SLOVENE MUSIC IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT: THE INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF DRAGOTIN CVETKO

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Izvleček: Dragotin Cvetko je razvijal muzikologijo v Sloveniji s pisanjem člankov, knjig, z izdajanjem glasbenih del in s prisostvovanjem na mednarodnih konferencah. Usposabljal je muzikologe za znanstveno delo, za sodelovanje na posvetovanjih v tujini in v tujih strokovnih revijah. S tem se je Slovenija uveljavila na mednarodnem muzikološkem prizorišču.

Ključne besede: Dragotin Cvetko, Slovenija, muzikologija

Abstract: Dragotin Cvetko developed musicology in Slovenia writing articles, books, producing editions and attending international conferences. He trained scholars to contribute to foreign conferences and journals. Thus Slovenia became established on the international musicological stage.

Keywords: Dragotin Cvetko, Slovenia, musicology

Dragotin Cvetko's contribution to the establishment and development of musicology in Slovenia was enormous. In order to take an international perspective on his life's work, one is obliged to concentrate on his written works as these will convey the essential nature of his achievement outside Slovenia. First of all, however, one must investigate those printed texts which represent his pioneering work within Slovenia itself, as these give the essence of his thinking. His printed work includes editions, articles and books.

To take these in order, one can first point to Cvetko's landmark editions of the secular music by Jacobus Gallus, the edition of *Harmoniae morales* of 1966 and that of *Moralia* of 1968.¹ To present major works by the leading Renaissance composer from Slovenia was an essential task that he undertook in excellent fashion. These editions set a high standard of scholarship that has continued to the present day. Later Cvetko also had overall editorial responsibility for a number of editions published between 1985 and 1991 by the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts in the series Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae.

Articles by Cvetko published in Slovenia are very numerous: he was a prodigious writer and contributed to many different publications at many different levels. In a

¹ Jacobus Gallus, *Harmoniae morales*, ed. Dragotin Cvetko (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1966); *Moralia*, ed. Dragotin Cvetko (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1968).

bibliography to celebrate Cvetko's 80th birthday in 1991, Jože Sivec lists eight pages of articles, essays and studies that Cvetko wrote during his long active life.² It is no part of the present study to make a comprehensive assessment of this huge achievement. Nevertheless, one can note the trends in his work. Starting in 1936 with specialised studies of various topics, sometimes associated with Cvetko's early interest in musical education, this work gradually expanded into new areas of focus that looked at nationalism in Slovene music and in contemporary music. Some of these articles were published in Belgrade, Sofia and Zagreb. At the same time he kept faith with his native Slovenia.

In 1953 a new development occurred: he published in English an article on Gallus in *The Slavonic and East European Review.*³ Two years later an article entitled "The problem of national style in south Slavonic music" appeared in the same journal.⁴ In 1957 a third article "The Renaissance in Slovene Music" made completely clear his aim and purpose.⁵ Cvetko's influence was beginning to be felt abroad. This was only part of the story as he made forays into the musical literature in French and German. In 1954 two articles were published that show this clearly: "Evolution historique de la musique des peuples yougo-slaves" was published in Paris⁶ and "Die jugoslawische Musik in ihrer geschlichtlichen Entwicklung" in Hamburg.⁷ All this activity served two purposes: it made Slovenia known in musicological circles in Europe and the United States and it alerted the musical community in Yugoslavia (including of course Slovenia) to the philosophies of musicology.

Cvetko's writings include a number of monographs on Slovene composers. Naturally Gallus and his music was included,⁸ but there are also a number which cast light on the activities of other composers, particularly those working in the first half of the twentieth century. Most significantly the book on Risto Savin, the composer whose work established a distinctive Slovene identity, was first published in Ljubljana in 1949.⁹ Its content and clearly planned structure addresses the development of Savin's work from his early Germanic training and influence to his adoption of a character which more closely resembles that of his nationality. The study of the work of Davorin Jenko was first published in 1952 in Belgrade, and in Ljubljana in 1955 in a Slovene edition.¹⁰ Again it aimed to establish a distinctive overview of an important Slovene composer. Later books on Anton

- ⁷ Dragotin Cvetko, "Die jugoslawische Musik in ihrer geschlichtlichen Entwicklung", *Kontakt* (1954): 80–84.
- ⁸ Dragotin Cvetko, Jacobus Gallus Carniolus (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1965).

¹⁰ Dragotin Cvetko, *Davorin Jenko i njegova doba* (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka, 1952), and *Davorin Jenko: doba, življenje, delo* (Ljubljana: Slovenski knjižni zavod, 1955).

² Jože Sivec, "Bibliografija znanstvenega in publističnega opusa akademika Dragotina Cvetka", *Muzikološki zbornik* 27 (1991): 11–19.

³ Dragotin Cvetko, "Jacobus Gallus Carniolus and his Music", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 31/77 (1953): 495–502.

⁴ Dragotin Cvetko, "The Problem of National Style in South Slavonic Music", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 34/82 (1955): 1–9.

⁵ Dragotin Cvetko, "The Renaissance in Slovene Music", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 36/86 (1957): 27–36.

⁶ Dragotin Cvetko, "Evolution historique de la musique des peuples Yougoslaves", *Le Conservatoire* (1954): 50–52, 54–56.

⁹ Dragotin Cvetko, Risto Savin: Osebnost in delo (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1949).

Lajovic¹¹ and Gojmir Krek¹² complete Cvetko's introductory essays on the foundation of Slovene music of the 20th century. Cvetko was particularly appreciative of Krek's work to establish a tradition of serious musical criticism. His final composer monograph, on Slavko Osterc,¹³ sets the tone for an assessment of the significance of the composer with important insights into Osterc's contributions to the early development of Slovene modernism. The impetus for this work must have been Cvetko's study with Osterc, something that influenced much of his thinking. In addition Cvetko was responsible for a number of very important broad ranging general works on Slovene music.¹⁴

Turning to how Cvetko transformed this local Slovene work to an international activity is a fascinating study and one which he moved on many fronts at once. However, it is more helpful for us to look at different aspects separately, starting with the reception of one of Cyetko's most famous editions. The Slovenska matica editions of Gallus's Harmoniae morales of 1966 and that of Moralia of 1968 set a standard for Slovenian musicology that was scrutinised by international scholars. Typical of these was Allen Skei who discussed in a review the problem that Cvetko had uncovered in transcribing these works for his edition.¹⁵ Skei questions the omission of certain accidentals in the edition, but acknowledges the fact that Cvetko made quite clear exactly what he was doing. He challenged Cvetko to justify his position: "Cvetko is a serious scholar, and he surely does not suggest this interpretation lightly; he owes us a complete statement of the facts as he views them so the matter might be fully examined. The burden of proof is his."¹⁶ Cvetko's reply was forthright and very revealing.¹⁷ It shows that he was completely conversant with contemporary documents relating to performance practice of the time, but much of his information was in Slovene. However, he was able to point to various texts in German and French which would clarify the situation:

It is, however, fully discussed in my monograph *Jacobus Gallus Carniolus* (Ljubljana, 1965), 142–161. This was published in Slovene, so that for the non-Slovene reader it remains inaccessible; however, an approach to the problem can be made by reference to the French summary on 273–274. It will be discussed in detail with full documentation in the forthcoming German edition of the above monograph, which will be more accessible to the English-speaking reader.¹⁸

It was typical of Cvetko to defend his position firmly, but it also makes clear the difficulty

¹⁸ Cvetko, "Communications", 156.

¹¹ Dragotin Cvetko, Anton Lajovic (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1987).

¹² Dragotin Cvetko, Gojmir Krek (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1988).

¹³ Dragotin Cvetko, Osebnost skladatelja Slavka Osterca (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1993).

¹⁴ The most important are Zgodovine glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem, 3 vols (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1958–60) and Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1991).

¹⁵ Allen Skei, "Review" [of Jacobus Gallus Harmoniae morales], Journal of the American Musicological Society 21/3 (1968): 391–393.

¹⁶ Skei, "Review", 393.

¹⁷ Dragotin Cvetko, "Communications" [letter from Dragotin Cvetko], *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23/1 (1970): 156–157.

that Slovenes would have in entering the world of international musical scholarship. On the other hand, Paul Henry Lang in *The Musical Quarterly* reviewed the 1966 edition of the *Harmoniae morales* in very enthusiastic terms and in contrast to Skei's criticisms Lang is very generous about Cvetko's methods:

Of considerable interest is Professor Cvetko's finding that in the polyphonic pieces the chordal element is "harmonious" without functional significance, but in the homophonic pieces there is a perceptible functional order. And Gallus can mix the modal-tonal very engagingly. None of this is adventitious, it is all clearly by design; Gallus was a composer who always knew what he was about. His chromaticism, like most chromaticism in the 16th century, is not always clear beyond doubt; Dr. Cvetko deals with it accordingly, with commendable scholarly prudence but without rigidity. He gives his reasons for every individual case in the detailed critical commentary.¹⁹

In considering Cvetko's articles published mostly in Slovenia, it becomes clear that the issue of language was important for Cvetko. His biggest problem is that the Slovene language is little known or spoken outside Slovenia. Because of this he tried to ensure that his articles were written in one of the major Western European languages, normally French, German or English. Books that were made available abroad were either written in or translated into one of these languages or, failing that, contained substantial summaries of the text in a non-Slovene language.

The articles of 1953, 1955 and 1957 in The Slavonic and East European Review began to make inroads for Slovene identity in the English language.²⁰ His strategy was clear in these first English articles: the presentation of the music of Gallus from the Renaissance would be clearly appreciated in a historical and musical historical context. The next stage was the identity and character of music from the South Slav areas, particularly that from the previous century. It must be realised that, apart from music by the more famous Russians and a small number of composers who had broken through the barrier of ignorance such as Smetana, Dvořák, Janáček and Bartók, music by Eastern European composers was little known in Western Europe and North America. Cvetko went even further in the third of his articles in trying to identify the character of Slovenian music. That he also pursued these goals on a number of other fronts is apparent in the two articles in French and German that were mentioned earlier.²¹ The target audience for these articles was mostly non-specialist, so in addition Cvetko aimed to put Slovene musicology on to the international musicological stage. This was addressed in two ways: by producing articles in important musicological journals, in a language understood by many readers, and by giving academic papers at conferences that attracted a wide range of scholars from different countries.

Cvetko correctly identified the journal *Acta Musicologica*, published by the International Musicological Society, as a key connection with the academic musicological

²⁰ See notes 3-5.

²¹ See notes 6–7.

¹⁹ Paul Henry Lang, "Review" [of Jacobus Gallus Carniolus Harmoniae morales], The Musical Quarterly 53/3 (1967): 434–439.

community. An early important paper of his in French was "Les formes et les résultats des efforts musicologiques yougoslaves" in Acta Musicologica.²² Cvetko was well aware of the fact that musicology in Yugoslavia was very late in developing: "un travail systématique et rigoureusement scientifique n'a commencé qu'à une époque relativement récente."23 He went on to explain the reasons for this, principally the multiplicity of the Yugoslav political structure, but was very keen to point to the impressive activity especially in the Northern republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia: "Les compositeurs, les interprètes et les théoriciens de la musique déployaient une activité féconde dans le monde musical étranger et contribuèrent de diverses manières à l'évolution de la pensée musicale européenne."²⁴ His historical exposition was entirely necessary at the time, because of the general level of ignorance in Western Europe and North America, although today the facts are far better known. Three later articles are also important in the process of presenting the musicological facts. In German, with a summary in English (and Croatian), Cvetko discussed the problems of Slovene musicology²⁵ in a very detailed manner, citing very many successes and achievements over the years. This can be seen as a manifesto for Slovene musicology, but it does point to some limitations, too. Prophetically he said: 'one should note also that a stronger concentration of research personnel will be needed in the time to come.' His establishment of the Department of Musicology in the University of Ljubljana was intended to address this point. A later paper in English in the same periodical, International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music, discussed another long-standing problem, the differences between the historiographies of Eastern and Western Europe.²⁶

One phrase from this article points to another of Cvetko's aims: "The lack of historical surveys of East European music could not go on forever."²⁷ He wanted to put the record straight and felt that he had to make a start on this task. Two important books give a good example of how Cvetko achieved this: in German in 1975 *Musikgeschichte der Südslawen*²⁸ gave a good overview of the music and of the musical activities of the whole of Yugoslavia, but with a healthy bias toward Slovenia. The fact that it was published in Germany is very significant. His 1967 monograph in French *Histoire de la musique slovène*²⁹ was a condensed version of his three-volume study of Slovene music.³⁰ Up to

²² Dragotin Cvetko, "Les formes et les résultats des efforts musicologiques yougoslaves", Acta Musicologica 31/2 (1959): 50-62.

²³ Cvetko, "Les formes", 50.

²⁴ Cvetko, "Les formes", 51.

²⁵ Dragotin Cvetko, "Probleme und Leistungen der slowenischen Musikwissenschaft", *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 7/1 (1976): 89–101.

²⁶ Dragotin Cvetko, "The Present Relationship between the Historiography of Music in Eastern and Western Europe", *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 9/2 (1978):151–160.

²⁷ Cvetko, "The Present Relationship", 153.

²⁸ Dragotin Cvetko, *Musikgeschichte der Südslawen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter and Maribor: Obzorja, 1975).

²⁹ Dragotin Cvetko, *Histoire de la musique slovène* (Maribor: Obzorja, 1967).

³⁰ Dragotin Cvetko, *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, 3 vols (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1958–60).

the end of his life Cvetko did not ease his efforts to promote the music and musicology of his country. In 1991 his *Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru*³¹ made many of the same points, but with a new confidence and authority. It gave the facts in the context of Slovene independence and with a great number of his aims achieved. Although written in Slovene, it carried a substantial English summary.

An important part of Cvetko's mission included participation in conferences, particularly those abroad.³² Two of the earliest conferences in which Cvetko took a leading part, however, took place within Yugoslavia. The first of these marks a major turning point in the development of Slovene musicology. The conference of the International Musicological Society in 1967 in Ljubljana was the first to take place in what was then considered to be 'Eastern' Europe. It attracted a wide range of participants on a large number of topics. In a review of the published proceedings which were edited by Cvetko, an observation shows that the value of music in Eastern Europe was beginning to be appreciated: "the most valuable papers for us are those which deal with music in Eastern European countries, which at Ljubljana were properly given special emphasis."³³

The second took place at Sveti Stefan in 1968, entitled simply "The Yugoslav-American Seminar on Music". It was an occasion for American and Yugoslav musicians to exchange ideas. Cvetko took the opportunity to speak on "Musicological Studies in Yugoslavia",³⁴ in which he presented a picture of a field of study that had already been established and what he said at this seminar should not surprise us. His view was that musicology as a serious study barely existed in the inter-war years and even following the Second World War, no educational institution was able to offer any course that remotely resembled musicological studies in Germany or the United States. Cvetko laid down a simple specification in his paper: he said what the study was not and then what it should be. Important points should be noted. He was in favour of the "pure musicology" study, but suggested that for those that wanted to teach, it was helpful to have a "two-major" line because "music instruction still has a precarious existence in our secondary schools."35 At graduate or post-graduate level Cvetko was quite prescriptive and included the vital requirement, "demonstrable competence in two foreign languages in addition to a marked gift for musicology and research".³⁶ This stress on foreign languages would be an absolute necessity for Slovene musicologists to be able to enter the international stage. Although Cvetko was especially interested in his students becoming internationally noted in musicology generally, he was always concerned that the study of relevant areas in his native country was not neglected, writing, "Systematic research is needed in national and foreign archives to discover the documents pertinent to our national music histories; monographs

³¹ Dragotin Cvetko, Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1991).

³² Many of Cvetko's foreign visits are listed in the section 'Dragotin Cvetko – V prostoru in času' in Katarina Bogunović Hočevar, *Dragotin Cvetko – oče muzikologije na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Oddelek za muzikologijo, 2011), 11–61.

³³ M.T. [Michael Tilmouth], "Review" [untitled], Music & Letters 52/1 (1971): 73–74.

³⁴ "Musicological Studies in Yugoslavia", in Malcolm H. Brown (ed.), Papers of the Yugoslav-American Seminar on Music (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1970), 73–79.

³⁵ Cvetko, "Musicological Studies in Yugoslavia", 77.

³⁶ Cvetko, "Musicological Studies in Yugoslavia", 78.

are needed on various subjects, past and present." and "Up to now, Yugoslav creativity has been almost completely ignored or else misrepresented."³⁷ These were the criteria that had been adopted by Cvetko for his new Department of Musicology, which was established in 1962 in the University of Ljubljana and which enabled a new generation of scholars to be trained in the discipline of musicology. The new department would then be able to send its scholars abroad to conferences and contribute to international musicological journals in languages that were more widely understood.

The Slovene musicological journal established by Cvetko in 1965 and published by the Department of Musicology in the University of Ljubljana, *Muzikološki zbornik*, would be distributed worldwide, with articles written in Slovene including summaries in English or German, or written in English or German with a Slovene summary. From the first the quality of the articles was very high and set a standard which was going to be hard to follow. It says a great deal for the state of Slovene musicology that Cvetko's successors have done precisely that, maintaining a rare distinction among such publications. There have now been new developments that extend the remit and authority of the periodical. The distribution of this journal abroad has been extensive and very impressive. In the United Kingdom the British Library holds a complete set of *Muzikološki zbornik*, as do the libraries of the Universities of Oxford, Nottingham, Birmingham and Sheffield. In France at least three libraries in and around Paris keep the journal and in the United States it is held by important university libraries. It is in Germany, however, that the greatest distribution is found with over forty academic libraries subscribing to it.

All this work did not go unnoticed for Cvetko was elected an associate member (slov. izredni član) of the Slovenian Academy of Science and Arts on 7 February 1967 and a full member (slov. redni član) of the academy on 5 February 1970.³⁸ He did not remain inactive, but proceeded to establish a properly constituted musicological research centre in the academy, which in over thirty years has achieved great distinction in its many activities. A number of unique and important conferences have been held with associated publications, many focussing on the accomplishments of Slovene musicians, in particular composers.³⁹ There have been both regular and occasional monographs that have been very informed and informative, notably one on Slovene opera and another on letters by many musicians at home and abroad to Slavko Osterc.⁴⁰ Many of these can be found in libraries abroad. Added to this there has been the magnificent series, Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae, started in 1983 under the editorship of Cvetko, which in over fifty volumes has presented scores of some of the masterpieces of Slovene musical history in editions of which the country can be proud.

³⁷ Cvetko, "Musicological Studies in Yugoslavia", 78.

³⁸ Letopis Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti (2010), Vol. 61 (Ljubljana: SAZU, 2011), 199.

³⁹ For example: Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn (eds), Jacobus Gallus and his time / Jacobus Gallus in njegov čas (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1985).

⁴⁰ For example: Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn (eds), Slovenska opera v evropskem okviru. Ob njeni 200-letnici / The Slovene Opera Within the European Framework. On the Occasion of its Bicentenary (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1982), and Dragotin Cvetko, Fragment glasbene moderne iz pisem Slavku Ostercu / [A Fragment of Musical Modernism from Letters to Slavko Osterc] (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1988).

This brings us full circle in Dragotin Cvetko's accomplishments. Starting with his work in music education, he made substantial inroads into a number of areas of musicology, making certain that his work reached an international forum of musicologists. After establishing the presence of Slovene musicology, he set about ensuring that this study would be undertaken by a whole new generation of fully trained Slovenes. All these facts made possible the establishment of Slovenia on the world stage of international musicology.

SLOVENSKA GLASBA V EVROPSKEM OKVIRU: MEDNARODNA DEJAVNOST DRAGOTINA CVETKA

Povzetek

Prispevek Dragotina Cvetka k ustanovitvi in razvoju muzikologije v Sloveniji je ogromen. Njegova objavljena dela obsegajo članke, knjige in druge objave. Prizadeval si je, da bi bili dosežki slovenske muzikologije prepoznavni tudi izven meja Slovenije, torej v ostalih delih Jugoslavije, južni, osrednji in zahodni Evropi ter v prekomorskih deželah, zlasti v Združenih državah Amerike. Njegove metode so bile jasne in prepričljive, predvsem pa učinkovite. Udeleževal se je mednarodnih konferenc tako v Sloveniji kot v tujini, objavljal članke v uglednih revijah in zagotavljal, da so bili prispevki o slovenski glasbi, izdelani po najvišjih mednarodnih kriterijih, dostopni tudi tujim znanstvenikom. Največjo težavo pri njegovem delu je predstavljalo dejstvo, da je slovenski jezik le malo poznan ali rabljen izven meja Slovenije. Zato je poskrbel, da so bili njegovi članki napisani v enem od prevladujočih zahodnoevropskih jezikov, običajno v francoskem, nemškem ali angleškem jeziku. Njegova dela, ki so bila dostopna v tujini, so bila že prvotno napisana v tujem jeziku ali so bila prevedena, v nasprotnem primeru pa so vsebovala vsebinske povzetke v tujem jeziku. Ustanovitev Oddelka za muzikologijo, ki je kasneje postal del Univerze v Ljubljani, je omogočila vzgojo novih znanstvenikov v muzikološki stroki, kar je pustilo pomembne sledi tudi v tujini. Ti znanstveniki, ki so jih nove razmere spodbudile k učenju jezikov, so bili namreč usposobljeni za sodelovanje na tujih konferencah in pri tujih revijah, obenem pa so lahko slovensko revijo Muzikološki zbornik, ki jo je ustanovil Dragotin Cvetko, razpošiljali po svetu, ker so bili članki, napisani v slovenščini, opremljeni z angleškim ali nemškim povzetkom, medtem ko so bili članki v angleškem ali nemškem jeziku opremljeni s slovenskim povzetkom. Vsa ta dejstva so Sloveniji omogočila prostor na svetovnem odru mednarodne muzikologije.