenschaft hinausweist.

Das Periodikum berichtet nicht nur über die unmittelbaren Prozesse innerhalb der nationalen Musikszene, sondern auch über internationale Wettbewerbe und Festivals, über Konzertereignisse sowie über Inszenierungen von Oper und Ballett. Ebenso wird die künstlerische Tätigkeit namhafter Musikensembles thematisiert, die maßgeblich zur Professionalisierung des ukrainischen Musiklebens beitragen. Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt bilden Fragen der Jugendkultur, des künstlerischen Nachwuchses und der musikpädagogischen Bildung, wobei die Zeitschrift einen Raum für die Diskussion aktueller Probleme der Kunst- und Wissenschaftsentwicklung eröffnete. Ein besonderes Augenmerk gilt auch der Vorstellung künstlerischer Porträts bedeutender Komponisten und Musiker aus der Ukraine sowie aus dem internationalen Kontext, wodurch die Publikation eine Plattform für den interkulturellen Austausch bildet.

Die Zeitschrift *Muzyka* war die erste Musikzeitschrift in ukrainischer Sprache, deren Erscheinungsgeschichte selbst als kulturgeschichtliches Phänomen gelten kann. Sie unterschied sich von zeitgenössischen russischen oder polnischen Fachzeitschriften durch ihre konsequente sprachliche und inhaltliche Orientierung auf die nationale Musiktradition. Auf ihren Seiten wurden wissenschaftliche Arbeiten publiziert, die grundlegenden Probleme der Entwicklung des musikalischen Kunstschaffens behandelt und ein breites Themenspektrum abgedeckt: von Fragen der Musiktheorie und Musikästhetik über detaillierte Analysen zur Geschichte einzelner Gattungen bis hin zu den Studien über das Leben und Schaffen bedeutender Komponisten.

Von besonderem Interesse ist dabei die systematische Auseinandersetzung mit den Entwicklungsprozessen des musikalischen Lebens sowohl in den urbanen Zentren wie Kyjiw, Charkiw oder Lwiw als auch in den ländlichen Regionen. Diese duale Perspektive erlaubte eine differenzierte Darstellung der Wechselwirkungen zwischen professioneller Kunstmusik und der lebendigen Volksmusiktradition, die im ukrainischen Kontext stets eine zentrale Rolle spielte. Gerade durch die Beiträge von international anerkannten Folkloristen wie Klyment Kwitka wurden umfangreiche

Dokumentationen des mündlich überlieferten Liedgutes geschaffen, die bis heute von unschätzbarem Wert für die internationale Volksmusikforschung sind.

Damit entwickelte sich die Zeitschrift nicht nur zu einem Medium der wissenschaftlichen Reflexion, sondern zugleich zu einem Instrument kultureller Selbstvergewisserung. Sie erfüllte eine doppelte Funktion: Einerseits vermittelte sie aktuelle Informationen über das zeitgenössische Musikleben, andererseits trug sie maßgeblich zur Kanonisierung nationaler Traditionen und zur Etablierung einer eigenständigen ukrainischen Musikwissenschaft bei. In diesem Sinne kann *Muzyka* als ein einzigartiges Forum betrachtet werden, das die ukrainische Musik sowohl in ihrer historischen Dimension als auch in ihrem gegenwärtigen Entwicklungsprozess sichtbar machte und sie in einen internationalen wissenschaftlichen Diskurs einband.

So zum Beispiel erfahren wir in den Ausgaben von 1924 in den Nachrichten aus dem Ausland sogar von Uraufführungen von Werken Arnold Schönbergs und Paul Hindemiths, Erich Korngolds und Franz Lehárs<sup>13</sup>. Andere zeitgenössische Komponisten, deren Namen bald aus der sowjetischen Presse verschwinden sollten, wie Richard Strauss, Arthur Lourié, Alban Berg und andere, wurden ebenfalls erwähnt.

Die Zeitschrift *Muzyka* wurde von den meisten führenden Musikperiodika in der ganzen Welt abonniert, darunter *The Musical Quarterly* (New York), *The Sackbut*, *The Chesterian* und *Monthly Musical Record* (London), *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* (Leipzig), *Le Menestrel* und *Revue Musicale* (Paris), *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* und *Signale für die musikalische Welt* (Berlin), *Musikblätter des Anbruch* und *Pult und Taktstock* (Wien), *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zürich), *Der Auftakt* (Prag), *Musica D'oggi* (Mailand), *La Quena* (Buenos Aires), sowie von Musikbibliothek Peters und Deutsche Musikgesellschaft in Leipzig und Union musicologique in Paris.<sup>14</sup> Einer der aktivsten Mitglieder, Chordirigent und in der Zukunft berühmter Dichter Pawlo Tytschyna hat von der MLM sogar ein spezielles Mandat für Reisen durch Europa bekommen, um Informationen über die Arbeit der Gesellschaft und das Musikleben in der Ukraine zu verbreiten, und von der Redaktion der Zeitschrift *Muzyka* die Befugnis erworben, „professionelle Beziehungen“ zu Vertretern von Musikverlagen in Deutschland,

13 Anon., „Хроніка [Chronik]“, *Muzyka*, Nr. 1–3 (1924): 56 ff.

14 Olena Bugaeva, *Архівна спадщина Музичного товариства імені М. Д. Леонтовича* [Archivbestand der Mykola-Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft] (Kyjiw: Nationalbibliothek der Ukraine W. I. Wernadskyj, 2011), 200.

Frankreich und Großbritannien aufzunehmen und Artikel für die Zeitschrift *Muzyka* über Neuigkeiten und den Stand der Musikkultur im Ausland zu verfassen.<sup>15</sup>

Gleichzeitig schien die Redaktion auch ideologisch „richtig“ zu funktionieren, denn zum Beispiel beschreibt Yukhym Mykhajliw (der Vorsitzende der MLM) in den Nummern 1-3 von 1924, der ersten nach dem Tod des großen kommunistischen Führers, seinen kurzen Besuch bei Lenin. Hier wird er sogar ehrlich beschrieben: „*stämmig, breitschultrig, mit großer Stirn und kleinen, aber lebhaften Augen*“.<sup>16</sup> Ferner erinnert sich Y. Mykhajliw daran, welche Musik der große Lenin wirklich liebte – nicht den revolutionären Beethoven, wie die Propaganda später immer wieder behauptete, sondern die sentimentalsten Salonbarkarolen von Pjotr Tschaikowskij.

Doch bereits im September 1924 wurde die MLM parteipolitisch dazu genötigt, die Losung „Oktober – in die Musik“ als neue programmatische Ausrichtung zu adaptieren. Die gleichnamige Deklaration wurde von der Generalversammlung der Gesellschaft am 19. September verabschiedet und in der Zeitschrift *Muzyka* veröffentlicht. Gleichzeitig wurde ein neuer Vorstand der Gesellschaft gewählt. An seiner Spitze stand jetzt der Komponist Mykhajlo Werykiwskyj, gefolgt von P. Kozytskyj als Stellvertreter und dem Musikwissenschaftler Mykola Hrintschenko als Sekretär.

Nach dreijähriger Existenz zeigt die Mykola-Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft reumütig alle Mängel ihrer Arbeit auf, die vor allem durch „*das Fehlen einer kristallisierten ideologischen Linie*“ entstanden<sup>17</sup>. Das neue Motto sollte vor allem auch die neue Grundlage für die Arbeit der Gesellschaft bedeuten, indem sie „*das gesamte aktive musikalisch-revolutionäre Element in sich vereint und die musikalisch-inaktiven oder ideologisch fremden Mitglieder aus der Gesellschaft ausschließt*“.<sup>18</sup> Ferner stellt die MLM eine Verbindung zur Kommunistischen Partei über deren Vertreter im Präsidium her.<sup>19</sup>

15 Ibid., 28.

16 Yu[khym] Mykhajliw, „Пам’яті Леніна [In Gedenken an Lenin]“, *Muzyka*, Nr. 1–3 (1924): 4.

17 Vorstand der Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft, „Від Президії Музичного Товариства ім. Леонтовича [Vom Vorstand der Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft]“, *Muzyka*, Nr. 7–9 (Juli–September 1924): 132.

18 Ibid.

19 Vorstand der Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft, „Декларація Музичного Товариства імені Леонтовича [Deklaration der Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft]“, *Muzyka*, Nr. 7–9 (Juli–September 1924): 132.

Die Tätigkeit der Musikgesellschaft sollte sich weitgehend an der „Massenkunst“ orientieren und dabei zwei Hauptrichtungen den Vorzug geben: Aufführung revolutionärer und volkstümlicher Lieder bzw. klassischer Werke zur revolutionären und heroischen Thematik und Einbeziehung möglichst vieler Volksmassen in die Musikkunst. Von nun an beteiligte sich die MLM aktiv am kulturellen Aufbau der Sowjetukraine, an der sozialistischen Bewegung und an der Organisation von musikalisch-pädagogischen Massenveranstaltungen. Unter dem Druck der Machtstrukturen wird ein Kampf gegen „Apolitizismus und Formalismus“, für die Parteizugehörigkeit der Musik und die Entwicklung einer internationalen Form und eines sozialistischen Inhalts der Musikkultur geführt.<sup>20</sup> Die schrittweise Ausweitung der Beziehungen zwischen professionellen Ensembles und amateurhaften Musikgruppen führte zur Umwandlung der Gesellschaft in eine „massenhafte“ musikalisch-gesellschaftliche Organisation.

Bis Anfang 1927 eröffnete und betrieb die Mykola-Leontowytsh-Musikgesellschaft 69 Zweigstellen in der ganzen Ukraine, mit etwa 930 Mitgliedern und 1013 Musikorganisationen, die aus Berufsmusikern und Amateuren bestanden, die in Schul- und Studenten-, Bauern- und Arbeiterchören und -ensembles, Kammer-, Blas- und Volksorchestern usw. auftraten. Die Gesellschaft registrierte 347 Bauernchöre, 211 Arbeiterchöre, 367 Schulchöre, 82 Arbeiter- und Bauernorchester und 7 Berufschöre, sowie einige „mobile Quartette“ – die Vorfahren des berühmten Lysenko-Quartetts.<sup>21</sup>

Bereits bei der Gründung trat der Gesellschaft als Vertreter der Musikstudenten Borys Lyatoschynskyj bei, künftig der größte Komponist der ukrainischen Musikgeschichte der 1. Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Fünf Jahre später entstand in Kyjiw unter dem Dach der Mykola-Leontowytsh-Musikgesellschaft die Assoziation für zeitgenössische Musik der Ukraine, die Borys Lyatoschynskyj sowie die anderen in der Zukunft sehr bekannten ukrainischen Komponisten wie Lewko Rewutskyj oder Mykola Werykiwskyj angehörten. Das wichtigste Ziel der Assoziation war es, die neusten Richtungen und Tendenzen der Musik zu erkunden und in die ukrainische Musik zu implementieren.

Gleichzeitig verschärfte sich die Lage der Mykola-Leontowytsh-Gesellschaft allmählich, was vor allem damit zusammenhing, dass auch die

20 Ibid.

21 Pylyp Kozytskyj, „Всеукраїнське музичне Т-во ім. Леонтовича в його минулому, сучасному і в перспективах [Allukrainische Leontowytsh-Musikgesellschaft in ihrer Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft]“, *Muzyka*, Nr. 5/6 (November–Dezember 1927): 5.

Kommunistische Partei der Sowjetunion immer weniger an der Politik der „Ukrainisierung“ interessiert war. Das Erscheinen der Zeitschrift *Muzyka* wurde 1926 vorübergehend eingestellt, stattdessen erschienen nur noch sechs Nummern der „Ukrainischen Musikzeitung“. Die Formalisierung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens des Landes innerhalb eines bestimmten politischen Rahmens führte zu einer klaren Festlegung der Rolle und Mission der Kunst sowie der Künstler. Künstlerische Werke wurden als „Produktion“ definiert, die Kunstschaffenden als deren „Produzenten“, welche gesellschaftliche Aufträge zu erfüllen hatten. Ein weiteres Konzept, das die Beziehungen zwischen Kunst und Gesellschaft regelte, war das der „Dienstleistung“, wobei diese Dienstleistungen bisweilen sogar unentgeltlich zu erbringen waren. So hieß es beispielsweise:

Zur Unterstützung der zweiten landwirtschaftlichen Aussaat organisierte das Volkskommissariat des Staatlichen Akademischen Opern- und Ballettheaters der Stadt Kyjiw freiwillige Konzertbrigaden zur Betreuung von Betrieben und Institutionen. Sämtliche Einnahmen aus den Konzerten werden für die kulturellen Bedürfnisse der ländlichen Vororte und der nahegelegenen Dörfer bereitgestellt.<sup>22</sup>

Im Oktober 1926 wurde das Präsidium der Mykola-Leontowytsch-Gesellschaft nach Charkiw verlegt. Eine Gruppe von Komponisten der Charkiwer Filiale warf der Leontowytsch-Gesellschaft offen vor, eine ukrainisch-nationalistische Linie zu verfolgen und von den Aufgaben der revolutionären proletarischen Kunst abzuweichen. Trotz einer immer instabileren Lage und scharfer Kritik erlebte die Gesellschaft im Jahre 1927 zwei absolute Höhepunkte ihrer Tätigkeit: den ersten allukrainischen Komponistenwettbewerb, dessen ersten Preis sich Lewko Rewutskyj für die 2. Symphonie und Borys Lyatoschynskyj für die Ouvertüre über 4 ukrainische Lieder teilten, und die Organisation der ukrainischen Exposition auf der Frankfurter Weltausstellung der Musik „Musik im Leben der Völker“ (im Rahmen des sowjetischen Pavillons).

Die Teilnahme der Ukrainischen SSR an der Weltausstellung der Musik in Frankfurt am Main wurde durch einen Beschluss des Volkskommissariats für Bildung vom 12. Mai 1927 offiziell bestätigt. Zugleich wurde der Plan für die Vorbereitung der Exponate genehmigt. Innerhalb von 13 Tagen (vom 12. bis zum 25. Mai) wurden 391 Exponate gesammelt und an das Volkskommissariat des Allunionsverbandes für kulturelle Verbindungen mit dem Ausland (Всесоюзное общество культурной связи с заграницей, БОКС) nach Moskau übermittelt, der die Ausstellung des ukrainischen

22 Zit. nach: Rzhavska, *На зламi часiв*, 237.

Sektors organisierte. Die Exponate bestanden aus Volksmusikinstrumenten, Notenausgaben, Büchern und weiteren Musikpublikationen.<sup>23</sup>

P. Kozytskyj, der zur Delegation gehörte und auf der Ausstellung einen Vortrag über ukrainische Musik halten durfte, berichtete, dass sich die ukrainische Abteilung über zwei Drittel der Wand erstreckte und durch zwei Trennwände in zwei kleinere Unterabteilungen gegliedert war. In der ersten befanden sich Musikinstrumente, ein Bildnis eines Kobsaren sowie einige vergrößerte Fotografien vom Kobsaren-Kongress. In der zweiten waren Opernrequisiten ausgestellt. An den Wänden und Säulen hingen Plakate und Diagramme. In einer separaten Vitrine waren ukrainische ethnografische Publikationen sowie die Zeitschrift *Muzyka* ausgestellt. P. Kozytskyj weist besonders darauf hin, dass es zu einigen Missverständnissen kam, weil die Initialen der USRR fast identisch mit denen der Sowjetunion sind. So wurden manche ukrainischen Exponate von der Öffentlichkeit fälschlicherweise als sowjetisch aufgefasst. Das wurde sogar in einigen Pressemitteilungen erwähnt.<sup>24</sup> Diese Bemerkung lässt sich durch die Ausgabe der Zeitschrift „Das neue Frankfurt“ belegen, die fast ausschließlich der Weltausstellung der Musik gewidmet wurde, wobei eine der Abbildungen einen ukrainischen Kobsar mit einer Kobsa zeigt, die jedoch als „russisches Saiteninstrument“ betitelt wurde.<sup>25</sup> Doch im großen Ausstellungskatalog ist die Ukraine mindestens viermal explizit erwähnt.<sup>26</sup>

Zugleich beklagte P. Kozytskyj nachträglich die unverständliche und zugleich nachlässige Haltung sowohl seitens des Volkskommissariates des Allunionsverbandes für kulturelle Verbindungen mit dem Ausland, als auch des Quartetts des Moskauer Konservatoriums gegenüber der Präsentation ukrainischer Kammermusik. Es wurden mit der Eilpost die Werke für das Streichquartett ukrainischer Komponisten versandt, darunter von

23 Vsesojuznoe obščestvo kul'turnoj svjazi s zagranicej [Volkskommissariat des Allunionsverbandes für kulturelle Verbindungen mit dem Ausland], *Die Union der Sozialistischen Sowjet-Republiken auf der Ausstellung „Musik im Leben der Völker“: Frankfurt am Main, 11. Juni–28. August 1927*: veranstaltet von der Gesellschaft für kulturelle Verbindung der Sowjetunion mit dem Ausland (Berlin [u.a.]: Peuvag, 1927).

24 Пупр Козытський, „Міжнародня Музична Виставка у Франкфурті на Майні [Internationale Musikausstellung in Frankfurt am Main]“, *Muzyka*, Nr. 5/6 (November–Dezember 1927): 61f.

25 Martin Elsaesser, „Musik im Leben der Völker: Internationale Ausstellung in Frankfurt am Main“, *Das neue Frankfurt* 6 (Juli–September 1927), Abb. 23: 141.

26 Kathi Meyer, *Katalog der Internationalen Ausstellung „Musik im Leben der Völker“, Frankfurt am Main, 11. Juni–28. August, 1927* (Frankfurt a.M.: Hauserpresse, 1927).

B. Lyatoschynskij, P. Senytsja, W. Kostenko und P. Kozytskij, doch diese Werke wurden nicht aufgeführt. „Das gesamte ukrainische Notenmaterial war aus unbekannten Gründen in Moskau zurückgelassen worden, was die Aufführung durch die Kräfte eines anderen Ensembles vor Ort auch unmöglich machte“.<sup>27</sup>

Bald darauf, im Februar 1928, wurden die Aktivitäten der Mykola-Leontowytsch-Gesellschaft auf Regierungsebene scharf kritisiert, die Gesellschaft aufgelöst und Leontowytschs Name für „irrelevant“ erklärt. Stattdessen wurde die Allukrainische Gesellschaft revolutionärer Musiker gegründet (Всеукраїнське товариство революційних музикантів, ВУТОРМ) sowie die Assoziation der revolutionären Komponisten der Ukraine (Асоціація революційних композиторів України, АРКУ). Treibende Kraft in der letzten war deren Leiter, der Komponist und Musikwissenschaftler Walentyn Kostenko, der in der sowjetischen Presse systematisch und mit großer Schärfe Kritik an der Mykola-Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft übte.<sup>28</sup> Er warf der Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft unter dem anderen die Aufblähung der Mitgliederzahl ohne Rücksicht auf ihre ideologische und musikalische Qualität, das Fehlen einer geeigneten Führung und von Maßnahmen zur Bestimmung und Vervollkommnung der sowjetischen Ideologie, die Unsicherheit der ideologischen Arbeitslinie, den Mangel an ideologischer Reife, Bürokratismus, die Vorherrschaft kirchlicher Elemente und Tendenzen usw. vor.

Die Zeitschrift *Muzyka* wurde nach einer kurzen Wiederbelebung im Jahr 1927 durch die Neuerscheinung *Muzyka – masam* [Musik für die Massen] ersetzt, die munter über die zeitgerechte Thematik berichtete. Die erste Nummer des Jahres 1928 ist noch als Organ der Allukrainischen Mykola-Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft erschienen. Ab Ausgabe Nr. 7 desselben Jahres wurde die Zeitschrift als „Monatszeitschrift für die Massenarbeit

27 Kozytskij, „Міжнародня Музична Виставка“, 64.

28 Walentyn Kostenko, „Жовтень і українська музика [Der Oktober und die ukrainische Musik]“, *Nowe mystetstwo* 26 (1926): 4; Walentyn Kostenko, „Організація українських музичних сил [Die Organisation der ukrainischen Musikkräfte]“, *Kultura i pobut* 39 (1926): 6; Walentyn Kostenko, „Дайош асоціацію революційних композиторів [Es lebe die Assoziation der revolutionären Komponisten]“, *Nowe mystetstwo* 27 (1926): 3; Walentyn Kostenko, „Дрібно-буржуазні течії в українській музиці [Kleinbürgerliche Strömungen in der ukrainischen Musik]“, *Nowe mystetstwo* 31 (1926): 2–5; Walentyn Kostenko, „Музыка на Україні [Musik in der Ukraine]“, *Zhizn' iskusstva* 11 (1927): 2–3; Walentyn Kostenko, „До розвитку української музики [Zur Entwicklung der ukrainischen Musik]“, *Kultura i pobut* 13 (1926): 1–3; Walentyn Kostenko, „2x2=4“, *Nowe mystetstwo* 7 (1927): 4–5.

im Bereich Musik“ publiziert – als Organ der Musikabteilung des Volkskommissariats für Bildung, der Kulturabteilung des Gesamtkrainischer Rates der Gewerkschaften, des Zentralkomitees des Komsomol der Ukraine sowie der Allukrainischen Gesellschaft revolutionärer Musiker. Daraus wird ersichtlich, dass die führende Rolle der staatlichen Institutionen – des Volkskommissariats für Bildung, der Gewerkschaften und des Komsomol – erheblich zunahm, wobei die Gesellschaft selbst weiterhin eher eine Funktion als Mitbegründerin ausübte.

Im Sommer 1928 wurde die Gründung einer Komponistenwerkstatt der Allukrainischen Gesellschaft revolutionärer Musiker in Charkiw bekannt gegeben, die Tatsache völlig unbeachtet lassend, dass bereits seit Februar 1925 eine solche Werkstatt in der Mykola-Leontowytsh-Gesellschaft existierte. Doch die neue Werkstatt wurde nach dem Muster parteilicher Organisationen strukturiert, indem als Leitungsorgan ein „Büro“ gewählt wurde.<sup>29</sup> Um ihre Parteitreue noch mehr zu beweisen, schlossen sich besonders aktive Mitglieder im Jahre 1930 sogar zu einer „Stoßbrigade der Komponisten“ zusammen. Ihre strategischen und taktischen Aufgaben sah die Stoßbrigade vor allem in der Intensivierung der kompositorischen Tätigkeit, „indem sie in Dienste der Veranstaltungen des Proletariats gestellt wurde, die mit der Umsetzung des Fünfjahresplans verbunden sind“ sowie in der maximalen Aufmerksamkeit auf die Betreuung von Veranstaltungen, die mit dem diesjährigen Industrie- und Finanzplan sowie der Aussaatkampagne zusammenhängen.<sup>30</sup>

Im Oktober 1929, in einer Phase der zunehmenden Radikalisierung des sogenannten „kämpferischen Marxismus“, spaltet sich die Allukrainische Gesellschaft revolutionärer Musiker in zwei Verbände auf: die „Proletarischen Musiker“ („Proletmuz“) in Kyjiw und die Assoziation proletarischer Musiker der Ukraine (APMU) in Charkiw mit Zweigstellen in Kyjiw, Odessa und Dnipropetrowsk.<sup>31</sup> Die APMU stellte in vielerlei Hinsicht eine Abspaltung von der Russischen Assoziation proletarischer Musiker (Русская Ассоциация Пролетарских Музыкантов, РАПИМ/РАРМ) dar, deren ideologische und organisatorische Leitlinien sie nahezu unverändert übernahm. Charakteristisch für die RAPM und somit auch für ihre ukrainische

29 Rzhewska, *На зламі часів*, 258.

30 Ibid., 259.

31 Anton Mukha, „Національна спілка композиторів України: до 80-річчя існування. Історико-аналітичний нарис [Nationaler Komponistenverband der Ukraine: zum 80-jährigen Bestehen]“, in *Ukrainisches Musikarchiv* 3 (Kyjiw: Zentrmuzinform, 2003), 224.

„Tochterorganisation“ waren eine ausgeprägte Aggressivität gegenüber künstlerischen Richtungen, die als „bürgerlich“ oder „formalistisch“ galten, eine deutliche Geringschätzung nationaler Besonderheiten sowie ein vereinfachter und reduktionistischer Zugang zur Frage des kulturellen Erbes. Statt differenzierter historischer Reflexion dominierte eine Haltung, die das künstlerische Schaffen fast ausschließlich durch die Linse der Klassenideologie bewertete.

Die Gründung der APMU war jedoch nicht allein ein organisatorischer Akt innerhalb der ukrainischen Musikszene, sondern in erster Linie ein Instrument der Moskauer Zentrale zur Durchsetzung ihrer kulturpolitischen Vorgaben in den Peripherien der Sowjetunion. Damit wurde die ukrainische Musikentwicklung in ein streng zentralisiertes ideologisches Schema eingebunden, in dem Eigenständigkeit und Vielfalt kaum Platz fanden. Für viele ukrainische Künstler und Musikwissenschaftler stellte die APMU daher keinen Fortschritt, sondern vielmehr ein Instrument der Kontrolle und Unterordnung dar.

In den ukrainischen Musikerkreisen wurde das Auftreten der APMU entsprechend als Faktor der Destabilisierung wahrgenommen. Anstelle einer Förderung genuiner künstlerischer Entwicklungen führte die Organisation zu Spannungen und Konflikten innerhalb der Gemeinschaft der professionellen Musiker. Die Orientierung an den Moskauer Direktiven hatte zur Folge, dass nationale Initiativen marginalisiert oder als „schädlich“ diskreditiert wurden, was wiederum die Weiterentwicklung einer eigenständigen ukrainischen Musiktradition erheblich hemmte. APMU warf allen ihren Gegnern aus anderen Formationen „westlich-dekadente“ Tendenzen vor. Damit entfaltete sich in der ukrainischen Musikkultur eine regelrechte Offensive der RAPM-Anhänger gegen Andersdenkende.

Ab 1930 begann die allmähliche Einschränkung der „Ukrainisierung“ (Verringerung der Zahl ukrainischer Schulen und Zeitschriften, Schließung ukrainischer Theater, Einführung des obligatorischen Russischunterrichts in allen Schulen) und konsequente physische Vernichtung ukrainischer Künstler, die später als „Erschossene Renaissance“ bekannt wurde. Im Jahr 1933 sind die Repressionen gegen die ukrainische Bildungselite mit nie gekanntem Ausmaß ausgebrochen.

Es folgte eine groß angelegte, vom aus Moskau Anfang 1933 in die Ukraine entsandten Pavel Postyschew geleitete „Säuberung“ unter der ukrainischen Elite, der bisher umfangreichste Schlag gegen eine nicht-russische Elite der Sowjetunion überhaupt. Ukrainische Kader in Lan-

dwirtschaft, Bildungswesen und Kultur wurden massenhaft entlassen, 20 Prozent der Parteimitglieder ausgeschlossen, die Hälfte der regionalen Führungskräfte und drei Viertel der Parteiführung ausgewechselt. Viele Intellektuelle, Schriftsteller, Künstler und selbst Volkssänger (Kobzaren) wurden erschossen oder nach Sibirien deportiert.<sup>32</sup>

Gewisse Symbolik trug in dieser Hinsicht auch der bereits erwähnte erste Vorstand der Mykola-Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft: nur einer von fünf Mitgliedern, der Komponist Pylyp Kozytskyj, hat die Säuberungen überlebt. Die übrigen, darunter der erste Obmann Yukhym Mykhajliw, wie auch die Mitglieder Oles Tschapkiwskyj, Dmytro Koliukh (ehemaliger Leiter der ukrainischen Zentrale für Außenwirtschaft) sowie Musikwissenschaftler und Redakteur Mykola Katscherowskyj wurden vom stalinistischen System vernichtet, wie auch zahlreiche andere Mitglieder der Musikgesellschaft, darunter Regisseur Les' Kurbas oder Bandurist Hnat Khotkevych.

Der Beschluss des Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Allunions-Partei der Bolschewiki von 1932 „Über den Umbau der literarisch-künstlerischen Organisationen“<sup>33</sup> bedeutete de facto das jähe Ende für all die ideologisch unterschiedlichen Musikinstitutionen. Das Zentralkomitee befürchte

die Umwandlung dieser Organisationen von einem Mittel zur größtmöglichen Mobilisierung der sowjetischen Schriftsteller und Künstler für den sozialistischen Aufbau in ein Mittel zur Kultivierung der Isolierung von Kreisen, der Trennung von den politischen Aufgaben der Gegenwart und von bedeutenden Gruppen von Schriftstellern und Künstlern, die mit dem sozialistischen Aufbau sympathisieren

und beschloss „den Verband der proletarischen Schriftsteller aufzulösen“ sowie

alle Schriftsteller, die die Plattform der Sowjetregierung unterstützen und sich am sozialistischen Aufbau beteiligen wollen, in einem einzigen Verband der sowjetischen Schriftsteller mit einer kommunistischen Fraktion zu vereinen

und „ähnliche Änderungen in anderen Künsten vorzunehmen“.<sup>34</sup>

32 Kappeler, *Kleine Geschichte der Ukraine*, 203.

33 „Beschluss des CK VKP(b) ‚Über den Umbau der literarisch-künstlerischen Organisationen‘“, in *100(0) Schlüsseldokumente zur russischen und sowjetischen Geschichte*, [https://www.1000dokumente.de/Dokumente/Beschluss\\_des\\_CK\\_VKP\(b\)\\_%22%c3%9cber\\_den\\_Umbau\\_der\\_literarisch-k%c3%bcnsterlichen\\_Organisationen%22](https://www.1000dokumente.de/Dokumente/Beschluss_des_CK_VKP(b)_%22%c3%9cber_den_Umbau_der_literarisch-k%c3%bcnsterlichen_Organisationen%22).

34 Ibid.

Die Umsetzung des Beschlusses bedeutete die vollständige Liquidierung aller Musikorganisationen. Auf einer eigens einberufenen Liquidationsversammlung wurde die organisatorische Selbstständigkeit dieser Vereinigungen beendet, was symbolisch das Ende einer Periode intensiver, oft rivalisierender Aktivitäten innerhalb der ukrainischen Musikszene markierte. Zur Vorbereitung des bevorstehenden Allukrainischen Kongresses der sowjetischen Musiker wurde ein Organisationsbüro gebildet, dessen Vorsitz A. H. Benkowskytsch innehatte (eine Persönlichkeit, deren Name später aus nahezu allen Quellen getilgt wurde). Dazu gehörten auch Pyllyp Kozytskyj, Borys Lyatoschynskyj, Mykola Kolyada, Pawel Tolstyakow und Lew Rewutskyj. Mit dem Prinzip der „Verstaatlichung“ des künstlerischen Lebens samt allen finanziellen Mitteln sollten konkurrierende Gruppen, die sich durch ideologische oder ästhetische Eigenheiten voneinander unterschieden, in zentralisierte Strukturen überführt werden. Ziel war die Durchsetzung einer einheitlichen Linie im Sinne des sozialistischen Realismus, dessen offizielle Verkündung nur wenig später, im Jahr 1934, erfolgen sollte.

Bald darauf wurden die Aktivitäten zur Gründung des Komponistenverbandes der UkSSR breit angelegt, und das Jahr 1932 wurde jahrzehntelang unkritisch als sein Gründungsjahr angesehen, wenngleich die Prozesse zu dessen tatsächlicher Funktionierung noch bis zum Jahr 1939 andauerten.<sup>35</sup>

Während der sowjetischen totalitären Ära wurden keine Informationen über die Mykola-Leontowytsh-Musikgesellschaft in den offiziellen Nachschlagwerken veröffentlicht, auch wenn in dessen Redaktionen oft ehemalige Mitglieder der Gesellschaft tätig waren. Erst in jüngster Zeit setzte sich die historische Wahrheit langsam wieder durch.

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## Aktivitäten der Lviver<sup>1</sup> Abteilung des Komponistenverbandes der Ukrainischen SSR in der Konfrontation mit der sowjetischen Ideologie

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Im Jahr 1940, kurz nach der sowjetischen Besetzung Galiziens, wurde die Lviver Abteilung des Verbandes der sowjetischen Komponisten der Ukraine gegründet. Der Forscher des Lviver Kulturlebens Leschek Mazepa präzisiert dieses Datum und führt aufgrund der Archivmaterialien weitere wichtige Information über diese Abteilung an:

Am 24. Dezember 1939 genehmigte der Vorstand des Ukrainischen Komponistenverbandes (UWC) ein Organisationskomitee für die westlichen Regionen der Ukrainischen SSR (d. h. das Organisationskomitee des Lviver Komponistenverbandes, von allen kurz Lviver Komponistenverband genannt), bestehend aus: Wasyl Barwinskyj (Vorsitzender), Adam Soltys (stellvertretender Vorsitzender), Jozef Koffler (ausführender Sekretär), Stanislaw Ludkewytsch und Aleksandr Breskin. 1940 vereinigte das Organisationskomitee des Komponistenverbandes in Lviv 40 Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler.<sup>2</sup>

Unter den Vorstandsmitgliedern des Lviver Organisationskomitees des Komponistenverbandes der Ukraine war eine besondere Persönlichkeit

- 1 Oft verwendet man die deutsche Übersetzung des Namens der Stadt „Lemberg“. Aber, was die späteren Benennungen des Namens der Stadt betrifft, besonders in den offiziellen Dokumenten, schreibt man meistens „Lviv“. Deswegen wird man in diesem Artikel auch diese Version benutzt.
- 2 Leszek Mazepa, *Сторінки музичного минулого Львова (з неопублікованого)* [Seiten der musikalischen Vergangenheit von Lviv (aus dem Unveröffentlichten)] (Lviv: Spolom, 2001), 92.

der sog. Musikwissenschaftler Aleksandr Breskin – ein ehemaliger Mitarbeiter der Redaktion der Kiewer Zeitschrift „*Sowjetische Musik*“, eigentlich ein Mitarbeiter von kommunistischen Geheimdiensten, dessen Funktion im Vorstand hauptsächlich die politisch-ideologische Überwachung aller anderen Mitglieder war. So traten die galizischen Musiker in die zentralisierte Struktur des Komponistenverbandes der UdSSR ein, dessen Hauptaufgabe darin bestand, die Künstler ideologisch zu kontrollieren und „nationalistische“ oder „modernistische“ Abweichungen zu verhindern.

Wie alle anderen schöpferischen Verbände in der Sowjetunion, die mit der Idee einer strengen ideologischen Kontrolle und, wenn nötig, politischer Repressionen gegen diejenigen, die mit dem totalitären Regime nicht einverstanden waren, gegründet wurden, erfüllten die Komponistenverbände bestimmte Funktionen.

Die erste davon war die Funktion der strengen, gar aggressiven ideologischen Steuerung der Thematik und Stilistik der Werke. Die kommunistische Zensur legte fest, welche Themen und Sujets in Musikwerken behandelt werden sollten, und gab „empfohlene“ Texte vor, zu denen Lieder, Kantaten und Opern geschrieben werden sollten. Sie achteten auch darauf, dass die Instrumentalwerke keine modernen, innovativen Ausdrucksmittel enthielten, die als „Verbeugung vor bürgerlichen Werten“ angesehen wurden.

Die zweite Funktion waren die Repressalien gegen diejenigen, die mit der Parteilinie nicht einverstanden waren. Es gab regelmäßige Säuberungen und Demonstrationsmaßnahmen gegen jene Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler, die von den zuständigen Parteidiensten als „Prügelknaben“ ausgewählt wurden. Dazu wurden große, demonstrative Veranstaltungen organisiert, bei denen die hochrangigen Parteigenossen die unzureichend bewussten Mitglieder von diesem oder jenem Verband darauf hinwiesen, wo sie sich irrten und als wahre sowjetische Künstler zu wenig leisteten, woraufhin die Künstler ihrerseits öffentlich Buße taten und versprachen, ihre Fehler zu verbessern.

Da die ideologischen Dienste nach dem Prinzip von Zuckerbrot und Peitsche arbeiteten, wurden diejenigen, die dem System treu dienten, und sogar diejenigen, die höflich bereuten, auch belohnt, was die dritte Funktion der Verbände war. In erster Linie handelte es sich um ein System von Ehrentiteln – Ehrenkünstler, Volkskünstler, verschiedene Preise, staatliche Auszeichnungen usw. Da die Verbände über beträchtliche Mittel verfügten – 5 % der Tantiemen aller Mitglieder – waren diese Kosten für den

Unterhalt von Häusern des Schaffens (in der Ukraine war so ein Haus für Komponisten in Vorzel, kleinen Kurort in der Nähe von Kiew) bestimmt, wo sich Komponisten zurückziehen konnten, um Musik zu schreiben; für die Organisation von Plenarsitzungen und Kongressen, bei denen nicht nur Konzerte stattfanden, sondern auch recht üppige Bankette veranstaltet wurden; es gab eine Praxis der finanziellen Unterstützung der Mitglieder des Verbandes. Die Verbände vergaben auch Wohnungen an ihre Mitglieder, was in der Sowjetunion ein riesiger Vorteil war: Normale Bürger mussten jahrzehntelange warten, um eine eigene Wohnung zu bekommen, dabei konnten sie nicht selbst die Wohnung kaufen oder bauen. Dazu hatten nur die Mitglieder des künstlerischen Verbandes eine reale Möglichkeit ihre Werke zu veröffentlichen, zu publizieren, auf den Bühnen bzw. aufzuführen oder auf Ausstellungen zu präsentieren.

Die vierte Funktion der Verbände schließlich war die organisatorische, die am besten geeignete und natürlichste Funktion jeder Institution solcherart. Der zentrale Komponistenverband und die regionalen Verbände verfügten über Musiksammlungen mit Notenschreibern, was in Ermangelung von Computern eine sehr wichtige Funktion war. Die Verbände verfügten über Bibliotheken, in denen sie handschriftliche Kopien und Editionen der Werke ihrer Mitglieder aufbewahrten.

Für Lviver Komponisten waren solche Funktionen eines künstlerischen Verbandes, vor allem die beiden ersten Funktionen, unverständlich und völlig inakzeptabel – im Gegensatz zu ihren Kollegen aus der Ostukraine, die bereits eine tragische Erfahrung der Unterdrückung durch das kommunistische System erlebt hatten. Ganz andere Erfahrungen hatten dagegen die Lviver Komponisten – Ukrainer und Polen. Die Mehrheit absolvierte führende europäische Konservatorien und Universitäten in Wien, Prag, Krakau, Paris usw. Nach ihrer Rückkehr nach Lviv traten sie auch den künstlerischen Verbänden bei, wo ihr Hauptziel freie Äußerungen ihrer ästhetischen Sichten, interessante Diskussionen und die gemeinsame Arbeit für die fruchtbare Entwicklung der Kultur waren. Im Jahr 1934 gründeten ukrainische Musiker den Verband Ukrainischer Berufsmusiker, gaben die Zeitschrift „*Ukrainische Musik*“ heraus, organisierten Konzerte, und niemand schränkte ihre Initiative ein oder ordnete an, was und wie sie schaffen sollten.

Daher war der neue *modus vivendi* für sie ein tiefer Schock, den die Lviver Künstler erlebten und dann nach einem Ausweg suchten. Ein bedeutender Teil begabter Musiker – Mitglieder des oben genannten Vereins,

darunter Stefania Turkevych-Lukijanovytsch, Antin Rudnytsky, Sinowii Lysko und Jaroslav Barnytsch, wanderte in den Westen aus. Andere, wie Vasyl Barwinskyj oder Borys Kudryk, wurden verhaftet und in sibirische Lager verbannt. Diejenigen, die blieben: Stanislaw Ludkevych, Mykola Kolessa, Anatol Kos-Anatolskyj und manche andere – mussten sich anpassen, fanden aber gleichzeitig optimale Formen des Widerstands gegen den destruktiven kommunistischen Einfluss.

Manche Ereignisse im Leben des Lviver Komponistenverbandes in den dunklen sowjetischen Zeiten beschrieb die Autorin im einzelnen Artikel.<sup>3</sup> Im vorliegenden Text werden allgemeine Prinzipien der Organisationsstruktur des künstlerischen Verbandes in der von der sowjetischen Armee okkupierten und als Teil der UdSSR eingeschlossenen Provinz der UdSSR, wie auch die wichtigsten Fakten, die von dem außergewöhnlichen Einfallsreichtum, der Beharrlichkeit und dem Mut, mit dem die Lviver Musiker ihre Interessen verteidigt haben, gezeigt.

Trotz der Einhaltung der scheinbar allgemein verpflichtenden kommunistischen „Rituale“ der künstlerischen Vereinigungen bildete der Lviver Komponistenverband eine große Ausnahme im ideologisch regulierten künstlerischen Prozess der damaligen Sowjetunion. Dies ist zu einem großen Teil das Verdienst der Vorsitzenden des Verbandes: Vasyl Barwinskyj (1940–41), Stanislaw Ludkevych (1944–1952), Anatol Kos-Anatolskyj (1952–1983) und Mykola Kolessa (1983–1988). Nach Kolessa übernahm die Leitung des Lviver Komponistenverbandes Myroslav Skoryk (1988–2020), doch die Periode seiner Tätigkeit in dieser Funktion fällt schon generell in die ersten Jahrzehnte der Unabhängigkeit – von 1991 bis hin zur komplizierten Periode am Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts, weswegen dies nicht im vorliegenden Artikel behandelt wird.

Man sollte speziell unterstreichen, dass alle oben genannten Vorsitzenden aus hochintelligenten galizischen Familien stammten, selbst Absolventen europäischer Schulen waren oder in Lviv bei solchen hochausgebildeten Pädagogen studierten. Daher konnten sie sehr erfinderisch jene Formen und Wege finden, um dem kommunistischen Regime zu widerstehen. Es ging in mehreren Fällen um existentielle Fragen, um die Rettung des Lebens der Mitglieder des Lviver Komponistenverbandes schlechthin,

3 Luba Kyyanovska, „Verborgene Bedeutungen in den Werken der Lviver Komponisten als Verteidigung gegen die sowjetische Ideologie“, in *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Mitteilungen der internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft an der Universität Leipzig*, Heft 21, Hrsg. Katrin Stöck, Helmut Loos, Klaus-Peter Koch und Stefan Keym (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 2019), 206–27.

um die Möglichkeit, irgendwo zu wohnen und zu arbeiten, auch wenn diese Mitglieder als „Nationalisten“, „Spionen der feindlichen Staaten“ oder „Verteidiger der verrotteten westlichen Werte“ von den kommunistischen Behörden beschuldigt wurden.

Natürlich änderten die Künstlerverbände im Laufe der Jahrzehnte ihres Bestehens in der UdSSR die Art ihrer Aktivitäten, wie es in einem populären Witz hieß, „schwankten sie mit der Parteilinie“. So lassen sich in der Geschichte des Lviver Komponistenverbandes vier Perioden unterscheiden.

Die erste ist die kürzeste, von der Gründung 1939/40 bis zum Juni 1941, in der die Komponisten offensichtlich versuchten, sich irgendwie an die neue Regierung anzupassen, bestimmte Schritte unternahmen, um sich mit ihr zu verständigen, was ihnen anfangs auch zu gelingen schien. Der erste Vorsitzende in diesen Jahren war Wasyl Barwinskyj. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass Barwinskyj als von der Sowjetunion ernannter Leiter des Konservatoriums und des Komponistenverbandes eine Verständigung mit den Behörden zum Wohle der Künstler, Professoren und Studenten anstrebte, für die er sich verantwortlich fühlte. Außerdem hatte er in dieser Hinsicht bereits viel Erfahrung: Von 1915, als er das Mykola-Lysenko-Musikhochschulinstitut leitete, bis 1939 wechselte die Regierung in der Stadt viermal. Deshalb ging er Kompromisse ein und schrieb unter anderem zwei Chöre mit ideologisch korrekten Texten „*Porträt Lenins*“ und „*Lied über das Vaterland*“. Was seine öffentlichen Auftritte betrifft, so wurde er nicht einmal wirklich gefragt. Sein Schwager, Hans Puluj, erinnerte sich später:

Bei meiner... Reise nach Lviv besuchte ich ihn und er erzählte mir, dass die sowjetischen Funktionäre, als sie 1939 nach Lviv kamen, bald in seinem Haus erschienen und ihm sagten, er solle einen Mantel anziehen, weil Stalin ihm befohlen habe, nach Moskau zu fahren. Dort musste er Stalin seine Aufwartung machen, sich mit ihm fotografieren lassen und bekam den Auftrag, einen Entwurf für eine politische Rede zu schreiben. Dann las er diese Rede im Radio vor, die nur seine ersten drei Worte enthielt.<sup>4</sup>

4 Олександр Ганс Пулюй [Aleksander Hans Puluj], „Осінь 1939. З листів польової пошти. Вісті Комбатанта“ [Herbst 1939. Aus Briefen der Feldpost. Nachrichten eines Kombattanten], zitiert nach Катерина Зagnitko, „Як фабрикувалася «Справа В. Барвінського» (на матеріалах кримінальної справи з архіву СБУ)“ [Wie der „Straffall W. Barwinskyj“ konstruiert wurde (auf Grundlage von Materialien aus dem Straffall aus dem Archiv des Sicherheitsdienstes der Ukraine)], *Ukrainische Musik, Quartalszeitschrift der Lviver Nationalen Musikakademie „Mykola Lyssenko“* 30, Nr. 4 (2018): 180.

Während der Nazis-Okkupation waren alle künstlerischen Vereinigungen und Hochschulen für die einheimische Bevölkerung verboten. Der Komponistenverband hörte auf zu existieren und das Konservatorium konnte dank Barwinskyjs Bemühungen seinen Status als Musikschule behalten. Dies war ein großer Erfolg, denn es ermöglichte vielen Musikern, zumindest ein gewisses Einkommen zu erzielen und die Kriegsjahre zu überstehen.

Die zweite Periode dauerte das erste Jahrzehnt der Nachkriegszeit bis zu Stalins Tod, genauer gesagt bis zum Zwanzigsten Kongress der Kommunistischen Partei 1956, als Chruschtschow den „Personenkult“ entlarvte und das sog. „Chruschtschow-Tauwetter“ begann. Sie war die dramatischste Periode, da eine Reihe von ukrainischen Musikern und anderen Künstlern verhaftet und zusammen mit anderen galizischen Intellektuellen nach Sibirien und Kasachstan verbannt wurden.

Die Verfolgung ukrainischer Künstler und Gelehrten in Galizien wurde mit einer noch nie dagewesenen Härte eingeleitet. 1944–1952 leitete den Lwiver Komponistenverband Stanislav Ludkewytsch, der sich ganz wenig in die administrative Arbeit einmischte. Er hatte dazu keine Neigung und Begabung und fühlte sich in seiner Position unfähig, je mehr es strenge ideologische Zensur, totale Verfolgung von Kulturschaffenden und Intellektuellen, physische Zerstörung und Deportation von Hunderttausenden von Einwohnern der neu annektierten Regionen der Westukraine gab.

Unter Missachtung jeglichen internationalen Rechts und moralischer Normen beging das totalitäre sowjetische System eines der größten Verbrechen überhaupt – die Zwangsumsiedlung von Hunderttausenden seiner eigenen Bürger (die meisten von ihnen Frauen und Kinder). Die Deportationskampagnen der sowjetischen Verwaltung zielten nicht nur darauf ab, den Widerstand derjenigen zu unterdrücken, die damit nicht einverstanden waren, sondern auch darauf, die nationale und soziale Struktur der Gesellschaft zu verändern, wie ihr Ausmaß beweist.<sup>5</sup>

In diesen Jahren gab es mehrere Repressionswellen im Zusammenhang mit dem einen oder anderen Beschluss der Moskauer Zentralbehörden,

5 Vasyl Ilnytskyi und Volodymyr Starka, „Повсякдення терору: репресивно-депортаційні заходи радянської влади на території Східної Галичини у 1944–1953 pp.“ [Alltag des Terrors: Repressions- und Deportationsmaßnahmen der sowjetischen Behörden im Gebiet Ostgaliziens in den Jahren 1944–1953], in *Sowjetische Repressionen in den westlichen Regionen der Ukraine (1939–1953): Geschichte, Persönlichkeiten, Erinnerung: Sammelband*, Hrsg. Vasyl Ilnytsky (Riga: Baltija Publishing, 2022), 164–5.

der in allen Provinzzentren sofort umgesetzt werden musste. Der erste Höhepunkt der Repressionen fand 1948 statt. Im Lviver Komponistenverband war sie vor allem mit der Verhaftung von Vasyl Barwinskyj, dem ersten Vorsitzenden der Vorkriegszeit, verbunden. Er war so hochgeschätzt und populär in Lviv, dass die kommunistischen Behörden es nicht wagten, ihn in seiner Heimatstadt zu verhaften, und ihn unter dem Vorwand einer offiziellen Angelegenheit nach Kiew lockten, wo er direkt am Flugsteig festgenommen wurde.

Das Strafverfahren gegen V. Barwinskyj stützte sich in erster Linie auf seine familiären Bindungen und seine Tätigkeit als Leiter des Konservatoriums. Der Haftbefehl... wurde am 28. Januar ausgestellt, und die Verhaftung selbst fand am 29. Januar 1948 in Kiew statt. Vasyl Barwinskyj wurde mit „traditionellen“ Formulierungen angeklagt: *„Karrieristischer ukrainischer Nationalist, Agent des britischen und deutschen Geheimdienstes, deutscher Komplize“*.<sup>6</sup>

Selbstverständlich wurde er aus dem Komponistenverband ausgeschlossen, obwohl strikt das Protokoll der Sitzung des Verbandes von diesem Beschluss nur kurz informiert:

Bericht J. Volynsky über die Entscheidung des Zentralkomitees der KPB über die Oper Vano Muradeli *„Die große Freundschaft“* und Aufgaben der Lviver Komponisten. Ausschluss des Mitglieds des Verbandes der Komponisten und Musikfonds V. Barwinskyj. Informationen von Genosse Babarik.<sup>7</sup>

Der „Genosse Barbarik“ – kommunistischer Zensor des Verbandes – hat eine lange Rede gehalten, die mit folgenden Worten geendet hat:

Dieser ukrainische faschistische Nationalist war lange Zeit Mitglied des sowjetischen Komponistenverbandes, machte aber keine Musik, weil die sowjetische Musik nicht seiner Natur entsprach, und begründete seine Arbeitsverweigerung stets damit, dass er als Direktor eines Konservatoriums viel zu tun habe und keine Zeit für Kreativität habe. Ich schlage vor, V. Barwinskyj als Verräter, Spion und Agenten der ukraini-

- 6 Zagnitko, „Як фабрикувалася «Справа В. Барвінського»“. [Wie der „Strafrechtsfall W. Barwinski“ konstruiert wurde], 180.
- 7 Протоколи загальних зборів і засідань правління Спілки 30 січня 1948 – 16 грудня 1948 р. Р-1864 оп. 1 №13. Протокол №2 24 и 28 лютого. Архів Львівського відділення Спілки композиторів України [Protokolle der Generalversammlungen und Vorstandssitzungen des Verbandes vom 30. Januar 1948 bis zum 16. Dezember 1948. Fond R-1864 op. 1 Nr. 13. Protokoll Nr. 2 vom 24. und 28. Februar. Archiv der Lviver Abteilung des Komponistenverbandes der Ukraine].

schen faschistischen Nationalisten aus dem Komponistenverband und der Musikstiftung auszuschließen.<sup>8</sup>

Fast zeitgleich wurde 1949 eine weitere repressive Kampagne gegen „wurzellose Kosmopoliten“ eingeleitet. Hinter diesem Euphemismus verbarg sich die Verfolgung jüdischer Intellektueller. Die Hauptziele dieser Kampagne sind klar im Beschluss des Plenums des Komponistenverbandes der Ukraine in Charkiw angeführt:

Die Ideen der wurzellosen Kosmopoliten überschritten sich stark mit den Ideen des anglo-amerikanischen Blocks. In ihrer bestialischen Bosheit spuckten sie auf alles Sowjetische und versuchten mit ihren aggressiven Plänen, einen neuen Weltkrieg gegen die Sowjetunion zu entfachen.<sup>9</sup>

In Lviv wurde zum Opfer dieser Kampagne der oben erwähnte Musikwissenschaftler Josyf Volynsky, eine Person mit zweifelhaften ethischen Qualitäten. Paradoxerweise war er einer der konsequentesten Kritiker und Verfolger Barwinskyjs und soll sogar die Verbrennung von Barwinskyjs Manuskripten im Innenhof des Konservatoriums angeordnet haben. Er wurde aus dem Komponistenverband mit der Begründung ausgeschlossen, er habe sich „dem Westen gebeugt“, und erst 1956, nach dem XX. Kongress der Kommunistischen Partei, wieder in den Verband aufgenommen.

Im Jahr 1952 übernahm die Leitung des Lviver Komponistenverbandes Anatol Kos-Anatolskyj. Anatol Kos-Anatolskyj (1909–1983) war von 1952 bis 1983 ständiger Leiter der Lviver Abteilung des Komponistenverbandes der Ukraine. Er ist es wert, ausführlicher besprochen zu werden, denn ihm ist es zu verdanken, dass die Aktivitäten des Lviver Verbandes im Rahmen der gesamten kommunistischen Formation der künstlerischen Verbände in der UdSSR einzigartig waren. Er stammte aus der intelligenten Familie aus Kolomyja, sein Vater war ein bekannter Arzt in der Gegend. Im Jahr 1927 nahm er das Studium in zwei, noch dazu gegensätzlichen Richtungen auf: an der juristischen Fakultät der Lviver Universität und am Mykola-Lysenko-Musikinstitut, später das Schymanovski-Konservatorium. Es hinderte ihn nicht daran, eine gründliche Ausbildung zu erhalten, sondern

8 Zagnitko, „Як фабрикувалася «Справа В. Барвінського»“ [Wie der „Straffall W. Barwinskyj“ konstruiert wurde], 186.

9 Стенограмма выездного заседания Правления Союза советских композиторов Украины. 23 марта 1949 г. Г. Харьков [Protokoll der Auswärtssitzung des Vorstands des Verbandes sowjetischer Komponisten der Ukraine. 23. März 1949. Charkiw], <https://jdoc.org.il/files/original/4918aa958d1495f5dc5577bab1ea1b3e.pdf>.

bereicherte in gewisser Weise seine Weltsicht. Die Eloquenz und die Geheimnisse der Rhetorik, die er als angehender Jurist beherrschte, halfen Anatol Kos-Anatolskyj später, unter sehr schwierigen Umständen überzeugende Argumente für die kommunistischen Behörden zu finden. Als Pianist studierte er bei Taras Schuchevytsch, einem Absolventen des Berliner Konservatoriums in der Klasse von Ernst Donaghy, dabei lernte er Musiktheorie und Komposition bei dem polnisch-jüdischen Professor Severyn Barbag, der seinerseits bei Guido Adler und Josef Marx in Wien studiert hatte. Darüber hinaus nahm der junge Musiker Gesangsunterricht bei Odarka Bandriwska, der Nichte von Solomiya Kruschelnytska.

A. Kos-Anatolskyjs rednerisches Talent und diplomatisches Geschick sowie sein unübertroffener Sinn für Humor und seine innere Unabhängigkeit spielten eine entscheidende Rolle für seine Stellung unter dem kommunistischen Regime. Es lohnt sich, auf einige Fakten zu achten, die von den Autoren der Memoiren über den Künstler, seine Verwandten und Kollegen angeführt werden. Die bekannte Lviver Musikwissenschaftlerin Stefania Pawlyschyn liefert eine umfassende Analyse dieses sozio-psychologischen Phänomens:

Kos-Anatolskyjs diplomatisches Geschick war so groß, dass er Abgeordneter des Obersten Rates der Sowjetunion, des höchsten Regierungsgorgans des Staats, wurde, ohne Mitglied der Kommunistischen Partei zu sein! Das war für einen westlichen Ukrainer unglaublich. Es war uns unangenehm, dass er alle seine Reden mit einem Lob auf die Partei beendete. In einem emotional-romantischen Anwaltsstil, der heute nicht mehr existiert, steigerte er die Dynamik seiner Reden von einem ruhigen leisen Beginn bis zu lauten Schlussrufen wie „Es lebe...!“ . Aber wenn man diese pathetisch übertriebene Intonation hörte, wunderte man sich, dass die Parteiführung darin nicht Spott und Demütigung statt Lob empfand, wie in den Schewtschenkos Zeilen „den Windhunden und den Jagdhunden und den Jägern und den unseren Vätern-Zaren... Ruhm!“ (in Anlehnung an das sarkastische Lob des russischen Zaren im Schewtschenkos Poem „Traum“ – L. K.)<sup>10</sup>

Diese seinen Talente kamen ihm gelegen, um den Kollegen-Komponisten und anderen Vertretern der galizischen Intelligenz in den schwersten Lebensumständen kommunistischer Macht zu helfen. Kos-Anatolskyj

10 Stefania Pawlyschyn, „Спогади про А.Кос-Анатольського“ [Erinnerungen an A. Kos-Anatolskyj], in *Анатоль Кос-Анатольський у спогадах сучасників* [Anatol Kos-Anatolskyj in Erinnerungen der Zeitgenossen], Hrsg. Taras Dubovny (Lviv: Az-Art, 2009), 25.

übernahm die Leitung kurz vor Stalins Tod und bald danach, mit Beginn der Tauwetterperiode, begann eine dritte Periode der Tätigkeit des Komponistenverbandes, die – trotz manchen Vergünstigungen – auch als mehrdeutig bewertet werden könnte. Die Jahre von 1956 bis Anfang der 1970er sind allgemein als „die Chruschtschow-Tauwetterperiode“ bekannt, die in der gesamten UdSSR das so genannte „Phänomen der sechziger Jahre“ hervorrief. Besonders ausdrucksvoll erschien das Phänomen „der Generation der 60er“ in der Ukraine. Auch die Aktivitäten des Lviver Komponistenverbands nahmen eine neue Richtung an. Diese Zeit war mit bedeutenden Leistungen verbunden.

Kos-Anatolskyj initiierte eine Kampagne für die Freilassung und spätere Rehabilitierung von V. Barwinskyj. Gleich nach dem XX. Parteikongress 1956 und der Enthüllung des „Kultus von Stalin“ schickten Mitglieder des Lviver Komponistenverbands ein offizielles Schreiben an das Lviver Regionalkomitee der Kommunistischen Partei der Ukraine: Das Schreiben wurde vom Vorsitzenden des Verbands, A. Kos-Anatolskyj, und den Vorstandsmitgliedern S. Ludkeyvtsch, M. Kolessa, J. Kozak und anderen unterzeichnet.

Wir hoffen, dass das Lviver Regionalkomitee der Kommunistischen Partei der Ukraine beim Präsidium des Oberstrats eine Petition einreichen wird, um Barwinskyj Amnestie zu gewähren und ihm zu erlauben, nach Lviv zurückzukehren und seine Arbeit für die Entwicklung der ukrainischen Sowjetmusik fortzusetzen.“

Auf der Sitzung der Mitglieder des Lviver Verbandes (Juni 1958) wurde auf Initiative von A. Kos-Anatolskyj einstimmig beschlossen, Vasył Barwinskyj wieder in den Verband aufzunehmen. Es ist bemerkenswert, mit welchen Worten der Vorsitzende die Rechtfertigung seines Kollegen bekleidet: ein echtes Meisterstück der Rechtsanwaltskunst, aber dabei mit dem verhüllenden Sarkasmus.

Als Vorsitzender des Lviver Komponistenverbandes bringe ich meine große Genugtuung darüber zum Ausdruck, dass unser Kollektiv mit einem der prominentesten und ältesten ehemaligen Mitglieder, einer der bedeutendsten Persönlichkeiten der Musikkultur in der Westukraine, einem hochrangigen Fachmann, unserem nie zu vergessenden Lehrer V. Barwinskyj, wieder aufgefüllt wird. In Kenntnis des talentvollen

11 Ludomyr Filonenko, „Сторінками «особової справи» Василя Барвінського [Seiten aus der „Personalakte“ von Vasył Barwinskyj]“, *Ukrainische Musik, Quartalszeitschrift von der Lviver Nationalen Musikakademie „Mykola Lysenko“* 30, No. 4 (2018): 79.

Werkes von V. Barwinskyj, seiner hohen ideologischen und künstlerischen Qualitäten und insbesondere der Werke voll glühendem Sowjetpatriotismus wie „*Porträt Lenins*“ und „*Lied über das Vaterland*“ zu Worten von Maxym Rylsky, überrascht es mich überhaupt nicht, dass Vasyl Oleksandrowytsch sich auch dort, von wo er jetzt zurückgekehrt ist, als sowjetischer Patriot erwiesen hat, der unter allen Umständen versucht, seinen maximalen positiven Beitrag zur Schatzkammer der sowjetischen Musikkultur zu leisten.<sup>12</sup>

Diese Bemühungen brachten positive Ergebnisse: 1958 kehrte Barwinskyj aus Sibirien, wo er zehn Jahre im Mordowischen Lager verbrachte, nach Lwiv zurück. Dank der Bemühungen von Kollegen wurde er teilweise rehabilitiert, als Mitglied des Komponistenverbandes wieder in seine Rechte eingesetzt, dabei leistete Kos-Anatolskyj mit der Unterstützung des Vorstandes auch eine minimale finanzielle Unterstützung für Barwinskyj. Erst im Juli 1963, schon nach dem Tod des Künstlers, der am 8. Juni 1963 verstarb, richteten die Lwiver Komponisten erneut einen Brief an den Obersten Rat der UdSSR. Erst dann wurde er endgültig rehabilitiert.

Es ist sehr wichtig für uns zu wissen, was Barwinskyjs Schuld war und ob er überhaupt schuldig war. Wenn die Verurteilung von Barwinskyj einer der tragischen Fehler des Personenkults war, dann müssen wir darüber sprechen. Wir fordern, dass alles, was mit dem Fall des Komponisten zusammenhängt, gründlich überprüft wird und er, wenn möglich, offiziell rehabilitiert wird.<sup>13</sup>

Im begrenzten Rahmen eines Artikels zeigte man ein besonders ausdrucksvolles Beispiel der Innenpolitik des Lwiver Komponistenverbandes. In Wirklichkeit könnte man mehrere ähnliche Geschichten anführen. Im Vergleich zu anderen ukrainischen Komponistenverbänden herrschte hier eine höchstdiplomatische Einstellung zur Auflösung der scharfen Probleme, vor allem eng verbunden mit den nationalen Fragen.

Doch im rein schöpferischen Bereich sah die Situation nicht so positiv aus. Dass die Lwiver Komponisten in ihren Werken nicht den sozialistischen Realismus vertraten, sondern nationale Quellen individuell neu interpretierten, war ein großes Verdienst der Atmosphäre in Lwiv selbst, oft wurden die Komponisten kritisiert, dass die Musik ihrer Lieder nicht genügend den

12 Ibid.

13 Zitiert nach: Jewhen Laniuk, „Доля митця в тоталітарному режимі [Das Schicksal eines Künstlers unter einem totalitären Regime]“, *Zbrutsch*, 9. Mai 2013, <https://zbruc.eu/node/6983>.

„richtigen ideologischen“ Worten entspricht, d. h. Lviver Musiker akzeptierten nicht ganz die sowjetischen Narrative. Jedoch gingen dabei die neuesten künstlerischen Trends der Weltmusikultur in den Werken der Lviver Komponisten jener Zeit leider vorbei – selbst bei jenen Künstler, die ihre kreative Laufbahn in den 1930er Jahren auf moderne Weise begannen. Dazu gehörten in erster Linie Mykola Kolessa und Roman Simovytsch, Schüler von Vitezslav Novak. Während Kolessa in seinen Werken aus der Sowjetzeit noch versuchte, einige neuere Ausdruckseffekte zu verwenden, ohne jemals über das tonale System hinauszugehen, wagten es andere Komponisten nicht, sich vom Stil des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts zu entfernen. Hier ist die tragische Geschichte von Roman Simovytsch in erster Reihe erwähnenswert. Simovytsch war der radikalste Erneuerer unter den „Lviver Pragern“<sup>14</sup> und wurde als sehr vielversprechender Künstler angesehen. Seine Schüler erinnerten sich daran:

In den späten 1940er Jahren improvisierte Simovytsch spontan und spielte recht komplexe atonale Sequenzen. Aber zehn Jahre später spielte er nur noch diatonische Dreiklänge. Natürlich, eine solche Selbstbegrenzung betrifft auch alle seine Werke. So brach die kommunistische ideologische Zensur nicht nur die Menschen, sondern auch ihr Schaffen.<sup>15</sup>

Die einzige Ausnahme bildet das Werk des Komponisten Andrzej Nikodemowicz, der polnischer Herkunft war. Er wurde im Jahr 1973 vom Konservatorium verwiesen, aber nicht wegen des Modernismus, sondern wegen der Tatsache, dass er ein gläubiger Katholik war und seine religiösen Überzeugungen nicht aufgeben wollte. Dabei wurde er nicht aus dem Komponistenverband ausgeschlossen, sondern Kos-Anatolskyj bemühte sich, ihm eine Stelle als Notenkopist beim Verband zu verschaffen, was ihm nicht nur finanziell half, sondern ihn auch vor der Verfolgung als „Schmarotzer“ (also, arbeitslos aus eigenem Willen, russisch тунеядец) bewahrte, die in der UdSSR mit Gefängnis bestraft wurden. Aber seine innovativen Kompositionen trafen bei den Kollegen auf Unverständnis.

14 So wurde die Gruppe von ukrainischen Studenten, die bei V. Novak in 1930-er Jahre in Prag Komposition studierten, genannt.

15 Zitiert nach: Olesya Bilas, „Композиторський стиль як чинник художньої цілісності драматичного спектаклю (на прикладі музики А. Кос-Анатольського та В. Камінського до вистав Національного академічного українського драматичного театру імені Марії Заньковецької) [Komponistenstil als Faktor der künstlerischen Ganzheit einer dramatischen Aufführung (am Beispiel der Musik von A. Kos-Anatolskyj und V. Kaminsky für die Aufführungen des Nationalen Akademischen Ukrainischen Dramatheaters „Maria Zankowicka“)]“ (Manuskript der Doktorarbeit, Lviver Nationale Musikakademie „Mykola Lysenko“, 2018), 205.

In den 1960er Jahren begannen die Werke des Komponisten auf internationalen Musikfestivals in aller Welt aufgeführt zu werden. Gleichzeitig löste die Aufführung seiner Werke in Lviv zumindest Verwirrung, wenn nicht gar Hohn und Spott bei den Musikerkollegen und dem Publikum aus, das auf eine solche Musik völlig unvorbereitet war.<sup>16</sup>

Man könnte noch ein krasses Beispiel des Verlustes eigenen schöpferischen Potentials unter dem Druck der ideologischen Zensur schon nach der stalinistischen Periode anführen. In den 1960er Jahren entschied sich der junge Komponist, damals Student an der Fakultät der Komposition am Lviver Konservatorium, Myroslav Skoryk für mutigere Neuerungen, was zu einem schweren Konflikt mit seinen Lehrern Ludkevych und Simovytsch führte, und er war gezwungen, sein Studium bei Adam Soltys zu beenden. Humorvoll beschrieb er seinen Konflikt mit Simovytsch:

Das Dekret von 1948 traf ihn so hart, dass er in seinen Kompositionen keine zusammengesetzten Akkorde mehr verwendete, vor allem keine Akkorde ohne Terzstruktur, und auch seinen Schülern wurde es verboten. Er vertraute mir einmal fast im Flüsterton an (er sprach gewöhnlich leise), dass er in seiner Jugend Musik mit dissonanten Akkorden geschrieben hätte, dass er aber jetzt die Falschheit dieser Übungen erkannt habe. Er war zweifellos ein begabter Musiker, und es wäre interessant zu wissen, ob diese Musik überlebt hat oder ob er sie aus Angst vernichtet hat...

Es ist klar, dass eine solche Anweisung eines Kompositionslehrers an einen Studenten zu einem Konflikt führen kann. Alles begann mit einem einzigen Akkord. Ich hatte ein Wiegenlied für Klavier komponiert, ein angenehmes Stück mit impressionistischem Einschlag, und in der Mitte des Stückes verwendete ich einen dissonanten Akkord g-c-des-f, der zu einem Akkord f-a-des-f aufgelöst wurde... Ich kämpfte drei Wochen lang, Simovytsch zögerte, aber in der vierten Woche sagte er „nein“. Das machte mich wütend, und für die nächste Kompositionsstunde brachte ich ihm den Marsch für Klavier mit, in dem es zwar keinen einzigen Akkord mit einer Nicht-Dreiklangstruktur gab, auch keinen Nonenakkord, aber der Klang war erstaunlich scharf dissonant, dank der Verwendung von Septakkorden wie G-Dur, G-Moll und G-Dur in verschiedenen Umkehrungen und in unmittelbarer Nähe. Simovytsch war empört. „Was haben Sie geschrieben?“, fragte er leise. „Herr Professor“, sagte ich, „aber es gibt hier keinen einzigen Akkord mit einer Nicht-Dreiklangstruktur!“ Der Professor ging zum Fenster und stand dort

16 Laniuk, Доля митця в тоталітарному режимі [Das Schicksal eines Künstlers unter einem totalitären Regime].

fünf Minuten, während ihm eine große Träne über das Gesicht lief. „*Du bist nicht mehr mein Schüler*“, sagte er noch leiser, „*du vergeudest dein Talent*“. Das war das Ende unseres Unterrichts.<sup>17</sup>

Dieses Beispiel veranschaulicht sehr deutlich, wie repressiver und ideologischer Druck, dessen wichtigstes Instrument gerade die künstlerischen Verbände waren, den kreativen Willen besonders empfindlicher Künstler brach. Natürlich wollte Skoryk nicht unter solchen Bedingungen bleiben und zog bei der ersten Gelegenheit nach Kiew, wo er alle seine Ideen viel freier umsetzen konnte. Erst 1988, am Vorabend der Unabhängigkeit, kehrte er nach Lviv zurück. 1980 emigrierte Andrzej Nikodemowicz endlich nach Polen.

Die letzte Periode der Tätigkeit des Lviver Komponistenverbandes in der UdSSR dauerte fast zwei Jahrzehnte, die 1970er und 80er Jahre. Sie kann in zweierlei Hinsicht bewertet werden. Einerseits gab es zwar Repressionen, aber nicht in einem so gigantischen Ausmaß, wie früher. Im künstlerischen Bereich wurden vor allem Schriftsteller, Philosophen und Persönlichkeiten des öffentlichen Lebens verfolgt; im musikalischen Bereich waren die Vertreter der Kiewer Avantgarde am stärksten betroffen, während die Lviver Musiker etwas weniger von dieser Plage betroffen waren. Andererseits bestand die erstickende Atmosphäre des ideologischen Drucks weiter und schränkte die künstlerische Freiheit erheblich ein.

Dennoch kann das Fehlen ausgeprägter modernistischer Artefakte als ein gewisses Versäumnis und als eine Folge des ideologischen Drucks in dieser Zeit betrachtet werden. Die Komponisten balancierten buchstäblich auf Messers Schneide und griffen auf verschiedene indirekte, verschleierte Methoden des künstlerischen Ausdrucks zurück, um ihre eigenen Ideen zum Ausdruck bringen zu können. Aber keiner von ihnen konnte es sich leisten, die neusten avantgardistischen Techniken offen anzuwenden und dadurch blieben die Lviver Komponisten meistens in den Rahmen der spätromantischen Stilistik, ganz selten sie überschreitend. Dieses Versäumnis, mit den rein politischen Ursachen verbunden, musste von den Komponisten der nächsten Generation korrigiert werden, die nach der Unabhängigkeit aktiv am künstlerischen Leben der Ukraine teilnahmen.

Im Jahr 1983 endete Kos-Anatolskyjs Ära im Lviver Komponistenverband – und symbolisch begannen zu dieser Zeit allmählich tektonische Verschiebungen in der Gesellschaft, die schließlich zum Zusammenbruch

17 Luba Kyuanovska. Мирослав Скорик: митець і людина [Myroslav Skoryk: der Künstler und der Mensch], 2. Aufl. (Lviv: Verlag der Zeitschrift "Ji", 2008), 68.

der UdSSR führten. Als letzter Vorsitzender des Verbandes der sowjetischen Zeit kam der oben erwähnte Absolvent des Prager Konservatoriums, ein Vertreter der „Lviver Prager“, Dirigent und Komponist Mykola Kolessa. Früher (1953–1965) war er Rektor des Lviver Konservatoriums und in dieser verantwortlichen Funktion tat sehr viel für die Unterstützung jener Studenten, die mit ihren Eltern nach Sibirien verbannt wurden und erst in der Periode des Chruschtschower Tauwetters in die Heimat zurückkehrten, unter ihnen auch Myroslav Skoryk. Kolessa bemühte sich – ähnlich wie sein Vorgänger Kos-Anatolskyj – auf jede mögliche Weise die Mitglieder des Komponistenverbandes zu unterstützen und für sie günstige Umstände sicherzustellen. Dabei wurde er gezwungen, noch in dieser anschaulich freieren Zeit der Gorbatschower „Perestroika“, alle unentbehrlichen kommunistischen Ritualen einzuhalten. Darum wurde noch im Jahr 1988 – ganz kurz vor der Wende – der offizielle Bericht der folgerichtigen Sitzung des Lviver Komponistenverbandes in den „besten“ Traditionen des ideologischen Geplappers geschrieben:

In dieser Zeit, in der die Ergebnisse der Arbeit unserer Organisation für 1984–1988 zusammengefasst werden, erlebt unser ganzes Land einen Aufschwung in den sozialen, industriellen und wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen und im kulturellen Aufbau. Die Zeit der Perestroika, die wir jetzt erleben, erfordert die Aktivierung eines jeden Mitglieds der Gesellschaft und seinen vollen Einsatz. Unsere Arbeit zur Umstrukturierung der kompositorischen Tätigkeit wird durch die Umsetzung der Beschlüsse des Neunzehnten Gesamtparteitages und des Beschlusses des Plenums des Zentralkomitees der KPdSU vom Juni 1988 bestimmt.<sup>18</sup>

Aber in dieser Zeit verstand schon fast jedes Mitglied solche Passagen als puren Anachronismus.

Man könnte dieses halbe Jahrhundert der sowjetischen Okkupation Galiziens und der Tätigkeit des Lviver Komponistenverbandes unter dem ideologischen Druck kurz verallgemeinern. Das diplomatische Talent der Vorsitzenden und der Mitglieder des Vorstandes, ihre Fähigkeit, politisch

18 Звіт про роботу Львівської організації SKU за період 1984-1988 р. Матеріали, програми, стенограми пленумів правління Львівської організації Спілки композиторів України. Папка № 8, 1989 р. Архів Львівської організації Спілки композиторів України [Bericht über die Arbeit der Lviver Organisation der SKU für den Zeitraum 1984-1988. Materialien, Programme, Protokolle der Plenarsitzungen des Vorstands der Lviver Abteilung des Verbandes der Komponisten der Ukraine. Ordner Nr. 8, 1989. Archiv der Lviver Abteilung des Verbandes der Komponisten der Ukraine].

gefährliche Situationen richtig einzuschätzen und zu korrigieren, oft doch mit der Hilfe der unentbehrlichen Zugeständnisse an das kommunistische Regime, erlaubte es mehreren Musikern einfach zu überleben. Diese Opfer verschafften den Lviver Komponisten die gewissen existentiellen Präferenzen, schränkten gleichzeitig unter den Bedingungen strenger ideologischer Kontrolle ihre kreative Freiheit erheblich ein, und noch mehr, provozierten den geistigen, intellektuellen Provinzialismus, gar die Angst vor den neuen kompositorischen Ausdrucksmitteln, die zu jener Zeit schon in der ganzen Welt weitverbreitet wurden.

Bereits Ende der 1970er und Anfang der 1980er Jahre traten dem Verband junge Komponisten bei – Viktor Kaminskyj, Yuriy Lanyuk, Olga Kryvolap und manche andere. Sie dachten viel freier als ihre Vorgänger und bezogen ganz selbstverständlich moderne Ausdrucksmittel in ihr kompositorisches Arsenal ein. Die nächste jüngere Generation übernahm die verborgenen Ideale ihrer Lehrer ohne ihre Angst ums Überleben, darum bildeten vorzugsweise diese Musiker vor dem Zusammenbruch des kommunistischen Reiches und im ersten Jahrzehnt der Unabhängigkeit die Musikkultur der Region. Dafür benutzen sie die Möglichkeiten (in erster Linie finanziellen) des Komponistenverbandes, der endlich seine natürliche Funktion zu vollziehen begann: die Organisation des Musiklebens, von Veranstaltungen, bei denen verschiedene individuelle Entdeckungen und schöpferische Ideen dargestellt werden könnten. Für die weitere Geschichte des Lviver Komponistenverbandes braucht es einen weiteren Vortrag.

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## Über den Bezirksverband Leipzig des Verbandes der Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler der DDR

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Die Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik erhielt am 9. April 1968 eine von Grund auf neue, „sozialistische“ Fassung, die sich insbesondere gegen den „westdeutschen Monopolkapitalismus“ und den „Imperialismus unter Führung der USA“ richtete. Der Entwurf war im Februar 1968 veröffentlicht worden und wurde am 6. April 1968 durch Volksentscheid bestätigt, anschließend von Walter Ulbricht unterzeichnet. Im Vorfeld war eine Kampagne für das „Ja zur neuen Verfassung“ eingesetzt worden, der sich in Leipzig mit eigenen Schreiben folgende Vertreter aus dem Bereich der Musik anschlossen:

Ottmar Gerster (1897–1969), Komponist, Bratschist und Dirigent, Anhänger der Arbeiterbewegung, erfolgreicher Komponist zu stets regime-treuen Texten in der Weimarer Republik, im „Dritten Reich“ und in der DDR. Er war an den Musikhochschulen in Weimar 1948–1951 als Rektor und in Leipzig 1951–1962 als Leiter einer Kompositionsklasse tätig. Von 1951 bis 1968 war er Vorsitzender des Verbandes der Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler der DDR. Sein meistgespieltes Werk in der DDR war die „Festouvertüre 1948“, ein Auftragswerk der Kulturabteilung der SED-Bezirksleitung Thüringen zum Gedenken an die Revolution von 1848 und zugleich als Lobgesang auf die Entwicklung des Sozialismus in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone mit Zitaten der „Internationalen“, der Marseillaise und weiterer auch russischer Kampflieder.

Fred Malige (1895–1985), Violinist und Komponist, während der Weimarer Republik Mitglied und Kulturaktivist der KPD, dann verfolgt, nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg Mitbegründer und Geiger im Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Leipzig und ab 1960 freischaffender Komponist in Leipzig, komponierte u.a. eine „Festliche Ouvertüre über FDJ-Lieder“ und war Träger des Vaterländischen Verdienstordens und des Kulturpreises 1967 der Stadt Leipzig.

Rudolf Fischer (1913–2003), Pianist und Musikpädagoge, 1948–1973 Rektor der Hochschule für Musik Leipzig und vielfach ausgezeichnet.

Karl-Heinz Pick (1929–2009), Pianist und Musikpädagoge, Professor an der Musikhochschule Leipzig, Ehrenpräsident der Deutschen Chopin-Gesellschaft e.V.

Alle vier waren Mitglieder der SED und des „Verbandes der Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler der DDR“, der am 6. April 1951 in Berlin unter dem Namen „Verband Deutscher Komponisten“ gegründet worden war und seit dem 4. April 1952 seine Funktion als Berufsorganisation der Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler, dann auch der Musikinterpreten und Musikerzieher in der DDR wahrnahm.<sup>1</sup> Aufgabe des Verbandes war die Pflege und Entwicklung der Musikkultur der DDR, dazu hatte er die Verbindung zu verschiedenen staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen zu halten, um bei Fragen der Musik, des Musiklebens und der Musikpolitik mitzuwirken, wie dem Ministerium für Kultur, dem Beirat für Musikwissenschaft, dem Ministerium für Hoch- und Fachschulwesen, dem Rundfunkkomitee, dem Büro für Urheberrechte und dem Musikrat der DDR. In Fragen der Programmgestaltung beriet er die Künstler-Agentur der DDR und die Konzert- und Gastspiieldirektion, er organisierte Musikkongresse und war Veranstalter der „Musik-Biennale-Berlin“ und der dazu im Wechsel stattfindenden „DDR-Musiktage“.

Dem Zentralverband waren 11 Bezirksverbände angegliedert. Der Bezirksverband Leipzig fand sich im Frühjahr 1952 zunächst noch als Arbeitskreis Leipzig unter dem Vorsitz von Max Dehnert zusammen. Es folgten die Vorsitzenden Siegfried Köhler ab Ende 1953, Fritz Geißler ab 1956. 1968 übernahm Hans Pezold zunächst kommissarisch den Vorsitz, blieb dann

1 Grundlegende Arbeiten: Daniel Kai Zur Weihen, *Komponieren in der DDR. Institutionen, Organisationen und die erste Komponistengeneration bis 1961* (Köln: Böhlau, 1999). Gilbert Stöck, *Neue Musik in den Bezirken Halle und Magdeburg zur Zeit der DDR. Kompositionen – Politik – Institutionen* (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder, 2008). Ulrich Tadday, Hrsg., *Musik der DDR? Komponieren im real existierenden Sozialismus* (München: edition text+kritik, 2022). Andreas Lueken, Hrsg., *Musik in der DDR* (Baden-Baden: Tectum Verlag, 2024).

in diesem Amt bis 1976, als es Peter Herrmann übertragen wurde. 1983 wurde Karl Ottomar Treibmann zum Vorsitzenden gewählt.

Von Anfang an lag ein besonderes Schwergewicht der Arbeit des Bezirksverbandes auf dem zeitgenössischen Musikschaffen. Die hohe Reputation der Komponisten als Schöpfer neuer Werke speiste sich letztendlich aus der romantischen Musikanschauung, die sich seit dem 19. Jahrhundert als Kunstreligion der Moderne etabliert hatte und damit die höchsten Werte einer Gesellschaft repräsentierte, wenn nicht gar verkörperte. Die Beethoven-Rezeption im 20. Jahrhundert dokumentiert dies eindrucksvoll, so haben die Kommunisten das romantische Bild des Bürgertums in der Arbeiterbewegung übernommen und die Verehrung noch zu übertrumpfen versucht.<sup>2</sup> Ihr Ideal war dabei nicht der Übermensch, sondern der sozialistische Mensch, der auf dem Bitterfelder Weg verwirklicht werden sollte. Beschlossen wurde dieser Weg am 24. April 1959 auf der Autorenkonferenz des Mitteldeutschen Verlages im Elektrochemischen Kombinat Bitterfeld und sollte den Werktätigen einen aktiven Zugang zu Kunst und Kultur ermöglichen und die Trennung von Kunst und Leben sowie die Entfremdung zwischen Künstler und Volk überwinden. Am 24./25. April 1964 fand die zweite Bitterfelder Konferenz statt, die das Ziel einer Bildung des sozialistischen Bewusstseins und der sozialistischen Persönlichkeit noch stärker betonte. Insbesondere im Bereich der Musik erwies sich das Konzept jedoch in der Praxis als wenig erfolgreich und versandete mehr oder weniger trotz eines Wiederbelebungsversuchs auf dem siebten Parteitag der SED im April 1967.<sup>3</sup> Das Ziel des sozialistischen Menschen blieb davon unberührt.

Dass im Verband der Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler der DDR den Komponisten von Anfang an die Musikwissenschaftler gleichberechtigt zur Seite gestellt wurden, ist eine Folge der klaren Zielsetzung der SED und der Wissenschaftsgläubigkeit der Moderne sowie insbesondere des Materialismus. Dies wurde in einer Sitzung der Sektion Musikerziehung, Musikwissenschaft und Ernste Musik im Bezirksverband Leipzig deutlich formuliert:

- 2 Helmut Loos, „Leo Kestenberg and the Beethoven Myth. Social Democratic Cultural Policy in the 20th Century“, in *Musica Galiciana. Kultura muzyczna Galicji w kontekście stosunków polsko-ukraińskich*, Bd. 17, Hrsg. Grzegorz Oliwa, Kinga Fink und Teresa Mazepa (Rzeszów: Verlag der Universität Rzeszów, 2021), 100–10.
- 3 Im Bezirksverband Leipzig beriefen sich die Genossen mit einem nur leicht modifizierten Bericht vom 7. Parteitag der SED 1967 noch vier Jahre später nach dem 8. Parteitag der SED (1971) auf das „Hauptprinzip des Bitterfelder Weges“. StA 21761/053, Jubiläen des Verbandes und Auszeichnungen: Die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Künstlerverein und Arbeiterklasse bei der Entwicklung der sozialistischen Nationalkultur.

Daraus erwächst auch für die Sektion Musikwissenschaft unseres Verbandes die Aufgabe, vor allem bei der Fixierung der inhaltlichen Vorgaben für neue Kunstwerke, in der Führung von schöpferischen Diskussionen während der Entstehung dieser Werke aktiv tätig zu sein.<sup>4</sup>

Mit der Führung der schöpferischen Diskussionen wurde den Musikwissenschaftlern zumindest implizit auch die Aufgabe zugeordnet, nach wissenschaftlichen Kriterien die Qualität der neuen Werke zu beurteilen. Im Rahmen der Kunstreligion übernahmen sie damit gewissermaßen die Funktion der Glaubenskongregation. Dass dies in der Praxis nicht funktionierte, hing nicht nur mit der Uneinigkeit der Protagonisten zusammen, es war auch die Folge eines völlig deprivierten Wissenschaftsbegriffs. Solche Mechanismen lassen sich sehr gut in dem überschaubaren Rahmen eines Bezirksverbandes studieren. Hier eine Aufstellung der Mitgliedszahlen des Bezirksverbandes Leipzig. Bei einer Ausgangszahl von 60 Mitgliedern im Jahre 1960 stieg die Zahl auf 111 Mitglieder im Jahre 1978 und hielt sich etwa in dieser Höhe bis zum Ende der DDR.

#### Bezirksverband Leipzig Berichterstattung<sup>5</sup>

Datum	insg.	M	W	freisch	ang.	Muwi	Komp.	Inter.	ME	S	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	ü.70
1960/01	60	58	2	15	45	18	20	11	10	1	10	15	9	14	11	1
1960/03	60	58	2	15	45	18	20	11	10	1	10	15	9	14	11	1
1960/04	62	60	2	16	46	18	21	11	11	1	10	16	9	15	11	1
1960/05	61	59	2	16	45	17	21	11	11	1	10	16	8	15	11	1
1960/06		59	2	16	45	17	21	11	11	1	10	16	8	15	11	1
1961/01		57	2	16	46	17	20	11	10	1	10	16	7	15	10	1
1962		58	3	11	12	11	10	11	6	1	6	20	8	14	7	6
1963		59	3	13	11	11	9	11	7		7	22	8	14	7	4
1964		78	5	14	11	9	13	29	7		15	30	12	14	8	4
1965		80	5	24	61	14	37	27	7		11	31	15	12	11	5
1966		77	4	23	58	14	36	24	7		12	27	16	12	10	6
1967		78	4	22	60	15	36	24	7		1	27	16	13	10	3
1968		79	6	22	63	16	40	21	8		13	27	17	15	10	3
1969		79	6	20	65	17	39	21	8		4	25	25	14	13	4
1970		85	6	21	70	21	40	21	9		5	28	28	13	14	3
1971		86	6	21	71	22	40	20	10		3	23	36	10	15	5
1972		90	5	21	74	24	40	20	10	1	4	21	39	11	15	5
1973		94	7	23	78	24	41	23	12	1	4	25	41	12	16	3

4 StA 21761/040, Sitzungen der Sektion Musikerziehung, Musikwissenschaft und Erste Musik: 25 Jahre Musikschaffen im Bezirk Leipzig – 23 Jahre Komponistenverband.

5 Sächsisches Staatsarchiv Leipzig (StA), 21761/210, 211, 212. Für die gesamte Zeit sind diese Daten monatlich erhoben und protokolliert worden.

Datum insg.	M	W	freisch	ang.	Muwi	Komp.	Inter.	ME	S	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	ü.70
1974/01	95	7	24	78	28	38	21	14	1	5	28	39	11	16	3
1974/12	98	7	24	81	29	40	21	14	1	6	29	40	12	15	3
1976	98	8	23	83	32	38	21	14	1	2	22	37	21	15	9
1977	101	9	24	86	33	40	21	15	1	2	23	40	21	15	5
1978	102	9	16	95	35	48	21	6	1	2	15	45	23	14	12
1979	97	10	14	93	37	46	18	6		3	10	38	30	12	14
1980	92	11	14	89	36	41	18	8		3	11	38	31	9	11
1981	89	11	13	87	34	39	18	9		3	11	38	31	9	8
1982	94	12	15	91	39	39	19	9		3	11	34	35	14	9
1983	95	11	16	90	37	40	20	9		4	13	33	35	13	8
1984	96	13	15	34	41	38	20	10		7	14	34	35	12	7
1985	96	16	16	96	42	36	21	13		6	12	34	35	17	8
1986	97	15	13	99	41	36	21	14		6	13	33	36	17	7
1987	97	14	13	98	41	34	21	14	1	5	11	30	34	24	7
1988	96	14	15	95	40	33	22	14	1	4	11	30	34	24	8
bis 34 35-44 45-54 55-61 bis 65															
1989/01	96	15	17	94	41	34	21	14	1	10	14	32	35	20	
1989/04	96	15	17	94	42	34	20	14	1	11	13	32	35	20	
1989/05		95	15	17	93	41	34	20	14	1	10	13	33	34	20
1989/09		94	14	14	94	41	33	19	14	1	11	12	32	30	23
1989/10		92	14	13	93	40	32	19	14	1	11	12	31	30	22
1989/11		93	14	13	94	41	32	19	14	1	12	12	30	31	22
1990/01		93	14	13	94	41	32	19	14	1	12	12	28	32	23
1990/02		90	13	13	90	40	32	16	14	1	12	10	28	32	21
1990/03		90	13	14	89	40	32	10	14	1	12	11	28	31	21
1990/04		93	13	14	92	41	34	16	14	1	13	13	28	30	22
1990/05		89	13	13	89	37	34	16	14	1	12	13	26	28	23
1990/06		86	11	13	84	33	34	16	13	1	11	13	23	29	21

Eine Aufstellung der anerkannten Komponisten des VDK Bezirksleitung Leipzig, Stand 1. März 1953 (StA 21761/210) zählt 40 Persönlichkeiten mit Adresse, Geburtsjahr und Parteizugehörigkeit auf (die Adresse wird im Folgenden ausgelassen).

Barth, Paul	1897	SED	Kurth, Alfred	1922	--
Dehnert, Prof. Max	1893	--	Link, Joachim-Dietrich	1925	--
Didam, Otto	1890	--	Lohse, Fred	1908	CDU
Habicht, Günter	1916	--	Malige, Alfred	1895	SED
Hohlfeldt, Christoph	1922	NDPD	Matz, Arnold	1904	--
Gerster, Prof. Dr. NP	1897	SED	Meyer-Ambros, Franz	1882	--
Klein, Günther	1921	--	Mühe, Hansgeorg	1929	--
Kluge, Karl	1889	--	Möhring, Adalbert	1890	--
Köhler, Siegfried	1927	--	Natschinski, Gerd		
Kötschau, Joachim	1905	--	Niemann, Prof. Dr. Walter	1876	--
Kreisel, Eberhard	1931	--	Petzoldt, Prof. Dr. Richard	1907	SED

Richter, Ernst	1903	--	Stadler, Rolf	1929	--
Richter, Willy	1894	--	Stolte, Siegfried	1925	SED
Rubhardt, Dr. Paul	1892	CDU	Trexler, Prof. Georg	1903	CDU
Rohnstock, Sofie	1875	--	Weismann, Prof. Wilhelm	1900	LDP
Staatmann, Walter	1890	--	Weyrauch, Johannes	1897	CDU
Sandig, Dr. Hans NP	1914	--	Werlé, Heinrich, Prof.	1887	SED
Serauky, Prof. Dr. Walter	1903	--	Winkler, Georg	1894	SED
Schmitz, Prof. Dr. Eugen	1882	--	Geißler, Fritz		
Schwarz, Max	1899	CDU	Hermann Wennig	1890	--

Nur 7 der 40 Verbandsmitglieder gehörten 1953 der SED an, weitere 7 Blockparteien. Die Mehrzahl der Mitglieder (26) war parteilos. Dies änderte sich mit der Zeit, zumal sich im Bezirksverband eine SED-Parteilgruppe formierte, die die Richtung vorgab. Das Protokoll über die Parteigruppenversammlung am 21. 11. 1968, 17.00 Uhr zählt folgende Genossen auf:

Anwesend: Genosse Prof. Dr. Pezold, Dr. Krause-Graumnitz, Ragwitz, Malige, Dr. Hempel, Dr. Mühe, Dr. Wolf, Schönfelder, Pachnicke, Hermann Wolf, Dr. Treibmann, Pick

entschuldigt: Genosse Dr. Pügner, Dr. Rothe, Prof. Dr. Felix, Prof Fischer, Genossin Eva Fleischer

Eine Anwesenheitsliste der Parteigruppenversammlung am 15.10.81, 15.00 Uhr in Vorbereitung einer Wahlberichterstattung führt folgende Namen an:

R. Malth, P. Herrmann, U. Clement, W. Wolf, Dr. Sramek, G. Schlotter, Dr. Szeskus, S. Winkler, U. Zumpe, entschuldigt: Dr. Rothe, Prof. Felix, OStR Reckling, Malige, Dr. Hempel, Dr. Lange, Prof. Pick, Prof. Brock

Das „Stück für Virtuosen“ von Friedrich Schenker. Ein Modellfall

Ein problematischer Einzelfall soll hier einmal exemplarisch näher beleuchtet werden. Am 16. März 1971 brachte Herbert Kegel in einem Messekonzert des Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchesters Leipzig (12. Anrechtskonzert) das „Stück für Virtuosen“ von Friedrich Schenker zur Uraufführung.<sup>6</sup> Der Posaunist Schenker war zusammen mit dem Oboisten Burkhard Gaetzner maßgeblicher Gründer der „Gruppe Neue Musik Hanns Eisler“ im Dezember 1970, sie bestand aus insgesamt acht Mitgliedern des Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchesters Leipzig. Mit Hans Eisler im Namen beriefen sie sich auf

6 Nina Noeske, *Musikalische Dekonstruktion. Neue Instrumentalmusik in der DDR* (Köln u.a.: Böhlau, 2007), 57 (UB LQ 80107 N771).

den Staatskomponisten der DDR, hoben aber vor allem auf seine Schülerschaft bei Arnold Schönberg und damit entgegen der Parteilinie auf die avantgardistische Moderne ab. Für Schenker war der Name das „*Symbol für fortschrittliches, konstruktives Musikdenken der Gruppe, der Ausdruck einer kritischen Haltung zur Dummheit in der Musik.*“<sup>7</sup> Dies war eine klare Kampfansage an den sozialistischen Realismus, die Staatsdoktrin der DDR. So stand Schenker bereits unter Beobachtung der Partei, als auf der Versammlung der Parteigruppe im Bezirksverband Leipzig des Verbandes der Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler der DDR (VKM) am 6. November 1969 die Auswertung des letzten Musikfestes vorgenommen und ein großer Erfolg konstatiert wurde.<sup>8</sup> Als Vorbilder wurden „*so hervorragende Vertreter der sozialistischen Musikkultur wie Schostakowitsch, Prokofjew u.a.*“ genannt, die Programmgestaltung insgesamt allerdings als unzufriedenstellend bezeichnet. Hier kam Schenker ins Spiel:

Man sollte in Zukunft aber trotzdem versuchen – aus jedem Musikfest kann man nur lernen – gewisse Dinge noch besser zu beachten. Z.B. zu dem Werk von Friedrich Schenker. Zu einem Musikfest sollte auch einmal ein Risiko eingegangen werden, aber beide Werke von Schenker – das Oboenkonzert und die Trioballade – sind meiner Meinung nach schon allein technisch nicht einwandfrei. Wenn wir die Analysierung der Werke in den nächsten Wochen vornehmen, müssen wir zu einer solchen Einschätzung kommen.

Dass die Bewertung eines neuen Werkes nicht aus der Analyse hervorgeht, sondern nachträglich ein zuvor bereits gefälltes Urteil zu begründen hat, könnte kaum klarer ausgedrückt werden. Hinsichtlich Schenker nimmt es nicht Wunder, dass die Partei die nächste Gelegenheit wahrzunehmen suchte, Schenker als Komponist vorzuführen. Die Leipziger Parteigruppe nahm sich dieser Aufgabe an und demonstrierte damit, wie der Staat gegen oppositionelle Komponisten vorgegangen ist und auf ihr Schaffen Einfluss genommen hat. Die Bezirkssekretärin Ruth Dähne hat über die Aktivitäten bereits im Vorfeld des Konzerts folgende Aktennotiz verfasst:

Aktennotiz [StA 21761/172]

7 Burkhard Glaetzner und Reiner Kontressowitz, Hrsg., *Spiel-Horizonte. Gruppe Neue Musik „Hanns Eisler“ 1970–1990* (Leipzig: s.n., 1990), 37 (UB LP 15000 N481 G5).

8 StA 21761/172, Protokoll über die Parteigruppenversammlung am 6. November 1969, 17 Uhr. Auf den Musiktagen 1969 sahen die Genossen den „Bitterfelder Weg in Aktion“. StA 21761/172, Protokoll vom 6. Oktober 1970: „6.10.1970 d/b.“

Am 15.3.[1971], 8.30 Uhr, informierte uns Genosse Zwchuckelt,<sup>9</sup> Mitarbeiter des SED-Bezirksleitung – Abt. Kultur, über folgendes:

Von Mitgliedern des Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchesters war bekannt geworden, daß das „Stück für Virtuosen“ von Friedrich Schenker umstritten sei. Genosse Zschuckelt bat mich [Ruth Dähne] und den Parteisekretär unseres Verbandes,<sup>10</sup> an der Probe, die um 9.30 Uhr in der Kongreßhalle begann, teilzunehmen. Außer Kollegen Ragwitz und mir waren auch noch Kollege Malth, Rat des Bezirkes, Kollege Steinert, Rat der Stadt – Abt. Kultur, da es sich um ein Messekonzert handelte, teil.

Das Stück umfaßt Solo für Englisch-Horn, Oboe, Fagott und Kontrabaß, Altflöte, Piccolo, Trompeten, für Schlagzeug entsprechende Eskapaden. Nach dem Vorspiel setzten wir uns sofort mit Kollegen Schenker und Kegel auseinander, hatten nur wenige Orchestermitglieder gegen uns, die meisten waren mit uns einer Meinung, daß das Stück unmöglich sei. Als ich Herrn Schenker die Frage stellte, ob er sich mit dieser Musik an den Hörer oder nur an das Orchester wendet, war er entsetzt, wie überhaupt eine solche Frage gestellt werden konnte.

Die Frage, in welcher Form ich seine Musik den Schrittmachern in den Betrieben anbieten soll, damit er als junger Komponist gefördert werden kann und in vielen Konzerten wieder gespielt werden kann, konnte er mir nicht beantworten. Er sagte lediglich, ich experimentiere halt.

Kollege Dr. Wolf, Malth und Ragwitz stellten die Frage, wie lange er noch experimentieren will, um auf einen festen Standpunkt zu kommen. Darauf sagte er, ich suche nach neuen Wegen. (2 Stunden Diskussion)

Nach der Probe sind wir sofort ins Büro gefahren, haben die SED-Bezirksleitung davon informiert und darauf hingewiesen zu überlegen, ob man das Stück in einem Messekonzert überhaupt zur Aufführung bringen kann. Genosse Zschuckelt erklärte uns, daß er sich mit dem Staatlichen Rundfunkkomitee in Verbindung setzen wird und daraufhin kam Kollege Bayer am Dienstagfrüh [16. 03. 1971] zur Generalprobe.

Über diese Diskussion sind wir jedoch nicht informiert, da wir nicht anwesend waren. Das Stück wurde jedoch nicht abgesetzt, da Herr Kegel geäußert hat, wenn das Stück nicht zur Aufführung kommt, werde ich das ganze Konzert nicht dirigieren.

9 Schreibfehler für Lothar Zschuckelt (siehe unten im Text), Parteisekretär am Institut für Literatur „Johannes Becher“ und Dozent für Kulturpolitik und marxistisch-leninistische Kulturtheorie, siehe: Sascha Macht, „Die Einflussnahme des DDR-Staatsicherheitsdienstes auf den Studienalltag am Institut für Literatur „Johannes R. Becher““, *Zeitschrift für Germanistik, Neue Folge* 26, Nr. 3 (2016): 583–601, hier 593. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26583079>.

10 Wolfgang Lesser (1923–1999) war von 1968 bis 1979 Erster Sekretär des VKM.

Der Konzertverlauf ging so vor sich: daß ein kleiner Teil applaudierte, ein Teil buh rief und andere schwiegen[.]

Dr. Wolf traf nach dem Konzert mit Herrn Kegel und der Brigade Juri Gagarin für eine halbe Stunde zusammen, um über das Gehörte zu diskutieren. Die Brigademitglieder lehnten das Stück ab. Herr Kegel meinte dazu, die 9. Sinfonie wäre auch nicht gleich verstanden worden, man müsste das Stück mehrmals hören können. Dr. Wolf bat die Brigademitglieder, den [sic] Komponistenverband in die Hände zu legen, daß sie gemeinsam zwischen dem 1. und 3. April mit dem Band nach Espenhausen kommen und mit Herrn Schenker, Vorstandsmitgliedern, über diese Komposition noch einmal diskutieren werden.

Um Herrn Schenker auf den Teppich zu bringen, möchte der Verband Herrn Kegel das aus der Hand nehmen und hier verantwortlich zeichnen.

[Unterschrift Dähne]

Die Konzertberichterstattung in den Zeitungen der DDR fiel entsprechend zwiespältig aus. In der Leipziger Volkszeitung erschien am 18. März 1971 unter dem Titel „Vom Messekulturgeschehen. Problematische Uraufführung“ ein Artikel von -lf (Werner Wolf):

Eins vermochte der junge Leipziger Komponist Friedrich Schenker [...]: Er löste spontan Diskussionen aus. Das wurde schon an der sehr verschiedenartigen Publikumsreaktion während der Aufführung deutlich, mehr noch durch die starken Buh-Rufe, die sich in den Beifall für den- auf dem Podium erscheinenden Komponisten mischten [...]

Das Stück zeugt innerhalb der vom Komponisten selbst gesteckten Grenzen von Einfallsreichtum, Klangsinn und Expressivität. Doch hier beginnen die Fragen [...]

Das [...] Stück soll den hervorragenden Instrumentalisten als Virtuosen durch Soli wie Zusammenspiel mannigfache virtuose Aufgaben stellen, auch negative Seiten der Virtuosität aufdecken, auf Gefahren hinweisen. [...] Zumindest die ersten Eindrücke wecken trotz mancher Unterschiede zu starke Assoziationen zu westlich orientierten Stücken, die einseitig von der Absicht des Schockierens oder kaum zielgerichteten Provozierens ausgehen. Da ist schon einmal die Begrenztheit, aber auch die Verbrauchtheit der gewählten Mittel zu bedenken. Ihre Begrenztheit zeigt sich vor allem im Hinblick auf die viel weitergehenden Aufgaben, die das Leben und die Entwicklung unserer Republik den Künstlern stellen.

In der Tageszeitung „Union“, der Parteizeitung der Ost-CDU (Dresden) vom 20. März 1971 lautet der Titel: „Uraufführung heiß diskutiert. Friedrich Schenkers ‚Musik für Virtuosen‘ im Messekonzert des Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchesters“. Weiter wird ausgeführt:

Eine sehr geteilte Aufnahme fand die Uraufführung des „Stückes für Virtuosen“ von Friedrich Schenker im Messe-Rundfunksinfoniekonzert. Manche spendeten enthusiastischen Beifall, andere, die eventuell meinten, Schumanns im Programmheft abgedruckte musikalische Haus- und Lebensregel „Schlechte Kompositionen mußst du nicht verbreiten, im Gegenteil, sie mit Kraft unterdrücken helfen“ als Aufforderung ad hoc verstehen zu müssen, reagierten mit Buh-Rufen, ein großer Teil des Publikums nahm die Sache mit Humor und amüsierte sich vernehmlich. Denn wenn die Expression allzu exzentrisch wird, dann liegt die Komik nicht fern. Und welchem Hörer wollte man es dann verübeln, wenn er vielleicht bei bestimmten Klängen an naturalistische Lautmalereien eine Hühnerhofes, der Windsbraut oder etwas ähnliches denkt und zu Lachen beginnt? [...]

Es bleibt zu fragen, ob man bei einer reich bestückten Schießbude teilweise auch noch Streichinstrumente als Schlagwerk benutzen sollte – ängstliche Gemüter konnten um deren Schicksal besorgt sein. Wir jedenfalls halten Werke wie das kürzlich uraufgeführte Klavierkonzert von Fritz Geißler, die über die Tradition hinauswachsen, indem sie sie einschließen, für wertvoller und wertbeständiger. [...] del-

Mit demselben Datum (20. 03. 1971) brachten die Sächsischen Neueste Nachrichten unter dem Titel „Virtuoses und Musikalisches“ folgenden Bericht:

Herbert Kegel brachte zu Beginn das „Stück für Virtuosen“ von Friedrich Schenker zur Uraufführung. Der Soloposaunist des Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchesters ist schon mehrmals mit Kompositionen hervorgetreten, die seine Begabung, aber auch seine Neigung zu bizarren Ausdrucksformen erkennen ließen. [...] Was er aber von den zahlreich aufgebotenen Spielern – zumeist Bläsern und allein sieben für die unterschiedlichen Schlaginstrumente – produzieren läßt, erschien meist nur als geräuscherzeugende Artistik. [...] Was ein gutes Orchester an virtuosem Spiel zu leisten vermag, konnte es an dem Abend auf andere Weise zeigen – bei einem modernen Werk, das sich nicht in solistischen Extravaganzen erschöpft, sondern auch hohen musikalischen Gehalt hat: den „Konzert für Orchester“ von Béla Bartók [...] So war der Beifall nach diesem modernen Werk ebenso verständlich, wie es die Mißfallensäußerungen eines großen Teils des Publikums nach dem Stück von Schenker waren.

Das Sächsische Tageblatt, die Tageszeitung der LDPD (Liberal-Demokratische Partei Deutschlands), brachte am 24. März 1971 den Artikel „Orchesterkonzerte zur Messe. Umstrittene Uraufführung beim Rundfunk“:

Die Mittel, die er hier [Friedrich Schenker in seinem „Stück für Virtuosen“] anwendet sind hart, klanglich von einer direkten, zupackenden Robustheit, die oft die Grenzen des Erträglichen streift. Dem Zuhörer, der von dieser Musik geradezu überrollt wird, ist es kaum möglich, die formale Struktur des knapp viertelstündigen Werkes zu erfassen. Zu viele Eindrücke stürmen auf ihn zu, zu amorph erscheint das äußere Bild dieser Partitur. [...] So waren die unüberhörbaren Bekundungen des Mißfallens in einer bisher kaum erlebten Ausprägung ein deutliches, dem Komponisten reichlich Anlaß zum Nachdenken gegebenes Mementel. Denn die Frage, für wen er schreibt, stellt sich auch für Schenker wie für jeden in unserer sozialistischen Gesellschaft schöpferisch Tätigen.

Damit hatte die Parteigruppe des Bezirksverbandes Leipzig des Verbandes Deutscher Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler reichlich Anlaß zur Bewältigung. Sie bezog am 29. März 1971 Stellung, indem sie darauf hinwies, dass Werke Schenkers bereits häufig Kritik hervorgerufen hatten, und er *„nachdrücklich auf die Fragwürdigkeit seiner Haltung hingewiesen“* worden war. Leider sei festzustellen,

daß er die ernsthaften Hinweise seiner Kollegen und des Bezirkssekretärs bisher nicht beachtete, sondern weiterhin jenen von uns wiederholt kritisierten Weg des Experiments mit Mitteln des spätbürgerliche Modernismus um deren selbst Willen fortsetzt. Das beweist, daß Schenker sich seiner gesellschaftlichen Verantwortung als Komponist in unserer Gesellschaft nicht bewußt geworden ist. Wir sind nach wie vor entschlossen, alle Möglichkeiten der marxistisch-leninistischen Bildung unserer Mitglieder zu nutzen, um die wichtige Rolle der Kunst in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft zu behandeln und allen Kollegen immer wieder bewußt zu machen. [...] Offenbar finden solche Werke bei einigen Interpreten und Veranstaltern in einem Maße Interesse, welches nicht ihrer realen Bedeutung für die Entwicklung einer sozialistischen Nationalkultur entspricht. [...]

Schließlich müssen wir die Frage stellen, ob wir auf dem gegenwärtig für die Klassenauseinandersetzung so äußerst wichtigen und vom Klassegegner besonders bevorzugten Sektor der Kulturpolitik tatsächlich die Macht ausüben, [...] das „Stück für Virtuosen“ vom Programm abzusetzen.

In der Beratung der Parteigruppe [...] kam deutlich zum Ausdruck, daß sich alle [...] für das Auftreten ihrer Verbandsmitglieder GMD Herbert Kegel und Friedrich Schenker mit verantwortlich fühlen müssen. [...]

Zur Rezension des Genossen Dr. Wolf über die Uraufführung [...] äußerten sich die Genossen dahingehend kritisch, daß in Anbetracht der Publikumsreaktion die Haltung und der Aussagewert der Komposition im Mittelpunkt der Rezension hätte stehen müssen und nicht in erster Linie (und fast ausschließlich) fachliche Details, von denen einige zudem fraglich erscheinen (Einfallsreichtum, Klangsinn und Expressivität).

Abschließend wird eine *„bessere Zusammenarbeit im Interesse einer zielgerichteten kulturpolitisch wertvollen und interessanten Programmplanung“* angemahnt, um der eigenen Verantwortung mit dem *„Beginn einer echten konzeptionellen Zusammenarbeit“* gerecht zu werden, Formeln, die in fast jeder offiziellen Äußerung verwendet wurden. Die Stellungnahme wurde vom Parteigruppenorganisator Erhard Ragwitz noch am selben Tag an den Genossen Roth in der SED-Bezirksleitung/Abt. Kultur in Leipzig und an die Genossin Apel im Zentralkomitee der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands/Abt. Kultur in Berlin gesendet. Am 22. April 1971 sandten der Vorsitzende Prof. Dr. Hans Pezold und die Bezirkssekretärin Ruth Dähne ein Rundschreiben an die Mitglieder des Bezirksverbandes Leipzig des VKM:

Gemeinsam mit dem Rundfunk wird am 27. April 1971, 17.00 Uhr, in unserem Sekretariat eine Aussprache über die Komposition „Stück für Virtuosen“ von Friedrich Schenker stattfinden. Wir bitte sehr herzlich, an dieser Beratung teilzunehmen.

Das Schreiben ging an Waldemar Markus, Thomas Wunsch, GMD Herbert Kegel, Friedrich Schenker, Burkhard Glaetzner, Dieter Weler, Heinz Schönekerl, Hans Roscher, Fiedler, Adolph, Rudi Lehmann, Gerhard Gommelich, Berger (Berlin), Götze, Lesser, Roth, W. Wolf (Rat d. B.), Gehrke, Lippold, Schönfelder, Krause-Graumnitz, Dr. Wolf, Viertel, Dittrich, Pachnicke, Walter.

Der Skandal um Friedrich Schenkers „Musik für Virtuosen“ bewegte auch noch die Bezirksdelegiertenkonferenz am 22./23. Mai 1971 in Leipzig, wie aus folgendem Diskussionsbeitrag hervorgeht, der sich auf den Entwurf der Direktive des 16. Plenums des Zentralkomitees der SED beruft, der sich wiederum dem Rechenschaftsbericht des XXIV. Parteitages der KPdSU anschließt:

Mit dem Vorankommen unserer Gesellschaft [...] wächst die Rolle der Literatur und Kunst bei der Heranbildung der Weltanschauung des sozialistischen Menschen, seiner sittlichen Überzeugungen und seiner geistigen Kultur“, heißt es im Rechenschaftsbericht des XXIV. Parteitag des KPdSU. [...]

Das sozialistisch-realistische Kunstschaffen hat seit der Zerschlagung des Hitlerfaschismus in Deutschland das geistig-kulturelle Leben in unserer Republik in ständig steigendem Maße und entscheiden beeinflußt. Die besten Werke des sozialistisch-realistischen Musikschaffens solcher namhafter sowjetischer Komponisten wie D. Schostakowitsch, S. Prokofjew, A. Chatschaturjan, D. Kabalewski und vieler anderer gehören zum festen kulturellen Besitz unserer Menschen. [...]

Nicht Subjektivismus, Individualismus, Nihilismus, Existenzialismus, Antihumanismus der spätbürgerlichen Moderne, sondern Optimismus, Siegeszuversicht gedanklicher und emotionaler Reichtum sind charakteristisch für unser künstlerisches Schaffen. [...]

Mehr und mehr wächst der Einfluß der Künstlerverbände – auch unseres Bezirkes – bei der Gestaltung und Entwicklung der geistig-kulturellen Lebens. [...] Mehr und mehr werden diese Kriterien Maßstab für die Beurteilung und Einschätzung neu entstandener Werke. [...] Die Arbeiterklasse stellt immer bewußter ihre Forderungen, tritt immer häufiger als gesellschaftlicher Auftraggeber bei der Schaffung neuer Kunstwerke in Erscheinung. [...]

Es ist einfach undankbar, daß wir unser Publikum dazu verurteilen, durch langanhaltende und lautstarke Buh-Rufe den Veranstaltern, Interpreten und dem Komponisten klar zu machen, daß es ein Recht darauf hat, durch Musik begeistert und bereichert, aber nicht aus dem Konzertsaal vertrieben zu werden, wie dies bei der Uraufführung des „Stückes für Virtuosen“ von Herrn Schenker im 12. Anrechtskonzert des Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchesters unter der Leitung von GMD Kegel während der Leipziger Frühjahrsmesse 1971 der Fall war.

Die Bemühungen des Bezirksverbandes gingen weiter, es wurden in der Reihe „Studio dvfm“ [Deutscher Verlag für Musik] Diskussionsabende veranstaltet, in denen immer wieder Komponisten und Interpreten auf die Ideale des sozialistischen Realismus eingeschworen werden sollten. Immer wieder wurde der sozialistische Hanns Eisler gegen die avantgardistische Interpretation als Schönberg-Schüler verteidigt, wie sie etwa Eberhardt Klemm am Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Leipzig so massiv vertreten hat, dass er nach dem Tod von Heinrich Bessler 1965 nicht mehr weiterbeschäftigt wurde und sich freischaffend durchschlagen

musste.“ Auch die „Gruppe Neue Musik Hanns Eisler“ sah sich diesen Vorwürfen ausgesetzt, wie Diskussionen mit dem Bezirksverband des VKM zeigen.

Am 22.6.71, 20.00 Uhr, fand der zweite musikalische Diskussionsabend innerhalb der Reihe „Studio dvfm“ in Leipzig-Information statt. [...]

Ich hatte den Eindruck, daß die „gruppe neue musik hanns eisler“ auch in diesem Konzert bemüht war, Hanns Eisler nicht aus der Sicht seiner hervorragenden Dienste um die Weiterentwicklung der proletarisch revolutionären Kunst, auch nicht aus der Sicht seiner hervorragenden Beiträge zum sozialistisch-realistischen Musikschaffen zu würdigen, sondern vielmehr einen nahtlosen Übergang von der Schönberg-Schule zum Schaffen einiger Komponisten der DDR in der Richtung zu verdeutlichen, die den Kompositionstechniken spätbürgerlicher Musikentwicklung noch weitgehend verhaftet sind. [...]

Deutlich wird in diesem Zusammenhang auch, daß sich bei solchen Veranstaltungen ein Publikum zu konzentrieren scheint, welches „modernistische Sensationchen“ zu wittern glaubt aufgrund von Vorbehalten gegenüber unserer kulturpolitischen Generallinie.

Es ist bedauerlich feststellen zu müssen, daß auch einige Kollegen unseres Bezirksverbandes, die zur Diskussion sprachen, nicht erkennen ließen, daß unsere Diskussionen um neue Werke unserer Komponisten in ersten Linie vom Standpunkt der Parteilichkeit, des sozialistischen Realismus, des Inhalts und der Aussage eines Werkes geführt werden müssen. [...]

Kollege Schenker hatte reichlich Gelegenheit, seine doch letztlich weitgehend spätbürgerlich-modernistisch orientierte Schreibweise zu rechtfertigen und tat dies insbesondere an Hand des Werkes von Katzer. [...] gez. Erhard Ragwitz Parteigruppenorganisator

Dass hier Quellen aus den Akten der Parteigruppe des Bezirksverbandes Leipzig des Verbandes Deutscher Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler wiedergegeben werden, ist quellenkritisch so zu werten, da ja gerade die Binnensicht intendiert ist. So nehmen auch die vielen Erfolgsmeldungen nicht wunder, die immer wieder fixiert wurden und die eigenen Bedeutsamkeit beweisen sollten. Hier ein Diskussionsbeitrag von Erhard Ragwitz für die Sitzung der SED-Bezirksleitung am 13. Februar 1972:

11 Helmut Loos, „Musikwissenschaft an der Universität Leipzig“, in *600 Jahre Musik an der Universität Leipzig*, Hrsg. Eszter Fontana (Wettin: Verlag Janos Stekovics, 2010), 265–84, hier 279.

Diskussionsbeitrag Erhard Ragwitz f. Sitzg SED-BL am 13.2.72

[S. 3] In seinem Referat zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik des SED führt Genosse Hager u.a. aus, daß „[...] *unsere Künstler mit großer Ernsthaftigkeit ihre oft komplizierten Schaffensprobleme öffentlich zur Diskussion stellen.*“

Wir sind stolz darauf, daß – Dank der guten Zusammenarbeit der verschiedenen Sektionen in unserem Bezirksverband, insbesondere durch die Initiative der Genossen Sektion Musikwissenschaft – regelmäßig solche Werkdiskussionen in einer kameradschaftlichen, kollegialen, offenherzigen und parteilichen Atmosphäre, wie sie für die Entstehung und Besprechung neuer Kunstwerke förderlich und günstig ist, zu einem festen, äußerst wichtigen Bestandteil unseres Verbandslebens zählen. [...]

[S. 5] Haben doch unsere bisherigen Diskussionen gezeigt, daß wir nur in dem Maße Klarheit gewinnen konnten, wie künstlerische Fragen als Teilfragen der Ideologie erkannt und geklärt wurden. Unsere Erfahrungen haben uns gelehrt: In dem Maße, wie das Niveau unserer marxistisch-leninistischen Weiterbildung steigt, wird sich auch die Qualität unserer Werkdiskussionen und Musikgespräche weiter heben und ihren Niederschlag finden in neuen sozialistisch-realistischen Kunstwerken, die die ganze Vielfalt, den Reichtum und die Schönheit unseres sozialistischen Lebens interessant, konfliktreich, niveauvoll, massenwirksam und heiter widerspiegeln, die sich würdig erweisen unserer Gesellschaft, unseren Menschen, den Siegern der Geschichte, den Erbauern des Sozialismus. [...]

Erhard Ragwitz Parteigruppenorganisator des BV Leipzig des VDK

Wie innerhalb der Parteigruppe der „Fall Schenker“ mit seiner „Musik für Virtuosen“ unterschiedlich bewertet wurde, ist in einer Aktennotiz über die Parteigruppenversammlung am 2. März 1972 verzeichnet:

Über unsere Werkdiskussionen konnten wir erreichen daß immer ein echter Meinungsstreit geführt wurde. Oft haben wir uns gestritten, sind nicht böse gewesen, sondern haben uns höhere Standpunkte erarbeitet und zusammengerauft.

[Gen(osse). Kapst fragt:] Hatten wir immer eine Konzeption? [...Kapst äußert,] daß mir persönlich die Schenker-Diskussion nicht gefallen hat. Peter Herrmann, gerade diese Diskussion war qualifiziert und von großem Nutzen, vor allem für den Komponisten Schenker. Denn wenn er gut zugehört hat, konnte er viel davon lernen.

Gen. Pachnicke, jeder weiß, daß wir Erfolge haben und daß dabei Späne fallen ist duft [sic].

Dr. Werner Wolf stellt fest, daß eine Reihe guter Vorschläge kamen und festzuhalten, daß unsere Parteigruppe wenigstens einmal im Quartal tagt.

Einigen konnten sich die Genossen lediglich auf die nichtssagende Floskel, dass sie „*zwar viel geleistet haben, aber noch vor ernststen Problemen stehen.*“

Eine Aktennotiz vom Bezirksverband Leipzig vom 7. September 1972 über eine Sitzung der Parteigruppe des Vorstandes am 31. August 1972 listet Mitglieder und Funktionen auf:

anwesend: Genosse Pachnike, Herrmann, Dr. Lippold, Prof. Pezold, Dr. Hempel, Prof. Felix, Dr. Wolf, Ragwitz

Entschuldigt: Genosse Prof. Fischer, Malth, Dr. Mühe [...]

Funktionsverteilung

Stellvertreter des Vorsitzenden Erhard Ragwitz, Leiter der Sektion Musikwissenschaft Dr. Gunter Hempel, Ernste Musik Erhard Ragwitz, Musikerziehung Prof. Dr. Hans Pezold, Tanz- und Unterhaltungsmusik Alo Koll und Fred Dittrich, Arbeitsgruppe junger Komponisten Peter Herrmann, Musiktheater und dramatisch gebundene Musik Dr. Karl-Heinz Viertel, Sektion Interpreten Prof. Dr. Ruth Boche-Kastner, Parteigruppenorganisator Prof. Dr. Werner Felix.

Dieser winzige Einblick in das innere Gefüge der SED-Parteigruppe des Bezirksverbandes Leipzig des Verbandes der Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler der DDR mag illustrieren, wie wichtig eine genaue Einzelfallbetrachtung für eine realistische und gerechte historische Darstellung gesellschaftlicher Prozesse ist. Entscheidungen und Außenwirkung lassen so ihren oft umstrittenen und widersprüchlichen Ursprung erkennen.

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## How Music Works: Film Composers, Labour, and the Screen Composers Association in Mid-Twentieth-Century America

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Film music composition can be described as one of the most prolific domains of musical creation in the United States in the twentieth century. In addition to the enormous working opportunities Hollywood's film industry offered to music professionals, film music as an artistic form was special in many ways, as the medium-boundedness of such music situated it aesthetically in a space between popular music and art music, which affected both general and scholarly receptions of film music.<sup>1</sup>

Hollywood composers in the 1940s and 1950s undertook many different musical tasks in the film production process – such as composing, arranging, conducting, etc. – before a legal framework that was based on the industrialised division of labour between various arts and crafts was introduced. Specialised professional societies were established to support workers in Hollywood's film industry. Examples of unionisation outside the musical sphere include the Screen Actors Guild, the Screen Writers Guild, and

1 See: Ingeborg Zechner, *Franz Waxman: Zwischen Filmmusik und Konzertsaal* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2024), 385–8, and Ingeborg Zechner, “Unheard, Unseen, Underappreciated? Die Verhandlung filmmusikalischer Werkhaftigkeit im Hollywood-Film der 1940er Jahre,” in *Musik – Politik – Gesellschaft: Michael Walter zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Kordula Knaus and Susanne Kogler (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2023), 297. This article is part of an ongoing research project on the composer Franz Waxman that is financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF-Grant-DOI: 10.55776/P33029).

the Directors Guild of America.<sup>2</sup> Against this background – and given the active role unions played in Hollywood – it is not surprising that the labour practices of musicians in Hollywood have been at the centre of research on organisational and legal conventions concerning film music<sup>3</sup> – an approach that nevertheless covers only a part of the duties of film composers in Hollywood. As film composers performed very different musical tasks for the film industry, their work was also legally situated in the space between labour and creative work. The special position of film composers in the space between aesthetic and organisational conventions prompted the foundation of the Screen Composers Association (SCA) in 1945 as a society to support the special needs of film composers in the industry.

In this article I argue that an examination of the foundational years of the SCA, which is strangely under-researched, is a way to highlight, among other things, the specific characteristics of composition in the medium of film against the background of the music and the film industries. My article is based on the study of SCA records preserved at the Margaret Herick Library in Los Angeles, as well as sources relating to the activities of the SCA in other archives in the United States. I contextualise these archival documents by taking different professional societies in the film and music industries into account, as well as the SCA's public outreach strategies. This approach allows me to expose aspects of a film composer's working life in the United States beyond Hollywood. Composer societies such as the SCA collectively exercised enormous power over how music 'works'. For example, the SCA dealt with industry labour practices and the legal challenges of the international distribution of Hollywood film music, and assisted composers in obtaining the performance rights for their music. In addition to this, the SCA promoted the exchange of crucial information on industry practices and provided social support for its members when needed.

2 For a history of the Hollywood unions see: Kate Fortmueller and Luci Marzola, eds., *Hollywood Unions* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2024).

3 See: James P. Kraft, "Musicians in Hollywood: Work and Technological Change in Entertainment Industries, 1926–1940," *Technology and Culture* 35, no. 2 (April 1994): 289–314; James P. Kraft, *Stage to Studio: Musicians and the Sound Revolution, 1890–1950* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), and Gianluca Sergi, "Organizing Sound: Labour Organizations and Power Struggles that Helped Define Music and Sound in Hollywood," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Sound Design and Music in Screen Media: Integrated Soundtracks*, eds. Liz Greene and Danijela Kulezic-Wilson (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 43–56, [https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51680-0\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51680-0_4).

## Working for Hollywood: Challenges for Professional Music Organisations in the Film Industry

Hollywood's musical workforce in the studio era was generally organised along the principles of the division of labour. 'Workers' in music departments were overseen by a studio head, such as Leo Forbstein at Warner Bros. Many music department employees undertook different tasks as part of their daily jobs: composers conducted their own scores (or those of their colleagues) and arranged or orchestrated music, while orchestrators worked as music copyists. Film music labour in the studio era involved different professional tasks that – from a legal perspective – brought various challenges for the composers in the industry, especially in obtaining credit and royalties for their creative work. Providing Hollywood with music was especially challenging in the 1930s and 1940s, which saw numerous groundbreaking technological shifts in music production and reception, including the advent of sound film, and later, the LP record. Professional societies were thus established to support various professions in the music and film industries in obtaining and negotiating their copyrights and performing rights. In practice, it was guilds and unions that supported workers in the music industry, basing their engagement on the notion of labour. Nevertheless, film composers often operated in the legal space between different kinds of labour. This situation prompted the composer and president of the SCA Adolph Deutsch to call the film composer “*the forgotten man of the movies*” in a 1940s article in *Musical America*.<sup>4</sup>

One of the organisations that was probably most active in representing the rights of musicians (and continues to be so today) was the American Federation of Musicians (AFM). The AFM was founded in 1896 to protect the rights of American musicians – including “*any musician paid for his or her services*”<sup>5</sup> – and to prevent an influx of European musicians into the American music market. The AFM concerned itself with the rights of musicians working in orchestras at large, and was thus connected to the concert, radio, and film industries. For many classical and popular musicians alike, Hollywood's film industry offered an opportunity for stable employment. With the rapid technological advances of the era, the AFM especially concerned itself with protecting live musicians against the exploitation of their

4 Adolph Deutsch, “The Composer: Forgotten Man of the Movies,” *Musical America*, June 1946, 5.

5 Chris Wonderlich, “American Federation of Musicians,” in *Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working-Class History*, ed. Eric Arnesen (New York: Routledge, 2006), 81.

work in recorded music, which naturally shaped their work for Hollywood during the early sound era.<sup>6</sup> In 1938, the American Society of Musical Arrangers (ASMA) was founded in Hollywood by composers and orchestrators in the movie industry, and had expanded nationwide by the mid-1940s. This society was concerned with properly crediting the work of arrangers in the context of improved recording technologies.<sup>7</sup> The needs of composers who worked as arrangers in Hollywood were represented by ASMA, but also by the AFM.<sup>8</sup>

Outside the film industry, there were various organisations that concerned themselves more generally with the work of composers: The National Association of American Composers and Conductors (NAACC), which was founded in 1933 by Henry K. Hadley, aimed at promoting American music, e.g. through the organisation of concerts with music by American composers and by fostering collaboration and mutual understanding between composers and conductors. After Hadley's death in 1937, his wife Inez took over the organisation. In Hollywood, composers frequently acted as “*composer-conductors*”,<sup>9</sup> performing their own music. The names of film composers such as Franz Waxman or Victor Young appear in a list of “*co-operating composers*” in the NAACCS Annual Bulletin of 1944/45.<sup>10</sup> This indicates that film composers were active in musical networks beyond the film industry, and thus integrated into American musical life.

A decade earlier than the NAACC, the League of Composers (LOC) was established by Claire Reis<sup>11</sup> as an alternative to the International Composers Guild. The LOC intended to promote contemporary music with an international outlook through its programming and the commissioning

6 For this development and for the continuation of the separation between live-music and recorded sound into the twenty-first century, see: Sergi, “Organizing Sound,” 46–7 and 52–4.

7 See: Wanda Marvin, “Arrangers Want Some ‘Cake,’ Too,” *Billboard*, December 9, 1944, 14, 22.

8 See: AFM, *Wage Scales, Hours of Employment, Working Conditions Applying to Motion Picture Work*, effective April 1, 1946 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 9. American Federation of Musicians].

9 On the notion of the “composer-conductor” associated with Hollywood-film music, see: Zechner, *Franz Waxman*, 189–95.

10 The NAACC's records are preserved at US-NYp.

11 For an overview of Reis' activities in the musical life of the United States, see: Penny Thomas, “Claire Reis: Advocate for Contemporary Music” (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1991).

of new works, including, but not limited to, those by American composers.<sup>12</sup> Following the example of the League of Nations, the LOC sought to foster common goals between composers in the spirit of understanding and cooperation. The LOC had its own journal, *Modern Music*, which from the late 1920s also included a film music column.<sup>13</sup>

In 1914, the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) was established to protect the copyright of its members' compositions and to collect royalties. In 1919, ASCAP signed an agreement with the Performing Rights Society in Great Britain that allowed for the reciprocal representation of their members. Despite these international agreements, there were challenges in the distribution of royalties for film composers, as seen in the example of Max Steiner, who became a member in 1933. Steiner complained that he received far too few royalties from ASCAP, as film composers apparently received only a small share of the performing license fees that ASCAP collected from movie theatres. Additionally, Steiner felt that his compositions for films shown internationally were not sufficiently rewarded, since the international distribution of his music through film was inadequately compensated.<sup>14</sup>

The specific requirements of film composers arising from their employment situation in Hollywood, making them "*the forgotten group*", were only partially addressed by the scope of these societies. In 1945, the Screen Composers Association (SCA) was founded as a collective endeavour to deal with these needs. Efforts to establish a society for film composers began as early as 1942. For this purpose, according to the SCA records, an invitation letter was sent by a "*Film Composer's Emergency Committee*"<sup>15</sup> to 65 film composers, of whom 43 attended the first meeting.<sup>16</sup> The large number of composers who responded indicates the great need for a society devoted to film composers' interests. The official inaugural meeting was held on July

12 See: Marion Bauer and Claire R. Reis, "Twenty-five Years with the League of Composers," *The Musical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (January 1948): 2.

13 See: Richard Kitson, "Introduction to *Modern Music* (1924–1946)," *RIPM*, <https://ripm.org/pdf/Introductions/MMUintroEnglish.pdf>.

14 See: Peter Wegele, *Der Filmkomponist Max Steiner (1888–1971)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2024), 92–3.

15 The initial Film Composer's Emergency Committee consisted of the following persons: Anthony Collins, Adolph Deutsch, Leigh Harline, Arthur Lange, Edward Plumm, Max Steiner, Roy Webb, and Victor Young [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 37. Film Composer's Committee].

16 See: Blank letter of the Film Composers' Emergency Committee, n.d. [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 22. Bulletins].

20, 1945 in the Beverly Wilshire Hotel in Beverly Hills, with Daniele Amfitheatrof, David Buttolph, Robert E. Dolan, Adolph Deutsch, Leo Erody, Hugo Friedhofer, Leigh Harline, Ray Heindorf, Werner Heymann, Arthur Lange, Edward H. Plumb, Edward Powell, Miklós Rózsa, Herbert Stothart, Franz Waxman, Charles Wolcott, Roy Webb, and Victor Young serving as members of the organising committee.<sup>17</sup> Max Steiner and Adolph Deutsch went on to represent the SCA as president and vice-president, Roy Webb as treasurer and Leonard Zissu acted as legal counsel. In its inaugural meeting in 1943, the society defined four major purposes of its actions:

- (1) To form a Guild, Society, Alliance or League of Composers. No affiliation with the American Federation of Musicians is contemplated in view of the fact that our work is purely creative and does not fall into any Labor Union category.
- (2) To formulate a Basic Agreement between our group, and the Motion Picture Producers, anticipating the widespread use of our music in Television, Slot Movie Machines, Juke Boxes, Radio, and the Concert Halls, publication problems and general studio relationships.
- (3) To survey and analyze the U.S. Copyright Law with a view to devising amendments which will correct existing inequities. To endeavour to coordinate our amendments with these being drawn up by many other groups of individuals, operations, and labor organizations and to present an integrated plan to Congressional Committee on Copyrights.
- (4) To promote closer relationships between composers and the various arts and crafts that contribute to American films. To raise our artistic standards.<sup>18</sup>

To meet these goals efficiently, the SCA established a number of subcommittees over the years to work on pressing matters. The Contract Committee focused on designing standardised clauses for composers' contracts.<sup>19</sup> The Expansion Committee, directed in 1954 by Marlin Skiles, reached out to TV and radio composers to explore possible overlaps in interests. The Composers' Manual Committee, directed in 1954 by David Raksin and Bernard Herrmann, was assigned the task of developing a "*business bible*"

17 See: *Film Composers' Committee Announcing the Inaugural Meeting of the Film Composers' Association* [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 22. Bulletins].

18 Blank letter of the Film Composers Emergency Committee [1943] [MHL.SCA Collection, Folder 22. Bulletins].

19 In 1947 members in the Contract Committee included Daniele Amfitheatrof, David Buttolph, Adolph Deutsch, Leigh Harline, Werner Richard Heymann, Arthur Lange, Edward Powell, Miklós Rózsa, Charles Wolcott, and Edward Plumb.

for SCA members “covering registering procedures in the film, radio and television performance fields”.<sup>20</sup> SCA membership fees depended on the amount of annual income from motion picture work: in 1945, the minimum fee was USD 20 for earnings below USD 5,000, while the highest fee was USD 180 for earnings above USD 40,000/year.<sup>21</sup>

Despite this legal and revenue-oriented focus, the SCA also acted as a social collective, supporting members during difficult periods of their lives whenever necessary. When the German-American composer Werner Richard Heymann was hospitalised following a suicide attempt, the SCA collected donations from their members to help Heymann cover his bills, as he was financially destitute.<sup>22</sup> Composer societies such as the SCA often formed not only for specific purposes, but also because of crucial needs that required collective energy and resources. The following section examines how the SCA’s four goals manifested in film composers’ working practices, and thus serves as a means to better understand ‘how music worked’ in the middle of the twentieth century.

### Film Music Composition: Labour or Creative Work?

Legally, film composers in the Hollywood of the 1940s were hired as employees at a film studio, receiving a lump-sum payment, comparable to other professions in the film industry. Being hired as an employee meant that film composers signed over the rights to their compositions to the film studio or production company. Generally, film composers were not entitled to any royalty payments when their music was reused in other films produced by the same company – a common practice in Hollywood, and one publicly addressed by the SCA legal counsel Leonard Zissu.<sup>23</sup> Correspondence preserved in the SCA collection indicates that, despite several lawsuits brought by SCA members such as David Raksin in the 1940s, a clause requiring composers to sign over all copyrights and performance rights to the film studio – thus making the company the recipient of ASCAP royalties – continued

20 SCA Press Statement, 17 June 1954 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 62. Press Releases and Publicity].

21 See: SCA Notice regarding Dues [US-Wc, Erich Wolfgang Korngold Collection, Box 88, Folder 56].

22 Letter from Adolph Deutsch to Scott Bradley, 9 April 1950 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 32. Correspondences].

23 See: Leonard Zissu, “The Copyright Dilemma of the Screen Composer,” *Hollywood Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (April 1946): 317, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1209289>.

to appear in composers' contracts well into the 1950s.<sup>24</sup> Hugo Friedhofer, for instance, encountered this unfavourable clause – “*the little blockbuster*” in Friedhofer's words – in a 1952 contract with Twentieth Century Fox, which prompted him to call for stronger SCA collective efforts, led by the businesses leading freelance composers:

[...] I believe it is essential to call a meeting of SCA members (strictly unofficial, however) who comprise the upper echelon of the free-lance group, in order to determine what our course of action is going to be. Most certainly, a unilateral course of action on the part of men like Herrmann, Raksin, North, Amfitheatroff [sic], Buttolph, Waxman, Stevens, Murray and your humble servant, might possibly serve as a slight deterrent in this matter. On the other hand, it might put us all on Skid Row, and frankly, that might be preferable, since I've no doubt at all we'd be meeting up with nicer people!<sup>25</sup>

Friedhofer's suggestion indicates that, despite the often-addressed 'miserable' circumstances of composers working for Hollywood, by the end of the studio era renowned freelance composers – organised in societies such as the SCA – were regarded as having at least some agency in contractual matters. What remained problematic, however, was the legal distinction between labour and creative work. The division and regularisation of labour in the film industry was explicitly promoted by unions such as the AFM, which regularly published guidelines for “*Motion Picture Work*” to standardise working practices, working hours and wages for AFM members in Hollywood's film industry. The AFM guidelines from 1946 state that “*Motion picture recording musicians*” were required to take ten minutes rest per hour “*away from the stand*”. The rate for a single recording session (three hours or less) per musician in 1946 was USD 39.90; overtime before midnight cost the production company USD 3.33 every fifteen minutes, and after midnight the amount rose to USD 4.99.<sup>26</sup> The AFM ensured that musical workers in the film industry – including conducting film composers – were paid according to the time they worked.

The SCA wished to place film music composition on a legal footing similar to that of “*musical time workers*”, as demonstrated by an annotated version of AFM conditions preserved in the SCA files. To accomplish

24 See: Copy of letter from Hugo Friedhofer to Adolph Deutsch, 6 February 1952 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 31. Contract Committee].

25 Ibid.

26 See: AFM, *Wage Scales*, 8 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 9. American Federation of Musicians].

this task, the SCA asked film composers such as Erich Wolfgang Korngold to submit their contracts to the society in order to review the current situation in the industry, a task that apparently remained necessary, as indicated by the Friedhofer letter quoted above.<sup>27</sup> Notably, there was no common understanding in Hollywood regarding the conventional terms of composers' engagement, and standardised practices seemed to have been largely absent from the industry.

In the early stages of reviewing the legal standing of music in film, a desire emerged for the various societies to coordinate their efforts under the auspices of the AFM, and thus film composers were to be included in the powerful musician's union. This intention was strongly and publicly opposed by the composer Virgil Thomson in his 1939 book *The State of Music*, an attempt to describe "the island of home" of musical professions in the United States.<sup>28</sup> Thomson, who composed primarily for documentary films, also addresses a general legal problem with music, which continued to be a topic of concern for the SCA: namely, whether music in general should be considered labour or creative work – a division that proved particularly problematic for film music. Thomson distinguishes between musicians as time workers and composers as creators of intellectual property. Musicians and composers, despite potentially working in the same industry, should be represented by separate professional bodies. In doing so, Thomson proposes differentiation based on the nature of work rather than the industry, thus not fully addressing the unique position of film composers situated between labour and creative work. Furthermore, he acknowledges in his monograph the complex legal framework of music composition in the twentieth century:

Music still gets written, performed, and consumed, lots of it, in all categories. And neither the profession of writing nor the trade of performing it is quite yet immobilized by friction with the businessmen who organize the dissemination of it.<sup>29</sup>

An interesting consequence of this "friction with the businessmen" was that, due to the involvement of the AFM, musicians often benefited financially more from the re-recording of a score for another film than the composers themselves. This practice of using library music was common at minor

27 See: Letter from Leonard Zissu to Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Oct 11, 1943 [US-Wc, Erich Wolfgang Korngold Collection, Box 88, Folder 56].

28 Virgil Thomson, *The State of Music* (New York: William Morrow, 1939), 3.

29 *Ibid.*, 250.

studios as a cost-saving measure.<sup>30</sup> In simple terms, labour in the film industry was financially rewarded, whereas creative work received comparatively little compensation. According to the violinist Julius Toldi, the film composer consequently was “*the only one exposed to arbitrary exploitation*” in the film industry,<sup>31</sup> echoing also Deutsch’s statement quoted earlier.

One prerequisite for improving the position of the film composer was providing them with proper credit for their work. Although this principle may seem obvious, standard contracts often omitted such a clause. Exceptions included distinguished composers, such as Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Max Steiner, Aaron Copland, or Dimitri Tiomkin. Their names and reputations on the music scene helped the film company in promoting the film, as a prominent composer was often considered a marketing asset rather than a cost for the film studio.<sup>32</sup> For lesser-known composers, the situation was, of course, different. It should be emphasised that the attribution of screen credits to the composer did not grant them ownership of their creative work. Ben Winters has recently refuted the persistent myth that Korngold supposedly held the rights to his film music compositions. In fact, Korngold operated under essentially the same contractual conditions as other Hollywood film composers,<sup>33</sup> except that he was probably more publicly visible through press coverage – a visibility shared by other major figures in the industry which the SCA intended to use for its advantage.

The SCA aimed to have the profession of film music composition acknowledged not as labour but as a creative work, subject to both copyright and performing rights. The problem of crediting film composers for their creative contributions was discussed not only in internal SCA meetings, but also publicly by the legal consultant Leonard Zissu, who

30 See: Minutes of the SCA Free Lance Composers Meeting, April 5, 1948 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 40. Freelance Composers].

31 Letter from Julius Toldi to J.K. Wallace [President of Musicians Mutual Protection Organisation], 10 March 1949. [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 32. Correspondences]. Toldi, a musician in the Twentieth-Century Fox Orchestra, belonged to Arnold Schoenberg’s private circle in Los Angeles, and promoted Schoenberg’s music in the US (see: Kenneth H. Marcus, *Schoenberg and Hollywood Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 154–5).

32 See: Notes on the meeting of the SCA Contract Committee with the Screen Writers Guild and the Radio Writers Guild, 4 Dec 1945 and for an assessment of the contracts of Korngold see: Ben Winters, *Korngold in America: Music, Myth, and Hollywood* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2025), 53–82.

33 See: Winters, *Korngold in America*, 82.

sought to raise awareness of the issue.<sup>34</sup> The diverse professional tasks required of a composer at a film studio placed them in a position between labour and creative work. Again, Thomson in *The State of Music* revealingly adds to his distinction of different kinds of work the aspect of utility as follows:

Different kinds of work are measurable for payment in different ways. The time a composer actually takes to write a given piece is not a reasonable or possible way of measuring that work's commercial value. Its value for payment must be measured by its utility, as all professional services are.<sup>35</sup>

In fact, music composed for the film medium is highly advantageous to the final product, as otherwise its “*utility*” might be questioned. In a way, the SCA's advocacy for differentiated contracts for AFM services (e.g. conducting), and non-AFM services represents a practical continuation of Thomson's more general argument: separating labour from creative work while also acknowledging the space in between by considering the matter of utility. When Franz Waxman was contracted in 1947 by Paramount for *Sorry, Wrong Number*, he signed separate agreements for his services as composer and conductor, the latter under AFM scales<sup>36</sup> – most likely due to the involvement of the SCA.

### National and International Trajectories of the Screen Composers Association

From the very beginning, the SCA connected with national and international composer societies, as well as with other professional industry societies in television and radio, and collectively pursued efforts in dissemination and publication. The medium-bound character of film music contributed to a wide international distribution. Werner Richard Heymann, a founding member of the SCA, argues in a letter to Leonard Zissu that film music reaches a far broader international audience than newly composed music for the concert hall, due to protectionist policies in European countries. Heymann suggests the SCA should use this argument with ASCAP to in-

34 See: Leonard Zissu, “The Copyright Dilemma of the Screen Composer,” 320, and Leonard Zissu, “Commercial Mediums and the Composer,” *The Composer's News Record* 6 (1948): 2.

35 Thomson, *The State of Music*, 255.

36 See: Contract between Franz Waxman and Paramount, 19 Dec. 1947 [MHL, Paramount Pictures Contract Summaries, Franz Waxman f.1551].

crease film composers' incomes from the international ventures of film companies.<sup>37</sup> As previously noted with Max Steiner's dissatisfaction regarding his earnings from foreign films, composers' incomes from international distribution seemed to have been lower than expected. To assess the situation, the SCA systematically registered royalties received by their members from ASCAP from foreign countries in 1947, including cheques received until October of that year. From a total sum of USD 513,663.56 twelve SCA composers – including such prominent and productive figures as Max Steiner, Victor Young, Bronislaw Kaper, and Franz Waxman – received a total of USD 2,955.45. Max Steiner's income alone accounted for almost one-third of this sum, reportedly for more than 270 film scores.<sup>38</sup>

Foreign music and performing rights societies – most notably British organisations such as the British Performing Rights Society and the British Film Music Society – served as important benchmarks for the SCA in shaping policies to secure fairer compensation for film composers. Through comparisons with these organisations, the SCA identified a significant disparity: its members consistently received far lesser royalties from the American ASCAP than from their British counterparts. This discrepancy prompted the SCA to release the following pointed critique:

Yes, we know there is a world war in progress, that incomes are to be frozen, that taxes are to be astronomical, that gasoline is rationed, that theatre attendance might drop off. But we also know that The Performing Rights Society, Ltd., London England, went right on functioning through the 1941 blitz, and paid more money to American film composers than they received from A.S.C.A.P. for a corresponding period.<sup>39</sup>

This discrepancy in royalties arose from the fact that the British Performing Rights Society recognised small performing rights to the respective film composer, and ASCAP did not at the time. Consequently, the SCA provided its members with standard contractual clauses, modelled after British agreements, that should be included in Hollywood

37 See: Letter from Werner Richard Heymann to Leonard Zissu, Apr. 2, 1948 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 5. ASCAP – Foreign Distribution].

38 “ASCAP Distribution of Royalties received from Foreign Language Countries,” 29 Sept. 1947 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 5. ASCAP–Foreign Distribution].

39 “The New A.S.C.A.P. Classification and its Meaning to Film Composers” [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 37. Film Composers' Committee].

contracts.<sup>40</sup> This focus on contractual matters and the benchmarking process illustrates the importance of international cooperation in improving the position of film composers in the United States. Over the years, securing the proper amount of foreign royalties through negotiations with ASCAP became one of the SCA's primary functions. Composers such as Alexandre Tansman, who composed several film scores in the 1940s and was not fully familiar with the legal situation of film composers, turned to the SCA for assistance in obtaining royalties, particularly because he was not an ASCAP member.<sup>41</sup> Supporting film composers in claiming their royalties from foreign performing rights societies through ASCAP cannot be seen as a purely financial matter, because for the composers themselves it also helped to strengthen the legal recognition of film music composition as a legitimate professional activity.

The SCA also engaged with other composer societies in the United States, such as the NAACC or LOC, often through intermediaries such as Aaron Copland, who was active in both spheres. In particular, the LOC provided a regular platform for film composers, and Leonard Zissu publicly advocated for them in the LOC's *Composer's News Record*, comparing their professional situation to that of musicians in other "commercial mediums".<sup>42</sup> The 1947 monograph *Composers in America* by Claire Reis, founder of the LOC, included film composers for the first time as an integral part of American musical life. Reis' initiative received support from music critic Lawrence Morton and composer Aaron Copland, both of whom are credited extensively in the book's acknowledgements. Notably, the monograph's title reflects the émigré backgrounds and diverse nationalities of composers in the film industry, rather than presenting them as "American composers".<sup>43</sup> Lawrence Morton, whose brother Arthur worked as an arranger in Hollywood and was listed among the founding members of the SCA, also contributed – in addition to various articles on film music in the press – a foreword

40 See: "Draft Containing Proposed Standard Clauses of Composer-Producer Single Picture Contract With a Minor or Independent Studio Without Publisher Affiliation" and "Draft Containing Proposed Standard Clauses of Composer-Producer Term Contract for a Major Studio and/or a Studio with Publisher Affiliation" [MHL, SCA Collection. Folder 31. Contract Committee].

41 See: Letter from Alexandre Tansman to the SCA, 1 Feb. 1949 and letter from Adolph Deutsch to Alexandre Tansman, 4 Feb. 1949 both [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 32. Correspondence].

42 Zissu, "Commercial Mediums and the Composer," 2.

43 For the historiographical importance of the monograph see: Zechner, "Unheard, Unseen, Underappreciated?" 272–3 and 284–93.

to the first edition of Clifford McCarty's *Film Composers in America* from 1953, which remains a standard reference on Hollywood film music to this day.<sup>44</sup>

Although Hollywood films were distributed internationally, their original scores were not always preserved. *The Hollywood Reporter* cited SCA member Daniele Amfitheatrof, returning from several weeks in Europe, noting that Hollywood musical films shown in Italy had their scores replaced with newly composed Italian music. This was not due to governmental regulation but cost: apparently the licensing fees for performing American copyrighted music, collected by the Italian Society of Authors, were so high that producing new music in Italy was cheaper.<sup>45</sup> This example highlights the striking differences in the enforcement of national performing rights laws between Italy – and other European countries – and the United States.

The music distributed internationally via film faced challenges from these differing national performing rights laws. In Italy, performing-rights societies segregated receipts from licensing fees, paying composers each time their music was 'performed' in a film. In contrast, American film studios often owned music publishing houses. This meant that ASCAP profits from foreign distribution went directly to these publishers – and the studios – rather than to the composers. Between 1938 and 1953, the SCA pressed ASCAP on foreign royalties, using Roy Webb's case, where he reportedly received insufficient foreign royalties, as a legal precedent.<sup>46</sup> The 1948 *SCA Bulletin* highlighted this disparity and further underscored an additional challenge for film music composition:

The motion picture producers employed talented composers to write the background music for their motion pictures. These musical compositions were never printed or sold, but as a rule they became the property

44 Clifford McCarty, *Film Composers in America: A Checklist of Their Work* (New York: Valentine, 1953). The book was reviewed by Frederick W. Sternfeld for *Notes*. In his review the discrepancy between film music composition and concert hall-composition is clearly stated, revealing the bias in the reception that prefers concert hall composers that write film music (see: Frederick W. Sternfeld, "Review of *Film Composers in America: A Check List of Their Work* by Clifford McCarty," *Notes* 11, no. 1 (1953): 105.)

45 See: Anon., "'Made in Italy' Sound Tracks Hurt U.S. Musicals There," *The Hollywood Reporter*, 30 June 1949, 10 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 5. ASCAP–Foreign Distribution]. For thematization of the problem at SCA a few years earlier see letter from M. Curci to Bornstein [Bourne Music Publishers], 14 June 1943 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 5. ASCAP–Foreign Distribution].

46 See the extensive records on the case in [MHL, SCA Folder 5. ASCAP – Foreign Distribution].

of the producer's music subsidiary. The ASCAP catalog, including foreign societies for which ASCAP has acted, is estimated to include a million musical compositions.<sup>47</sup>

By noting that "*film music was never printed or sold*" and therefore would not fit into the traditional copyright categories overseen by performing rights societies, the *SCA Bulletin* identified a fundamental media-specific problem of film music.

### Published or Not-Published, That Is the Question

A central issue for film music, as also noted in the *ASCAP Film Composers' Request for Improved Classification* from March 5, 1943, was that "[o]ur scores are not published".<sup>48</sup> Unlike other musical works, symphonic film music exists primarily as recorded sound rather than as a published written score, except for popular theme songs. A SCA press release framed this problem as an injustice, arguing that the lack of publication meant that film composers were inadequately represented at ASCAP, resulting in financial disadvantages:

Picture music is rarely published (i.e. printed) and thus a film score of great importance and heard by millions would rate less weight, in the opinion of ASCAP, than a meritless 'pop' tune which happens to be published. As a result, many film composers are excluded from membership in ASCAP.<sup>49</sup>

Since ASCAP recognised performing rights for manuscript works in concert halls and on the radio – following the example of the British Performing Rights Society – the SCA argued that manuscript motion picture scores "*should be credited with performance*" by ASCAP, which apparently was not yet the case at the end of the 1940s. Records in the SCA files suggest that this lack of acknowledgement of film music as an artwork that was subject to performing rights was influenced by persistent prejudices against the artistic value of film music, which was described as

merely compilations and arrangements of 'mood' music; [and in describing the production process] that the composer goes to a file labelled

47 SCA Bulletin, August 1948. [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 22. Bulletins].

48 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 37. Film Composer's Committee].

49 SCA Press Statement [1943?] [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 62. Press Releases and Publicity].

'storm' or 'seduction' or 'misterioso' and measures out sufficient bars of that music to cover the scene.<sup>50</sup>

The dilemma faced by film composers arose from the dual challenge of the film medium's ephemeral nature and the fact that performance rights laws were primarily based on published music, nourishing prejudices such as the one quoted above. The only exceptions to this were theme songs, which were used to popularise a theme from a film score – David Raksin's song "Laura" from the eponymous film being a notable example. Warner Bros., just like other Hollywood production companies, strategically marketed suitable themes in the film score as songs.<sup>51</sup> While not every effort succeeded, when it did, it generated additional revenue.

Financially, the publication of film music as songs rarely benefited the composer, because performing rights were typically assigned to the music publishing arms of the film studios.<sup>52</sup> Additionally, composers generally had no control over whether their music was published or in what form, as such decisions were made by studio executives.<sup>53</sup> From the mid-1930s onward, Hollywood often exploited film theme songs as part of multi-channel marketing strategies, reusing the music across various media – records, radio, and more. While the musicians represented by AFM who were employed in re-recording music were compensated for each recording session,<sup>54</sup> film composers were usually excluded from these payment schemes.

High-ranking composers such as Korngold, Rózsa or Waxman occupied a somewhat privileged – though not exceptional – status, which made them eligible to receive at least a portion of music sales: For example, in the case

50 "Review of ASCAP Film Composers' Request for Improved Classification," 3 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 37. Film Composer's Committee]. For the problem of acknowledging film music as a legitimate art form see: Clair R. Reis, *Composers, Conductors and Critics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 126–31.

51 See: Winters, *Korngold in America*, 47–9 for adapting Korngold's music for *Another Dawn* into a theme song, and for the process of at David O. Selznick's studio see: Ingeborg Zechner, "Hollywoods Filmmusik und ihr Weg zur Populärkultur: Kontexte – Historiographie – Medialität in den 1940er- und 1950er-Jahren," *Acta Musicologica* 95, no. 1 (2023): 83–4.

52 See also: "Notes on the meeting of the SCA Contract Committee with the Screen Writers Guild and the Radio Writers Guild," 4 Dec 1945 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 22. Bulletins].

53 See: Zissu, "The Copyright Dilemma of the Screen Composer," 318.

54 See: e.g. "Motion Picture Production Recording Musicians Personal Service Contract," in AFM, *Wage Scales, Hours of Employment, Working Conditions Applying to Motion Picture Work*, effective April 1, 1946, 20–5 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 9. American Federation of Musicians].

of the theme song “Tomorrow” from the film *The Constant Nymph* (Warner Bros. 1943), published with Warner Bros.’ music subsidiary Witmark & Sons, Korngold was entitled to 50% of the net profits from sheet music sales.<sup>55</sup> Yet, at a time when sheet music revenues were minor compared to income from records or radio broadcasts, these payments likely remained modest. Similarly, for the extra-filmic distribution of Miklós Rózsa’s *Spellbound Concerto* from the eponymous Hitchcock film, the composer was contractually granted royalties of five cents of every record sold (with a shop price of USD 3.95 per record).<sup>56</sup> For the Hal Willis Production *Sorry, Wrong Number* with Paramount Pictures in 1948, Franz Waxman explicitly made sure that he was to receive ASCAP composer royalties, although he did not hold the copyright of the score:

If any of Mr. Waxman’s music is published he is to receive the usual composers’ royalties. In the event any musical theme in the score is composed by Mr. Waxman is acceptable for adaptation into a popular song, then a lyricist is to be supplied by Hal Wallis Productions, Inc., at its own expense, and Wallis will assign all rights except non-exclusive synchronization rights of the song to Famous Music Corporation, which will enter into an agreement to pay to Wallis the same royalties as we pay them with regard to other pictures, in addition to royalties to be paid to Waxman and the lyricist.<sup>57</sup>

These examples demonstrate how the terms of performing rights varied widely across the industry, depending not only on the practices of studios and their affiliated music publishing houses, but also on the negotiation skills of the composers themselves – a process often facilitated by the SCA. SCA strategically aligned their argument concerning the re-use of film music with AFM policy,<sup>58</sup> advocating that composers should be credited with performing rights when their compositions were reused. Unlike Italian performing-rights societies, however, ASCAP in the late 1940s only administered non-dramatic performing rights – the so-called “*small rights*”. Whenever “*dramatic rights*” came into play, such as the re-use of a score in a different film, ASCAP declined responsibility unless special contractual

55 See: Zechner, “Hollywoods Filmmusik und ihr Weg zur Populärkultur,” 82–3.

56 See: Memo by Richard H. Dann, 20 Sept. 1945 [US-AUS, David O. Selznick Collection, 980.5].

57 Memo from Louis Lipstone to Sidney Justin, 16 April 1948 [MHL, Paramount Pictures Contract Summaries, Franz Waxman, f. 1551].

58 See: *International Musician* 49, no. 8 (1951), 34–5 [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 9. American Federation of Musicians].

arrangements had been made, concessions usually granted only to the most distinguished composers.

To counter this inequity, the SCA drafted suggested clauses for standard contracts, particularly for studios with affiliated publishers, to raise awareness among composers and increase their negotiating power. One striking clause in these drafts stipulated that if a producer failed to publish the composition within 90 days of the film's release, copyright to the music could be claimed by the composer:<sup>59</sup>

It is further agreed with respect to musical compositions other than popular musical compositions, that if PRODUCER shall have failed to publish such a composition within ninety (90) days after the release of the motion picture, COMPOSER shall have the right, to be exercised by notice in writing to be given jointly to the PRODUCER and publisher within thirty (30) days thereafter, to procure a re-assignment of the copyright and all rights in such musical composition excepting the 'motion picture and synchronization rights' with respect to the motion picture in which such musical composition shall have been so recorded and used.<sup>60</sup>

The inclusion of this very clause from the SCA's proposed standard contract might have provided Franz Waxman with the opportunity in 1956 to publish excerpts from his music to *Crime in the Street* (Allied Artists, 1956) under the title *Theme, Variations, and Fugato* with his own publishing company Fidelio Music.<sup>61</sup>

## Conclusion

An examination of records from composer societies such as the SCA proves particularly revealing for understanding musical practices in the rapidly changing media environment of the twentieth century. The SCA's files highlight four major areas that shaped the lives and professional identities of film composers in mid-twentieth-century America: first, the disintegration of musical professions, which compelled many musicians to work simultaneously across industries as composers, arrangers, and performers;

59 "Draft containing proposed standard clauses of composer-producer term contract for a major studio and/or a studio with publisher affiliation" [MHL, SCA Collection, Folder 31. Contract Committee].

60 Ibid., 3.

61 For the aesthetic and ontological implications of this publication see: Zechner, *Franz Waxman*, 370–1.

second, the usual existence of a single musical composition across different media, each of which carried its own aesthetic conventions and professional practices; third, the centrality of the publication of music as a written text in American copyright law, which marginalised forms of music that existed primarily as sound; and finally, the internationalisation of the film and music industries after WWII, which introduced new legal and economic challenges for music professionals in different national contexts.

The SCA's foundational years – during which the society consolidated its purpose, aims, work plans, and organisational structures – produced a significant body of archival material. These sources are invaluable not only because they document the immediate concerns of composers at the time, but also because they preserve a contemporary perspective that avoids retrospective distortion. Placing this contemporary assessment in a broader historical and aesthetic framework helps to illuminate how the medial position of film music – hovering between written text and 'ephemeral' sound – fundamentally shaped its reception.

Indeed, the long-standing exclusion of film music from Western music historiography can be traced to two factors. First, the prevailing modernist attitudes in music composition that predominated for a long time in music scholarship.<sup>62</sup> And secondly, film music's ambiguous position within legal and medial categories, which is a constant topic in the SCA records. In this sense, film music as a new compositional practice of the twentieth century exposes crucial tensions among sound, text, labour, and authorship, especially when studied through the professional realities of composer-performers and their networks. Collaboration was central to the production of Hollywood film music, which depended on networks of composers, arrangers, orchestrators, performers, and studio executives.<sup>63</sup> Yet collective agency, as embodied in professional organisations such as the SCA, has received little scholarly attention. This neglect may reflect a broader historiographical bias that foregrounds the individual composer, the single actor over the collective and the institutional structures that shaped musical practice. Film composers themselves, including figures such as Franz Waxman, often reinforced this individualistic narrative as part of their strategies of professional identity formation.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, if we are to understand 'how music works' in this context, it is essential to engage with the

62 For this assessment see also: Winters, *Korngold in America*, 2.

63 See: Nathan Platte, *Making Music in Selznick's Hollywood* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 11–3.

64 See: Zechner, *Franz Waxman*, 234–5.

wider networks and organisations – such as the SCA – that mediated the profession, negotiated rights, and shaped the conditions of film music's creation and circulation.

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## The Composers' Guild of Great Britain and “unofficial” musical diplomacy in Eastern Europe

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British “official” musical diplomacy with Eastern Europe has been perceived as a project that began only in the 1950s. Cameron Pyke has described the “Test Match” delegation led by Sir Arthur Bliss who visited the Soviet Union at the behest of the British Council in 1956.<sup>1</sup> This tour, prompted by government plans to use cultural exchange to foster economic relations with the Soviet Union, prefigured the legendary visits made by Benjamin Britten between 1963 and 1971. Taking into account the Balkans, it was also Britten who visited Yugoslavia in 1955 in the first stage of his famous tour of the Far East. Britten and Peter Pears visited Ljubljana, Maribor, Zagreb and Belgrade between the 20<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> November, giving several concerts, hearing a performance of *Peter Grimes* in Serbo-Croat, and meeting President Josip Tito himself on 29<sup>th</sup> November. While J.P.E. Harper-Scott has doubted suggestions that the tour had any political dimension,<sup>2</sup> it is certainly the case that the British Council – the body generally responsible for cultural diplomacy

\* I am extremely grateful to Sonja Kralj and Jernej Weiss for help with researching Bush’s visit to Ljubljana. A shortened version of my discussion of the First International Congress in Prague is forthcoming in: Joanna Bullivant, “The Composer’s Guild,” in *Elizabeth Maconchy in Context*, eds. Justin Vickers and Lucy Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2026).

1 Cameron Pyke, “An Exciting Time with All the Russians’: Anglo-Soviet Musical Contacts,” in *Benjamin Britten in Context*, eds. Vicki P. Stroehrer and Justin Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 188.

2 J.P.E. Harper-Scott, *Ideology in Britten’s Operas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 218–9.

on behalf of the British government – met the composer in more than one location and lent Britten and Pears their car.<sup>3</sup> Philip Reed has also noted the role played by the British Council during the Japan leg of the tour, with an instruction coming from the organisation's Head Office to their then-representative in Japan, Reginald Close, to find someone to sponsor a concert to be given by Britten and Pears.<sup>4</sup> 1955 was a timely moment for Britten to visit Yugoslavia for other reasons too. It came at the end of the difficult period of Soviet-Yugoslav relations that culminated in the Belgrade Declaration of that year, which normalised relations between the two countries.<sup>5</sup> Tito himself had visited the UK in March 1953, and in March 1955 sculptor Henry Moore had exhibited his work in Zagreb, Belgrade, Skopje and Ljubljana in a tour that arose as a result of negotiations between the British Council and the Yugoslav Embassy.<sup>6</sup> As Sonja Kralj writes in this volume, the mid-1950s also marked the point at which Yugoslav composers' societies began to open relations with the West.<sup>7</sup>

In the mid-1950s, then, conditions were perfect for opening up previously frozen diplomatic channels between Britain and countries of Eastern Europe and engaging in cultural exchange. Yet what of any earlier activities? Stewart Duncan has recently revealed an important earlier pedigree for musical diplomacy in Eastern Europe. In the context of a desire to do more to project British culture positively around the world in the 1930s, the British Council sponsored two choral tours that took in cities of Eastern Europe. In 1936 the New English Singers toured Vienna, Budapest, Brno, Prague, Krakow and Warsaw, and in 1938 the Fleet Street Choir of London visited Prague, Zagreb, Belgrade, Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest, Krakow and Warsaw, showcasing the excellence of the English choral tradition

3 Peter Pears and Philip Reed, *The Travel Diaries of Peter Pears, 1936–1978* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), 22.

4 *Ibid.*, 57.

5 Želimir Košćević, “Henry Moore’s Exhibition in Yugoslavia, 1955,” in *British Art Studies: British Sculpture Abroad, 1945–2000*, eds. Penelope Curtis and Martina Droth (London and New Haven: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Yale University Press, 2016), <https://britishartstudies-03.netlify.app/issues/03/moore-belgrade/>.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Sonja Kralj, “The Coexistence of the Social, the Professional and the Artistic in the History of the Society of Slovene Composers,” in *Composers’ Societies Past and Present: Combining the Professional and the National* (= *Studia musicologica Labacensia* 9), ed. Jernej Weiss (Koper, Ljubljana: Založba Univerze na Primorskem, Festival Ljubljana, 2025), 19–37.

as an exemplary cultural export, and one that represented Britain as a cultural and political alternative to totalitarianism.<sup>8</sup>

We might reasonably assume that the period 1939–1955 was one of hiatus given the cataclysmic impact of the Second World War and subsequent tensions of the early Cold War. Nevertheless, as this article will demonstrate, there was a striking exception to this picture in non-governmental or “unofficial” musical diplomacy undertaken by the Composers’ Guild of Great Britain in the period 1947–8. This diplomacy on behalf of the fledgling guild was almost entirely the work of British communist composer Alan Bush (1900–95), a figure who, unlike Britten, would go on to have a frosty relationship with the British Council and who was already under observation by the British security service, MI5.<sup>9</sup> Despite this lack of an official imprimatur, his activities on behalf of the Composers’ Guild were important in three respects. Firstly, this represented some of the earliest post-war musical diplomacy from Britain, and thus exposed audiences to recent British music (particularly, in contrast to the choral tours, orchestral music) for the first time. Secondly, this activity casts an intriguing light on the sentiments in Britain of the immediate postwar period before the hardening of Cold War ideological divisions. As I have discussed elsewhere, in 1945 it was by no means clear to left-leaning British cultural figures that the country would unilaterally ally with the United States, as opposed to finding a position of compromise that enabled some relations with both East and West.<sup>10</sup> Finally, while Bush’s tenure at the Guild was relatively brief, his actions laid important groundwork for later musical diplomacy both within the organisation and beyond.

### The Composers’ Guild

The Composers’ Guild was founded in 1945 as a specialist sub-section of the Society of Authors, with the first General Meeting of Members taking place on 24 May that year. This was not the first effort in Britain to establish a professional musical society for the benefit of composers. The Society of British Musicians was founded in 1834 to promote the work of composers

8 Stewart Duncan, “‘An Excellent Piece of Propaganda’: The British Council’s Use of Choirs as Cultural Diplomacy in the 1930s,” *The Musical Quarterly* 105, no. 1–2 (2022): 6–7.

9 See: Joanna Bullivant, *Alan Bush, Modern Music, and the Cold War: The Cultural Left in Britain and the Communist Bloc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 96–115.

10 See: *Ibid.*, 111–13 and 136–8.

and performers, but was disbanded in 1865.<sup>11</sup> The Society of Professional Musicians, later the still-existing Independent Society of Musicians, was founded in 1882, and the Musicians' Union (as the Amalgamated Musicians' Union) in 1893. While these both performed crucial functions in supporting professional musicians' activities and employment rights, neither was exclusively concerned with composers. Composer Elisabeth Lutyens and her future husband, Edward Clark, formed a new Association of British Composers in early 1940, but the endeavour foundered after only a few months due to poor planning and the conditions of war.<sup>12</sup> In the atmosphere of reconstruction in the final months of the war, however, the time was ripe for a renewed attempt.

The Guild was founded as a reorganisation of the existing Composers' Committee of the Society of Authors by composers William Alwyn, Bush, Theodore Holland, Hubert Clifford, and Norman Demuth, with Bush's wife Nancy initially acting as the honorary (thus presumably unpaid) secretary. At its inaugural meeting, the Guild appointed Vaughan Williams as President and Thomas Dunhill as Chairman, the latter a composer of light music and active advocate for composers through bodies like the Performing Rights Society (PRS). Following Dunhill's sudden death in 1946, he was succeeded by Holland and then Bush. The agenda for this inaugural meeting gives an immediate insight into the priorities of the new organisation, setting out for discussion, among other things, co-operation with American, French and Russian organizations with similar aims; relations with the BBC, the Performing Rights Society, and the Musicians' Union, the creation of specialist sub-committees; and the possible interchange of lectures with other countries.<sup>13</sup> Importantly, unlike its counterparts that would emerge or had been formed in Eastern Europe, the Guild was not an organisation either receiving government subsidy or under its control. Britain had formed the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1946 to provide public subsidy for the arts, but the organisation would become another antagonist to whom the Guild would make representations regarding support

11 See: Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 171.

12 See: Annika Forkert, *Elisabeth Lutyens and Edward Clark: The Orchestration of Progress in British Twentieth-Century Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 148–59.

13 Composers' Guild to Alan Bush, undat [1945], British Library Alan Bush Collection, MS Mus. 642: Correspondence with the Composers' Guild I, 1945–60.

for living composers.<sup>14</sup> Certainly, promoting professional rights and opportunities were high on the Guild's early agenda, particularly through creating good relations with organisations like the PRS and the BBC. While the BBC offered extensive patronage to composers, complaints of a lack of transparency and inadequate opportunities were frequent.

Yet it is interesting in the initial discussions that fostering links with other countries was at least as important, and that Russia is specifically invoked as a point of collaboration alongside the US and France. Evidently, these countries were the wartime allies and may therefore have posed obvious candidates for initial collaboration. In considering this goal, it is also at this juncture timely to introduce Bush in more detail.<sup>15</sup> Bush had studied at the Royal Academy of Music and become a Professor of Harmony and Composition there in 1925. He became interested in politics in the 1920s and began conducting a choir within a confederation of working-class choirs, the London Labour Choral Union, becoming its Musical Advisor in 1929. At the same time, he started spending long spells in Berlin studying musicology and philosophy, while also becoming acquainted with the lively and experimental working-class music movement there. In 1935, he joined the Communist Party of Great Britain and remained a dedicated communist until his death. In the remaining pre-war years, he organised numerous mass musical-political events opposing fascism and promoting Popular Front politics, frequently involving other composers of his generation including Michael Tippett, Elisabeth Lutyens, Elizabeth Maconchy and Alan Rawsthorne. From the 1950s, he became an increasingly marginal figure in Britain due to his hardline Stalinist principles but enjoyed a successful career in the German Democratic Republic with professional productions of his four operas. Most relevantly for our purposes here, Bush was both a fervent organiser and a cosmopolitan. He made early contact with the Soviet Union among British cultural figures, travelling there in 1938 and beginning a long correspondence with Grigori Shneerson of VOKS, the Soviet organisation handling relations with foreign countries. He was also close to German and Austrian communist émigrés such as Hanns Eisler, Ernst Hermann Meyer, and Georg Knepler, who spent time in Great Britain during the Nazi period, and had cultivated a network of like-minded European contacts through events like the annual

14 See: Alan Bush to John Denison, 22 January 1949, MS Mus. 642.

15 For a biography of Bush, see: Nancy Bush, with Lewis Foreman, *Alan Bush: Music, Politics and Life* (London: Thames, 2000).

festivals of the International Society for Contemporary Music and the 1935 International Workers' Olympiad in Strasbourg. Finally, in this period he was deeply concerned with the future of British music and musicians, seen through his own political lens. In an unpublished article of 1942, "The Outlook for the British Composer," Bush contrasted the relatively favourable conditions for composers under socialism with those in Britain:

For some decades the public all over the world has tended to fight shy of the works of living composers, but in many countries an exception has been made in the case of the nationals of the country in question, while in free Czechoslovakia, in Spain during the period of the Popular Front Government, and in the Soviet Union during its whole existence, the works of their living composers have been demanded by the public as a necessary ingredient of every programme which was in any way of a miscellaneous character.<sup>16</sup>

Bush went on to argue, however, that the existential struggle of the Second World War could actually generate a new situation in Britain, as

Our institutions are being called in question, and our survival depends, not in organising our affairs as we have been accustomed to do in the past, but in moving during the fight towards a far more truly democratic state of society than we have ever known in actual practice, whatever our theorists may have propagated.<sup>17</sup>

What Bush envisaged as democracy here was in fact the totalitarianism of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, what is significant here is his close interest in the example of other countries' *musical* practices. Seeing the context of Bush's ideas about forming a new society more supportive of living composers, we can detect his influence here in seeking, from the start, to model Guild policy on what he saw as the most successful composers' societies abroad. As he wrote enthusiastically to Shneerson with reference to the Soviet system, "*This organisation is the beginning of a Union of British Composers.*"<sup>18</sup>

16 Alan Bush, "The Outlook for the British Composer" (1942), unpublished typescript, Alan Bush Archive, Histon, Cambridge, 2.

17 Ibid., 3.

18 Alan Bush to Grigori Shneerson, 30 November 1946, British Library Alan Bush Collection MS Mus. 440: Correspondence with Grigori Shneerson.

### “A Musician in Eastern Europe”

With this context in mind, it is now possible to examine Bush's activities in Eastern Europe in greater detail. In 1947, the year in which he acted as Chairman of the Composers' Guild, the composer engaged in a busy programme of travel, as shown in detail in Table 1.<sup>19</sup> He undertook two conducting tours, one in January and February and one in October and November of that year. In the interim, he attended the First International Congress of Composers and Music Critics at Prague in May 1947, and took his choir, the Workers' Music Association Singers, to the first World Festival of Youth and Students in Prague in July and August. It is not clear exactly how official all these visits were in terms of formally representing the Composers' Guild. Already in August 1946, before being elected, Bush was planning his first concerts in Czechoslovakia and lobbying Shneerson to organize for the composer to add some time in the Soviet Union to the trip.<sup>20</sup> By 30 November, he had been elected Chairman of the Guild and finalized his Czech plans, but was only beginning to explore the possibility of visiting Yugoslavia (while also still lobbying for a visit to the Soviet Union).<sup>21</sup> In fact, noting the details of his appointments in Prague in Table 1, it seems likely that in this immediate postwar period of rapid change and ad hoc arrangements, he was only able to make the proper contacts and formalise his tour arrangements for Yugoslavia and Bulgaria once already in Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, Bush himself later presented the various visits as activities on behalf of the Composers' Guild and it is likely that his invitation to the First International Congress, at least, was as a representative of his organisation.<sup>22</sup> In addition, he certainly viewed the tours as acts of musical diplomacy, involving both the showcasing of recent British music and opportunities to learn from organizations abroad that were also reconstructing musical life after the Second World War, especially as newly socialist nations.<sup>23</sup> Notably,

19 Bush wrote about his journey in letters, in a draft article, 'A Musician in Eastern Europe', which was published as: Alan Bush, "Musical Journey Through the Balkans," *Changing Epoch* 1 (London: Birch Books, 1947), 11–22, in a reproduction from the Workers' Music Association's *Keynote* magazine. "A Musician in Eastern Europe" is extant as a typescript manuscript in the Alan Bush Archive, Histon.

20 Alan Bush to Grigori Shneerson, 23 August 1946, MS Mus. 440.

21 Alan Bush to Grigori Shneerson, 30 November 1946, MS Mus. 440

22 See: Miss N.E. Wadsley [BBC] to Major Badham, 11 March 1948, The National Archives: Public Record Office (TNA: PRO) KV2/3516: Bush, Alan D.

23 See: Alan Bush, "Script for Broadcast to Yugoslavia" (1947), Alan Bush Archive, 4. Bush wrote therein: "I am greatly looking forward to a future opportunity of acting as a kind of musical ambassador."

in one act of diplomacy, he subsequently arranged for the Workers' Music Association to publish two songs he encountered, including Oskar Danon's "Kozara" in what may be seen as an act of tribute and reciprocity for the performances of British music during his tour.

Table 1: *Bush's travels in Eastern Europe, 1947*

Date	Place	Activities
January	Prague	Attended opening ceremony of State Academy of Music, Theatre, and Film Attended celebration of the Cultural Department of the Czechoslovak United Trade Union Met Director and Music Director of Prague Radio: chamber music concert arranged and talks illustrated by Bush's songs sung in Czech by Radio Choir Meetings with British Council, British Embassy cultural attaché, Yugoslav cultural attaché and Bulgarian Minister
January	Brno	Conducted concert of British music, including Purcell and the Walton Viola Concerto. Met Bretislav Bakala, Musical Director of Brno Radio Banquet with Society of Moravian Composers Visit to Janacek Museum
February	Belgrade	Conducted concert of British music with Radio Orchestra (five rehearsals) Witnessed performances of Serbian folk dancing and workers' choirs Visited Belgrade Academy of Music Saw a Soviet play and <i>La Traviata</i> Met composer Oskar Danon Dinner with Union of Serbian Composers
February	Zagreb	Heard Zagreb Youth Choir sing partisan songs Attended performance of opera <i>Ero the Joker</i> by Jakov Gotovac Conducted concert of British music
February	Rijeka	Conducted concert of British music Heard amateur workers' choirs of Croatian and Italian workers
February	Ljubljana	Conducted concert of British music (11 February) Met Josip Vidmar and Valens Vodušek
February	Sofia	Interviewed for Radio Sofia <sup>24</sup> Radio Choir performed Bush's song 'Make Your Meaning Clear' (1939) with a reference to Georgi Dimitrov. Attended High Mass in Cathedral Met Dimitrov Conducted concert of British music (27 February)
16-22 May	Prague	First International Congress of Composers and Music Critics at Prague [representative of the Composers' Guild] <sup>25</sup> Met Shostakovich

24 Item 97a, TNA: PRO KV2/3515: Bush, Alan D.

25 Alan Bush to Secretary, Prague Youth Festival Committee, 12 May 1947, Item 107a, TNA: PRO KV2/3516: Bush, Alan D.

25 July- 3 August (approx.)	Prague and Czech vil- lages	World Festival of Youth and Students in Prague with the Workers' Music Association Singers, including premiere of song <i>Lidiče</i> broadcast on Prague Radio. Met Khachaturian and Shebalin
October/ Novem- ber	Prague, Brno, Budapest, Ka- towice, Kra- kow.	Second conducting tour, with concerts including Prague with Radio Choir and Orchestra (October), Krakow (21 November) and Katowice (25 November).

Of particular interest in assessing Bush's visits and their significance is his first tour of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria in January and February 1947, about which he subsequently wrote extensively. In spite of the lack of any official British involvement, it is clear that Bush was treated to a VIP experience. In Sofia, he was granted an evening with Prime Minister Georgi Dimitrov, an invitation the composer put down to his mentioning Dimitrov in a political song of the 1930s.<sup>26</sup> The Yugoslav portions were undertaken under the auspices of the Committee for Culture and Arts, and the composer met such prominent figures as the Slovenian politician Josep Vidmar and head of the Music Section of the Slovenian Ministry of Culture Valens Vodušek. In Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia, he dined with the respective national composers' unions.<sup>27</sup> In judging his work on the side of acting as ambassador for British music, the composer's concert in Ljubljana is representative. This took place at the Grand Union Hall, with Bush conducting a joint orchestra comprising Radio Ljubljana, Maribor and Slovenian Primorska. The concert was remarkable not merely as a taste of English music but, as Bush later noted, for the 'appalling weather' which caused a brief blackout five minutes before the start of the concert.<sup>28</sup> The programme consisted of works by Purcell, William Boyce, John Ireland, Elgar, and Bush himself (Example 1).

**Example 1:** Bush's concert programme for Ljubljana, 1947

H. Purcell: *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*; *The Gordian Knot Unty'd*

W. Boyce: Symphony No. 8 for String Orchestra

J. Ireland: *Mai-Dun: Symphonic Rhapsody*

A. Bush: *Resolution*

A. Bush: *Fantasia on Soviet Themes*

E. Elgar: *Cockaigne*

26 The Song is "Make Your Meaning Clear." See: Alan Bush to Zola Sibeko, 23 August 1976, British Library Alan Bush Collection MS Mus. 672: Correspondence with South Africa/Chile/China/Guyana.

27 Bush, "Musical Journey Through the Balkans," 17. To my knowledge, the dinner and Bush's visit were not noted in any official documents extant in the archives of the Slovenian Composers' Society.

28 Alan Bush, "Script for Broadcast to Jugoslavia," 2.

As a representation of the finest orchestral work by British composers, this left a great deal to be desired. However, from Bush's perspective, there was a certain logic, beyond the showcasing of both himself and his teacher Ireland. The inclusion of Purcell (17<sup>th</sup> century), Boyce (18<sup>th</sup> century), and Elgar alongside the living composers gave the programme the character of a historic journey through British music. The choice of *Cockaigne* (the name signifying 'old London town') may have been intended by Bush to give an unambiguous sense of British place, while being more manageable for an unknown and ad hoc blended orchestra than, say, one of the symphonies of Elgar or Vaughan Williams. Finally, the inclusion of Bush's own works on such explicitly political topics enabled him to project a notion of British culture as, at least potentially, in sympathy with the values of communist Yugoslavia. Indeed, this reimagining of British musical history as one of historic popular resistance building towards a communist future was one with which Bush had been concerned for some time. His pageant for the 1939 Festival of Music for the People, his recently composed *English Suite* (1945–6) and *Piers Plowman's Day* (1946–7) all invoked English folk and mediaeval musics and would form the groundwork for his first opera, *Wat Tyler* (1948–50), a retelling of the 1381 English Peasants' Revolt. If this was Bush's intention with his programme, it did not achieve the desired reaction in Ljubljana at least. Leading Slovenian musicologist Dragotin Cvetko reviewed the concert for *Slovenski poročevalec*, and was lukewarm about Bush's own compositions in particular.<sup>29</sup> The *Fantasia on Soviet Themes* especially provoked criticism as a jumble of motifs from Soviet films<sup>30</sup> and partisan songs that were not connected effectively either expressively or musically.<sup>31</sup> While noting the general unfamiliarity of British music, Cvetko himself was well-informed, noting that it would have been preferable to gain an understanding of the very latest developments in British music by hearing music by Britten, Tippett and Rawsthorne. For Cvetko, at least, Bush's attempt to introduce a political dimension into his programmes was uninteresting in comparison to learning the musical qualities of British music.

Bush's own impressions of Eastern Europe were, however, distinctly framed by his politics. In his reductive Marxist dialectical reading, the

29 Dragotin Cvetko, "Kulturni pregled: Naše koncertno življenje," *Slovenski poročevalec* 41, no. 4 (18 February 1947): 4.

30 Cvetko was incorrect in determining the origin of the songs in film: in fact all were revolutionary or mass songs.

31 Cvetko, "Kulturni pregled: Naše koncertno življenje," 4.

countries of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria had reached their new state of socialism by overcoming not only Nazi occupation but the pre-socialist historical states of capitalism (Czechoslovakia) and feudalism (Yugoslavia and Bulgaria):

Unless you have experienced it, it is difficult to imagine what it is like to see men and women creating societies where richer opportunities for all are unfolding every day, where greater material welfare is being made available to all, and where an uncomplicated but noble outlook informs a whole community. It is not only that the people of these three countries are free from the unspeakable horrors of Nazi domination and are therefore enjoying the opportunity to live as they were living before. *In the process of liberation they have all overcome to a considerable though varying degree the contradictions of their own pre-war social conditions, contradictions inherent both in the unfettered capitalism of Czechoslovakia and in the semi-feudal dictatorships of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.*<sup>32</sup>

For Bush, then, the current state of society in the three nations he visited was one of “*dual liberation, both from foreign domination and from the oppression of their own reactionary propertied classes.*”<sup>33</sup> Within the framework of this analysis, however, Bush’s primary interest was in the impact this new society was having upon musical culture. The composer already staunchly believed in the transformation of musical life in the Soviet Union since 1917, both in terms of state support and in a more spontaneous renewal of living folk music traditions.<sup>34</sup> It is clear that he perceived a similar blossoming of musical culture in the countries of his tour. Bush wrote of his very first impressions of Yugoslav culture upon arrival at the railway station in Subotica for a three-hour wait, to discover ‘soldiers, workers and peasants’ folk-dancing in the waiting room. When they moved to dinner

a young soldier came forward and sang for us the folk-songs and partisan songs of his district to his own accordion accompaniment. In a most dignified way he refused any remuneration – though he accepted a drink – he wished only to introduce us to the songs of his country as we were his country’s guests.<sup>35</sup>

Such evidence of the spontaneous and renewed folk culture of Yugoslavia (Bush does not consider whether any such entertainment may have

32 Bush, “A Musician in Eastern Europe,” 1 (my emphasis).

33 Ibid.

34 Alan Bush, “Soviet Musical Life” (1945–6), Alan Bush Archive, Histon.

35 Bush, “A Musician in Eastern Europe,” 1.

been arranged for his benefit) was matched by Bush's impression of the beneficial conditions for composers:

The composers are very well organised in all three countries. There are societies of composers in the three main cities of Czechoslovakia and in the capitals of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia in Yugoslavia. Their organisation involves state support in some cases, and are able to publish music as well as organise concerts, lectures and congresses. They are in close touch with the Radio Stations of their city, and are responsible for concerts of new music and concerts by young and unknown composers. The Radio Directors are keenly alive to their responsibilities for helping in the development of their own creative musical life. This familiarity with their own new composers accounts for the great interest shown by the public in the six concerts of British music which I conducted. Most of the halls could have been filled twice over, and in only one was the concert not entirely sold out, and on that occasion there were over 1200 people present. Except in Sofia British music had not been played in public in any of the towns I visited, as far as anyone could remember. The audiences were both critical and appreciative.<sup>36</sup>

These observations are particularly important. What Bush saw was not only a blueprint for the kind of role a composers' society could ideally play to ensure performances and broadcasts of new music, but a perceived benefit in the growth of public cultivation and enthusiasm for classical music in turn. Importantly, it would be these impressions above all that Bush would take back to the Composers' Guild, and that he would carry on to the First International Congress of Composers and Music Critics in Prague that May.

The impact of Bush's experiences on the activities of the Guild may be seen clearly from the evidence of an article he wrote as Chairman for the Society of Authors' publication *The Author*, and which evidently post-dates his tour of Eastern Europe. As the composer wrote of the organisation's progress since 1945

We have taken steps to link ourselves up with similar organisations of composers in foreign countries. We are in touch with such societies in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Sweden, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia. In some of these countries the organisation of composers is considerably in advance of the position here. [...] We have discovered that

36 Ibid., 2.

in Czechoslovakia the Syndicate of Composers is allotted regular space in the broadcasts of the Czech Broadcasting Stations for programmes in which the choice of items is the responsibility of the Syndicate. Among these concerts are regular periods given up entirely to works by young and as yet unknown or little known Czech, Moravian or Slovak composers. A similar situation exists in Yugoslavia, where the Society of Slovenian Composers in Lyublyana [*sic*] is particularly active in this respect. In addition in Yugoslavia the composers' organisations receive financial assistance from the Treasury to help them in the publication of musical works of all kinds, for the selection of which they are responsible. In the U.S.S.R. the Union of Soviet Composers is one of the most influential bodies in all questions relating to the whole musical life of that country. *Thus contact with composers' societies abroad is both inspiring and instructive.*<sup>37</sup>

As Bush indicates elsewhere in the article, the Guild had a very active sub-committee for Film Composers and links with the USA were primarily in that context due to the greater experience of Hollywood composers of securing appropriate rights and working conditions. Of the remaining countries with which links had been established, these were, barring Norway and Sweden, entirely due to Bush's recent efforts. His aims, using what he had learned, were to target publishers and the BBC in particular to try and achieve the sort of financial assistance and quotas for performance and broadcast that he envied in Eastern Europe. While in his article for *The Author* Bush omitted the paens to socialism that featured in his writings about the tour, it is striking that this account of emulating and making links with societies behind the Iron Curtain was published so openly and uncontroversially in a trade magazine. It is also notable that Bush's meetings in Prague included the British cultural attaché and the British Council, in spite of the fact that his movements were being watched with suspicion by MI5. He was also able to broadcast talks about his experiences with the BBC.<sup>38</sup> As noted earlier, in 1947 it was still conceivable that British post-war cultural links could traverse both East and West, in a way that could tolerate Bush's ambitions.

37 Alan Bush, "The Composers' Guild," *The Author* (1947), copy in Alan Bush Archive, Histon, 2 (my emphasis).

38 See: Memo from Eastern Europe Talks Clerk, Yugoslav Programme, to European Programme Executive, 17 April 1947, BBC Written Archives Centre RCONT1: Copyright, Bush, Alan, 1934-1962.

### Limits of Co-operation

While his article may have captured a particular moment of postwar opportunity, Bush's ambitions for both international cooperation and the direction of the Composers' Guild were soon overtaken by events. Of particular importance in this respect is Bush's attendance at the First International Congress of Composers and Music Critics, organized by the Syndicate of Czech Composers and attended by musicians from 16 countries. The event articulated the kind of aims that Bush would be in wholehearted agreement with, marking

the first Congress of this kind during which the guests of all Worlds parts [*sic*] had the opportunity of meeting, of mutual comparison of musical cultures of their nations, of discussing the most important problems of modern music so as to build up fundamental conditions for a clear-sighted collaboration in the future.<sup>39</sup>

Yet as Thomas D. Svatos has discussed, while the Syndicate rapidly organised a Second Congress for 1948 to continue to build international cooperation, in the meantime Czechoslovakia underwent a dramatic communist coup which stifled political opposition and aligned the country with the Soviet Union.<sup>40</sup> In the Czech musical world, Miroslav Barvík was instrumental in consolidating musical publications into a single, state-approved journal and transforming the Syndicate and other associations into a single, Soviet-inspired Union of Czech Composers under his control, with socialist realism as the sanctioned musical aesthetic.<sup>41</sup> In Britain, too, there was widespread awareness and condemnation of the attacks on Soviet composers, including Shostakovich, that took place in January 1948.

Bush, for his part, remained true to his Stalinist principles and welcomed the Soviet condemnations as an important reset to return composers to their true goal of serving the people.<sup>42</sup> He also attended the Second International Congress and made crucial contributions to the discussions

39 Syndikat Ceskych Skladatelu [Syndicate of Czech Composers] to Alan Bush, 24 January 1948, British Library Alan Bush Collection MS Mus. 655: SPNM; Syndikat Ceskych Skladatelu.

40 Thomas D. Svatos, "Sovietizing Czechoslovak Music: The 'Hatchet-Man' Miroslav Barvík and his Speech *The Composers Go With the People*," *Music & Politics* IV, no. 1 (Winter 2010), <https://doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0004.101>.

41 Ibid.

42 See: Alan Bush, "A Remarkable Document," *Anglo-Soviet Journal* 10, no. 3 (Autumn 1949):19.

and to the eventual 'Declaration' signed by key participants.<sup>43</sup> While, as Julie Waters has discussed, the Prague Manifesto stopped short of prescribing compositional methods or condemning individuals, it did indulge in Soviet-style condemnation of American popular music and of modern musical 'extreme subjectivism', instead emphasising the importance of national culture.<sup>44</sup> It was also dominated by communists in positions of influence (Example 2). Tikhon Khrennikov had seized control of the Union of Soviet Composers following the events of January 1948, and both Bush and his countryman Bernard Stevens were communists. Finally, the Declaration invoked a loaded Cold War term by calling for a union of the *progressive* composers and musicologists of all countries, a body that was subsequently created as the International Association of Progressive Composers and Musicologists.<sup>45</sup>

**Example 2:** Signatories of the Prague Declaration<sup>46</sup>

A. Estrella (Brazil)  
 V. Stojanov (Bulgaria)  
 St. Lucky, A. Kypka, A. Sychra, Jar. Tomásek (Czechoslovakia)  
 Roland de Candé (France)  
 M. Flothius, M. Rebling (Holland)  
 O. Danon, N. Devcic (Yugoslavia)  
 Denés Bartha (Hungary)  
 Zofia Lissa (Poland)  
 Hanns Eisler (Austria)  
 A. Mendelsohn (Rumania)  
 Tikhon Khrennikov, Boris Yarustovsky, Yuri Shaporin (USSR)  
 Georges Bernard (Switzerland)  
 Alan Bush, Bernard Stevens (Great Britain)

At this point, it is useful to return to Bush's influence with the Composers' Guild. Unsurprisingly, Bush instantly lobbied for the Composers' Guild to affiliate to the IAPCM and began gauging opinions ahead of a meeting set for July 1948. Some replies were surprisingly receptive. Arthur

43 See: Julie Waters, "Proselytizing the Prague Manifesto in Britain: The Commissioning, Conception, and Musical Language of Alan Bush's Nottingham Symphony," *Music & Politics* III, no. 1 (Winter 2009), <https://doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0003.102>; Jaromir Havlik, "The Prague Manifesto after (almost) Sixty Years," *Czech Music* (2007), [https://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+Prague+Manifesto+after+\(almost\)+sixty+years.-a0166034668](https://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+Prague+Manifesto+after+(almost)+sixty+years.-a0166034668).

44 Waters, "Proselytizing the Prague Manifesto in Britain."

45 Ibid.

46 Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music since 1900*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Schirmer, 1994), 1068.

Benjamin (composer and piano teacher of Britten, but no communist) was all for the plan:

As I see it, if the formation of the “Second International Congress” is aimed at supplanting the I.S.C.M., which in my opinion is far from, and is drifting farther from, a true representation of this country’s musical culture, then I am all for it. I need hardly state that if I thought that it means that the movement is to be in any way political I could not honestly subscribe to it. But if it means that musicians of *all* nations will be drawn together in friendships and understanding it has my whole-hearted support. That there is a serious crisis in the world of music is not to be doubted, and I am all for trying any method which will surmount the crisis.<sup>47</sup>

The First International Congress had already invoked “problems of modern music” in the sense that had had considerable currency before the Second World War and would continue to resonate in a variety of circles, that is, the virtues of experimental or traditional systems of tonality. Benjamin, a relative traditionalist musically, welcomed the affiliation if it balanced what he perceived as the domination of the more avant-garde International Society for Contemporary Music. However, for Benjamin and ultimately for a majority of Guild members, involvement in politics was a red line. Lennox Berkeley argued that joining the IAPCM would be “*a most undesirable step*”, as “*the manifesto circulated by the promoters of the project is unmistakably tendentious, and raises very controversial points.*”<sup>48</sup> Any notion of joining the IAPCM was roundly defeated at an emotive Extraordinary General Meeting, despite the efforts of not only Bush but other communist members like Christian Darnton.<sup>49</sup> This loss was not Bush’s only one in 1948. In March that year, the BBC wrote to MI5 requesting information on Bush and noting that they had had to resist his endeavours to give his broadcast talks on Yugoslavia ‘a strong political flavour’.<sup>50</sup> The BBC consequently decided, without informing Bush, to restrict his employment as a

47 Arthur Benjamin to Alan Bush, 6 July 1948, British Library Alan Bush Collection MS Mus. 463; Miscellaneous Correspondence 1948.

48 Lennox Berkeley to ‘Miss Sands’, 2 July 1948, British Library Alan Bush Collection MS Mus. 463.

49 William Alwyn, “Notes in Retrospect,” in *Time Remembered. Alan Bush: An 80<sup>th</sup> Birthday Symposium*, ed. Ronald Stevenson (Kidderminster: Bravura Publications, 1981), 112; Christian Darnton to Alan Bush, 7 January 1949, British Library Alan Bush Collection MS Mus. 464; Miscellaneous Correspondence January-April 1949.

50 Miss N.E. Wadsley [BBC] to Major Badham, TNA: PRO KV2/3516.

speaker, though not as a musician.<sup>51</sup> In the newly hardened Cold War conditions of 1948, Bush's politics were no longer tolerable and, for the Composers' Guild, any sort of international collaboration that raised suspicions of a political dimension was resolutely to be avoided.

### Legacies

We might judge that in many respects Bush's diplomatic work for the Composers' Guild in Eastern Europe had little legacy. His visit is largely forgotten in the music histories of the region, and he became a figure of such suspicion in British government circles that in the 1950s their efforts at cultural diplomacy began again, *ex nihilo*, with Britten and Henry Moore. On the other hand, the visits were important in three respects. Firstly, the Composers' Guild did not lose all interest in relations with Eastern Europe, and in 1960 Bush was instrumental in arranging a visit to the Soviet Union with then-Chair Elizabeth Maconchy to address important issues of Soviet non-compliance with copyright laws and the difficulties this created for greater musical cooperation.<sup>52</sup> The Guild subsequently received a follow-up visit by two Russian delegates, and then an invitation to the Prague Spring Festival from the Union of Czech composers, all predating Britten's travels. However modest, Bush's groundwork in making connections and introducing British music to Eastern Europe partly facilitated aspects of the later efforts towards normalising cultural relations in the 1950s and 60. Secondly, shorn of politics, Bush's fact-finding shaped the priorities and activities of the Composers' Guild in its formative period towards advocating for British composers to receive the kind of opportunities for broadcasting and publishing they saw enjoyed by musicians in Eastern Europe. While few shared Bush's desire for a radical transition to full socialism, the opportunities and limitations of state support for culture were just being worked out in Britain in this period. Finally, Bush's activities provide a reminder of the dangers of ignoring the nuances of history. While the British government position would always be allied with the US and suspicion of the Soviet Union ran deep, leading to the freeze in cultural relations before the mid-1950s, diplomacy could operate on many levels from the state to the individual, and in the immediate postwar period of 1945–8, not only was Soviet ideological control of Eastern Europe incomplete, but the process of

51 Item 125a, TNA: PRO KV2/3516.

52 Erica Siegel, *The Life and Music of Elizabeth Maconchy* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2023), 183.

building a new postwar cultural world could permit greater flexibility and multilateral cultural exchange than was subsequently the case in the final years of Stalin's leadership. While, ironically, he would attribute the positive things he experienced as the historical movement towards socialism, his success in undertaking his tour and promoting it back in Britain rather reveal individual initiative and a classic historical "What if?"

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## Between Music and Politics: The Role of Composers in Musical Societies in Continental Croatia in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>1</sup>

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Croatian 19<sup>th</sup>-century composers functioned in a complex surroundings determined by political, cultural and musical circumstances. They were active both in larger towns and smaller provincial centres, and were very often key figures of their town's cultural life as teachers, organists and *Kapellmeisters*, while composing was often not perceived as their primary social function. Furthermore, the cultural scene developed tremendously through the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with only four musical institutions existing at the beginning of the century in all Croatian lands, and more than 200 newly founded societies by 1914.<sup>2</sup> For that reason, and in order to provide an adequate context of the circumstances in which Croatian composers operated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we will first provide a general historiographical context of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Croatia, then offer various models of relationship between music and politics that existed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with special attention being paid to the most important musical associations of the time, before focusing on the question of composers' role in these associations and their perception in society at large.

- 1 The research for this paper was financed by the Croatian Science Foundation with project IP-2020-02-4277 "Institutionalization of modern bourgeois musical culture in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in civil Croatia and Military Border (MusInst19)".
- 2 Stanislav Tuksar, keynote lecture "Advancing Scintillation of Music Societies in Civil Croatia in the Long 19<sup>th</sup> Century," presented at the conference *From Private to Public: The Institutionalization of Bourgeois Music Culture in the Long 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, Zagreb, 14–17 May 2025.

### Political situation in Croatia throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century

The first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was, in Croatian lands,<sup>3</sup> and especially in Croatia proper, marked by the national revival movement. The usual periodisation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century views the period between 1790 and 1830 as a period of preparation, and the period between 1830 – and especially 1835 – and 1848 as a fully mature period of the Croatian national movement. The period of preparation consisted of the aristocracy's resistance to the introduction of Hungarian as the official language in Croatia, of attempts to achieve linguistic standardisation and to form a unique and singular Croatian language, of endeavours in the field of culture (especially in literature and music, but in the visual arts, as well) and of the establishment of (national) institutions.<sup>4</sup> Some of the most important programmatic texts, poems and plays written in this period were *Reč domovini o hasnovitosti pisanja vu domorodnom jeziku* [A word to the homeland on the usefulness of writing in the national language] (1815) by Antun Mihanović, *Genius patriae super dormientibus suis filiis* (1832) by Ivan Derkos, *Kip domovine vu početku leta 1831* [Homeland's State at the Beginning of the Year 1831] (1835) by Pavao Štoos, *Horvatov sloga i zjedinjenje* [Harmony and Unity of the Croatians] (1832) by Ljudevit Gaj, *Pjesma Hrvata* [Song of the Croatians] (1842) by Dimitrija Demeter, *Horvatska domovina* [Croatian Homeland] (1835) by Antun Mihanović, the poem *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* [Death of Smail-aga Čengić] (1847) by Ivan Mažuranić and first Croatian play *Juran i Sofija ili Turci kod Siska* [Juran and Sofija or the Turks under Sisak] (1839) by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski.

3 Modern Croatia historically consisted of the Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (together often called the Triune Kingdom): the Kingdom of Croatia/Croatia proper was bearer of historical and political continuity and of municipal state rights; the Kingdom of Slavonia, parts of which were conquered by the Ottomans and returned to Croatia after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699; and the Kingdom of Dalmatia, governed by the Venetian Republic until 1797. After its fall, Dalmatia was briefly governed by Austria (1797–1806) and Napoleon's France (1806–1815), and then again by Austria (1815–1918). Even though it was formally part of the Triune Kingdom, Dalmatia was separated from Croatia and Slavonia, had its own parliament and was not governed by the Croatian Ban, but was instead directly subjected to the Emperor in Vienna. Furthermore, large parts of Croatian territory formed the Military Frontier, a defence area constituted during the time of wars against the Ottoman Empire and governed directly by the Court War Council/Ministry of War, and only returned to civil Croatia in 1881.

4 Cf. Nikša Stančić, *Hrvatska nacija i nacionalizam u 19. i 20. stoljeću* (Zagreb: Barbat, 2002), 164.

The process of establishing national institutions was not just a natural development from private initiatives (such as private concerts, theatres, salons and other similar gatherings) to public institutions, but was also linked with the political situation of the time. Namely, the greater part of the first half of the century was a period of absolute dominance of Prince Metternich, who thought that nations should be constructive, and not deconstructive elements of the Empire. He thus strongly opposed political nationalism, but was instead supportive of modernisation efforts (initiated by certain aristocrats in different parts of the country) and of so-called cultural nationalism, believing that participation in different cultural associations would sufficiently satisfy national sentiments and eliminate the desire for political association or the activation of politically and nationally conscious individuals.<sup>5</sup> For that reason, a great number of museums, libraries, theatres and different learned societies were founded in this period all over the Habsburg Empire, including in Croatia. The most important institutions founded in this period were Matica ilirska (1842, Matica Hrvatska since 1874), the National Museum (1846), Croatian-Slavonian Economic Society (1841), and Society for History and Antiquities of the South Slavs (1850), as well a number of theatres, such as Amadé's theatre in Zagreb (1797), Andrija Ljudevit Adamić's theatre in Rijeka (1805), and Aleksandar Stanković's theatre in Zagreb (1834), and music institutions, including *Musikvereins* in Križevci (1813), Varaždin (1827), Zagreb<sup>6</sup> (1827), Osijek (1830), Senj (1837/1842) and Petrinja (1841). These institutions will be discussed in more detail later in the text.

From the sociological standpoint, this was still a period of a hierarchically strongly divided society in which the nobility and high clergy constituted the *natio politica*. They held the entirety of political power and were extremely economically potent, while the majority of the population consisted either of serfs or of (much lesser in numbers) free peasants, with

5 Philipp Decker, "The Building of Nations in Habsburg Central Europe, 1740–1914" (PhD thesis, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2017), 137, 158–9

6 The Zagreb Music Institute underwent several name changes throughout its history. It was founded in 1827 as *Societas filharmonica zagradiensis*, a name it retained until 1847. During this period, it was also informally referred to as *Musikverein in Agram*. Subsequent names included *Skladnoglasja društvo zagrebačko* (1847–1852), *Društvo prijateljah muzike u Zagrebu* (1852–1861), *Narodni zemaljski glazbeni zavod* (1861–1895), and *Hrvatski zemaljski glazbeni zavod* (1895–1925). Since 1925, it has been known as the *Hrvatski glazbeni zavod* (Croatian Music Institute). Cf. Ladislav Šaban, *150 godina Hrvatskog glazbenog zavoda* [150 Years of the Croatian Music Institute] (Zagreb: Hrvatski glazbeni zavod, 1982), 42–3.

a narrow stratum of bourgeoisie in the towns. The bourgeoisie grew stronger throughout this period and became the prime bearer of the national movement in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>7</sup> However, due to their political and economic strength, members of the elites were still invaluable as *maecenae* and supporters of various cultural endeavours in this period. Their support was often concrete and material, but was equally often charismatic, thus falling in the domain of moral support (such as the cases of members of the aristocracy that joined the national movement, thus confirming and strengthening its legitimacy). One of the most important *maecenas* of the period was the bishop of Zagreb Maksimilijan Vrhovac,<sup>8</sup> but it was not unusual in general for the dignitaries of the time to be patrons and supporters of cultural institutions. Even though the initiative for the foundation of these institutions usually came from future members themselves (e.g. Georg Karl Wisner von Morgenstern and Ivan Padovec in the case of the Zagreb *Musikverein*), the support of the elite, such as the royals, Bans (viceroys) and high aristocracy, was indispensable for institutions in this period. For example, the patrons of the Zagreb *Musikverein* were Bishops Maksimilijan Vrhovac and Aleksandar Alagović, Archbishop, Cardinal and *locumtenens banalis* Juraj Haulik, Bans Ignjat Gyulay and Koloman Bedeković, as well as the aristocrats Sofija Jelačić and Sidonija Rubido Erdödy; Bishop Mirko von Ožegović was patron of the Senj *Musikverein*, and the abdicated King Ferdinand V, Dowager Queen Karolina Augusta, and Bans Josip Jelačić and Josip Šokčević were patrons of the Petrinja *Musikverein*.

These enlightening activities and cultural endeavours of prominent individuals from the first half of the century, when paired with the national element, gave the first impetus for the development of the Croatian national revival movement (1830–1848). This political and cultural movement had two primary objectives: national-linguistic integration of the entire population of the historic Croatian lands, and the territorial integration

7 Arijana Kolak Bošnjak, “Društvene strukture hrvatskih zemalja od 1790. do 1848.,” in *Temelji moderne Hrvatske. Hrvatske zemlje u dugom 19. stoljeću*, eds. Jasna Turkalj and Vlasta Švoger (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2016), 134–6.

8 He called on priests in the diocese of Zagreb to collect “national treasure” (meaning various aspects of national heritage, folk songs and tales, proverbs, characteristic expressions, manuscripts, books etc.), bequeathed thousands of books from his personal library to Zagreb’s University Library, and founded a number of charitable and health institutions. Furthermore, Vrhovac was an ardent defender of Croatian state rights, advocated territorial unification of Croatian historical lands, and opposed Hungarian hegemonistic tendencies. “Vrhovac, Maksimilijan,” in *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, online edition, <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/vrhovac-maksimilijan>.

of these lands within one political entity.<sup>9</sup> The most important revival ideas were presented in a booklet by Janko Drašković, one of the most prominent members of the national revival movement, as well as a member of one of the most important Croatian noble families. *Disertacija iliti Razgovor darovan gospodi poklisarom zakonotvorcem Kraljevinah naših za buduću Dietu ungarsku odaslanem* [Dissertation or Discussion Presented to the Gentleman the Envoys of our Kingdoms Sent to the Coming Hungarian Parliament] (1832) was originally written as instructions for Croatian deputies at the joint Croatian-Hungarian Parliament, and is today considered to be the first formulated political programme of the Croatian national revival movement. Drašković dealt with matters of language, territory, and politics in general: he advocated for the re-empowerment of the authority of the Croatian Ban and for the foundation of the Croatian autonomous government. He propagated the use of Štokavian dialect, as the most widespread one, and advocated for Croatian to become the official language in the entire Croatian territory. He was also in favour of the abolition of the Military Frontier and advocated for the Croatian lands to be united, as well as for the establishment of “*the Great Illyria/Illyrian Kingdom*”, which would encompass Croatian lands, Slovenian lands, and Bosnia. On top of that, in this text Drašković made numerous modernising proposals concerning trade, loans, industrial development and vocational education.<sup>10</sup>

With the shift from culture to politics, the national movement entered its mature phase, whose two greatest achievements were the establishment of the first political parties and the introduction of Croatian as the official language. The symbolic beginning of the National Revival’s mature phase is usually taken to be the launch of the first newspaper, *Novine horvatzko-slavonzko-dalmatinzke*, in 1835. The initiator and first editor-in-chief was one of the leaders of the Illyrian movement, Ljudevit Gaj. The newspapers were first issued in Kajkavian dialect and in old orthography, and from 1836 onwards, and under the name *Ilirske narodne novine*, in Štokavian dialect and in the new orthography proposed by Gaj. They also had a literary supplement, *Danica horvatzka, slavonzka i dalmatinzka*, in which a number of important revival poems were first published, including Antun Mihanović *Horvatska domovina*, which was later adopted as the Croatian national anthem under the name *Lijepa naša*.

9 Cf. Ivo Perić, “Pretpreporodno doba,” in *Povijest Hrvata. Druga knjiga, od kraja 15. st. do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata*, ed. Franko Mirošević (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005), 366.

10 Ibid., 375–7.

The first political parties were founded in 1841: the pro-Hungarian Croatian-Hungarian Party, which advocated for close Croatian-Hungarian relations and for Hungarian to become the official language in Croatia; and the pro-national Illyrian Party, which promoted territorial unification of Croatian lands and cultural cooperation of south Slavic nations. Ljudevit Gaj formulated the Illyrian Party's creed thus: "*May God live the Hungarian constitution, the Croatian Kingdom and the Illyrian nation!*"<sup>11</sup> The Illyrian Party and its leader never opposed the Habsburg Monarchy itself, and not even the union with Hungary *per se*, but were against the total, absolute, union which some pro-Hungarian politicians often advocated. That would prove to be a stumbling block in Croatian-Hungarian relations in subsequent years, culminating in 1848. The first conflicts occurred as soon as after the elections in 1842, but especially violent were those in 1845, which resulted in "*the victims of July*" in which 13 were killed and 27 wounded.<sup>12</sup> These conflicts continued in the years following the renewal of constitutionalism and of political life after 1860.

The second great achievement of this period was the formal proclamation by the Parliament, and on Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski's motion, of Croatian as the official language in the Croatian Kingdom in 1847. This was accomplished after more than half a century of struggles against Hungarian attempts to introduce Hungarian as the official language in Croatia, while the Parliament and the estates insisted on the usage of Latin as a sort of a barrier against the political imposition of Hungarian.

The Croatian national movement experienced its height in the revolutionary year of 1848. On the Great National Assembly (25 March 1848) 30 "Demands of the Nation" (*Zahtijevanja Naroda*) were proclaimed. This document, which in essence represented the National Party's<sup>13</sup> political ideas, called for national and liberal reforms. They demanded, among other things, for Josip Jelačić (then a commander of the First Banal Regiment in the Military Frontier and a known patriot) to be elected Ban, for territorial unification of the Croatian lands, the abolition of serfdom, regular convening of Parliament, establishment of an independent Croatian government,

11 Cf. Ivo Perić, "Hrvatski narodni preporod – ilirski pokret," in *Povijest Hrvata. Druge knjiga, od kraja 15. st. do kraja Prvoga svjetskog rata*, 389–90.

12 Cf. Dragutin Pavličević, *Povijest Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 2002), 253–4.

13 After the Illyrian name had been banned in 1843, the Illyrian Party changed its name to the National Party and remained an important factor in Croatian political life throughout the 19th century. For more details see: "Narodna stranka," in *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, online edition, <https://enciklopedija.hr/clanak/narodna-stranka>.

establishment of national institutions (such as a national bank and university), and the introduction of liberal reforms (freedom of press, religion, public gathering, equity in the court process).<sup>14</sup> However, the king accepted only the first demand and appointed Jelačić as Ban, while advising the delegation to have other issues discussed in the Parliament. Nevertheless, 1848 was one of the turning points of Croatian history, and largely precisely because of Josip Jelačić's actions. He abolished serfdom (25 April 1848), thus ending the feudal period in Croatia. He also convened the first representative Parliament (5 June 1848), with both of these actions marking the beginning of a new social order and the inception of the development of bourgeois society. And, since the Hungarian side was trying to strengthen its rule over parts of Croatia, Jelačić had also declared a formal cessation of all political and legal relations between the two states (25 April 1848) until the Parliament reached a new compromise with Hungary (which would not happen for the next 20 years). In the Hungarian independence war, which broke out in the autumn of 1848, Jelačić and Croatian troops fought on the Austrian side against the revolution.<sup>15</sup> With that, they were not only confirming their loyalty to the ruler and the Monarchy, but were also defending Croatian interests as best as possible at the time.

While no revolution took place in Croatia in 1848, the crushing of the Prague uprising and the Italian revolution in 1848, as well as of the Hungarian War of Independence in 1849, prompted the Emperor and the Vienna authorities to prevent any possible future uprisings. The dominant political figures of the Empire were aware that the previous system of the *ancien regime* was too rigid, and that the country needed to be modernised in order to survive, but wanted at the same time to exclude from political life those parts of society that had led the revolutions. Thus, the March/Octroi Constitution was proclaimed in 1849. Often ironically described as “*a Constitution Croatsians were rewarded with, and Hungarians punished*”, the March Constitution made no distinction between lands that rebelled against the Empire and those that fought on its side. While it was intended to be a compromise between the achievements of the revolutions and traditional Austrian absolutism, the March Constitution represented the fundamental opposite of all liberal principles.<sup>16</sup> This constitution placed the vast

14 Cf. “Zahtijevanja naroda,” in *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, online edition, <https://enciklopedija.hr/clanak/zahtijevanja-naroda>.

15 Cf. Pavličević, *Povijest Hrvatske*, 260–3; Nikša Stančić, “Jelačić, Josip,” *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, online edition, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/jelacic-josip-ban>.

16 Cf. Mirjana Gross, *Počeci moderne Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Globus, 1985), 14–5.

majority of political power and rights with the Emperor and his government, while the parliaments were marginalised, and the Empire was divided into crownlands that had substantially less autonomy than before.<sup>17</sup> Even though crownlands were nominally granted equality and the right of preservation of their own languages and national identities, one of the Constitution's main goals was to turn the Habsburg Monarchy into an unified empire, without regional particularities or national differences that could threaten the state's stability.<sup>18</sup> While the March Constitution was traditionally viewed rather negatively because of all the limitations it imposed on national and political freedoms, its positive aspects included the definitive abolition of serfdom, universal equality before the law, freedom of movement, and equal access to public services.<sup>19</sup>

The very restrictive constitutionalism of the March Constitution was soon replaced with full absolutism, proclaimed in the Silvester Patent on 31 December 1851. This new absolutism, for that reason called Neo-absolutism, was marked by strong Germanisation, unitarisation and centralisation. The country was divided into districts (specifically introduced in an attempt to efface historical borders of different kingdoms or their provinces that constituted the Empire), and parliaments were abolished. In Croatia, the autonomous government of the time, called the Ban's Council, was abolished and replaced with the Ban's Government (1850), an administrative body responsible to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.<sup>20</sup> In 1854, simultaneously with the introduction of new administrative and governance reform, the Ban's Government was further restructured into the Imperial and Royal Regency.<sup>21</sup> The use of the Croatian tricolour flag and of language were prohibited in this period, and Croatia was divided into five districts instead of historical lands. German was introduced as the official language in administration and education and a large number of newly appointed German officials came to the country, while most of those active in the previous period were retired. On the other hand, certain modernising efforts were

17 Individual parliaments were supposed to be convened during 1850, and the central Parliament in 1851, but neither of them was actually convened until after the dissolution of Neo-absolutism. *Ibid.*, 15.

18 *Ibid.*

19 Cf. Vlasta Švoger, "Political Rights and Freedoms in the Croatian National Revival and the Croatian Political Movement of 1848–1849. Reestablishing Continuity," *Hungarian Historical Review* 5, no. 1 (2016): 88.

20 Cf. "Banska vlada," in *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, online edition, <https://enciklopedija.hr/clanak/banska-vlada>.

21 Cf. Gross, *Počeci moderne Hrvatske*, 83–5.

conducted – the capital of Zagreb was united into a single city in 1850, and the Zagreb diocese was elevated to the status of an archdiocese in 1852.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, the Austrian *Allgemeine Grundgesetz* was introduced, the supreme court for Croatia – *Tabula banalis* – was established, the judiciary system was modernised (although, often only in theory and not in everyday court practice), and land registers and cadastres started being conducted more meticulously and were better regulated.<sup>23</sup>

In conjunction with these measures, the abolition of serfdom, the development of national identity through the first half of the century, and the elements of modernisation introduced by Neo-absolutism laid the foundation for the development of bourgeois society in the second half of the century.

After Neo-absolutism was abolished in 1859, the constitutional order was reintroduced in the entire Habsburg Empire with the October Diploma (1860) and February Patent (1861), which in turn enabled the reinstatement of parliamentary political and public life. The period of the 1860s in Croatia was characterised by attempts to define Croatian relations towards both Austria and Hungary. At “The Great Parliament of 1861”, the first to be convened after 1848, three different political stances emerged that would define the Croatian political space until the end of the Habsburg/Austro-Hungarian Empire. The National Party took the stance that all legal and actual relations with Hungary had ended in 1848, and were in favour of re-establishing them only under the condition that Hungary recognised the Triune Kingdom’s state autonomy and territorial integrity. In contrast, the Unionists deemed that there had been no legal break of ties with Hungary in 1848, and advocated for the re-establishment of a real union, while at the same time opposing any connection with the Austrian lands. The third group, the Party of Rights, advocated for the independence of Croatia, whether it be a complete independence, as favoured by Ante Starčević, or the existence of joint affairs within the Monarchy, but without establishing central state bodies, the possibility accepted by Eugen Kvaternik. Having the majority, the National Party’s stance was officially accepted as the Parliament’s conclusion, i.e. that the union between the Croatian Kingdom and the Kingdom

22 Tomislav Markus, “Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija od 1790. do 1918.,” in *Temelji moderne Hrvatske. Hrvatske zemlje u dugom 19. stoljeću*, eds. Jasna Turkalj and Vlasta Švoger (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2016), 11; Pavličević, *Povijest Hrvatske*, 265–6.

23 Mirjana Gross, *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu* (Zagreb: Globus, 1992), 87–9.

of Hungary had indeed ceased in 1848, but that it could be renewed if Hungary recognised the autonomy and territorial unity of the Triune Kingdom.<sup>24</sup> This conclusion, also sanctioned by the king, presented the basis for Croatian-Hungarian relations in the following years, until the Croatian-Hungarian settlement was concluded in 1868.

When the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise, or the *Ausgleich*, was concluded in 1867, the Croatian Parliament was among those that refused to accept state dualism and was thus dissolved, and the Ban Josip Šokčević, a member of the National Party, resigned.<sup>25</sup> Instead, Levin Rauch, a member of the Unionist Party, was appointed as *locumtenens banalis*, with the task to ensure the new dualistic order was accepted. The Croatian Royal Committee (composed completely of Unionists) was appointed, and it reached the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise with the Hungarian Royal Committee in 1868. By that Compromise, the Hungarian side acknowledged Croatia within its entire territory, Croatia and Slavonia were recognised as “*political nations*”, and the Croatian language was proclaimed as official in the legislature, judiciary, and administration. The Parliament remained the supreme legislative body, and the Croatian Ban kept his position as the highest executive power (while the Hungarian Minister President had the right to propose a candidate for the position).<sup>26</sup> The state affairs were divided onto “*joint affairs*” (those related to the financing of the royal court, matters of the army, and financial matters, including taxation, trade and related legislature), and “*autonomous affairs*” (internal affairs, matters of culture and education, and judiciary, with the exception of naval law).<sup>27</sup> The Croatian-Hungarian Compromise remained the basis of their relations for the remainder of the Habsburg Empire.

The last third of the 19th century was marked by terms in office of two Bans: a modernising period under Ivan Mažuranić (1873–1880) and “*the years of lead*” under Károly Khuen-Héderváry (1883–1903). Mažuranić’s time in office was marked by modernising efforts, modelled on similar processes conducted in the rest of the Habsburg Empire and Europe at large, earning him the nickname “*the reformer Ban*”. He introduced reforms in the areas of judiciary, administration, and education. Through them,

24 Markus, “Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija od 1790. do 1918.,” 13–4.

25 Ibid., 15.

26 “Croatian-Hungarian Compromise,” Arts. §50, §51, §57, §59, §60, [https://www.fhs.hr/\\_download/repository/Hrvatsko-ugarska\\_nagodba\\_%281868.%29.pdf](https://www.fhs.hr/_download/repository/Hrvatsko-ugarska_nagodba_%281868.%29.pdf).

27 Ibid., Arts. §6, §7, §8, §9, §10, §48.

the Ban became responsible to the Parliament, the administration and judicial authority were separated, and court process was reformed and modernised (judicial branches were divided, the independence of the judges – as well as jury trials – was introduced, and punishments were modernised). Furthermore, administrative organisation was modernised, a law on native affiliation was passed, the right to public assembly was regulated, and freedom of the press was introduced. However, maybe the most important reform was the educational one that introduced a mandatory four-year education, which was also secularised by the same reform. The mandatory education was free and equally available to children of both sexes, while new, contemporary, teaching techniques were introduced. Furthermore, the University of Zagreb was founded in 1874 with faculties of law, theology, and philosophy. On top of that, numerous professional, cultural, and scientific societies were founded.<sup>28</sup> Mažuranić also devoted significant efforts to reincorporate the Military Frontier with the Croatian Kingdom, but the Hungarian government refused to allow it while he was in the position of Ban, which *de facto* forced him to resign in 1880, while the Military Frontier was united with the Triune Kingdom the following year, 1881.<sup>29</sup>

The period of the 1860s and the 1870s, for the majority of which Bans were nationally oriented politicians (namely, Josip Šokčević [1860–1867] and Ivan Mažuranić), was the period of the stronger institutionalisation of cultural life in which a number of initiatives for the advancement of Croatian culture, education, and arts were taken. As early as 1860 (i.e. immediately after political life was restored after the period of Neo-absolutism), Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer donated 50,000 forints for the establishment of the South-Slavic Academy of Sciences and Arts, and in 1866 he donated the same amount for the University of Zagreb.<sup>30</sup> In 1861 the Parliament officially accepted the initiative for the establishment of the Academy, and it started operating after the king also approved that motion in 1866. Furthermore, in 1861 the Parliament officially established the National Theatre, granted the Music Institute per-

28 “Mažuranić, Ivan,” in *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, online edition, <https://enciklopedija.hr/clanak/mazuranic-ivan>; Pavličević, *Povijest Hrvatske*, 280–1.

29 Pavličević, *Povijest Hrvatske*, 282–3.

30 “Strossmayer, Josip Juraj,” in *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, online edition, <https://enciklopedija.hr/clanak/strossmayer-josip-juraj>.

manent financial support, and accepted the initiative for the foundation of the University of Zagreb, which started operating in 1874.<sup>31</sup>

The Ban Mažuranić was succeeded by the Unionist Ban Ladislav Pejačević (1880–1883), who was then succeeded by the Slavonian-born Hungarian aristocrat Károly Khuen-Héderváry (1883–1903), with the task to “pacify” Croatia (in the sense that he was to prevent the Croatian national question from becoming too strong an issue on the level of the Empire, and especially to prevent it from becoming a catalyst of discord or a disruptive factor in a then still stable Dualism).<sup>32</sup> Khuen-Héderváry skilfully exploited already existing political, national, social and regional conflicts to form a strong basis of supporters (mainly Slavonian landlords, foreign bourgeoisie, Serbian minority, conservatives and unionists), whom he awarded with positions or privileges. At the same time, his rule was repressive – political opponents were prosecuted and intimidated, while public officials were threatened with losing their jobs if they did not vote for the government’s candidates at elections.<sup>33</sup> Such politics was often met with revolt, which was most famously publicly demonstrated on two occasions: in 1885, after heated discussions as to whether Croatian historical documents should be kept in Zagreb or Budapest, the Party of Rights’ MP Josip Gržanić physically grabbed the Ban and literary kicked him out of the assembly hall; and in 1895, on the occasion of the festive opening of the new theatre building, when a group of students, protesting Khuen-Héderváry’s policies, publicly burned a Hungarian tricolour banner (but not the official Hungarian flag).<sup>34</sup> While details of political life in this period are too complex to be presented in detail here, let us mention that Khuen-Héderváry mostly relied on a coalition with the National Party, while his greatest opposition was Ante Starčević’s Party of Rights (which insisted on a completely autonomous Croatia), but he was also opposed by the Independent National Party (which was more pragmatic and supported the trialistic idea).<sup>35</sup> The period of the 1880s and 1890s also coincided with the spread of Croatian national sentiment to the wider strata of society, when the modern political

31 Dinko Župan, “Kulturni i intelektualni razvoj u Hrvatskoj u ‘dugom’ 19. stoljeću,” in *Temelji moderne Hrvatske. Hrvatske zemlje u dugom 19. stoljeću*, eds. Jasna Turkalj and Vlasta Švogor (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2016), 291–2, 295–6.

32 Markus, “Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija od 1790. do 1918.,” 20.

33 Iskra Iveljić, “Prevlast unionista. Hrvatske zemlje od 1883.–1903. godine,” in *Hrvatska i Europa. Moderna hrvatska kultura od preporoda do moderne*, Vol. 4, eds. Josip Bratulić, Josip Vončina, and Dubravko Jelčić (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2010), 93–4.

34 Pavličević, *Povijest Hrvatske*, 288–90.

35 Cf. Iveljić, “Prevlast unionista,” 94.

nation consisted of the nobility (the old *natio Croatica* that lost part of its social identity after 1848, but adopted a new, modern national identity), of the old bourgeoisie, and of the new bourgeoisie (which emerged in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, after the abolition of serfdom and especially due to stronger urbanisation at the end of the century).<sup>36</sup>

While Khuen-Héderváry's term in office is traditionally viewed as a period of great anti-Croatian repression, it was also a time of modernisation, mostly thanks to Izidor Kršnjavi, the Minister of Religious Affairs and Education: new schools and churches were built all over Croatia, the electrification of the country was initiated, and the railway network was expanded (however, this was highly intentional and in line with the saying "Whoever owns the railways, owns the land", which represented the conviction of part of the Hungarian political elite that through control of the railways and other services the Hungarian language would be more easily introduced as the official language in Croatia).<sup>37</sup> Moreover, in this period Zagreb was elevated to a modern European metropolis. Most of the city centre was built in that time, including its most representative buildings such as the high school complex – today the Mimara Museum, the buildings of the School and the Museum of Arts and Crafts, the Art Pavilion, the main railway building, the park complex of "the Lenuci horse shoe", and so on.<sup>38</sup> The new National Theatre building was inaugurated in 1895, and King Franz Josef I visited Zagreb on that occasion.

Music and culture were the most important platforms for legitimisation of national demands and national identity, while from the 1860s onwards their main purpose was to affirm the nation, i.e. they served as proof that the Croatian nation was on an equal level of development as other European nations. The 1860s and early 1870s was thus a period of definite institutionalisation. As early as 1861, the Parliament bore the cost of their finances and made the Zagreb National Theatre and the *Društvo prijateljah muzike u Zagrebu* [Society of the Friends of Music in Zagreb] into state institutions of the Royal Croatian Land Theatre and the Music Institute. The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts was also founded in 1861, the Opera of the National Theatre in 1870, and the University of Zagreb in 1874. The late 1870s, 1880s and subsequent decades were a period of general modernisation and the intense

36 Stančić, *Hrvatska nacija i nacionalizam u 19. i 20. stoljeću*, 124–5.

37 For more details see the chapter "Čije željeznice, njegova i zemlja" [Whoever owns the railways, owns the land] in: Pavličević, *Povijest Hrvatske*, 288–9.

38 Ladislav Heka, "Grof Karlo (Károly) Khuen-Héderváry i Hrvati," *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Splitu* 37, no. 3 (2016): 1069–70.

professionalisation of cultural, theatre and musical life, especially thanks to the Minister of Culture and Education Izidor Kršnjavi, at a larger scale, and – in the musical domain, and focusing on Zagreb – to the composer Ivan Zajc, who served as director of the Opera and head of the *Musikverein*, as well as being a music pedagogue and an extremely prolific composer.

### Models of the relationship between music and politics in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Croatia

The political dynamics outlined above influenced and shaped social and cultural development. In this context, we will specifically examine the dynamics of the formation and types of musical associations in certain periods, as well as possible incentives and their desirable/undesirable influences in relation to the ruling political authorities.

The first (public secular) music school in Zagreb was opened on 13 May 1788, as part of the so-called Normal School, and it primarily educated future teachers and organists.<sup>39</sup> However, there was the possibility of musical education for other public students as well. Branko Rakijaš emphasises that by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, “*there were general social needs for the city of Zagreb – which was increasingly taking on a leading role in political and cultural-educational life – to have its own music school.*”<sup>40</sup> The opening of music schools was part of an effort to improve the education system, that is, to provide more adequate (and comprehensive) training for teaching staff, thereby meeting the needs of both the church and state. This process was accompanied by a legislative framework that was meant to support the ruler’s duty to take care of (and assume a leading role in relation to the church) the education of conscious and diligent citizens.<sup>41</sup> The school operated

39 Branko Rakijaš, “Pojava i značenje zagrebačke Muzičke škole iz XVIII st. u razvoju naše muzičke culture [The emergence and significance of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Zagreb Music School for the development of our musical culture],” *Zvuk*, no. 104–105 (1970): 184–99.

40 *Ibid.*, 190.

41 For more on the legislative framework of general education in relation to professional music education see in: Marija Benić Zovko, “Institucionalizacija glazbenoga obrazovanja u Zagrebu. Začeci glazbenoga obrazovnog sustava [The Institutionalization of Musical Education in Zagreb. The Beginnings of the System of Musical Education],” in *Music, Arts and Politics: Revolutions and Restorations in Europe and Croatia, 1815–1860. On the Occasion of 200th Anniversary of Vatroslav Lisinski and 160th Anniversary of the Death of Ban Josip Jelačić*, ed. Stanislav Tuksar, Vjera Katalinić, Petra Babić, and Sara Ries (Zagreb: Department for History of Croatian Music, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts – Croatian Musicological Society, 2021), 679–93.

until 1841, when it was merged with the music school of the Music Institute in order to provide better conditions for musical education. From 1849 on, musical education for teachers was included in the newly established Zagreb Teacher's Training College (*Preparandijalni zavod u Zagrebu*).

An example of the first separate music school, founded in Karlovac in 1804 – based on newly recorded documents from the State Archives in Budapest – shows yet another aspiration: the first music teacher was employed “as the organist of the monastic and parish church in Karlovac and at the same time as a music teacher for the poorer urban youth.”<sup>42</sup> The school's activities, as school reports confirm, soon surpassed the tasks foreseen in the founding document, and children of wealthier citizens were also included in the music education programme.<sup>43</sup>

A somewhat different case is that of the Music Institute in Križevci, founded in 1813. As early as 1812, the Križevci city council submitted a request to the Lieutenancy Council “in accordance with the shared wishes of its citizens”, and a “subscription from the residents of Križevci from their own funds”<sup>44</sup> was planned to cover the music teacher's salary. However, in the request for approval of the music teacher's employment dated 13 January 1813, it is also stated:

There exists a need to appoint a music teacher at the school in Križevci, who, in accordance with the school curriculum – currently implemented only in national elementary schools – would contribute to the establishment of a teacher training school. There is no impediment to appointing such a teacher, in line with the wishes of the citizens, to instruct local children, with the understanding that the citizens themselves would provide his remuneration. Moreover, should it be necessary for him to assist with musical duties in church service, such engagement would depend upon who is holding the patronage over the respective church.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, in Križevci the initiative for the estab-

42 National Archive of Hungary, Budapest, HU-MNL-OL-A39, Fons 10, 8135, Document 23426/1253, 26 July 1804. We would like to thank Mr Petar Ušković for the translations of the documents from Latin.

43 Cf. Ljiljana Šćedrov, “Franz Zihak: ‘prvi zakonski učitelj glazbe ugovorom postavljen u kraljevskom gradu Karlovcu’ [Franz Zihak: ‘the first legal music teacher appointed by contract in the royal city of Karlovac’],” in *Glazba, riječi i slike. Svečani zbornik za Koraljku Kos / Music, Words, and Images. Essays in Honour of Koraljka Kos*, ed. Vjera Katalinić and Zdravko Blažeković (Zagreb: Croatian Musicological Society, 1999), 265.

44 National Archive of Hungary, Budapest, HU-MNL-OL-C69 Departamentum scholarum nationalium, Fons 8, Pos. 1, Document 24608, 15 December 1812.

45 National Archive of Hungary, Budapest, HU-MNL-OL-C69 Departamentum scholarum nationalium, Fons 8, Pos. 1, Document 709, 13 January 1813.

ishment of a musical institution stemmed from the citizens' desire for music education which they were willing to support financially. However, no formal musical society was organised as a civic association. Nonetheless, it is evident that the municipal authorities recognised in this initiative the potential foundation for the introduction of a teacher training school. Based on this, it may be concluded that the Križevci Music Institute represents a transitional form between a teacher training school, an independent music school, and a civic association.

The establishment of later musical institutions followed shortly thereafter in several cities: in Zagreb (1827, with the Institute's music school established in 1829), Varaždin (1827, music school in 1828), and Osijek (1830, music school in 1831). Aside from these three cities in Civil Croatia, this type of institution – a Music Institute functioning as a citizens' association, with its own music school – can be found in Petrinja and Senj, both located within the Military Frontier.<sup>46</sup>

Stanislav Tuksar identifies four categories of musical-aesthetic determinants as the underlying motivations for the establishment of music in-

46 The Music Institute in Petrinja was founded in 1841, and its statutes were confirmed in 1842. Among the initiators of its founding were the music teacher Wilhelm Weiss, a number of Petrinja citizens (primarily the merchant Mihael Miličić, who became its first president) and military officers, including Josip Jelačić, then a lieutenant colonel of the First Banal Regiment in Glina. Cf. Ivica Golec, *Vojni komunitet Petrinja kao gospodarsko i prosvjetno središte Banske krajine (1777–1871)* [The Petrinja Militär-Kommunität as the Economic and Educational Center of the Banska Krajina Region (1777–1871)] (Sisak: Državni arhiv u Sisku, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2003), 382–5; Petra Babić, “Musical Life in the Military Frontier: A Case Study of the 2nd Banal Regiment and Militär-Kommunität Petrinja,” *Arti musices* 54, no. 2 (2023): 373–96. The Senj Music Institute was established in 1842 “*through the efforts and at the expense*” of the Senj physician Božidar Klemenčić (1806 or 1807–1877), with significant support from Bishop Mirko Ožegović (1775–1869), who acted as its patron and benefactor. The newspapers *Ilirske narodne novine* also mention financial contributions from the noblemen Juraj and Ivan Vranyczany – the latter being both Klemenčić's best man and the father of his wife, Agneza Vranyczany (also spelled Vragniczany). Anon., “Dopis iz Senja [Letter from Senj],” *Ilirske narodne novine* 8, no. 98 (7 December 1842), 379. See also: Ante Glavičić, “Iz starije prošlosti senjske glazbe (1842.–1962.) [From the older past of Senj music (1842–1962)],” *Senjski zbornik*, no. 24 (1997): 227–52. Božidar/Natalis Klemenčić married Agneza Vranyczany (1820?–1855), daughter of Ivan and Theresie Vragnyczany, on 6 November 1836 (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q57-899C-L7LZ?wc=9RK1-W3P%3A391644801%2C391920301%2C391920701%26cc%3D2040054&lang=en&i=231&cc=2040054>). Glavičić's article mistakenly mentions Juraj Ivan Vranyczany as one person, instead of two: Giorgio/Juraj Vranyczany st. (1791–1869) and Ivan Vranyczany st. (1790–1866).

stitutes, using the example of the Zagreb Music Institute. These categories, which may also be applied to similar institutions, include: the aesthetic (refinement of taste), the psychological (cultivation of feeling and the evocation of mood), the ethical (moral ennoblement), and the practical category (acquisition of canonical works of European art music and their precise performance).<sup>47</sup> In addition to these determinants, which are embedded in the statutes of the society itself – and which, at the time of seeking Imperial and Royal Hungarian Lieutenantcy Council approval, served as the basis for evaluating the institution’s aim and purpose – the official document granting permission to operate (dated 8 May 1827) lists two further motivations: one aesthetic and one practical. These are described as “*the flourishing of the beauty of secular music for public enjoyment*” and “*the attraction of a larger audience*”, that is, the strengthening of the musical public.

Given that the contents of this document are presented for the first time in this study, a more extensive excerpt is provided below:

Since this institution and its accompanying statute are aimed at cultural activity and the promotion of music, the request for the statute’s approval is fully aligned with that purpose and contains nothing that would be contrary to proper order, good practice, or public peace and order. Furthermore, as similar institutions have also been approved in other major cities – among which the city of Zagreb is to be counted – there is no reason why the beauty of secular [*vulgari*] music should not flourish daily for the public’s enjoyment. Moreover, the management of the local theatre has not only raised no objections to the establishment of this Society but even regards it as a collaborator in attracting a larger audience, and anticipates that it will greatly contribute to the desired return of the listeners [...]<sup>48</sup>

A similar formulation of purpose can be found in the statutes of the music institutes in Varaždin and Osijek. On the one hand, the significance

47 Stanislav Tuksar, “Erhöhte Bildung des Gefühls ... Verfeinerung des Geschmacks ... moralische Veredlung: društveno-idejne i glazbeno-estetičke odrednice prvih statuta glazbenih društava u civilnoj Hrvatskoj 1820-ih godina [Socio-Ideological and Music-Aesthetical Determinants of the First Statutes of Music Societies in Civil Croatia in the 1820s],” in *The Collection of Papers. 13th International Symposium “Music in Society”, Sarajevo, 7–10/12/2022*, ed. Lana Šehović (Sarajevo: Musicological Society of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, University of Sarajevo, Academy of Music, 2025), 162–4.

48 National Archive of Hungary, Budapest, HU-MNL-OL-C51, Fons 5, pos. 20, Document 12130, 8 May 1827.

of church music is emphasised as a “*faithful and reliable servant of the true faith*”, serving the purpose of elevation in liturgical celebration; on the other hand, secular music is described as a “*means of ennobling the minds and hearts of young people and educating their reason*”, functioning both as artistic enjoyment and moderate entertainment.<sup>49</sup> The very founding of the music society as a civic association is explained as the unification of small and weak individual forces in a shared endeavour (as articulated in the society’s purpose): “*great things can arise only from the energetic and enduring spirit of community*”.<sup>50</sup> Finally, among the objectives of the music association, we find elements already present in earlier musical institutions: the promotion of certain charitable aims for those in need, and the provision of free musical education for talented but impoverished children. One of the essential components of this type of association – key to the development of civil society – is the promotion of civic equality.<sup>51</sup> This is clearly articulated in Article 7 of the statutes of both the Varaždin and Osijek societies:

Since the music association is a moral and artistic society in which all its members are to work toward one and the same noble goal, all members have the same duties and, accordingly, the same rights within the association.<sup>52</sup>

The importance and influence of these societies can also be seen through the names of their patrons and *maecenas* (as mentioned earlier in the text).

During the period of the Croatian National Revival (1835–1848), particularly under the Bans Franjo Vlašić (1766–1840, Ban 1832–1840) and Franjo Haller

49 *Statuten der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde der königlichen Freystadt Varasdin* (Varaždin: Gedruckt bey Johann Sangilla, 1830).

50 Ibid.

51 As Iskra Iveljić points out: “Associations are an important part of modernity because they are contrary to the class principle and function on the basis of civil equality. Members are connected by a common interest, whether it is music, theatre or pleasant socialising in reading rooms, and not by class affiliation. Associations also promote a typical bourgeois lifestyle, in which leisure is filled with cultural, entertainment or charitable activities in which women can also participate. Furthermore, the activities of associations are important because they do not take place in a strictly private sphere or a narrow circle of the class elite.” Iskra Iveljić, “Kulturna politika u Banskjoj Hrvatskoj 19. stoljeća [Cultural Policy in Banal Croatia in the 19th Century],” *Historijski zbornik* 69, no. 2 (2016): 341–2.

52 *Statuten [...] Varasdin; Statuten der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde der königlichen Freystadt Eszék* (Essegg: Gedruckt bei M. A. Diwald, k. k. priv. Buchdrucker, 1830). In the statute of the Zagreb *Musikverein* see Art. 2: “Members of the Association are divided into executive, supporting and honorary members, who enjoy the same rights.” *Statuten des Musik-Vereins in Agram* (Agram: Gedruckt bei Franz Suppan, 1827).

(1796–1875, Ban 1842–1845), as well as the *locumtenens banalis* Bishop Juraj Haulik (1788–1869, acting in the periods 1840–1842 and 1845–1848), the activities of musical societies were generally associated with a national component: the promotion of the national language and folk music. This imperative is evident, for example, in the *Narodno ilirsko skladnoglasja društvo* [Illyrian National Music Society], founded in 1839 at the Archdiocesan Seminary in Zagreb, as well as in the 1847 renaming of the Zagreb Music Institute to the *Skladnoglasja društvo zagrebačko* [Music Society of Zagreb].<sup>53</sup> The statement of purpose of the *Narodno ilirsko skladnoglasja društvo* from 1845 emphasised the universality of the feeling of belonging to one's own nation, criticising the society's deviation from this noble mission, claiming that it had directed its efforts solely toward entertaining the youth of the seminary. This mission was to be achieved through the cultivation of the national language and, subsequently, national music.<sup>54</sup>

Since, after his Creator, a man's nationality is his first and foremost identity, which must not be desecrated, and is sacred; and since music holds this identity closely and loyally as its companion and protector – then the highest aspiration of the Illyrian National Music Society must be that national prosperity and one's own nationality become its only and ultimate sanctity; that it may soften the hearts of the sons of this gracious motherland and raise them to the highest level of refinement and education; for blessed is only that nation whose families are cultured and educated [...]<sup>55</sup>

Immediately following the revolution, in the early 1850s, the Zagreb Music Institute continued to pursue the goals of the Illyrian movement – undertaking restructuring, changing the name to *Društvo prijateljah muzike u Zagrebu* [Society of Friends of Music in Zagreb] in 1852, collaborat-

53 From 1836 to 1846, the president of the Music Institute in Zagreb was Antun Kukuljević. During that period, Ljudevit Gaj, Janko Drašković and others (Herman Bužan, Pavao Štoos, Dimitrija Demeter, Mirko Lopašić, Ivan Kralj, Josip Juratović) were appointed honorary members of the Institute. Cf. Šaban, *150 godina Hrvatskog glazbenog zavoda*, 64.

54 It is important to emphasise that certain entrenched views regarding the two *skladnoglasja* societies merit critical re-examination – specifically, the characterisation of the Music Institute as “purely German” and the Seminary Society as the “true (or first) Croatian” one. These notions persist even in more recent scholarship, despite the corrective efforts of Ladislav Šaban. Cf. *Ibid.*, 64–70, vs Katarina Koprek, “Ivan pl. Zajc i glazbeno pjevačko društvo ‘Vijenac,’” introductory study in *Pjevačko društvo “Vijenac” i Ivan pl. Zajc: skladbe Ivana pl. Zajca posvećene pjevačkom društvu “Vijenac”*, eds. Ines Fočić and Viktorija Čop (Zagreb: Katolički bogoslovni fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Hrvatsko društvo crkvenih glazbenika, 2017).

55 *Osnova Ilirskog Narodnog Skladnoglasja Društva* [Rules of the Illyrian National Music Society], The Archdiocesan Seminary Archives, Vijenac Collection, box 2.

ing with Vatroslav Lisinski, and publishing new statutes. These defined the society's purpose as "to promote and develop the art of music throughout the homeland in general and to awaken a love for this art, with special regard for the character of South Slavic music".<sup>56</sup> This clearly reflected a desire to re-organise and establish the Zagreb Music Institute as a national conservatory. However, perhaps more decisive was the financial crisis of 1848, which brought the Music Institute to the brink of dissolution. Ladislav Šaban identified the causes of the financial crisis as a decrease in the number of members and a decline in their financial capacity – including among the society's most generous patrons (such as Haulik).<sup>57</sup> In an effort to improve the situation, the Institute's leadership took specific action at the highest levels. In 1848, the then-president of the Institute, Bishop Ivan Kralj (1792–1878, president from 1847 to 1854), petitioned the Ban's Council for the integration of the Institute's music school with the organ class of the teacher's school. In 1849, he further appealed for the inclusion of the Institute within the framework of the highest national educational and cultural institutions (such as the museum, the *Matrix croatica*, library, theatre, and opera). At the invitation of the Ban's Council, a plan was drawn up to organise the Institute as a conservatory, modelled on the Prague Conservatory. Although Ban Josip Jelačić, who personally favoured the proposal, supported the idea, he was ultimately forced to reject it due to a lack of funds in the state treasury. Moreover, the immediate political circumstances – namely, the introduction of absolutism – temporarily postponed the full realisation of these plans.

Although earlier literature often portrayed the 1850s as a period of near-total interruption in concert life in Croatia – largely due to the absence of comprehensive research into concert activities and repertoire – more recent studies (e.g. Kos, Miklaušić-Ćeran) emphasise the continuity of musical practice during this decade.<sup>58</sup> With regard to civic associations in the field of musical art, the 1850s saw the emergence of male vocal ensembles known as *Liedertafeln*. These included the *Warasdiner Männerg-*

56 *Pravila Društva prijateljah muzike u Zagrebu* [Rules of the Society of Friends of Music in Zagreb] (Zagreb: Berzotiskom narodne tiskarnice dra Ljudevita Gaja, 1852), 1.

57 Šaban, *150 godina Hrvatskog glazbenog zavoda*, 71–3.

58 Koraljka Kos, "Hrvatska glazba u razdoblju romantizma," in *Hrvatska i Europa: kultura, znanost i umjetnost. Sv. IV: Moderna hrvatska kultura od preporoda do moderne (XIX. stoljeće)* [Croatia and Europe: Culture, Science and Art. Vol. IV: Modern Croatian Culture from the Revival to Modernity (19<sup>th</sup> century)], ed. Mislav Ježić (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2006), 633–47; Snježana Miklaušić-Ćeran, "Odrzi koncertnoga života Zagreba između 1826. i 1858. u zagrebačkim novinama i časopisima" (PhD thesis, Muzička akademija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2012).

*esangverein* in Varaždin (1857), the *Essegger Liedertafel* in Osijek (1858), the *Liedertafel* in Zagreb (1857), and the *Požeganer Liedertafel* in Požega (1859). These ensembles are commonly perceived as foreign or Germanic, and thus as rival entities to the national or domestic musical societies. The case of the Zagreb *Liedertafel*, founded at the Zagreb Gymnasium by Johann Stohl, reveals several significant dynamics: (1) the importance of musical societies as a form of civic engagement, (2) the mechanisms of institutional control over such societies, and (3) the complexity and sensitivity of decisions related to financing and the viability of their continued operation. In 1860, Johann Stohl was appointed as the educational supervisor of the Music Institute's school after his *Liedertafel* ensemble was swiftly incorporated into the Institute. While on the one hand, this appointment can be interpreted as a political move aimed at monitoring the Society's activities, on the other it was, as Blažeković and Ries note, a strategically intelligent decision by the Institute's leadership. It ensured ongoing financial support and prevented potentially damaging outcomes, such as member defection to a competing society or the withdrawal of patrons from the Institute.<sup>59</sup>

The return of constitutional governance in 1860 marked a significant resurgence in civic musical organisation. In the words of Iskra Iveljić, this period witnessed “*the release of long-suppressed cultural energy*.”<sup>60</sup> Among the earlier musical societies, only the Zagreb Music Institute survived, and in 1861 it was granted regular financial support by the Croatian Parliament. However, the proposal to elevate the Institute to the status of a national conservatory was rejected for financial reasons. Also in 1860, the National Theatre was established, and in 1861 the Theatre Law was passed. It is worth noting that the first initiative for the establishment of the National Theatre was introduced during the 1840s, and in the 1850s there was an initiative to found a National Theatre in Zagreb “*under the patronage of Ban Baron Josip Jelačić as its principal instigator*.”<sup>61</sup> This initiative took the form

59 Cf. Zdravko Blažeković, “Narodni zemaljski glazbeni zavod (1860–1880) [National Land Music Institute],” in *Glazba osjenjena politikom. Studije o hrvatskoj glazbi između 17. i 19. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2002), 176–7; Sara Ries, “*Musikverein* u Zagrebu i njegova škola u prijelomnoj 1860 [The Croatian Music Institute and its School in the Crucial Year 1860],” *Arti musices* 50, no. 1–2 (2019): 214. Cf. also Šaban, *150 godina Hrvatskog glazbenog zavoda*, 81–2.

60 Iveljić, “Kulturna politika u Banskog Hrvatskoj 19. stoljeća,” 353.

61 Rules of the Joint-Stock Company for the Establishment of the National Theatre in Zagreb, 13 December 1851, Archive of the Department for History of Croatian Theatre, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Materials for Theatre History Collection, Year 1851.

of a joint-stock company (1851), and a set of society statutes was drafted. However, at that stage, the musical component had not yet been integrated into the theatre's institutional framework.<sup>62</sup> Toward the end of the 1850s, several revisions of the society's statutes were undertaken, but it was only in 1860–1861, when the state formally assumed control over the theatre, that the musical dimension gained equal footing: The Act on the South Slavic Theatre of the Triune Kingdom (1861), Article 9, stipulated state funding for the acquisition of two national operas by Vatroslav Lisinski from Albert Štriga, at the cost of 1,700 forints. Furthermore, the Theatre Statute of 1863 (Article 26) included provisions for the appointment of a permanent orchestra director.<sup>63</sup>

From the 1860s onward, musical activity in Croatia is most visibly manifested in the establishment of numerous choral societies. The precursors to these societies can be found in the associations founded during the Illyrian movement – namely, the *Narodno ilirsko skladnoglasja društvo* and the *Prvo ilirsko glazbeno društvo* [The First Illyrian Music Society] – the former affiliated with the seminary, the latter with the Royal Academy. During the tenure of Ban Josip Šokčević, and up to the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement (1868), choral societies across continental Croatia submitted their statutes for official approval. These were first received by the respective city administrations and then forwarded to the Royal Lieutenancy Council. In that period singing societies were established in Karlovac (*Narodno pjevačko društvo u Karlovcu* [National Singing Society in Karlovac] / *Društvo karlovačkih pjevačah* [Karlovac Singer's Society] (later *Prvo hrvatsko pjevačko društvo "Zora"* [The First Croatian Singing Society "Zora"] in 1861),<sup>64</sup> Požega (Požega Singing Society, developed from the Požega *Lieder-*

62 "The purpose of the Society is to establish [...] a national theatre institute in Zagreb as a seedbed of national dramatic art and dramatic literature." Ibid.

63 For more on the history of the Croatian National Theatre, see Nikola Batušić, ed., *Hrvatsko narodno kazalište u Zagrebu: 1840-1860-1992* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko narodno kazalište, Školska knjiga, 1992). For more on the context of the founding of the national theatre, and particularly on the role of music within it – specifically "an overview of the characteristics, challenges, and incentives surrounding the formation of the opera department of the national theatre" – see: Vjera Katalinić, "Aspirations and Obstacles in the Institutionalization of the National Opera in Zagreb in the 1860s," in *Music in Society. The Collection of Papers. No. 11: Music – Nation – Identity*, eds. Amra Bosnić, Naida Hukić, and Nerma Hodžić-Mulabegović (Sarajevo: Academy of Music, University of Sarajevo, Musicological Society of the Federation of BiH, 2020), 391–426 [in Croatian and English].

64 The statutes of the Karlovac Singing Society were approved on 9 July 1861. However, Abel Lukšić reported in his newspaper *Glasonoša* that the society had already exist-

*tafel* in 1860/61 to 1863), Zagreb (Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo “Kolo” [Croatian Singing Society “Kolo”] in 1862, Croatian Typographers’ Singing Society “Sloboda” in 1866), Osijek (Singing Society in Osijek, formed by merging two earlier societies *Kirchenmusikverein* and *Liedertafel* in 1862), Đakovo (Croatian Singing Society “Sklad” in 1863), Križevci (Croatian Singing Society “Zvono” in 1863), Petrinja (Petrinja Singing Society / Croatian Singing Society “Slavulj” in 1864), Vukovar (Croatian Singing Society “Dunav” in 1867).

The statutes of Croatian Singing Society “Kolo” in Zagreb served as a model for the drafting of statutes in many other societies, and these continued to evolve throughout the century, adapting to new cultural practices and societal expectations.

Singing societies were considered a desirable form of socialising for several reasons. Primarily, their activities promoted the education (enlightenment) of the general population. Members were required to adhere to specific, officially approved rules, and the functioning of the societies depended on harmonious cooperation among their members. Singing was also regarded as a favourable form of entertainment and it did not require (significant) initial financial investment.<sup>65</sup> A brief period of decline in the activities of singing societies with a pronounced national character occurred during the tenure of Ban Levin Rauch (1868–1871), whose rule was marked by repressive governance. In 1870, for instance, the Croatian Singing Societies “Kolo” and “Zora” were dissolved under the accusation that they had “*exceeded the boundaries set forth in their statutes through political agitation*”. In reality, however, their dissolution was prompted by the fact that they “*most conscientiously fulfilled their patriotic duty of awaken-*

ed “*for about ten years*” (Anon., “Narodno pjevačko društvo u Karlovcu [National Singing Society in Karlovac],” *Glasonoša* 2, no. 90 (8 November 1862): 3). Monographs on the society usually take the year 1858 as the beginning of its activity, the year in which Janko Modrušan – upon returning from Vienna, where he had been a member of a Viennese choral society – gathered a circle of friends united by their shared love of singing and fellowship. However, the group remained informal until the society’s formal establishment with the approval of its statutes in 1861.

65 Cf. Gjuro Klarić, “Karlovačko pjevačko društvo [Karlovac’s Singing Society],” *Karlovački viestnik* 1, no. 2 (13 January 1866): 9–10. See also: Anon., “Dvie tri o družtvih [Two or three Words on Societies],” *Karlovački viestnik* 1, no. 3 (20 January 1866): 18–9. An anonymous author (possibly the editor Ljudevit Tomšić) cites the Slovene national reading rooms of Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, and Gorizia as exemplary models of well-organised societies.

ing *Croatian national consciousness through Croatian song*".<sup>66</sup> The establishment and operation of (Croatian) singing societies thus represented a meaningful contribution to Croatian culture – both as spaces for the explicit expression of national spirit and as agents of broader musical development. These societies fostered the cultivation of musical audiences and enabled musical engagement even in smaller communities. In the article "Society of Friends of Music" from 1872, the author, signed with the initial "D.", reflects on the development of the musical milieu (in Zagreb and beyond), observing:

Music has therefore significantly progressed, gaining numerous friends and supporters, as well as promoters and cultivators. [...] It was indeed necessary to elevate our suppressed musical position, to blaze a trail, and to seek and find friends and admirers of music, this noble art capable of stirring our entire being, and which is, at the same time, a vital factor of social life. We have thus reached a turning point; we can now proceed along a newly cleared path, and the near future will demonstrate the power of musical practice, especially today, when there is hardly a household or family not engaged with music. [...] From this one may discern a certain tendency, a clear indication that the need for music has become universal and that it is finally being rightfully appreciated.<sup>67</sup>

Particularly noteworthy is the author's proposal to establish an association, of private character and without any political features, that would bring together musical amateurs, offering them an opportunity for further

66 Benjamin Zeininger, *Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo "Kolo" u Zagrebu (1862.–1892.): tečajem trideset godina. Jubilejski spis* [Croatian Singing Society "Kolo" in Zagreb (1862–1892): Over Thirty Years. Jubilee Paper] (Zagreb: Knjigotiskarski i litografski zavod C. Albrechta, 1892), 79.

67 D., "Društvo prijateljah glasbe [Society of Friends of Music]," *Narodne novine* 38, no. 145 (26 June 1872): 1; no. 146 (27 June 1872): 1–2. In explaining the development and significance of music, the author distinguishes between professional musicians and artists – those for whom music is a vocation (an individual with ordinary talent becomes a competent musician, whereas one with exceptional, genius-level talent becomes an artist) – and *friends of music*, i.e. amateurs, for whom music constitutes a part of general education and a form of leisure. It is this latter group that is credited with the dissemination and popularisation ("and thus making it more widespread and popular among the people") of music – beginning within the family setting and subsequently extending to the broader public sphere.

musical development through both performance and the appreciation of “good music”.<sup>68</sup>

The singing societies established during the tenure of the Ban Levin Rauch were one church-affiliated society – the Croatian Singing Society “Vijenac” (Zagreb, 1868) – as well as two founded in the territory of the Military Frontier – the Croatian Singing Society “Danica” (Sisak, 1869) and the City Singing Society “Sokol” (Glina, 1870). At the same time, however, the founding of the opera ensemble at the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb was successfully accomplished, thanks to concerted efforts to bring Ivan pl. Zajc from Vienna and secure increased annual state subsidies for the theatre.

The trend of founding singing societies would continue with almost equal intensity until the 1890s. The establishment of the *Hrvatski pjevački savez* [Croatian Singing/Choral Union] in 1875 may be seen as the culmination of this singing movement. The primary objective of the Croatian Singing Union was to promote national musical art, to support the work of individual societies, and to encourage the establishment of new choral societies throughout the country. Initially, these societies were predominantly civic in character; however, a diversification soon followed, with societies forming around various professional and social groups, including students, workers, craftsmen, civil servants, and educators. It is also important to note that many singing societies maintained instrumental ensembles within their membership. From the 1880s onward, tamburitza ensembles became particularly widespread. Notable among them were the tamburitza ensemble of the Music Society “Dunav” from Vukovar and the ensemble affiliated with the student singing society “Hrvatska lira”. In 1886, an independent tamburitza society – the Croatian Commercial Tamburitza Society – was founded in Karlovac. Its aims were not only to promote national music but also to adapt tamburitza music for performance in the bourgeois salon setting.<sup>69</sup> By this period, Sisak and Petrinja, now part of civil Croatia, had become recognised centres for the making of tamburitzas.<sup>70</sup>

68 At present, no evidence has been found to suggest that such a society, intended to gather amateurs as a counterpart to the Music Institute – which at the time was increasingly oriented toward professionalisation – was established.

69 See more in: Lucija Konfic, “Rasprave o glazbenim institucijama i društvima u karlovačkom tisku u ‘dugom’ 19. stoljeću [Discussions on Musical Institutions and Societies in the Karlovac Press in the ‘Long’ 19<sup>th</sup> Century],” *Arti musices* 54, no. 2 (2023): 433–64.

70 Cf. Nada Bezić, “Tamburica – hrvatski izvozni proizvod na prijelazu 19. u 20. stoljeće [The Tamburitza – A Croatian Export Product at the Turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century],” *Narodna umjetnost* 38, no. 2 (2001): 97–115.

By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, two contrasting political periods had also significantly shaped musical culture in Croatia. On one hand, there was the era of the nationally oriented Ban Ivan Mažuranić (1873–1880); on the other, the pro-Hungarian period under the Ban Károly (Dragutin) Khuen-Héderváry (1883–1903),<sup>71</sup> which were explained in the first chapter. It is also important to highlight two major cultural tendencies that influenced the shaping of musical life. These were,

the nationalisation of culture, and the growing understanding of culture as not an exclusive domain or privilege of the intellectual elite, but rather as a sphere of activity accessible to all – not only as consumers but also as co-creators.<sup>72</sup>

As Iveljić also points out:

This concept is ambivalent. On the surface, it appears to signal a liberalisation and even democratisation of the cultural sphere; yet, in reality, it represents a new national monopolisation of culture, which suppresses existing multiculturalism (linguistic and otherwise) imposing a national imprint upon everything.<sup>73</sup>

In conclusion, the following models of the relationship between music and politics in Croatia, as they relate to the founding of various musical institutions and/or societies during the aforementioned period, may be summarised thus:<sup>74</sup>

1. Functional model: The oldest of the models. Primarily concerns military music in the narrower sense, as well as signal music in urban contexts. It is rooted in the utilitarian function of music as a tool of military organisation and urban administration.
2. Educational model: Emerged at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Applies to music schools attached to *Normalschulen*, independent music schools, and, to some extent, to music institutes and their affiliated schools. Music education is aligned with the proper socio-political order and sound pedagogical practice. Operates across the lev-

71 See also: Vjera Katalinić, “Ban i/ili kralj? glazbene svečanosti u čast velikodostojnika u Zagrebu u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća [Ban and/or King? Musical Festivities in Honour of High Dignitaries in Zagreb in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century],” *Narodna umjetnost* 45, no. 2 (2008): 61–75.

72 Cf. Iveljić, “Kulturna politika,” 356.

73 Ibid.

74 These models often coexist and intertwine in practice, and many institutions and societies display characteristics of more than one model simultaneously.

els of imperial/royal authority and municipal structures. The ruler (emperor/king) authorises these institutions as part of the state's concern for the education of its subjects – aimed at training teachers, educating broader social strata, and providing instruction to underprivileged children. This model contributes to the shaping of civic society by promoting both general and specialist (musical) education and reducing illiteracy.

3. Patronage model: Begins to take form in the 1820s. Encompasses music institutes and, from the 1860s onwards, some music societies. Entails the patronage and material support of selected music societies by influential individuals (e.g. patrons or “godfathers/godmothers” of the institutions), which served to secure both moral/artistic influence and a degree of oversight or control. Operates on the level of the ban or bishop vis-à-vis associations/institutes; later also involves the nobility and the urban elite in relation to music societies. This model supports the development of civic society through collaboration among the aristocracy, high-ranking clergy, and citizens.
4. Social (Socio-National) model: Emerges in the 1850s, with the establishment of music societies. Through control of statutes and regulations, it contributes to the shaping of society (state/government – music society level). Includes singing societies, mixed (singing-instrumental) societies, and instrumental groups such as tamburitza and zither ensembles, as well as fire brigade bands. Encourages desirable forms of sociability, both in society at large and within multipurpose associations (e.g. the Trading Society “Merkur”, volunteer fire brigades). It aims to strengthen national spirit, exemplified by initiatives (not always realised) to establish a national conservatory (ban – association, ban – king level). Promotes national self-determination and enlightenment through the authorisation of choral societies in urban and rural communities (state – town level), while also potentially suppressing such efforts. Reflects a new social stratification – not simply aristocracy vs citizens, but differentiation among citizens by profession, education, and socio-economic status – and also signals an increasing role of women in public life. This model is closely tied to the strengthening of civic consciousness.

5. Representative model: Operates at the intersection of representational function, state or elite control, the development of national culture, and the tastes of the broader public. Applies to theatres, municipal ensembles, and large military orchestras (situated between representational and patronage models). Highly dependent on substantial financial support (infrastructure, equipment, large ensembles). Contributes to the shaping of civic society through the development of cultural life and the cultivation of public taste, but also to the professionalisation of musicians.

### The Role of Composers in Musical Associations and Their Perception in Society at Large

Musicians of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century were generally not perceived as composers. Their primary roles were those of performers, instrument players (most commonly organists, though not exclusively) and singers, as well as music teachers and/or *Kapellmeisters*. Some of the more skilled musicians also composed music, not so much out of a personal need for artistic expression but rather as a functional extension of their professional duties. Composition was thus understood as a necessary part of a musician's skill set. The role of composers within musical institutions can be observed through several distinct forms:

- a) as initiators of musical institutions,
- b) as directors of institutions or leaders of specific activities within them,
- c) as regular or honorary members of music institutions,
- d) as authors of compositions dedicated to particular musical institutions.

This section will highlight only the most prominent figures, given the large number of musicians who, to varying degrees, contributed throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century within numerous musical societies.<sup>75</sup> It should also be noted that in smaller towns musical life often depended entirely on the efforts and expertise of a single musically educated individual. For instance,

75 Thus, composers whose work was not directly connected to any specific musical institution will not be discussed in detail here. For example, Ferdo Wiesner Livadić (1799–1879), Fortunat Pintarić (1798–1867), Bela Adamović Čepinski (1856–1934), Dragutin Carl pl. Turany (1805–1873); Franjo Krežma (1862–1881), or Dora Pejačević (1885–1923).

in a job advertisement for a music teacher and *Kapellmeister* in Križevci in 1853, in addition to regular duties as an organist and conductor, it was stated:

For guidance and the information of applicants, it is noted that in addition to the aforementioned regular salary, the position also includes the school stipend [*Organisten-Stola*] – and, due to the general lack of such individuals in the entire area, the opportunity to earn a significant supplementary income through various musical services and private instruction.<sup>76</sup>

While it is known that Franz Zihak (c. 1770–1817), the first music teacher in Karlovac, also composed music,<sup>77</sup> no compositional output has been preserved (or discovered) for the first teachers at the Križevci Music Institute – Franz Mann, Michael Pollischansky/Bollischansky, and Ignaz Skrabal/Škrabal. In Varaždin, the name of Leopold Ignaz Ebner (1769–1830) stands out. Although he did not participate in the founding of the Varaždin Music Institute, his work as a music teacher, organist, and skilled composer laid the groundwork for its establishment. The figure most closely associated with the Institute's foundation was Johann/Ivan Gottfried Lindenthal, who served as director of the newly established music school, led the orchestra, and taught singing, violin, and piano. He also composed both sacred and secular works.<sup>78</sup>

The dominant musical figure in early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Zagreb was Georg Karl (Juraj Karlo) Wisner von Morgenstern (1783–1855).<sup>79</sup> He likely arrived in Zagreb in 1818 as secretary to Count Erdődy (according to Nada Bezić, possibly Josip IV or Juraj V or VI). As the most highly educated musician in the city at the time, Wisner became one of the founders of the Zagreb Music In-

76 "Službeni list. Br. 1230 Natiečaj," *Carsko-kr. službene narodne novine* 19, no. 259 (12 November 1853): 781.

77 Based on a report from the Magistrate dated 1810, Ljiljana Šćedrov states that the composer wrote 13 Masses, several symphonies, arias, and other sacred compositions. Šćedrov, "Franz Zihak," 263.

78 Ana Čizmić, "Lidenthal, Ivan Gottfried (Johann)," in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, online edition, 2013, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/lindenthal-ivan-gottfried>.

79 Cf. Anton Goglia, "Juraj Karlo Wisner pl. Morgenstern," *Sveta Cecilija* 35, no. 374 (1941): 38; *Sveta Cecilija* 36, no. 1 (1942): 15–23; Nada Bezić, "Prilozi za biografiju Georga (Jurja) Karla Wisnera von Morgensterna, uoči 159. obljetnice smrti," *Arti musices* 35, no. 1 (2004): 47–61; Benić Zovko, "Institucionalizacija glazbenoga obrazovanja u Zagrebu," 690–1.

stitute.<sup>80</sup> He was also an honorary member of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana (from 1824), as well as those in Bratislava, Eisenstadt, and Sopron. Wisner served as a music teacher at the Institute's school, conductor of the Institute's orchestra, and director of the school.<sup>81</sup> His compositional output includes approximately 30 to 40 works, predominantly sacred music, but also orchestral and chamber music, and works for soloists or choir with orchestra. He is also believed to have authored or contributed to the drafting of the Institute's first statute.<sup>82</sup> Wisner played a particularly important role during the financial crisis of the Zagreb Music Institute in 1848/49. As Šaban notes:

The dedicated instructors Wisner-Morgenstern, Poliškanski, and Schnaidtinger generously declared themselves willing to forgo their contractual salaries and instead be satisfied with receiving equal portions of whatever funds remained in the treasury each month after essential expenses had been paid – even if that meant working without pay – so that the school would not be disbanded and the efforts of so many years would not be lost.<sup>83</sup>

Wisner was also instrumental in initiating the establishment of a Music Institute in Petrinja, following the model of the Zagreb Institute's regulations, and recommended Wilhelm Weiss as the music teacher there.

Alongside Wisner Morgenstern, a significant role in the founding of the Music Institute in Zagreb was played by the flautist and composer Franjo Ksaver Čačković Vrhovinski (1789–1865). A judge by profession, he received private musical instruction from a teacher known only as Marindl. His compositions, influenced and inspired by the Croatian National Revival, are based on patriotic Croatian melodies.<sup>84</sup> From the outset, he was active in the Music Institute as a member of the governing board and an

80 Nada Bezić proposes the hypothesis that one of the possible motivations for Morgenstern's initiative to establish the Music Institute as a "*more permanent post*" was the fact that, in 1827, he was dismissed from his position as cathedral chorister due to complaints. Bezić, "Prilozi za biografiju Georga (Jurja) Karla Wisnera von Morgensterna," 53.

81 Among others, his students included the composers Ivan Padovec, Franjo Pokorni, Mijo Hajko, Fortunat Pintarić, Josip Juratović, and Vatroslav Lisinski.

82 Cf. Bezić, "Prilozi za biografiju Georga (Jurja) Karla Wisnera von Morgensterna," 57; Tuksar, "Erhöhte Bildung des Gefühls," 161–2.

83 Šaban, *150 godina Hrvatskog glazbenog zavoda*, 73.

84 Ladislav Šaban, "Čačković Vrhovinski, Franjo Ksaver," in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, online edition, 1993, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/cackovic-vrhovinski-franjo-ksaver>.

executive member, serving as head of the school from 1848 to 1850, and he played a key role in the reorganisation of the school in 1850. Upon the founding of the Croatian Singing Society “Kolo”, he was named an honorary member, alongside Josip Juratović (1796–1872) and Ferdo Livadić. In his will, he bequeathed all his compositions and a donation of 100 forints to the Music Institute.

By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, several other important musical figures may also be mentioned: Ivan Padovec (1800–1873), guitarist and composer – while his exact role in the founding of the Zagreb Music Institute has not been firmly established, he was one of its earliest members; Valentin Ježek/Jeschek (?–1835), composer, violinist, and music pedagogue – a violin teacher at the Institute’s music school in Zagreb;<sup>85</sup> Antun Kirschhofer (1807–1849), violinist, composer, and conductor – a violin teacher at the newly established music school of the Zagreb Music Institute; Josip Juratović (1796–1872), composer, organist, and conductor – a representative of sacred music, he served as a singing teacher at the Zagreb seminary (1821–1867) and worked to improve both the repertoire and performance standards of the Zagreb cathedral. Juratović was active both in the *Narodno ilirsko skladnoglasja društvo* and in the Zagreb Music Institute (as a member of the governing board from 1838 to 1868, and from 1851 on the committee for the music school and concert organisation).

From the late 1830s, the first generation of students from the Zagreb Music Institute began contributing through their involvement in various musical associations. Mijo Hajko (1820–1848), even as a theology student and recent graduate of the music school, took part in founding the *Narodno ilirsko skladnoglasja društvo*, serving as its president in 1841–42.<sup>86</sup> His compositions were performed at the society’s concerts.

A turning point in the perception of composers, the role of society in their development, and their broader social function came with the work

85 According to Nada Bezić, both Padovec and Ježek were detained for a day due to their advocacy for the Music Institute, after insisting on holding a concert that the city authorities had prohibited. Nada Bezić, “Ježek, Valentin (Jeschek),” in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, online edition, 2005, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/jezek-valentin>. He composed around 20 works, including for solo flute or flute with other instruments, and pieces for orchestra. Cf. also Antun Goglia, “Franjo Ksaver Čačković Vrhovinski,” *Zagreb* 9, no. 1–2 (1941): 17–23.

86 Alongside Hajko, the principal initiators of the Seminary Singing Society were Eduard Fink, Franjo Gašparić, and Dragutin Koenig, all of whom were also students of the Zagreb Music Institute.

(and premature death) of Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–1854).<sup>87</sup> As early as 1855, Josip Vranyczany articulated this as follows:

This outstanding South Slavic composer, who now, regrettably, lives on only through his excellent works and in the memory of those who knew him, owes, just like every other talent, his beginning and emergence to an external event, an external influence that awakened him, that opened the path he was to follow. Without that influence many a talent would remain buried, unable to shake off the iron chains that cruel fate often imposes.<sup>88</sup>

These “*external influences*” in the pre-revolutionary period were a combination of Lisinski’s talent and personal dedication (supported by Albert Ognjan Štriga) and the favourable political moment.<sup>89</sup> This resulted in numerous vocal and instrumental works in the national spirit, and ultimately in the creation of the first Croatian national opera, *Ljubav i zloba* [Love and Malice] in 1846. This fortunate combination, paired with the unfortunate circumstance of the composer’s early death in 1854, led, in the early 1860s, to the formation of an image of Lisinski as a national hero in the field of music – primarily as a composer. His vital role during the aforementioned periods of crisis in the Zagreb Music Institute, particularly in its restructuring and in drafting a modernised version of the Institute’s regulations, a task he undertook voluntarily, faded into the background. Similarly overlooked were his efforts as a concert organiser and as conductor of the Institute’s choir and orchestra.<sup>90</sup> However, we support the view ex-

87 See more in: Koraljka Kos and Marijana Pintar, “Lisinski, Vatroslav (Fuchs, Fuhs, Fuks, Fux; Ignacije),” in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, online edition, 2013, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/lisinski-vatroslav>. Also: Lovro Županović, *Vatroslav Lisinski: život, djelo, značenje* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1969); Vjera Katalinić, “Vatroslav Lisinski i njegovi suvremenici u mreži glazbenih institucija [Vatroslav Lisinski and His Contemporaries in the Network of Music Institutions],” in *Music, Arts and Politics: Revolutions and Restorations in Europe and Croatia, 1815–1860. On the Occasion of 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Vatroslav Lisinski and 160<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Death of Ban Josip Jelačić*, 25–44.

88 Josip Vranyczany, “Vatroslav Lisinski,” manuscript, Croatian State Archives, HR-HDA-782 Obitelj Vranyczany, Box 1.

89 See more in: Stanislav Tuksar, “Lisinski – 1848 – Jelačić: Music, Arts and Politics in the Life of the Young Man as Artist,” in *Music, Arts and Politics: Revolutions and Restorations in Europe and Croatia, 1815–1860. On the Occasion of 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Vatroslav Lisinski and 160<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Death of Ban Josip Jelačić*, 125–32.

90 It should also not be forgotten that, in addition to his involvement in the Zagreb Music Institute, Lisinski was a member, conductor, and musical/artistic director of the *Prvo ilirsko glazbeno društvo* [First Illyrian Music Society], a secular singing society composed of university youth, founded in 1840 by Albert Štriga.

pressed by Rozina Palić-Jelavić, who argues that Lisinski, “*not only through his work as a composer but through his overall musical engagement, contributed to the modernisation of contemporary Croatia*”.<sup>91</sup>

From the 1860s onward, it is necessary to highlight the names of the first conductors (so-called technical directors) of Croatian choral societies: Oton Hauska (1809–1868; “Zora” Karlovac), Vilim Just/Wilhelm Justh (1826–1883; Požega Singing Society), Slavoljub/Eduard František Lžičar (1832–1901; “Kolo” Zagreb), Ivan Nepomuk Hummel (1820–1896; Osijek Singing Society), Ivan Nepomuk Trischler (father) (1823–1897), later Dragutin Trischler (son) (1857–1918), Hinko Hladaček (1837–1891) (“Sklad” Đakovo), Ivan Laksar (1823–1881; “Zvono” Križevci), Joseph/Josip Břiza (1835–1901; “Slavulj” Petrinja), Gjuro Eisenhuth (1841–1891; “Sloboda” Zagreb), Antun Widhalm (“Dunav” Vukovar), Josip Zittenbaut (“Davor” Slavonski Brod), Ivan Tropsch (1830–1913; “Sloga” Vinkovci), Josef Mazánek (1818–1882; “Dvojnice” Bjelovar), Josip Vanjek (1844–1905; “Jeka” Samobor), and Tomo Šestak (1852–1921; “Podravac” Koprivnica). These individuals were mostly musicians who had come to Croatia from abroad, specifically from other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, and mostly from Bohemia (modern-day Czech Republic), such as Hauska, Lžičar, Laksar, Břiza, Tropsch, Mazánek, Šestak, and Prohaska. Others arrived from Hungary (Hummel) and Germany (Just). While their importance in founding and leading these singing societies is indisputable, as well as their broader contributions to the musical life of their respective communities, the quality of their compositional work varied. One notable exception is Gjuro Eisenhuth (1841–1891), often referred to as the “Zagreb Strauss” of the pre-Zajc era.<sup>92</sup> Trained in Zagreb and Vienna, Eisenhuth founded an orchestra in Zagreb in 1861 with which he regularly organised concerts. From the 1860s on he occasionally played in the theatre orchestra, and from 1881 he served as concertmaster, and later as conductor of operettas and operas. A multi-talented figure, Eisenhuth also worked as a soloist, chamber musician,<sup>93</sup> and music pedagogue. He founded the orchestra of the Zagreb Fire

91 Rozina Palić-Jelavić, “Društveni, politički i ideologijski kontekst stvaralaštva Vatroslava Lisinskoga na području zbarske glazbe. U povodu 190. obljetnice rođenja Vatroslava Lisinskoga i 200. obljetnice rođenja Ljudevita Gaja,” *Povijesni prilozi* 39 (2010): 155.

92 For more on Eisenhuth, see Antun Goglia, “Gjuro Eisenhuth,” *Sv. Cecilija* 20, no. 2 (1926): 37–48; Ivona Ajanović-Malinar, “Eisenhuth, Gjuro,” in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, online edition, 1998, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/eisenhuth-gjuro>.

93 He performed in a trio with V. Lichtenegger (piano) and I. Oertl (cello); in a piano quartet with I. Zajc (piano), E. Simm (viola), and I. Oertl (cello); and in string quar-

Brigade, conducted the Workers' and Craftsmen's Society "Sloboda", the Singing Society "Merkur", the University Singing Society "Hrvatska lira", and from 1873 to 1891 the Croatian Singing Society "Kolo". He was also a founding member of the Church Music Society in Zagreb (1872), where he worked on enhancing the sacred repertoire and performance practices, particularly as organist of St Mary's Church. Eisenhuth's compositional output reflects his deep involvement in practical music-making and the ensembles he directed. He composed around 220 works, including choral pieces, songs, duets, sacred music, orchestral and chamber works, two operas, an operetta, and dance music, among others. Highlighting his prolific activity and commitment, Goglia noted: "*There was hardly a concert in Zagreb in which he did not participate... Everywhere, he was the soul of the event and gave himself entirely.*"<sup>94</sup>

The central musical figure of the latter half of the 19th century, however, is Ivan Zajc (1832–1914).<sup>95</sup> After a successful period in Vienna (1862–1869) where he built his reputation as a composer of operettas and comic operas, Zajc came to Zagreb in 1870 with a clear mission:

To establish the first permanent national opera house, form a professional ensemble, create a standard repertoire, including national works, and simultaneously organise professional music education.<sup>96</sup>

tets, frequently with D. Prettner (second violin), I. Schneider (viola), and his brother Josip Eisenhuth (cello). He also played in various quintets, a sextet, an octet, as well as in Eisenhuth's piano trio, which was formed in 1890 and included his brother Josip and his daughter Luisa (piano).

94 Goglia, "Gjuro Eisenhuth," 38.

95 From 1855 on, Ivan Zajc was the leading musician in his native city of Rijeka, where he served as concertmaster and conductor of the theatre orchestra, organist and choirmaster, as well as an organiser of concerts and civic festivities. The compositions he wrote during this period were intended specifically for performance by the ensembles he directed, or for teaching purposes and student performances at Rijeka's Philharmonic Institute. See more on Zajc in Vjera Katalinić and Rozina Palić Jelavić, "Zajc, Ivan," in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, online edition, 2016, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/zajc-ivan>; Hubert Pettan, *Ivan Zajc* (Zagreb: Prosvjetni sabor Hrvatske, 1971); Stanislav Tuksar, ed., *Ivan Zajc (1832–1914): Musical Migrations and Cultural Transfers in the "Long" 19th Century in Central Europe and Beyond* (Zagreb: Croatian Musicological Society, 2016); Rozina Palić Jelavić, *Ivan pl. Zajc: Hrvatska nacionalna povijesna operna trilogija: Mislav, Ban Leget, Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* [Ivan von Zajc: Croatian National Historical Opera Trilogy: Mislav – Ban Leget – Nikola Šubić Zrinjski] (Zagreb: Croatian Musicological Society, 2023); Antun Goglia, *Ivan pl. Zajc: o stotoj godišnjici njegova narodjenja* (Zagreb: Tisak nadbiskupijeske tiskare, 1932).

96 Katalinić and Palić Jelavić, "Zajc, Ivan."

He served as director and principal conductor of the newly established opera until 1889, and as director and teacher at the Zagreb Music Institute until his retirement in 1908. Zajc's compositional output – over 1,200 works – was both prolific and adapted to the needs of the local music scene. He wrote operas, operettas, choral works (including dedicatory pieces for nearly every choral society of the time), songs, instrumental music, and numerous sacred compositions. Many works were written for pedagogical purposes.

Although he cannot be compared to Zajc in terms of composition, Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911) also stands out for his overall influence on musical culture and associations.<sup>97</sup> His ideas, rooted in the Illyrian movement, and published in both books and periodicals, profoundly shaped public discourse about music and musical culture in Croatia during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

By the end of that century and at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup>, one more composer must be mentioned: Franjo Serafin Vilhar-Kalski (1852–1928).<sup>98</sup> He had been active in Croatia since 1881, serving as director of the Music Institute in Karlovac (1881–84), choirmaster in Sisak (1884–86), Split (1886–89), and Gospić (1889–91), and from 1891 onwards as *regens chori* at St Mark's Church in Zagreb. He is regarded as the most prominent Croatian composer of non-Croatian origin at the turn of the century. Vilhar-Kalski composed over 300 works, including solo songs, choral pieces, instrumental compositions (for piano, string quartet, and orchestra), as well as operas and operettas. In his compositions, he frequently drew upon elements of Croatian folk melodies, integrating them into his musical language.

97 Grozdana Marošević and Sanja Majer-Bobetko, "Kuhač, Franjo Ksaver," in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, online edition, 2013, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/kuhac-franjo-ksaver>; Vjera Katalinić and Stanislav Tuksar, eds., *Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911): glazbena historiografija i identitet / Musical Historiography and Identity* (Zagreb: Croatian Musicological Society, 2013); Jerko Bezić, ed., *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u povodu 150. obljetnice rođenja Franje Ksavera Kuhača (1834–1911), Zagreb, 20–21. studenoga 1984.* (Zagreb: JAZU, Razred za muzičku umjetnost, Muzikološki zavod Muzičke akademije, 1984).

98 Anon., "Franjo Vilhar," *Sv. Cecilija* 6, no. 9 (1912): 82–3; Sanja Majer-Bobetko, "Djelovanje stranih (osobito čeških) glazbenika u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća u našim krajevima [Activities by Foreign (Especially Czech) Musicians in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in the Croatian Lands]," *Rad HAZU*, Book 7 = Book 455 (2005): 195–201.

## Conclusion

This study has examined the formation and development of various types of musical institutions and societies within the broader framework of the political and socio-cultural circumstances of the “long 19<sup>th</sup> century”. Through an analysis of the interplay between musical life and contemporary political structures, five characteristic models of the relationship between music and political authority have been identified: the functional, educational, patronage, social, and representative models. These frameworks reflect the ways in which power structures influenced, regulated, or supported musical associations, and how such institutions, in turn, contributed to the cultural shaping of civil society.

In the overview of the key composer figures who played a significant role in the establishment and/or functioning of various musical associations throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, several conclusions can be drawn, as follows. Over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the perception of the composer and of compositional work evolved from a marginal to the central and most prominent aspect of musical activity. Compositional work also became integral to the articulation of national and civic identities. Through their creative work and organisational involvement, composers ensured the continuity of institutional functioning, as well as the cultural relevance of musical societies. Professionally educated musicians, through their knowledge and skills, guaranteed artistic standards in both compositional and performance contexts. Ultimately, given the prominent role that musical societies played in the broader modernisation of society, the musicians who led these institutions were of crucial importance in that process.

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## The Composer's Association of Macedonia in the past and present: combining professionalism and nationality

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The beginning of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was characterised by the realisation of the ideals of the Macedonian people to obtain national rights and their own state. The process of developing a constitution in the new Macedonian state thus occurred within the framework of the Yugoslav federation. As such, during this period, as the established academician of legal sciences Vlado Kambovski says:

The development of the Macedonian state showed a series of deviations in the realisation of the main, libertarian idea, dictated by the general characteristics of the social, political, economic and legal system of the Yugoslav federation. Nonetheless, at the same time there marked significant progress on a national-cultural and social level: codification of the Macedonian literary language, the development of Macedonian literature, arts, education, science and culture, the formation of state institutions and social activities, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In creating the historical development of the newly formed Macedonian state, with the laying of the foundations of national culture and education, new perspectives for the development of musical culture opened up. In this extremely important stage of its historical development, Macedonia developed musical production and reproduction with equal intensity.

- 1 Vlado Kambovski, "Sedumdeset godini od prvoto zasedanie na ASNOM," in *ASNOM i makedonskata država: zbornik na trudovi od naučen sobir po povod odbeležuvanje na sedumdesetgodišnjinata od održuvanjeto na Prvoto zasedanie na ASNOM*, ed. Vlado Kambovski (Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 2017), 7.

The aim was to discover the aesthetic identity of Macedonian musical culture in the spirit of the era, following the principle of one of the most famous philosophers of all time, Confucius, who said: “*Let me hear the music of a society and I will tell you what it is like!*”<sup>2</sup> In this regard, in Skopje – as a centre where almost all cultural events took place, in addition to being the site of the already established musical-cultural and musical-educational institutions (the Macedonian Philharmonic Orchestra,<sup>3</sup> Radio Skopje Symphony Orchestra<sup>4</sup> and Secondary Music School)<sup>5</sup> – the need for

- 2 Georgi Stardelov, “Kon dvanaesettiot tom: Muzikata na počvata na Makedonija od Atanas Badev do denes (XX vek),” in *Muzikata na počvata na Makedonija od Atanas Badev do denes: prilozi za istražuvanje na istorijata na kulturata na Makedonija*, vol. 12, ed. Georgi Stardelov (Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 2004), 8.
- 3 A historical date for reproductive musical culture is November 24, 1944. Following a decision by AGITPROP of the General Staff of the Government of Democratic Federal Macedonia, a meeting was held in the house of the Macedonian musician Todor Skalovski, at which the desire to establish a symphony orchestra was explained, with it being the first cultural institution of its kind in liberated Macedonia. The orchestra’s development began on December 15, 1945, with the holding of the first symphony concert in the hall of the Macedonian National Theatre (*Makedonska filharmonija 1944–1974* (Skopje: Makedonska filharmonija, 1974), without pagination). On April 6, 1950, the orchestra was constituted as an independent artistic institution named the State Philharmonic of the People’s Republic of Macedonia (“Uredba za osnivanje na Državna filharmonija na Narodna Republika Makedonija,” *Služben vesnik na Narodna Republika Makedonija* VI, no. 11 (May 15, 1950): 71–2). Today it operates under the name the Philharmonic of the Republic of North Macedonia.
- 4 With the historic broadcast of the Second Session of the Anti-Fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia (hereafter: ASNOM), on December 28, 1944, the foundations of Radio Skopje were laid. Then, for the first time in the liberated homeland, the words of the prominent Macedonian writer, essayist, publicist and social activist Vlado Maleski were heard over the airwaves. “Radio Skopje is speaking, Radio Skopje is speaking; Dear listeners, we are broadcasting live from the Assembly hall the Second Session of ASNOM...” The radio station began regular operations on January 28, 1945. At that time, the Symphony Orchestra was also formed, which initially had a small number of musicians, but as the musician-performers returned from the front and the fighting, it grew to 44 members (*So zbor i slika: 50 godini svedoštvo: Makedonsko radio televizija* (Skopje: Makedonsko Radio Televizija, 1994), 9–10, 22).
- 5 The decision to open the Secondary Music School was made at the proposal of the Presidium for Education of the Presidium of ASNOM, at the session held on December 1, 1944 in Skopje (Anon., “Rešenje za otvoraње Muzička akademija, Sredna umetnička škola i Učiteljska škola vo Skopje,” *Služben vesnik na Federalna edinica Makedonija vo Demokratska i Federativna Jugoslavija* I, no. 1 (February 18, 1970): 23). T. Prokopiev was appointed as the first director, and the school began regular operations on February 2, 1945 (Snežana Anastasova-Čadikovska and Lazarevska Lidija, eds., *Muzičko-baletski učilišen centar “Ilija Nikolovski-Luj”: 1945-1995* (Skopje: Muzičko-baletski učilišen centar “Ilija Nikolovski-Luj,” 1995), 5–6).

the unification of Macedonian creative potential as soon as possible was seen as a necessary condition for the future growth of Macedonian musical culture. For this purpose, in 1947 the Society of Productive and Reproductive Musicians of the People's Republic of Macedonia<sup>6</sup> joined the three pivotal republican associations of composers of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereafter: SFRY) that were formed in 1945 (the Serbian Association of Composers, the Croatian Society of Composers and the Slovenian Society of Composers).<sup>7</sup>

At the founding assembly held at the premises of Radio Skopje on January 19, the first management board was elected from the luminaries of contemporary Macedonian musical culture: Petre Bogdanov-Kočko (president), T. Skalovski (vice-president), Slavko Kostovski (secretary), Vasil Ćortošev (treasurer), Žifko Firfov, Vasil Ćakonovski-Špato and Aleksandar Šalevski (members).<sup>8</sup>

The ambitious commitment and enthusiasm of the members of this association resulted in the realisation of the first concert of the Society of Productive and Reproductive Musicians of the People's Republic of Macedonia, held on February 5, 1947.<sup>9</sup> This concert marked the beginning of the concert activity of the Society, and on May 9 of the same year, the opera *Cavalleria Rusticana* by the Italian composer Pietro Mascagni was premiered in the Macedonian language at the Macedonian National Theatre (hereafter: MNT) on an amateur basis. With this opera, directed by Branko Primorišac from Belgrade, under the baton of T. Skalovski and performed by the soloists Elisaveta Savčenko (Santuca), Milka Guševska (Lola), P. Bogdanov-Kočko (Turidu), Stefan Rusjakov (Alfio) and Ganka Atanasova-Marković (Lucia), accompanied by the choir and symphony orchestra of Radio Skopje and the Student Choir,<sup>10</sup> an unexpected success was achieved in the institutional development of opera on the Macedonian stage. The further foundations of opera in Macedonia were laid with the Decree of the Ministry of Education on January 1, 1948, when the opera

6 Todor Skalovski, "Denes makedonskite muzičari osnovuat svoe društvo," *Nova Makedonija*, January 1947, 5.

7 Ivana Neimarević and Ksenija Stevanović, *SOKOJ – Organizacija muzičkih autora Srbije: 70 godina* (Beograd: Sokoj - Organizacija muzičkih autora Srbije, 2021), 18.

8 Marko Kolovski, *Sojuz na kompozitorite na Makedonija 1947–1992: Makedonski kompozitori i muzikolozi* (Skopje: Sojuz na kompozitori na Makedonija, 1993), 5–6.

9 Ibid., 6.

10 Marko Kolovski, "Vo spomen na eden veličestven čin," *Nova Makedonija*, November 2017, 1–2.

ensemble received the status of a professional artistic collective within the MNT.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the significant contribution to the establishment and support of the above-mentioned institutions, on May 25, 1949, upon the recommendation of the Ministry of Science and Culture of the Government of the FPR Yugoslavia,<sup>12</sup> a reorganisation of the Society's work was carried out. After this, the responsibility for the development, valorisation, affirmation and enrichment of Macedonian musical creativity has been divided into two societies. One of these societies took care of the promotion and professional survival of Macedonian musical artists,<sup>13</sup> while the other was responsible for uniting Macedonian composers and musicologists, permanently preserving and affirming their musical creativity.

In accordance with our interests, we will now focus on the activities of the Society of Composers of the People's Republic of Macedonia, which has been operating independently since the founding assembly was held on June 19, 1950 in Skopje. Over the past eight decades, it has carried out its activities through various historical periods where the thought and creativity of Macedonian composers were conditioned by the rule of several different social orders and political systems. Despite the fact that various socio-political processes of transition and transformation have had an impact on the intensity and nature of its work, the Society has maintained its key role in the development and promotion of Macedonian musical culture. A great contribution to this was made by its publishing activity, to which particular attention was paid after the establishment of the Institute for Publishing Activities of Composers of Yugoslavia in 1959, headquartered in Zagreb.<sup>14</sup> This marked the beginning of the more intensive publishing of the musical works of Macedonian composers. Analysing the available scores from the Collection of Musical Art at the National and University Library "St Kliment Ohridski" in Skopje and the data published in the book by the author Marko Kolovski, namely the *Composers Association*

11 Dragoslav Ortakov and Fimčo Muratovski, *Volšebniot Orfej – 55 godini Volšebniot Orfej* (Skopje: Makedonski naroden teatar, 2003), 3–1.

12 Anton Eberst, *30 godina Saveza udruženja muzičkih umetnika Jugoslavije* (Novi Sad: Udruženje muzičkih umetnika SAP Vojvodine: Udruženje kompozitora SAP Vojvodine, 1980), 10.

13 For more information see: Snežana Anastasova-Čadikovska, "Sojuz na muzičkite umetnici na Makedonija," in *Makedonska enciklopedija*, vol. 2, ed. Blaže Ristovski (Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 2009), 1389.

14 Kolovski, *Sojuz na kompozitorite na Makedonija*, 11.

of Macedonia 1947–1992: *Macedonian Composers and Musicologists*,<sup>15</sup> we came to the conclusion that among the most prolific composers whose musical works were printed before the independence of the Republic of Macedonia are: P. Bogdanov-Kočko (with 33 works), Vlastimir Nikolovski (29), Toma Prošev and Risto Avramovski (24), Sotir Golabovski (23), Trajko Prokopiev and Tomislav Zografski (20), Toma Mančev (19) and Stojče Toševski (18).

During the period of the Society's greatest creative, organisational and social activity, a major natural disaster occurred. This was the earthquake that damaged almost all musical institutions in Skopje on July 26, 1963. In the following years, all of the Society's activities were aimed at solving the basic problems of Macedonian composers. Thanks to the high maturity of the Composer's Union of Yugoslavia, that is, to all the member associations that showed a willingness to help Macedonian composers, aid was urgently sent in the form of tents and other necessary materials, and temporary accommodation was also provided for the most vulnerable families in the Union's building in Belgrade and at a resort in Bled. In addition, composers from Yugoslavia waived 2% of their copyrights over the next three years, after which the collected funds (10,122,715 dinars) were used to resolve the housing issues faced by Composers' Association.<sup>16</sup> After the damage caused by the earthquake had been overcome, the association restarted its publishing activities. The significant contribution to the production and distribution of Macedonian musical works was made with the recording of 12 gramophone records, which were realised as part of a project entitled *Anthology of Macedonian Music*.<sup>17</sup>

15 For more information, see: *ibid.*, 26–39.

16 *Ibid.*, 14.

17 Those are: T. Skalovski, T. Prokopiev, P. Bogdanov-Kočko, Mihajlo Nikolovski, Stojan Stojkov, Vlastimir Nikolovski, T. Zografski, Dimče Nikoleski, R. Avramovski, *Anthology of Macedonian Music – Choral Music*, no. 1 (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl; Atanas Badev, T. Skalovski, T. Prokopiev, D. Nikoleski, V. Nikolovski, S. Toševski, Aleksandar Lekovski, Dragoslav Ortakov, *Anthology of Macedonian Music – Choral Music*, no. 2 (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl; V. Nikolovski, T. Skalovski, R. Avramovski, T. Prokopiev, T. Prošev, S. Stojkov, *Anthology of Macedonian Music – Solo Music*, no. 3 (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl; R. Avramovski, S. Stojkov, V. Nikolovski, S. Golabovski, *Anthology of Macedonian Music – Music for Piano*, no. 4 (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl; T. Zografski, T. Skalovski, S. Stojkov, T. Prokopiev, R. Avramovski, V. Nikolovski, S. Toševski, *Anthology of Macedonian Music – Solo Song*, no. 5 (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl; R. Avramovski and T. Prošev, *Anthology of Macedonian Music – Music for Or-*

The production of records continued into the 1980s, when new titles were released with music by Stefan Gajdov,<sup>18</sup> T. Prokopiev,<sup>19</sup> T. Skalovski,<sup>20</sup> Blagoja Ivanovski,<sup>21</sup> Stojan Stojkov,<sup>22</sup> T. Zografski,<sup>23</sup> M. Nikolovski<sup>24</sup> and others. During the same period, albums by renowned musicians-performers and prominent members of the Society were also released, such as V. Nikolovski (8 LPs), R. Avramovski (6), T. Prošev (10) and Ljubomir Brangolica (6).<sup>25</sup>

The Society of Composers of the People's Republic of Macedonia also showed positive results within the framework of concert activity, which came to the fore after organising the event *Days of Macedonian Music*. Based on the data from the report on the work of the Board of Directors of the Composers' Association of Macedonia, we learn that the idea for establishing this event was initiated in 1973. Although initial approval for financing was obtained from the Fund for the Promotion of Cultural Activities in Macedonia, the idea was not realised until 1978.<sup>26</sup> The main aim

*chestra*, no. 6 (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl; D. Nikoleski, S. Toševski, R. Avramovski, T. Prošev, *Anthology of Macedonian Music – Chamber Music*, no. 7 (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl; The Macedonian Philharmonic Orchestra, *Anthology of Macedonian Music – Symphonic Music*, no. 8 (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl; V. Nikolovski and M. Nikolovski, *Anthology of Macedonian Music – To Clement*, no. 10 (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl; D. Ortakov, R. Avramovski, V. Nikolovski, T. Prošev, *Anthology of Macedonian Music*, no. 11 (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl; R. Avramovski, T. Prošev, D. Ortakov, S. Golabovski, *Anthology of Macedonian Music*, no. 12 (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl.

- 18 S. Gydov, *Stephan Gydov* (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl.  
 19 T. Prokopiev, *Trajko Prokopiev* (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl.  
 20 T. Skalovski, *Todor Skalovski* (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl.  
 21 B. Ivanovski, *Blagoja Ivanovski* (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl.  
 22 S. Stojkov, *Mother Almighty* (Skopje: Composers Association of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl.  
 23 T. Zografski, *Tomislav Zografski: In praise of Cyril and Methodius; Essau on the Rain* (Skopje: Society of Composers of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl.  
 24 M. Nikolovski, *Mihajlo Nikolovski* (Skopje: Composers Association of Macedonia, s.a.), vinyl.  
 25 Kolovski, *Sojuz na kompozitorite na Makedonija*, 44.  
 26 Arhivska dokumentacija na Sojuzot na kompozitori na Makedonija, *Izveštaj za rabotata na Upravniot odbor na Društvo na kompozitorite na makedonija vo 1973 godina*, without pagination.

of this event, which is now marking five decades of existence, is the premiere performance and presentation of newly created musical works, but also the presentation of works by the older generation of composers in order to maintain and not forget the tradition. At present, *Days of Macedonian Music* represents the sole pillar for the development, nurturing, reflection, presentation and affirmation of Macedonian musical creativity. Its realisation is under the patronage of the President of Macedonia, and it is financially supported by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

However, it is important to note that the most complete presentation of the work of Macedonian composers was achieved within the framework of the Tribune of Yugoslav Musical Creativity from 1964 to 1990, held in Opatija, Croatia. Here, Macedonian authors had the opportunity to present their own creative achievements and to encounter those of other composers. During that time period, 168 new compositions by Macedonian authors were performed in Opatija, in which Macedonian soloists and ensembles also participated. Among them were the following: 17 compositions by R. Avramovski (performed in 1968, 1970–1971, 1974–1975, 1977, 1980–1985, 1987 and 1990); five compositions by Lj. Branđolica (1968, 1970, 1972, 1982 and 1984); four compositions by Dimitrije Bužarovski (1976, 1982 and 1984); 14 compositions by S. Golabovski (1969, 1971, 1973–1975, 1977, 1980–1981, 1985 and 1987); nine compositions by T. Zografski (1964, 1967, 1969–1972, 1974); two compositions by B. Ivanovski (1972), three compositions by Goce Kolarovski (1982, 1984 and 1990); three compositions by T. Mančev (1982–1983 and 1990); two compositions by Kiril Makedonski (1964 and 1972); two compositions by Dimče Nikoleski (1973); eight compositions by M. Nikolovski (1974–1975, 1978, 1980–1982 and 1984); 17 compositions by V. Nikolovski (1964–1966, 1970–1972, 1979, 1981, 1984–1986 and 1989); one composition by Tode Novačevski (1980); 11 compositions by Dragoslav Ortakov (1966, 1968–1970, 1972–1973, 1975–1977, 1980 and 1986); 42 compositions by T. Prošev (1964–1971, 1973–1986); two compositions by T. Prokopiev (1972–1973); three compositions by T. Skalovski (1973, 1982 and 1984); 14 compositions by S. Stojkov (1971, 1978, 1980–1982, 1984–1989); five compositions by S. Toševski (1969–1970, 1972, 1978 and 1984); and four compositions by Blagoj Canev (1981–1983, 1985 and 1987).<sup>27</sup>

The need for the presentation of Macedonian musical production and reproduction led to the organisation of another significant event within the framework of the Society of Composers of Macedonia. This was the annual

27 For more information, see: Kolovski, *Sojuz na kompozitorite na Makedonija*, 49–59.

*Struga Music Autumn* event, which, since its founding in 1975,<sup>28</sup> has provided an opportunity for musicologists, music and ballet pedagogues, music theorists, music media scholars and ethnomusicologists to jointly monitor the state of Macedonian musical thought from their narrower scientific fields, and to present them to the wider and professional. Part of the event's programme is the commemoration of the anniversaries of those composers who have passed away, which is done in order to nurture musical history and culture as one of the main pillars of society. This year marks five decades since the first realisation of this musical and scientific event. An analysis of the programme contents over the years shows that many premiere performances have been held of newly created compositions, and that at the many musicological sessions that have occurred both domestic and foreign performers and academics have analysed and shed light on issues related to musical science, Macedonian theory and studies in Macedonian musical creation and musical culture. The event is realised with the support of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

Since the collapse of the SFRY and the creation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1992), as a result of the declaration of independence of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Society has operated under the name the Composers Association of Macedonia. Its task is to continue the programme of fostering tradition and cultural cooperation that was started during the years of the SFRY, and to deepen the national culture in an independent and sovereign Republic of Macedonia. Looking at its activities in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the context of thinking about musical creativity – and mainly concert activity, the public presentation of creative, performing and musicological thought – it is a pleasure to say that it has managed to skilfully face the problems, challenges and all other burning issues of the Macedonian musical reality that are presented to the creators of music in this context.

The beginning of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was marked by the military conflict in Macedonia, which began in January 2001 and ended later that year in November. Since then, due to various political and social developments, the Composer's Association has faced certain difficulties in terms of the thought and creativity of Macedonian composers. Many of

28 *Programa za muzička naučna konferencija "Struška muzička esen"* (Struga: Sojuz na kompozitori na Makedonija, 10–12 septemvri 2010), 4.

the older generation of Macedonian composers<sup>29</sup> have now passed away, and there is a growing need for composers from the younger generation. Those composed who are still active on the scene include S. Stojkov (born 1941), Jane Kodzhabašija (1942), Ilija Pejovski (1947), D. Bužarovski (1952), Živojin Glišić (1954), Nikola Dimuševski-Kokan (1958), Miroslav Spasov (1964), Jana Andreevska (1967), Vanja Nikolovski-Gjumar (1968), Katerina Pejovska (1969), Robert Sazdov (1969), Nikola Kodzhabašija (1970), Pande Šahov (1973), Evdokija Danajlovska (1973), Mihailo Trendafilovski (1974), Goran Načevski (1978), Goce Gavrilovski (1978), Soni Petrovski (1977), Valentina Velkovska-Trajanovska (1976), Aleksandar Pejovski (1979), Darija Andovska (1979), Dragan Stojkovski (1979), Boris Svetiev (1980), Damjan Temkov (1981), Elizabeta Ilievska (1982), Tairi Vulnet (1982), Fatos Ljumanjani (1983), Goce Simonoski (1984), Ana Pandevska (1985), and Mihajlo Šterjev (1985). Twenty-three of these work in Macedonia, while eight<sup>30</sup> now work abroad. As the Macedonian composer and former president of the Composers Association of Macedonia, V. Velkovska-Trajanovska, says of those working outside the country:

On the one hand, it is a confirmation of their quality education and knowledge, after which their work becomes part of the world's musical progress, but on the other hand, their lack in the field of musical education is also felt in our country.<sup>31</sup>

Since the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Composers Association of Macedonia has engaged in the more intensive production of recorded

- 29 Among the deceased composers who were once members of the Composers Association of Macedonia are: Lj. Brangolica (1932–2023), Kire Kostov (1949–2023), Tode Novačevski (1957–2022), Aleksandar Dzhabazov (1936–2022), T. Mančev (1950–2020), B. Canev (1937–2020), S. Golabovski (1937–2014), Aleksandar Lekovski-Lekaj (1933–2013), S. Toševski (1944–2008), acad. R. Avramovski (1943–2007), D. Ortakov (1928–2007), Goce Kolarovski (1959–2006), acad. T. Skalovski (1909–2004), Bogdan Šindilovski (1918–2003), acad. V. Nikolovski (1925–2001), Dragan Šuplevski (1933–2001), T. Zografski (1934–2000), T. Prošev (1931–1996), D. Nikoleski (1943–1998), M. Nikolovski (1934–1994), B. Ivanovski (1921–1994), S. Gajdov (1905–1992), P. Bogdanov-Kochko (1913–1988), D. Gjakonovski-Špato (1931–1987), Ž. Firfov (1906–1984), K. Makedonski (1925–1984), Taki Hrisik (1920–1983), Dragan Bojadziev (1930–1981), T. Prokopiev (1909–1979) and Gligor Smokvarski (1914–1974).
- 30 These are M. Spasov, V. Nikolovski-Gjumar, R. Sazdov, K. Pejovska, N. Kodzhabašija, M. Trandafilovski, P. Šahov and E. Danajlovska.
- 31 Valentina Velkovska-Trajanovska, "Tvoreštvo makedonskih kompozitora u uslovi ma tranzicija 2001–2012," *Muzika regiona u uslovima tranzicije (1990–2010)*, no. 42 (2015): 56.

music. With the support of the Ministry of Culture (hereafter: MC),<sup>32</sup> the Composer's Association has released a number of CDs, with some notable titles shown in the following table.

Table 1: *The Discographic Production of the Composers Association of Macedonia:*

<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2011
<i>CD Title:</i>	Blagoj Canev: From the Composer's Opus
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	15
<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. Folklore Suite 'Ovcheolska' for Piano;	B. Canev <sup>33</sup>
2. 'Intermezzo Suite' for Piano;	
3. 'Three Musical Pieces' for Piano;	
4. 'Sonata in E Flat' for Clarinet and Piano;	
5. 'String Quartet in G';	
6. 'Flowers' for Voice and Piano;	
7. 'Nights' for Women's Choir;	
8. 'Plain' for Male Choir;	
9. 'The Tobacco Pickers';	
10. 'Suite Folkloric Canons' for Wind Quintet;	
11. 'Brass trio' in A-flat major	
12. 'Nine Miniatures' for String Orchestra;	
13. 'Lento' for String Orchestra;	
14. 'Symphony 79';	
15. 'Bachophony' for Eight Instruments.	

32 Since 1998, the MC has held annual competitions through which an annual scheme for financing programmes and projects of national interest for culture is carried out. At the beginning, the Composers Association of Macedonia was treated by the MC as a national institution, having its own service. However, after a change in status (December 31, 2001), and in accordance with the government policy to reduce the number of employees in public administration, it operates in accordance with the law on citizens' associations and foundations and only projects are financed by the MC. In fact, the funds that the Composers Association receives for orders for new works from the MC are mainly related to the *Days of Macedonian Music* event, and due to the need for new works for this festival, the orders are directed more towards solo and chamber music. The release of audio editions in the second decade of the 21st century is in accordance with the action plan of the MC for the digitisation of musical creation, and the support and stimulation of domestic musical creation with regard to works in various formats in the period 2013–2017 (Stefanija Leškova Zelenkova, "Vlijanieto na kulturnata politika i tvoreštvo na makedonkite kompozitori vo Republika Makedonija," *Muzika: spisanie za muzička kultura*, no. 20 (2014): 42–3).

33 B. Canev, *Blagoj Canev: From the Composer's Opus* (Skopje: Macedonian Radio & Television, Composers Association of Macedonia, 2011), CDr.

<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2013
<i>CD Title:</i>	Pictures in Sound: Macedonian Film Music
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	12
<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. 'Frosina and	T. Prokopiev
2. Wolf Night'	
3. 'Judgment and	T. Zografski
4. Father' (We are Cursed, Irina)	
5. 'Skopje Dreams'	Lj. Brangolica
6. 'Happy New Year' and	Ljupčo Konstantinov
7. 'The Red Horse'	
8. 'Lead Brigade' and	Ilija Pejovski
9. 'Knot'	
10. 'Inverted' and	Z. Spasovski
11. 'Inverted-Circus Entropa'	
12. 'Like a Grey Killer'	Proekt Žlust <sup>34</sup>
<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2013
<i>CD Title:</i>	Dimče Nikoleski: From the Composer's Opus
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	4
<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. 'Four Prayers' for Tenor, Flute, Clarinet	D. Nikoleski <sup>35</sup>
and Piano;	
2. 'String Quartet';	
3. 'Sonata' for Violin, Cello and Piano;	
4. 'Four Associations on a Folk Theme'.	
<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2013
<i>CD Title:</i>	Blagoja Ivanovski: From the Composer's Opus
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	4
<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. 'Fresco' – Symphonic poem;	B. Ivanovski <sup>36</sup>
2. 'Macedonian Dance No. 2' for Symphony	
Orchestra;	
3. 'Thinking – Symphonic poem';	
4. 'Samuel's Epic – Symphonic poem'.	

34 *Pictures in Sound: Macedonian Film Music* (Skopje: Balkan Music Forum, Macedonian Radio & Television, Composers Association of Macedonia, 2013), CDr.

35 D. Nikoleski, *Dimče Nikoleski: From the Composer's Opus* (Skopje: Balkan Music Forum, Macedonian Radio & Television, Composers Association of Macedonia, 2013), CDr.

36 B. Ivanovski, *Blagoja Ivanovski: From the Composer's Opus* (Skopje: Balkan Music Forum, Macedonian Radio & Television, Composers Association of Macedonia, 2013), CDr.

<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2013
<i>CD Title:</i>	Dragan Šuplevski: From the Composer's Opus
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	18
<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. 'Capriccio' for Violin and Strings;	D. Šuplevski <sup>37</sup>
2. 'The Nightingale Sings on a Rose';	
3. 'Rum, dum, dum';	
4. 'Let's Get Married';	
5. 'A Girl Went to The Water';	
6. 'Čae Šukatiye';	
7. 'Our Father';	
8. 'Radio Dziv';	
9. 'Mile Pop Jordanov Is Lying Sick';	
10. 'Grandpa Plowed';	
11. 'Tatunčo Glorious Duke';	
12. 'Little Girl with a Back Eye';	
13. 'God Bless Whoever Started It First';	
14. 'Raise Your Eyes Maro Marčo';	
15. 'I Happened to Be a Cute Little Girl';	
16. 'My Bilbil Sang to Me All Night Long';	
17. 'Marika Beautiful Girl';	
18. 'Marika Was Sitting in My Chair'.	

<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2013
<i>CD Title:</i>	Todor Trajčevski: From the Composer's Opus from the Source to Eternity
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	16
<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. 'Aegean Story';	T. Trajčevski <sup>38</sup>
2. 'Virtuoso Collage';	
3. 'The Dew Has Fallen';	
4. 'Midnight Ballad';	
5. 'Morning Sickness';	
6. 'Folk Riddle';	
7. 'Small Prespa Dance';	
8. 'Aneva's game';	
9. 'I Believed in You Until the End';	
10. 'Čupi Kosturčanki';	
11. 'Kaleš Anѓa';	
12. 'Musandra';	

37 D. Šuplevski, *Dragan Šuplevski: From the Composer's Opus* (Skopje: Music Publishing Center, Macedonian Radio & Television, Composers Association of Macedonia, 2013), CDr.

38 T. Trajčevski, *Todor Trajčevski: From the Composer's Opus from the Source to Eternity* (Skopje: Music Publishing Center, Macedonian Radio & Television, Composers Association of Macedonia, 2013), CDr.

13. 'I'm Bored';
14. 'Spring has Come';
15. 'Passion and Romance'
16. 'Old Love'.

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<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2013
<i>CD Title:</i>	Toma Prošev: From the Composer's Opus
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	2

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<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. 'Symphony No. 3' (Allegro, Adagio, Allegro);	T. Prošev <sup>39</sup>
2. 'Concerto' for Cello and Orchestra (Allegro, Adagio, Allegro)	

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<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2013
<i>CD Title:</i>	Goran Načevski: From the Composer's Opus
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	7

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<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. 'Sonatina' for Baritone and Piano;	S. Gajdov
2. 'Sheet Music' for Voice and Piano;	T. Zografski
3. 'Three Religious Songs' for Baritone and Piano;	G. Načevski <sup>40</sup>
4. '7 Sounds of Loneliness' – "7 Aphorisms for Piano";	
5. 'Symphony Orchestra Solution';	
6. 'Six Informal Conversations and Fugue' for Violin and Piano;	
7. 'Fugue and Chorale' for Cello and Piano.	

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<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2013
<i>CD Title:</i>	Valentina Velkovska-Trajanovska: Step in Front of the Darkness
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	10

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<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. 'Step in Front of the Darkness';	V. Velkovska-Trajanovska <sup>41</sup>
2. 'Celestial Bodies (I-Meteors)';	
3. 'Orpheus of Infinity';	
4. 'Toward the Cliff';	
5. 'Star Trail';	
6. 'Omen';	
7. 'The Transfiguration';	
8. 'Clairvoyants';	
9. 'Mirrors';	
10. 'Holy Land'.	

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39 T. Prošev, *Toma Prošev: From the Composer's Opus* (Skopje: Composers Association of Macedonia, 2013), CDr.

40 G. Načevski, *Goran Načevski: From the Composer's Opus: Elan: Games of Love* (Skopje: Composers Association of Macedonia, Music Publishing Center, Macedonian Radio & Television, 2013), CDr.

41 V. Velkovska-Trajanovska, *Step in Front of the Darkness* (Skopje: Music Publishing Center, Macedonian Radio & Television, Composers Association of Macedonia, 2013), CDr.

<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2014
<i>CD Title:</i>	Mihajlo Nikolovski: From the Composer's Opus
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	5
<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. 'String Quartet';	M. Nikolovski <sup>42</sup>
2. 'Macedonia' Cantata for Soloist, Reciter, Mixed Choir and Orchestra;	
3. 'Ilinden Evening' for Mixed Choir;	
4. 'Variations' for Chamber Orchestra;	
5. 'Sheet Music' for Alto and Chamber Orchestra.	
<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2015
<i>CD Title:</i>	Tome Mančev: From the Compositional Opus
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	5
<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. Symphony No. 2 'Patagonia' (Allegro Furioso, Comodo, Allegro Furioso E Marcato (Arrabiato-Vigorouso);	T. Mančev <sup>43</sup>
2. 'Old Song' – Concert Scenes for Symphony Orchestra Op. 27;	
3. Cantata 'Homeland' for Soloist, Reciter, Mixed Choir and Orchestra, op.24;	
4. 'DD..' for Solo Flute;	
5. 'Cadenza and Coda Trio' for Flute, Clarinet and Bassoon.	
<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2021
<i>CD Title:</i>	Ana Pandevska: From the Composer's Opus
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	8
<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. 'Life in a Box';	A. Pandevska <sup>44</sup>
2. 'Landscape Atmospheres';	
3. '09.05.2015';	
4. 'Quince and Darin';	
5. 'The Space Traveller';	
6. 'Marionettes';	
7. 'Pagliaca';	
8. 'An Electroacoustic Symphonic Poem'.	

42 M. Nikolovski, *Mihajlo Nikolovski: From the Composer's Opus* (Skopje: Composers Association of Macedonia, Music Publishing Center, Macedonian Radio & Television, 2014), CDr.

43 T. Mančev, *Tome Mančev: From the Compositional Opus* (Skopje: Balkan Music Forum, Macedonian Radio & Television, Composers Association of Macedonia, 2015), CDr.

44 A. Pandevska, *Ana Pandevska: From the Composer's Opus* (Skopje: Balkan Music Forum, Macedonian Radio & Television, Composers Association of Macedonia, 2021), CDr.

<i>Year of Publication:</i>	2023
<i>CD Title:</i>	Boris Svetiev: From the Composer's Opus
<i>Number of Musical Works:</i>	7
<i>Title of Musical Composition</i>	<i>Composer</i>
1. 'Quartet' for Violin, Cello, Piano and Percussion;	B. Svetiev <sup>45</sup>
2. 'Fantasy for S' for Two Pianos;	
3. 'Fantasy' for Piano;	
4. 'Peculiar Voyager' for Voice and Piano;	
5. 'Three Miniatures' for Piano;	
6. 'Chrystal Humoresque' for Woodwind Quintet;	
7. 'Concert Etudes' for Piano and Symphony Orchestra.	

The Composers Association of Macedonia, as an organisation that unites Macedonian composers and musicologists, gives the following awards: 'T. Prokopiev' – lifetime achievement award; 'Pance Pešev' – lifetime achievement award; 'T. Prokopiev' – award for the best premiere performance of a work by a Macedonian author in the previous year; 'Georgi Božikov' – award for the best performance of a work by a Macedonian author in the previous year by ensembles or musical artists; and 'Virtuosi' – award for the most successful musical or ballet artists.

Based on an analysis of the Composers Association of Macedonia's activities over the past eight decades, we can see that Macedonian composers – as members of this association – have overcome numerous challenges and problems and have constantly strived, through a combination of professionalism and national pride, to unite, protect, present and promote the cultural and spiritual values of Macedonian musical creation. Specifically, through its activities and actions, the Composers Association of Macedonia has enabled Macedonian musical creativity to live and be created in continuity, as a tradition, and a testimony to past, present and future times.

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45 B. Svetiev, *Boris Svetiev: From the Composer's Opus* (Skopje: Balkan Music Forum, Macedonian Radio & Television, Composers Association of Macedonia, 2023), CDr.

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# Yugoslav-Soviet Union relations from the 1950s to 1970s: Cooperation, Exchange, and Cultural Transfer through the Composers' Association of Serbia (UKS) and the Union of Yugoslav Composers (SAKOJ)

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Although the postwar musical life in Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia/Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY, SFRY) has received some scholarly attention, preliminary findings indicate gaps in the material, the dispersal of existing sources, and generally limited scholarly interest of local musicologists in studying the Union of Yugoslav Composers (*Savez kompozitora Jugoslavije* – SAKOJ)<sup>1</sup> and the Composer's Association of Serbia (*Udruženje kompozitora Srbije* – UKS) after the dissolution of the SFRY.<sup>2</sup> Although scholars from other disciplines, such as historians, have shown interest in this period, they have predominantly focused on the broader, macro-level aspects of culture and cultural politics, while paying comparatively little attention to the practices, works, and individual

1 The abbreviation SAKOJ was introduced in 1965. Until then, the acronym SKJ had been in use, but we will not use it here in order to avoid confusion. SOKOJ was used as a sort of successor institution in Serbia, but originally Organization of Music Authors of Serbia (*Organizacija muzičkih autora Srbije*) which merged high-artistic practice composers and authors of popular music.

2 An exception is the short monograph published by musicologists Ivana Neimarević and Ksenija Stevanović from 2021, which, unfortunately, contains neither a list of consulted references nor evidence of original research aimed at uncovering new data or reassessing existing findings. See: Ivana Neimarević and Ksenija Stevanović, *Sokoj - Organizacija muzičkih autora Srbije: 70 godina* (Belgrade: Organizacija muzičkih autora Srbije, 2021). Important dates from the history of SOKOJ are provided on the website of its successor institution in Serbia, established after the dissolution of the SFRY. SOKOJ – Organisation of Music Authors of Serbia, <https://www.sokoj.rs/o-nama/istorijat/>.

contributions of artists. Therefore, through this research, we aim to bridge the gap between macro-cultural history and case studies of cultural cooperation, highlighting the role of music and music artists. Consequently, we decided to focus on a specific period that marks a significant crossroads. While the period from the 1950s is noted in historiography as the 'golden age' or, more broadly, as the period of Tito's Yugoslavia's ascent, the late 1960s and the 1970s bring decline and the beginning of a social crisis.<sup>3</sup> On the flip side, this was the period of the so-called Cold War, when cultural ties were shaped by the geopolitical conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States, between East and West.<sup>4</sup> In this context, it is particularly important to highlight the moment of the split between Tito and Stalin, as it largely shaped the cultural relations between the two countries. For this reason, we take the period following the split as the chronological reference point for the beginning of our research. The boundary year for framing the period under research, and the starting point of our study, is 1950 – the year in which SAKOJ was officially established, five years after the foundation of the UKS.<sup>5</sup>

3 See further in: John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 323–5.

4 On the main premises of the SFRY's foreign policy, see: Tvrtko Jakovina, *Treća strana Hladnog rata* (Zagreb: Fraktura, 2011); Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918–1988: Socijalistička Jugoslavija 1945–1988*, Vol. III (Belgrade: Nolit, 1988), 357–79; Leo Mates, *Međunarodni odnosi Socijalističke Jugoslavije* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1976). More details about SFRY cultural policy during Cold War, and "neutral" position which followed to establishment of Non-Aligned Movement in 1961, see: Maja Vasiljević, "Cultural Cooperation Between the Non-Aligned Yugoslavia and the Neutral Finland From the 1960s to the 1980s," in *The Tunes of Diplomatic Notes: Music and Diplomacy in Southeast Europe (18th–20th century)*, eds. Ivana Vesić, Vesna Peno, and Boštjan Udovič (Belgrade, Ljubljana: Institute of Musicology SASA, University of Ljubljana Faculty of Social Sciences, 2020), 241–56, [https://doi.org/10.18485/music\\_diplomacy.2020.ch15](https://doi.org/10.18485/music_diplomacy.2020.ch15); Maja Vasiljević, "View to Cold War Through the Pericentric Lenses: Tito's Yugoslavia and Kekkonen's Finland," *Limes plus* [Special edition "Cold War"] 1 (2013): 9–28, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3723669>.

5 UKS was one of the five organizations that comprised SAKOJ. According to report from 1958, here are the number of members: Union of composers of Serbia (UKS/Udruženje kompozitora Srbije) 62, Union of Composers of Croatia (UKH/Udruženje kompozitora Hrvatske) 56, Society of Slovene Composers (DDS/Društvo slovenskih skladateljev) 69, the Union of composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina (UKBiH/Udruženje kompozitora Bosne i Hercegovine) 19, and Society of composers in Macedonia (DKM/Društvo na kompozitorite na Makedonija) 20 members. See: The Archives of Yugoslavia (Arhiv Jugoslavije, further AJ), fond 142 Socialist Alliance for the Working People of Yugoslavia (further SSRNJ), box 82, fasc. 326.

In this study, we will first examine in greater detail the context of SAKOJ's and UKS's activities, and then, based on specific examples, illustrate how intercultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union functioned. We will also aim to highlight the key problematic aspects of these relations, specifically through examples of music cooperation, exchange, and cultural transfer from the 1950s to the 1970s.

### Sources and Methodological Approach

Our research began with an examination of archival sources from the Archives of Yugoslavia, primarily correspondence from the Federal Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (1953–1971), the archive of the Agency for Business Registers, as well as periodicals, memoirs, and internal documentation of institutions, which are dispersed across multiple locations and chronologically inconsistent. We need to emphasize that SAKOJ organized its Congress annually, mostly on the Adriatic coast, but also having meetings on occasions such as the Composers' Forum in Opatija and others, where they discussed activities and international cooperations thoroughly. UKS also had annual assemblies as a central activity. Still, opinions of its members were not fully reported in public, and stenographic notes and official records from their meetings were not preserved for every year of their existence.

After a decade and a half of existence, SAKOJ launched its *Bulletin* (*Bilten saveza kompozitora Jugoslavije*) in 1964, motivated by “the need for mutual knowledge and cooperation.” Its purpose was to “inform the members of the republican associations of composers about the most important events for Yugoslav musical creativity,” while also aiming to contribute to interpersonal acquaintance with music creators, as well as greater connection and inform-relations between republican music centers and professional music associations.<sup>6</sup> The bulletin was intended for all institutions that cooperate or have occasional contacts with the Alliance, embassies of the SFR, as an overview of events, and journalists as a basic source of information about the Union.<sup>7</sup> However, although very important for the research of SAKOJ activities and history, the *Bulletin* was not published regularly. After the first issue, there was a break until 1971. Then, it was published from 1975, from 1978–1985, and from 1987 to 1992. The only valuable source for research on this topic is a monographic volume published in 1970, dedicated

6 *Bilten saveza kompozitora Jugoslavije*, no. 1 (January 1964): 1.

7 Ibid.

entirely to the Union of Yugoslav Composers, and edited by its former president, composer Predrag Milošević. It includes contributions by composer and conductor Oskar Danon, musicologist Roksanda Pejović (1929–2018), and others. What makes this publication particularly significant is that many of its authors were themselves participants in the history of SAKOJ and/or conducted interviews with senior composers, drawing on their first-hand experiences with the institution. Pejović is also the author of a publication marking the anniversary of UKS, *A historical overview of the development of the Association of Composers of Serbia in 1965*,<sup>8</sup> which is also the only thematic publication dedicated to this organization to date.<sup>9</sup> An example of a scientific approach to this topic after the dissolution of Yugoslavia is an article by musicologist Vesna Mikić (1967–2019) dealing not only with SAKOJ and its establishment, but also interconnections between SAKOJ and its republic organizations.<sup>10</sup> Finally, we could collect some fragments of history about SAKOJ and UKS in the journals *Sound (Zvuk)*, *Pro Musica*, *Književne novine*, and *Borba*. Still, the state of research on this topic is fragmented into separate case studies about composers who were members of SAKOJ and UKS, in which institutions were only marginally mentioned.

To this end, we will present several examples of cultural cooperation to illustrate its mechanisms and strategies of action, with a special focus on the exchange of cultural workers and the principles of establishing copyright. In order to contextualize these examples, we will briefly discuss the socio-historical context in which these networks were established, as well as explore the periods during which they were questioned, in alignment with broader political interests. It is particularly important to emphasize the significance of operating through institutional structures, that is, the role of associations in this process.

### Socio-Political Context and Circumstances

It is well known that Yugoslav-Soviet relations in the period after World War II were largely based on viewing the Soviet model as exemplary, span-

8 Roksanda Pejović, *Istorijski pregled razvoja Udruženja kompozitora Srbije* (Beograd: Udruženje kompozitora Srbije, 1965).

9 A monograph dedicated to marking the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its founding is currently in preparation by musicologists: Sonja Marinković, Stefan Cvetković, Ivana Miladinović Prica, and Biljana Leković.

10 Vesna Mikić, “O UKS-u i DSS-u SKJ/SAKOJ-u (u kontekstu politike) DDD,” in *Ustanove, politika in glasba v Sloveniji in Srbiji 1945–1963*, eds. Tatjana Marković and Leon Stefanija (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2015), 177–99.

ning everything from the economy to party organization, with cultural policy serving state propaganda. Although these two countries were the closest allies in foreign policy, Yugoslavia's independent stance in foreign affairs led to the conflict in June 1948, marked by the Cominform resolution.<sup>11</sup> After this period, relations between the two countries were characterized by alternating phases of stability and instability, which is also reflected in the context of cultural policy and diplomacy.<sup>12</sup>

In these relations, cultural exchange played a significant role as a 'soft' form of political interchange.<sup>13</sup> To be more specific, the concept of cultural diplomacy:

gained enhanced value where traditional diplomacy and military force are limited. Namely, cultural exchange can serve as an instrument of reconciliation between former adversaries, especially after a period of intense international tension, and culture represents a field for the rapprochement of states. An example of this is the improvement of relations between East and West following Stalin's death, which began precisely with renewed cultural exchange.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, following the conflict of 1948 and Stalin's death in 1953, cultural policy was or was supposed to provide a platform for establishing relations both with the East and with the West. This way of positioning the SFRY included pacifism and a neutral position in the geopolitical constellation, which would lead Yugoslavia towards the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement.<sup>15</sup> Speaking of political aspirations toward the East, formal reconciliation between the two countries took place with the signing of the Belgrade and Moscow Declarations in 1955. After relations deteriorated again over the next two years, the early 1960s saw a renewed normalization of ties.<sup>16</sup> The following years were marked by a more liberal form

11 Andrija Jovanović, "Jugoslovenski stav prema spornim pitanjima kulturne saradnje sa Sovjetskim Savezom u periodu normalizacije diplomatskih odnosa," *Historia Moderna: Bosnia & Hercegovina* 2, no. 2 (2021): 13, <https://doi.org/10.62215/2744-2365.2021.2.2.11>.

12 For exact examples, statistics and events that shaped cultural cooperation of Yugoslavia, namely their cultural foreign policy from "historical NO" to Stalin up to 1960s, see: Branka Doknić, *Kulturna politika Jugoslavije, 1946-1963* (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2013).

13 "Introduction," in *Cultural Diplomacy*, eds. Kristen Bound, Rachel Briggs, John Holden, and Samuel Jones (London: Demos, 2007), 15-6.

14 Jovanović, "Jugoslovenski stav prema spornim pitanjima kulturne saradnje," 13.

15 See further in: Vasiljević, "View to Cold War Through the Pericentric Lenses."

16 Jovanović, "Jugoslovenski stav prema spornim pitanjima kulturne saradnje," 13-4.

of socialism, which involved international cultural exchange with both Western and Eastern bloc countries. In this process, the Soviet Union remained a platform of strategic importance.<sup>17</sup>

Several key events should be highlighted, discussing cultural cooperation. The exchange of letters between Nikita Khrushchev and Josip Broz Tito in July and August 1954; the adoption of the “Decision on Measures for the Restoration of Cultural Ties between the USSR and Yugoslavia” in September 1954 (Communist Party of the Soviet Union/*Коммунистическая партия Советского Союз/СК КПСС*); and the meeting between Yugoslav Ambassador Vidić and Soviet Minister of Culture Aleksandrov in October of the same year. As a result, a bilateral agreement was later concluded in the form of the Belgrade Declaration, adopted on June 2, 1955. The final part of the declaration emphasized the obligation of both states to conclude a Convention on Cultural Cooperation to intensify cultural ties.<sup>18</sup> This agreement came into effect on May 17, 1956, under the title “Convention on Cultural Cooperation between the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.”<sup>19</sup> Its purpose was to expand friendly relations and to foster and strengthen cultural ties between the two countries. Furthermore,

The Convention provided for mutual cultural exchange through the exchange of scientific, professional, literary, and artistic works and publications, as well as the translation and publication of these works. It also covered the exchange of lectures, concerts, theatrical performances, sporting events, the organization of scientific and artistic exhibitions, the exchange of scientific, artistic, and documentary films, among others.<sup>20</sup>

The cooperation with the Soviet Union involved primarily the exchange of cultural workers based on the principle of guest appearances for a specific period, and on the established plans for cultural or friendly cooperation. Annual agreements were signed with various countries, and the Soviet Union was no exception. However, when considering the broader

17 Ibid., 14–5.

18 Ibid., 15–6.

19 Precise data on not only cultural cooperation, but also all areas of foreign and domestic policy of the SFRY, by year, and in this regard, specific bilateral and other agreements that were signed, can be found in the journal *Yugoslav Survey*, see: *Jugoslavenski pregled: informativno dokumentarni priručnik o Jugoslaviji, 1957–2002*.

20 Jovanović, “Jugoslavenski stav prema spornim pitanjima kulturne saradnje,” 17.

cultural context, this period can be seen as one of cultural liberalization. Historian Radina Vučetić, a dedicated researcher of this period, concluded:

While it was still expected that culture, in all its segments, would be infused with ideology, there was also a continuous liberalization of the arts. Thanks to this, culture turned towards new aesthetics and poetics, largely under the influence of the West, but also experiencing, at times, successful and sometimes partial liberation from the strong influence of the Party.<sup>21</sup>

In the context of SAKOJ's work, it is noted that a significant number of compositions by Yugoslav authors were published in the USSR, while at the same time, events related to American music were closely followed. Evidence of this delicate balancing act – being “*neither here nor there*,” caught between East and West – can also be found in the cooperation agreements made with various countries. These included agreements on friendly cooperation with Czechoslovakia, Romania, Austria, East Germany, Hungary, and the USSR, among others (1969). Finally, by automatism of geopolitical struggle, in the documents and reports of the Federal Commission for Cultural Cooperation of Yugoslavia, we first encounter a list of corporations with socialist countries, regardless of the scale of the exchange, and then others.

### Within the Network of Cultural Cooperation

From the beginnings of institutional activity through the work of associations (Composers' Association of Serbia, Union of Yugoslav Composers), the idea of “*better promotion of the works of domestic authors both in the country and abroad*” has been the core of their efforts.<sup>22</sup> It should be clarified that SAKOJ, as the “*umbrella organization*”, as Oscar Danon notes, was not intended to be a “*central administration with all competencies*,” nor an “*organization above organizations*”, but rather an institution whose “*main task was coordinating and connecting the various republic associations, representing composers*”.<sup>23</sup>

21 Radina Vučetić, *Monopol na istinu: Partija, kultura i cenzura u Srbiji šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina XX veka* (Beograd: Clio, 2016), 75.

22 Predrag Milošević, ed., *SAKOJ: 1950–1970* (Beograd: Savez kompozitora Jugoslavije, 1970). [Publication was printed without page numbers].

23 Oskar Danon, “Prve godine Saveza kompozitora,” in *SAKOJ: 1950–1970*, ed. Predrag Milošević (Beograd: Savez kompozitora Jugoslavije, 1970).

In the period we approach in this paper, presidents of the SAKOJ were from different republics, while secretaries were from Serbia, as shown in the accompanying tables.

Table 1: SAKOJ Presidents 1935–1975

SAKOJ Presidents	
1953–1957	Matija Bravničar (1897–1977), Slovenian
1957–1962	Slavko Zlatić (1910–1993), Croatian
1962–1966	Vlastimir Nikolovski (1925–2001), North Macedonian
1966–1971	Miroslav Špiler (1906–1982), Croatian
1971–1975	Cvjetko Ivanović (1929–1994), Montenegrin

Table 2: SAKOJ Secretaries 1935–1975

SAKOJ Secretaries	
1950–1953	Oskar Danon (1913–2009)
1953–1962	Mihailo Vukdragović (1900–1986)
1962–1966	Aleksandar Obradović (1927–2001)
1966–1975	Vojislav Kostić (1931–2010)

It can be said that SAKOJ activities in the period after 1965 were shaped around several key issues to which they continuously dedicated attention. First, the work on specifying the mechanisms for the fair distribution of authors' rights; promoting domestic creativity (supporting festivals, music events, audio and printed publications); presenting composers and music writers on the international stage; connecting with international organizations and colleagues; caring for the social and professional status of authors; and, in general, caring for musical culture and the standards that define it as part of the national identity.<sup>24</sup> In that respect, almost forgotten is the ambitious undertaking called the bilingual (with English translation) catalogue of the Union of Yugoslav composers from 1968, with over two hundred biographies and lists of works by composers and music writers from Yugoslavia, compiled by a musicologist, Milena Milosavljević Pešić.<sup>25</sup>

24 Milošević, *SAKOJ:1950–1970*.

25 Milena Milosavljević-Pešić, ed., *Kompozitori i muzički pisci Jugoslavije* (Beograd: Savez kompozitora Jugoslavije, 1968). From later similar practices we found only bilingual edition of catalogue of the composers from Slovenia: Črt Sojar Voglar ed., *Skladateljske sledi po letu 1900/Composers' Traces from 1900 Onwards*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 2005).

As such, this organization was of great significance in coordinating the renewal of Yugoslav-Soviet relations with several composers interested in tendencies of music in the USSR, from classical to popular and film music. Such cultural exchanges were only by exception conducted through direct contact of SAKOJ members to certain USSR musicians and cultural workers. In practice, cultural exchanges were initially based on inter-institutional cooperation between various associations and societies, through various state protocols and agreements. This was especially significant in the context of restoring relations with the Soviet Union, in a 'soft' way. In this respect, Slovenian composer Matija Bravničar, explained:

After the Cominform affair, when the ice of mistrust and hostility between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia dissolved, the Union of Yugoslav Composers took steps to establish contacts with the Composers' Union of the USSR and to strengthen its relations with Soviet colleagues, just as it had with others, especially Polish and Czech composers.<sup>26</sup>

In his later memories, Bravničar emphasizes that this was a gesture of connection, but also of mutual discovery: "*We had lived for a long time behind the curtain, and we had no true picture of their musical life, and even less did they have of ours.*"<sup>27</sup> Such a statement may have stemmed from the intention to establish a balanced and controlled relationship with the Soviet Union, in light of the justification for the non-aligned position.

In this context, he noticed that the Soviets themselves made deviations from strict realism, and that they "*went beyond the framework of realistic methods and that they too followed the modern, contemporary, expressive innovations.*" This is precisely the measure that domestic artists, under the banner of the idea of joining modern trends, or what art historian Ješa Denegri called "*socialist modernism*", and art theorist Miško Šuvaković defined as "*moderate modernism*", were striving to follow.<sup>28</sup> Šuvaković, who understood this phenomenon in respect to different artistic practices, explains that:

26 Matija Bravničar, "Savez kompozitora između II i III kongresa," in *SAKOJ: 1950–1970*, ed. Predrag Milošević (Beograd: Savez kompozitora Jugoslavije, 1970).

27 Ibid. List of most important works by Bravničar, see: Sojar Voglar, ed., *Skladateljske sledi*, 38–9.

28 Ješa Denegri, *Teme srpske umetnosti 1950–2000. Pedesete* (Beograd: Orion Art, 2012); Miško Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik teorije umetnosti* (Zagreb, Ghent: Horetzky, Vlees & Beton, 2005).

Moderate modernism emerges as an ideologically neutral and aestheticized art that enables a compromise between the ideological demands of the revolutionary government and the aesthetic interests of the post-revolutionary techno-bureaucratic layers.<sup>29</sup>

### Cases of Musical Exchange and Cooperation

In the Yugoslav press, this context was described as an exchange of “*our and foreign artists*” carried out in accordance with the agreement on cultural cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia:

The Ministry of Culture of the USSR invited a delegation of Yugoslav cultural workers and artists to visit the Soviet Union. In addition, an exchange of delegations of representatives of higher education institutions and an exchange of students was envisaged.<sup>30</sup>

This undertaking sought to reinforce Yugoslav–Soviet cultural ties, a subject likewise highlighted in the press. The process encompassed a range of proposed initiatives. Although many sources do not provide complete clarity on the organizers, it is evident that these activities were typically conducted through formal institutional channels.

Concretely, in 1956 plans included a performance of Stevan Hristić’s ballet *The Legend of Ohrid* (*Ohridska legenda*, 1947) and guest appearances by opera singers such as Miroslav Čangalović, while in return, the Soviet violinist and violist David Oistrakh was scheduled to visit Yugoslavia.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, for 1958 a series of concerts was planned in cooperation between the Yugoslav Concert Agency and the Soviet Concert Agency operating under the Ministry of Culture (*ГОСКОНЦЕПТ СССР – Государственное концертное объединение СССР*). Specifically, the program envisaged performances by eight Yugoslav soloists and two ensembles, among them soloists of the Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Belgrade opera houses (Rudolf Francl, Marijana Radev, Miroslav Čangalović, Biserka Cvejić), as well as conductors such as Samo Hubad (Ljubljana Philharmonic), Milan Horvat (Zagreb Philharmonic), and Krešimir Baranović (Belgrade Philharmonic). As for the guest ensembles, the Yugoslav People’s Army Choir was selected, along

29 Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti*, 744.

30 Anon., “U Sovjetskom Savezu gostovaće više naših umetnika i grupa,” *Borba*, 25 June, 1956, 4.

31 Ibid.

with a “group of Yugoslav popular performers comprising 20 members.”<sup>32</sup> For the same year, a reciprocal collaboration was also planned, involving the visit of Soviet soloists and ensembles, among them pianists Sviatoslav Richter and Dmitry Bashkirov, as well as the Grand Ballet of the Leningrad State Theatre of Opera and Ballet – Kirov. It was also planned to reciprocate through collaboration with Soviet popular performers. Based on these examples, it is clear that the strategy for selecting representatives was guided by the criterion of diversity, following the principle of ‘something for everyone’, evidently in line with the idea that cultural policy does not only entail communication between elite groups, but is also directed toward the general population.<sup>33</sup>

However, based on the Declaration of Cooperation between SFRY and USSR, the first official visit of our composers to the USSR took place in 1960, at the invitation of their Soviet colleagues. The delegates from Yugoslavia were Natko Devčić (1914–1997) and Matija Bravničar. According to the 1962 cooperation plan, composers Dušan Radić (1929–2010) and Primož Ramovš (1921–1999) were invited as guests for two weeks, with a reciprocal visit planned for two young Soviet composers to spend the same period in Yugoslavia. That same year, the performance of symphonic works by domestic composers in Moscow was also planned, which also involved a two-week stay for a selected Yugoslav composer. The visit was to be returned in the same way: by performing Soviet symphonic music in Belgrade.<sup>34</sup> The mediator in the realization of these concert events was (usually) “Jugokonzert”, which received certain funds from the Commission for this engagement.

For example, in 1964, Slovenian composer and pianist Pavel Šivic (1908–1995) was sent on a two-week guest tour in the USSR, and he visited Moscow, Sankt Petersburg, and Yerevan, in today’s Armenia. In addition to the opportunity to learn about pedagogical methods and fellow pianists with a reputation from the Moscow Conservatory, Šivic performed piano works or arranged music by contemporary Yugoslav composers during his guest appearances. In this sense, he was surprised by the positive reception of compositions that had been harshly criticized for their radical language at the Tribune of the Opatija Music Festival a few years earlier: *Inventiones*

32 Anon., “Krajem februara dolazi na gostovanje Lenjingradski balet,” *Borba*, 10 February, 1958, 3.

33 “Introduction,” in *Cultural Diplomacy*, 16.

34 AJ, fond 559 Federal Commission for International Cultural Links (further FCICL), b. 111, f. 244.

*Ferales* by Uroš Krek (b. 1965), *Three Contrasts* (1961) by Ivo Petrić (1931–2018), *Simfonieta* (1956) by Ramovš, and his own *Alternations* (1963). The works were approved by experts such as Aram Khachaturian (1903–1978), Boris Arapov (1905–1992), etc.<sup>35</sup>

Although these plans were the result of official decisions, it happened that they were not realized, often under strange circumstances. On the one hand, it is mentioned that the concert of symphonic works by Yugoslav composers in Moscow was postponed because the sheet music submitted by the Yugoslav Embassy to the Ministry of Culture in Moscow was lost. Compensation was offered for the lost material. From the given situation, it is clear that the Yugoslav side was not open to compromise but instead was firm in its decision to uphold the agreement to achieve its goals. When the Soviets proposed that, instead of contemporary works by Yugoslav authors – whose scores were supposedly lost – a new program of their choosing be performed, the Yugoslav side rejected the suggestion.<sup>36</sup> It should not be particularly emphasized that throughout the first decade of its work, SAKOJ continued to collect musical scores of its members, and in some cases, lists of works, so that it was impossible to act quickly in the event of the loss of scores.

On the other hand, we find that the General Secretary of SAKOJ, Aleksandar Obradović, along with composers Dušan Radić from Belgrade and Primož Ramovš from Ljubljana, were selected to attend the ceremonial concert of Yugoslav music in Moscow on November 30, 1962.<sup>37</sup> The apparently successful stay in the USSR and a concert of symphonic music resulted in the publication of an edition of “Contemporary Yugoslav Symphonic Music” a few years later, in the 1970s, featuring works by the aforementioned guest composers, for the most important Russian record labels “Melody” and “Accord”. On the first of these LP editions, symphonic pieces were performed by the Moscow symphonic orchestra recorded at the Bolshoi hall at the Moscow conservatory, conducted by A. Jansen, and published on the LP “Contemporary Yugoslav Music” (*Современная югославская музыка*), Picture 1 and 2. The following works were released on the LP: *White Krajina* (*Bela Krajina*, 1946) by Marjan Kozina (1907–1966), *Symphonic picture* (*Simfonijska slika*, 1953) by Dušan Radić, dance from opera *Koštana* (1931)

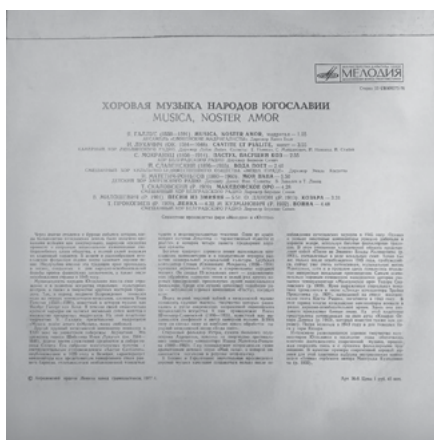
35 “Tradicionalna izražajna sredstva zamenjuju se novim jezikom,” *Bilten saveza kompozitora*, no. 5 (May 1964): 4.

36 AJ, fond 559 FCICL, b. 111, f. 244.

37 Anon., “Naši kompozitori na koncertu jugoslovenske muzike u Moskvi,” *Borba*, 28 November 1962, 8.



Picture 1:  
“Musica noster amor”, LP, Cover



Picture 2:  
“Musica noster amor”, Back cover

by Petar Konjović (1883–1970), *Funeral music* (*Musiques funebres*, 1955) by Primož Ramovš, and *Concerto giocoso* for chamber orchestra (1956) by Milko Kelemen (1924–2018). Finally, in 1976, Soviet “Melody” published works performed by the leading Yugoslav symphonic orchestras: the Slovenian Philharmonic under conductors Oskar Danon and Anton Nanut, the Zagreb Radio Symphony Orchestra under Josef Daniel, and the Belgrade Philharmonic under Živojin Zdravković. In this respect, the collection also included symphonic works such as *Antinomia* (1972) by Vitomir Trifunović (1916–2007), *Funeral Music* by Ramovš, *Characters and Plots* (*Likovi i plohe*, 1967) by Dubravko Detoni (b. 1937), and the first movement “Flare-up” (*Buktinje*) from the *Fourth Symphony* (1972) by Aleksandar Obradović.

After the symphonic music from the SFRY, the edition *Choral Music of the Peoples of Yugoslavia* (*Хоровая музыка народов Югославии*) was published on other LPs in the USSR by *Melodiya*. Among them was *Musica noster amor*, featuring compositions by Jacobus Gallus (1550–1591), Ivan Lukačić (1575–1648), Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914), Josip Štolcer Slavenski (1896–1955), Todor Skalovski (1909–2004), Vlado Milošević (1901–1990), and Trajko Prokopiev (1909–1979).

In addition to collaborations that involved concert practice, other forms of cultural exchange were also realized. For example, pianist from Croatia Ivo Maček (1914–2002) spent three weeks as an observer at the International Tchaikovsky Competition in Moscow, and the secretary of the SAKOJ, Mihailo Vukdragović, spent two weeks as a guest of the Soviet

Composers' Union during their congress in 1959.<sup>38</sup> Finally, during the 1950s to 1970s, SAKOJ sent delegates, primarily musicologists, two per conference, to the Soviet Union.<sup>39</sup>

Yugoslav organizations aimed to showcase their diverse activities, as well as music of various genres. Popular music was also represented in this context. We will mention the tour of the Entertainment Orchestra of Radio Television Belgrade, under the direction of Vojislav Bubiša Simić (b. 1924), which took place in the USSR from July 1 to August 15 in 1961. It was announced that 36 concerts would be held with soloists such as Lola Novaković (1935–2016), Anica Zubović (b. 1932), and Predrag Gojković (1932–2017). The tour was organized based on the cultural convention between Yugoslavia and the USSR.<sup>40</sup> The domestic correspondent of *Borba* newspaper praised the orchestra for achieving a great triumph, highlighting that at the concert held on July 14<sup>th</sup>, it received an applause that no other visiting European orchestra had:

Long after the three-hour program, in the packed hall of the largest pavilion of the 'Hermitage' Summer Garden, ovations could be heard for eighteen performers and soloists Anica Zubović, Lola Novaković, Predrag Gojković and Krsto Petrović.<sup>41</sup>

After the concert in "Hermitage", the Entertainment Orchestra of RTV Belgrade gave concerts the next day in Gorky Park and the stadium of Dinamo in front of 20.000 listeners.<sup>42</sup>

On the flip side, delegates from the USSR also came to Yugoslavia. The secretary of the Union of Composers of the Soviet Union, Tikhon Nikolaevič Khrenikov (1913–2007), visited Yugoslavia in September 1964 to negotiate musical exchange between the two federations.<sup>43</sup> This was followed by the delegation of regular guests to the USSR from all the republics of the SFRY, and for example in 1970 the following guests were: composers Jakob Jež (1928–2022) from the Slovenian Composers' Association, Branko

38 AJ, fond 559 FCICL, b. 111, f. 244.

39 AJ, fond 142 SSRNJ, b. 82, f. 327.

40 Anon., "Turneja Zabavnog orkestra RTV Beograd po SSSR," *Borba*, 13 June, 1961, 7.

41 Anon., "Veliki uspeh Zabavnog orkestra RTV u Moskvi," *Borba*, 15 July, 1961, 6.

42 These tours under his direction continued in the following years, as he recounts in his autobiographical book *Sentimental journey* (*Sentimentalno putovanje*) reflecting on the warm reception he received as a Yugoslav artist in the USSR. See: Vojislav Bubiša Simić, *Sentimentalno putovanje* (Beograd: Clio, 2010), 162–4.

43 "Vesti iz Saveza kompozitora Jugoslavije," *Bilten saveza kompozitora Jugoslavije*, no. 2 (February 1964): 2.

Karakaš (1930–2014) from the Composers' Association of Serbia, Toma Prošev (1931–1996) from the Macedonian Composers' Association, Zlatko Pibernek (1926–2010) and musicologist Cvjetko Rihtman (1902–1989) from the Union of composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>44</sup>

Russian artists also appeared in a number of other formal events, like the prestigious Belgrade Music Festival (BEMUS), and performed works of domestic authors. In 1971, for instance, the State Symphony Orchestra of the USSR, with the conductor Yevgeny Svetlanov, performed in Belgrade. On this occasion, SAKOJ conferred awards upon the most distinguished performers, among them a Soviet string quartet, which was honored for its notable interpretation of Mihailo Vukdragović's *String Quartet in A minor* (1944).<sup>45</sup>

One of the most important visits by a Soviet composer was that of Dmitry Shostakovich in 1964. Shostakovich visited Belgrade before traveling to Zagreb, where on January 7 he attended a performance of his opera *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*, Op. 29 (1934; revised as *Katerina Izmailova* in 1962), staged by the Zagreb Opera. On this occasion, he was welcomed in Belgrade by Voki Kostić on behalf of the SAKOJ. As we can find out from the *Bulletin*, he had the opportunity to listen to recordings of compositions by Yugoslav composers on magnetic tapes in the premises of the Union. A special impression was made on him by *Songs of Space* (*Pesme prostora*, 1956) by composer Ljubica Marić (1909–2003).<sup>46</sup> Organized by the Union of Yugoslav Composers and mediated by the local Composers' Association of Serbia, he also met with composition students in Belgrade, about whom he spoke positively at the improvised press conference held at the "Metropol" Hotel. When asked by journalists whether he was familiar with Yugoslav music, he replied that he already knew certain works by Yugoslav composers, either from concert performances or radio broadcasts, thus indicating that Yugoslav compositions were present on the Soviet musical scene.<sup>47</sup> Already after the premiere in Zagreb, Shostakovich also expressed the opinion that "*it is necessary to work more and more deliberately on the mutual promotion of musical creativity between our two countries.*"<sup>48</sup>

44 "Saradnja s inostranim savezima kompozitora," *Bilten saveza kompozitora Jugoslavije*, no. 1 (January 1971): 4.

45 Anon., "Večeras počinje Bemus 71," *Borba*, 7 October, 1971, 8.

46 "Vesti iz Saveza," *Bilten saveza kompozitora Jugoslavije*, no. 1 (January 1964): 2.

47 Anon., "Dmitrij Šostakovič doputovao u Beograd," *Borba*, 1 January, 1964, 7.

48 Anon., "Pomodarska strujanja u muzici nemaju budućnost," *Borba*, 9 January, 1964, 7. See also: Ž. B., "Šostakovič želi priskrbiti poznanstvo sa jugoslovenskom muzikom,"

About composers' guest appearances, we should mention the visit of young and prolific composer Rodion Shchedrin (1932) in Belgrade and Zagreb to the Music Biennale in Zagreb at the invitation of SOKOJ in 1965, primarily on the occasion of the premiere of his ballet *The Little Hump-backed Horse* (*Конь-горбунюк*, 1956) by the guests Bolshoi theatre ballet troupe.<sup>49</sup> Also, Aram Khachaturian visited Yugoslavia in 1969.

During the 1950s and 1960s, at the meetings of SAKOJ and the Federal Commission for Cultural Cooperation, there was a clear insistence that cultural exchange should occur exclusively through official state channels. The complex Yugoslav cultural apparatus thus sought to coordinate and control such exchanges. Tours by particularly popular musicians to the Soviet Union that bypassed these channels were labeled “wild” and strongly opposed. The most prominent example of this “wild” organization – and its remarkable success – was singer Đorđe Marjanović (1931–2021), followed by Miki Jevremović (1941–2017) and the singer-songwriter Radoslav Graić (1932–2023).

### Copyrights

The fact that cultural relations were a result of socio-political and economic trends is also evidenced by the failure to advance the initiative on copyright. Specifically, at a meeting of the Composers' Association of Serbia in June 1971, there was discussion about potentially agreeing with the USSR, “*considering that our works are performed there to a considerable extent, and even a large number of our compositions have been recorded on vinyl there.*”<sup>50</sup> The envoy on this matter, Voki Kostić, emphasized that there was insistence on signing an agreement between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union on the protection of copyright. He also mentioned that Yugoslavia would have a positive balance when it comes to the concert performance of popular and entertainment music, as well as choral and chamber music, which is performed extensively there. However, he explained that the conclusion of a copyright agreement would not only apply to music, but also to literature, meaning that Yugoslavia would have to spend significant sums on copy-

*Borba*, 7 January, 1964, 7.

49 Further details about his impressions during visit of Zagreb and Belgrade, and about music cooperation of two federations, as well as contemporary Soviet music scene, see: “Još jedan korak napred u sovjetskoj muzici,” *Bilten saveza kompozitora Jugoslavije*, no. 10 (October 1965): 3.

50 Agencija za privredne registre/APR (Serbian Business Registers Agency), folder 2, doc. 027, Annual General Assembly of SAKOJ, 13 June 1971.

right fees due to the large number of translations of Russian authors. For this reason, he highlighted that further negotiations were ongoing.<sup>51</sup> The “Yugoslav-Soviet Copyright Protection Agreement” was signed at the end of October 1974. On behalf of the SAKOJ, the agreement was signed by Kostić as the General Secretary. It was highlighted that this agreement holds

great significance for enriching and expanding the cooperation between SAKOJ and the Soviet Composers’ Union, which will particularly impact the mutual introduction of our and Soviet audiences to the musical creations in both countries.<sup>52</sup>

The Yugoslav-Soviet agreement:

will also regulate the issue of compensation for the performance of works by our composers in the USSR and Soviet works in Yugoslavia. Until now, this matter had not been legally regulated, so all public performances and recordings for vinyl records, radio, and television were carried out without any compensation.<sup>53</sup>

### Conclusion

Based on our research, it could be concluded that the SAKOJ/UKS adopted a strategic and interest-given relation to the Soviet Union. With respective members, presidents, and secretaries, and other board members, profiled cooperation with the Soviet Union was proposed by exchange of delegates for guest composers and music writers, as well as through performance and promotion of Yugoslav and Soviet repertoire. The higher instance that finally decided and ratified the proposals for Yugoslav-Soviet relations in music was the Federal Commission for the Cultural Relations with Foreign Affairs, to which, again, members of the SAKOJ and other composers’ associations at the republican level were delegated. Deeper cooperation with the USSR involved the adoption of agreements on composers’ copyrights and the activities of the Institute for Copyright Mediation (ZAMP). These became highly significant issues in the 1960s and 1970s, sparking a complex struggle between representatives of high-art and popular music practices.

In the end, we need to cite director Želimir Žilnik, famous as a critical voice in communist Yugoslavia, but also an artist who understood cultural fields in Yugoslavia very well:

51 Ibid.

52 Anon., “Jugoslovensko sovjetski ugovor o zaštiti autorskih prava,” *Borba*, 23 October, 1974, 9.

53 Ibid.

Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 1970s was in serious political-ideological and economic tension with much of the world and the countries of the Soviet bloc. We had the impression that we were between two worlds and that we possessed the advantages of both systems. When we look at the artistic practice of the 1960s, the most interesting and relevant developments in the art of the people living in Yugoslavia occurred precisely in that decade and a half. What was achieved in the fields of literature, journalism, theater, and film from the early 1960s to the early 1970s remains unsurpassed to this day.<sup>54</sup>

In line with that, we could praise SAKOJ's/UKS's intense struggle to stay on its own path, and following the artistic personalities of its composer and music writer members. From a contemporary perspective, the self-confidence with which Yugoslav representatives treated the Soviet Union as their equal, without any intention of making concessions or bowing to the wishes and poetics of Soviet composers.

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54 Žilnik, according to: Vučetić, *Monopol na istinu*, 19.

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## The Sarajevo Period of Dane Škerl's Artistic Activity

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Dane Škerl (Ljubljana, August 26, 1931–Bovec, May 4, 2002) was a Slovenian composer, conductor and professor. He graduated in composition in 1952 in the class of Lucijan Marija Škerjanc (1900–1973) at the Academy of Music in Ljubljana. He furthered his studies in Austria and Germany, where he spent a short period specialising at the electronic studio in Cologne.<sup>1</sup> From 1949 to 1960, he worked as a conductor and teacher in music schools in Ljubljana. He was engaged at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo as a professor of composition and theoretical subjects from 1960 to 1970. In 1970, he returned to Ljubljana, where he worked at the Academy of Music as a professor of composition (serving for a time also as dean) until his retirement in 1995.<sup>2</sup>

Škerl was actively involved in various roles within the highest bodies of the Society of Slovenian Composers and its publishing activities. For many years, up until the dissolution of Yugoslavia, he also held numerous positions in the Presidency, the Copyright Commission, the Commission for International Relations, the Supervisory Board, and other bodies of the Union of Composers of Yugoslavia. He was regarded as a prominent

1 Milena Milosavljević-Pešić, *Kompozitori i muzički pisci Jugoslavije: Članovi Saveza kompozitora Jugoslavije* (Beograd: Savez kompozitora Jugoslavije, 1968), 576.

2 Andrej Rijavec and Ivan Klemenčič, "Škerl, Dane," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25929>.

advocate and expert in the field of copyright law.<sup>3</sup> During his time in Sarajevo, he was a member of the Association of Composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as of certain bodies within the Association.<sup>4</sup>

Recognised as one of the most important Slovenian composers of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Škerl's name appears in encyclopaedic publications and overviews of Slovenian artistic production.<sup>5</sup> However, a scholarly monograph that would encompass all aspects of Škerl's life and creative work has yet to be written. This paper is a contribution to his biography, focusing on the part of his life and artistic journey connected to Sarajevo.

### Sarajevo Period

Dane Škerl came to Sarajevo to take a position at the Academy of Music, where he was engaged from September 1, 1960, to September 30, 1970, initially as an assistant, and later as a lecturer and associate professor,<sup>6</sup> teaching composition, harmony, counterpoint, canon and fugue, and musical forms.<sup>7</sup> In 1970, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian composer Milan Jeličanin (1935–1999) completed his composition studies in Škerl's class.<sup>8</sup> Alongside

3 Zeqirja Ballata, "Radoživ simfonik dodelanih oblik: skladatelju in pedagogu Danetu Škerlu: (1931–2002)," *Dialogi* 38, no. 7/8 (2002): 110.

4 Škerl is listed as a regular member of the Association of Composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1968 membership register (Milosavljević-Pešić, *Kompozitori i muzički pisci Jugoslavije*, 649).

5 Rijavec and Klemenčič, "Škerl, Dane;" Franc Križnar and Tihomir Pinter, *Sto slovenskih skladateljev: sodobni glasbeni ustvarjalci* (Ljubljana: Prešernova družba, Vrba, 1997), 99–100; Črt Sojar Voglar, *Skladateljske sledi po letu 1900. Composers' traces from 1900 onwards* (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 2005), 256–7; Anon., "Škerl, Dane," in *Leksikon jugoslavske muzike*, vol 2, ed. Krešimir Kovačević (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod "Miroslav Krleža", 1984), 411–2; Andrej Rijavec, "Škerl, Dane," in *Muzička enciklopedija*, vol. 3, ed. Krešimir Kovačević (Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod, 1977), 506; Slobodan Špirić, "Škerl, Dane," in *Narodno pozorište Sarajevo 1921–1971*, ed. Josip Lešić (Sarajevo: Narodno pozorište, 1971), 529; Andrej Rijavec, *Slovenska glasbena dela* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1979), 315–20; Andrej Rijavec, *Twentieth Century Slovene Composers. Slowenische Komponisten des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Ljubljana, Köln: Edicija Društva slovenskih skladateljev; Musikverlage Hans Gerig, 1975), 83–4; Milosavljević-Pešić, *Kompozitori i muzički pisci Jugoslavije*, 576; Truda Reich, *Susreti sa suvremenim kompozitorima Jugoslavije* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1972), 332–4.

6 "Employee File – Dane Škerl," Archives of the Academy of Music in Sarajevo.

7 Vinko Krajtmajer and Ivan Čavlović, eds., *50 godina Muzičke akademije u Sarajevu* (Sarajevo: Muzička akademija, 2006), 153.

8 Ivan Čavlović, *Muzički portreti: izvori i sjećanja* (Sarajevo: Buybook, 2017), 44.



*Photograph 1: Dane Škerl, legacy of Zijo Kučukalić, Institute of Musicology, Academy of Music in Sarajevo.*

his teaching role, Škerl was active as a collaborator with Radio Sarajevo (serving as advisor, recording engineer, and conductor),<sup>9</sup> as well as a member of various juries, forums, and associations,<sup>10</sup> and artistic councils – particularly with the Opera and the Sarajevo Philharmonic.<sup>11</sup>

- 9 Some sources state that he acted as conductor of the Radio-Television Sarajevo Symphony Orchestra (Reich, *Susreti sa suvremenim kompozitorima Jugoslavije*, 332); however, although his works were part of the orchestra's repertoire, Škerl was not engaged as a conductor. In the study titled "The Symphony Orchestra of Radio-Television Sarajevo in the Light of Documentary Material," Ivan Čavlović chronologically lists the conductors of the Symphony Orchestra, among whom Škerl is not mentioned. However, Škerl did conduct a concert on April 23, 1963, when he led the premiere of his work *Concerto for Clarinet and Orchestra*. See: Ivan Čavlović, "Simfonijski orkestar Radio-televizije Sarajevo u svjetlu dokumentarne građe," *Muzika I*, no. 3 (1997): 68–9.
- 10 "Pozajić – Preparation for Interview with D. Škerl," Legacy of Mladen Pozajić, Library of the Academy of Music in Sarajevo.
- 11 B. Borko, "Sarajevsko srećanje s slovenskim skladateljem (Glasbeno življenje)," *Delo*, October 3, 1963, in *Press Archive – Activities of the Academy of Music*, II. Library of the Academy of Music in Sarajevo.

The very rich ten-year period in Sarajevo, during which a number of significant compositions in Škerl's opus were created, can be considered his second creative phase.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Škerl stated that it was only in Sarajevo that his wish to have enough time for composing was fulfilled.<sup>13</sup> In short, Škerl is one of a number of important composers who came to Bosnia and Herzegovina from other Yugoslav republics during the founding of fundamental musical institutions such as the Opera and Ballet of the National Theatre in Sarajevo, the Sarajevo Philharmonic and the Music Academy.<sup>14</sup> Although they were only active in Bosnia and Herzegovina for a short time, they left a significant mark on the development of musical culture in the first decades after the Second World War.<sup>15</sup>

Škerl composed 21 works (see Appendix 1) during his Sarajevo period, among which are some of his most significant pieces,<sup>16</sup> such as *Kontrasti* [Contrasts] for Symphony Orchestra (1961), Concerto for Clarinet and Orchestra (1963) and the ballet *Grozdanin kikot* [Grozdana's Laugh-ter]<sup>17</sup> (1969).<sup>18</sup> Škerl's works were included in the repertoire of the most

12 Ballata, "Radoživ simfonik dodelanih oblik," 112.

13 Škerl himself listed the compositions that were created in Sarajevo (*Pet skladb* for Clarinet and Strings, *Kontrasti* for Symphony Orchestra, Piano Concerto, and the Symphony No. 2 which he finalised in Sarajevo), and also announced new works: a ballet, and concert music for harp, piano, percussion, and orchestra (Borko, "Sarajevsko srečanje s slovenskim skladateljem").

14 These include Boris Papandopulo (1906–1991), Ivan Brkanović (1906–1987), Božidar Trudić (1911–1989), Dane Škerl, and Anton Lavrin (1908–1965). Ivan Čavlović, *Historija muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Muzička akademija, Institut za muzikologiju, 2011), 222.

15 Moreover, composers and musicians from other Yugoslav republics were considered domestic composers. For example, at the concert of chamber works by Bosnian authors, of the nine composers whose works were on the programme, only two (Vlado Milošević and Avdo Smailović) were born in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while all the others came from other Yugoslav republics (Cvjetko Rihtman, Milan Prebanda, Vojin Komadina, Mladen Pozajić, Mladen. Stahuljak, Dane Škerl (Z. K., "Raznovrsnost stilskeg izraza," *Oslobođenje*, April 28, 1965, 8). The concert by the Radio Sarajevo Orchestra, which performed the works of Miroslav Špiler, Dane Škerl, Božidar Trudić and Ruben Radica, was announced as a concert "*dedicated to the works of contemporary Bosnian-Herzegovinian composers*," although they all originated from other Yugoslav republics (Zija Kučukalić, "Kompozitori – interpretatori," *Oslobođenje*, April 27, 1963, in *Press Archive – Activities of the Academy of Music*, II, Library of the Academy of Music in Sarajevo).

16 Čavlović, *Historija muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 224.

17 Slovene title for the ballet *Grozdanin kikot* is *Opojno poletje* (Ravishing Summer).

18 Sojar Voglar, *Skladateljske sledi po letu 1900*, 257.

important musical institutions in Sarajevo: the Radio-Television Sarajevo Orchestra, the Sarajevo Philharmonic, the Ballet of the National Theatre, and the Academy of Music (see Appendices 2 and 3). His ballets, premiered on the stage of the National Theatre in Sarajevo, achieved particular success. *Kontrasti*, a ballet in one act with a libretto by Slavko Pervan (1936–2024), is based on Škerl's symphonic orchestral work of the same name from 1961. It premiered on February 28, 1968.<sup>19</sup> *Grozdanic kikat*, a ballet in two acts, was composed to a libretto by Safet Pašalić (1907–1987), based on the novel of the same name by the Bosnian-Herzegovinian writer Hamza Humo (1895–1970).<sup>20</sup> It premiered on December 21, 1969, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Ballet of the National Theatre in Sarajevo.<sup>21</sup> The ballets were also performed on tours: *Kontrasti* in Italy (Mirandola and Bologna, 1969), and *Grozdanic kikat* in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Mostar, 1970, and Zenica, 1979).<sup>22</sup>

His work received significant recognition and acclaim during his stay in Sarajevo: he was awarded the *Šestoaprilska nagrada* [Sixth of April Award] by the City of Sarajevo for his Symphony No. 2 in 1965. The following year, in 1966, he received the Award of the Association of Composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina for his Symphony No. 3.<sup>23</sup>

- 19 The following individuals participated in the ballet production: the conductor Teodor Romanić, choreographer and director Slavko Pervan, and stage and costume designer Veselin Badrov, along with the performers Emina Kamberović, Antun Marinić and the Ballet Ensemble of the National Theatre in Sarajevo. Slobodan Špirić, "Kontrasti," in *Narodno pozorište Sarajevo 1921–1971*, ed. Josip Lešić (Sarajevo: Narodno pozorište, 1971), 268.
- 20 The following individuals participated in the ballet production: the conductor Ivan Štajcer, choreographer and director Slavko Pervan, and the costume and set designer Veselin Badrov, along with the performers Emina Kamberović (Grlica), Antun Marinić (Ozren), Katarina Kocka (Grozdana) Nedžad Potogija (Grozdan), Muhamed Imanić (Jure), Srećko Čurić (Svrzimatija), Đorđe Milošević (Minda), Nevenka Petrović (Ivanka), Ibro Paralović (Knez Trpimir). Drago Fišer, "Grozdanic Kikat," in *Narodno pozorište Sarajevo 1921–1971*, ed. Josip Lešić (Sarajevo: Narodno pozorište, 1971), 193.
- 21 Zija Kučukalić, "Jubilej sarajevskog baleta. Premijera baleta 'Grozdanic kikat' Daneta Škerla," *Zvuk*, no. 102–103 (1970): 137–8.
- 22 Hamid Begić and Mehdiya Mušović, "Gostovanja sarajevskog Narodnog pozorišta," in *Narodno pozorište Sarajevo 1921–1971*, ed. Josip Lešić (Sarajevo: Narodno pozorište, 1971), 156, 157, 163.
- 23 S.N., "Dva djela će se uskoro izvesti. Odgovara kompozitor Dane Škerl," *Oslobođenje*, September 15, 1968, 5.

### Analytical overview of Škerl's Sarajevo opus

The following analytical overview of Škerl's Sarajevo opus focuses on three works from different genres: *Pet skladb* [Five Pieces] for clarinet and string orchestra (1961),<sup>24</sup> *Symphony No. 2* (1963)<sup>25</sup> and *Bagatele* [Bagatelles] for piano (1968),<sup>26</sup> aiming to understand not only Škerl's stylistic plurality, but also his contribution to the inauguration of contemporary art ideas at this crucial moment in time for Bosnian compositional practice in terms of continuity, identity and progress. This is because the decade of Škerl's activity in Sarajevo represents a kind of crossroads where the activities of composers of three generations intersected.<sup>27</sup> Their creativity, in the search for an individual style within a stylistic pluralism, which was characteristic not only of Bosnian, but also of European composition of the time, was the result of the friction that occurred among three stylistic trends, as noted by the Bosnian musicologist Zija Kučukalić.<sup>28</sup> The first of these is national realism, anachronistically based on the aesthetics of the national schools of the 19th century. The second one blends late romanticism and impressionism

- 24 *Pet skladb* was written in 1961 (Rijavec, *Slovenska glasbena dela*, 316). However, its score, used for this research, was published in 1969 by the Association of Composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Dane Škerl, *Pet skladb. Za klarinet i gudala* (Sarajevo: Udruženje kompozitora Bosne i Hercegovine, 1969).
- 25 Dane Škerl, *Bagatele. Za klavir* (Sarajevo: Udruženje kompozitora Bosne i Hercegovine, 1968).
- 26 Dane Škerl, *Druga simfonija – Monotematika. Za godala – per archi* (Sarajevo: Edicija Udruženja kompozitora BiH, s.a.).
- 27 Čavlović classifies composers into four generational groups, whose compositional practices experienced their full potential after World War II. The first generation of composers were born ca. 1900–1915: Beluš Jungić (1892–1968), Vlado Milošević (1901–1990), Milan Prebanda (1907–1979), Cvjetko Rihtman (1902–1989), Alfred Tuček (1904–1987), Ivan Demeter (1906–1990), Miroslav Špiler (1906–1982), Mladen Pozajić (1906–1979), Gabriel Gavro Jakešević (1911–1985), Artur Klementi (1909–1985), Frano Povia (1912–?), and Mladen Stahuljak (1914–1996); the second generation (ca. 1916–1930) consists of Avdo Smailović (1917–1984), Branko Grković (1920–1982), Nada Ludvig Pečar (1929–2008) and Dragoje Đenader (1930–1986); the third one (ca. 1931–1945) includes Vojin Komadina (1933–1997), Milan Jeličanin, Josip Magdić (1937–2020), Anđelka Bego-Šimunić (1941–2022), and Rada Nuić (1942); and the fourth one is represented by Asim Horozić (1958–2023), Valentina Cvijetić (1966), Ališer Sijarić (1969), Dino Rešidbegović (1975), and Jasmin Osmić (1982). In addition, there are also “those composers who voluntarily or due to other circumstances came to Bosnia and Herzegovina, stayed there for a short time, and then left it and continued their artistic careers abroad,” which includes names such as the already mentioned Boris Papandopulo, Ivan Brkanović, Božidar Trudić, Dane Škerl and Anton Lavrin.
- 28 Zija Kučukalić, “Contemporary Trends in Yugoslav Music,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 2, no. 2 (1971): 273.

with an early expressionism and signs of broken tonality. The third stylistic trend shows an interest in more modernistic, and even avant-garde procedures consistent with contemporary European music.

It is quite certain that the frictions among these three trends, based on different ideological tendencies created by the composers gathered in the Association of Composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an umbrella institution, and especially those employed at the Academy of Music, encouraged and strengthened the polemic about the (r)evolutionary impulse in the art of music. In this context, Dane Škerl strongly advocated for a kind of “middle path” between the avant-garde tendencies European composers were dealing with and the self-sufficient modes of traditional musical language, confirming his attitude about those tendencies in conversations with his colleagues:

I accept Bartók's thesis that 'there is no revolution in music'. Each of the modern classics created – regardless of the style they used – a series of works that represent outstanding contribution to the world music. The so-called 'avant-garde' have so far proven themselves to be very capable salesmen of systems that change every day and are obsolete tomorrow. The means have become the end. For me, that is not avant-garde, with a few exceptions, such as the Polish master Penderecki.<sup>29</sup>

This kind of manoeuvring, typical of many composers of the time – and not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in other countries of former Yugoslavia – was often stated as neoclassical, as the Slovenian musicologist Gregor Pompe notes:

Neoclassicism offered itself as a logical choice not only because of its social 'suitability', but because it seemed to stand at the midpoint between the Romantic traditional over-emotionality of Škerjanc and Osterc's objectivised commitment to everything new; it seemed to offer an opportunity for evasion, which, at the same time, was not extreme. It is interesting to note that, in the early 1950s, four composers (Lipovšek and Ramovš from Osterc's school, and Krek and Škerl from Škerjanc's school) wrote Neoclassical pieces whose artificial perfection exceeds that of their teacher's works, although they do not solve the dilemmas already troubling their Western European counterparts at the time.<sup>30</sup>

29 Reich, *Susreti sa suvremenim kompozitorima Jugoslavije*, 333.

30 Gregor Pompe, “Slovenian Music in the First Decade after the Second World War – In Search of Socialist Realism,” *Musicological Annual* LIV, no. 2 (2018): 200.

Moreover, some musicologists of the time pointed out that Škerl wrote in a “*pleasing neoclassical style, occasionally resorting in expressionism*”,<sup>31</sup> describing Škerl’s music stylistically as “*a cheerful and healthy coexistence of various more or less neoclassical foundations*”.<sup>32</sup>

*Pet skladb*, composed at the very beginning of Škerl’s Sarajevo creative period, is five character pieces connected in a cycle by the contrast of tempo, tonality and character (Table 1). Their form is simple, constructed of two or three parts shaped by the development procedures of a thematic work with two or three-bar motifs recognisable by its uncomplicated melodic and rhythmic structure (Examples 1–5). There is a certain degree of unity ensured by the interval of the perfect fourth, which introduces the idea of the monothematic principle Škerl was interested in. The texture is homophonic with centralised tonality, mainly using late romantic chord structures as a basic characteristic of harmonic language. Still, Škerl occasionally uses impressionistic harmony which blurs the tonality and complements it with chromatic melodies accompanied by free dissonance treatment. Škerl stays safely within Neoclassicism style, but given the considerable amount of emotional tension, we understand it as being closer to Neoromanticism.

Table 1: *Pet skladb*. Global form.

Mvmnt	Allegretto	Adagio molto espressivo	Allegro energico	Lento	Allegro ma non troppo
Key	B:	h:	f:	Es:	C:
Character	Scherzo-humorous	Uncertainty, unrealized anticipation	Nervously motionaly dynamic	Contemplative, emotional	Pastoral, playful
Form	aba	a a1 coda	a a1 a2	a b a coda	a b a

Example 1: *Pet skladb*. Allegretto (b. 1–4).

31 Rijavec, *Twentieth Century Slovene Composers*, 83.

32 Anon., “Škerl, Dane,” 411.

Adagio molto espressivo

Clarinetto in B

Violino 1. div. con sordino pp

Violino 2. div. con sordino pp

Example 2: Pet skladb. *Adagio molto espressivo* (t. 1-2).

Allegro energico

Clarinetto in B

Violino 1.

Violino 2.

Tuba

Example 3: Pet skladb. *Allegro energico* (b. 1-4).

Lento

Clarinetto in B

Violino 1.

Violino 2.

Tromba

Tromboni

Tubi

Example 4:  
Pet skladb. *Lento* (b. 1-3).

Example 5: Pet skladb. *Allegro ma non troppo* (b. 1–4).

Written two years later, *Symphony No. 2* shows the turn of compositional thinking. Škerl also noted that he wrote the *Symphony* in a week at Trenta, Slovenia.<sup>33</sup> Formally, it is a five-movement cycle connected without pauses (Table 2). It features a *Largo* at both the beginning and the end, incorporates the same material in the contrasting parts of the second and fourth movements, and includes folkloristic elements in the central *Adagio* as a reference to the common material in Bosnian compositional practice of the time, thus creating a global arch form of the cycle. The legacy of the past – as suggested by the *Symphony*'s nickname, *Monothematic* – once again finds its technique model in monothematicism, through which a single basic idea is exposed and manipulated. The *Symphony* stylistically oscillates between two types of musical thinking: neoclassical, in which there is a constant focus on the harmonic centre and thematic work, and expressionist, with elements characteristic of organised atonality, i.e. serialism.

Table 2: *Symphony No. 2*. Global form.

Mvmnt	Largo	Allegro energico	Adagio	Vivo	Largo
Harmonic center	g	In C:	In D:	In G:	g
Form	Fugato	ABA	Ritornelo form	ABA	Fugato

33 Borko, “Sarajevsko srečanje s slovenskim skladateljem.”

Specifically, the main material of the Symphony, given at the start (b. 1–3) of the Largo (1<sup>st</sup> movement) by the first violins, is represented by the 12-tone row which bears most of the characteristics of dodecaphonic “pre-composed material” (Example 6). The row is composed of 12 different, non-repeating pitches of the chromatic total, and its compositional direction repeatedly highlights the minor second as its specific interval and therefore through highly pronounced chromaticism, which is supposed to negate a key suggestion of the row. In contrast to this, the pitches in the row are positioned at specific points of musical flow to suggest functional-harmonic relationships of the dominant (D, b. 1, also F# at the end of b. 3), subdominant (C, b. 2), and tonic function (G, b. 2).

This perspective is supported by the nearly immediate imitation observed by the second violins (b. 1). This interaction highlights the aforementioned G as the harmonic centre, particularly at the conclusion, where the augmented fourth (C-F#) given in two-part texture introduces cadential tension that resolves into the subsequent G. The partition of the row into two phrases of eight and four pitches, managed by pauses and marked by the opening pitches D and G – suggest the symmetry and correspondent harmonic relations of the classical sentence structure as well. These phrases themselves will act as essential constructive elements in the continuation of the movement.

The movement itself makes an analogy with the fugue repercussion, i.e. its duxes and comeses in prime, inversion, retrograde and transposed forms of the row (all the possible variants given in Table 3). Yet the texture is not polyphonic, but constructed of two layers, each of which oscillate between its purpose on negating and supporting the harmonic centre. For instance, the transposed repetition of the row is accompanied by the successive addition of minor seconds up to the cluster chord in the range of the mentioned fourth (D-G), or – opposed to that – by an ostinato figure which alternates the mediant-related G and Eb major triads (G-B-D and Eb-G-B). This friction is most clearly implemented in the first movement, while the neoclassical way of thinking dominates over the expressionist one in other movements, so the row acts exactly as Škerl called it – a “*mere coincidence*”.<sup>34</sup>

34 Gregor Pompe, “Slovenian Twelve-Tone Music,” *De Musica Disserenda* 14, no. 2 (2018): 100.



Table 3: *Symphony No. 2. Largo. Dodecaphonic row (Pi) and its versions.*

Chromatic total of the precom- posed material	i	ii	iii	iv	V	vi	vii	viii	ix	X	xi	xii	
	D	D#	E	F	F#	G	G#	A	Bb	B	C	C#	
	li	Ix	lix	Iviii	liii	lii	Ixii	Ixi	Ivi	Ivii	liv	Iv	
Pi	D	B	Bb	A	E	Eb	Db	C	G	G#	F	F#	Ri
Piv	F	D	Db	C	G	Gb	E	Eb	Bb	B	Ab	A	Riv
Pv	F#	D#	D	C#	G#	G	F	E	B	C	A	Bb	Rv
Pvi	G	E	D#	D	A	G#	F#	F	C	C#	A#	B	Rvi
Pxi	C	A	G#	G	D	C#	B	Bb	F	F#	D#	E	Rxi
Pxii	C#	A#	A	G#	D#	D	C	B	F#	G	E	F	Rxii
Pii	D#	C	B	A#	F	E	D	C#	G#	A	F#	G	Rii
Piii	E	C#	C	B	F#	F	D#	D	A	A#	G	G#	Riii
Pviii	A	F#	F	E	B	Bb	G#	G	D	D#	C	C#	Rviii
Pvii	Ab	F	E	Eb	Bb	A	G	F#	Db	D	B	C	Rvii
Px	B	G#	G	F#	C#	C	Bb	A	E	F	D	Eb	Rx
Pix	Bb	G	F#	F	C	B	A	Ab	Eb	E	Db	D	Rix
	Rli	Rlx	Rlix	Rlviii	Rliii	Rlii	Rlxii	Rlxi	Rlvi	Rlvii	Rliv	Rlv	

After the *Symphony No. 3* (1965), which continues the compositional paradigm of the *No. 2*, *Bagatele* for piano makes Škerl's interest in organised atonality more complex. The works in *Bagatele* are piano miniatures (Table 4), dealing with the 12-tone row as the main material. The row is constructed according to a compositional method similar to the one used in *Symphony No. 2*. It is based on the chromatic total of the pitch A (Table 5), which imposes itself as harmonic centre. In this, the row is initially presented in the vertical dodecaphony in b. 1 of the *Bagatela No. 1*, organised as corresponding chords which favour certain pitches due to their octave doubling and, additionally, perfect fifth, in which the pitch A is accompanied with in the first chord of the right-hand part. The chordal texture of the row organisation primarily has an introductory rather than expositional formal function, and this material will occasionally be used in the subsequent music flow, behaving as a kind of *ritornello* section, taking turns with the linear exposition of the row's primary form – which happens for the first time in b. 2 in both hands in octave doubled semiquavers – and later (*Poco meno*, right hand part) organised in such a way that it is practically in juxtaposition with the retrograde form in the left hand.

Table 4: Bagatele. *Global form*.

Attribute	Risoluto	Adagio molto tranquillo	Leggiero
Harmonic Center	A	C	A
Form	a b a	a b a	a b a

 Table 5: Bagatele. *Dodecaphonic raw (Pi) and its versions*.

Chromatic total of the pre-composed material	i	ii	iii	iv	V	vi	vii	viii	ix	X	xi	xii	
	A	B $\flat$	B	C	C $\sharp$	D	E $\flat$	E	F	F $\sharp$	G	G $\sharp$	
	Ii	Ix	lix	lviii	liii	Iii	lxii	lxi	lvi	lvii	liv	Iv	
Pi	A	E	F	B $\flat$	C	D	D $\sharp$	B	C $\sharp$	G $\sharp$	F $\sharp$	G	Ri
Pvi	D	A	B $\flat$	E $\flat$	F	G	G $\sharp$	E	F $\sharp$	C $\sharp$	B	C	Rvi
Pv	C $\sharp$	G $\sharp$	A	D	E	F $\sharp$	G	E $\flat$	F	C	B $\flat$	B	Rv
Pxii	G $\sharp$	D $\sharp$	E	A	B	C $\sharp$	D	B $\flat$	C	G	F	F $\sharp$	Rxii
Px	F $\sharp$	C $\sharp$	D	G	A	B	C	G $\sharp$	A $\sharp$	F	E	F	Rx
Pviii	E	B	C	F	G	A	A $\sharp$	F $\sharp$	G $\sharp$	E $\flat$	C $\sharp$	D	Rviii
Pvii	D $\sharp$	A $\sharp$	B	E	F $\sharp$	G $\sharp$	A	F	G	D	C	C $\sharp$	Rvii
Pxi	G	D	D $\sharp$	G $\sharp$	A $\sharp$	C	C $\sharp$	A	B	F $\sharp$	E	F	Rxi
Pix	F	C	C $\sharp$	F $\sharp$	G $\sharp$	A $\sharp$	B	G	A	E	D	D $\sharp$	Rix
Pii	B $\flat$	F	F $\sharp$	B	C $\sharp$	D $\sharp$	E	C	D	A	G	G $\sharp$	Rii
Piv	C	G	G $\sharp$	C $\sharp$	D $\sharp$	F	F $\sharp$	D	E	B	A	B $\flat$	Riv
Piii	B	F $\sharp$	G	C	D	E	F	C $\sharp$	D $\sharp$	B $\flat$	G $\sharp$	A	Riii
	Rli	Rix	Rlix	Rl- viii	Rliii	Rlii	Rlxii	Rlxi	Rlvi	Rlvii	Rliv	Rlv	

Further treatment of the row shows Škerl is not dogmatic in his approach to the 12-tone technique: he repeats the tones immediately after their first occurrence, omitting certain tones or elisioning the repetitions of the sequence with each other, so in the rhythmic complementarity of the right and left hand sections it seems as if it is an endless melody. The pre-composed material is used not only in linear but also in vertical dodecaphony in the *Bagatela* No. 1 and No. 2 (Examples 7–8), while in the third one (Example 9) Škerl takes the six-tone sequence constructed of the so-called “privileged tones” of the row – alternating the succession line of odd and even ones (1, 3, 5, 2, 4, 6), repeating them in a linear way in different rhythmic situations, while the remaining pitches of the row are used for creation of the chordal and figurative accompaniment. As a result, the compositional technique continues to be guided by thematic control over the material, though the harmony has become more complex, decentralised and resulting from an incidental arrangement of pitches.



Example 7: Bagatele. *Risoluto*. b. 1-2.



Example 8: Bagatele. *Adagio molto tranquillo*. b. 1-2.



Example 9: Bagatele. *Leggiero*. b. 1-7.

Descriptions of Škerl's work as a "cheerful and healthy coexistence of neoclassical foundations" or as a "pleasing neoclassical style," as mentioned earlier, overlook key aspects that become apparent only when considering the broader context, especially within Bosnia and Herzegovina's compositional practice. Namely, the social and political context influenced compositional practice and education during this period, and Neoclassicism was recognised as a broad stylistic category across Yugoslavia republics, which was able to ensure a breakout from the ideology of socialist realism that was still very strong in Bosnian art music at the time, and provide a necessary

space for experimenting and thus reaching for the originality of an individual style.

Nevertheless, a kind of evolutionary process in Škerl's compositional thinking only took occurred in Sarajevo. Around the same period as the Bosnian composer Vojin Komadina, Škerl began to adopt contemporary compositional techniques, likely influenced by the inaugural Music Biennale Zagreb in 1961 and his visits to the electronic studio of Radio Cologne, which altogether opened new perspectives in musical composition and contributed to the burgeoning trend of musical experimentation. Moving from blending the traditional stylistic concepts seen in *Pet skladb* to mature Neoclassicism, he pushed beyond its boundaries onto the path of serialism. However, due to Škerl's limited teaching,<sup>35</sup> the social environment that mostly valued those works whose musical language was better able to communicate with audiences via traditional means, and the fact that even a professional public was not in favour of the contemporary music practices of the time, this path, started with Symphony No. 2 as kind of experiment, and further developed in *Bagatele* and some other works (such as *Musica funebre*, and Symphonies No. 7 and 8), did not help to spread the idea of dodecaphony in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is probably why Škerl stayed faithful to the "middle path" of his Symphony No. 2, which had a significant public impact and was awarded the Sixth of April Sarajevo Award in 1965, which is the most important award that honours deserving individuals for their contributions in the fields of science, business, education, technology, health care, art, sports, and human rights.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, Škerl contributed significantly to the introduction of modern European trends in Bosnia and Herzegovina, breaking with tradition and spreading his advanced ideas in Sarajevo, Slovenia and elsewhere in the region.

## Appendices

1. *List of Škerl's compositions created during his Sarajevo period (chronological):*<sup>37</sup>

- 35 As it has already been mentioned, the Bosnian composer Milan Jeličanin was the only student graduated in Škerl's class.
- 36 Anon., "Dodijeljene Šestoaprilске nagrade," *Večernje novine*, April 3, 1965, in *Press Archive – Activities of the Academy of Music*, III, Library of the Academy of Music in Sarajevo.
- 37 According to: "Danijel Dane Škerl (1931–2002)," *Društvo slovenskih skladateljev*, [https://www.dss.si/shop.html?author\\_id=145](https://www.dss.si/shop.html?author_id=145).

## THE SARAJEVO PERIOD OF DANE ŠKERL'S ARTISTIC ACTIVITY

Year	No.	Composition – original title [alternative title / English translation]
1960	1.	<i>Dnevnik Lize sladoredarice</i> , suita za orkester [The diary of Liza the ice-cream lover, suite for orchestra]
	2.	<i>Invenzioni per violino e archi</i> [Invenzioni za violino in godala / Invenzioni for violin and strings]
1961	3.	<i>Kontrasti za orkestar</i> [Contrasts for orchestra]
	4.	<i>Pet skladb za klarinet i gudala</i> [Pet skladb za klarinet in godala / Five pieces for clarinet and strings]
1962	5.	<i>Moj dan</i> , otroška kantata za 2 otroška glasova, otroški zbor, recitatorja in orkester [My day, cantata for children for two children's voices, children's chorus, narrator and orchestra]
1963	6.	<i>Koncert za klarinet in orkester</i> [Concerto for clarinet and orchestra]
	7.	<i>Simfonija št. 2 – Monotematika za godala</i> [Symphony No. 2 – Monothematic for strings]
1964	8.	<i>Orkestralne miniaturre za otroke</i> [Orchestra miniatures for children]
	9.	<i>Otroška suita št. 2 za komorni orkester</i> [Suite No. 2 for children for chamber orchestra]
	10.	<i>Simfonietta No. 1 - Dijaška za orkester</i> [A school sinfonietta No. 1 for orchestra]
1965	11.	<i>Divertimento per 24 za pihala, trobila, tolkala, harfo in kontrabas</i> [Divertimento per 24 for woodwinds, brass, percussion, harp and double bass]
	12.	<i>Mala suita za orkester</i> [Piccola suite for orchestra]
	13.	<i>Pet otroških impresij za orkester</i> [Five children's impressions for orchestra]
	14.	<i>Simfonija št. 3</i> [Symphony No. 3]
1966	15.	<i>Koncertantne miniaturre za rog in violo solo in komorni ansambel</i> [Miniatures concertants for horn, viola and chamber ensemble]
1968	16.	<i>Bagatele za klavir</i> [Bagatelles for piano]
	17.	<i>Intrada za orkester</i> [Intrada for orchestra]
	18.	<i>Tuga ova pregolema kantata za sopran, bariton, mešani zbor in orkester</i> [This unbearable sorrow cantata for soprano, baritone, mixed chorus and orchestra]
1969	19.	<i>Opojno poletje</i> [Grozdanin kikut, balet / Ravishing summer ballet]
	20.	<i>Tri bagatele za godala</i> [Three bagatelles for strings]
1970	21.	<i>Musica funebre per trombone e orchestra</i> [Musica funebre za pozavno in orkester / Musica funebre for trombone and orchestra]

2. Škerl's Works Performed by the Radio-Television Sarajevo Orchestra<sup>38</sup>

Composition – original title	Conductor, Soloist(s)	Place, Date
<i>Koncert za klarinet i orkestar</i>	Conductor Dane Škerl Soloist Antun Vezilić	Sarajevo (premiere), April 23, 1963
<i>Simfonija br. 3</i>	Conductor Radivoj Spasić,	Sarajevo (premiere), April 28, 1965, Ljubljana, June 1969, Dubrovnik, July 5, 1969, Zagreb, July 7, 1969
<i>Tuga ova pregolema</i> , kantata tužbalica za neznanim junacima za sola, hor i orkestar	Conductor R. Spasić Soloists Dorotea Cestnik-Spasić, Milivoj Bačanović Radio-Television Sarajevo Choir	Sarajevo (premiere), November 14, 1966
<i>Simfonija br. 2</i>	Conductor Radivoj Spasić	Beograd, June 3, 1968
<i>Musica funebre</i> za trombon i orkestar	Conductor Teodor Romanić, soloist Josip Jurić	Sarajevo, November 2, 1970 Opatija, November 1970

3. Škerl's Works in the Repertoire of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra<sup>39</sup>

Work	Conductor, Soloist(s)	Place, Date
<i>Serenada za gudače</i>	Conductor Teodor Romanić	Dom Armije, September 20, 1961.
<i>Kontrasti</i>	Conductor Radivoj Spasić	Dom Armije, February 25, 1963.
<i>Koncert za orkestar br. 1</i>	Conductor Ivan Štajcer	Dom Armije, September 24, 1963.
<i>Serenada za gudače</i>	Conductor Karol Stryja (Poland)	Dom Armije, April 9, 1965.
<i>Pet kompozicija za klarinet i orkestar</i>	Conductor Mladen Pozajić, Dragan Paradžik clarinet	Muzička akademija Sarajevo, June 24, 1965.
<i>Piccola suite</i>	Conductor Josef Daniel (Czechoslovakia)	Dom izviđača, November 17, 1966.
<i>Intrada</i>	Conductor M. Pozajić	Dom Armije, September 21, 1970.

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## To be or not to be a civil association?

Máté Hollós

Združenje madžarskih skladateljev  
The Hungarian Composers' Union

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Some of you from a country with a similar history to Hungary may remember the structure of cultural life in the so-called Soviet-type states. The government controlled all kinds of institutions: the central concert organising bureau, the state-owned – and most likely only – record company, the music publishing house, the single radio and television broadcaster, as well as an office to organise the foreign work of musicians. This last office, known as Interkoncert in Hungary, was there to arrange the travel to any places musicians were invited to, and took the majority of the money earned from such trips, if it let them travel at all, as in some cases the office would lie to the foreign institution that had made the invitation and say the musicians were sick or busy, or sometimes simply ignore the invitation. In the Hungary of these years, Interkoncert, along with the state-owned record company Hungaroton, collected the money earned from such activities, including the more valuable Western currencies, and this was used to fund domestic concerts and other musical projects within the country.

In this context the musical social life of Hungary was represented by the *Association of Hungarian Musicians* (AHM), which included composers, performing artists, musicologists, music education experts, and choral and wind band specialists, along with people engaged in the field of “mass music”, including the top entertainment and pop music artists. These groups all had their own departments that organised the related programmes, often at a high professional level. The Association of Hungarian

Musicians was the only professional society in the country that was a member of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) as well as the International Society for Music Education (ISME), responsible for the international networks of music libraries and music information centres.

Let us not go back to the 1950s, when the composers' department of the AHM had a yearly plenary meeting in which composers criticised each other's works, sometimes in a rather unsophisticated manner, especially when there was a political motive behind the critical opinion – and aesthetics were easily influenced by politics. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, there was a much more open-minded atmosphere in and around the association, and there were no serious struggles between musicians and the political authorities. *István Láng* was the General Secretary of the AHM from 1978 to 1989, when the association terminated its activity, and was himself an internationally renowned composer and a member of the Executive Committee of the ISCM for several years.<sup>1</sup> Once it happened that two important figures in the musical life of Hungary reported the New Music Studio – which included composers such as Jeney, Vidovszky and László Sáy<sup>2</sup> – to the cultural leader of the Communist Party, György Aczél. Aczél called Láng, and after Láng made one comment in favour of the Studio, Aczél replied that he could do whatever he wanted to, thus giving him official permission from the Party. However, the New Music Studio officially worked within the framework of the Communist Youth Organisation, although none of the members was a member of the Party. So the funding for the Studio's concerts and experiments came from very official sources. I just mention this to draw attention to the peaceful relationship between the authorities and musicians at that time.

But 1989 and a new system were approaching. In 1987, the first step towards new forms of organisation was made by the composer Zsolt Durkó and some other outstanding musicians, including instrumentalists, and

- 1 Antal Boronkay and Rachel Beckles Willson, "Láng, István," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.15963>. See also: Péter Halász, "Láng, István," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 10: *Kem-Ler* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003), 1155.
- 2 Josef Csikota, *Development of Musical Culture in Hungary in the 20th Century*, Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research, volume 171, Atlantis Press, p. 27. (pošiljam povezavo do prispevka: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322479166\\_Development\\_of\\_Musical\\_Culture\\_in\\_Hungary\\_in\\_the\\_20th\\_Century](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322479166_Development_of_Musical_Culture_in_Hungary_in_the_20th_Century))

this was called the *Hungarian Art Music Society*.<sup>3</sup> We all felt that new organisations were needed. One of the first of these was the *Hungarian Composers' Union*, followed by organisations for performing artists, music educators, music schools and so on, including societies for individual instruments. The first umbrella organisation, the *Hungarian Music Council*, had over 40 members. The boom year was 1990, when the Composers' Union, Music Council and a great many other societies were founded. The first freely elected government also began making great changes to the structure of the music scene. On seeing that the Music Council had many member societies which did not follow the right-wing government line, the authorities decided to establish another umbrella organisation. This became the *Hungarian Chamber of Music*, which later changed its name to the *Hungarian Music Forum*. (Look, we are in Hungary, where everything is soon divided into at least two separate institutions...)

As soon as the Music Council was founded, the Hungarian Composers' Union decided not to ask for membership. The board noted that the Union was not one of the smaller societies, and that its voice would be heard much better if it did not join an umbrella organisation, and instead remained independent. As soon as the other umbrella organisation stepped on the stage, we all felt we had been right to avoid joining. What was the result of this? For many long years both left- and right-wing governments invited three organisations to discuss everything in musical life: the two umbrella organisations and the Composers' Union. It was the same with the various self-governing bodies and the media as well.

Starting in 2010, the role of civil society in Hungary gradually diminished, a political course that continues to this day. The sad fact is that neither the Music Council nor the Composers' Union are engaged with by the government, while the second umbrella organisation, the Music Forum, has already ceased its activities. There were almost two decades in which the Minister of Culture simply chose from a list produced by musical organisations the person to whom he wanted to award certain ministerial prizes (not only in music, but in all kinds of arts).<sup>4</sup> Under this system, we – the delegates of the various music societies and members of the award-proposing committees – were always satisfied that, regardless of artistic preferences and very much regardless of political pressures, we could come to

3 Budapest Music Center, "Zsolt Durkó," *BMC Database*, <https://info.bmc.hu/en/composers/21-durko-zsolt>.

4 In the field of music, the main prizes are the Liszt Prize for performers, Erkel Prize for composers, and Szabolcsi Prize for musicologists.

mutual agreement on these awards, because we had strictly professional points of view. Now, although we are allowed to give proposals, our suggestions can be easily ignored. As such, awards are often given to people whom the professional associations would never approve of!

Hungarian composers – not only in the serious music field but also in entertainment and pop music – suffered a serious wound in 2012 when the copyright law was rapidly changed. We had only a weekend to give our opinions, and although even the most prominent composers from those the government favoured were against the proposal, two-thirds of MPs voted to pass the law. Until that time Artisjus, the Hungarian CMO, could use the ten percent of the live performance and broadcasting royalties that it collected for cultural and social purposes, like most of the continental European copyright societies do. In 2012, the new law permitted Artisjus to use 30 percent of this 10 percent for social purposes, while the remaining 70 percent had to be given to the *National Cultural Fund*. Under this new system, composers had to apply for financial support for works they would compose in the following year. In principle this is not a problem, but, as I often say, anyone who supported this does not know the reality of a composer's life and work. I do not need to explain to you that composers' plans often change, and that one does not finish a piece in the planned year but then has the opportunity to write another work which it was obviously not possible to apply for funding for in the previous year... The main difference between the old and new systems is that with the earlier method of using the Artisjus deduction for cultural purposes funding decisions were made based on the previous year! Projects – concerts, recordings, editions – can also be supported by the National Cultural Fund, but we think that decisions about the use of “our own” money should be left in the authors' hands.

With regard to the National Cultural Fund, this was originally a wonderful institution, established in 1993, which provided significant patronage for all kinds of art – from literature to theatre, fine arts to architecture, as well for public collections, and both serious and light music. It was first financed from contributions that needed to be paid when holding certain activities, and later by the state lottery. The Cultural Fund is now being reorganised, and although we have been promised that it will essentially continue in the same way, we will have to wait and see what actually happens. For the time being, the system of support for composers – as derived from Artisjus – works well, but the projects that are being subsidised are in a deeper crisis year by year.

What should the role of the Composers' Union be in this situation? We have young colleagues every year applying for membership, and this is good news. But when we try to invite someone to join, the usual question is: "How can this help my activities?" In response we only have rather poor answers concerning up-to-date information on competitions, sending their works to the ISCM World New Music Days, and so on. Two years ago we printed a book titled *Hungarian Composers*, the contents of which we placed on the website of the Composers' Union, and we shall continue with widening the circle of composers included and updating the database. It should be noted here that inclusion in this database is not limited to members of the Union, although in the field of serious music almost everyone is a member. In 1993 there was an argument between two four-member groups of our composer members, one that had a political basis, and as a result six of the eight left the society, and today only four of them are still alive.<sup>5</sup> But since then we have not had any similar struggles within the Union. The importance of this can be illustrated as follows. When I stepped down as president of the Union in 2021, my successor emphasized at the general assembly that the Hungarian Composers' Union was the only artists' society which had not split during the previous three decades of a post-communist Hungary. Those years had seen serious conflicts among writers, film-makers, theatre people and others, but we composers had remained together in spite of all our differences. This is probably why I was re-elected every three years, which was not my first preference! I had six years of work trying to find a willing successor. I tried to find someone young, but they all said that while they would join the board with pleasure, they did not wish to work as much as I did! When establishing the Union in 1990, we decided that a president would hold the position for three years and could be re-elected once. Then when I reached this six-year limit the Union changed the rules, but even then I did not imagine I would stay in the post for 25 years! And do not think that I take pride in this, not at all! It actually makes me sad. My successor had the position for three years and decided not to stay on, and his successor is now in his first year as president.<sup>6</sup> When I retired, I was elected as the honorary president, which means that I am present at board meetings, and not much more than that. Although the fact is that I am still involved in the everyday life of the Union, much as I was when I was chairman. The only reason I am speaking so long

5 On the government side there was *Sándor Balassa*, *Attila Bozay*, *Zsolt Durkó* and *Sándor Szokolay*, on the criticizing side *Miklós Csemiczky*, *György Orbán*, *György Selmeczi* and *János Vajda*. Csemiczky has since died, passing away in October 2025.

6 My successor was *Máté Balogh*, the present president is *Bence Kutrik*.

about this is that I do not see any ambition in my colleagues, even the young ones, to take over. And perhaps this is a rude question, but is a composers' association really that unimportant for the community of composers?

I remember, in the early 2010s, a friend of mine, the president of the Hungarian Art Music Society at the time, who I worked with very well – he used to be the leader of the music department of the Ministry of Culture for some years – once said to me: “the time of the artists' societies is over, we are no longer of interest to those in power”. I felt hurt and angry about this. Since then he has passed away, but nowadays I feel that he was probably correct. I still feel convinced that a community of professionals, a *guild*, is really important. But a story comes to my mind here. In the early 1990s a Deputy State Secretary of Culture who wanted to have an influence on Hungarian cultural life, like “comrade” Aczél did in the communist era, told me a story. He went to Germany for some talks. There he was told that in Germany nobody knows who the Minister of Culture is... Could it be that after a while there would be no interest in a composers' society, either? Let us say OK, no problem. But this would mean that some more or less active and self-interested composers could create a group of three or five members. But what then happens to those composers who do not have the drive or talent to organise something like that?

The Slovenian Composers' Union seems to be a promising example of a solution to such a problem. So finally, good luck and much success to our elder brother!

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## Kroatischer Komponistenverband: 80 Jahre Mitgestaltung der nationalen Kultur und gesellschaftlichen Ereignisse

Antun Tomislav Šaban

Hrvaško društvo skladateljjev

Croatian Composers' Society / Hrvatsko društvo skladatelja

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Der Kroatische Komponistenverband (HDS) hat in den vergangenen 80 Jahren eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Bewahrung und Förderung der kroatischen kulturellen Identität sowie des nationalen Musikschaffens gespielt. Als einzige Berufsorganisation, die kroatische Komponisten, Musikwissenschaftler und Musikautoren vereint, ist der HDS zur zentralen Institution für die Entwicklung der kroatischen Kunst-, kommerziellen und traditionellen Musik geworden. Im Laufe der Jahrzehnte hat der HDS kontinuierlich die kreative Arbeit seiner Mitglieder unterstützt und sich gleichzeitig für den Erhalt der spezifischen Merkmale des kroatischen musikalischen Erbes eingesetzt.

Die Aktivitäten des HDS lassen sich historisch in drei Hauptbereiche unterteilen: als Berufsverband für Musikschaaffende, als Initiator und Organisator künstlerischer Projekte sowie als Organisation für die kollektive Wahrnehmung von Urheberrechten.

Angesichts der gesellschaftspolitischen Umstände und ihrer Veränderungen bzw. Diskontinuitäten lässt sich die Entwicklung und Arbeit des HDS grob in drei Perioden einteilen:

1. die Periode der Tätigkeit im kommunistischen Jugoslawien (1945–1990),
2. die Übergangsperiode: die Auflösung der jugoslawischen Republiken und der Heimatkrieg in Kroatien, der Aufbau neuer Institu-

tionen, einer demokratischen Gesellschaft und die Hinwendung zur Marktwirtschaft (1991–2000),

3. die jüngste Periode der Tätigkeit unter stabilen Bedingungen (2001–heute).

Die ersten Initiativen zur Gründung einer Komponistenvereinigung in der damaligen Volksrepublik Kroatien entstanden unmittelbar nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs, Mitte 1945. Zu jener Zeit war es von großer Bedeutung, starke Persönlichkeiten an seiner Seite zu haben, die dem neuen Regime entsprachen, um Ideen und Ambitionen verwirklichen zu können. Kroatische Komponisten hatten das Glück, in ihren Reihen Ivo Tijardović (1895–1976) und Natko Devčić (1914–1997) zu haben, beide Partisanen und herausragende gesellschaftliche Akteure. Eine noch günstigere Voraussetzung war jedoch, dass beide neben dem erforderlichen ideologischen Profil und ihrem Kriegseinsatz auch große musikalische Talente, Bildung und Gelehrsamkeit besaßen.

Tijardović, ein in Wien ausgebildeter Architekt, hatte bereits mehrere erfolgreiche Musiktheaterwerke geschaffen und Erfahrungen als Bühnenbildner und Dirigent im Theater gesammelt, später wurde er auch Intendant des Kroatischen Nationaltheaters in Split. Zwischen 1929 und 1933 leitete er die Musikabteilung der ersten Schallplattenfabrik auf dem Balkan (Edison Bell Penkala in Zagreb). Neben seinem musikalischen Talent zeichnete ihn ein Sinn für Geschäft, Verwaltung und Organisation aus.

Devčić, gerade dreißig Jahre alt, absolvierte neben seinem Studium in Klavier und Komposition auch ein Jurastudium. Später spezialisierte er sich in Komposition in Wien und Paris sowie bei den renommierten Darmstädter Ferienkursen für Neue Musik, während er elektronische Musik an der *Columbia University* in New York vertiefte. Über Jahrzehnte unterstützte er den Verband, dessen erster Sekretär und später (1964–66) Präsident er war. Ähnlich engagierte sich Tijardović, der bereits 1945 zum Intendanten des Kroatischen Nationaltheaters in Zagreb ernannt wurde und später als Direktor des Zagreber Philharmonischen Orchesters (1949–1954) tätig war. Trotz seiner zahlreichen beruflichen und künstlerischen Verpflichtungen diente er von 1951 bis 1953 und erneut von 1954 bis 1962 als Sekretär des Verbandes. Heuer feiert unser Verband nicht nur sein 80-jähriges Bestehen, sondern auch den 130. Geburtstag seines Gründers und ersten Präsidenten Tijardović (der HDS wird am 11. Mai in Split seine Jahreshauptversammlung abhalten, begleitet von der feierlichen Vorpremiere seiner Operette „Abenteuer in Shanghai“ von 1936).

Tijardović und Devčić organisierten bereits am 9. Juni 1945 die Gründungsversammlung, erhielten am 28. November die Genehmigung zur

Gründung der Kroatischen Komponistenvereinigung (UKH) und hielten die erste ordentliche Jahreshauptversammlung am 30. Dezember desselben Jahres ab. Die Ziele und Prioritäten der damaligen Vereinigung waren die Lösung berufsständischer Fragen der Komponisten sowie der Schutz ihrer Urheberrechte. Ebenso wurde viel Aufmerksamkeit auf die Förderung des Musikverlegens gelegt.

1950 wurde die Verwertungsgesellschaft für musikalische Rechte (ZAMP) von staatlichem in gesellschaftliches Eigentum überführt, und ab dem 1. November ging ihre Zagreber (kroatische) Geschäftsstelle in den Besitz der UKH über. Seit diesem Tag verwalten kroatische Komponisten und Rechteinhaber ihre eigenen Rechte sowie die Rechte ausländischer Rechteinhaber. Im selben Jahr wurde auch der Komponistenverband Jugoslawiens (SAKOJ) mit wesentlicher Beteiligung kroatischer Komponisten gegründet, die aushandelten, dass die Bundesdruckerei (IZOD) in Zagreb angesiedelt wird.

Obwohl die Vereinigung von Anfang an bestrebt war, durch Konzertorganisationen die Musik ihrer Mitglieder zu fördern, kam es erst 1954 zu einem bedeutenden Fortschritt in diesem Bereich. Der damalige Präsident Ivan Brkanović und der Sekretär Branimir Sakač initiierten eine Konzertreihe mit 13 Aufführungen: vier Opern-, fünf Symphonie- und drei Kammermusikkonzerte.<sup>1</sup> Dieses Jahr kann als Beginn der systematischen Tätigkeit der Vereinigung als Organisator von Konzert- und Festivalaktivitäten betrachtet werden, sodass in den ersten neun Jahren ihres Bestehens die grundlegenden Tätigkeitsbereiche erfolgreich etabliert wurden.

Sehr bedeutsam ist, dass im selben Jahr die Vereinigung der Komponisten leichter Musik Kroatiens (UKLMH) als eigenständige Organisation gegründet wurde, die sich mit berufsständischen Fragen der Komponisten der damaligen „leichten Musik“, also der populären Musik, befasste. Diese Organisation war von Anfang an in der Konzertorganisation aktiv und förderte die Produktion und Verbreitung kroatischer Unterhaltungsmusik. Bereits 1953 wurde auf Initiative des ersten Direktors Fedor Kopsa, damals Redakteur der Jugendzeitung „Horizont“, das erste Zagreber Festival für populäre Musik abgehalten. Mit der Gründung der UKLMH im Jahr 1954 übernahm sie die Organisation des Festivals, das seither über 70-mal stattgefunden hat (dieses Jahr am 4. April) und somit das älteste künstlerische Projekt unseres Verbandes darstellt.

1 Erika Krpan, Hrsg., *Hrvatsko društvo skladatelja 1945–2015: Kronika* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo skladatelja, Cantus d.o.o., 2015), 16.

Es ist bemerkenswert, dass die Vereinigung in Zeiten der Blockbildung und Isolation, in denen Reisen aus Jugoslawien schwierig waren und es an verlässlichen Informationen über ausländische Entwicklungen mangelte, bereits kulturellen Austausch zwischen Komponisten und ihren Werken organisierte. Schon 1955 kamen die französische Komponistin Germaine Tailleferre und der britische Komponist Benjamin Britten nach Zagreb, nahmen an Konzerten mit ihrer Musik teil und diskutierten mit kroatischen Kollegen. Kroatische Komponisten, Mitglieder der Vereinigung, reisten ebenfalls ins Ausland, in diesen Jahren jedoch vor allem in den damaligen Ostblock.

Eine weitere interessante Episode ereignete sich 1957, als die UKH ein Abkommen mit der Slowenischen Philharmonie über die Aufnahme von Werken kroatischer Komponisten traf.<sup>2</sup> Die Tatsache, dass es in Zagreb zu jener Zeit zwei professionelle Sinfonieorchester gab (die Zagreber Philharmoniker und das Sinfonieorchester des Rundfunks), deutet darauf hin, dass die kroatischen Komponisten mit deren Haltung zur heimischen Musik unzufrieden waren, was auch aus Sitzungsprotokollen und anderen Dokumenten dieser Zeit ersichtlich ist. Die Aufnahmen in Slowenien fanden über einen Zeitraum von zwei Jahren statt, doch heute gibt es keine gesicherten Informationen darüber, welche Werke aufgenommen wurden oder ob die Aufnahmen in einem slowenischen Archiv erhalten geblieben sind.

Im selben Jahr ging Dr. Milan Majer, Komponist und erster Direktor der ZAMP, in den Ruhestand und wurde von Dr. Ivan Henneberg abgelöst, der dieses Amt bis zu seiner Pensionierung im Jahr 1984 ausübte.

Im Jahr 1961, nach langer Vorbereitung, wurde die erste Musikbiennale Zagreb abgehalten, die bis heute kontinuierlich stattfindet, ähnlich dem Zagreber Festival. Interessanterweise gab es bereits nach dem ersten Festival Unstimmigkeiten über das Programm zwischen den Mitgliedern der Vereinigung und dem Komitee der Biennale unter der Leitung von Milko Kelemen. Infolgedessen wurde das Festival bis 1975 aus dem Zuständigkeitsbereich der Vereinigung ausgegliedert und kehrte erst 1991 vollständig unter ihre organisatorische Kontrolle zurück.

Über die Jahre hinweg lässt sich ein latenter Konflikt bzw. eine gewisse Spannung zwischen der UKH und dem SAKOJ (Komponistenverband Jugoslawiens) beobachten. Mitglieder der UKH waren der Meinung, dass sich der Verband zu viele Kompetenzen aneignete. 1962 kam aus Kroatien der

2 Ibid., 17.

Vorschlag zur Reform der Satzung des Verbandes sowie der Satzung der ZAMP, doch am Ende wurden keine Reformen durchgeführt.

1963 erwies sich als ein historisches Jahr, da die UKH und die UKLMH fusionierten. Seitdem gibt es in Kroatien nur noch eine einzige Vereinigung für alle Musikschaaffenden, unabhängig von den Musikgenres, die sie komponieren. Formal wurde die UKLMH in die UKH integriert, die zur einzigen Organisation wurde. Alle Mitglieder beider Vereinigungen erhielten innerhalb der UKH die gleichen Rechte und Pflichten und waren in zwei Sektionen tätig: für populäre und ernste Musik. Die Initiative für diese Integration kam von der Bundesebene, sodass ähnliche Prozesse auch in anderen Teilrepubliken durchgeführt wurden. Die Folgen davon sind bis heute sichtbar, denn der HDS sowie der Slowenische Komponistenverband und der Serbische Komponistenverband vertreten seit über 60 Jahren Komponisten aller Genres als einheitliche Organisationen.

In diesem Jahr wurde auch das erste Forum für jugoslawisches Musikschaffen (Tribina jugoslavenskog muzičkog stvaralaštva) in Opatija abgehalten, das bis 1990 als Referenzpunkt für alle Komponisten ernster Musik sowie Musikwissenschaftler innerhalb des gemeinsamen Staates fungierte. Dieses Projekt des HDS besteht bis heute unter dem Namen „Glazbena tribina“. Gegen Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde es nach Pula verlegt, kehrte nach einem Jahrzehnt nach Opatija zurück und etablierte sich ab 2022 in Osijek. Parallel dazu wurde in Belgrad ab 1991 das Internationale Komponistenforum (Međunarodna tribina kompozitora) veranstaltet, das sich zum bedeutendsten Festival für zeitgenössische Musik in Serbien entwickelte.

1965 erwarb die Vereinigung Geschäftsräume in der *Berislavićeva ulica 9*, wo sie sich auch heute noch befindet. Dies trug erheblich zur Verbesserung der Geschäftsqualität bei. Im Rahmen dieser Räumlichkeiten befindet sich auch ein kleiner Konzertsaal (der 1996 auf 70 Sitzplätze erweitert wurde), in dem seither regelmäßig Kammerkonzerte, Foren und Hörsessions organisiert werden. In den ersten Jahren waren diese gut besucht und trugen wesentlich zur Belebung der Veranstaltungsdynamik und zur Bereicherung des Programms bei.

1967 wurde Adalbert Marković zum Sekretär ernannt, eine Position, die er 12 Jahre lang innehatte, bevor er in drei Amtszeiten als Präsident diente. Dies macht ihn zu einer der herausragendsten Persönlichkeiten in der Geschichte der Vereinigung. Auf seine Initiative und die des damaligen Präsidenten Branimir Sakač änderte die Kroatische Komponistenvereinigung

(UKH) Ende 1970 ihren Namen in „Verband kroatischer Komponisten“ (Društvo hrvatskih skladatelja).<sup>3</sup> Politische Veränderungen in Jugoslawien ermöglichten es der kroatischen Delegation auf dem 6. SAKOJ-Kongress im Jahre 1971 durchzusetzen, dass die von der ZAMP in Kroatien erzielten Einnahmen nicht nach Belgrad geschickt, sondern bis zur Verteilung in Kroatien verbleiben. Dies stellte damals einen kaum vorstellbaren Schritt in Richtung finanzieller Unabhängigkeit des Verbandes und ihrer Mitglieder dar. Folglich wurde die ZAMP 1982 zu einer operativen Einheit des Verbandes, was bis heute Bestand hat.

Unter dem Vorsitz von Stanko Horvat (1973–1979) wurde die Veranstaltung „Tage der kroatischen Musik“ (Dani hrvatske glazbe) ins Leben gerufen, möglicherweise ein Äquivalent zu den „Slovenski glasbeni dnevi“. Diese fand bis 2004 statt. 1978 legte Horvat dem Verband ein Manifest zur Diskussion vor, in dem er eine erhebliche Erweiterung der Aktivitäten vorschlug – eine Vision für die Zukunft, die viele Ähnlichkeiten mit dem aufweist, was der Verband im 21. Jahrhundert geworden ist. In dieser Zeit wurde auch das Musik-Informationszentrum (MIC) gegründet, zunächst unter der Leitung des Komponisten Marko Ruždjak. Obwohl es nie Teil des HDS war, erbringt das MIC ergänzende Dienstleistungen, die für kroatische Komponisten von Bedeutung sind.

Wie in den vorherigen Jahrzehnten gab es kontinuierliche Beschwerden über die Arbeit des SAKOJ (seit 1965 SOKOJ, d. h. der Verband der Organisationen der Komponisten Jugoslawiens) und seine Dienste. Das häufigste Problem war die Zurückhaltung finanzieller Mittel (die aus der Nutzung urheberrechtlich geschützter Musikwerke in ganz Jugoslawien gesammelt wurden) in Belgrad, wo sie (aufgrund der Dinar-Inflation) für Zeiträume angelegt wurden, die eine Auszahlung an die eigentlichen Urheber verhinderten. In verschiedenen Phasen während des 40-jährigen Zusammenlebens des Verbandes und der Vereinigungen aus den Teilrepubliken wurden unterschiedliche Lösungen vereinbart und wieder aufgegeben, bis es Anfang der 1990er Jahre zur endgültigen Trennung kam.

1987 wurde der 29-jährige Komponist und Jurist Ivo Josipović zum neuen Sekretär des Verbandes ernannt. In den folgenden 14 Jahren führte er eine radikale Reform durch und blieb bis 2010 als Berater, Präsidiumsmitglied und Direktor der Musikbiennale Zagreb mit ihr verbunden. In diesem Jahr wurde er zum Präsidenten der Republik Kroatien gewählt. Josipović übernahm den Verband in einem schlechten Zustand – er war gespalten und befand sich in finanziellen Schwierigkeiten. Bis 1990 s

3 Ibid., 22.

tabilisierte er die Geschäftstätigkeit, stärkte die finanzielle Lage und erweiterte das Programm.

1991 begannen die Kriegskonflikte in Jugoslawien. Der Verband änderte zum letzten Mal seinen Namen und wurde unter der heute bekannten Bezeichnung „Kroatischer Komponistenverband“ (Hrvatsko društvo skladatelja, HDS) bekannt. Gleichzeitig begann die vollständige Übernahme und Organisation des Urheberrechtsschutzes, was die Trennung vom SOKOJ, die Anpassung der internen Organisation des Verbandes sowie den nationalen Kampf für die Schaffung gesetzlicher und anderer Voraussetzungen für eine umfassende Organisation des Urheberrechtsschutzes umfasste.<sup>4</sup> Die Trennung zwischen dem HDS und dem SOKOJ erfolgte während des Kriegskonflikts zwischen Kroatien und Serbien und könnte das erste Beispiel für eine einvernehmliche und friedliche Auflösung einer professionellen Vereinigung im postjugoslawischen Raum darstellen.

Im Jahr 1992 erhielten Vertreter vom HDS bei einem Treffen in Budapest von SOKOJ-Vertretern Datenbanken mit kroatischen Autoren und ihren Werken, die die Grundlage für die Entwicklung einer neuen kroatischen Verwertungsgesellschaft bildeten. Diese Organisation wurde unter dem Namen ZAMP als Fachabteilung des HDS tätig. Nach der internationalen Anerkennung Kroatiens als unabhängiger Staat und seiner Aufnahme in die Vereinten Nationen im Jahr 1992 begann der Prozess auf niedrigeren Ebenen, bei dem neue nationale kroatische Organisationen bemüht waren, in europäische und internationale Berufsorganisationen aufgenommen zu werden. Noch im selben Jahr wurde der HDS in den Internationalen Dachverband der Verwertungsgesellschaften (CISAC) und den Internationalen Dachverband der Verwertungsgesellschaften für mechanische Rechte (BIEM) aufgenommen sowie in die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM), während die Musikbiennale in die Europäische Festivalvereinigung (European Festival Association – EFA) aufgenommen wurde.

Erwähnenswert ist, dass 1991 unter Kriegsbedingungen die Musikbiennale sowie zwei Jazzfestivals und das Musikforum in Opatija stattfanden. Obwohl der Krieg in Kroatien bis 1995 andauerte, wurden ab 1992 alle Programme und Festivals des Verbandes regelmäßig durchgeführt, da sie außerhalb der vom Krieg betroffenen Gebiete stattfanden.

Von den Programmdetails ist hervorzuheben, dass 1991 eine Gruppe von Jazzliebhabern, informell organisiert im „Jazz Klub Zagreb“, im HDS

4 Ibid., 36.

Zuflucht fand. Dadurch wurden die beiden Festivals, die der JKZ organisierte, in die künstlerischen Projekte des HDS aufgenommen. Rund zehn Jahre später begann die Organisation eines Jazz-Zyklus in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Konzertsaal „Vatroslav Lisinski“. Alle diese Projekte wurden später unter dem Namen JazzHR zusammengefasst, unter dem sie bis heute veranstaltet werden.

1993 wurde die Zeitschrift *Cantus* als zweimonatliche Publikation ins Leben gerufen. Sie entwickelte sich in den folgenden 30 Jahren zur wichtigsten Fachzeitschrift über kroatische Musik und Musiker. 1994 initiierte der HDS gemeinsam mit dem Kroatischen Rundfunk (HRT) sowie der neu gegründeten Vereinigung der Musikinterpreten (Hrvatska glazbena unija – HGU) den Musikpreis „Porin“, der nach dem Vorbild des amerikanischen Grammy-Awards geschaffen wurde. Bis heute ist der „Porin“ die bedeutendste Musikpreisverleihung in dieser Region Europas.

Zwischen 1996 und 2003 erwarb der HDS neue Immobilien durch den Kauf von drei zusätzlichen Räumen (Wohnungen) in der *Berislavićeva ulica* 9 und 7. Dadurch erhielt er einen neuen, größeren Konzertsaal sowie bedeutende Büroräume, die eine qualitativ hochwertige Arbeit sowie Treffen und Versammlungen der Mitglieder ermöglichten. Seitdem finden im Saal regelmäßig Foren und kleinere Konzerte statt. Zudem wurden dort zahlreiche Plenarsitzungen, Versammlungen und andere Mitgliedertreffen abgehalten.

Durch Änderungen im kroatischen Rechtssystem im Jahr 1999 wurde es Musikinterpreten und Plattenfirmen ermöglicht, Leistungsschutzrechte geltend zu machen, woraufhin sie ihre eigenen Vereinigungen zum Schutz dieser Rechte gründeten. Beide Gruppen der Rechteinhaber erkannten jedoch schnell, dass es vorteilhafter war, sich in das bestehende ZAMP-System des HDS zu integrieren, anstatt von Grund auf eigene Systeme aufzubauen. Daher verwalten der HDS und die ZAMP bis heute für die meisten Nutzergruppen ihre Leistungsschutzrechte. Spätere gesetzliche Änderungen führten dazu, dass die ZAMP die Rechteverwertung für weitere Gruppen übernahm, sodass in Kroatien heute ein zentrales System existiert, das sich im Besitz des HDS befindet und Rechte auch für Schriftsteller, Filmregisseure, Journalisten, Zeitungsverlage sowie Film- und Fernsehchauspieler kollektiv verwaltet.

Während der 1990er Jahre reifte die Idee zur Gründung eines Verlags, der Ton- und Druckausgaben kroatischer Musik veröffentlichen sollte. Obwohl der HDS in seiner gesamten Geschichte sowohl Notenausgaben

als auch Tonträger (und gelegentlich auch Fachbücher) herausgab, stellte sich ein Problem: Als gemeinnütziger Verband durfte der HDS seine Veröffentlichungen nicht verkaufen, sondern nur kostenlos verteilen. Anfang 2000 gründete der HDS daher das Unternehmen *Cantus d.o.o.* als eigenen Verlag, der seitdem alle verlegerischen Tätigkeiten (Noten-, Tonträger- und Buchverlag) sowie einen Teil der Produktionsaufgaben übernimmt. Gleichzeitig beteiligte sich der HDS an der größten kroatischen Plattenfirma *Croatia Records*, dem ehemaligen *Jugoton*, um sie vor dem Konkurs zu retten. Nachdem das Unternehmen stabilisiert worden war, verkaufte der Verband seine Anteile wieder.

Zu Beginn des neuen Jahrtausends zeichnete sich eine neue Dynamik und Entwicklung des Verbandes ab. Anfang 2001 wurde Antun Tomislav Šaban zum Generalsekretär ernannt, eine Position, die er auch nach 24 Jahren noch innehat. Auch die ZAMP erlebte eine geschäftliche Entwicklung, zunächst unter der Leitung von Direktor Tomislav Radočaj (1997–2009) und anschließend unter Nenad Marčec, der bis heute als Hauptgeschäftsführer tätig ist.

Als programmatische Neuerung führte der Verband Autorenkonzerte seiner Mitglieder ein, die bis heute mit einer Frequenz von zwei bis drei Konzerten pro Jahr stattfinden. In den Jahren zuvor gab es Bestrebungen, ein größeres Kammerensemble zu gründen, das sich auf zeitgenössische Musik spezialisiert und sich insbesondere der Aufführung von Werken kroatischer Komponisten sowie bedeutender Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts widmet. Bei der Musikbiennale 2001 trat erstmals das Cantus Ensemble auf, das – im Gegensatz zu bisherigen gelegentlichen und ad-hoc-Ensembles – auch nach dem Biennale-Festival seine Konzerttätigkeit in Zagreb sowie mit Gastspielen in Kroatien und im Ausland fortsetzte. Unter der künstlerischen und dirigentischen Leitung von Berislav Šipuš besteht Cantus bis heute ununterbrochen und nähert sich seinem 25-jährigen Jubiläum.

Auf internationaler Ebene gewann der HDS zunehmend an Ansehen und Einfluss. So fanden 2005 im Rahmen der Musikbiennale Zagreb die IGNM – Weltmusiktage (ISCM-Festival) statt, die 2011 erneut abgehalten wurden. Als Reaktion auf bestimmte EU-Richtlinien zur Regulierung der Urheberrechtsverwertung fand 2006 in Wien ein gesamteuropäischer Komponistenkongress statt, woraufhin ein Jahr später in Madrid die European Composer and Songwriter Alliance (ECSA) gegründet wurde. Der HDS und seine Vertreter waren von Anfang an beteiligt und gehörten zu den Gründungsmitgliedern der ECSA. Antun Tomislav Šaban war zwischen 2013 und 2019 Vizepräsident

der ECSA sowie Vorsitzender ihres Komitees für ernste Musik (ECF). Gleichzeitig war er Mitglied des Exekutivausschusses von CIAM, dem Beirat der Musikautoren innerhalb der CISAC. Der HDS war zweimal Gastgeber der ECSA-Generalversammlung: 2013 in Zagreb und 2022 in Split.

Auch auf nationaler Ebene arbeitet der HDS mit Partnerverbänden zusammen, wenn gemeinsame Interessen bestehen. 2004 gründete er gemeinsam mit den Verbänden der Musikinterpreten (HGU) und der Plattenfirmen (HDU) das Institut der kroatischen Musikindustrie. Das Institut setzte sich für eine bessere Zusammenarbeit innerhalb der Branche sowie für eine Vernetzung mit anderen Interessensverbänden für kroatische Musik ein. Später wurde es in das Institut für kroatische Musik umbenannt und ist seit 2015 unter dem Namen UNISON (Kroatischer Musikverband) tätig. UNISON ist Mitglied internationaler Organisationen wie des European Music Council und seine Aktivitäten sind mit denen aller nationalen Musikverbände abgestimmt.

Als einzige Vereinigung der Musikschaffenden in Kroatien bemüht sich der HDS, alle relevanten Autoren unabhängig von den Musikgenres, in denen sie tätig sind, zu vereinen. Seit den 2010er Jahren, was mit der Ernennung von Darko Bakić zum Untersekretär für populäre Musik und zum stellvertretenden Generalsekretär zusammenfällt, ist die Zahl der Mitglieder aus dem Bereich der populären Musik mit einer breiten ästhetischen, genreübergreifenden und stilistischen Ausrichtung gestiegen. Diese begannen, den HDS als Organisation zu erkennen, der sie angehören sollten. Diese Entwicklung hin zur populären Musik im weitesten Sinne (Alternative, Rock, Spirituelle Musik, Tamburizza, Klapa, Mainstream-Pop usw.) zeigt sich auch in der Einführung neuer künstlerischer Projekte, die sich gezielt an Mitglieder aus diesen Bereichen richten.

So wurde 2014 das *RockOff*-Festival (später *Rock & Off*) ins Leben gerufen, das sich rasch großer Beliebtheit erfreute. Sein Ziel ist die Förderung neuer, junger Autoren aus dem Bereich der Rockmusik. Ursprünglich als Festival für Demo-Bands konzipiert, entwickelte es sich zu einem unabhängigen Journalistenpreis, der die alternative Musikszene auszeichnete, die damals in der Öffentlichkeit nicht ausreichend wahrgenommen wurde. Später wurde das Projekt (der Preis) „Cesarica“ ins Leben gerufen, der sich auf die kommerziell erfolgreichsten Autoren und deren Werke nach Hörkriterien konzentriert. „Cesarica“ hat sich bis heute als angesehene und bedeutende Auszeichnung sowohl unter Musikautoren, Interpreten und Produzenten als auch beim Publikum etabliert. Bei der Bewertung einzelner

Lieder wird ein Gleichgewicht zwischen Radio-Airplay und digitaler Nutzung (Streaming) angestrebt. Kürzlich wurde eine Kategorie der „Cesari-ca“ für die Konzertaktivitäten eines Interpreten während eines Jahres eingeführt (basierend auf der Anzahl verkaufter Konzertkarten).

Ein Projekt unterscheidet sich wesentlich von den anderen und wird seit über einem Jahrzehnt erfolgreich organisiert. Es handelt sich um die Internationale Autoren- und Kreativitätskonferenz (*Međunarodna autor-ska kreativna konferencija* – MAKK), die nicht künstlerisch, sondern ein informatives und edukatives Programm ist, das sich der Förderung der Rechte von Autoren und anderen Rechteinhabern widmet. Der Fokus der MAKK liegt auf aktuellen technologischen, rechtlichen und geschäftlichen Entwicklungen in Kroatien, der Europäischen Union sowie global. Sie versammelt jeden Herbst in Zagreb Experten für Urheberrecht, Musikgeschäft und moderne Technologien. Die Veranstaltung richtet sich an Mitglieder, aber auch an die breite Musiköffentlichkeit in Kroatien und der Region.

Parallel zur stärkeren Öffnung des Verbandes für Autoren aller populären Musikrichtungen, intensivierte sich auch der Zugang für Jazz- und Ethnomusik-Autoren. Historisch gesehen gehörten Jazzmusiker nach der Vereinigung von UKH und UKLMH zur Sektion für populäre Musik. Mit der Entwicklung der kulturellen und gesellschaftlichen Realitäten wurde jedoch erkannt, dass Jazz als nichtkommerzielle, künstlerische Musik dem modernen Kunstmusikbereich nähersteht als der kommerziellen populären Musik.

Anfang der 2020er Jahre begannen sich die Verbandsmitglieder, die sich primär mit Jazzmusik beschäftigen, innerhalb der Sektion für ernste Musik zu organisieren. Doch die Erweiterung der Mitgliedschaft endete nicht hier. Angesichts der doppelten Natur des Verbandes als Berufsverband und Organisation zur kollektiven Rechtswahrnehmung, können seit Mitte der 2010er Jahre auch Textautoren (Liedtexter) und juristische Personen – Musikverlage (Publisher) – ordentliche Mitglieder werden. In den letzten Jahren wurde innerhalb der Mitgliedschaft verstärkt an der Emanzipation von Komponisten angewandter Musik (Film, Fernsehen, Theater, Gaming) als eigenständiger Sektion gearbeitet. Ihre Mitglieder nutzen Geschäftsmodelle, die sich von denen der Komponisten populärer oder künstlerischer Musik unterscheiden. Bei der Jahreshauptversammlung 2024 wurden erstmals Vertreter der Komponisten angewandter Musik in die Leitungsgremien gewählt.

Seit Beginn des neuen Jahrhunderts erweitert der HDS seine Programmaktivitäten, was durch steigende Einnahmen sowohl aus eigenen als auch aus öffentlichen und privaten Mitteln ermöglicht wurde. Im Laufe der Geschichte stellten die Mitglieder oft die Frage, ob der HDS als bedeutender Organisator eigener kultureller Projekte auch finanziell und anderweitig hochwertige Projekte anderer Organisatoren unterstützen sollte, die mit seinen Zielen und den Interessen der Mitglieder übereinstimmen. Tatsächlich hat unser Verband in der Vergangenheit oft Koproduktionen mit anderen kulturellen Akteuren durchgeführt und sich finanziell und logistisch an externen Projekten beteiligt, wenn darin ein erkennbares Interesse eines Teils der Mitglieder lag.

Ein systematischer und transparenter Ansatz für solche Maßnahmen wurde jedoch erst Anfang der 2010er Jahre etabliert, als durch eine Gesetzesänderung der HDS als Verwertungsgesellschaft die Aufgabe erhielt, einen Teil der durch die Leermedienvergütung (BTL) und die Vergütung für die Nutzung traditioneller Musik gesammelten Mittel zu verteilen. Es wurden Ausschreibungen zur Unterstützung unabhängiger Projekte im Bereich der populären und traditionellen Musik eingeführt, später folgten Ausschreibungen zur Förderung kroatischer Musik im Ausland sowie zur Unterstützung unabhängiger Projekte im Bereich der zeitgenössischen Kunstmusik. Über die Jahre wurden durch diese Programme Hunderttausende Euro an Dutzende hochwertige Projekte verschiedenster Musikrichtungen vergeben, die alle die kroatische Musik fördern. Fachkommissionen – Ausschüsse, die jedes Jahr in anderer Zusammensetzung tätig sind – entscheiden über die Verteilung dieser Mittel, die aus den gesammelten Urheberrechtsabgaben stammen und gezielt zur Förderung der besten Projekte in den genannten spezialisierten Musikbereichen eingesetzt werden.

In ähnlicher Weise wurde der Wettbewerb „Rudolf und Margita Matz“ konzipiert. Der verstorbene Komponist, Cellist und Pädagoge Rudolf Matz und seine Frau vermachten dem Verband testamentarisch ihre Tantiemen, aus denen jedes Jahr ein oder zwei Stipendien für kroatische Komponisten bis zum Alter von 30 Jahren vergeben werden. Ein ähnliches Vorgehen wählten auch der verstorbene Milko Kelemen und seine Frau Mira. Kelemens Tantiemen, die heute gemäß seinem Wunsch dem HDS gehören, werden zur Finanzierung des „Milko Kelemen-Preises“ verwendet, der erstmals 2024 anlässlich des 100. Geburtstags von Kelemen verliehen wurde.

Im Jahr 2020 führten zwei Krisen zu radikalen Änderungen der Pläne und Aktivitäten. Die eine war die globale COVID-19-Pandemie und der

damit verbundene Lockdown, die andere waren die Erdbeben in Zagreb (22. März 2020) und Petrinja (29. Dezember 2020). Beim ersten Erdbeben erlitten die Räumlichkeiten, die sich in einem 140 Jahre alten Gebäude befinden, erhebliche Schäden und waren vorübergehend unbenutzbar. Noch gravierender war jedoch der globale Lockdown, der künstlerische Projekte stoppte und die Einnahmen aus der Urheberrechtsvergütung drastisch reduzierte.

In dieser Situation verlagerte der HDS den Schwerpunkt von künstlerischen Projekten auf soziale Unterstützung: Die Mittel für künstlerische Projekte wurden größtenteils für humanitäre und soziale Hilfsmaßnahmen umgewidmet, die an Dutzende Mitglieder ausgezahlt wurden, die ihre Einkommensquellen verloren hatten oder sogar obdachlos geworden waren. Später wurden über das HDS-System auch staatliche Hilfen an Mitglieder und Mitarbeiter verteilt, während die künstlerischen Aktivitäten auf ein Minimum reduziert wurden. Auch in den folgenden zwei Jahren wurden weiterhin Mittel in einen „COVID-Fonds“ eingezahlt, aus dem über Urheberrechtstantiemen den Mitgliedern finanzielle Unterstützung gewährt wurde. Für viele, deren Einkommen drastisch gesunken war, war diese Maßnahme in schwierigen Zeiten eine willkommene Hilfe.

Das jüngste Programm bzw. Projekt des HDS wurde 2022 gestartet: das Online-Portal *glazba.hr*, das nach drei Jahrzehnten die Zeitschrift *Cantus* ersetzte. Ambitioniert konzipiert, hat sich *glazba.hr* innerhalb kurzer Zeit als führendes Medium für kroatische Musik und allgemeine Musikereignisse in Kroatien etabliert. Unter dem Motto „Wir verleihen populärer Musik Seriosität und machen ernste Musik populär“ verfolgt das Portal ohne Genretrennung professionell alle musikalischen Bereiche in Kroatien und fungiert als Korrektiv zu der bedauerlichen Tatsache, dass Musikkritik aus den Mainstream-Medien zunehmend verschwindet und Berichterstattung über Musik oft oberflächlich und sensationsorientiert ist.

*Glazba.hr* veröffentlicht monatlich bis zu 80 Autorenbeiträge, darunter Konzertberichte, Kritiken, Rezensionen, Nachrichten, Ankündigungen, Kolumnen und Interviews. Das Portal verzeichnet über 1,5 Millionen Seitenaufrufe pro Jahr, also etwa 130.000 Besuche pro Monat. Mit der Redaktion des Portals arbeitet die 2023 gegründete Kommunikationsabteilung eng zusammen, nachdem festgestellt wurde, dass die Aktivitäten und Projekte des Verbandes sowohl gegenüber den Mitgliedern als auch gegenüber der Fachöffentlichkeit und der breiten Öffentlichkeit unzureichend kommuniziert wurden. Die Abteilung verfolgt vorrangig die Arbeit des Verbandes

und seiner Projekte, während glazba.hr sich umfassender mit allen kroatischen Musikereignissen im In- und Ausland befasst.

Die jüngste Veränderung in der Mitgliedschaft betrifft den Status der Musikwissenschaftler und -publizisten, die seit der Gründung des Verbandes als ordentliche Mitglieder aktiv waren. Da sie jedoch keine Urheberrechte an Musik besitzen (im Gegensatz zu anderen Mitgliedskategorien), stellte sich die Frage nach ihrer Kompetenz und ihrem Interesse an finanziellen Entscheidungen der Gesellschaft, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Verwaltung von Mitteln aus der kollektiven Rechteverwertung.

Dieses Problem wurde auf der Jahreshauptversammlung 2023 durch die Einführung einer neuen Mitgliedskategorie – der assoziierten Mitgliedschaft – gelöst. Historisch gesehen gab es bereits in der frühen Phase des Verbandes assoziierte Mitglieder, allerdings mit einer anderen Bedeutung. Automatisch wurden alle ordentlichen Mitglieder, die keine Rechteinhaber sind – also Musikwissenschaftler und -publizisten – in die assoziierte Mitgliedschaft überführt. Dadurch wurden ihre Rechte in gewissem Maße eingeschränkt, jedoch wurde ihr Status so angepasst, dass sie weiterhin eng in den HDS integriert bleiben. Sie nehmen weiterhin an den Gremien des Verbandes teil, einschließlich der Generalversammlung, allerdings ohne Stimmrecht.

Gleichzeitig erhielt die Gruppe der assoziierten Mitglieder (die ehemalige Sektion der Musikwissenschaftler und Musikautoren) durch die Ernennung der Musikwissenschaftlerin Marija Saraga im Jahr 2020 zur Untersekretärin für künstlerische Projekte (seit 2024 Beraterin für Programm und Entwicklung) eine eigene Vertreterin in einer leitenden Position innerhalb des HDS.

In den letzten Jahren verzeichnet der Verband ein erhebliches finanzielles Wachstum, das jedoch in gewissem Maße durch die Inflation abgeschwächt wurde. Neben den Einnahmen aus Urheberrechtsgebühren, die durch die kollektive Verwertung erzielt werden, steigen auch die Einnahmen aus öffentlichen Mitteln (vor allem des Kulturministeriums der Republik Kroatien und der Stadt Zagreb), die zur Subventionierung künstlerischer Projekte genutzt werden, sowie aus privaten Sponsorengeldern.

Im Jahr seines 80-jährigen Bestehens können die Mitglieder des HDS mit Zufriedenheit feststellen, dass sie einen erfolgreichen und einflussreichen Verband führen, der weiterhin aktiv zur Mitgestaltung der nationalen Kultur und des gesellschaftlichen Lebens in Kroatien beiträgt.

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## Društvo slovenskih skladateljev – vloga v družbi in izzivi današnjega časa

Dušan Bavdek  
Društvo slovenskih skladateljev  
Society of Slovene Composers

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Društvo slovenskih skladateljev (DSS) v letu 2025 zaznamuje 80-letnico svojega delovanja, kar ponuja izhodišče za refleksijo, analizo stanja ter vizijo delovanja v prihodnje. DSS je kot stanovsko društvo, ki ga 1. člen njegovega statuta opredeljuje kot »samostojno, prostovoljno, nepridobitno združenje skladateljev, ki s svojim ustvarjalnim delovanjem uresničujejo nacionalne interese na področju glasbene kulture«, nadaljevalo in nadgradilo delo združenj in krožkov,<sup>1</sup> delujočih v 19. stoletju in prvi polovici 20., in v preteklih 80 letih odigralo izjemno vlogo v slovenskem prostoru. Slovensko glasbeno kulturo zastopa in predstavlja tudi mednarodno<sup>2</sup> in je ena od glavnih nacionalnih stanovskih organizacij, ki si je z dosedanjim dosledno apolitičnim, profesionalnim in za glasbeno kulturo stimulativnim delovanjem pridobila velik ugled.

Večji del svojega delovanja je DSS združevalo skladatelje vseh žanrov in muzikologe, danes pa vključuje predvsem skladatelje umetnostne glasbe ter manjši del skladateljev jazzovske, popularne in filmske glasbe. Glede na potrebo po čim širši reprezentativnosti glasbene ustvarjalnosti v Sloveniji

- 1 Jernej Weiss, »Glasbena društva v dolgem 19. stoletju: med ljubiteljsko in profesionalno kulturo«, v *Glasbena društva v dolgem 19. stoletju: med ljubiteljsko in profesionalno kulturo* (= *Studia Musicologica Labacensia* 6), ur. Jernej Weiss (Koper, Ljubljana: Založba Univerze na Primorskem, Festival Ljubljana, 2023), 17–9, <https://doi.org/10.26493/978-961-293-217-6.17-19>.
- 2 Črt Sojar Voglar, ur., *Skladateljske poti po letu 1900* (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 2003).

je eden od izzivov najti odgovor na vprašanje, kako se organsko povezati z več skladatelji vseh žanrov.

Področja delovanja DSS so koncertna, založniška in mednarodna dejavnost ter podpora in zastopanje slovenskih glasbenih ustvarjalcev v slovenskem in mednarodnem prostoru, pomembna pa je tudi njegova družbena vloga. Kako aktivno in odzivno pa je DSS danes? Ali njegov trenutni obseg in pristop ustrezata zahtevam našega časa? Na katerih področjih se srečuje z največjimi izzivi?

### Koncertna dejavnost

Koncertna dejavnost DSS je zaokrožena v koncertne sezone.<sup>3</sup> Te sestavlja šest koncertnih ciklov, v katerih DSS ponuja najboljše in najbolj celovit pregled sodobne glasbene ustvarjalnosti v slovenskem kulturnem prostoru.<sup>4</sup> Posamezna sezona običajno prinese od 14 do 18 koncertov, na katerih je izvedenih okrog 120 del, od teh pa je približno polovica novitet slovenskih skladateljev.<sup>5</sup>

Glavni kritični izziv na področju koncertne dejavnosti, na katerega je težko odgovoriti, je izjemno velik upad finančne podpore Ministrstva za kulturo in Sazasa v zadnjem desetletju, ki bo predstavljen v nadaljevanju tega prispevka. Drugi, stalni izzivi pri oblikovanju koncertne sezone, kot so zagotovitev programske svežine in aktualnosti koncertov, sodelovanje z izvajalci, prostori, promocija, snemanje koncertov, sodelovanje z domačimi partnerji ter pokritost Slovenije in sodelovanje s tujimi partnerji ter mednarodna relevantnost, so lažje obvladljivi. DSS si je zadalo v jubilejnem letu na vseh področjih napraviti korake k čim večji oblikovni jasnosti in prepoznavnosti.

Koncertna dejavnost ima vzpostavljen dober odnos in sodelovanje z izvajalci – ti so vodilni slovenski solisti, komorne zasedbe, orkestri in zbori, ki se jim, posebej v obeh mednarodnih ciklih, občasno pridružijo vidni tuji izvajalci.

3 Aleksij Valentinčič, ur., *Koncertna sezona 25/26* (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev 2025), [https://www.dss.si/media/uploads/files/01-DSS-program-brosura-2025-26\\_objave.pdf](https://www.dss.si/media/uploads/files/01-DSS-program-brosura-2025-26_objave.pdf).

4 Leon Stefanija, »Kompozicijske zasnove v slovenski instrumentalni glasbi zadnje četrtine 20. stoletja«, *Muzikološki zbornik* 37 (2001): 113–27, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-I89O7130>.

5 Leon Stefanija, »Kompozicijske zasnove v slovenski instrumentalni glasbi zadnje četrtine 20. stoletja«, *Muzikološki zbornik* 37 (2001): 113–27, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-I89O7130>.

Društvo sodeluje z vsemi vodilnimi institucijami s področja glasbene kulture in širše na nacionalni ravni, kot so Slovenska filharmonija, Javni zavod RTV Slovenija, SNG Opera in balet Ljubljana, SNG Maribor, Akademija za glasbo UL, Festival Ljubljana, Cankarjev dom, SAZU – Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Zveza Glasbene mladine Slovenije, Javni sklad za kulturne dejavnosti, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Glasbena matica Ljubljana, Oddelek za muzikologijo UL FF, Društvo slovenskih pisateljev, SAZAS, SIGIC – Slovenski glasbenoinformacijski center in vrsta drugih. Regionalni partnerji so Konservatorij za glasbo in balet Ljubljana, Konservatorij za glasbo in balet Maribor, Narodni dom Maribor, Društvo za komorno glasbo Amadeus, Kulturni dom Nova Gorica, Mestna občina Ljubljana, Mestni muzej Ljubljana, Zavod Celeia Celje, Mestna občina Celje, Mestna občina Novo mesto, Forum nove glasbe in vrsta drugih. Med mednarodnimi partnerji je na prvem mestu ECSA (European Composer & Songwriter Alliance),<sup>6</sup> sledi ISCM (International Society for Contemporary Music),<sup>7</sup> tu pa so še v Ljubljani delujoča kulturna predstavništva in slovenska kulturna predstavništva v tujini, sestrška skladateljska združenja iz različnih evropskih držav in nekateri prireditelji, predvsem iz sosedstva.

O svojih koncertih Društvo obvešča javnost na družabnih omrežjih Facebook, Instagram, LinkedIn, X in YouTube. V odgovor na v zadnjih letih nezadovoljiv obisk društvenih novinarskih konferenc, je DSS v zadnjem času namenilo večjo pozornost pripravi strnjenih informacij za novinarje in njihovemu intenzivnejšemu obveščanju, kar že prinaša prve sadove. K večji odmevnosti koncertne sezone mora prispevati tudi aktivnejše družbeno delovanje DSS.

Vse koncerte DSS arhivsko snema Radio Slovenija, po enega v sezoni praviloma tudi Televizija Slovenija. DSS ima vzpostavljen tudi mehanizem, ki omogoča snemanje dogodkov, kadar jih Radio Slovenija ne more izpeljati. V zadnjih dveh desetletjih, odkar je bilo vzpostavljeno omenjeno sistematično snemanje društvenih koncertov, se je arhiv Radia Slovenija obogatil za več kot 400 koncertov oziroma krepko prek 2500 kakovostnih posnetkov del slovenskih skladateljev. Posnetki se predvajajo predvsem na 3. programu Radia Slovenija – Programu Ars, na voljo pa so tudi članom in zainteresirani, zlasti strokovni javnosti na spletni strani DSS. Izziv je dejstvo, da posnetki koncertov, ki jih je oblikovalo, organiziralo in financiralo DSS, ki je financirano iz javnih sredstev, posnel pa jih je Radio Slovenija,

6 European Composer & Songwriter Alliance (ECSA), <https://composeralliance.org/>.

7 International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), <https://iscm.org/>.

ki se prav tako financira iz javnih sredstev, niso povsem prosto dostopni širši javnosti. To bo omogočila nova spletna stran DSS, ki bo dostopna v decembru 2025. Ob posnetkih bodo dosegljivi tudi pripadajoči koncertni listi, zato bo nova spletna stran prinesla pomemben korak na področju dostopnosti in promocije slovenske glasbene ustvarjalnosti doma in v tujini.

Koncerti DSS imajo zvesto občinstvo in večinoma dober obisk. Za osvežitev in dvig prepoznavnosti nekaterih segmentov koncertne ponudbe društvo na področju umetniškega oblikovanja v jubilejnim letu uvaja nekatere vsebinske spremembe. Tri glavna vodila pri oblikovanju koncertov jubilejnega leta so bila: (1) izpostavitve generacijskega prepleta in estetske pestrosti del slovenskih skladateljic in skladateljev, (2) predstavitev največjega mogočega števila slovenskih skladateljic in skladateljev na način, da se vsak predstavi na le enem koncertu, in (3) vključitev in s tem zahvala za sodelovanje kar največ partnerskim ustanovam, s katerimi DSS sooblikuje nacionalni in mednarodni kulturni prostor. Kratek pregled koncertnih ciklov, ki sledi, poleg same predstavitve vključuje tudi izzive in spremembe, ki so bile vpeljane kot odgovor nanje.

*Koncertni atelje* je cikel z najdaljšo, 60-letno tradicijo, ki v zadnjem obdobju prinese po pet koncertov v sezoni. V svojih programih običajno sooča eno ali dve slovenski noviteti z uveljavljenimi slovenskimi in tujimi deli, koncerti pa so moderirani. Doslej so Koncertni atelje oblikovali posamezni umetniški oblikovalci, jubilejno leto pa prinaša drugačen pristop: v duhu prvega od naštetih oblikovnih vodil – prepleta generacij – štiri od petih koncertov oblikujejo pari nosilcev oziroma umetniških oblikovalcev. Gre za eminentne slovenske skladatelje, ki so bili povabljeni, da na sporede njim poverjenih koncertov uvrstijo po eno svoje delo, program pa glede na svoje koncepte dopolnijo z deli slovenskih in tujih skladateljev. Že vrsto let je bienalno eden od koncertov KA zborovski in v tem letu sta predloge za koncertni spored podala umetniški vodja Zbora Slovenske filharmonije in dirigentka. Koncert je programiran v sklopu jesenskega zasedanja Generalne skupščine ECSA v Ljubljani, na programu pa so dela najbolj prepoznavnih slovenskih zborovskih skladateljev. Naslednjo, pojubilejno sezono bo zaznamovala 60-letnica Koncertnega ateljeja. Koncerti, katerih vodilo bo »preplet svetov«, bodo imeli meddisciplinarno dimenzijo, značilno za zgodnja leta delovanja Koncertnega ateljeja. Kot so takrat koncerte spremljale razstave likovnih del, se bodo v prihodnjem letu glasbenim umetninam pridružile literarne, likovne in plesne. S tem želi DSS med drugim obuditi in osvežiti tudi vezi z drugimi stanovskimi društvi.

DSS cikel *Slovenski skladatelji mladim*, ki je namenjen predstavljanju slovenskih orkestrskih del mlademu občinstvu, organizira v sodelovanju s Slovensko filharmonijo in Zvezo glasbene mladine Slovenije. Vizija, da se z jubilejnim letom nadgradi didaktična dimenzija teh koncertov in da se s pomočjo videoposnetkov poveča njihov doseg, se že uresničuje. Koncert iz tega cikla, ki je v letu 2025 zaradi zanimanja občinstva prvič dvakrat napolnil veliko dvorano Slovenske filharmonije, je moderiral poklicni igravec in improvizator, ki mu je DSS pripravilo besedilo z analizo del in vsemi potrebnimi strokovnimi razlagami kompozicijskih elementov. Avdio- in videoposnetki posameznih del bodo obdelani na poučen in mladini dostopen način s ciljem, da predstavljajo enega od pedagoških virov za osnovno in srednjo stopnjo slovenskega izobraževalnega sistema in tako prispevajo k boljšemu poznavanju slovenskih glasbenih del in njihovih ustvarjalcev. Dosegljivi bodo na didaktični podstrani spletne strani DSS.

*Pogovori s skladatelji – Cikel 1808* je nadomestil Pogovore s skladatelji, ki jih je uvedla dr. Sonja Kralj. Format teh štirih oziroma petih koncertnih dogodkov v sezoni, na katerih pogovorom z ustvarjalci sledi krajši koncert, ki prinaša eno od njihovih in eno od del svetovne literature, se uspešno razvija in zaenkrat ne potrebuje sprememb.

Podobno velja za *Noč slovenskih skladateljev*, cikel, posvečen izključno predstavljanju slovenskih novitet. Tudi v letu 2025 prinaša dva koncerta s skupaj dvajsetimi krstnimi izvedbami, prvega v Ljubljani v sklopu Slovenskih glasbenih dni in drugega tradicionalno v Novem mestu. V duhu izhodišč jubilejnega leta je DSS k sodelovanju v pričujoči izdaji povabilo člane ansambla MD7, ki je naročil, krstno izvedel in posnel izjemno število slovenskih del. Prihajajoča sezona se bo poklonila obletnici Srečka Kosovela in na sporedu bo kar 26 slovenskih novitet, ki bodo nastale z uglasbitvijo ali po navdihu Kosovelove poezije.

V jubilejnem letu gostovanje jesenske skupščine ECSA oktobra v Ljubljani poleg vokalnega koncerta Koncertnega ateljeja spremljata dva koncerta mednarodnega festivala *Unicum*, v okviru tega pa je organizirana tudi okrogla miza z uglednimi tujimi in domačimi razpravljavci na temo umetne inteligence, ki doživlja skokovit razvoj in prinaša obilo novosti in vprašanj na področju tehnologije, ustvarjalnosti in etike. Tudi posnetek slednje bo s pomočjo Radia Slovenija dostopen najširši javnosti. Koncept festivala *Unicum* sicer potrebuje svež pristop, ki bo omogočil povečanje dosega in mednarodne relevantnosti tega cikla. Posamični mednarodni koncerti,

s katerimi se je omenjeni festival doslej bienalno izmenjeval, bodo ostali fleksibilna dopolnitev mednarodne dejavnosti.

Mednarodni festival Unicum in Mednarodni koncerti so tako del koncertne kot tudi mednarodne dejavnosti društva.

### Mednarodna dejavnost

Mednarodna dejavnost poleg omenjenih ciklov zajema še sodelovanje DSS v mednarodnih združenjih – v krovni evropski skladateljski organizaciji ECSA in združenju ISCM. Ker mora DSS težiti k čim večji reprezentativnosti tako na nacionalni kot mednarodni ravni, ima poleg delovanja v okviru odbora ECSA za umetnostno glasbo ECF v načrtu tudi vključitev v odbor ECSA za filmsko glasbo FFACE. V preteklosti je DSS že pomagalo pri vključevanju združenja avtorjev popularne glasbe SUGU v ECSA, podalo pa je tudi iniciativo avtorskemu združenju SAZAS k intenzivnejšemu vključevanju v odbore CISAC, kot je avtorski odbor CIAM.

DSS je bilo v maju 2024 skupaj s sorodnimi ustanovami iz vse Evrope, ki so sodelovale pri pripravi Pesmarice EU, eden od kolektivnih prejemnikov *The European Citizen's Prize 2023*, ki jo Evropski parlament podeljuje posameznikom, skupinam, združenjem in organizacijam, ki so prikazali izjemno zavezanost k uveljavljanju medsebojnega razumevanja in tesnejšega povezovanja med državljani Evropske unije in ki se zavedajo pomena vrednot solidarnosti, strpnosti ter spodbujanja miru in blaginje.

Pomembnejši mednarodni dogodki, ki jih je DSS gostilo v tem tisočletju, so bili Svetovni glasbeni dnevi ISCM leta 2003 in 2015 ter generalni skupščini ECSA leta 2016 in 2025.

### Založništvo

Založba *Edicije DSS*<sup>8</sup> je izjemno pomemben in nepogrešljiv del društvene dejavnosti. Gre za edino slovensko založbo, ki že od leta 1954 sistematično skrbi za izdaje slovenskih glasbenih del in njihovo dostopnost, tako v obliki notnih natisov kot tudi zvočnih posnetkov, teh v zbirki *Ars Slovenica*. Vse izdaje so predstavljene v Katalogu glasbenih del Edicij DSS, ki je na voljo v tiskani in elektronski obliki.<sup>9</sup> Od leta 1971 založba pravno ščiti in zastopa

8 Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, *spletna trgovina*, <https://www.dss.si/trgovina.html>.

9 Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, *Katalog glasbenih del / Music Catalogue: 2012* (Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, 2012), <https://www.dss.si/media/uploads/files/DSS%20-%20Katalog%20edicij%202012.pdf>.

tudi izvedbene materiale slovenskih skladateljev. Edicije DSS so prav tako pooblaščen zastopnik vseh relevantnih svetovnih založb za območje Slovenije. Velik upad finančne podpore tako Ministrstva za kulturo kot tudi SA-ZAS-a je prizadel tudi področje Edicij DSS.

Tako kot na področju koncertne dejavnosti želi DSS tudi na področju založništva intenzivneje poseči na področje izobraževanja in izboljšati ponudbo didaktičnih edicij, namenjenih različnim segmentom šolajoče se mladine. Že doslej so Edicije DSS izdale več didaktičnih zbirk skladb za mladino, več kot desetletje pa poteka tudi sodelovanje z mednarodnimi tekmovanji za mlade glasbenike TEMSIG, Emona in Leon Pfeifer. Na prošnjo slednjih so v sodelovanju z Akademijo za glasbo Edicije v ločenem okviru založile tudi dela študentov kompozicije UL Akademije za glasbo. To prakso bodo Edicije DSS ohranile, saj so se študentska dela izkazala za kakovostna in uspešna in so se, ko so njihovi avtorji postali člani DSS, uvrstile med Edicije.

Za doseg učinkovitejše in kakovostnejše spletne ponudbe DSS pripravlja novo celovito spletno stran društva. Na področju Edicij ta prinaša boljšo preglednost in posodobljene iskalnike za vse kategorije spletne trgovine. Predstavitve avtorjev, ki so vselej problematične, saj so zastarele v trenutku, ko so objavljene, nova spletna stran bistveno izboljšuje z vključitvijo umetne inteligence, ki bo – s privolitvijo skladateljev – iz relevantnih in preverjenih virov sproti osveževala podatke.

Poleg navedenega bodo Edicije DSS jubilejno leto proslavile z natisom redigirane originalne partiture *Gorenjskega slavčka* Antona Foersterja ter knjigo o zgodovini DSS izpod peresa Sonje Kralj in Matjaža Barba. V jubilejnem letu bodo Edicije na povabilo sestrskega Društva slovenskih pisateljev tri mesece gostovale tudi v njegovi novoustanovljeni knjigarni.

### Podpora in svetovanje slovenskim skladateljem

V okviru sofinanciranja Ministrstva za kulturo prejema DSS tudi sredstva za naročila novih del. Vsak član tako lahko enkrat letno od DSS prejme naročilo za eno novo avtorsko glasbeno delo. Tudi na tem področju je zaradi drastičnega upada sofinanciranja s strani države DSS v izjemno težkem položaju, saj sredstva Ministrstva za kulturo niso zadostna in jih mora dopolnjevati iz lastnih virov. DSS je v okviru opozarjanja na nevzdržno nizko raven sofinanciranja dejavnosti Ministrstva za kulturo in konkretnega predloga za izboljšanje tega stanja, kar bo podrobneje predstavljeno v naslednji točki, vložilo tudi pobudo za uskladitev »Tarif sofinanciranja avtorskih

honorarjev na področju glasbene in glasbeno-scenske ustvarjalnosti«. Te ostajajo kljub inflaciji in rasti stroškov popolnoma nespremenjene vse od leta 2009 in so bile že v vseevropski analizi, ki jo je leta 2017 pripravila ECSA, na repu med evropskimi državami. DSS je pripravilo obsežno analizo in predlog sprememb zdajšnjih tarif predalo Ministrstvu za kulturo.

V letih 2023 in 2024 se je DSS s projektom GIS – glasbeni inkubator Slovenije prijavilo na dva razpisa Ministrstva za kulturo, namenjena kreptivi podpornega okolja. Šlo je za idejo o oblikovanju izobraževalnega vozlišča z dvema platformama, eno namenjeno glasbenim ustvarjalcem in zainteresirani javnosti in drugo, namenjeno mladim nadarjenim ustvarjalcem, ki jim glasbeni pedagogi zaradi pomanjkanja lastne izkušnje ne morejo nuditi ustrezne strokovne pomoči pri komponiranju. Doslej projekt žal ni prejel podpore, zato bo DSS te iniciative dajalo tudi v prihodnje.

DSS je bilo v letu 1993 pobudnik ustanovitve združenja za avtorsko zaščito SAZAS in mu nekaj let tudi omogočalo delovanje v svojih prostorih, leta 2004 pa je omogočilo ustanovitev Slovenskega glasbenoinformacijskega centra SIGIC. Raven komunikacije in sodelovanja z obema je treba v prihodnje ponovno okrepiti.

Ob poplavah poleti 2023 je organiziralo zbiranje prostovoljnih prispevkov za svoje člane, ki jih je vodna ujma prizadela. V času covida je DSS nudilo potrebno pomoč svojim članom, kontakte in oblike pomoči je objavilo tudi na spletni strani ECSA.

### Družbena vloga DSS

Družbena vloga DSS pri ohranjanju, posredovanju in varovanju glasbenih kulturnih vrednot ter promociji slovenske glasbene ustvarjalnosti je bila že obširno predstavljena v prejšnjih točkah, prav tako povezovanje z različnimi institucijami in javnostmi.<sup>10</sup> Sodobni čas pa bolj kot kdaj koli zahteva od stanovskih združenj tudi vključevanje v javne razprave o zakonodaji, šolski politiki in drugih regulatornih elementih, ki zadevajo področje glasbe. DSS s pomočjo strokovnjakov z različnih področij oblikuje kakovostna stališča in pobude ter jih argumentirano predstavlja in zagovarja.

V slovenskem kulturnem prostoru je eden od problemov, da odločevalci pomanjkljivo poznajo področje glasbe. Posledica je velika nepreglednost

10 Bolj podrobno o družbeni vlogi in institucionalnem delovanju Društva slovenskih skladateljev: Sonja Kralj Bervar, *Sobivanje družbenega, stanovskega in umetniškega v zgodovini Društva slovenskih skladateljev* (doktorsko delo, Univerza v Ljubljani, 2011).

tega področja, ki od osamosvojitve ni bilo deležno nujno potrebnih sistemskih sprememb in se leto za letom le še povečuje. Leta 2012 je na področju glasbe delovalo 121 nevladnih organizacij s statusom javnega interesa v kulturi, ob koncu leta 2022 pa 205. Gre za zmes subjektov s področja glasbene kulture, ki so po pomenu, širini delovanja in poslanstvu zelo različna, vendar so prisiljena v kandidiranje na istih programskih razpisih Ministrstva za kulturo.

Pred petnajstimi leti je bilo na prvem štiriletnem programskem razpisu Ministrstva za kulturo (2010–2013) mogoče zaprositi za 438.000 evrov programskih stroškov na leto. Poleg tega je bilo mogoče pridobiti še 45.000 evrov za stroške dela in nakup opreme ter 15 odstotkov višine programskih stroškov za splošne stroške delovanja. Na drugem štiriletnem programskem razpisu (2014–2017) je bilo na področju glasbenih umetnosti mogoče zaprositi le še za 140.000 evrov programskih stroškov na leto. Poleg tega je bilo mogoče dobiti še 50 odstotkov vseh stroškov dela, splošnih stroškov delovanja ter nakupa opreme in investicijskega vzdrževanja. Ta trend se ni ustavil in na tretjem štiriletnem programskem razpisu (2018–2021) je bilo mogoče zaprositi le še za 120.000 evrov na leto. Ta znesek je vključeval vse programske stroške, stroške dela, splošne stroške delovanja ter stroške nakupa opreme in investicijskega vzdrževanja. Na zadnjem programskem razpisu (2022–2025) je bil najvišji mogoči znesek sofinanciranja 115.000 evrov na leto.

Drastično krčenje sredstev Ministrstva za kulturo je močno prizadelo DSS. Društvo je izgubilo dve delovni mesti, zmanjšalo se je število natisov Edicij DSS, avtorski honorarji za skladatelje in izvajalce ostajajo nerevalorizirani že petnajst let, sposobnost mednarodne promocije DSS pa je drastično zmanjšana. Primer je prenehanje delovanja Komornega orkestra solistov (KOS), s pomočjo katerega je DSS leta 2011 omogočilo pomembno kulturno akcijo na evropski ravni, saj je ta ansambel s prvim koncertom v dunajskem Museumsquartier začel projekt ECCO (European Contemporary Composers Orchestra),<sup>11</sup> ki je še vedno eden od paradnih konjev v okviru ECSA.

DSS je zato na več forumih odločevalcem predlagalo ustanovitev javne agencije ali javnega sklada za glasbo, ki bi po vzoru Javne agencije za knjigo RS oziroma Javnega sklada RS za kulturne dejavnosti strokovno določala strategijo in prioritete ter skrbela za uravnoteženo delovanje področja glasbenih umetnosti. Ustanovitev takšnega telesa, v katerem bi bili soudeleženi

11 European Contemporary Composers Orchestra (ECCO), <https://eccoconcert.eu/>.

nosilci glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem, ne bi zahtevala skoraj nobenih dodatnih sredstev, pač pa bi z združevanjem podpornih služb in znanja prinesla racionalizacijo in optimizacijo njihovega delovanja ter pomembno prispevala k lažjemu in boljšemu načrtovanju ustvarjalnih, poustvarjalnih in organizacijskih aktivnosti na področju glasbe. Omenjena pobuda je bila gladko zavrnjena z obrazložitvijo, da takšna organiziranost ne bi bila sistemsko ustrezna. Glede na to, da sta bila v vmesnem času ustanovljena podobna subjekta na področju filma in sodobnega plesa, se je takšna utemeljitev izkazala za povsem netočno.

DSS se odziva tudi na aktualne družbene izzive s področja glasbene kulture. Konec leta 2023 je pozvalo Javni zavod RTV Slovenija k ohranitvi OE Glasbena produkcija, soorganiziralo Javno tribuno v podporo Programu ARS in sodelovalo na izredni seji Odbora za kulturo Državnega zbora na temo krčenja sredstev za kulturo na RTV Slovenija.

Kot primer društvenega delovanja na zakonodajnem področju navajamo postopke v okviru sprejemanja novega Zakona o medijih (ZMed-1). Januarja 2024 so se začela javna posvetovanja o tem zakonu in DSS je ostro nasprotovalo dvema problematičnima definicijama: prvič, da »slovenska glasba pomeni skladbe, izvedene v slovenskem jeziku«, kar izključuje vso instrumentalno glasbo in vsa vokalna dela, ki niso na slovensko besedilo. Drugič, osnutek zakona je Radio ARS (tretji program Radia Slovenije) izključil iz kvot, ki določajo delež slovenske glasbe – šlo je za formulacijo, ki bi močno prizadela predvsem umetnostno glasbo. Čeprav revidiranega osnutka niso ponovno poslali na javno posvetovanje, je DSS s pomočjo pravnih strokovnjakov uspešno dosegel oba cilja: odpravo klavzule, ki izključuje Radio ARS, in sprejetje primernejše definicije »slovenske glasbe«.

V želji, da bi v prihodnje *Kozinovo nagrado* DSS, ki je najvišje strokovno priznanje na področju glasbene ustvarjalnosti v Sloveniji, podeljevali v obnovljeni Kozinovi zidnici, je DSS z Mestno občino Novo mesto in Zavodom Novo mesto sodelovalo pri prijavi na razpis MK za obnovo kulturnih spomenikov na območju Vzhodne Slovenije. DSS bo imelo v obnovljenem objektu enega od svojih sedežev in bo nosilec kulturnega programa.

V opisani finančni situaciji je velik izziv tudi pridobitev klavirja za Kogojevo dvorano DSS. Nakup novega inštrumenta je trenutno nedosegljiv cilj, kot rešitev pa bo morda mogoča obnova dovolj kakovostnega starejšega inštrumenta.

## Zaključek

DSS je društvo v javnem interesu, ki s svojim delovanjem izvaja izjemno velik in pomemben del javnega kulturnega interesa na področju glasbene umetnosti. Njegova strokovna služba opravlja svoje delo izjemno kakovostno, učinkovito in predano ter kljub finančni stiski uresničuje namene in naloge, ki so zapisani v 6. in 7. členu njegovega statuta. Glede na širino svojega delovanja in izjemno podporo slovenski glasbeni ustvarjalnosti ter dejstvo, da združuje vrhunske ustvarjalce in intelektualce s področja glasbene kulture, je DSS ena od temeljnih institucij slovenske civilne družbe in bi kot tako moralo imeti pomembnejšo vlogo pri oblikovanju nacionalnih kulturnih politik.

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*Drugi viri*

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## Kulturnopolitični milje obdobja začetkov delovanja Društva slovenskih skladateljev

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### Usode glasbenih društev leta 1945

Politični prelom leta 1945 je prinesel bistvene spremembe za slovensko kulturno ustvarjalnost in s tem tudi za stanovska društva kulturnikov, kakršno je Društvo slovenskih skladateljev. Na njegovi spletni strani je zapisano, da je bilo ustanovljeno 22. decembra 1945 in da so se skladatelji pred tem povezovali v bolj ali manj enotne skupine.<sup>1</sup> Nekoliko širše je to dogajanje pojasnjeno v disertaciji Sonje Kralj v orisu začetkov društvene dejavnosti. A je iz disertacije razvidno tudi dejstvo, da so začetki stanovskega organiziranja slovenskih skladateljev zaradi vrzeli v društvenem arhivu zavito v meglo.<sup>2</sup> Namen tega prispevka je zatorej z nekaj dodatnimi, doslej še neznanimi drobcami gradiva predvsem pojasniti kulturnopolitične okoliščine in pogoje, ki so v prvih letih po koncu 2. svetovne vojne narekovali način dela stanovskim društvom, jih po eni strani podpirali, a jim po drugi odvezemali dobršen del avtonomnosti, ki si jo tovrstna društva želijo v svojem delovanju.

Dve politični novosti, ki sta spremenili podobo predvojne Jugoslavije, sta leta 1945 zarezali v kulturno podobo Slovenije in Jugoslavije. Prva sprememba je bila federativna ureditev Jugoslavije s priznanjem samostojnosti njenih narodov. Slovenija je prvič postala uradno ime konstitutivnega

1 »O Društvu slovenskih skladateljev«, Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, <https://www.dss.si/o-drustvu.html>.

2 Sonja Kralj Bervar, »Sobivanje družbenega, stanovskega in umetniškega v zgodovini Društva slovenskih skladateljev« (doktorsko delo, Univerza v Ljubljani, 2011), 22–33.

dela države, Slovenci pa namesto plemena troedinega jugoslovanskega naroda, kar so bili uradno v prvi Jugoslaviji, enakopravni narod v večnacionalni jugoslovanski državi. Slovenija kot država je na nekaterih področjih dobila večje pristojnosti in med najbolj avtonomnimi sferami je bila ravno kultura. Kako se je to odražalo na glasbeni sceni, si oglejmo na primeru ljubljanske opere. Pred vojno je to bila opera Narodnega gledališča v Ljubljani, ki je bila podrejena in financirana s strani Ministrstva za prosveto Kraljevine Jugoslavije v Beogradu. Po vojni, ko je Slovenija postala uradno državno ime, je bila ustanova preimenovana v opero Slovenskega narodnega gledališča, za njeno delovanje pa je bilo pristojno Ministrstvo za prosveto Narodne vlade Slovenije v Ljubljani. Od federativne preureditve države so slovenski kulturniki upravičeno pričakovali krepko spodbudo slovenski kulturni ustvarjalnosti, saj je bila Slovenija ekonomsko najbolj razviti del države, ki bi torej lahko svojim ustanovam nakazoval več sredstev v primerjavi s tistimi, ki so jih prejeli iz skupnega jugoslovanskega proračuna pred vojno, pa tudi kazalci kulturne razvitosti so slovenski del države postavljali daleč nad jugoslovansko povprečje.

Druga korenita sprememba, skozi katero je šla Jugoslavija po vojni, je bil komunistični prevzem oblasti. Vodilni jugoslovanski komunisti, ki so se sicer skrivali v podobi množične organizacije Ljudske fronte Jugoslavije (njen slovenski del je bila Osvobodilna fronta Slovenije), so sledili kulturnopolitičnemu modelu Sovjetske zveze in poskušali tudi v jugoslovansko stvarnost prenesti načine podrejanja kulturne ustvarjalnosti lastnim idejnim in političnim potrebam.<sup>3</sup> To je bilo vidno že v uredbi o zaščiti znanstvenih in kulturnih delavcev federalne Slovenije, ki ga je slovenska vlada sprejela 5. septembra 1945. Z njim so iz določb o zmanjševanju akutne stanovanjske krize izvzeli vidne znanstvene in kulturne delavce, ki so bili deležni tudi izredne pomoči pri prehrani, kurjavi in drugi oskrbi, ki je bila sicer racionirana. Za določitev tistih kulturnikov, na katere se je nanašala uredba, je bilo pristojno ministrstvo za prosveto Slovenije.<sup>4</sup> Praksa je pokazala, da je bil kriterij dodeljevanja pravice pogojen s korektnim odnosom

3 Obširneje v: Aleš Gabrič, »Leto 1945 in slovenska kultura«, v *Slovenija v letu 1945: zbornik referatov* [z mednarodnega znanstvenega posveta Slovenija v letu 1945, 27. in 28. septembra 1995 v Ljubljani], ur. Aleš Gabrič (Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 1996): 155–70; Aleš Gabrič, »Slovenska kultura pod sovjetskim vplivom«, v *Evropski vplivi na slovensko družbo*, ur. Nevenka Troha, Mojca Šorn in Bojan Balkovec (Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2008), 249–58.

4 »Uredba o zaščiti znanstvenih in kulturnih delavcev federalne Slovenije«, *Uradni list Slovenskega narodnoosvobodilnega sveta in Narodne vlade Slovenije* 1/2, št. 35 (19. 9. 1945): 158–9.

do nove oblasti, privilegija pa tako niso bili deležni kulturni ustvarjalci, ki so se ji kakorkoli zamerili.<sup>5</sup>

Kulturnim in stanovskim društvom je ta sprememba precej zožila možnosti delovanja. Nov zakon o društvih, zborovanjih in drugih javnih shodih je jugoslovanska skupščina sprejela 25. avgusta 1945. V njem so bile določbe, ki so oblastnim organom omogočale prepovedati delovanje strankam in društvom, ki naj bi v sebi nosili fašistične tendence, spodbujali narodno ali versko sovrašтво ali bi delovali v nasprotju s svojim statutom. Društva, ki so obstajala že pred 6. aprilom 1941 in želela obnoviti delovanje, so morala zaprositi za vnovično dovoljenje za delovanje, vlogo pa so morali podpisati člani vseh organov društva.<sup>6</sup> V praksi je takšna zakonodaja omogočala ministru za notranje zadeve, ki je bil pristojen za potrjevanje društvenih pravil, da nezaželenim osebam ali društvom odkloni pravico do avtonomnega delovanja. Nova oblast je pri kulturnih in stanovskih društvih dovoljevala organiziranje le po enega društva, ki so ga vodili simpatizerji Osvobodilne fronte Slovenije. To je bilo npr. vidno pri zvezah amaterskih kulturnih društev, saj je dovoljenje za delovanje dobila le Ljudska prosveta Slovenije, ki je delovala na idejnih izhodiščih Osvobodilne fronte, zavrjnena pa je bila zahteva za obnovev delovanja Prosvetne zveze, organizacije katoliških kulturnih društev. Pri likovnih ustvarjalcih je bilo odobreno delovanje Društvu slovenskih upodabljalajočih umetnikov, z združeno akcijo Komunistične partije in policije pa onemogočen poskus obnovev predvojnega kluba Neodvisnih.<sup>7</sup>

Pri skladateljih, ki pred vojno niso bili formalno organizirani v društva, do takšnih zapletov ni prišlo, kar pa ne pomeni, da jih ni bilo pri glasbenih društvih. Glasbena matica, najstarejše slovensko glasbeno društvo, ki je združevala glasbenike vseh vrst, tudi skladatelje, ki je bila ustanoviteljica prve slovenske filharmonije, glasbenega šolstva s Konservatorijem za glasbo, glasbene trgovine, koncertne poslovalnice in Folklorne inštituta, je bila po sprejetju zakona o društvih iz leta 1945 podvržena hudim pritiskom.<sup>8</sup> Čeprav si brez njenega delovanja ne bi mogli zamisliti slovenskega glasbenega razvoja do leta 1945, je bila decembra 1945 sprva izdana odloč-

5 Aleš Gabrič, »Slovenska agitpropovska kulturna politika: 1945–1952«, *Borec: revija za zgodovino, literaturo in antropologijo* 43, št. 7–8–9 (1991): 545–6.

6 »Zakon o društvih, zborovanjih in drugih javnih shodih«, *Uradni list Slovenskega narodnoosvobodilnega sveta in Narodne vlade Slovenije* 1/2, št. 36 (19. 9. 1945): Posebna priloga, 301–3.

7 Gabrič, »Leto 1945 in slovenska kultura«, 161–3.

8 Več o tej vlogi glej v: Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina: ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2015), 137–257.

ba o njenem razpustu, ki je bila preklicana šele, ko se je bila Glasbena matica prisiljena odpovedati večini svojega premoženja na račun države. Uveljavljanju načela, da naj bo vse šolstvo, tudi glasbeno, v državnem okviru, je vodilo do poddržavljanja glasbenih šol, ki so dotlej delovala v okviru Glasbene matice.<sup>9</sup> Zagovarjanje enakega načela je bilo uporabljeno tudi pri določanju odnosa do Cecilijinega društva, saj naj bi njena orglarska šola prešla v okvir Ljubljanske glasbene šole.<sup>10</sup> Verjetno to društvo po vojni sploh ni zaprosilo za obnovo delovanja,<sup>11</sup> saj ga ne najdemo na seznamu odobrenih in razpuščenih društev, ki ga je februarja 1946 sestavilo ministrstvo za notranje zadeve Slovenije. Med novimi društvi na področju glasbene dejavnosti najdemo Društvo skladateljev v Sloveniji s pripisoma, da ima sedež v Ljubljani in da je njegovo delovno območje vsa Slovenija.<sup>12</sup> Med razpuščenimi pa sta zabeleženi dve glasbeni društvi. Za Glasbeno matico je bilo že omenjeno, da je bila prvotna prepoved delovanja kasneje preklicana. Pri Filharmonični družbi pa je dodan pripis, da je bila njena imovina poddržavljena in dana v upravo ministrstvu za prosveto.<sup>13</sup>

### Okoliščine ustanovitve stanovskega združenja skladateljev

V političnem vzdušju leta 1945 so lahko torej pri ustanavljanju stanovskega društva skladateljev sodelovali le tisti umetniki, ki niso prišli navzkriž s pogledi in interesi vodilnih politikov nove dobe. Nekateri so bili med vojno aktivno v partizanskih vrstah, nekateri morda zgolj pasivni simpatizerji osvobodilnega gibanja ali pa se sploh niso zanimali za politiko. V letu konca vojne so vodilni glasbeniki zasedli službena mesta na slovenskih državnih kulturnih ustanovah ali v glasbenih šolah, ki so šolsko leto 1945/46 začele že pod državnim okriljem.

Pristaši Osvobodilne fronte med kulturniki so zavezanost spremembam potrdili tudi z izjavo v predvolilni kampanji jeseni 1945. Tri dni pred

9 Aleš Gabrič, »Borba za eksistenco Glasbene matice v letih 1945–1947«, v *Ljubezen do glasbe nas povezuje: oživljanje spomina in nadaljevanje poslanstva Glasbene matice Ljubljana*, ur. Veronika Brvar (Ljubljana: Kulturno društvo Glasbena matica, 2025), 92–103.

10 SI AS 231, š. 3, Dopis Pavleta Šivica (vodje odseka za glasbo Ministrstva za prosveto) – Ravnateljstvu Ljubljanske glasbene šole, 20. 10. 1945.

11 Tega ne omenja niti raziskava cecilijanskega gibanja na Slovenskem, glej: Aleksandra Gartnar, »Vpliv cecilijanskega gibanja na razvoj slovenskega orglarstva med 1877 in 1941« (magistrsko delo, Univerza v Ljubljani, 2020), 15–8.

12 SI AS 231, š. 49, 5524/1-46, Odobrena društva in organizacije, 8.

13 SI AS 231, š. 49, 5524/1-46, Razpuščena in neodobrena društva, 3.

volitvami, ki so zapečatile usodo povojne Jugoslavije, je *Slovenski poročevalec* 8. novembra 1945 objavil poziv Slovincem, s katerim so jih vodilni slovenski kulturni delavci nagovarjali, naj gredo na volitve in glasujejo za listo Osvobodilne fronte. Med podporniki izjave iz vrst glasbenih ustvarjalcev sta bila oba, ki sta mesec pozneje prevzela vodilni vlogi v Društvu skladateljev, Danilo Švara in Demetrij Žebre, ob teh dveh pa še dosti pomembnih članov društva, npr. Blaž Arnič, Mirko Polič, Samo Hubad, Matija Bravničar, Lucijan Marija Škerjanc in še nekaj glasbenih ustvarjalcev.<sup>14</sup>

O ustanovitvi društva nam zaradi pomanjkanja temeljnih virov ostaja odprto marsikatero vprašanje. Si pa lahko pomagamo z nekaj v literaturi še neizrabljenimi viri, ki nam vsaj posredno nakazujejo korake do ustanovitve. Priprave je vodil Akcijski odbor za ustanovitev Društva skladateljev v Sloveniji, ni pa znano, kdo je bil v odboru. Predvidevamo lahko seveda, da so bili v njem vsekakor tisti skladatelji, ki so po ustanovitvi prevzeli vodilna mesta v društvu. Sestajati so se morali vsaj novembra 1945, saj je v arhivu prvi dokument, ki priča o ustanavljanju društva skladateljev, datiran s 1. decembrom 1945. Janez Logar je, kot načelnik oddelka za kulturo ministrstva za prosveto, ministrstvu za notranje zadeve, ki je bilo pristojno za potrjevanje pravil po novi društveni zakonodaji, sporočil: »Izjavljamo, da je ustanovitev društva ›Skladateljev v Sloveniji‹ potrebna, da osnutek pravil ustreza zahtevam prosvetne politike in da niso potrebne nikake izpremembe ali dopolnitve.«<sup>15</sup> Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve je 3. decembra 1945 Društvu skladateljev v Sloveniji sporočilo, da nima nikakršnih pripomb na osnutek pravil in da so lahko potrjena v poslani obliki.<sup>16</sup>

Z že odobrenimi pravili je akcijski odbor sklical občni zbor, ki je bil v soboto, 22. decembra 1945, na Akademiji za glasbo ob 14. uri, na dnevnem redu pa so bile tri točke: »1. Poročilo akcijskega odbora, 2. volitev odbora, 3. slučajnosti«. Akcijski odbor je ob sklicu sporočil: »Vabljeni so vsi skladatelji, bivajoči na slovenskem ozemlju. V slučaju nezadostne udeležbe se vrši občni zbor pol ure pozneje ob vsaki udeležbi.«<sup>17</sup>

14 Anon., »Vsi slovenski kulturni delavci za Osvobodilno fronto«, *Slovenski poročevalec* 6, št. 172 (8. 11. 1945): 1. <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-SQPG5ATP>.

15 SI AS 231, š. 3, K 601/1, Dopis ministrstva za prosveto LRS – ministrstvu za notranje zadeve LRS, 1. 12. 1946.

16 SI AS 231, št. 3, Umetniška društva.

17 Anon., »Slovenskim skladateljem«, *Slovenski poročevalec* 6, št. 204 (16. 12. 1945): 9, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-APVSTKIF>; Anon., »Slovenskim skladateljem«, *Slovenski poročevalec* 6, št. 207 (20. 12. 1945): 7, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-X5NDW3CE>.

Ustanavljanje društva je potekalo v ozračju, ki ni bilo naklonjeno avtonomnemu delovanju kulturnih ustvarjalcev, zato ga je spremljalo kar nekaj nenavadnih zadev. Prva je bila že ta, da predloga pravil ministrstvu za notranje zadeve ni poslal v pregled akcijski odbor za ustanovitev društva ali pa društvo po ustanovnem občnem zboru, temveč da ga je poslalo ministrstvo za prosveto Slovenije, torej oblastni organ. Že to nakazuje željo oblasti, da bi imelo dogajanje v glasbenih društvih pod nadzorom. Nenavadno je bilo tudi, da na ustanovnem občnem zboru sploh ni bila predvidena točka z obravnavo in sprejetjem pravil društva; ali je kdo to izpostavil pod zadnjo točko dnevnega reda, slučajnosti, ni znano. Pa še eno podrobnost velja omeniti, ki malce spreminja oz. dopolnjuje doslej znane začetke društva slovenskih skladateljev. Njegovo prvo uradno ime je bilo Društvo skladateljev v Sloveniji. Namen društva je bil »*družiti in združiti glasbene avtorje*«, prvi predsednik je bil dirigent dr. Danilo Švara, tajnik pa Demetrij Žebre, v dokumentih zapisan tudi kot Demeter.<sup>18</sup> Društvo je imelo sedež v stavbi Akademije za glasbo, ki je bila dotlej v lasti najstarejšega slovenskega glasbenega društva Glasbene matice. Do nje je imela nova oblast povsem drugačen odnos, saj jo je dva dni po ustanovitvenem občnem zboru Društva skladateljev v Sloveniji ukinila in začela s postopkom podržavljenja njegega premoženja, v katerem je bilo skladateljsko društvo ustanovljeno in imelo svoj naslov.

Za usklajevanje želja državne oblasti in glasbene stroke je bil pri ministrstvu za prosveto Slovenije ustanovljen glasbeni svet. Simptomatičen za povojni čas ostrega poseganja države na kulturno sceno je že podatek, da je bil kot prvi vanj imenovan Dušan Pirjevec, tedaj eden glavnih kulturnih propagandistov Komunistične partije Slovenije (čeprav je bil v komisiji uradno zastopnik propagandne komisije Osvobodilne fronte), za njim pa še dva člana Društva skladateljev, in sicer profesor na Akademiji za glasbo Blaž Arnič in dirigent Slovenskega narodnega gledališča Samo Hubad.<sup>19</sup> Glasbeni svet je vodil Pavel Šivic, vodja odseka za glasbo na ministrstvu za prosveto, ki pa je bil tudi član Društva skladateljev in je tako lahko usklajeval oboje, državne poglede in stanovske potrebe društva. To je bilo vidno že na prvi seji glasbenega sveta (za katerega najdemo podatek v arhivu), ki je bila 11. februarja 1946 na rektoratu Akademije za glasbo. Na dnevni red je bilo namreč uvrščeno »*vprašanje tantijem in društva avtorjev Slovenije*«, torej za skladatelje in za njihovo stanovsko društvo tedaj najbolj aktualna

18 SI AS 231, š. 3, Umetniška društva.

19 SI AS 231, š. 48, 4109–46, Glasbeni svet pri ministrstvu za prosveto.

tematika. Zato je bil na sejo dodatno vabljen tudi predsednik Društva skladateljev v Sloveniji, Danilo Švara,<sup>20</sup> ki je bil februarja 1946, v času množičnih imenovanj profesorjev glasbe na akademiji in novih glasbenih šolah, imenovan za profesorja na Akademiji za glasbo.

Verjetno so na tem sestanku glasbenega sveta naredili korake k vzpostavitvi sistema, ki bi zaščitil avtorske interese slovenskih skladateljev z ureditvijo izplačevanja tantiem. Nedolgo zatem, marca 1946, je bila ustanovljena Koncertna poslovalnica za Slovenijo, ob njeni ustanovitvi pa je bila v umetniškem pogledu podrejena Glasbenemu svetu pri ministrstvu za prosveto, »v pogledu avtorske zaščite in pobiranja ter razdeljevanja tantiem pa Društvu skladateljev Slovenije«.<sup>21</sup>

### V zavetju ministrstva za prosveto Slovenije

Če je želelo društvo zaščititi stanovske interese svojih članov, je moralo urediti tudi članske vrste. Prvi seznam članov Društva skladateljev, na katerega smo naleteli v pregledanem gradivu, je s konca maja 1947. Na njem je navedenih 38 rednih in 7 izrednih članov. Dejstvo, da je seznam nastal na ministrstvu za prosveto Slovenije, potrjuje že nakazano misel, da je društvo sprva delovalo v zavetju državnega aparata. Na seznamu, sestavljenem po abecednem redu (a pri tem ni dosleden), niso zabeležene vloge članov, torej društvenih funkcionarjev.<sup>22</sup> Leto pozneje je imelo društvo že 52 članov.<sup>23</sup> Pod dežnikom ministrstva za prosveto Društvo skladateljev v Sloveniji v javnosti ni bilo zaznano kot pomemben subjekt. O njegovi majhni prepoznavnosti na svoj način priča edini v začetnem obdobju delovanja objavljeni intervju s predsednikom društva, Danilom Švaro. Resda je bil ta posvečen krstni uprizoritvi njegove opere *Veronika Deseniška*. Toda niti novinar niti Švara v pogovoru nista niti z besedico namignila, da je intervjuvanec ta čas vendarle prvi med kolegi v stanovskem skladateljskem društvu.<sup>24</sup>

20 SI AS 231, š. 3, Seja glasbenega sveta, vabilo, Ljubljana, 9. 2. 1946.

21 SI AS 231, š. 3, Odlok o ustanovitvi »Koncertne poslovalnice za Slovenijo«, 11. 3. 1946.

22 SI AS 231, š. 3, Dopis Ministrstva za prosveto LRS – Komiteju za kulturo in umetnost FLRJ, 29. 5. 1947.

23 SI AS 231, š. 200, Seznam članov Društva skladateljev Slovenije, stanje 13. VII. 1948.

24 Anon., »Pred krstom opere 'Veronika Deseniška'. Iz razgovora z njenim skladateljem dr. Danilom Švaro«, *Slovenski poročevalec* 7, št. 303 (28. 12. 1946): 2, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-5OQCDBR3>.

Da je Društvo skladateljev Slovenije delovalo kot podružnica ministrstva za prosveto Slovenije, nakazuje tudi dopisovanje z Radiem Beograd. Ta je 28. maja 1947 zaprosil Društvo skladateljev, naj jim pošlje seznam skladb slovenskih skladateljev, ki bi jih lahko poslali v Češkoslovaško. Odgovorilo jim ni Društvo skladateljev samo, temveč je odgovorilo kar slovensko ministrstvo za prosveto. Poslali so seznam nekaterih že natisnjenih skladb, dodali še nekatere, ki so že bile v tisku, in pripomnili, kaj bi še prišlo v poštev, a še ni bilo natisnjeno. K seznamu predlaganih del članov Društva skladateljev, ki so bili v Sloveniji, je ministrstvo dodalo še dve deli Marjana Kozične, tedaj profesorja na Glasbeni akademiji v Beogradu.<sup>25</sup>

Kot filiala ministrstva za prosveto je sprva delovalo tudi sestrsko društvo, Društvo reproduktivnih umetnikov, ustanovljeno leta 1947. Njegov prvi predsednik je bil Karlo Rupel, Danilo Švara pa je bil odbornik tega društva.<sup>26</sup> O organiziranju tega društva je v Beograd prav tako poročalo kar ministrstvo za prosveto Slovenije in pristojnemu organu zvezne vlade 1. julija 1947 sporočilo: »*Ker sprejemanje članstva v to društvo še ni končano, so v seznamu posebej navedeni že sprejeti člani in oni, ki bi prišli še v poštev.*«<sup>27</sup> Poročali so torej o zadevah, ki so po društveni zakonodaji v izrecni pristojnosti društva in s katerimi naj ne bi imela državna oblast ničesar za opraviti.

Poleg tantiem je stanovsko društvo dobilo pomembno vlogo tudi pri izbiri kandidatov za najvišje državne nagrade. Stanovska društva so bila namreč uradni predlagatelj kandidatov za Prešernove nagrade, tako da je imelo na glasbenem področju Društvo skladateljev v Sloveniji glede najvišjih državnih nagrad skorajda monopolno vlogo.

V prvih letih, ko je društvo delovalo pod nadzorom državnega vladnega organa za kulturo, ni bilo posebej aktivno in za seboj ni pustilo veliko sledi. Društvo skladateljev v Sloveniji je imelo svoj prvi redni občni zbor (verjetno) v maju 1946, a o njem ni kaj dosti znanega. V poročilu odseka za glasbo je Pavel Šivic zapisal zgolj, da društvo »redno posluje«. Sklepa mo pa lahko, da jih je tedaj najbolj pritegnilo vprašanje tantiem in ne dolgo pred tem ustanovljene Koncertne poslovalnice za Slovenijo, ki je pri urejanju problema naletala na težavo, da se je njeno delovanje omejevalo zgolj na ožjo domovino, na republiko Slovenijo. Njeno delovanje v polnosti ni moglo

25 SI AS 231, š. 3, Dopis ministrstva za prosveto – Radio-Komite Beograd, 28. 7. 1947.

26 SI AS 231, š. 3, Dopis ministrstva za prosveto – Komiteju za kulturi in umetnost pri vladi FLRJ, 29. 5. 1947.

27 SI AS 231, š. 3, Dopis Ministrstva za prosveto LRS – Komiteju za kulturo in umetnost FLRJ, 1. 7. 1947.

zaživeti brez »naslonitve na državno koncertno poslovalnico in pričakuje rešitev zadeve s poslovalnico za zaščito avtorjev«. Po Šivicevem mnenju je že bila sposobna prevzeti svoj del odgovornosti:

Koncertna poslovalnica za Slovenijo je že izdelala osnutek pravil, po katerih bi bila enotno podjetje za celo Slovenijo. Če bi ona v svojem ambijentu Slovenije imela koncesionirano stališče, bi bila v stanu preko svojih poverjeništev posredovati pobiranje tatnijem in tako poenostaviti in pospešiti avtorsko zaščito.<sup>28</sup>

Interes stanovskega društva pa je bil to dejavnost raztegniti na celotno državo.

Več je znanega o 2. občnem zboru Društva skladateljev, ki je potekal v senci zaostrenih kulturnopolitičnih razmer. Prvo leto po koncu vojne so komunistični ideologi dopuščali širino, saj so želeli v sodelovanje na kulturnem področju pritegniti čim širši krog poklicnih in amaterskih umetnikov ter številno občinstvo. V drugi polovici leta 1946 so na plano prišle tendence z zahtevami po krepitvi kulturnega sodelovanja z državami vzhodno od železne zavese, zlasti s Sovjetsko zvezo, in po sprejemanju načel socialističnega realizma v domačo kulturno ustvarjalnost. Najbolj izrazito je to prišlo v ospredje novembra in decembra 1946, ko so se v Beogradu zvrstili kongresi treh organizacij, v katere so bili vključeni tudi slovenski umetniki, Društva za kulturno sodelovanje Jugoslavije s Sovjetsko zvezo, Zveze književnikov Jugoslavije in Vseslovanskega kongresa. Za umetniško ustvarjalnost je bil najbolj pomemben kongres književnikov, saj je bilo ravno njihovo društvo še naslednja desetletja kazalec zaostrenosti oz. sproščenosti odnosov med politiko in umetnostjo. Preobrat v ortodoksno smer z zaostritvijo nadzora nad umetniško ustvarjalnostjo je povsem jasno razviden iz ocene slovenskih književnikov, da se statut Zveze književnikov Jugoslavije povsem sklada s smernicami državne politike.<sup>29</sup>

Enako harmonijo z državno politiko naj bi skladateljem prinesel 2. redni občni zbor, na katerem so izdelali »program, ki bo v skladu s stremljenji našega splošnega razvoja«. Želje komunističnih ideologi glede glasbenega življenja v Sloveniji so v časopisnem poročilu o zboru zabeležene kot najpomembnejše naloge stanovskega društva: »Med njimi je najvažnejše vprašanje idejne usmeritve naše ustvarjalne dejavnosti, ki je osnovnega pomena za progresivni razvoj naše glasbe.« To naj bi dosegli z rednimi mesečnimi strokovnimi sestanki na Akademiji za glasbo in s strokovno revijo, ki bi jo mo-

28 SI AS 231, š. 3, Poročilo odseka za prosveto v min. za prosveto, 8. 6. 1946.

29 Gabrič, »Slovenska agitpropovska kulturna politika«, 548–52.

rali začeti izdajati čim prej. Skrbeli naj bi tudi »za načrtno izdajanje notnih publikacij raznih skladateljskih področij«. Za novega predsednika Društva skladateljev Slovenije je bil izvoljen Blaž Arnič, Danilo Švara je postal podpredsednik, Dragotin Cvetko pa tajnik društva.<sup>30</sup>

Časopisna reportaža z občnega zbora je napisana v zelo aktivistično-propagandističnem tonu, ki umetnika vidi v vlogi koleščka v izvrševanju hitrega napredka, ki ga je sprožila državna oblast. Veliko običajnih propagandnih public je zajetih v zadnjem odstavku poročila, v katerem so prizadevanja društva prezentirana na tak način:

Vključiti hočejo slovenskega skladatelja v celotni progres, približati ustvarjalno dejavnost resničnosti novega življenja, vnesti nov duh v našo glasbo in jo povezati z ljudskimi množicami. Te naloge pa bodo mogle najti svojo uresničitev le s strnjnim sodelovanjem vseh slovenskih glasbenih ustvarjalcev in z njihovo polno zavestjo, da bodo pravilno zastavljene in rešene prispevale močan delež kulturni izgradnji narodov Jugoslavije.<sup>31</sup>

Kulturnopolitično ozračje obdobja, ko je jugoslovanska politika najbolj vroče propagirala posnemanje sovjetskih modelov na vseh področjih bivanja, niti približno ni bilo ugodno za avtonomno in resnejše delovanje stanovskih društev. Zato tudi ne preseneča dejstvo, da so zapisane splošne parole ostale bolj ali manj le črka na papirju, kar je razvidno že iz pogledov članov Društva skladateljev z začetkov petdesetih let na prehojeno pot, ki jih je v pregledu društvene zgodovine že omenjala Sonja Kralj Bervar.

### Postavljanje na lastne noge

Na krepek zasuk državne kulturnopolitične usmeritve ni bilo treba dolgo čakati, saj se je Titova Jugoslavija, dotlej najzvestejša posnemovalka Stalinove Sovjetske zveze, sredi leta 1948 javno sporekla s tako oboževanim velikim vodjo. Sporu med Stalinom in Titom je dobro leto pozneje sledil še korenit preobrat jugoslovanske kulturne politike, ki je bil zaznaven s prvimi polemikami o umetniških stvaritvah, ki so zadevale tudi komunistične idejne postavke, z osamosvajanjem revij izpod strogega državnega nadzora in z javnim objavljanjem kritik, ki so pod drobnogled postavile nesmiselne odločitve vodilnih ideologov. Umetniška združenja so še vedno izkazovala podporo jugoslovanskim državnim voditeljem in s svojih srečanj ali zborovanj

30 Anon., »Društvo skladateljev Slovenije«, *Slovenski poročevalec* 8, št. 81 (5. 4. 1947): 5, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-oPYOKK3I>.

31 Ibid.

pošljala pozdravna pisma in podporo državnim oblastem,<sup>32</sup> a so bile tovrstne izjave vse bolj frazerske, brez prave vsebine in poudarka.

V Sloveniji je pri izražanju kritične drže vnovič prednjačilo Društvo slovenskih književnikov, ki je na izrednem občnem zboru 6. oktobra 1950 sprejelo resolucijo, ki je bila dva dni pozneje objavljena v partijskem glasilu *Ljudska pravica*. Kritična os resolucije na račun jugoslovanskega centralizma je razburila vodilne slovenske politike. Člani društva so na zboru pod vprašaj postavili svojo dotedanjo politiko in spremenili orientacijo društva iz vloge, ki je bolj spominjala na sindikalno podružnico, v stanovsko organizacijo. Simbolno je prelom od dotedanje usmeritve društva nakazalo tudi slovo partijski liniji naklonjenega predsednika društva Miška Kranjca od predsednikovanja Društvu slovenskih književnikov.<sup>33</sup>

Sorodne tendence je bilo možno v začetku petdesetih let zaslediti tudi pri drugih stanovskih organizacijah umetnikov. Poleg obstoječih društev so takšno smer ubrala še nova umetniška združenja, 14. maja 1950 ustanovljeno Društvo slovenskih filmskih delavcev<sup>34</sup> in 6. novembra 1950 ustanovljeno Društvo slovenskih dramskih umetnikov.<sup>35</sup> Za obe vrsti umetnikov velja, da so bili prej formalno zgolj člani vsejugoslovanskega društva. Spremembe v načinu delovanja stanovskih društev so vodile v rahljanje jugoslovanskih centralističnih pogledov in v osamosvajanje od državno dirigirane kulturne politike. To velja tudi za Društvo skladateljev Slovenije, ki je novosti predstavilo na občnem zboru 25. januarja 1951. Namesto idejnih in političnih vprašanj so v ospredje prišla izrazito praktična stanovska vprašanja. Društvo je zahtevalo večjo vlogo pri poslovanju avtorskopravne poslovalnice, saj je bila Koncertna poslovalnica ustanovljena kot državna ustanova. Z najavo začetkov izdaje društvenih publikacij je pokazalo bolj samostojno držo pri založniški politiki, pa čeprav je bilo pri tisku še vedno odvisno od Državne založbe Slovenije. Reprezentativni *Zbornik slovenskih samospevov*, ki je sicer izšel šele leta 1953, je bil uvod v edicije Društva slovenskih skla-

32 Takšne izjave članov Društva slovenskih skladateljev so navedene v: Leon Stefanija, »Totalitarnost režima in glasba: iz arhiva Društva slovenskih skladateljev v petdesetih letih 20. stoletja«, v *Muzikološke razprave: in memoriam Danilo Pokorn*, ur. Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, Tomaž Faganel in Metoda Kokole (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2004), 135–46.

33 Gabrič, »Slovenska agitpropovska kulturna politika«, 622–4.

34 Bogo Pregelj, »Ustanovni kongres Društva slovenskih filmskih delavcev«, *Obzornik* 5, št. 8–9 (1950): 398–402; Anon., »Društvo slovenskih filmskih delavcev bo okrepilo našo kinematografijo«, *Ljudska pravica* 11, št. 115 (15. 5. 1950): 1–2, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-RCZ8JQKC>.

35 *Gledališki list Drama, Slovensko narodno gledališče v Ljubljani*, št. 4 (1950–1951): 128.

datej. Že leta 1951 pa je začela izhajati društvena *Slovenska glasbena revija*. Izglasovali so tudi zahtevo, naj se glasbeni svet v dotedanji obliki, torej kot podaljšana roka pristojnega ministrstva, razpusti, nadomestil pa bi ga glasbeni svet kot reprezentant stanovskih društev in glasbenih ustanov. Pomembna sprememba, pri kateri skladateljsko društvo prav tako ni bilo osamljeno med slovenskimi umetniškimi društvi, je bilo njegovo preimenovanje. Iz Društva skladateljev Slovenije se je preimenovalo v Društvo slovenskih skladateljev.<sup>36</sup> Nenazadnje pa se izrazit dvig aktivnosti društva izkazuje tudi v društvenem arhivu, ki od tega leta naprej omogoča sledenju njegove poti, česar za prva leta delovanja nikakor ne moremo trditi.

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36 Anon., »Slovenski skladatelji so zborovali«, *Slovenski poročevalec* 12, št. 22 (26. 1. 1951): 2, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-INUGSHLI>; Kralj Bervar, *So-bivanje družbenega, stanovskega in umetniškega*, 25–6.

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## The Slovene Composer Ivo Petrić and Društvo slovenskih skladateljev

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As Slovenia emerged from the Second World War, in addition to the considerable amount of rebuilding to be done, there was a need for the revival of the strong musical culture that had existed in Slovenia before the war. Composers such as Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, Blaž Arnič and Marjan Kozina continued to produce impressive music during the war and in the years following. It was now important to nurture and encourage others to be active composers. Very important is the fact that the influential Škerjanc taught composition to a number of younger musicians and there was the presence of the Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra (*Orkester Slovenske filharmonije*) which must have acted as an encouragement. It was essential, however, for a degree of organisation to focus the progress quickly and in the right direction. This came from a group comprising a number of composers, who aimed to create a society that provided a firm base for the development of musical composition. This society founded after the end of the Second World War, the Society of Slovene Composers (*Društvo slovenskih skladateljev*, abbreviated to DSS) has operated for the enormous benefit of Slovene composers for the last 80 years.

The most obvious requirement for this society was to collect together the music of a large and comprehensive group of active composers, organise it for performances, and when possible to publish as much printed music as finances allowed. There was a small collection of publications from 1954 of works by Srečko Koporc, Vilko Ukmar, Pavel Šivic

and Zvonimir Ciglič.<sup>1</sup> The numbers of published scores then increased rapidly, with the appearance of works by some of the younger composers such as Primož Ramovš, Janez Matičič, Alojz Srebotnjak and Uroš Krek. Alongside was the complementary series of nearly fifty scores published by the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti*), consisting extensively of works by Škerjanc, but also some by Kozina, Matija Bravničar and others.<sup>2</sup>

In the early 1970s a new secretary was to be appointed. To achieve the challenging task that faced the society, a strong leader was essential. The choice of Ivo Petrić (1931–2018) in 1972 was an inspired one: he had the necessary skills and energy to make things happen and the determination to see them through to a successful conclusion. He made such a contribution to music in Slovenia in his long and fruitful life that it is difficult to know where to start. He made it his business to communicate to the outside musical world that Slovenia's music was significant. He was fluent in German and English and communicated successfully with many foreign musicians whose languages were not Slovene, German or English. Defining its role was the job of the society's president (*Predsednik*), but many of its activities also developed naturally as the need arose. Petrić was not by any means the first secretary of DSS, but his appointment came at a time that his multiple musical and administrative abilities would be seen to best advantage and create a situation that would transform DSS to the important position that it holds today in the music of present-day Slovenia.

Ivo Petrić was responsible for the Association's music library. He had an important part in choosing the actual works to be published or, in the case of larger mostly orchestral works, those for which the society would arrange the hire of scores and parts. The material was methodically organised and catalogued. However, the published items were printed in very small numbers (often as low as fifty), but multiple copies of orchestral scores were kept.

Perhaps more important, though, is the fact that Petrić was a very active practising musician, a capable oboist who played in the Academy of Music, as a solo player, as a chamber music participant and orchestral member. His experience of serious music occurred at all these levels. In another sense he knew which music was effective and what was less so, being

1 Dušan Bavdek, ed., *Katalog glasbenih del/Music Catalogue* (Ljubljana: Edicije DSS, 2012), 302.

2 *Ibid.*, 445.

a tireless performer of music composed by many of his colleagues as well as himself. This clearly made him able to judge the technical requirements of the music which was kept in the society's library.

Even more significant was the fact that Petrić was the founder and director of the Slavko Osterc Ensemble which was formed in 1962 to perform Osterc's Nonet and works by Petrić and Ramovš. His conducting studies with Danilo Švara helped him to perform new music including conducting the important performances of his then avant-garde *Croquis sonores* as well as *Enneafoia* by Primož Ramovš which were played at the Warsaw Autumn Festival in 1963. As director of the Ensemble he was responsible for the commissioning, performance and later recording of large numbers of ensemble works composed by his contemporaries. The presence of this ensemble helped to encourage the composition of many new works. The performances of the works of his contemporaries (and himself) took place in many places in Slovenia, neighbouring Croatia and a number of other countries.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps most important of all, Ivo Petrić was a prolific composer whose work stands high today, some years after his death.<sup>4</sup> At first he adopted a modernist tonal idiom owing something to the influence of Hindemith and Prokofiev. His move in the early 1960s to the freely coordinated textural techniques used by some Polish composers, notably Krzysztof Penderecki, was a lead followed by some of his contemporaries, notably those of the *Pro musica viva* group. His ability to show that these works can be very effective was clearly demonstrated by his performances and recordings. As the founder and director of the Slavko Osterc Ensemble he was responsible for performances of large numbers of mostly Slovene works, for a number of pioneering recordings of Slovene music when this was almost unheard

- 3 Ivo Petrić, "Jubilej ansambla Slavko Osterc," *Zvuk*, nos. 83–4 (1973): 1, 39–42; Andrej Rijavec, "Skladateljska skupina okrog ansambla »Slavko Osterc«/Die Komponistengruppe um das Ensemble »Slavko Osterc«," in *Slovenska glasba v preteklosti in sedanjosti/Slovenische Musik in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. Primož Kuret (Ljubljana: Kres, 1992), 260–269. See the paper by Jernej Weiss in this volume: "The Slavko Osterc Ensemble (1961–1981): The Principal Promoter of the Creativity of the Society of Slovene Composers Abroad".
- 4 Andrej Rijavec, *Slovenska glasbena dela* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1979), 223–32; Matjaž Barbo, *Pro musica viva* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 2001), 140–48, 224–7; Leon Stefanija, *O glasbeno novem: ob slovenski instrumentalni glasbi zadnje četrtine 20. stoletja* (Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2001).

of, and for encouraging the creation of new works simply by the existence of this ensemble.

As a composer, Petrić's music has always been melodically oriented.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, he has always shown an interest in instrumental techniques and colours, as well as convincing form. His music of the 1950s, notably the three symphonies and sonatas for wind instruments, reflects a traditional approach to melodic writing, especially in the Sonatas for clarinet and horn where the influence of Hindemith is evident. The Clarinet Concerto shows considerable melodic flexibility, while with the *Concert Music* (1961–62) Petrić's style reaches a transitional phase in which there are many melodic metamorphoses. In works such as the *Élégie sur le nom de Carlos Salzedo* for harp and *Croquis sonores* (1963) for chamber ensemble, we are dealing with modernist approaches. In the latter composition, the melodic notation is fragmentary, rhythmically irregular, and uses all twelve semitones. The spatial notation that appears in *Seven pieces for seven instruments* reflects a simple serialism, a characteristic that the composer did not develop further. *Symphonic mutations* (1964) represent the beginning of the consolidation and refinement of Petrić's compositional procedures. This work seems particularly notable due to the thematic transformations and free association of similar types of themes as a connecting factor between individual parts of the composition.

After a series of chamber works, Petrić created three important more extensive compositions in 1968–69: *Integrale v barvah* ('Integrals in Colour') for orchestra, *Intarzije* ('Inlaid Work' or 'Marquetry') for ensemble and *Quatuor 1969* for string quartet. In these works, melodic cells and motifs are used to form both melodic lines and melodic textures. In all these works small melodic cells are subjected to a series of inventive yet audible transformations, with a noticeable synchronization of melodic voices. Petrić's works of the 1970s include sonata-like pieces for piano, chamber compositions and orchestral works, sometimes with solo instruments treated in concertante style. Here too, the composer manipulates and transforms short melodic cells into both melodic lines and accompanying textures, interspersed with unsynchronized ostinatos. The use of long notes and their elaboration is characteristic of *Lirizmi* for horn and piano, *Meditations* for piano trio, the Violin Sonata and especially the *Quatuor 1979*. In orchestral works with solo instruments, the orchestral parts are much more

5 Niall O'Loughlin, "Melodic Workings in the Music of Ivo Petrić," *Musicological Annual*, 29 (1993): 107–19, <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-YI8GZRD1>.

elaborate and lead to effects that are not always melodically audible as such. The synchronization of melodic elements is sometimes precise, as in *Dialogues concertants* for cello, but usually – as in the outstanding *Trois images* for violin and orchestra (1973)<sup>6</sup> – is only approximate, tied to a system of primary and secondary conductor's cues. Wind instrument works such as *Episodes lyriques* (1973) for oboe and *Jeux concertants* (1978) for flute rely on kaleidoscopic textures that play with melodic focuses.

After composing a number of concertante works in a freely coordinated aleatory style during the 1970s, including *Trois images*, Ivo Petrić returned to metrically barred notation for his concertos from the middle of the 1980s,<sup>7</sup> such as the Concerto for Trumpet and Orchestra (1986) and *Moods and Temperaments* (1987), which nevertheless retain the melodic processes characteristic of the 1970s. Of solo works with orchestra from this time, the Trumpet, Saxophone and Horn Concertos and the Concertino for percussion (*Pomladni concertino*) are particularly notable. The newer concertos were composed as single-movement multi-section works which nevertheless reveal an underlying traditional movement structure. The instrumental character defines the tone of the works. The composer aimed to take advantage of traditional compositional values, something that a close investigation of details reveals to be the case. However, the lessons learned from his aleatory works have been most effectively applied to the newer works.

To sum up, Ivo Petrić made a really valuable contribution to music in Slovenia in his long and fruitful life. Beginning as an orchestral oboist, he soon moved into the field of composition, including studies with Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, and conducting with Danilo Švara, but always acknowledging the influence of Slavko Osterc. In order to have an ensemble capable of performing these works and similar music, he assembled selected players into a flexible group called the Slavko Osterc Ensemble (*Ansambel Slavko Osterc*) which he conducted with distinction for many years.<sup>8</sup> It is a tribute to his organising and conducting abilities that the number of advanced pieces championed by this group is very large. Equally significantly, he and several of his like-minded composer colleagues grouped themselves together

6 Niall O'Loughlin, "Concertante Techniques in *Trois images* by Ivo Petrić," *Musicological Annual* 37, no. 1 (2001): 103–12, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.37.1.103-112>.

7 Niall O'Loughlin, "A Return to Old Techniques in Recent Concertos by Ivo Petrić," *Musicological Annual* 47, no. 1 (2011): 167–76, <https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.47.1.167-176>.

8 Rijavec, "Skladateljska skupina okrog ansambla 'Slavko Osterc,'" 260–9.

as *Pro musica viva*.<sup>9</sup> Not content with this, as Secretary of the Society of Slovene Composers (*Društvo slovenskih skladateljev*) he organised the publication of large numbers of works from all the composers then working in Slovenia. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that he transformed Edicije DSS (the publishing section of the Composers' Association) into the wonderful organisation that it is today. What is so gratifying is that his compositions took their natural place in these publications. This was also supplemented by numerous recordings of excellent quality. Petrič's promotional abilities were legendary: he communicated extensively with composers, performers and publishers both at home and abroad, in a way that promoted the interests of all the composers represented by Edicije DSS and certainly not just himself. For musicologists he was equally generous, giving of his time and energies without hesitation. For his later work as artistic director of the Slovenian Philharmonic, he carefully arranged for selected Slovene works to be played alongside the well known classics that the audiences principally came to hear. In his last years he often visited Scotland, driving by car all the way from Slovenia reaching the island of Skye and the far-flung islands of the Western Isles. His Scottish inspired pieces included *MacPhadraig's Scottish Diaries* for piano. On asking him who MacPhadraig was, he smiled and admitted it was himself. His legacy is wonderful, something in which Slovenia can take pride. With over 200 compositions he was a prolific composer. His early tonal works owed a little to Prokofiev and Hindemith, his avant-garde or modernist works showed an adventurous and imaginative spirit, and the later works composed for his friends or, in reflective mode, returned in a modified way to his earlier music. For all his working life he was a model for all the composers who were working in Slovenia. Ivo Petrič was unique. He wore his genius lightly and modestly, but genius it was.

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9 Barbo, *Pro musica viva*, 140–48, 224–7.

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## The Slavko Osterc Ensemble (1961–1981): The Principal Promoter of the Creativity of the Society of Slovene Composers Abroad

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The 1960s saw the formation throughout Europe of numerous groups specialising in the performance of “New Music”. Among the first such ensembles anywhere in the world was the *Improvisation Chamber Ensemble* led by the American composer Lukas Foss. Other notable ensembles included the British group *AMM*, founded in 1965, the Rome-based group *Musica Elettronica Viva* (from 1966), the Vienna-based Ensemble “*die reihe*”, founded in 1958 and led by Friedrich Cerha, the Cluj-based Romanian group *Ars nova*, founded in 1968, the Bratislava-based *Hudba dneška*, which was active from 1963 and also performed in Ljubljana etc. They consisted of musicians who were particularly drawn to the performance of New Music. Unlike classical ensembles, these groups were able to adapt their instrumental line-ups as required, and were particularly receptive to experimentation of every kind. Given the wide variety of performance requirements in a period that rejected genre conventions, groups of this kind were among the principal promoters of the creation of new musical works and played a significant part in shaping aesthetic changes.

In Slovenia they included both the *Collegium musicum* society, founded in 1957 by Pavel Šivic under the aegis of the Academy of Music *Composers' Club*, and, unquestionably, the *Slavko Osterc Ensemble*. This was founded in 1961 by members of the composers' group *Pro musica viva* as a vehicle for the performance of their own works. The promoter, conductor and *spiritus agens* of the Ensemble was Ivo Petrić, who had studied composition

with Lucijan Marija Škerjanc and conducting with Danilo Švara, graduating in both disciplines in 1958. Petrić, who headed the DSS's publishing arm *Edicije Društva slovenskih skladateljev* from 1970 until 2002, was also the Ensemble's artistic director from the outset. It is via him that the Ensemble's activities are most closely connected to those of the Society of Slovene Composers (DSS).

This article is an attempt to determine the degree of interdependence between the Ensemble and the DSS and answer the question of how the activities of the Ensemble (until they ceased in 1981) contributed to the international affirmation and promotion of the creative work of DSS members in other countries.

There is no doubt that the younger generation of composers who joined together to form *Pro musica viva*, the most important group of avant-garde Slovene composers after the Second World War, shared a desire to have their own compositions heard and exchange artistic ideas.<sup>1</sup>

Although the authorities of the day did not explicitly prohibit contacts between Slovene composers and their foreign counterparts, in practice it was anything but easy for Slovene composers to establish personal contacts with the West,<sup>2</sup> since financial assistance for journeys abroad was very limited and "carefully" allocated. The activity of an ensemble of this kind, which encouraged the creation of new Slovene music, therefore seemed all the more crucial. As Petrić notes, no one was interested in composing music merely for it to be left "in the drawer."<sup>3</sup>

Petrić goes on to say:

At that time the need for an ensemble like this was 'in the air'. The main thing that differentiated us from *Collegium musicum* was that we placed an emphasis on [Slovene] works. And so we appeared for the [very] first time at the evening of twentieth-century chamber music organised by

1 Matjaž Barbo, *Pro musica viva* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 2001), 90.

2 During the first decade after the war, cooperation with Western European cultural metropolises was practically impossible. More or less carefully selected delegations of Yugoslav composers were sent to contemporary music festivals. Leon Stefanija, "Totalitarnost režima in glasba," in *In memoriam Danilo Pokorn*, eds. Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, Tomaž Faganel and Metoda Kokole (Ljubljana: Muzikološki inštitut ZRC SAZU, 2004), 139, <https://omp.zrc-sazu.si/zalozba/catalog/download/827/3497/290?inline=1>.

3 The conversation with Ivo Petrić is documented in full in the fifth chapter of Tjaša Štular's bachelor's thesis. Tjaša Štular, *Glasbeno delo Ansambla Slavko Osterc* (B.A., University of Ljubljana, 1998), 96–9.

the DSS at the Slovenian Philharmonic Hall on 13 July 1961, with a performance of Slavko Osterc's *Nonet*.<sup>4</sup>

The latter is one of the most important works of Slovene musical Expressionism, a piece composed in 1937 for the *Czech Nonet*. A year after this performance, the Ensemble named itself after Slavko Osterc, the most important Slovene modernist.<sup>5</sup> Following this inaugural performance, just over a year would pass before the Ensemble performed again, this time at the *Musica nova* festival in Opatija, Croatia, on 19 October 1962, in its first appearance in front of a wider Yugoslav audience. This is the festival that in 1963 became known as the *Jugoslovenska muzička tribina* (today the festival takes place in Osijek). Alongside the *Music Biennale Zagreb*, founded in 1961, this was the leading festival of contemporary music in the former Yugoslavia.<sup>6</sup>

The group appeared for the first time as the Slavko Osterc Ensemble on 13 May 1963 at the second Zagreb *Biennale*. Following their premiere performance in Zagreb, a Croatian music critic wrote: “*The Slavko Osterc Ensemble from Ljubljana is a noteworthy group of excellent soloists led by the talented and capable conductor Ivo Petrić.*”<sup>7</sup>

### First performances outside Yugoslavia

The Ensemble gave its first foreign performance in Poland in 1963, when it appeared at the *Warsaw Autumn* festival, in what was the first appearance by any Yugoslav ensemble at this festival.<sup>8</sup> It was invited by the festival's

4 Ibid.

5 Despite the strong creative personalities within Osterc's circle, none of the compositional techniques and aesthetics that established themselves internationally at that time prevailed among Slovene composers. The most important works are still considered to be those of composers who had already found their path before the war. Lojze Lebič, “Glasovi časov (II), O slovenski glasbeni ustvarjalnosti,” *Naši zbori* 45, no. 5–6 (1993): 114. In his own reminiscences of the activities of the Slavko Osterc Ensemble, Ivo Petrić mentions that the naming of the ensemble was “initially criticised by Milko Kelemen, who said it smacked of cultural and artistic socialist associations.” Ivo Petrić, *Spomini na delovanje ansambla Slavka Osterca* (Ljubljana: typescript, 1998), 3.

6 Miloš Marinković, “Mužički festivali kao odraz kulturne politike tokom hladnog rata – od Varšavske jeseni do Mužičkog bijenala Zagreb,” *Kultura*, no. 162 (2019): 306–20.

7 Pavle Stefanović, “Reč priznanja festivalu savremene kamerne muzike,” *Knjižne novine*, September 1965. See also: Ivo Petrić, “Po drugem Bienalu sodobne glasbe v Zagrebu,” *Sodobnost*, no. 7 (1963): 652–7.

8 Miloš Marinković, 14<sup>th</sup> *International Symposium “Music in Society”*, Book of Abstracts (Sarajevo: Muzikološko društvo Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Mužička akademija, 2024), 93–4. See also: Ivo Petrić, “Varšavska jesen 1963,” *Sodobnost*, no. 12 (1963): 1145–7.

artistic director Witold Lutosławski. He had been impressed by the Ensemble's performance at the Zagreb *Biennale*. Half of the Ensemble's programme consisted of works by contemporary Slovene composers: Slavko Osterc's *Nonet*, *Enneafonia* by Primož Ramovš, Milan Stibilj's *Impresije* and Ivo Petrić's own *Croquis sonores* – a choice of programme that underlines Petrić's consistently expressed orientation, which tended towards performances of as many new Slovene works as possible.<sup>9</sup> It should be mentioned that all three new works in the programme had been published by *Edicije DSS* a few months before the Warsaw performance. After being founded in 1951, *Edicije DSS* initially operated under the aegis of the state publishing house *Državna založba Slovenije*. Today it is the country's most important independent music publisher and has published more than 2,700 works by Slovene composers to date.

The large number of performances by the Slavko Osterc Ensemble abroad is surprising, given that, as Petrić notes, state support was practically non-existent. In conversation with Tjaša Štular, who wrote comprehensive bachelor's thesis about musical work of the Slavko Osterc Ensemble, Ivo Petrić confirmed Lojze Lebič's earlier statement about meagre state funding:

I could count on the fingers of one hand the number of performances abroad that were funded by the state: meaning that for almost all our performances we had to 'raise' the money ourselves. Most often this meant me writing a musical fairy tale for the ensemble that was due to perform abroad. Our very understanding colleagues at the radio would then allow us to record it, and would pay us a fee for doing so, which would then go to cover travel costs.<sup>10</sup>

So it was that, between 1965 and 1972, Petrić wrote as many as 15 musical fairy tales for children that were recorded in a studio and broadcast by the Radio-Television Ljubljana.

It appears that the cultural decision-makers in Slovenia at that time did not recognise the importance of the Slavko Osterc Ensemble and that funding depended above all on the inventiveness of the Ensemble's leader and members. Given its own difficult financial situation, not even the DSS could support the Ensemble's activities (except indirectly – by organising the occasional

9 A recording of Petrić's composition appeared on an album of works by the *Pro musica viva* composers' group released in 1966 by the Zagreb-based label *Jugoton*. The Slavko Osterc Ensemble is among the performers, making this the first release of a recording by the Slavko Osterc Ensemble.

10 Štular, *Glasbeno delo Ansambla Slavko Osterc*, 98.

concert and by publishing sheet music). Nevertheless, many members of the Ensemble could see the necessity of supporting contemporary Slovene musical creativity and helped cover the costs out of their own pockets.

### Review of the most important appearances outside Yugoslavia

A review of the most important appearances by the Ensemble outside Yugoslavia reveals the following. In April 1965 the Ensemble accepted an invitation from the *Arte nova* association in Trieste and thus performed in Italy for the first time. On 12 March 1965, the violinist and composer Karlo Sancin, who was also a radio presenter, gave the following report for Radio Trst A: “*The ensemble performed the extremely demanding programme with considerable artistic skill and deserves all recognition for its remarkable performance, as do all three soloists [...] and the conductor Ivo Petrić.*”<sup>11</sup> The tradition of performing in Italy, Slovenia’s western neighbour, continued until 1977, with at least one performance every year except 1970. These performances were for the most part covered by the local press, with extensive reports and photographs and almost universally positive reviews, with the ensemble playing and individual soloists singled out for particular praise.

The Ensemble’s performances in West and East Germany were almost as frequent as those in Italy. The Ensemble first performed in the Federal Republic of Germany in March 1967. Interestingly, it was not until 1975, after a series of visits to West Germany, that the Ensemble visited East Germany for the first time, with appearances in Leipzig, Potsdam and Berlin. It thus appears that Petrić’s ideological orientation was primarily westward-leaning, and therefore diverged from mainstream Yugoslav doctrine of the time, which was (specially in the first years after the WW2) influenced by Soviet ideology and thus mainly eastward-leaning. The ensemble also received praise from German critics and, for the most part, its performances were reviewed positively.<sup>12</sup> A series of reviews confirm the Ensemble’s artistic quality and continuous excellence at the highest level of performance.

11 Karlo Sancin, Report for Radio Trst A, 12 March 1965. See also: Štular, *Glasbeno delo Ansambla Slavko Osterc*, 6. All foreign performances are listed in: Štular, pp. 21–87.

12 In an article published by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* we read: “*Zeitlich übersichtlich disponierte subtilste Klangvorgänge geben eine zarte dialogisierende Poesie, eine Lyrik, die nichts mit einem lyrischen Tenor, dafür um so mehr mit jener Lyrik der fremden Klänge zu tun hat*” [Chronologically well-organised, subtle sound processes create a delicate, dialogical poetry, a lyricism that has nothing in common with the lyric tenor but is much more aligned with the lyricism of foreign sounds]. Reinhart Öhlschlagel, “Kroatisch – slowenische Avantgarde,” *Frankfurter Musica viva*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 23 March 1967.

In 1972 the Ensemble was also invited to Belgium, where it gave concerts in Ath, Antwerp and Brussels. It returned to Brussels in 1976 during a tour of West Germany. A year later the programme performed at that time was released as an LP. The Ensemble's long list of performances abroad also included Slovakia, specifically a concert in Bratislava in June 1965. That appearance reciprocated a concert by the Bratislava ensemble *Hudba dneška* in Ljubljana a year earlier. In a similar manner, the Ensemble repaid a Ljubljana Festival appearance by the Cluj-based ensemble *Ars nova* and set off on a tour of Romania. Performances in neighbouring Austria included concerts in Klagenfurt in 1969, 1972 and 1978 and in Vienna in 1970. The Ensemble also performed in Paris in 1971 and in Sofia in 1968. In July 1977 the Ensemble visited Sweden at the invitation of Swedish composer Folke Rabe (1935–2017) and gave seven concerts.

In February 1980, after almost two years of preparations and negotiations, the Ensemble set off on a tour of Iraq, the originally planned tour of Iran having fallen through for political reasons (the proclamation of the Islamic Republic following the return of Ayatollah Khomeini in 1979). Poor audience response meant that the tour of Iraq was not fondly remembered by the Ensemble.<sup>13</sup>

### Festival appearances

The Slavko Osterc Ensemble also performed at numerous international festivals of contemporary music. However the Ensemble did not appear at the concerts of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). It did leave a mark on various Yugoslav festivals of contemporary music. These included Radenci,<sup>14</sup> a festival “on home turf”, and, most importantly, the *Jugoslovenska muzička tribina* (from its founding in 1963 until 1977). It

13 “Despite the fact that we had deliberately prepared a programme that was as popular and diverse as possible, it proved unsuitable for the Iraqi audience – with the exception of the concert for Europeans living in Baghdad. An Iraqi audience [at that time] would probably not have accepted anything from our cultural sphere, especially not in such a poorly organised tour. The tour was physically extremely demanding but the members of the ensemble went through with it, throughout its duration and in relation to the Iraqi side, with the awareness that they were representing our country and our culture in a friendly nation.” Ivo Petrić, “Poročilo o turneji Ansambla Slavko Osterc v Iraku od 3. do 10. 2. 1980,” personal archive of Ivo Petrić.

14 From the founding of the festival in 1963 until 1968 and, following a four-year break, from 1972 until 1981. The Ensemble also performed at the Ljubljana Festival in 1967, 1971, 1976 and 1977. See also: Ivo Petrić, “Domača ustvarjalnost na ljubljanskih koncertnih odrih,” *Sodobnost*, no. 11 (1966): 1157–8.

was at the latter that Petrić premiered by far the largest number of new Slovene compositions. Numerous works by Slovene composers also received their premiere performances at the *Music Biennale Zagreb*, at which the Ensemble appeared regularly between 1963 and 1975 (only missing the 1973 edition). It also appeared at the *BEMUS* festival in Belgrade (1972), the *NO-MUS* festival in Novi Sad (1976) and the *SIMC* festival in Ljubljana (1970).

### Recordings for radio and television

The Ensemble deserves particular credit for its many recordings for radio and television stations at home and abroad. As well as the studios of RTV Ljubljana, the Slavko Osterc Ensemble visited almost all the other radio and television studios of the former Yugoslavia. The list of recordings outside Yugoslavia is also extensive. Almost every visit to West Germany included a recording for Westdeutscher Rundfunk Köln. In January 1970 the Ensemble was invited to Vienna, where it appeared at a concert organised by broadcaster ORF and the Austrian Composers' Association. Recordings made during this visit were released on an album in the *Österreichische Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* series. Another reason why the number of radio, television and studio recordings (particularly for the *Jugoton* label) is so high is that these recordings represented an important source of income for the Ensemble, used to cover the costs of touring. An example of this is the Ensemble's recording of works by the German composer Dietrich Erdmann (1970–2009), the co-founder of the *Arbeitskreis für Neue Musik* at the Berlin University of the Arts.

### Reviews in domestic and foreign media

The majority of critics both at home and abroad gave very positive assessments of performances by the Slavko Osterc Ensemble, with occasional reservations about the choice of programme. Critics praised the “technical and interpretational merits”<sup>15</sup> of the Ensemble, while an unsigned report from the fifth Music Biennale Zagreb entitled “Brez promašene skladbe” states that “*the excellent Slavko Osterc Ensemble from Ljubljana captivated the audience not only with its high-quality performances, but also with its well-chosen programme.*”<sup>16</sup> A telling comment is offered by the Slovene composer and critic Ubald Vrabec, who writes that the Ensemble was

15 *Vjestnik*, 16 January 1964.

16 Anon., “Brez promašene skladbe,” 21 May 1969.

determined to “*eliminate the sediments of the past, not only from the point of view of art, but also as regards contacts between artists from neighbouring nations.*”<sup>17</sup> These contacts intensified greatly through the activities of the Slavko Osterc Ensemble. In this context I should mention the recording of albums of works by composers from Kosovo (in 1978) and albums by numerous other composers from the former Yugoslav republics, with Croatian composers – including Bogdan Gagić (1931–2019), Frano Parać (born in 1948) and others – particularly strongly represented.

Following a performance in Milan, a reporter (“P.V.”) from leading Italian daily *Corriere della Sera* named the Slavko Osterc Ensemble an ambassador of Yugoslav and, in particular, Slovene culture. He goes on to say that the Ensemble is made up of soloists “*of international quality*” under the artistic direction of “*a first-rate artist and expert who is always well prepared.*”<sup>18</sup> Of the performances, he particularly singles out the *Nonet* by Slavko Osterc and *Signal* by Primož Ramovš. Petrić’s contribution as conductor is also highlighted by the critic of the Austrian newspaper *Kleine Zeitung*, who, in an article entitled “*Slowenen eröffnen die Woche der Begegnung*” (Slovenes open the week of encounters), describes the Ensemble’s performance at its concert on 16 June 1969 as “*masterful*” and conductor Ivo Petrić as “*unsurpassable*”.<sup>19</sup>

### Members of the Slavko Osterc Ensemble:

#### Slovenia’s most successful performers

More than 110 performers passed through the Ensemble’s ranks during its initial two decades of activity. It should be emphasised, however, that Petrić – the only constant member of the Ensemble, and, for two decades, both its conductor and its artistic director – succeeded in gathering together the finest Slovene performers (including the violinist Igor Ozim, the flautist Fedja Rupel, the trumpeter Stanko Arnold, the Lorenz brothers, the pianist Aci Bertonec and many others), with whom the Ensemble achieved a high level of quality at its concerts, as was consistently confirmed by the numerous reviews published in domestic and foreign media. The Ensemble usually consisted of four to five string players with some additional winds, brass, percussion, piano and harp. The high turnover of musicians was, as

17 Ubald Vrabec, *Primorski dnevnik XXI*, no. 90 (16 April 1965).

18 Report from a performance in Milan, 26 October 1971. P.V., *Corriere della Sera*, 26 October 1971

19 Anon., “*Slowenen eröffnen die Woche der Begegnung*,” *Kleine Zeitung*, 16 June 1969.

Petrić notes, a consequence of the fact that the Ensemble was not a permanent group. Instead, the great majority of musicians only appeared with it a few times.<sup>20</sup> This was largely a consequence of the Ensemble's intensive activities abroad, where, as Petrić writes, “*at festivals they would request performances by really incredible ensembles, with the result that we found ourselves inviting various soloists, including foreigners, to work with us.*”<sup>21</sup> Despite this, the Ensemble had a “permanent nucleus” of mainly Slovene musicians. Since the Ensemble was not a professional orchestra but an ad hoc group of musicians, most of its “core” players were employed by one of Ljubljana's two symphony orchestras (the Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra and the RTV Ljubljana Symphony Orchestra). The majority of the Ensemble's performances and recordings only involved around 30 of its total 110 members.<sup>22</sup> Only in this way, as Petrić explains, were they able to “*succeed in mastering the ‘standard’ repertoire or foreign and domestic composers*” that the Ensemble was able to offer at a moment's notice.<sup>23</sup>

#### The creation of new Slovene compositions

There is no doubt that the Ensemble's activities encouraged the creation of numerous new Slovene compositions and, in this way, decisively affected the situation at *Edicije DSS*. Over the course of two decades, it gave nearly 170 concerts, made 140 recordings for national and international radio and television stations and took part in nearly 40 television broadcasts.<sup>24</sup> Recordings usually took place a day or two before individual concerts.

The table shows the number of appearances by individual years. The highest numbers of concerts and recordings by the Ensemble (more than 25 and sometimes as many as 35 in a year) are in the period 1966–1970. The decade from 1965 to 1975 was the period of Petrić's most intensive work with the Ensemble. The latter succeeded in bringing new Slovene music to some of the most important festivals and concert halls in other countries. It is interesting to note that the Ensemble's most active period abroad coincides almost entirely with the period of constitutional changes in Yugoslavia (1966–74). This was a period in which, as Sonja Kralj notes, culture largely succeeded in “*breaking free from the grip of politics*” following the

20 Štular, *Glasbeno delo Ansambla Slavko Osterc*, 15.

21 Ibid., 16.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., 87.

rather rigid post-war era of agitprop-influenced state-directed cultural policy.<sup>25</sup> Of course, the influence of politics on the musical scene in Yugoslavia at that time was, for the most part, indirect rather than direct, and mainly took the form of financial pressures and penalties.

The members of the Slavko Osterc Ensemble premiered a total of 65 works by nineteen Slovene composers, with 40 of these premiere performances taking place abroad and 25 in Slovenia.<sup>26</sup>

These figures indicate that the Slavko Osterc Ensemble was above all interested in the promotion and affirmation of works by Slovene composers (DSS members) abroad. More than half of the premieres – 33 to be precise – were of works by members of the *Pro musica viva* group. The majority of these (19) took place abroad. Among the members with the largest number of works premiered, we find Ivo Petrić (13, 9 abroad), Igor Štuhec (9, 5 abroad), Jakob Jež (5, 3 abroad) and Lojze Lebič (5, 2 abroad).

This would appear to confirm Petrić's opinion that, despite the change of name, the members of *Pro musica viva* had plenty of opportunities for performances of the works they composed for the Slavko Osterc Ensemble.<sup>27</sup> The Ensemble did not, however, only favour new works by members of *Pro musica viva*, but incorporated into its repertoire works reflecting the full range of compositional techniques and aesthetic directions in contemporary Slovene creativity.

Undoubtedly of decisive importance for the Ensemble's activities was the fact that almost all the works performed by the Ensemble were printed as sheet music by *Edicije DSS* even before they were performed. In this way, the DSS provided the necessary performance materials and actively, if indirectly, supported the work of the Slavko Osterc Ensemble. Given the Ensemble's always precarious financial situation, it would have been considerably more difficult, if not impossible, for it to maintain its activities without the help of DSS.<sup>28</sup> It may therefore be said that the programming decisions made by Petrić as the artistic director of the Ensemble had a considerable influence on the situation at *Edicije DSS*, even before his official appointment as its editor in 1970.

25 Sonja Kralj, "Sobivanje družbenega, stanovskega in umetniškega v zgodovini Društva slovenskih skladateljev" (PhD, University of Ljubljana, 2011), 158.

26 Ibid., 90–5

27 Štular, *Glasbeno delo Ansambla Slavko Osterc*, 5.

28 Ivo Petrić, "Vprašanje brez odgovora," *Sodobnost*, no. 4 (1963): 380–2.

Contemporary Slovene chamber music grew significantly stronger under Petrić's artistic direction of the Ensemble. Petrić himself explains that he “composed a whole series of pieces for concert performances by various line-ups of the Ensemble.”<sup>29</sup> “Since it was also able to perform these pieces immediately, this can be said to have provided [him] with much needed experience in chamber music composition.”<sup>30</sup>

There is no question that, with the Slavko Osterc Ensemble, chamber music by Slovene composers and Slovene musical creativity in general gained its most important promoter, both in Yugoslavia and abroad. This extremely important mission is continued today by a number of similar contemporary music ensembles (MD7, Ensemble Dissonance, The Slovene Philharmonic String Chamber Orchestra etc.).

It was the performance activities of the Slavko Osterc Ensemble, supported by simultaneous publications of sheet music by *Edicije DSS*, that encouraged the creative endeavours of DSS members and, via international connections and comparisons with the situation in other countries, provided an essential confidence boost for Slovene composers. In 1979, after almost two decades at the head of the Ensemble, Petrić took over the direction of the Slovenian Philharmonic, which he then led for the next decade and a half. This new position was incompatible with his leadership of the Slavko Osterc Ensemble, with the result that the latter ceased its activities in 1981.

Without a doubt, the tireless efforts of Ivo Petrić left a significant mark on the activities of some of the most important performing ensembles in Slovenia in the second half of the twentieth century and helped shape the publishing and concert policy of the DSS. Petrić's dual role as artistic director and editor of *Edicije DSS* is therefore of key importance for the creativity of Slovene composers in the second half of the twentieth century, and his contribution to Slovene music is an essential one. It would therefore be well worth examining his interpretational and organisational contribution in greater detail in the future.

29 Štular, *Glasbeno delo Ansambla Slavko Osterc*, 15.

30 Ibid.

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## Povzetki

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Petra Babić, Lucija Konfic

Med glasbo in politiko: vloga skladateljev v glasbenih društvih v celinski Hrvaški  
v 19. stoletju

Na Hrvaškem se je v 19. stoletju glasbena kultura prvič začela institucionalizirati – ustanovljeni so bili prvi glasbeni inštituti in glasbene šole (neodvisne od »glavnih šol«), nekoliko pozneje pa tudi številna glasbena društva (pevska, instrumentalna, mešana). Dinamika njihovega nastanka je bila tesno povezana s tedanjimi političnimi razmerami, njihovo delovanje v določeni družbi – v smislu javnega udejstvovanja – pa je pomenilo več kot le uživanje v želeni zabavi, iskanje utehe v glasbenem ustvarjanju ali možnost večje dostopnosti glasbenega izobraževanja za širše družbene sloje. Prispevek bo predstavil različne tipe glasbenih društev/združenj, ustanovljenih v 19. stoletju v celinski Hrvaški, ter obravnaval njihovo odvisnost od trenutnih vladajočih političnih opcij, zlasti percepcijo in vlogo skladateljev v teh društvih. Raziskavo za ta prispevek je financirala Hrvaška znanstvena fundacija v okviru projekta IP-2020-02-4277 »Institucionalizacija moderne meščanske glasbene kulture v 19. stoletju v civilni hrvaški in vojni krajini – MusInst19«.

*Ključne besede:* glasba 19. stoletja na Hrvaškem, glasbene institucije, glasba in politika, hrvaški skladatelji

Dušan Bavdek

Društvo slovenskih skladateljev – vloga v družbi in izzivi današnjega časa

Društvo slovenskih skladateljev (DSS) v letu 2025 praznuje 80-letnico delovanja, kar ponuja izhodišče za refleksijo, analizo sedanjega stanja in vizijo delovanja v prihodnje.

V strokovni službi DSS trenutno delujejo trije sodelavci, glavni področji njihovega dela sta koncertna in založniška dejavnost. Obe dejavnosti vključujeta tudi mednarodno dimenzijo, ki jo dopolnjuje še zastopanje Slovenije v mednarodnih organizacijah.

Koncertni cikli DSS prinašajo najobsežnejši pregled sodobne glasbene ustvarjalnosti v našem kulturnem prostoru. Vsako leto predstavijo več kot 50 novitet, večina koncertov je moderiranih.

Naročila novih del so eden ključnih elementov delovanja DSS. Založba Edicije DSS izdaja notne natisne in fonograme slovenskih skladateljev ter ščiti in zastopa njihove izvedbene materiale. Z didaktičnimi edicijami DSS posega tudi na področje izobraževanja. Vse izdaje so katalogizirane in dostopne v spletni trgovini. DSS vsako leto podeli Kozinovo nagrado, ki je najvišje strokovno priznanje na področju glasbene ustvarjalnosti v Sloveniji.

Prva od težav, s katerimi se DSS spoprijema, je nepreglednost področja glasbene kulture v Sloveniji, ki od osamosvojitve ni bilo deležno sistemskih sprememb. Podpora Ministrstva za kulturo se je drastično zmanjšala, primanjkljaj pa se kaže v od leta 2009 nerevaloriziranih tarifah za naročila glasbenih del, zmanjšanem obsegu natisov simfoničnih skladb, nerevaloriziranih honorarjih za izvajalce itn. DSS je bilo v letu 1993 pobudnik ustanovitve združenja za avtorsko zaščito SAZAS, leta 2004 pa Slovenskega glasbenoinformacijskega centra SIGIC. Z obema združenjema si želimo višje ravni sodelovanja.

DSS bi moralo imeti pomembnejšo vlogo pri oblikovanju nacionalnih kulturnih politik. Pri tem si je treba zastaviti vprašanje, kaj lahko društvo, ki trenutno vključuje predvsem skladatelje resne glasbe, stori za večjo vključenost in posledično reprezentativnost skladateljev drugih glasbenih žanrov.

*Ključne besede:* Društvo slovenskih skladateljev (DSS), izzivi, Edicije DSS, koncertna sezona DSS, mednarodna dejavnost DSS

Joanna Bullivant

Skladateljski ceh Velike Britanije in »neuradna diplomacija« v Vzhodni Evropi

Skladateljski ceh Velike Britanije je bil ustanovljen leta 1945 pod pokroviteljstvom uglednih osebnosti, kot je Ralph Vaughan Williams, in spodjetniško

usmeritvijo spodbujanja kariere in pravic zaposlenih skladateljev ter vzpostavljanja povezav s podobnimi združenji v drugih državah. Tako ni presenetljivo, da je bila njegova vloga v hladnovojni diplomaciji prezrta – v primerjavi s prizadevanji, kot so bili znameniti, uradno podprti obiski Benjamina Brittna v Sovjetski zvezi med letoma 1963 in 1971. Vendar pa je ceh, kot bo pokazal ta prispevek, v zgodnjem povojnem obdobju odigral zanimivo neuradno diplomatsko vlogo. Britanski skladatelj in komunist Alan Bush, predsednik ceha v letih 1947 in 1948, je na številnih potovanjih po Vzhodni Evropi poskušal to organizacijo vključiti v razna diplomatska zaveznitva, povezana s sovjetsko interesno sfero. Busheva prizadevanja so bila sicer neuspešna, vendar pa so njegove povezave ostale pomembne vse do zgodnjih šestdesetih let, zlasti kar zadeva njegov uspešni obisk ZSSR leta 1960, na katerem ga je spremljala takratna predsednica ceha Elizabeth Maconchy. Prispevek opisuje Bushevo neuradno diplomacijo v teh letih in njegov vpliv na ceh ter pokaže, kako niansirano politično vlogo je lahko imelo nacionalno združenje skladateljev, čeprav je bilo uradno stališče države precej manj naklonjeno odnosom z Vzhodno Evropo.

*Ključne besede: Alan Bush, Skladateljski ceh Velike Britanije, diplomacija, Jugoslavija, glasba in politika*

Nataša Didenko

Zveza skladateljev Makedonije v preteklosti in sedanjosti: združevanje profesionalnosti in nacionalnosti

Z ustanovitvijo Zveze skladateljev Makedonije leta 1947 v Skopju kot umetniške strokovne organizacije se je začela oblikovati in razvijati makedonska glasbena ustvarjalnost. Izzivi različnih zgodovinskih obdobj so prispevali k temu, da je Zveza skladateljev Makedonije začela dejavnosti za spodbujanje razvoja glasbenega ustvarjanja in vede, pa tudi za opredelitev pomena svojih članov pri ohranjanju in spodbujanju makedonske glasbene kulture. Prispevek z metodami zgodovinskega, analitičnega in primerjalnega raziskovanja predstavlja dognanja o nenehni rasti Zveze skladateljev Makedonije, ki je bila v zadnjih osmih desetletjih gonilna sila glasbenega življenja v Makedoniji in žarišče naprednih ustvarjalnih idej.

*Ključne besede: Zveza skladateljev Makedonije, produktivna in reproduktivna glasbena kultura, založniška dejavnost, Dnevi makedonske glasbe, Glasbena jesen v Strugi*

Aleš Gabrič

Kulturnopolitični milje obdobja začetkov delovanja Društva slovenskih skladateljev

Konec 2. svetovne vojne na slovenskih/jugoslovanskih tleh je prinesel bistvene spremembe za delovanje kulturnih društev. Komunistični prevzem oblasti je oviral avtonomnost delovanja kulturnih društev, nekatera pa preprosto ukinil, federalizacija države s priznanjem več narodov pa je omogočila snovanje poklicnih ustanov in društev po nacionalnem ključu, kar je pred vojno ovirala teza o enotnem srbsko-hrvaško-slovenskem narodu. Spremembe, ki jih je prineslo leto 1945, so čutila tudi slovenska glasbena društva, saj nekatera predvojna niso mogla več delovati, na nitki pa je visel tudi obstoj Glasbene matice, ki je pred desetletji obvladovala velik del glasbene scene na Slovenskem.

Društvo slovenskih skladateljev je bilo kot stanovsko društvo ustanovljeno decembra 1945. Združilo je skladatelje v Sloveniji in imelo nacionalni značaj, upoštevati pa je moralo tudi ideološkega, saj je njegovo delovanje nadziral državni aparat, ki je vplival na izbor članstva in na njegovo dejavnost. Ta je bila sprva skromnejša od glasbenih društev pred vojno, saj so številne dejavnosti monopolizirale državne ustanove. Ukrep državne oblasti proti posamezniku je npr. lahko pomenil tudi onemogočanje zaposlitve v državni ustanovi ali članstva v stanovskem društvu, izdajanje glasbenega tiska pa so si prisvojila državna založniška podjetja. Šele spremembe kulturne politike po informbirojevskem sporu med Jugoslavijo in Sovjetsko zvezo je na kulturno sceno v začetku petdesetih let prinesel več svežine. To so občutila tudi kulturna društva, tudi Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, saj so se začele možnosti bolj avtonomnega odločanja širiti, na pomenu pa je pridobilo zagovarjanje stanovskih interesov.

*Ključne besede:* Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, ustanovitev, Danilo Švara, kulturna politika, Koncertna poslovalnica za Slovenijo

Fatima Hadžić, Amra Bosnić

Sarajevsko obdobje v umetniškem delovanju Daneta Škerla

Dane Škerl (Ljubljana, 1931 – Bovec, 2002) je bil slovenski skladatelj, dirigent in profesor. Leta 1952 je na Akademiji za glasbo Univerze v Ljubljani diplomiral iz kompozicije v razredu Lucijana Marije Škerjanca. Nato je odšel na nadaljnjo specializacijo v Avstrijo in Nemčijo, kjer je deloval kot dirigent in glasbeni pedagog. Med letoma 1960 in 1970 je bil profesor na Akademiji za glasbo v Sarajevu, nato pa se je vrnil v Slovenijo, kjer je bil vse do upokojitve leta 1995 profesor kompozicije na Akademiji za glasbo

v Ljubljani. Prispevek si prizadeva opisati in kontekstualizirati 10-letno delovanje Daneta Škerla v kulturnem življenju Sarajeva, s posebnim poudarkom na njegovem skladateljskem delu, in sicer z vidika kompozicijske tehnike in slogovnih tendenc. Škerl je bil poleg svoje pedagoške vloge močno vpleten v družbeno in kulturno življenje Sarajeva kot sodelavec Radia Sarajevo (kot svetovalec, snemalni inženir in dirigent) ter član različnih žirij, forumov in združenj ter umetniških svetov, zlasti v Operi in Filharmoniji Sarajevo. V tem obdobju je napisal več kot 20 del, večinoma simfoničnih, koncertantnih in vokalno-instrumentalnih. Na žanrsko raznolikost Škerlovega opusa opozarjamo z analitičnim poudarkom na treh skladbah, nastalih v treh različnih obdobjih, ki prikazujejo razvoj njegovega kompozicijskega sloga: Pet skladb za klarinet in godala (1961), Simfonija št. 2 (1963) in Bagatele za klavir (1968), ki kažejo na vztrajnost neoklasicistične usmeritve kot trdne stilistične podlage, temelječe na evidentni zavezanosti specifičnemu harmoničnemu središču in tematskemu načinu oblikovanja materiala, pa tudi na pojav ekspresionističnih tendenc, izraženih skozi serialno tehniko. Škerl je ostal zavezan »srednji poti« med tema težnjama, vendar je treba pri tem upoštevati zgodovinski kontekst: niti bosansko-hercegovski skladatelji niti skladatelji iz drugih nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republik takrat niso izražali sodobnih, še manj pa avantgardnih tendenc, zato je Škerl v svojem sarajevskem umetniškem obdobju izkazal drznost, ko je odpiral nove perspektive v glasbeni kompoziciji ter prispeval k razvijajočemu se trendu glasbenega eksperimentiranja.

*Ključne besede:* Dane Škerl, slovenski skladatelji, glasbena kultura v Sarajevu, neoklasicistični slog, ekspresionistične težnje

Máté Hollós

Postati ali ne postati civilno združenje?

Pred letom 1989 je bilo Združenje madžarskih glasbenikov edina poklicna organizacija za različne glasbene poklice v državi. Oddelki za skladatelje, izvajalce, muzikologe, strokovnjake za izobraževanje in množično glasbo so delovali na bolj ali manj ustrezni ravni. Ker glasba – v nasprotju z denimo književnostjo – ni bila resnični predmet zanimanja politike, je bila od sedemdesetih let mogoča relativna in vse večja svoboda. Čeprav je za umetnost vedno premalo sredstev, je bila zagotovljena solidna podpora za koncertno življenje, radijske posnetke in založništvo (založba je sodobne projekte financirala iz lastnih prihodkov).

Po letu 1989 so začela nastajati ločena združenja, med prvimi je bila Zveza madžarskih skladateljev (HCU). Večina teh združenj je bila zbrana v okviru Madžarskega glasbenega sveta. Zveza skladateljev se mu ni pridružila, saj je menila, da mora biti njen glas na glasbenem prizorišču glasnejši kot glas nekaterih manjših združenj. V skladu z madžarsko »tradicijo« je kmalu nastala še ena krovna organizacija (ustanovljena po političnih smernicah): Madžarska glasbena zbornica (pozneje imenovana Forum madžarskih glasbenikov). Tudi tej organizaciji se HCU ni pridružila. To je imelo svoje koristi: pri odločitvah, pri katerih se je vlada obrnila na glasbeno sceno, so bili njeni partnerji Svet, Forum in HCU.

V treh in pol desetletjih državljanske demokracije je boj za financiranje postajal vse težji: Nacionalni kulturni sklad se je zmanjšal, v skladu s spremembami zakona o avtorskih pravicah pa so ga morale financirati organizacije za kolektivno upravljanje avtorskih pravic, zlasti društvo Artisjus. Hkrati se je pomen civilnih organizacij zmanjšal, državni organi pa ne kažejo zanimanja za sodelovanje.

Po 35 letih delovanja Zveze madžarskih skladateljev se postavlja vprašanje: kakšna je naša prihodnost v prihodnjih desetletjih?

*Ključne besede:* sodobna glasbena scena; skladateljska društva; spremembe sistemov v Srednji Evropi

Luba Kijanovska

Dejavnosti Lvovskega oddelka Združenja skladateljev Ukrajinske sovjetske socialistične republike v konfrontaciji s sovjetsko ideologijo

Leta 1940, kmalu po sovjetski okupaciji Galicije, je bila ustanovljena Lvovska sekcija Sovjetske zveze skladateljev Ukrajine. Tako so bili galicijski glasbeniki vključeni v centralizirano strukturo Zveze skladateljev ZSSR, katere glavna naloga je bil ideološki nadzor umetnikov, ki je preprečeval »nacionalistična« ali »modernistična« odstopanja. Lvovskim skladateljem se je zdelo takšno delovanje umetniškega združenja popolnoma nesprejemljivo. Zato je bil novi modus vivendi zanje šok, ki so ga Lvovski umetniki nekako prenašali, nato pa začeli iskati izhod. Večina glasbenikov je emigrirala na zahod. Druge, na primer Vasila Barvinskega, so aretirali in poslali na prisilno delo v Sibirijo. Tisti, ki so ostali – Stanislav Ludkevič, Mikola Kolesa, Anatolij Kos-Anatolski in drugi –, so se morali prilagoditi in so iznašli oblike upora proti komunističnemu vplivu.

Tega pol stoletja sovjetske okupacije Galicije in delovanja Združenja skladateljev Lvov pod ideološkim pritiskom bi lahko na kratko posplošili.

Diplomska spretnost predstojnikov in članov vodstva, njihova sposobnost pravilno oceniti in korigirati politično nevarne situacije, pogosto s prisiljenimi popuščanji komunističnemu režimu, je omogočila več glasbenikom preprosto preživetje. Takšno žrtvovanje je skladateljem iz Lvova prineslo določene eksistencialne prednosti, hkrati pa je v razmerah strogega ideološkega nadzora znatno omejilo njihovo ustvarjalno svobodo, povzročilo intelektualni provincializem in strah pred novimi kompozicijskimi izraznimi sredstvi, ki so bila takrat široko razširjena.

*Gljučne besede:* Združenje skladateljev Lvov, komunistični vpliv, ideološki pritisk, umetniška svoboda, ukrajinska glasba

Sonja Kralj

Sobivanje družbenega, stanovskega in umetniškega v zgodovini  
Društva slovenskih skladateljev

Prispevek prinaša strnjene poudarke iz doktorske disertacije z istim naslovom. Na eni strani opredeljuje pomen Društva slovenskih skladateljev za ohranjanje slovenske glasbene identitete in promocijo slovenske glasbene ustvarjalnosti, na drugi pa razgrinja njegovo vlogo pri zadovoljevanju stanovskih potreb članstva.

Temeljne vidike delovanja Društva slovenskih skladateljev osvetljuje skozi prizmo zgodovinskih okoliščin, ki so vplivale na sodelovanje z glasbenimi institucijami, s sorodnimi društvi v nekdanji Jugoslaviji, v Sloveniji in v mednarodnem kulturnem prostoru, opredeljuje pa tudi naravo njegove (so)odvisnosti z Zvezo skladateljev Jugoslavije. Uresničevanje poslanstva oriše s prikazom konkretnih pobud v glasbenem založništvu, koncertni dejavnosti, spodbujanju nastanka novih glasbenih del, posredovanju notnega gradiva, zaščiti avtorskih pravic in mednarodnem sodelovanju v posameznih obdobjih jugoslovanske in slovenske (kulturne) politike.

Zgoščen pregled delovanja Društva slovenskih skladateljev od ustanovitve konec leta 1945 prinaša poskus orisa programskih in institucionalnih prizadevanj njegovih članstev s komplementarno obravnavo vplivov družbenih, kulturnih, političnih in institucionalnih dejavnikov, ki so usmerjali in določali njegovo delovanje, pa tudi kulturno politične poteze organizacije, ki je v nekaterih obdobjih svoje zgodovine presegla zadovoljevanje stanovskih potreb članov in se uvrstila med pomembnejše nosilce slovenskega glasbenega življenja, kulturne politike in glasbene identitete.

*Gljučne besede:* Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, založništvo, koncerti, avtorske pravice, Zveza skladateljev Jugoslavije

Hartmut Krones

Resna glasba proti zabavni glasbi: sodelovanje in konflikti med dvema sekcijama

Avstrijskega združenja skladateljev

14. junija 1913 so se avstrijski glasbeni ustvarjalci na 1. konstitutivni seji Avstrijskega skladateljskega kluba združili v interesno združenje, katerega namen ni bil le vzdrževanje družabnih stikov in spodbujanje strokovnega dialoga, temveč tudi prizadevanje za uveljavitev lastnih interesov skladateljskega stanu. Združenje, ki je bilo najprej ustanovljeno kot klub, se je leta 1917 preimenovalo v združenje skladateljev in se nato leta 1930 razdelilo v dve sekciji: sekcijo resne glasbe in sekcijo zabavne glasbe (do takrat se je govorilo o »glasbi v veselem slogu«). S tem so se začele pojavljati razlike, med drugim zato, ker je bilo treba razpoložljiva denarna sredstva porazdeliti na (dražje) simfonične koncerte na eni in (veliko cenejše) dunajske večere samospevov na drugi strani. Še več težav se je pojavilo, ko je bilo združenje marca 1938 po priključitvi Avstrije Hitlerjevi Nemčiji razpuščeno in preoblikovano v Zvezo nemških skladateljev iz Avstrije: prvi sklep prav tako z nacionalsocialističnim nazorom usklajene družbe za avtorske pravice A.K.M. je vseboval predpise za obračun zvočnega filma, ki je veljal samo za skladatelje zabavne glasbe – ti so bili z veljavnostjo za nazaj usklajeni s ključem, ki je veljal pri [nemški] družbi za upravljanje avtorskih pravic STAGMA. Po ponovni ustanovitvi Avstrijskega združenja skladateljev novembra 1947 so se nadaljevale tudi napetosti in razhajanja v mnenjih med sekcijo resne glasbe in sekcijo zabavne glasbe, ki so bili delno še naprej odraz ideološko-političnih taborov iz obdobja 1938–1945. Med drugim je sekcija zabavne glasbe preprečila ustanovitev Krovne zveze treh organizacij – Avstrijskega združenja skladateljev (ÖKB), Mednarodne družbe za novo glasbo (IGNM) in Avstrijske družbe za sodobno glasbo (ÖGZM), in sicer zato, ker za predsednika ni bil predviden »arijski« skladatelj. Seveda to ni bilo nikoli navedeno kot razlog. Uradno skladatelji iz sekcije zabavne glasbe niso želeli predstavnika »avantgarde«.

*Ključne besede:* Avstrijsko združenje skladateljev, avstrijska glasbena zgodovina, glasbena sociologija, avtorske pravice, popularna glasba

Helmut Loos

O Okrožnem združenju Leipzig v okviru Združenja skladateljev in muzikologov Nemške demokratične republike

Le leto po ustanovitvi Združenja skladateljev in muzikologov NDR (VKM) 6. aprila 1951 so (spomladi leta 1952) ustanovili Delovni krožek Leipzig pod

vodstvom Maxa Dehnerta. Od leta 1963 so v združenje sprejemali tudi izvajalce, od leta 1965 pa tudi glasbene pedagoge. Strukturo in delovanje Okrajnega združenja Leipzig bomo podrobneje obravnavali. Kot ena od regionalnih podružnic Združenja skladateljev in muzikologov NDR (VKM) je okrajno združenje obstajalo od leta 1951 do 1990. Okrajno združenje Leipzig je imelo, tako kot vsa regionalna združenja VKM, nalogo, da skrbi za lokalno glasbeno kulturo in jo spodbuja. Med osrednje naloge so spadali spodbujanje skladateljev in glasbenih ustvarjalcev v regiji, svetovanje in podpora samostojnim glasbenikom, organizacija dogodkov ter sodelovanje z državnimi in kulturnimi institucijami, kot so Ministrstvo za kulturo, lokalne koncertne dvorane in Univerza v Leipzigu, zlasti pri oblikovanju programov in organizaciji koncertov.

*Ključne besede:* socialistični realizem, Radijski simfonični orkester Leipzig, stranka SED, Friedrich Schenker, Skupina Neue Musik Hanns Eisler

Lidia Melnyk

Pred padcem železne zaves: nedokončane zgodbe ukrajinskih skladateljskih združenj iz 20. in 30. let 20. stoletja

Skladateljska združenja v republikah Sovjetske zveze danes upravičeno veljajo predvsem kot ideološki instrument komunistične partije za zatiranje ustvarjalnih procesov in nadzor nad njimi. Impulzi, ki so privedli do ustanovitve prvih umetniških združenj, pa se v raziskavah veliko manj upoštevajo. Cilj tega prispevka je predstaviti večplastno, vendar še vedno skoraj nepoznano zgodovino – ali celo več zgodovin – Združenja skladateljev Ukrajinske sovjetske socialistične republike.

Na prehodu prvega v drugo desetletje 20. stoletja je skladatelju Kirilu Stecenku uspelo skupaj z veliko skupino somišljenikov sodelovati pri organizaciji Komiteja v spomin na M. Leontoviča, ki je bil 1. februarja 1921 ustanovljen kot odziv na zločinski umor Leontoviča in ki so ga aprila 1921 odobrili državni organi. Kmalu zatem, in sicer 26. februarja 1922, je bil komite preimenovan v Vseukrajinsko glasbeno družbo Mikole Leontoviča. To je bilo dejansko prvo glasbeno združenje v Ukrajini.

Ustanovitev Vseukrajinske glasbene družbe Mikole Leontoviča je sovpadala z obdobjem tako imenovane »ukrajinizacije«, politike boljševikov v 20. letih 20. stoletja, ki je spodbujala ukrajinsko kulturo, znanost in izobraževanje. Čeprav je takšna politika omogočila pomemben napredek in spodbudila ustanovitev umetniških združenj, je v prvi vrsti služila

pragmatičnim interesom nove oblasti. Vseukrajinska glasbena družba Mikole Leontoviča je hitro rasla in s sodelovanjem številnih osebnosti iz sveta kulture in znanosti postala najvplivnejše umetniško združenje v Ukrajini. Med njene največje zasluge sodita ustanovitev revije »Muzika«, prvega strokovnega glasila za glasbo v ukrajiniščini, leta 1924, ter organizacija ukrajinskega sektorja na svetovni razstavi glasbe v Frankfurtu leta 1927.

Vseukrajinsko glasbeno družbo Mikole Leontoviča je vlada razpustila februarja 1928. Njeno vlogo sta prevzela Vseukrajinska družba revolucionarnih glasbenikov in Združenje revolucionarnih skladateljev Ukrajine, ki sta sledila jasni ideološki in strankarski liniji.

Znameniti sklep Centralnega komiteja Komunistične stranke boljševikov »O preoblikovanju literarno-umetniških organizacij« iz leta 1932 je dejansko pomenil nenaden konec vseh teh ideološko različnih organizacij. Kmalu nato je bilo ustanovljeno Združenje skladateljev ZSSR, leto 1932 pa je desetletja nekritično veljalo za leto njegove ustanovitve. Šele v novejšem času se je lahko ponovno uveljavila zgodovinska resnica.

*Ključne besede:* kulturna politika v ZSSR, Združenje skladateljev Ukrajine, Glasbena družba Mikole Leontoviča, »ukrajinizacija«

Niall O'Loughlin

Skladatelj Ivo Petrić in Društvo slovenskih skladateljev

Slovenski skladatelji so po drugi svetovni vojni ustanovili društvo, da bi organizirali in usklajevali svoje dejavnosti. Postopoma so dosegli znaten napredek pri izdajanju slovenske glasbe in omogočanju njenega izvajanja. Leta 1972 je bil za tajnika Društva slovenskih skladateljev (DSS) imenovan skladatelj Ivo Petrić. Dejavno je prispeval k povečanju števila objavljenih del, veliki knjižnici orkestrskih del za najem in pozneje k snemanju številnih del. Petrić je bil zelo pomemben vzor za svoje kolege. Poleg tega, da je neumorno skrbel za skladatelje društva, je ustanovil tudi Ansambel Slavko Osterc, ki je izvajal in snemal zlasti nova dela slovenskih komornih ansamblov. Kot skladatelj je prispeval veliko zanimivih in impresivnih del. Po zgodnjih simfonijah, na katere sta vplivala Hindemith in Prokofjev, je sledilo obdobje, v katerem je uporabljal tehnike poljske avantgarde. Pozneje se je vrnil k bolj tradicionalnim tehnikam. Njegov prispevek k razvoju resne slovenske glasbe je bil zelo pomemben, DSS pa danes uspešno deluje na vseh področjih.

*Ključne besede:* društva skladateljev, Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, Ivo Petrić, Ansambel Slavko Osterc, Edicije DSS, glasba v Sloveniji

Lubomír Spurný

Glasba v Terezínu: kulturna kontinuiteta v ekstremnih pogojih

Prispevek obravnava fenomen »terezínskikh skladateljev« in vlogo glasbe v ekstremnih življenjskih razmerah v getu Theresienstadt (Terezín) med letoma 1941 in 1945. Čeprav je ta izraz splošno razširjen, ne predstavlja koherentne kompozicijske šole: Viktor Ullmann, Pavel Haas, Hans Krása, Zikmund Schul, Karel Reiner, Gideon Klein in drugi si niso delili enotnega estetskega programa, kompozicijskih tehnik ali skupnega mecenstva. Njihova dela imajo le malo skupnega v smislu inovativnosti ali stilistične novosti. Nasprotno, globoko so jih zaznamovale okoliščine zapornišтва in kulturna topografija geta, ki jim je, kot je poudaril Michael Beckerman, dodelila posebno čustveno odmevnost.

Študija oriše tri perspektive: profesionalno prakso pod prisilo, kulturne preludije tajnega glasbenega življenja v protektoratu ter razvoj glasbenega življenja v samem Terezínu – od zgodnjih prepovedi prek struktur Freizeitgestaltung do njegove izrabe v nacistični propagandi. Posebna pozornost je namenjena bistveni vlogi izvajalcev, ki so ohranjali dela, ter paradoksnemu kulturnemu srečanju čeških, nemških in judovskih tradicij. V tem smislu je bil Theresienstadt zadnje mesto, kjer so se te kulture povezale – za kratek čas in na ustvarjalen način, preden so jih leta 1944 uničile deportacije.

*Ključne besede:* Theresienstadt, terezínski skladatelji, Viktor Ullmann, Pavel Haas, Hans Krása, Gideon Klein, Zikmund Schul, Karel Reiner, Freizeitgestaltung

Antun Tomislav Šaban

Hrvaško društvo skladateljev: 80 let soustvarjanja nacionalne kulture in družbenega dogajanja

Hrvaško društvo skladateljev (HDS) je v preteklih 80 letih odigralo ključno vlogo pri ohranjanju in promociji hrvaške kulturne identitete ter nacionalnega glasbenega ustvarjanja. Kot edino strokovno združenje, ki povezuje hrvaške skladatelje, muzikologe in glasbene publiciste, je HDS postal osrednja institucija za razvoj hrvaške umetniške, komercialne in tradicionalne glasbe. V desetletjih svojega delovanja je HDS neprestano podpiral ustvarjalno delo svojih članov, hkrati pa si prizadeval za ohranitev posebnih značilnosti hrvaške glasbene dediščine.

Poleg ohranjanja identitete je HDS prispeval tudi z organizacijo številnih kulturnih prireditev, ki so postale sestavni del hrvaškega kulturnega življenja. Na primer, Muzički bienale Zagreb, ki poteka od leta 1961, je še danes

eden najpomembnejših dogodkov sodobne glasbene umetnosti. Glasbena tribuna v Opatiji (danes v Osijeku), ki sega v leto 1963, in Zagrebački festival, ustanovljen leta 1954, že vrsto let negujeta raznolike glasbene sloge in promovirata hrvaške avtorje na domači in mednarodni sceni. Prek založbe Cantus d.o.o. HDS že skoraj 25 let izdaja zvočne in grafične posnetke hrvaške nekomercialne glasbe.

Eden ključnih segmentov delovanja HDS je služba Zaščite avtorskih glasbenih pravic (ZAMP). ZAMP zagotavlja zaščito avtorskih pravic hrvaških glasbenih ustvarjalcev in jim omogoča, da od svojega dela prejmejo zaslužen nadomestilo. Že vrsto let ta sistem vključuje skoraj celotno kolektivno zaščito avtorjev in imetnikov pravic vseh vrst na Hrvaškem, tako da prek njega svoje (sorodne) pravice uresničujejo tudi glasbeniki izvajalci, diskografi ter hrvaški književniki, novinarji, filmski igralci, režiserji in producenti.

HDS že osem desetletij ostaja neomajen v svojem poslanstvu – zaščiti, promociji in razvoju hrvaške glasbe, s čimer prispeva k bogatitvi nacionalne kulture in ohranjanju njene identitete.

*Ključne besede:* Hrvaško društvo skladateljev, Muzički bienale Zagreb, HDS, ZAMP, Cantus

Maja Vasiljević, Biljana Leković

Odnosi med Jugoslavijo in Sovjetsko zvezo od petdesetih do sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja: sodelovanje, izmenjava in kulturni prenos prek Združenja skladateljev Srbije (UKS) in Zveze skladateljev Jugoslavije (SAKOJ)

Prispevek raziskuje kulturno-glasbene odnose med Jugoslavijo in Sovjetsko zvezo od petdesetih do sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja, s poudarkom na institucionalnem sodelovanju, ki sta ga vodili jugoslovanski skladateljski združenji – SAKOJ in UKS. Medtem ko so dosedanje študije večinoma spregledale klasične skladatelje in se osredotočile na kulturne politike na makro ravni, se ta raziskava ukvarja s premalo raziskano vlogo umetniške glasbe v diplomatskih in kulturnih izmenjavah med hladno vojno. Prispevek umešča jugoslovansko-sovjetske glasbene odnose v širši družbenopolitični kontekst povojne diplomacije, pri čemer poudari vpliv resolucije Kominforma iz leta 1948, beograjske in moskovske deklaracije iz leta 1955 ter liberalizacije s kulturnimi politikami šestdesetih let. Podrobneje sta obravnavana konteksta dejavnosti SAKOJ in UKS, na podlagi konkretnih primerov pa je prikazano, kako je potekalo medkulturno sodelovanje med Jugoslavijo in Sovjetsko zvezo. Poudarjeni so ključni problematični vidiki teh odnosov, zlasti na primerih glasbenega sodelovanja, izmenjave

in kulturnega prenosa v obdobju od 50. do 70. let 20. stoletja, kot so mehanizmi izmenjave kulturnih delavcev in načela uveljavljanja avtorskih pravic. Poudarjena sta pomen delovanja prek institucionalnih struktur in vloga združenj v tem procesu. Na podlagi raziskav je mogoče sklepati, da sta SAKOJ in UKS do Sovjetske zveze zavzela strateški in interesno usmerjen odnos. Posamezni člani, predsedniki, tajniki in drugi člani upravnih odborov so predlagali profilirano sodelovanje s Sovjetsko zvezo, in sicer z izmenjavo predstavnikov oziroma gostujočih skladateljev in avtorjev glasbe ter z izvajanjem in promocijo jugoslovanskega in sovjetskega repertoarja.

*Ključne besede:* Jugoslavija, Sovjetska zveza, SAKOJ, UKS, kulturna izmenjava, klasična glasba

Jernej Weiss

Ansambel Slavko Osterc (1961–1981): glavni promotor ustvarjalnosti članov  
Društva slovenskih skladateljev v tujini

V 60. letih 20. stoletja so se v Evropi v večjem številu oblikovale skupine, specializirane za izvajanje Nove glasbe. Za razliko od klasičnih izvajalskih ansamblov so lahko prilagajale vsakokratne instrumentalne zasedbe in bile posebej dovzetne za vsakršno eksperimentiranje. Mednje v Sloveniji poleg društva Collegium musicum, ki ga je leta 1957 v okviru Kluba komponistov ustanovil Pavel Šivic, sodi Ansambel Slavko Osterc. Leta 1961 so ga ustanovili člani skladateljske skupine Pro musica viva, da bi na ta način poskrbeli za izvedbe svojih del. Ustanovitelj in dirigent ansambla je bil Ivo Petrić (1931–2018), ki je med letoma 1970 in 2002 opravljal funkcijo vodje Edicij Društva slovenskih skladateljev in bil vse od začetka tudi umetniški vodja ansambla. Delovanje ansambla je spodbudilo nastanek številnih novih skladb kot tudi uveljavitev slovenske ustvarjalnosti v tujini. Na skoraj 170 koncertih, 140 snemanjih za domače in tuje radijske hiše ter domala 40 televizijskih oddajah so med drugim praznovali 65 del devetnajstih slovenskih skladateljev. Od tega je bilo 40 krstnih izvedb v tujini in 25 na domačih glasbenih odrih. V dveh desetletjih se je v ansamblu zvrstilo več kot 110 različnih poustvarjalcev. Petriću je večinoma uspelo zbrati odlične interprete, s katerimi je dosegel visoko kakovostno raven koncertov, kar potrjujejo številne objavljene kritike v domačih in tujih medijih. Prispevek se v prvi vrsti posveča poustvarjalnosti ansambla v tujini, prav tako izpostavi nekaj dogodkov, ki so zaznamovali sočasno delovanje Društva slovenskih skladateljev.

*Ključne besede:* Ansambel Slavko Osterc, Ivo Petrić, praznovalbe, tujina, promocija

Ingeborg Zechner

Kako dela glasba: filmski skladatelji, delo in Združenje filmskih skladateljev  
v ZDA v sredini 20. stoletja

Filmska glasba je v ZDA v 20. stoletju postala eno najplodnejših področij glasbene ustvarjalnosti. Poleg tega, da je ponujala obsežne poklicne možnosti, je hollywoodska filmska glasba zasedala edinstven estetski in institucionalni položaj: umeščena je bila med popularno in umetno glasbo, zaznamoval jo je filmski medij, poslušalci in strokovnjaki pa so jo sprejemali z mešanimi občutki. V 40. in 50. letih prejšnjega stoletja so hollywoodski skladatelji običajno prevzemali različne glasbene naloge – skladanje, aranžiranje, dirigiranje – v okviru zelo industrializirane delitve dela, ki pa ni vključevala celovitega pravnega okvira. Medtem ko so igralci, režiserji in pisatelji ustanavljali močna poklicna združenja, je poseben položaj filmskih skladateljev, ujetih med ustvarjalnim avtorstvom in industrijskim delom, zahteval ustanovitev specializiranega poklicnega organa. Združenje filmskih skladateljev (SCA), ustanovljeno leta 1945, je skušalo zapolniti to vrzel s podpiranjem specifičnih poklicnih potreb filmskih skladateljev. Kljub pomembnosti SCA je bila zgodovina tega združenja deležna le malo raziskovalne pozornosti. Ta prispevek obravnava formativna leta SCA, da bi osvetlil zapletena presečišča med skladanjem, delom in industrijo v Hollywoodu. Na podlagi arhivskih zapisov SCA, ki jih hrani knjižnica Margaret Herrick, ter sorodnega gradiva v ameriških arhivih so dejavnosti tega združenja umeščene v širši kontekst mrež filmskih in glasbenih organizacij. Ta perspektiva razkriva, kako so skladateljska združenja, kot je SCA, kolektivno oblikovala delovno življenje filmskih skladateljev, od pogajanj o izvajalskih pravicah in reševanja izzivov mednarodne distribucije do gojenja poklicne solidarnosti.

*Ključne besede:* hollywoodska filmska glasba, filmski skladatelji, Združenje filmskih skladateljev (SCA), avtorsko pravo, delovno pravo, izvajalske pravice

## Summaries

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Petra Babić, Lucija Konfić

Between Music and Politics: The Role of Composers in Musical Societies in Continental Croatia in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

The 19<sup>th</sup> century in Croatia was the time of the first institutionalisation of musical culture – the first music institutes were organised, as well as the first music schools (independent of the “main schools”), and somewhat later numerous music societies (singing, instrumental, mixed). The dynamics of their emergence is closely linked to the contemporary political situation, and the activity within a particular society itself – in terms of public engagement – meant more than just enjoying desirable entertainment, finding solace in music making or the possibility of making musical education more accessible to wider social strata. This paper will present different types of music societies/associations founded throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century in continental Croatia, examine the dependence of their establishment in relation to the then ruling political authorities, and in particular examine the perception and role of composers in those societies. The research for this paper was financed by the Croatian Science Foundation with project IP-2020-02-4277 “Institutionalization of modern bourgeois musical culture in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in civil Croatia and Military Border – MusInst19”.

*Keywords:* 19<sup>th</sup> century music in Croatia, music institutions, music and politics, Croatian composers

Dušan Bavdek

The Society of Slovene Composers – Role in society and today's challenges

The Society of Slovene Composers (DSS) celebrates its 80th anniversary in 2025. This milestone offers a starting point for reflection, analysis of the present situation and a vision of future activity.

The DSS staff currently consists of a team of three, whose main areas of work are concert and publishing activities. Both these areas also include an international dimension, with the latter further complemented by representation of Slovenia in international organisations.

The concert series organised by the DSS provide the most comprehensive overview of contemporary musical creativity in our cultural sphere, with more than 50 new works presented each year. The majority of the concerts are moderated.

Commissioning new works is one of the key elements of the DSS's activity. The society's publishing arm Edicije DSS publishes scores and sound recordings of works by Slovene composers, protecting their copyrights and acting as representative for their performance materials (scores, parts, etc.). Through the publication of didactic editions, the DSS is also present in the educational field. All publications are catalogued and are available from the society's online shop. Every year the DSS awards the Kozina Prize, the highest specialist award in the field of musical creativity in Slovenia.

The first of the difficulties faced by the DSS is a lack of transparency in the field of musical culture in Slovenia, where no systemic changes have been made since Slovenia became independent. Support from the Ministry of Culture has been drastically reduced, with the shortfall reflected in rates for commissions of musical works that have not been revised since 2009, fewer printings of symphonic works, frozen performance fees, and so on. In 1993 the DSS was among the promoters of the establishment of copyright protection society SAZAS, while in 2004 it was involved in the creation of the Slovenian Music information Centre (SIGIC). We would like to see a higher degree of cooperation with both organisations.

The DSS should play a more important role in shaping national cultural policies. The question that needs to be asked is what the DSS, whose membership currently consists above all of composers of serious music, can do to ensure the greater inclusion and, consequently, representation of composers from other genres.

*Keywords:* Society of Slovene Composers (DSS), challenges, Edicije DSS, concert season of the DSS, international activity of the DSS

Joanna Bullivant

The Composers' Guild of Great Britain and "unofficial" musical diplomacy in Eastern Europe

The Composers' Guild of Great Britain was founded in 1945 with respectable patronage from grandees like Ralph Vaughan Williams and a business-like set of aims towards promoting the careers and rights of working composers and forming links with similar groups in other countries. Consequently, its role in Cold War diplomacy has understandably been overlooked in comparison with efforts like the legendary officially-sponsored visits of Benjamin Britten to the Soviet Union between 1963 and 1971. Nevertheless, as this paper will demonstrate, the Guild played an intriguing unofficial diplomatic role in the early postwar period. Composer and British communist Alan Bush, Chair of the Guild in 1947-8, used extensive travels in Eastern Europe to attempt to draw the Guild into diplomatic alliances associated with the Soviet sphere of influence. While his efforts ultimately failed, his connections remained important into the early 1960s with the successful 1960 visit to the USSR by Bush and then-Chair Elizabeth Maconchy. By tracing Bush's unofficial diplomacy in these years and his influence upon the Guild, this paper will show the nuanced political role a national composers' society could play, even in the face of an official national position far less receptive to relations with Eastern Europe.

*Keywords:* Alan Bush, Composers' Guild of Great Britain, diplomacy, Yugoslavia, music and politics

Nataša Didenko

The Composers Association of Macedonia in the past and present: combining professionalism and nationality

With the establishment of the Composers Association of Macedonia in 1947 in Skopje as an artistic professional organisation, the construction and development of Macedonian musical creativity began. The challenges posed by different historical periods have encouraged the Composers Association of Macedonia to undertake various activities in order to stimulate the development of musical creation and science, but also to define the importance of its members in the preservation and promotion of Macedonian musical culture. Hence, in the paper, through the methods of historical, analytical and comparative research, we gain knowledge about the constant growth of the Composers Association of Macedonia, which over the past eight decades has been a driver of musical life in Macedonia and a focal point of progressive creative ideas.

**Keywords:** Composers Association of Macedonia, productive and reproductive music culture, publishing activity, Days of Macedonian music, Struga Music Autumn.

Aleš Gabrič

The Cultural and Political Milieu of the Initial Period of Activity of the Society of Slovene Composers

The end of the Second World War brought significant changes to the activities of cultural organisations in Slovenia/Yugoslavia. The assumption of power by the Communist Party limited the autonomy of cultural societies and associations, or, in some cases, simply abolished them. On the other hand, the federalisation of the state and the recognition that it consisted of multiple nations opened the way to the creation of professional institutions and societies with a national basis, something that had been hindered before the war by the thesis of a single Serbian-Croatian-Slovene nation. The changes that occurred in 1945 were also felt by Slovene music societies, with some pre-war societies no longer able to operate. Even the *Glasbena matica*, which decades earlier had dominated a large part of the musical scene in Slovenia, saw its continued existence hanging by a thread.

The Society of Slovene Composers was founded as a professional association of composers in December 1945. It brought together composers in Slovenia and had a national character, although it also had to take ideological criteria into account, since its functioning was overseen by the state apparatus, which influenced both the selection of its membership and its activities. The latter were initially rather more modest than those of the pre-war music societies, since many activities were monopolised by state institutions. A measure imposed against an individual by the state authorities could also prevent their employment in a state institution or their membership of a professional association, while music publishing was taken over by state publishing enterprises. It was not until the shifts in cultural policy that occurred in the early 1950s during the so-called Informbiro period ushered in by the Tito–Stalin split that greater vibrancy returned to the cultural scene. The effects were also felt by cultural organisations, including the Society of Slovene Composers, with opportunities for more autonomous decision-making now beginning to expand, while the advocacy of professional interests gained in importance.

**Keywords:** Society of Slovene Composers, founding, Danilo Švara, cultural policy, Concert Agency for Slovenia

Fatima Hadžić, Amra Bosnić

The Sarajevo Period of Dane Škerl's Artistic Activity

Dane Škerl (Ljubljana, 1931–Bovec, 2002) was a Slovenian composer, conductor and professor. He graduated in Composition in 1952 from the Academy of Music, University of Ljubljana in the class of Lucijan Marija Škerjanc. Afterwards, Škerl headed for further specialisation to Austria and Germany, where he was active as a conductor and music teacher. From 1960 to 1970, he worked at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo as a professor, after which he returned to Slovenia, where he worked as a professor of composition at the Academy of Music in Ljubljana until his retirement in 1995. The paper strives to describe and contextualise the Škerl's 10 years of activity in the cultural life of Sarajevo, with special reference to his activity as a composer in terms of the compositional technique and stylistic tendencies. Besides his pedagogical role, he was strongly involved in the social and cultural life of Sarajevo as a collaborator with Radio Sarajevo (serving as advisor, recording engineer, and conductor), a member of various juries, forums, and associations, and artistic councils – particularly with the Opera and the Sarajevo Philharmonic. During this period, Škerl composed over 20 works, mostly symphonic, concertante and vocal-instrumental. The genre diversity of the Škerl's opus is emphasised through directing the focus of analytical attention to three compositions written in three different points of time, showing the evolution of his compositional style: *Pet skladb* [Five Pieces] for clarinet and string orchestra (1961), Symphony No. 2 (1963) and *Bagatele* [Bagatelles] for piano (1968), indicating the persistence of the Neoclassical orientation as a firm stylistic ground based on an evident adherence to a particular harmonic centre and thematic way of shaping the material, but also the emergence of expressionistic tendencies manifested through serialism. Although Škerl remained faithful to the “middle path” between the tendencies, it is important to consider the historical context: since neither Bosnian-Herzegovinian composers nor those from the other Yugoslav republics had strongly expressed contemporary, much less avant-garde tendencies at the time, during the Sarajevo artistic period Škerl demonstrated boldness by opening new perspectives in musical composition and contributing to the burgeoning trend of musical experimentation.

*Keywords:* Dane Škerl, Slovenian Composers, Music Culture in Sarajevo, Neoclassical Style, Expressionism Tendencies

Máté Hollós

To be or not to be a civil association?

Before 1989, the *Association of Hungarian Musicians* was the only professional organisation for all kinds of musicianship in the country. Departments for composers, performing artists, musicologists, experts in education as well as popular music worked on a more or less reasonable level. Music was not a real subject of interest in politics, unlike, for instance, literature, so a relative and growing freedom could be realised from the 1970s on. No amount of financing can ever be enough for the arts, but solid support was given for concerts, radio recordings, and publishing, with the record label financing contemporary works from its own income.

Since 1989 other music societies started to be established, and one of the first was the Hungarian Composers' Union (HCU). Most of these gathered within the framework of Hungarian Music Council. The Composers' Union did not join the Council, stating that its voice in the overall music scene had to be louder than some of the smaller societies. In line with Hungarian "tradition", another umbrella organisation was soon founded, with a political motive, called the Hungarian Music Chamber, and later renamed the Forum of Hungarian Musicians. The HCU did not join this, either. This independence came in useful, as when the government wanted to engage with the Hungarian music scene its partners became the Council, the Forum and the HCU.

In the three and a half decades of civil democracy the struggle for financing has become more and more difficult: the National Cultural Fund has decreased, and according to the changes in copyright law the CMOs, mainly Artisjus, now have to finance composers' work. At the same time, the role of civil society has decreased in Hungary, and the governmental authorities show no interest in contacting independent music societies.

After 35 years of the Hungarian Composers' Union, the following question remains open: What is our future in the coming decades?

*Keywords:* contemporary music scene; composers' societies; changing of the system in Central Europe

Luba Kijanovska

Aktivitäten der Lviver Abteilung des Komponistenverbandes der Ukrainischen SSR  
in der Konfrontation mit der sowjetischen Ideologie

Im Jahr 1940, kurz nach der sowjetischen Besetzung Galiziens, wurde die Lviver Sektion des sowjetischen Komponistenverbandes der Ukraine

gegründet. Damit wurden die galizischen Musiker in die zentralisierte Struktur des Komponistenverbandes der UdSSR eingebunden, dessen Hauptaufgabe in der ideologischen Kontrolle der Künstler bestand, um „nationalistische“ oder „modernistische“ Abweichungen zu verhindern. Für die Lviver Komponisten war eine derartige Funktionsweise eines künstlerischen Verbandes völlig inakzeptabel.

Daher war der neue *modus vivendi* für sie ein Schock, den die Lviver Künstler aushielten und dann nach einem Ausweg suchten. Ein bedeutender Teil von Musikern emigrierte in den Westen. Andere, wie Vasyl Barwinskyj, wurden verhaftet und zur Zwangsarbeit nach Sibirien geschickt. Diejenigen, die blieben: Stanislav Ludkevycsch, Mykola Kolessa, Anatol Kos-Anatolskyj und andere – mussten sich anpassen, fanden die Formen des Widerstands gegen den kommunistischen Einfluss.

Man könnte dieses halbe Jahrhundert der sowjetischen Okkupation Galiziens und der Tätigkeit des Lviver Komponistenverbandes unter dem ideologischen Druck kurz verallgemeinern. Das diplomatische Talent der Vorsitzenden und der Mitglieder des Vorstandes, ihre Fähigkeit, politisch gefährliche Situationen richtig einzuschätzen und zu korrigieren, oft doch mit der Hilfe der unentbehrlichen Zugeständnisse an das kommunistische Regime, erlaubte es mehreren Musikern einfach zu überleben. Diese Opfer verschafften den Lviver Komponisten gewisse existentielle Vorteile, schränkten jedoch gleichzeitig unter den Bedingungen strenger ideologischer Kontrolle ihre kreative Freiheit erheblich ein, provozierten den intellektuellen Provinzialismus, die Angst vor den neuen kompositorischen Ausdrucksmitteln, die zu jener Zeit weitverbreitet wurden.

*Schlüsselwörter:* Lviver Komponistenverband, der kommunistische Einfluss, der ideologische Druck, die künstlerische Freiheit, ukrainische Musik

Sonja Kralj

The Coexistence of the Social, the Professional and the Artistic in the History of the Society of Slovene Composers

The article provides a concise overview of the doctoral thesis defended under the same title. It elucidates the importance of the Society of Slovene Composers for the preservation of Slovenian musical identity and for the promotion of musical creativity. Furthermore, it illuminates its function in addressing the statutory needs of its members.

The core activities of Society are highlighted through the prism of historical circumstances that influenced its cooperation with musical institutions, related associations in the former Yugoslavia, partners in Slovenia and on the international stage, and the nature of its interdependence with the Union of Yugoslav Composers. The fulfilment of its mission delienates through the presentation of tangible initiatives in the domains of music publishing, concert activity, the promotion of new musical compositions, the dissemination of sheet music, copyright protection and international collaboration within the context of the disparate periods of Yugoslav and Slovenian cultural poli(tics)cies.

A concise overview of the activities of the Society of Slovene Composers since its establishment at the end of 1945 provides an attempt to outline the programmatic and institutional efforts of its members, with a complementary examination of the influences of social, cultural, political, and institutional factors that have guided and determined its activities, as well as the cultural-political trajectories of the organisation, which in some periods of its history has gone beyond merely satisfying the statutory needs of its members and has taken its place among the most significant actors of Slovenian musical life, cultural policy and musical identity.

*Keywords:* Society of Slovene Composers, publishing, concerts, copyright, Union of Yugoslav Composers

Hartmut Krones

E contra U: Zusammenarbeit und Streit zweier Sparten  
im Österreichischen Komponistenbund

Am 14. Juni 1913 schlossen sich Österreichs schöpferische Musiker in einer „constituierenden 1. Versammlung des Oesterreichischen Komponisten-Clubs“ zu einer Interessen-Vereinigung zusammen, die nicht nur gesellschaftliche Kontakte pflegen und Fachgespräche fördern sollte, sondern durchaus kämpferische Aktionen zur Durchsetzung ureigenster Anliegen des Komponistenstandes im Sinne hatte. Zunächst als „Club“ gegründet, wurde die Vereinigung 1917 in „Komponistenbund“ umbenannt und schließlich 1930 in zwei „Sektionen“ geteilt: eine für „ernste Musik“ und eine für „Unterhaltungsmusik“ (bis dahin sprach man hier von „Musik heiterer Richtung“). Und damit begannen die Differenzen, unter anderem aus Gründen der Verwendung der vorhandenen Gelder. Noch mehr Probleme stellten sich ein, als die Vereinigung im März 1938 nach dem „Anschluß“ Österreichs an Hitler-Deutschland aufgelöst und in den „Bund deutscher

Komponisten aus Österreich“ übergeführt wurde: Der erste Beschluß der ebenfalls „gleichgeschalteten“ Urheberrechtsgesellschaft A.K.M. galt den Regelungen für die nur „U-Komponisten“ betreffende „Tonfilm-Verrechnung“ – sie wurden rückwirkend „dem bei der [deutschen] STAGMA gültigen Schlüssel“ angepaßt. Nach der Wieder-Errichtung des „Österreichischen Komponistenbundes“ vom November 1947 setzten sich auch die Mißstimmungen und Meinungsverschiedenheiten zwischen „E-Sektion“ und „U-Sektion“ fort, die zum Teil sogar weiterhin die ideologisch-politischen Lager der Jahre 1938–1945 widerspiegeln. Unter anderem wurde von der U-Sparte ein Dachverband der drei Organisationen Komponistenbund (ÖKB), Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM) und Österreichische Gesellschaft für zeitgenössische Musik (ÖGZM) verhindert, und das vielleicht, weil als Präsident ein „nichtarischer“ Komponist vorgesehen war. Selbstverständlich wurde das nie als Grund benannt. „Offiziell“ wollten die „U-Komponisten“ lediglich keinen Vertreter der „Avantgarde“.

*Schlüsselwörter:* Österreichischer Komponistenbund, Österreichische Musikgeschichte, Musiksoziologie, Tantiemen, U-Musik

Helmut Loos

Über den Bezirksverband Leipzig des Verbandes der Komponisten  
und Musikwissenschaftler der DDR

Nur ein Jahr nach der Gründung des Verbandes der Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler der DDR (VKM) am 6. April 1951 konstituierte sich (im Frühjahr 1952) der Arbeitskreis Leipzig unter dem Vorsitz von Max Dehnert. Zu Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftlern wurden ab 1963 auch Interpreten und ab 1965 auch Musikerzieher in den Verband aufgenommen. Struktur und Funktion des Bezirksverbands Leipzig werden näher betrachtet. Als einer der regionalen Gliederungen des Verbandes der Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler der DDR (VKM) existierte der Bezirksverband von 1951 bis 1990. Grundsätzlich hatte der Bezirksverband Leipzig, wie alle regionalen Verbände des VKM, die Aufgabe, die musikalische Kultur vor Ort zu pflegen und zu fördern. Zu den zentralen Aufgaben gehörten die Förderung von Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftlern in der Region, die Beratung und Unterstützung freischaffender Musiker, die Organisation von Veranstaltungen und die Zusammenarbeit mit staatlichen und kulturellen Einrichtungen wie dem Ministerium für Kultur, lokalen Konzerthäusern und der Universität Leipzig, insbesondere bei der Programmgestaltung und der Ausrichtung von Konzerten.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Sozialistischer Realismus, Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Leipzig, SED-Parteigruppe, Friedrich Schenker, Gruppe Neue Musik Hanns Eisler

Lidia Melnyk

Vor dem Fall des Eisernen Vorhangs: die unvollendeten Geschichten ukrainischer Komponistenverbände der 1920-30er Jahren

Die Komponistenverbände in den Republiken der Sowjetunion werden heute zu Recht in erster Linie als ideologisches Instrument der Kommunistischen Partei zur Unterdrückung und Kontrolle kreativer Prozesse gesehen. Die Impulse, die zur Gründung der ersten Künstlervereinigungen führten, werden in der Forschung weitaus seltener berücksichtigt. Das Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags ist es, die vielschichtige, aber immer noch fast unbekannte Geschichte – oder sogar mehrere Geschichten – darzustellen, die der Gründung des Komponistenverbandes der Ukrainischen Sozialistischen Sowjetrepublik vorausging.

An der Wende vom ersten zum zweiten Jahrzehnt des 20. Jahrhunderts, gelang es dem Komponisten Kyrylo Stetsenko, zusammen mit einer großen Gruppe Gleichgesinnter an der Organisation des Komitees zum Gedenken an M. Leontowytsch mitzuwirken, das am 1. Februar 1921 als Reaktion auf den verbrecherischen Mord an Leontowytsch gegründet und im April 1921 von den Behörden genehmigt wurde. Bald darauf, am 26. Februar 1922, wurde das Komitee in die Allukrainische Mykola-Leontowytsch-Musikgesellschaft (MLM) umbenannt. Es war de facto der erste Musikerverband der Ukraine.

Die Gründung der MLM fiel in die Zeit der sogenannten „Ukrainisierung“, einer Politik der Bolschewiki in den 1920er Jahren, die die ukrainische Kultur, Wissenschaft und Bildung förderte. Obwohl diese Politik wichtige Fortschritte ermöglichte und die Gründung von Künstlerverbänden begünstigte, diente sie primär den pragmatischen Interessen der neuen Macht. Die MLM wuchs schnell und wurde mit der Einbeziehung zahlreicher Persönlichkeiten aus Kultur und Wissenschaft zur einflussreichsten Künstlervereinigung der Ukraine. Eines ihrer größten Verdienste war die Gründung der Zeitschrift „*Muzyka*“, des ersten Fachblatts für Musik in ukrainischer Sprache, im Jahr 1924, sowie die Organisation des ukrainischen Sektors auf der Frankfurter Weltausstellung der Musik im Jahr 1927.

Im Februar 1928 wurde die Mykola-Leontowytsh-Musikgesellschaft schließlich auf Regierungsebene aufgelöst. Ihre Rolle wurde von der Allukrainischen Gesellschaft revolutionärer Musiker und der Assoziation der revolutionären Komponisten der Ukraine übernommen, die eine klare ideologische und parteitreue Linie verfolgten.

Der berühmte Beschluss des Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei der Bolschewiki „Über den Umbau der literarisch-künstlerischen Organisationen“ von 1932 bedeutete de facto das jähe Ende all dieser ideologisch unterschiedlichen Organisationen. Bald darauf wurde der Komponistenverband der UdSSR gegründet, und das Jahr 1932 wurde jahrzehntelang unkritisch als sein Gründungsjahr angesehen. Erst in jüngster Zeit konnte sich die historische Wahrheit wieder durchsetzen.

*Schlüsselwörter:* Kulturpolitik in der UdSSR, Komponistenverband der Ukraine, Mykola-Leontowytsh-Musikgesellschaft, „Ukrainisierung“

Niall O'Loughlin

The Slovene Composer Ivo Petrić and Društvo slovenskih skladateljev

After the Second World War Slovene composers formed a society to organise and coordinate all their activities. Gradually the progress in publishing and making Slovene music available for performance was considerable. In 1972 the composer Ivo Petrić was appointed to Secretary of the Society of Slovene Composers (*Društvo slovenskih skladateljev*, abbreviated to DSS). He was active in increasing the numbers of works published, the large library of orchestral works for hire and later the recording of numerous works. Petrić was a very important model for his colleagues. Not only did he work tirelessly for all the composers of the society, but he also formed the Slavko Osterc Ensemble to perform mostly new Slovene chamber ensemble works and to record them. As a composer he produced many interesting and impressive works. Early symphonies taking some influence from Hindemith and Prokofiev were followed by a period using techniques from the Polish avant-garde. Later he returned to more traditional techniques. His contribution to the development of serious Slovene music has been very important, with DSS now thriving in all its aspects.

*Keywords:* Composers societies, Society of Slovene Composers, Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, Ivo Petrić, Slavko Osterc Ensemble, Edicije DSS, Music in Slovenia

Lubomír Spurný

Music in Terezín: Cultural Continuity in Extreme Conditions

The article examines the phenomenon of the “Terezín composers” and the role of music in the extreme conditions of the Theresienstadt (Terezín) ghetto between 1941 and 1945. The term, although widely used, does not denote a coherent compositional school: Viktor Ullmann, Pavel Haas, Hans Krása, Zikmund Schul, Karel Reiner, Gideon Klein, and others did not share a unified aesthetic programme, compositional techniques, or common patronage. Their works have little in common in terms of innovation or stylistic novelty. Instead, they were profoundly shaped by the circumstances of imprisonment and the cultural topography of the ghetto, which, as Michael Beckerman has pointed out, conferred upon them a special emotional resonance.

The study outlines three perspectives: professional practice under duress, the cultural preludes of clandestine musical life in the Protectorate, and the development of musical life in Terezín itself – from early prohibitions through the structures of *Freizeitgestaltung* to its exploitation in Nazi propaganda. Special attention is given to the vital role of performers who preserved the works and to the paradoxical cultural encounter of Czech, German, and Jewish traditions. In this sense, Theresienstadt became the last site where these cultures converged – briefly and creatively, before being destroyed by the deportations of 1944.

*Keywords:* Theresienstadt, Terezín composers, Viktor Ullmann, Pavel Haas, Hans Krása, Gideon Klein, Zikmund Schul, Karel Reiner, *Freizeitgestaltung*

Antun Tomislav Šaban

Kroatischer Komponistenverband: 80 Jahre Mitgestaltung der nationalen Kultur und gesellschaftlichen Ereignisse

Der Kroatische Komponistenverband (Hrvatsko društvo skladatelja, HDS) hat in den vergangenen 80 Jahren eine Schlüsselrolle bei der Bewahrung und Förderung der kroatischen kulturellen Identität und des nationalen musikalischen Schaffens gespielt. Als einzige Berufsorganisation, die kroatische Komponisten, Musikwissenschaftler und Musikschriftsteller vereint, ist der HDS zur zentralen Institution für die Entwicklung der kroatischen Kunst-, Pop- und traditionellen Musik geworden. Über Jahrzehnte hinweg hat der HDS die kreative Arbeit seiner Mitglieder kontinuierlich

unterstützt und sich gleichzeitig für die Bewahrung der besonderen Merkmale des kroatischen Musik-Erbes eingesetzt.

Neben der Bewahrung der Identität hat der HDS auch durch die Organisation zahlreicher kultureller Veranstaltungen, die zu einem festen Bestandteil des kroatischen Kulturlebens geworden sind, einen wichtigen Beitrag geleistet. Beispielsweise ist die Musikbiennale Zagreb, die seit 1961 stattfindet, bis heute eines der bedeutendsten Ereignisse der zeitgenössischen Musik. Die Musiktribüne in Opatija (heute in Osijek), die 1963 ins Leben gerufen wurde, und das Zagreber Festival, das 1954 gegründet wurde, fördern seit Jahren verschiedene Musikstile und präsentieren kroatische Autoren auf nationaler und internationaler Bühne. Über den Verlag *Cantus d.o.o.* veröffentlicht der HDS seit fast 25 Jahren Ton- und Notenaufnahmen kroatischer nichtkommerzieller Musik.

Ein zentraler Bestandteil der Arbeit des HDS ist die Verwertungsgesellschaft für musikalische Rechte (ZAMP). Die ZAMP sorgt für den Schutz der Urheberrechte kroatischer Musikschaffender und ermöglicht ihnen, eine angemessene Vergütung für ihre Arbeit zu erhalten. Dieses System umfasst seit Jahren nahezu den gesamten kollektiven Schutz von Urhebern und Rechteinhabern aller Art in Kroatien. Dadurch können auch Musiker, Interpreten, Plattenfirmen sowie kroatische Schriftsteller, Journalisten, Filmschauspieler, Regisseure und Produzenten ihre Leistungsschutzrechte durch die ZAMP geltend machen.

Seit acht Jahrzehnten bleibt der HDS unbeirrt in seiner Mission – dem Schutz, der Förderung und der Entwicklung der kroatischen Musik, wodurch er zur Bereicherung der nationalen Kultur und zur Bewahrung ihrer Identität beiträgt.

*Schlüsselwörter:* Kroatischer Komponistenverband, Musikbiennale Zagreb, HDS, ZAMP, Cantus

Maja Vasiljević, Biljana Leković

Yugoslav-Soviet Union relations from the 1950s to 1970s: Cooperation, Exchange, and Cultural Transfer through the Composers' Association of Serbia (UKS) and the Union of Yugoslav Composers (SAKOJ)

This study researches the cultural-music relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union from the 1950s to the 1970s, focusing on institutional cooperation led by Yugoslav composers' associations – SAKOJ and UKS. While previous scholarship has largely overlooked classical composers and focused on macro-level cultural policies, this research addresses the underexplored

role of art music in diplomatic and cultural exchanges during the Cold War. The study situates Yugoslav-Soviet musical relations within the broader socio-political context of post-World War II diplomacy, highlighting the impact of the 1948 Cominform resolution, the 1955 Belgrade and Moscow Declarations, and the liberalizing cultural policies of the 1960s. In this paper, we examined in greater detail the context of SAKOJ's and UKS's activities, and then, based on specific examples, illustrate how intercultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union functioned. We highlighted the key problematic aspects of these relations, specifically through examples of music cooperation, exchange, and cultural transfer from the 1950s to the 1970s, such as the mechanisms of exchange of cultural workers and the principles of establishing copyright. We emphasized the significance of operating through institutional structures, and the role of associations in this process. Based on our research, it could be concluded that the SAKOJ/UKS adopted a strategic and interest-given relation to the Soviet Union. With respective members, presidents, and secretaries, and other board members, profiled cooperation with the Soviet Union was proposed by exchange of delegates for guest composers and music writers, as well as through performance and promotion of Yugoslav and Soviet repertoire.

*Keywords:* Yugoslavia, Soviet Union, SAKOJ, UKS, cultural exchange, classical music

Jernej Weiss

*The Slavko Osterc Ensemble (1961–1981): The Principal Promoter of the Creativity of the Society of Slovene Composers Abroad*

The 1960s saw the formation throughout Europe of numerous groups specialising in the performance of New Music. Unlike classical ensembles, these groups were able to adapt their instrumental line-ups as required, and were particularly receptive to experimentation of every kind. In Slovenia they included both the Collegium musicum society, founded in 1957 by Pavel Šivic under the aegis of the Composers' Club, and the Slavko Osterc Ensemble, founded in 1961 by members of the composers' group Pro musica viva as a vehicle for the performance of their own works. The spiritus agens and conductor of the latter ensemble was Ivo Petrić (1931–2018). Petrić, who headed the DSS's publishing arm Edicije Društva slovenskih skladateljev from 1970 until 2002, was also the ensemble's artistic director from the outset. The ensemble's activities encouraged the creation of numerous new compositions and contributed to the affirmation of Slovene

creativity abroad. The ensemble gave almost 170 concerts, made 140 recordings for national and international radio stations and appeared in nearly 40 television broadcasts. It also premiered 65 works by nineteen Slovene composers, with 40 of these premiere performances taking place abroad and 25 in Slovenia. More than 110 performers passed through the ensemble's ranks during its initial two decades of activity. Petrić was for the most part able to bring together excellent musicians, with whom he achieved concert performances of a high level of quality, as demonstrated by the numerous reviews published in domestic and foreign media. The paper focuses primarily on the ensemble's performances abroad, while also highlighting certain events that marked the concurrent activities of the Society of Slovene Composers.

*Keywords:* Slavko Osterc Ensemble, Ivo Petrić, premiere performances, abroad, promotion

Ingeborg Zechner

How Music Works: Film Composers, Labour, and the Screen Composers Association in Mid-Twentieth-Century America

Film music composition emerged as one of the most prolific domains of musical creation in twentieth-century America. Beyond offering vast professional opportunities, Hollywood film music occupied a unique aesthetic and institutional position: situated between popular and art music, it was shaped by the medium of film and received ambivalent receptions from audiences and scholars alike. In the 1940s and 1950s, Hollywood composers habitually undertook diverse musical tasks – composing, arranging, conducting – within a highly industrialised division of labour that lacked a comprehensive legal framework. While actors, directors, and writers formed powerful guilds, the distinctive position of film composers, caught between creative authorship and industrial labour, required a dedicated professional body. Founded in 1945, the Screen Composers Association (SCA) sought to address this gap by supporting the specific professional needs of film composers. Despite its significance, the SCA's history has received little scholarly attention. This article examines the SCA's formative years to illuminate the complex intersections of composition, labour, and industry in Hollywood. Drawing on archival records of the SCA preserved at the Margaret Herrick Library and related materials in US archives, I contextualise the society's activities within the broader networks of film and music organisations. This perspective highlights how composer societies like the SCA collectively shaped the working lives of film composers, from

negotiating performance rights and addressing challenges of international distribution to fostering professional solidarity.

*Keywords:* Hollywood film music, film composers, Screen Composers Association (SCA), copyright law, labour law, performing rights

## Avtorji

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Petra Babić (petra.babic10@gmail.com)

je raziskovalka pri projektu »Institucionalizacija moderne meščanske glasbene kulture v 19. stoletju v civilni hrvaški in vojni krajini« Hrvaške akademije znanosti in umetnosti ter zunanja sodelavka Oddelka za zgodovino Hrvaške katoliške univerze v Zagrebu. Je avtorica znanstvene monografije, urednica ali sourednica štirih znanstvenih zbornikov, poleg tega pa je objavila 18 znanstvenih člankov. Sodelovala je na 31 domačih in mednarodnih znanstvenih konferencah, na Hrvaškem pa je bila soorganizatorica petih konferenc.

Dušan Bavdek (Dusan.Bavdek@ag.uni-lj.si)

je predsednik Društva slovenskih skladateljev ter profesor kompozicije in glasbene teorije na Akademiji za glasbo Univerze v Ljubljani (UL).

Njegov skladateljski opus vključuje dela za simfonični orkester, godalni orkester, pihalni orkester, opero, ansambel, zbor, komorno skupino in solistične izvedbe. Ta dela so bila predstavljena v okviru abonmajskih ciklov slovenskih orkestrrov, zborov in glasbenih gledališč ter na koncertih po Evropi, Ameriki, Aziji in Avstraliji. Vodil je številne skladateljske delavnice, predaval na različnih glasbenih akademijah ter bil član žirij na skladateljskih tekmovanjih v več evropskih državah.

Na Akademiji za glasbo UL je bil prodekan za mednarodno dejavnost, predstojnik Oddelka za kompozicijo in glasbeno teorijo ter predsednik

Akademskega zbora. Vodil je Republiško maturitetno komisijo za glasbo in bil član upravnih odborov Evropskega skladateljskega foruma (ECF) in Evropskega združenja skladateljev in piscev besedil (ECSA) ter član delovne skupine Evropskega orkestra sodobnih skladateljev (ECCO). Za svoje delo je prejel viteški križ madžarskega reda za zasluge.

Amra Bosnić (amra.bosnic@mas.unsa.ba)

je izredna profesorica na Akademiji za glasbo Univerze v Sarajevu in vodja Oddelka za glasbeno teorijo in pedagogiko. Bosnić je magistrski študij zaključila leta 2010 (*Simfonijska muzika u BiH: pregled, analiza, sistematizacija*), doktorski študij pa leta 2016 (*Kompozitorstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini*) pod mentorstvom dr. Ivana Čavlovića. Posebno področje njenega zanimanja je glasbena teorija in analiza bosanske in hercegovske skladateljske prakse, na podlagi katere je leta 2021 izdala svojo prvo monografijo *Simfonijska muzika u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Bosnić je sourednica zbornika »Muzika u društvu«, ki ga izdajata Muzikološko združenje Federacije Bosne in Hercegovine in Akademija za glasbo v Sarajevu (2018, 2020). Za uspešno usklajevanje projektov na področju glasbene pedagogike je Bosnić leta 2023 prejela letno nagrado za prispevek k delu Akademije za glasbo Univerze v Sarajevu.

Joanna Bullivant (joanna.bullivant@bcu.ac.uk)

je predavateljica glasbe na Kraljevem konservatoriju v Birminghamu in glasbena zgodovinarica, specializirana za britansko glasbo in politiko. Je avtorica knjige *Alan Bush, Modern Music and the Cold War: The Cultural Left in Britain and the Communist Bloc* (Cambridge, 2017). Trenutno je soizvajalka projekta »Elgar's Themes: New Pathways for Analysis, Interpretation and Engagement« na Univerzi v Oxfordu, ki ga financira fundacija Leverhulme, pripravlja pa tudi novo monografijo o Elgarju in angleškem katolicizmu.

Nataša Didenko (natasadidenko@yahoo.com)

je izredna profesorica na Oddelku za kulturno zgodovino na Inštitutu za nacionalno zgodovino v Skopju v Severni Makedoniji. Njena raziskovalna področja so kulturna zgodovina, muzikologija, akademska kultura in etnomuzikologija. Bila je koordinatorica nacionalnih projektov, sodelavka pri mednarodnih in nacionalnih projektih ter članica uredniških odborov mednarodnih znanstvenih revij (*Glasnik in Makedonski arhivist*). Je avtorica šestih monografij in številnih samostojnih člankov, objavljenih v znanstvenih revijah in zbornikih v Makedoniji in tujini.

Aleš Gabrič (ales.gabric@inz.si)

je leta 1994 študij zgodovine na Univerzi v Ljubljani zaključil z doktoratom. Kot znanstveni svetnik na Inštitutu za novejšo zgodovino raziskuje novejšo slovensko kulturno, politično, šolsko in znanstveno zgodovino. Od 1996 do 2019 je predaval kulturno zgodovino na Fakulteti za družbene vede v Ljubljani, po eno študijsko leto pa predaval tudi na Fakulteti za turizem v Brežicah in Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani. V letih 2001–2004 je bil urednik *Kronike*: časopisa za slovensko krajevno zgodovino, v letih 2009–2019 pa urednik založbe Inštituta za novejšo zgodovino. V letih 2008–2020 je bil predsednik Državne predmetne komisije za splošno maturo za zgodovino, od leta 2018 pa je predsednik Slovenske matice, najstarejšega slovenskega znanstvenega in kulturnega društva.

Fatima Hadžić (fatima.hadzic@mas.unsa.ba)

je redna profesorica na Akademiji za glasbo Univerze v Sarajevu. Zaključila je dodiplomski študij klavirja (2003) in muzikologije (2005), magistrski študij (2009), nato pa še doktorski študij (2012) na Oddelku za muzikologijo Glasbene akademije Univerze v Sarajevu. Med letoma 2014 in 2018 je bila predsednica Muzikološkega društva FBiH. Od leta 2019 je glavna urednica revije za glasbeno kulturo *Muzika*. Posebno področje njenega akademskega zanimanja je zgodovina glasbe v Bosni in Hercegovini, rezultat česar so tri monografije (*Muzičke institucije u Sarajevu (1918–1941): Oblastna muzička škola i Sarajevska filharmonija*, 2018; *Stories about Music in Bosnia and Herzegovina: dedicated to Folke Rabe*, 2022, soavtorji L. Šehović, J. Talam, T. Karača Beljak; *František Matějovský: Czech Musician in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 2023, soavtorica L. Šehović). Hadžić je prejemnica letne nagrade »Vlado Milošević« za glasbeno novinarstvo in muzikologijo za leto 2018, ki jo podeljuje AMUS (Združenje skladateljev in glasbenih ustvarjalcev, Sarajevo, Bosna in Hercegovina); nagrade Univerze v Sarajevu za znanstvene dosežke v letu 2021; nagrade Univerze v Sarajevu za poseben prispevek k znanosti v letu 2022; in priznanja Akademije za glasbo Univerze v Sarajevu za prispevek k poklicu v akademskem letu 2023/2024.

Máté Hollós (hollosmate@akkordmusic.eu)

je prejel naročila iz držav, kot so Velika Britanija, ZDA, Kanada, Francija in Latvija, leta 1986 pa je organizacija ISCM o njem posnela filmski portret. Je generalni direktor družbe Hungaroton PLC, leta 1989 pa je ustanovil glasbeno založbo Akkord. Osemkrat je bil izvoljen za predsednika Zveze madžarskih skladateljev, od leta 2021 pa je njen častni predsednik. Je predsednik

društva Vántus iz Szegeda, ki organizira najstarejši festival sodobne glasbe na Madžarskem. Ob vsem tem piše knjige in članke o glasbi, sodeloval pa je tudi v številnih radijskih oddajah.

Luba Kijanovska (luba.kyjan@gmail.com)

se je rodila v Lvovu in študirala muzikologijo na Konservatoriju Mikole Lisenka v Lvovu (kasneje Glasbena akademija Mikole Lisenka). Leta 1985 je doktorirala na temo funkcije programske glasbe pri dojemanju glasbene dela in se leta 2000 habilitirala o razvoju galicijske glasbene kulture 19. in 20. stoletja. Od leta 1987 je asistentka, od leta 1995 profesorica in od leta 1991 predstojnica katedre za glasbeno zgodovino na Državni glasbeni akademiji Mikole Lisenka v Lvovu. Od leta 2021 je članica Državne akademije umetnosti v Ukrajini in od leta 2022 članica Academia Europaeae. Glavna področja njenega raziskovalnega dela so glasbena kultura Galicije, glasbena psihologija, zgodovina ukrajinske glasbe, odnosi ukrajinske glasbe do drugih evropskih državnih glasbenih šol in glasbena pedagogika. Je članica delovne skupine »Zgodovina glasbe v srednji in vzhodni Evropi« in avtorica več kot dvajsetih monografij in učbenikov ter več kot 500 člankov v znanstvenih zbornikih in revijah v Ukrajini, na Poljskem, v Nemčiji in Avstriji, na Slovaškem, v ZDA, Romuniji, Litvi, Sloveniji, Švici in Italiji itd.

Lucija Konfic (lucijam@hazu.hr)

je višja raziskovalka na Oddelku za zgodovino hrvaške glasbe Hrvaške akademije znanosti in umetnosti v Zagrebu. Leta 2005 je diplomirala iz muzikologije (Glasbena akademija v Zagrebu) in leta 2008 iz bibliotekarstva (Fakulteta za humanistične in družbene vede v Zagrebu), doktorat pa je pridobila leta 2017 na Univerzi za glasbo in uprizoritvene umetnosti v Gradcu. Sodeluje pri projektu Hrvaške znanstvene fundacije »Institucionalizacija moderne meščanske glasbene kulture v 19. stoletju v civilni hrvaški in vojni krajini (MusInst19)«, ki se trenutno izvaja. Sodelovala je na približno 40 simpozijih na Hrvaškem in po svetu. Aktivno se ukvarja z raziskovanjem zgodovine hrvaške glasbe, kjer jo posebej zanimajo naslednje teme: glasbena teorija v 18. stoletju, specifični vidiki hrvaške glasbe (17.–20. stoletje), digitalna muzikologija, ohranjanje glasbene dediščine in glasbeni arhivi na Hrvaškem. Od leta 2020 je glavna urednica hrvaške muzikološke revije *Arti musices*.

Sonja Kralj (sonja.kralj@gov.si)

je delovala kot sopranistka v Slovenskem komornem zboru (zdaj Zbor Slovenske filharmonije), kot vodja glasbenih projektov v Cankarjevem domu v Ljubljani, nato pa na Ministrstvu za kulturo RS v različnih vlogah na področju glasbe, kulturne politike, ter EU zadev in mednarodnega sodelovanja. Trenutno deluje kot svetovalka za kulturo in avdiovizualne zadeve na Stalnem predstavništvu Republike Slovenije pri Evropski uniji in kot nacionalna predstavnica sodeluje v Odboru za kulturo Sveta EU, ki mu je kot prva Slovenka v letu 2008 tudi predsedovala. Sonja Kralj je avtorica knjig o ljubljanskih delavskih pevskih društvih v času prebujanja narodov ter o dirigentu Marku Munihu in člankov. Zasnovala je scenarij dokumentarnega filma RTV Slovenija o zgodovini Društva slovenskih skladateljev, ter cikel javnih pogovorov z naslovom *Pogovori s skladatelji*, ki ga je sedem let tudi vodila. Na področju kulturne politike je bila glavna urednica elektronske knjige Ministrstva za kulturo, ki prinaša analizo stanja na področju kulture v Sloveniji. Evropska komisija je objavila poročilo skupine strokovnjakov o vlogi javnih kulturnih institucij pri spodbujanju kulturne raznolikosti in medkulturnega dialoga, ki jo je vodila. Trenutno sopredseduje skupini strokovnjakov, ki pripravlja poročilo s priporočili za upravljanje mednarodnih kulturnih odnosov EU.

Hartmut Krones (krones@mdw.ac.at)

se je rodil leta 1944 na Dunaju in je študiral glasbeno vzgojo, germanistiko – pedagoška smer (mag.), petje, pedagogiko petja (mag. art.) in muzikologijo (dr. phil.). Od leta 1970 poučuje na Akademiji (od leta 1998 Univerzi) za glasbo in upodabljalno umetnost na Dunaju; do septembra 2013 je vodil Inštitut za raziskovanje glasbenih slogov (oddelka Stilistika in poustvarjalna praksa ter Znanstveno središče Arnolda Schönberga). Je sodelavec in član strokovnega sveta za enciklopedijo Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (tukaj strokovni svet za »Avstrijo v 20. stoletju«) in Zgodovinskega slovarja za retoriko, avtor člankov na področju poustvarjalne prakse stare in nove glasbe, glasbene simbolike in retorike ter glasbe in glasbene zgodovine 20. stoletja (vključno z glasbo v pregnanstvu); avtor knjig, med drugim o življenju in delu L. van Beethovna in A. Schönberga. Leta 2018 je pod njegovim vodstvom izšel 1. zvezek zbirke Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Schriften Arnold Schönbergs (Kritična skupna izdaja spisov Arnolda Schönberga), v letih 2025/26 bosta izšla še dva zvezka.

Biljana Leković (biljana\_sreckovic@yahoo.com)

ima doktorat iz muzikologije in je docentka na Oddelku za muzikologijo Fakultete za glasbo Univerze za umetnost v Beogradu. Je tudi predavateljica na interdisciplinarnem magistrskem študiju Oddelka za teorijo umetnosti in medijev Univerze za umetnost v Beogradu ter predsednica Centra za raziskovanje popularne glasbe. Njena področja zanimanja so sodobna glasba, novomedijske prakse, zvočna umetnost, študije zvoka, popularna glasba in akustična ekologija. Napisala je dve knjigi: *The Modernist Project of Pierre Schaeffer – From Radiophony Analysis to Musical Research* (2011) in *Sound Art/Zvukovna umetnost: Musicological Perspective – Theories* (2019). Kot članica in vodja Centra za raziskovanje popularne glasbe je v zadnjih desetih letih sodelovala pri več projektih, ki so jih podprle državne kulturne institucije.

Helmut Loos (hloos@uni-leipzig.de)

je študiral glasbeno pedagogiko v Bonnu (državni izpiti), nato muzikologijo, umetnostno zgodovino in filozofijo na Univerzi v Bonnu; leta 1980 je promoviral, leta 1989 pa habilitiral. Od leta 1981 do leta 1989 je bil znanstveni sodelavec Muzikološkega seminarja Univerze v Bonnu. Med letoma 1989 in 1993 je bil direktor Inštituta za vzhodnonemško glasbo v Bergisch Gladbachu. Od aprila 1993 je bil predstojnik katedre za historično muzikologijo na Tehniški univerzi v Chemnitzu, od oktobra 2001 do marca 2017 pa na Univerzi v Leipzigu. 22. oktobra 2003 je bil imenovan za zaslužnega profesorja Glasbenega konservatorija Mikole Lisenka v Lvovu. Med letoma 2003 in 2005 je bil dekan Fakultete za zgodovino, umetnostne vede in orientalistiko Univerze v Leipzigu. 2. aprila 2005 je bil imenovan za častnega člana Družbe za nemško glasbeno kulturo v jugovzhodni Evropi (München), 30. oktobra 2014 pa je postal častni doktor Nacionalne glasbene univerze v Bukarešti.

Je član mednarodnih uredniških svetov revij *Hudebni věda* (Praga), *Lituvas muzikologija* (Vilna), *Menotyra. Studies in Art* (Vilna), *Ars & Humanitas* (Ljubljana), *Musicology Today* (Bukarešta), *Muzica. Romanian Music Magazine* (Bukarešta) in *Studies in Penderecki* (Princeton, New Jersey).

Lidia Melnyk (lidamelnyk@gmail.com)

je profesorica na Nacionalni akademiji za glasbo Mikole Lisenka v Lvovu v Ukrajini, kjer je bila tudi rojena in kjer je študirala. V zadnjih letih je poučevala tudi na Inštitutu za muzikologijo Univerze na Dunaju (med drugim

predmet »Uvod v zgodovino ukrajinske glasbe«) in na Ukrajinski svobodni univerzi v Münchnu. Aktivno novinarsko in uredniško dejavnost muzikologinje zaokrožuje njenih več kot 60 znanstvenih publikacij.

Niall O'Loughlin (N.Oloughlin@lboro.ac.uk)

je študiral glasbo na univerzah v Edinburgu (magisterij) in Leicesteru (doktorat) ter računalništvo na Univerzi v Oxfordu. Specializiral se je za glasbo 20. in 21. stoletja v Sloveniji, Veliki Britaniji in na Poljskem. Leta 2000 je v Ljubljani izšla njegova knjiga *Novejša glasba v Sloveniji: osebnosti in razvoj*. Je avtor več kot 30 prispevkov za simpozije Slovenskih glasbenih dnevov, številnih prispevkov za druge konference, različnih člankov za *Muzikološki zbornik*, *The Musical Times in Tempo*, *De musica disserenda*, poglavij v knjigah ter številnih člankov za slovarje *New Grove Dictionaries of Music*. Leta 1977 je za svoje raziskave slovenske glasbe prejel Toveyjevo spominsko nagrado Univerze v Oxfordu. Leta 2007 je bil izvoljen za dopisnega člana Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti.

Lubomír Spurný (spurny@phil.muni.cz)

je akademik in pedagoški strokovnjak na Oddelku za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Masarykove univerze v Brnu. Leta 2018 je bil imenovan za direktorja Inštituta terezínskíh skladateljev. Področja njegovega strokovnega delovanja vključujejo glasbeno teorijo in estetiko prve tretjine 20. stoletja, glasbene pojave v srednjeevropski kulturi 19. in 20. stoletja, teorijo izvedbene prakse in interpretacije, metodologijo glasbene analize, izbrane avtorje in koncepte medvojnih srednjeevropskih avantgardnih gibanj ter glasbo, napisano med drugo svetovno vojno, zlasti v koncentracijskih taboriščih. Je avtor več publikacij in študij, posvečenih Heinrichu Schenkerju, Aloisu Hábi, Gideonu Kleinu in Pavlu Haasu. Leta 2024 je v ZDA prejel nagrado »Vincent H. Duckles Award«, ki jo podeljuje Music Library Association, in sicer za delo *Pavel Haas: A Catalogue of the Music and Writings* (Praga: Bärenreiter, 2022), ki ga je napisal v sodelovanju z Ondřejem Pivodo.

Antun Tomislav Šaban (saban@hds.hr)

se je izobraževal v Zagrebu, Miamiu in na Dunaju, kjer je leta 1998 zaključil študij kompozicije. Od leta 2001 deluje kot glavni tajnik Hrvaškega društva skladateljev (HDS). Je eden od ustanoviteljev European Composer and Songwriter Alliance (ECSA), krovnega združenja evropskih skladateljskih društev, ki promovira interese glasbenih ustvarjalcev v okviru kreativne industrije. Od leta 2013 do 2019 je bil tudi njegov podpredsednik.

Prav tako je aktiven v svetovni konfederaciji avtorskih društev (CISAC), kjer je od leta 2007 član glasbenega sveta (CIAM). Njegova dela so izvajali in snemali ugledni orkestri, ansambli in solisti na Hrvaškem in drugod.

Maja Vasiljević (elmaja2112@gmail.com)

je doktorica sociologije in magistrica muzikologije. Od leta 2011 dela na Oddelku za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Beogradu, kjer je trenutno višja znanstvena sodelavka. Od leta 2003 je tudi glasbena kritičarka na drugem programu Radia Beograd. Svoje interdisciplinarno raziskovanje populizma v Hrvaški, Srbiji in Črni gori je pred kratkim še poglobila kot raziskovalka v okviru medkonzorcijskega projekta Horizon 2020, ki obravnava populistične impulze v Srednji in Vzhodni Evropi po padcu berlinskega zidu. Na Filozofski fakulteti je poučevala zgodovino jazza in rocka ter sociologijo sodobnega življenja, trenutno pa poučuje predmet, ki obravnava razpad Jugoslavije in pokonfliktno tranzicijo. Objavlja v nacionalnih in mednarodnih publikacijah ter je avtorica treh knjig: *Filmska muzika u SFRJ: Između politike i poetike/Film Music in SFRY: Between Politics and Poetics* (2016) in *Jevrejski muzičari u Beogradu: Od Balfurove deklaracije do Holokausta/Jewish Musicians in Belgrade: From the Balfour Declaration to the Holocaust* (2021 v srbsčini, 2023 v angleščini), ki sta jih izdala HeraEDU in Inštitut za muzikologijo SASA v Beogradu, ter *Jews in Croatian Film Culture 1896–1945* (2024), ki jo je izdala založba Profil v Zagrebu. Za knjigo o judovskih glasbenikih je prejela nagrado »Stana Đurić-Klajn« leta 2022 za najpomembnejši prispevek na področju muzikologije. Trenutno se ukvarja s filmom in judovsko dediščino iz obdobja med obema vojnama, pa tudi z leksikografskimi projekti CANU v Črni gori na področjih izobraževanja in etnologije ter s projektoma »Roma soul food« in »Guerre – digital museum« v okviru programa Creative Europe.

Jernej Weiss (jernej.weiss@ag.uni-lj.si)

je študiral muzikologijo na Oddelku za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani (1999–2002) in Inštitutu za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Regensburgu (2002–2003). Med letoma 2005 in 2009 je deloval kot asistent na Oddelku za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani, bil je tudi glavni in odgovorni urednik (2011–2020) najstarejše slovenske znanstvene muzikološke revije *Muzikološki zbornik*. Poleg tega je v uredništvih več drugih znanstvenih periodičnih publikacij (*Muzika*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku*, *Aspects of Historical Musicology*, *Ukrainian Music*) ter je vključen v različne domače in mednarodne

znanstvene projekte. Od leta 2016 je redni profesor za področje muzikologije na Univerzi v Mariboru, od leta 2019 pa tudi na Univerzi v Ljubljani. Kot gostujoči predavatelj je nastopil na univerzah v Gradcu, Brnu, Leipzigu, Cardiffu itd. Raziskovalno se osredotoča na vprašanja, povezana z glasbo od 19. stoletja do danes, zlasti s tisto, ki se tako ali drugače dotika slovenskega in češkega kulturnega prostora. Je avtor štirih znanstvenih monografij. V letu 2021 je češka založba KLP – Koniasch Latin Press objavila predelavo njegove zadnje monografije z naslovom *Čeští hudebníci ve Slovinsku v 19. a na začátku 20. století*. Od leta 2016 vodi mednarodni muzikološki simpozij Slovenskih glasbenih dnevov in je glavni urednik zbirke znanstvenih monografij *Studia musicologica Labacensia*.

Ingeborg Zechner (ingeborg.zechner@uni-graz.at)

je muzikologinja na Univerzi v Gradcu. Njeno raziskovalno delo se osredotoča na družbene in kulturne vidike zgodovine glasbe od 18. do 20. stoletja, s posebnim poudarkom na filmski glasbi, glasbenem gledališču, medialnosti, migracijah in digitalni muzikologiji. Na Univerzi v Gradcu je glavna raziskovalka pri dveh projektih, ki ju financira Avstrijski znanstveni sklad: eden je posvečen hollywoodskemu skladatelju Franzu Waxmanu (Grant-DOI: 10.55776/P33029), drugi pa razvoju digitalne izdaje dunajskih gledaliških kronik iz 18. stoletja (Grant-DOI: 10.55776/P36729). Je avtorica knjig *The English Trade in Nightingales: Italian Opera in Nineteenth-Century London* (Böhlau, 2017) in *Franz Waxman: Zwischen Filmmusik und Konzertsaal* (Böhlau, 2024; angleška izdaja bo kmalu izšla pri založbi Routledge). Je tudi sourednica knjižne serije »Music and Mediality« (Rombach).



## Contributors

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is a researcher within the project “Institutionalization of Modern Bourgeois Musical Culture in the 19th Century in Civil Croatia and Military Frontier” at the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and an external associate at the Department of History at the Catholic University of Croatia in Zagreb. She is the author of one scholarly book, editor or co-editor of four scholarly proceedings, and has published 18 articles. She has taken an active part in 31 national and international scholarly conferences, and worked as a co-organiser of five conferences in Croatia.

Dušan Bavdek (Dusan.Bavdek@ag.uni-lj.si)

is the President of the Society of Slovene Composers and a Professor of Composition and Music Theory at the Academy of Music of the University of Ljubljana (UL).

His compositional opus encompasses pieces for symphony orchestra, string orchestra, wind orchestra, opera, ensemble, choir, chamber groups, and soloistic performances. These works have been presented as part of the subscription cycles of Slovenian orchestras, choirs, and music theatres, as well as at concerts elsewhere in Europe, America, Asia, and Australia. He has led many compositional workshops, lectured at various music academies, and served as a jury member for composition competitions in numerous European countries.

He was the Vice Dean for International Affairs at the UL Academy of Music, as well as the Head of the Department of Composition and Music Theory and President of the Academic Assembly at the same institution. He has presided over the National Matura Commission for Music and served as a Board Member of the European Composers Forum (ECF), the European Composers and Songwriters Alliance (ECSA), and was a member of the Working Group for ECCO (European Contemporary Composers' Orchestra). In recognition of his work, he was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Hungarian Order of Merit.

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is an Associate Professor at the University of Sarajevo's Academy of Music and the Head of its Department of Music Theory and Pedagogy. Bosnić completed her master's studies in 2010 (*Symphonic Music in Bosnia and Herzegovina: overview, analysis, systematisation*) and PhD studies in 2016 (*Compositional Practice in Bosnia and Herzegovina*) under the supervision of Dr Ivan Čavlović. A special field of her interest is musical theory and analysis of Bosnian and Herzegovinian compositional practice, which resulted in her first monograph *Symphonic Music in Bosnia and Herzegovina* in 2021. Bosnić is co-editor of *The Collection of Papers "Music in Society"*, published by the Musicological Society of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Academy of Music in Sarajevo (2018, 2020). As a result of her successful coordination of music pedagogy projects, Bosnić was awarded the annual award for her contribution to the Academy of Music at the University in Sarajevo in 2023.

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is Lecturer in Music at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, UK and a music historian specialising in British music and politics. She is the author of *Alan Bush, Modern Music and the Cold War: The Cultural Left in Britain and the Communist Bloc* (Cambridge 2017). She is currently Co-Investigator on the Leverhulme-funded project 'Elgar's Themes: New Pathways for Analysis, Interpretation and Engagement' with the University of Oxford, and is working on a new monograph on Elgar and English Catholicism.

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is an associate professor of the Department for Cultural History at the Institute of National History in Skopje, North Macedonia. Her research interests include cultural history, musicology, academic culture and ethnomu-

sicology. She has been a coordinator of national projects and collaborator of international and national projects, as well as a member of the editorial boards of international scientific journals (*Glasnik* and *Macedonia Archivist*). She is the author of six monographs and numerous individual articles published in scientific journals and collections, in both Macedonia and abroad.

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received his PhD in history from the University of Ljubljana in 1994. As a principal research fellow at the Institute of Contemporary History, he researches recent Slovene cultural and political history, with a focus on the evolution of academic and artistic institutions. From 1996 to 2019 he taught cultural history at the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana. He also spent one academic year lecturing at the Faculty of Tourism of the University of Maribor in Brežice and another at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana. Between 2001 and 2004 he served as editor of *Kronika*, an illustrated periodical dedicated to Slovene local history. From 2009 to 2013 he was an editor at the Institute of Contemporary History Press. He was chair of the national subject committee for history for the general *matura* (school-leaving examination) from 2008 to 2020. He has been president of the *Slovenska matica*, Slovenia's oldest scholarly and cultural association, since 2018.

Fatima Hadžić (fatima.hadzic@mas.unsa.ba)

is a Full Professor at the Music Academy at the University of Sarajevo. She completed her undergraduate studies in piano (2003) and musicology (2005), a master's degree (2009), and a doctorate (2012) in the Department of Musicology at the Music Academy at the University of Sarajevo. She held the position of president of the FBiH Musicological Society from 2014 to 2018. Since 2019, she has been the chief editor of the journal of musical culture *Muzika*. A special field of her academic interest is the history of music in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has resulted in three monographs (*Musical Institutions in Sarajevo (1918-1941): Regional Music School and Sarajevo Philharmonic*, 2018; *Stories about Music in Bosnia and Herzegovina: dedicated to Folke Rabe*, 2022, co-authored with L. Šehović, J. Talam, and T. Karača Beljak; *František Matějovský: Czech Musician in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 2023, co-authored with L. Šehović). Hadžić was awarded the annual "Vlado Milošević" award for music journalism and musicology for 2018 by AMUS (Association of Composers-Music Creators, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina); the Award of the University of Sarajevo for the results of her

scientific work in 2021; the Award of the University of Sarajevo for special contributions to science in 2022; and a recognition for contributions to the profession in the 2023/2024 academic year from the Music Academy of the University of Sarajevo.

Máté Hollós (hollosmate@akkordmusic.eu)

has received commissions from countries like the UK, US, Canada, France, and Latvia, and a film portrait was made about him in 1986 by the ISCM. He acts as general manager of Hungaroton PLC and established Akkord Music Publishers in 1989. He was elected eight times as the president of the Hungarian Composers' Union, and since 2021 he has been its honorary president. He is the president of the Vántus Society in Szeged, which organises the oldest contemporary music festival in Hungary. In addition to this work, he has written books and articles on music, and worked on a great number of radio programmes.

Luba Kijanovska (luba.kyjan@gmail.com)

wurde in Lviv geboren und studierte Musikwissenschaft am Lysenko-Konservatorium in Lviv (spätere Musikakademie „Mykola Lysenko“). 1985 promovierte sie über die Funktionen der Programmmusik in der Wahrnehmung des musikalischen Werks und habilitierte sich 2000 mit der Entwicklung der galizischen Musikkultur des 19. und 20. Jhr. Seit 1987 ist sie Assistenzprofessorin, seit 1995 Professorin und seit 1991 Inhaberin des Lehrstuhls für Musikgeschichte an der Nationalen Lysenko-Musikakademie in Lviv. Seit 2021 ist sie Mitglied der Nationalen Akademie der Künste der Ukraine und seit 2022 Mitglied der Academia Europaea. Ihre Forschungsschwerpunkte sind die Musikkultur Galiziens, Musikpsychologie, die Geschichte der ukrainischen Musik, die Beziehungen der ukrainischen Musik zu anderen europäischen nationalen Musikschulen und Musikpädagogik. Sie ist Mitglied der Arbeitsgruppe „Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa“ und Autorin von über 20 Monografien und Lehrbüchern sowie über 500 Artikeln in Fachbüchern und Zeitschriften in der Ukraine, Polen, Deutschland, Österreich, der Slowakei, den USA, Rumänien, Litauen, Slowenien, der Schweiz, Italien usw.

Lucija Konfic (lucijam@hazu.hr)

is a senior research associate at the Department for History of Croatian Music, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb. She graduated in musicology (Music Academy in Zagreb) in 2005 and librarianship

(Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb) in 2008, and received her PhD in 2017 at the Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst in Graz. She is a collaborator on the current project of the Croatian Science Foundation “Institutionalization of modern bourgeois musical culture in the 19th century in civil Croatia and the Military Border (MusInst19)”. She has participated in some 40 symposia in Croatia and abroad. She is actively researching the history of Croatian music, with a special interest in the following topics: music theory in the 18th century, specific aspects of Croatian music (17th to 20th centuries), digital musicology, preservation of musical heritage, music archives in Croatia. Since 2020 she has been the editor-in-chief of *Arti musices* Croatian musicological journal.

Sonja Kralj (sonja.kralj@gov.si)

began her career as a soprano in the Slovenian Chamber Choir (now the Slovenian Philharmonic Choir) before moving into music project management at the Cankarjev dom in Ljubljana. She then joined the Ministry of Culture, where she held various roles in music, cultural policy, and EU and international affairs. She currently serves as a counsellor for culture and audiovisual affairs at the Permanent Representation of the Republic of Slovenia to the European Union in Brussels and as the national representative at the EU Council’s Cultural Affairs Committee, which she chaired as the first Slovenian in 2008. She is the author of books on Ljubljana’s workers’ singing societies during the national awakening period and on the conductor Marko Munih, as well as numerous articles. She wrote the script for an RTV Slovenia documentary film about the history of the Society of Slovene Composers. She also created and hosted a series of public events called *Conversations with Composers* for seven years. In the field of cultural policy, she was the editor-in-chief of the Ministry of Culture’s e-book analysing the state of culture in Slovenia. She chaired a group of experts from EU Member States who published a report on the role of public cultural institutions in promoting cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. She is currently co-chairing the group of EU experts on the governance of the EU’s international cultural relations.

Hartmut Krones (krones@mdw.ac.at)

geb. 1944 in Wien, studierte Musikerziehung und Germanistik für das Lehramt (Mag.), Gesang, Gesangspädagogik (Mag. art.) sowie Musikwissenschaft (Dr. phil.), unterrichtet seit 1970 an der Akademie (1998 Universität) für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien und leitete bis September 2013

das „Institut für Musikalische Stilforschung“ (Abteilungen „Stilkunde und Aufführungspraxis“ sowie „Wissenschaftszentrum Arnold Schönberg“). Mitarbeiter und Fachbeirat der MGG (hier Fachbeirat für „Österreich, 20. Jhdt.“) sowie des „Historischen Wörterbuchs der Rhetorik“, Publikationen in den Bereichen Aufführungspraxis Alter und Neuer Musik, Musikalische Symbolik und Rhetorik sowie Musik und Musikgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts (incl. Musik im Exil); Bücher u. a. über Leben und Werk von L. van Beethoven sowie von A. Schönberg. 2018 erschien der 1. Band der von ihm geleiteten Kritischen Gesamtausgabe der Schriften Arnold Schönbergs, 2025/26 folgen zwei weitere Bände.

Biljana Leković (biljana\_sreckovic@yahoo.com)

holds a PhD in Musicology, and she is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Musicology, Faculty of Music, University of Arts in Belgrade. She is also a lecturer at the interdisciplinary master studies of the Department of Theory of Arts and Media, University of Arts in Belgrade, and the president of *the Centre for Popular Music Research*. Her fields include contemporary music, new media practices, sound art, sound studies, popular music, and acoustic ecology. She is the author of two books: *Modernist Project of Pierre Schaeffer – From Radiophony Analysis to Musical Research* (2011) and *Sound Art: Musicological Perspective – Theories* (2019). As a member and manager of the Center for Popular Music Research, for the past ten years, she participated in the implementation of several projects supported by state cultural institutions.

Helmut Loos (hloos@uni-leipzig.de)

Studium der Musikpädagogik in Bonn (Staatsexamina), anschließend Musikwissenschaft, Kunstgeschichte und Philosophie an der Universität Bonn; 1980 Promotion, 1989 Habilitation. 1981 bis 1989 Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter am Musikwissenschaftlichen Seminar der Universität Bonn. 1989 bis 1993 Direktor des Instituts für deutsche Musik im Osten in Bergisch Gladbach. Seit April 1993 Inhaber des Lehrstuhls für Historische Musikwissenschaft an der Technischen Universität Chemnitz, von Oktober 2001 bis März 2017 an der Universität Leipzig. 22. 10. 2003 Ernennung zum Professor honoris causa der Lyssenko-Musikhochschule Lemberg/L'viv. 2003 bis 2005 Dekan der Fakultät für Geschichte, Kunst- und Orientalwissenschaften der Universität Leipzig. 02. 04. 2005 Ernennung zum Ehrenmitglied der Gesellschaft für deutsche Musikkultur im südöstlichen Europa

(München). 30. 10. 2014 Ehrendoktor der Universitatea Națională de Muzică din București.

Mitglied in den internationalen Editionsräten der Zeitschriften *Hudebni věda* (Prag), *Lituvos muzikologija* (Vilnius), *Menotyra. Studies in Art* (Vilnius), *Ars & Humanitas* (Ljubljana), *Musicology Today* (Bukarest), *Muzica. Romanian Music Magazine* (Bukarest) und *Studies in Penderecki* (Princeton, New Jersey).

Lidia Melnyk (lidamelnyk@gmail.com)

ist Professorin an der Nationalen Musikakademie „Mykola Lysenko“ in Lwiw, Ukraine, wo sie auch geboren wurde und studierte. Darüber hinaus unterrichtete sie in den letzten Jahren am Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Wien (darunter den Vorlesungskurs „Einführung in die Geschichte der ukrainischen Musik“) und an der Ukrainischen Freien Universität in München. Mehr als 60 wissenschaftliche Publikationen der Musikwissenschaftlerin runden die aktive journalistische und redaktionelle Tätigkeit auf.

Niall O'Loughlin (N.Oloughlin@lboro.ac.uk)

studied music at the Universities of Edinburgh (MA) and Leicester (PhD) and computing at the University of Oxford. He has specialised in the 20th and 21st-century music of Slovenia, the United Kingdom and Poland. His book *Novejša glasba v Sloveniji: osebnosti in razvoj* was published in Ljubljana in 2000. He has written 35 papers for Slovene Music Days symposia, given many other conference papers, written numerous articles for *Musikološki zbornik*, *The Musical Times*, *Tempo*, *De musica disserenda*, chapters in books and many articles for the *New Grove Dictionaries of Music*. In 1977 he won the Tovey Memorial Prize from the University of Oxford for his research into Slovene music. In 2007 he was elected Corresponding Member of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts.

Lubomír Spurný (spurny@phil.muni.cz)

is an academic and educational professional at the Department of Musicology at the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno. In 2018, he was appointed director of the Terežín Composers' Institute. His professional focus includes music theory and aesthetics of the first third of the 20th century, musical phenomena of Central European culture of the 19th and 20th centuries, the theory of performance practice and interpretation, methodology of music analysis, selected authors and concepts of the Central European

interwar avant-garde, and music composed during the Second World War, especially in concentration camps.

He is the author of several publications and studies devoted to Heinrich Schenker, Alois Hába, Gideon Klein, and Pavel Haas. In 2024, he received the Music Library Association's Vincent H. Duckles Award in the United States for *Pavel Haas: A Catalogue of the Music and Writings* (Prague: Bärenreiter, 2022), written in collaboration with Ondřej Pivoda.

Antun Tomislav Šaban (saban@hds.hr)

hat in Zagreb, Miami und Wien studiert, wo er 1998 sein Kompositionsstudium abschloss. Seit 2001 ist er Generalsekretär des Kroatischen Komponistenverbandes (HDS). Er ist einer der Mitbegründer der European Composer and Songwriter Alliance (ECSA), des Dachverbands europäischer Komponistenvereinigungen, der die Interessen von Musikschaffenden in der Kreativindustrie fördert. Von 2013 bis 2019 war er außerdem deren Vizepräsident. Zudem ist er seit 2007 Mitglied des Musikrats (CIAM) im Internationalen Dachverband der Verwertungsgesellschaften (CISAC). Seine Werke wurden von renommierten Orchestern, Ensembles und Solisten in Kroatien und weltweit aufgeführt und aufgenommen.

Maja Vasiljević (elmaja2112@gmail.com)

holds PhD in sociology and an MA in musicology, and has been working at the Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade since 2011, where she is currently a Senior research assistant. Since 2003, she has been a music critic on the second programme of Radio Belgrade. She has recently expanded her interdisciplinary research on populism in Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro as a researcher in the Horizon 2020 inter-consortium project on populist impulses in Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall. At the Faculty of Philosophy, she has taught *History of Jazz*, *History of Rock*, *Sociology of Modern Life*, and is currently teaching the course on *The Fall of Yugoslavia and Post-Conflict Transition*. She publishes her work in national and international publications. She is the author of three books: *Film music in SFRY: from politics and poetics* (2016, Belgrade) and *Jewish musicians in Belgrade: from the Balfour Declaration to the Holocaust* (Serbian 2021, English 2023) in Belgrade by Hera edu and Institute for Musicology SASA and *Jews in cinema culture of Croatia 1896-1945* (2024) by Profil in Zagreb. For her book about Jewish musicians she was awarded the „Stana Đurić-Klajn“ Prize 2022, for the most sig-

nificant contribution to musicology. She is currently working on film and Jewish heritage from the period between the two world wars, as well as on CANU's lexicographic projects in Montenegro on education and ethnology, and Creative Europe projects "Roma soul food" and "Guerre - digital museum".

Jernej Weiss (jernej.weiss@ag.uni-lj.si)

studied musicology at the Musicology Department of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana (1999–2002) and the Institute of Musicology of the Faculty of Philosophy, Art History, History and Humanities, University of Regensburg (2002–2003). He was a teaching assistant at the Musicology Department of the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana from 2005 to 2009 and the editor-in-chief of *Muzikološki zbornik*, Slovenia's principal musicological publication, from 2011 to 2020. He is also a member of the editorial boards of several other academic and specialist publications (*Muzika*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku*, *Aspects of Historical Musicology*, *Ukrainian Music* etc.) and is involved in various national and international academic projects. He has been a full professor of musicology at the University of Maribor since 2016 and has held the same rank at the University of Ljubljana since 2019. He has been a visiting lecturer at the universities of Graz, Brno, Leipzig and Cardiff, among others. His research focuses on music-related issues from the nineteenth century to the present day, with a particular focus on music in the Slovene and Czech cultural contexts. He is the author of four monographs. In 2021 the Czech publisher KLP (Koniasch Latin Press) published an adaptation of his latest monograph entitled *Čeští hudebníci ve Slovinsku v 19. a na začátku 20. století* (Czech musicians in Slovenia in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries). He has headed the international musicological symposium of the Slovenian Music Days since 2016 and is the editor-in-chief of *Studia musicologica Labacensia*, a collection of monographs on musicological subjects.

Ingeborg Zechner (ingeborg.zechner@uni-graz.at)

is a musicologist at the University of Graz. Her research explores the social and cultural dimensions of music history from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, with particular interest in film music, music theatre, mediality, migration, and digital musicology. At Graz, she serves as principal investigator in two projects funded by the Austrian Science Fund: one on the Hollywood composer Franz Waxman (Grant-DOI: 10.55776/P33029) and another developing a digital edition of eighteenth-century Viennese theatre

chronicles (Grant-DOI: 10.55776/P36729). She is the author of *The English Trade in Nightingales: Italian Opera in Nineteenth-Century London* (Böhlau, 2017) and *Franz Waxman: Zwischen Filmmusik und Konzertsaal* (Böhlau, 2024; English edition forthcoming with Routledge). She also co-edits the book series *Music and Mediality* (Rombach).

## Recenziji

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Monografija *Skladateljska društva nekoč in danes: preplet stanovskega in nacionalnega*, ki jo je skrbno uredil Jernej Weiss, je programsko zasnovana ob 80letnici Društva slovenskih skladateljev (DSS) in slovenski primer prepričljivo umešča v širok mednarodni okvir zgodovin raziskovanja skladateljskih društev. Uvodna teksta urednika v slovenščini in angleščini jasno opredelita osrednjo raziskovalno os monografije: napet, a produktiven preplet stanovskega in nacionalnega poslanstva, ki v različnih zgodovinskih prelomnicah določa podobo glasbenoinstitucionalnega delovanja in vlog skladateljskih društev pri oblikovanju glasbene identitete ter promociji nacionalne ustvarjalnosti.

Vsebinsko monografija zajema prispevke domačih in tujih raziskovalcev o DSS in drugih jugoslovanskih združenjih ter jih povezuje s primeri iz Avstrije, nekdanje NDR, Ukrajine, ZDA, Velike Britanije, Hrvaške, Makedonije, Srbije in Bosne in Hercegovine. Pomemben del monografije je posvečen zgodovinskemu razvoju DSS od ustanovitve leta 1945, prek širitve dejavnosti z Edicijami DSS po letu 1954, do vzpostavitve celovitega okvira za založništvo, koncertno dejavnost, zaščito avtorskih pravic in mednarodno povezovanje. Delovanje DSS je pravzaprav izhodišče in implicitno merilo primerjav. Temeljni vir monografije predstavlja doktorska disertacija Sonje Kralj, ki jo novejši prispevki Aleša Gabriča, Nialla O'Loughlina in Jerneja

Weissa o kulturnopolitičnem miljeju, ključnih osebnostih in vlogi Ansambla Slavko Osterc pri mednarodni promociji članov DSS odlično dopolnjujejo.

Monografija ne obravnava le zaščite avtorskih pravic in stanovskih interesov, ampak tudi širše kulturnopolitične in diplomatske razsežnosti delovanja društev, vključno z neuradno diplomacijo in kulturnimi prenosi izza železne zaves. Posebej je vredno izpostaviti osrednjo ugotovitev monografije: kljub zmanjševanju državnega financiranja, upadanju članstva in integraciji v večja kulturnoumetniška združenja skladateljska društva v številnih evropskih državah presegajo zgolj stanovske funkcije ter se v posameznih obdobjih vzpostavljajo kot ključni sooblikovalci širšega nacionalnega glasbenega življenja in kulturne politike. Pri tem ostaja uresničevanje nacionalnega poslanstva pogoj njihove identitetne vzdržnosti in vitalnosti sodobne glasbene kulture. Metodološko gre večinoma za zgodovinskoinstitucionalne in kulturnopolitične analize, utemeljene na arhivskem in periodičnem gradivu, z jasno empirično težo. Uredniška struktura je pregledna, dvojezični povzetki in skrbno urejena bibliografija pa monografijo jasno umeščajo kot referenčno delo, ki presega jubilejni okvir in predstavlja trdno osnovo za nadaljnje primerjalne študije skladateljskih društev v Evropi.

doc. dr. Tina Bohak Adam

Znanstvena monografija z naslovom *Skladateljska društva nekoč in danes: preplet stanovskega in nacionalnega* (ur. Jernej Weiss) je posvečena 80-letnici Društva slovenskih skladateljev. Sveženj 18 prispevkov (14 tujih avtorjev in 4 slovenski; vsi prispevki so objavljeni v angleškem jeziku), predstavnikov renomiranih znanstvenih ustanov, predstavlja skupno platformo oziroma stičišče različnih, a vsekakor sorodnih evropskih sredin. Raznoliki prispevki o socialnem, umetniškem, stanovskem in kulturnozgodovinskem pomenu skladateljskih glasbenih društev v preteklosti in sedanjosti opozarjajo na aktualne razmere, ki vplivajo na obstoj oziroma uresničevanje njihovih ciljev. Raziskovalcem so bila izziv predvsem nacionalno pomembnejša društva (Anglija, Nemčija, Avstrija, Češka, Madžarska, Ukrajina, Hrvaška, Bosna in Hercegovina, Srbija, Severna Makedonija in Slovenija), skozi katera spremljamo ugotovitve, da so skladateljska združenja po vsej Evropi vitalnega pomena za razvoj stroke in promocijo sodobne glasbe, ob tem pa se srečujejo s podobnimi težavami: predvsem z zmanjševanjem državnega financiranja, kar vpliva tako na založniško kot koncertno dejavnost, ki sta vitalnega pomena za doseganje strokovnih in nacionalnih ciljev. Posamezniki poudarjajo, da so se društva prisiljena povezovati v večja kulturno-umetniška združenja, kar pogosto vodi v izgubo identitete. Kljub aktualnim težavam, pa prispevki jasno kažejo, da so omenjena društva v večini držav ne le ohranila primarno vlogo zagotavljanja stanovskih potreb, temveč se v posameznih obdobjih delovanja uvrstila med ključne sooblikovalce širšega nacionalnega glasbenega življenja.

prof. dr. Darja Koter

Monografija z naslovom *Skladateljska društva nekoč in danes* obravnava mednarodni kontekst delovanja različnih skladateljskih društev v preteklosti in sedanjosti.

The monograph, entitled *Composers' Societies Past and Present*, focuses at the international context of the activities of various composers' societies of the past and present.



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