

MUSIC MIGRATION
IN THE EARLY MODERN AGE

CENTRES AND PERIPHERIES – PEOPLE, WORKS, STYLES,
PATHS OF DISSEMINATION AND INFLUENCE

Advisory Board

BARBARA PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, ALINA ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA

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JOLANTA GUZY-PASIAK, ANETA MARKUSZEWSKA, EDS.



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*Music Migrations from the Bohemian Lands to Trieste
and the National Awakening of the Southern Slavs*

A contrasting or parallel concept of dissemination to that of migration of music along the main historical routes is that of the migration of musicians and their repertoires to the centres of peripheral regions, a tendency which can be considered an exception rather than a rule. The matter at issue here, Trieste and its surroundings from the mid-eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century represents a case study of a peripheral town which was reinvented by a modern non-native capitalist middle class which, in accordance with the provisions policy of the Habsburg Empire, outmatched the conservative patricians. Although it seems to be a step forward in the direction of the European revival of minor centres after the Turkish defeat and the war of succession, the economic rebirth of Trieste cannot be compared to Mannheim at the time of elector Charles Theodore, or to the Eisenstadt residence of the Hungarian family Esterházy, both of which became important cities mainly as a result of their musical patronage. Thanks to the grant of free port from 1719, in particular at the time of Maria Theresa's reign, the little town of Trieste achieved extraordinary commercial development through its establishment of tax-free retailing opportunities, and in two centuries its population increased from 5,000 to 230,000 inhabitants.¹

The incredible amount of people coming from Central Europe and the Mediterranean sea provoked a sort of cultural entropy, in which three kinds of music migration are recognizable: music for the private use of religious groups; music imported by individual migrations, for example the classical-romantic style of both Austrians and Bohemians; and the musicians that helped either

¹ Claudio MAGRIS – Angelo ARA, *Trieste: un'identità di frontiera*, Torino: Einaudi, 1982.

Slavic minorities or Italians create music schools and introduce new methods of playing instruments. Obviously, the story of this last case is more complicated to explain than the others. In fact, at the time of the national revivals of the Slovenes and Croats, there was also a reaction by Italian and German societies which promoted opera and instrumental music as the symbols of their own identity. From a compositional viewpoint, the national label was applied to several vocal tunes on a linguistic basis, even if its character remained supranational. From a political viewpoint, the unification of both the Italian and German Kingdoms, in 1861 and in 1871 respectively, and the subsequent triple alliance between Italy, Austria-Hungary and Germany in 1882, have to be considered as crucial events within the framework of the conflict for supremacy among the three national groups of the city.

At this juncture the increasing use of the Italian language in Trieste should be stressed. In that cosmopolitan chaos of mixed native Italians, Slovenians and Croats, to whom non-native Germans, Austrians, Greeks, Serbs, Czechs, Poles and Jews were added, the evolution of the Italian language is astonishing.

From 1382 until the fall of Austria, Trieste was annexed to the territory of the Habsburg dynasty. Before becoming a free port, in addition to the Carniolan Slovene, the local mother tongue ‘tergestino’ was a type of Ladin (Rhaeto-Romance language) closer to the language spoken in the western part of the present-day region of Friuli. Owing to the import-export sea trading, the earlier mentioned demographic growth must be regarded as a linguistic meeting point between different ethnic groups. Ship-owners, sailors, shipyard workers and merchants from Dalmatia, in particular the rich families of Lošinj and Kotor (Cosulich, Tripcovich, Gopčević et al), spoke the so-called colonial Venetian dialect, the ancient *lingua franca* of the Adriatic Sea. Paradoxically, both Croatian migrants and Italianized Croats of the Eastern littoral, ruled by the Republic of Venice for a long time, were the main agents of a linguistic turn. This conventional vernacular, spoken in Trieste until today, is the heritage of the Dalmatian variant of the Venetian language (i.e. the dialect beloved by James ‘Giacomo’ Joyce).² Within

² Gianfranco FOLENA, ‘Introduzione al veneziano “de là da mar”’, in: *Venezia ed il Levante fino al XV secolo*, vol. 1, ed. Agostino Pertusi, Firenze: Olschki, 1973, pp. 297–346; Charles E. BIDWELL, ‘Colonial Venetian and Serbo-Croatian in Eastern Adriatic: A Case Study of Languages in Contact’, *General Linguistics* 7 (1967), pp. 13–30.

the frame of this revolutionary break, and the consequent assimilation of a remarkable number of Slavic people (including Slovenes and Serbs), it is not surprising that Italian inhabitants had Slavic surnames and Slavic inhabitants had Italian surnames, as well.

Some remarks on the transmission of music in the Orthodox communities of Trieste.

The so-called 'Greek oriental' community, comprising Greeks and Serbs, was attracted by the financial benefits provided by Maria Theresa. It left Venice in 1756 and established a new community in Trieste with the consent of the Austrian government. In 1784, two years after their separation from the Greeks, the Serbian citizens started holding the orthodox Paleoslavlic liturgy under the jurisdiction of the Sremski Karlovci metropolitan church.³

The ties established between Russia and the Serbian community during the reign of Empress Catherine influenced the musical taste of the Serbs. Similarly to the orthodox church of Vienna, the parish of Saint Spyridon (Sveti Spiridon, It. San Spiridione) not only played the ancient monody derived from the Byzantine church, but also the contemporary polyphony of Baldassarre Galuppi, the Venetian maestro hosted by Catherine, who in Saint Petersburg composed operas and four-part music as required by the rite.⁴ To explain this kind of dissemination, there are two important aspects that must be considered. The Serbs in Venice and Trieste were educated in Western music, and they always wanted Italian conductors for their choir. This is an evident penchant I recognised when checking the sources kept in Saint Spyridon's archive, which collects – among others – Galuppi's scores and some works by Maxim Berezovsky, who studied with padre Giambattista Martini in Bologna, as well as works by Pyotr Ivanovitch Turchaninov, a pupil of Giuseppe Sarti, and Dmitry Bortnjansky, a pupil of Galuppi.⁵

³ Giorgio MILOSEVICH – Marisa BIANCO FIORIN, *I serbi a Trieste: storia, religione, arte*, Udine: Istituto per l'Enciclopedia del Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1978, pp. 9–12.

⁴ Ekaterina ANTONENKO, 'Orthodox Church Music of Baldassarre Galuppi at the Court of Catherine the Great', *Die Tonkunst* 7/1 (2013), pp. 30–43.

⁵ Danica PETROVIĆ, 'Duhovna muzika u srpskoj crkvoj opštini' u Trstu' [Sacred music in the church of the Serbian community of Trieste], *Muzikološki Zbornik* 25 (1989), pp. 95–105; the music of the eighteenth-century Russian composers is extensively listed in ЕАД., 'Музыкалније српске црквене општине у Трсту' [Music (kept) in the church of the Serbian community of Trieste], *Sveske Matice Srpske. Grada i Prilozi*

A century later, from 1840 onwards, this music was also sung under the conductorship of Francesco Sinico and his son Giuseppe. They wrote masses and other sacred pieces after the model of eighteenth-century orthodox polyphony, and being Italian, they were forced to write under the text the phonetic transcription in Roman letters of the Paleoslavlic Cyrillic alphabet, as is demonstrated by some of the manuscripts. Even though the scores of the Sinicos, as well as the music of the quoted Russian composers, had survived only in the isolated context of a church in Trieste, they would also have become part of the repertoire of Serbian choirs of Pančevo, Kotor, Zemun, and Belgrade.⁶

Obviously, the sacred polyphony of the Serbian community did not play a key role in spite of the secular music. Musical life in a broad sense, including Gorizia and Ljubljana, received a stimulus by the individual migrations of Bohemian composers and players devoted to the classical style at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The various causes of this phenomenon are retraceable in the diary of the renowned British musicographer Charles Burney. In his *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Provinces* (1775) he describes, with disappointment, the poor status of the Bohemian musicians.⁷ Even if they were considered among the best performers both at home and abroad, they could obtain miserable engagements or worst, they were obliged to emigrate. The wars of religion of the seventeenth century, as well as the war of succession of the eighteenth century, compelled many aristocrats to leave Bohemia for other regions of the Austrian Empire. The migration of Czech musicians due to the lack of domestic patronage has been studied more than thirty years ago by Zdenka

za *Kulturnu i Društvenu Istoriju* 8/18 (1992), pp. 49–56. I am grateful to my colleague professor Danica Petrović for her help and advice. I am also indebted to the choir conductor of the Serbian Church, maestro Anna Kaira, who helped me to find the music of Galuppi reprinted in Saint Petersburg and kept in the Archives of Saint Spyridion Church.

⁶ Dušan MIHALEK, 'Литургија за мушки кор франческа синика' [The liturgy for a male choir of Francesco Sinico], *Zbornik Matice Srpske za Scenske Umetnosti i Muziku*, 6/10–11 (1992), pp. 75–81.

⁷ Charles BURNLEY, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Provinces*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., London: T. Becket – J. Robson – G. Robinson, 1775, see the chapter on Prague: pp. 10–11.

Pilková, who had defined it as a diaspora.⁸ Far from being a catastrophic departure from the homeland, this phenomenon contributed to creating the preconditions of the so-called classical style in Mannheim, which inspired Haydn and Mozart (e.g. the oeuvre of the Stamic family). The same happened to the Czech composers who had travelled to the South of the Empire. In Gorizia, from the end of the eighteenth century the work of some composers, like František Dusík, Wenceslao Wrattni, Jan Keyha and Jan Schreiber, intensified the spread of the classical style, as well as the oeuvre of Giuseppe Scaramelli, the author and conductor who organized public chamber concerts in Trieste in which the string quartets and trios of Haydn and Mozart were played.⁹ This was also a trend reflecting the use of *Musizieren* in private musical encounters at home – (almost unknown in Italy), which were enjoyed by the bourgeois *Kenner* and *Liebhaber* of any nationality, even at the time of the ideological clash between Italian, Slavic and German people. A refined *Hausmusik* turn is revealed by the subscription launched in 1801 by the Leipzig publishing house Hoffmeister and Kühnel to sell a Johann Sebastian Bach keyboard anthology, signed by fifty buyers.¹⁰ This is why in his travel diary Franz Rzehack wrote that ‘in this seaside town, which is renowned for its trading, the merchant and bourgeois are better than the nobleman’ (*Neu bearbeitetes Post und Reisebuch*, 1793).¹¹

In 1841 Jan Kollár was one of the first Slovak intellectuals to visit Trieste. He planned a grand tour aiming to gather sources about Slavic peoples in

⁸ Zdenka PILKOVÁ, ‘Praha – Wrocław – Warszawa – Dresden: zur Frage der Musikeremigration im 18. Jahrhundert’, in: *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis*, vol. 7, ed. Eleonora Harendarska, Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska im. Ignacego Paderewskiego, 1985, pp. 151–165.

⁹ Alessandro ARBO, *Musicisti di frontiera: le attività musicali a Gorizia, dal medioevo al Novecento*, Monfalcone: Laguna, 1998, pp. 71–86; Ivano CAVALLINI, ‘Minerva nel regno di Mercurio: aspetti e tendenze del classicismo a Trieste’, in: *Off-Mozart. Glazbena kultura i mali majstori srednje Europe 1750.–1820. / Off-Mozart. Musical Culture and the Kleinmeister of Central Europe 1750–1820*, ed. Vjera Katalinić, Zagreb: HMD-HAZU, 1995, pp. 181–188.

¹⁰ Luca AVERSANO, ‘Commercio musicale a Trieste tra la fine del XVIII e i primi anni del XIX secolo’, in: *Attorno al palcoscenico: la musica a Trieste fra Sette e Ottocento e l’inaugurazione del Teatro Nuovo*, eds. Maria Girardi, Paolo Da Col, Bologna: Forni, Bergamo: Fondazione Donizetti, 2001, pp. 253–276.

¹¹ Italian translation in: *21 autori. Impressioni su Trieste 1793–1887*, ed. Lina Gasparini, Trieste: Zibaldone, 1951, p. 21.

Bavaria, Tyrol, Istria, the island of Krk, Trieste and Venice.¹² The eminent professor at the University of Vienna and Lutheran pastor gave a heartfelt description of the Slavs living in Trieste, in particular the Illyrian (Croatian) and Serb communities. He enjoyed listening to some speeches in Slavic languages along the streets ('Slyšelti sice po ulicech [...] slavske zvuky') and he recorded the names of Demetar Stanisavljević, the man responsible for the Serbian school, and Ivan Gvozdanović from Zagreb. He met the prominent Sofija Žinić Rusnov from Varaždin, the renommé Illyrian Saffo, emphasising her poem *Mojoj domovini* (To my Homeland) and the national pride of the Croatian minority.¹³ However, Kollár does not mention the Slovenes at all which is unfortunate as only a few years after his visit, the Slovenes and the Czechs would become a solid political, linguistic and economic reality on the North coast of the Adriatic Sea. On the contrary, Vilém Dušan Lambl, the future secretary of the Steering Committee of the 1848 Prague Pan-Slavic Congress, visited Trieste in 1847 and wrote that the Czechs he met were integrated in the social context of the city. Twenty years later, the famous poet Jan Neruda also visited Trieste testifying that many Czechs were good tailors, seamstresses, glovers and local garrison soldiers.¹⁴

Following the South Pan-Slavic point of view, in the magazine *La favilla*, edited by the poet Francesco Dall' Ongaro, a democrat influenced by Giuseppe Mazzini's ideas, the noblemen of Dubrovnik Medo Pucić (It. Orsatto Pozza) and August Kaznačić in their articles *Studi sugli slavi* (1842) recalled the discovery of the manuscripts *Dvůr Králové* (1817) and *Zelená Hora* (1822).¹⁵ As is well known, the first contains poems in the ancient Czech language of

¹² Jan KOLLÁR, *Cestopis obsahující cestu do horní Italie a odtud přes Tyrolsko a Bavorsko se zvláštním ohledem na slávjanské živly, roku 1841 konanou* [Travel diary on Northern Italy and from there through Tyrol and Bavaria, with particular attention to Slavic life, held in 1841], Prague: Kober, 1862, pp. 68–75.

¹³ These are the verses: 'U tudjini/Al u domovini/Tko svoj rod ljubi/nikad sardce njemu izgubi' ('Either abroad/or at home/he who loves his folk/never stops to love it'. I'm indebted to my friend Stanislav Tuksar for this translation); the poem appeared also in *Danica Horvatska, Slavonska i Dalmatinska* 9, 37, 16 September, 1843, p. 146.

¹⁴ Borut KLABJAN, 'Puzzling (Out) Citizenship and Nationality: Czechs in Trieste before and after the First World War', in: *Beyond the Balkans. Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe*, ed. Sabine Rutar, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2014, pp. 265–278.

¹⁵ P. e K. [= Medo PUCIĆ – August KAZNAČIĆ], 'Studi sugli slavi VI. Il manoscritto di Kraljodvorski', *La favilla. Giornale triestino* 7/15 (1842), 15 August, pp. 289–294.

the thirteenth century; the second is a fragment recording the early Slavic civilization in the eighth and ninth centuries, that is, before the adoption of Christianity. Despite the 'neo-Illyrian' policy of Pucić and Kaznačić, who introduced the poetry of the Polish Adam Mickiewicz to Italy,¹⁶ they gave a particular emphasis in their articles to the aforementioned Bohemian sources, which were considered false by the philologist Josef Dobrovský. On the strength of these Paleoslav documents Jan Palacký initiated a battle to endorse the icon of an antique Czech nation based on democracy.

Around 1847–1848, in Trieste, like in Zagreb and Ljubljana, the Czechs played a driving role in the creation of the first reading rooms, where meetings, called *besedy*, were hosted. As early as 1844, the first *šedjlka*, after the model of the Czech *besedy*, was held in Zagreb. According to the newspaper accounts of the time, the rich bourgeois and the intellectuals read poems and sang patriotic anthems and Lieder, both in Czech and Croatian.¹⁷ Later, reading rooms were transformed into national societies called *čitalnice* in present-day Slovenia and Trieste, while in Croatia, from Rijeka (It. Fiume) to the littoral of Dalmatia, they were called *čitaonice* in which also the Italians took part.¹⁸

The beginning of Slovenian cultural activity on the coast can be traced back to 1848 when the *Slavjansko društvo* (Slavic Society) was found in Trieste. This club of 250 members included mostly Slovenes, but Serbs, Croats, Poles, Bohemians took part in the meetings, organizing the *bésede*, or soirées provided with political speeches, concerts and sometimes theatrical performances.¹⁹ As the expression of a Pan-Slavic orientation, the first

¹⁶ EID., 'Studi sugli slavi XI. Adamo Mickiewicz', *La favilla. Giornale triestino* 8/1 (1843), 15 July, pp. 197–209; EID., 'Studi sugli slavi XIV. Una lezione del professor Mickiewicz', *La favilla. Giornale triestino* 8/22 (1843), 30 November, pp. 341–345.

¹⁷ Dubravka FRANKOVIĆ, '“Šedjlke” ou “besède” (soirées ou cercles) à Zagreb en 1844: caractères socio-historiques et musicaux', *The International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 23/2 (1992), pp. 171–176.

¹⁸ Nataša CIGOJ KRSTULOVIC, 'Uvod v glasbeno delo čitalnic na Slovenskem do ustanovitve Glasbene Matice (1848–1872)' [Musical activity of reading societies in Slovenia until the founding of the Musical Centre (1848–1872)], *Muzikološki Zbornik*, 32/1 (1996), pp. 61–73; Ivan KLEMENČIĆ, 'The Contribution of Music to Slovenian National Awakening: The Role of Reading Rooms between Trieste, Ljubljana and Maribor (1848–1872)', *Musica e Storia* 12/3 (2004), pp. 513–530.

¹⁹ Aleksander ROJC, *Cultura musicale degli sloveni a Trieste: dal 1848 all'avvento del fascismo*, Trieste: Editoriale Stampa Triestina, 1978.

Slavjanska narodna čitalnica (Slavic National Reading Room) was born in Trieste in 1861. After the failure of Alexander Bach's totalitarian government, the cultural and political life of the Slovenes was concentrated in the *čitalnice*, and during the 1860s musical activities were also focused on the programs provided by Bohemian musicians. The reading room choir was conducted by the Czech writer and music amateur Jan Vacláv Lego. He was invited to Carniola, a region of Slovenia, by his compatriot Anton Nedvíd, first to Kamnik and Ljubljana, and between 1860 and 1862 to Trieste as a zealous choirmaster.

At the time of the national awakening, many composers from Bohemia were employed as chapel masters in nearby Koper, like the musician Josef Czastka from Brno, and in Split during the years of the political clash between the Croats and the Italian minority.²⁰ The development of Slavic/Slovene musical culture in Trieste and abroad must be tackled as a unique body of two halves, in which popular and art music always influenced one another with the help of the Bohemians. This is why some Czech folk tunes still survive in the Slovenian choral repertoire. For a correct interpretation of the topic, we should consider the value of the concept of nation, disregarding the categories of *true* and *false* – *false* also in terms of a re-inventing tradition. The same applies with the meaning of quality, for which in national music the categories of *beautiful* and *ugly* are useless. The simple features of dances, choral music, Lieder or the *Trivialmusik* of reading rooms had a primary role in enhancing the knowledge and awareness of Slovenian identity in Trieste and Ljubljana, just like the Croats in Zagreb, or in other places of those 'peoples without history' (as Engels said), while the renewal of the musical grammar, which began thanks to Bedřich Smetana, is a different issue. Two questions need to be raised about such a theme. On the one hand, the quest for nationhood involved the process of establishing identity through autochthonous characteristics. On the other hand, the negotiation of cosmopolitan and domestic songs enables current musicology to categorize as *functional* any kind of music perceived

²⁰ Giuseppe RADOLE, *La musica a Capodistria*, Trieste: Centro Studi Storico-Religiosi del Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1990, pp. 109–112; Miljenko GRGIĆ, *Glazbena kultura u splitskoj katedrali od 1750. do 1940* [Musical culture in the Cathedral of Split from 1750 to 1940], Zagreb: HMD, 1997, pp. 128, 139, 143, 152.

as national according to the mother tongue, also without reference to its origins.²¹

After the mid-nineteenth century, as far as the professional music of Ljubljana and Trieste is concerned, the new violin method flourished thanks to Friedrich Pixis's pupils, namely Otakar Ševčík and Petr Těpý known as Pietro Caldo. Pixis was one of the fathers of the Prague violin school. Adolf Skolek, a bohemian schooled in Vienna, was the first player that introduced modern piano teaching to Trieste, thus changing the old method of articulation.²²

In the early 1900s, the work of Petr Těpý had great significance; he was not only a violin player but also a renowned conductor of the 97th infantry regiment band. The contribution of Josef Rudolf Zavrtal from Prague, composer and conductor, was equally important. In Trieste, in 1850 he conducted the Austrian military navy band and then he founded a musical society. In 1857 he entered the service of the Archduke Maximilian of Habsburg, brother of the Emperor Franz Joseph, and followed him to Mexico, where he accepted its crown. Zavrtal came back from Mexico in 1867, the same year when, after a long war, Maximilian was executed by the rioters.²³

The clarinet player Václav Zavrtal, Josef Rudolf's brother, worked in Ljubljana and in Prague. In 1845 he was appointed Kapellmeister of the 18th Bohemian Regiment in Milan, and between 1855 and 1859 he received a similar position for the 49th infantry regiment in Trieste. As a Czech patriot, after the battle of Solferino between Austria and Italy, he resigned in 1859 and joined the grenadiers in Turin. Finally he settled in Treviso and then in Modena as theatre intendant.²⁴ His son Ladislaus, strongly attached to

²¹ Nataša CIGOJ KRSTULOVIĆ, 'Glasba za rabo kot družbenozgodovinski pojav v drugi polovici 19. stoletja na Slovenskem' [Utilitarian music as a socio-historical phenomenon in the Slovenian territory in the second half of the nineteenth century], *De musica disserenda* 3/1 (2007), pp. 65–76.

²² Maruša ZUPANČIČ, 'V iskanju lastne identitete: češki violinisti kot glavni tvorci violinizma na Slovenskem' [In search of its true identity: Czech violinists as the main creators of violinism in Slovenian lands], *De musica Disserenda* 4/2 (2008), pp. 105–133; Giuseppe RADOLE, *Le scuole musicali a Trieste e il Conservatorio "Giuseppe Tartini"*, Trieste: Svevo, 1992, pp. 106–107.

²³ John CLAPHAM, 'Zavrtal. Czech Family of Military Musicians', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 24, London: MacMillan, 2001, ad vocem.

²⁴ CLAPHAM, 'Zavrtal. Czech Family of Military Musicians'.

his homeland traditions, worked in many cities in Italy and Great Britain.²⁵ He visited Trieste in 1923, perhaps for work reasons, and he listened to a symphonic concert conducted by Adriano Lualdi. In the treatise *L'arte di dirigere l'orchestra* (*The Art of Conducting the Orchestra* 1940) Lualdi published a letter sent to him by Ladislav the day after the performance. It is a letter full of detailed critical notes on the interpretation of Antonin Dvořák's *New World Symphony* (op. 95), in which Zavrta claims to have had personal relationships with Dvořák. It took me some years to understand that the surname 'Lavertal' is wrongly printed in Lualdi's book, who did not know the Czech colleague.²⁶ Living in Italy from 1907 onwards, he was appointed Knight of the Crown of Italy by King Umberto I and he died in Como in 1942.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century the Czech presence in Trieste was significant: senior civil servants, skilled economists, teachers, engineers, inspectors could be found. At the beginning of the twentieth century they created two cultural societies in cooperation with the Slovenes and Croats at the *Narodni Dom* (*National House*), built in 1904 and designed by the architect Max Fabiani. Both the cultural events of the Czechs and their well-stocked library were hosted at the *Narodni Dom*. In 1907, they also founded a branch of the Bohemian Central Bank (*Ustředna Banka Českých sporitelén*), the bank *Bohemia*, and a branch of the oldest Bohemian *Živnostenská Banka*, thus supporting the local economic effort towards the creation of an independent Prague-Trieste corridor (like the Gdańsk corridor), as proposed by Tomáš Masaryk before the First World War.²⁷

As an example of musical education, I would like to mention Hrabroslav Volarič (1863–1895). Volarič was one of the most important composers

²⁵ Marta OTTLOVÁ, 'Zavrta Ladislav', in: *Hudební divadlo v českých zemích: osobnosti 19. Století* [Musical Theatre in the Bohemian Lands: Outstanding Figures of the Nineteenth Century], Prague: Divadelní Ústav, Academia, 2006, p. 632.

²⁶ Adriano LUALDI, *L'arte di dirigere l'orchestra. Antologia e guida*, 2nd ed., Milan: Hoepli, 1949, pp. 250–258.

²⁷ Borut KLABJAN, *Českoslovaška na Jadranu. Čebí in slovaki ter njihove povezave s Trstom in Primorsko od začetka 20. stoletja do druge svetovne vojne* [Czechoslovakia in the Adriatic. Czechs and Slovaks and their links with Trieste and the Littoral from the beginning of the twentieth century to the Second World War], Koper: Založba Annales, 2007, pp. 90–91.

of *čitalnice*, who studied composition at the school of Koper under the mentorship of the Bohemian violinist and organist Josef Czastka and who acted as director of the Philharmonic Society which included more than thirty pupils.²⁸ In 1912, the Slovenes created the *Glasbena Matica* (Music Centre) music school. It was provided with a small symphony orchestra which performed the music of Bohemian composers at the *Narodni Dom*, in particular that of Dvořák and Smetana, such as the famous *Prodaná nevěsta* (*Bartered Bride*, 1913).²⁹

The idea of a Slavic brotherhood encouraged the collaboration between Slovenes and Croats under the patronage of the Croatian bishop of Trieste Juraj Dobrila, the *spiritus movens* of the newspaper *Naša sloga* (Our Own Concord, 1870–1915). In the same cultural context we should mention the launch of the journal *Hrvatska misao* in Prague in 1897, and of the Pan-Slavic newspapers edited in Trieste by Ante Jakić from 1888 until 1909: *Il diritto croato*, *Il pensiero slavo*, *La pensée slave*, *Slavenska misao*.³⁰ The new Czech music as well as Masaryk's thought deeply influenced *Petar Svačić*, a historical opera written by the Croatian Josip Mandić. A concert performance was given in Trieste in 1903, and one year later it was staged in Ljubljana.³¹ A lawyer, composer and critic for the papers *Naša sloga* and *Jadran* (The Adriatic), Mandić moved to Prague after the First World War, where his scores were performed by the Czech Philharmonic under Václav Talich. Mandić married a Czech woman and changed his name into Josef. For the Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music, held in Vienna in 1932, his *Puhački quintet* (Wind Quintet) was performed in a section devoted to

²⁸ Janko LEBAN, 'Hrabroslav Volarič, slovenski skladatelj. Življenjepisna črtica' [Hrabroslav Volarič, Slovene Composer. A Biographical Sketch], *Dom in Svet* 9/7 (1895), pp. 214–215, 246–247.

²⁹ Pavle MERKŪ, 'Orkester Glasbene Matice pre požigom Norodnega Doma' [The orchestra of Glasbena Matica before the burning of the Narodni Dom], in: *75 let Glasbene Matice* [The 75 Years of Glasbena Matica], ed. Jože Koren, Trieste: Glasbena Matica, 1985, pp. 44–46.

³⁰ Petar STRČIĆ, 'Il *Naša sloga*, primo periodico croato a Trieste per i croati d'Istria e delle isole del Quarnero', in: *I croati a Trieste*, ed. Damir Murković, Trieste: Edizioni Comunità Croata di Trieste, 2007, pp. 245–268; Erika VALENTINČIĆ, 'Il periodico *Il pensiero slavo* di Ante Jakić, 1888–1909', in: *I croati a Trieste*, pp. 285–328.

³¹ Natka BADURINA, 'Croatian Historical Myth, South Slavic Brotherhood, and the Death of the Opera', *De musica disserenda* 12/1 (2016), pp. 81–93.

Czechoslovakia. He died in Prague in 1959 where he had been imprisoned for his political ideas.³²

As already mentioned, the activities of the Czechs, who numbered 2,000 of the wealthy bourgeoisie until the Nazi occupation of Bohemia in 1939, are linked either to the development of the national consciousness of the autochthonous Slovenes or the Croatian community. Nevertheless, the history of the Czech settlers in Trieste has a political and cultural profile that seems a paradox. There are some elementary reasons which justify the long stay of this group in the first part of the Habsburg Empire. On the one hand, the Italian irredentists of Trieste were fascinated by the patriotic movement that arose in Bohemia immediately after the Council of Vienna (later named as *narodni obrozeni*). On the other hand, the Czechs always promoted the common cultural life of Slavic societies, aiming to unify the Slavs of Central Europe against the aggressive Pan-Germanism of the Reich. An exception to this was the support of the Young Czech Party of the effort to establish an Italian university in Trieste which was rejected by Slovene and Croat students in 1914.³³ To this extent, there are two magnificent examples of this ambiguity: the biography *Giovanni Hus il veridico* (1913), written by the young Benito Mussolini, and the monograph *La nazione czecca* by Giani Stuparich (1915), reprinted in 1922, when the political framework of Europe was completely changed.³⁴ The future Duce of fascism glorified the spirit of freedom of the great reformer Jan Hus within a national framework, neither religious nor philosophical. For this essay, in 1926 he was awarded the Czechoslovakian White Lion.³⁵ Giani Stuparich, an Italian author of novels from Trieste, studied at the German University of Prague, but he was

³² Nataša LEVERIĆ, 'Josip Mandić (1883–1959): tragovi' [Josip Mandić (1883–1959): Traces], *Arti musices* 30/1 (1999), pp. 3–46.

³³ KLABJAN, 'Puzzling (Out) Citizenship and Nationality: Czechs in Trieste', pp. 273–274.

³⁴ Benito MUSSOLINI, *Giovanni Huss: il veridico*, Rome: Podrecca and Galantara, 1913; Giani STUPARICH, *La nazione czecca*, Catania: Battiato, 1915; enlarged edition: Napoli: Ricciardi, 1922, and Milan: Longanesi, 1969.

³⁵ Pavel HELAN, 'Mussolini Looks at Jan Hus and the Bohemian Reformation', in: *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice. vol. 4. Papers from the IV. International Symposium on the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, eds. Zdeněk V. David, David R. Holeton, Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2002, pp. 309–316.

intrigued by Czech patriotism. His book on *The Czech Nation* is the first essay explaining the thought of the great Bohemian thinkers, such as the politician František Palacký, the Catholic priest Karel Havlíček, the Lutheran Slovak Kollár and the philosopher Masaryk, whose works have been deeply analysed. Stuparich emphasizes the neo-Hussite perspective, which is the most important case study in the effort to understand modern Czech and Slovak cultures. Further, he clarifies why Jan Hus became a national hero for linguistic reasons, after two centuries under the dominant power of the German minority. The large-scale deployment of the Czech language between 1850 and 1870, as the writer argues, is related to the achievement of social independence. Finally, in connection with the rebirth of the Czech middle class which replaced the economy of the German citizens, even the Slovak scholars accepted this language as *Verkehrssprache* instead of German.

In conclusion, I think we are still suffering the consequences of the stagnant situation at the time of the Iron Curtain, given that the relationship between Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes and Croats of Trieste can only today be analysed as a concrete topic without the prejudices inflicted by a dangerous nationalism. National and cosmopolitan trends coexisted in Central Europe, including Trieste. On the contrary, Fascist, Nazi, and Communist policies were the main agents that killed or hid its multicultural identity as stressed by two antithetical slogans ‘Trieste città italianissima’ and ‘Trst je naš’.

