

## INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MODERN BOURGEOIS MUSICAL CULTURE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CARNIOLA AND LOWER STYRIA\*

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### *Abstract*

The article examines the institutionalization of modern bourgeois musical culture in Carniola and Lower Styria during the nineteenth century. This era was characterized by the decline of the old aristocracy and the rise of new social classes, including the wealthy bourgeoisie and the lower nobility (ennobled bourgeoisie), collectively referred to as the »Second Society« (*Zweite Gesellschaft*). Using various examples, this article traces the development of modern bourgeois musical culture from the private sphere to the »semi-public« and finally to the public sphere. It examines the founding of musical societies and their funding, the increased access to musical education and concert life, the transition from amateurism to pro-

fessionalism in musical practice, and the increasing participation of women in cultural and musical life throughout the nineteenth century in Carniola and Lower Styria.

**Keywords:** 19th-century music; music societies; music salons; modern bourgeois musical culture; Carniola; Lower Styria; Philharmonic Society of Ljubljana; dilettante musicians; professional musicians

**Ključne riječi:** glazba 19. stoljeća; glazbena društva; glazbeni saloni; moderna građanska glazbena kultura; Kranjska; Donja Stajerska; Filharmoničko društvo u Ljubljani; glazbeni amateri; glazbeni profesionalci

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Until the late eighteenth century, music in Western Europe was firmly in the hands of the old aristocracy and the church. In Austria, however, a mixed system of financing was common. It included limited patronage by the nobility (court, subscribers, estates), but also saw the paying public as an important factor for musical entrepreneurs. Moreover, there were no significant class distinctions within the various musical societies, as evidenced by membership in the *Academia philharmonicorum Labacensium* and the Philharmonic Society (*Philharmonische Gesellschaft*) in Ljubljana. Members came from various classes, including the landed gentry, the nobility, the upper and lower middle classes, and professional musicians.

Noble houses in Vienna cultivated music in a stately manner and maintained private orchestras with excellent professional musicians. The patrons often became skilled dilettante musicians themselves and participated in string quartets and other chamber ensembles. Some of the less wealthy noblemen formed their house orchestras by employing domestic servants as musicians, and footmen were often hired with an eye to their ability to play instruments.<sup>1</sup> There were few public concerts in the 1770s, as music, both professional and dilettante was mainly cultivated in private mansions.<sup>2</sup>

The power of the old nobility in the *ancien régime* began to wane and new classes emerged: a wealthy bourgeoisie and the lower nobility (ennobled bourgeoisie),<sup>3</sup> the so-called »second society« (*Zweite Gesellschaft*).<sup>4</sup> Bourgeois society focused on education, cultured behavior, and cultural achievement rather than the high-ranking family lineage that was the essence of aristocracy.<sup>5</sup> These classes lived side by side, albeit in strictly separate circles from the old nobility. In the upper echelons of society, music still played an important role in social advancement and entertainment. The new musical world that emerged now distinguished between three types of performers and listeners: professional musicians (*Professionelle Musiker* or *Professoren*), connoisseurs (*Kenner*), and music lovers (*Musikliebhaber*) or musical dilettantes (*Liebhaber und Musik Dilettanten*).

<sup>1</sup> As late as 1789, an advertisement was published in the *Wiener Zeitung* seeking a servant for a house and nobleman who could play the violin well and accompany difficult piano sonatas. See \*\*\*: *Bedieter wird gesuchte, Anhang zur Wiener Zeitung*, (1789) 11, 303.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur LOESSER: *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History*, New York: Dover Publications, 1990, 119.

<sup>3</sup> To raise the social profile of commerce and business, important entrepreneurs were often ennobled. Between 1792 and 1848, there were 2,545 promotions to the lower nobility, to knights and barons, in the Austrian Empire. Promotions were granted on the basis of merit for the country, charity, and a faultless life. See Ernst BRUCKMÜLLER: *Nove raziskave zgodovine avstrijskega meščanstva* [New Researches in the History of Austrian Bourgeoisie], *Zgodovinski časopis*, 45 (1991) 3, 375.

<sup>4</sup> The term »second society« was used to refer to individuals or families who were economically successful but did not belong to the first society (high nobility and nobility of origin of the »old nobility«) but to the (often newly nobilized) bourgeoisie. The second society included ennobled businessmen, civil servants, professors, artists, officers, and members of the liberal professions.

<sup>5</sup> Rebecca CYPRESS: *Women and Musical Salons in the Enlightenment*, Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 2022, 24-26.

The central places of music-making and social networking for the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie were the musical salons, which mediated between the public and private spheres. They were a regular gathering of professional musicians, elite amateurs, artists, and intellectuals, usually presided over by a female hostess or *salonnière*. They often played and sang with their guests and the professional musicians, engaged in music criticism through conversation, expressed their taste and esthetic values through patronage, and coordinated musical events.<sup>6</sup> Until the early nineteenth century, musical salons were accessible only by invitation or recommendation and primarily reflected social rank or status.<sup>7</sup> In contrast to the formality and opulence of aristocratic salons, bourgeois salons were usually small, informal, and cozy gatherings primarily for entertainment.<sup>8</sup>

At the turn of the century, Viennese salons had become home to countless private music academies where dilettantes of both sexes played music. Playing the piano or singing helped any fine girl to better integrate into society and increase her chances of marriage into wealth. Music-making was also beneficial for boys, as students of lesser fortune could obtain scholarships and jobs through important connections made at such gatherings.<sup>9</sup> The music played in the Viennese salons varied in both genre and difficulty and typically consisted of chamber, piano, or vocal music. Dilettantes, contrary to the modern meaning of the word, were often at a high technical level.<sup>10</sup> The most important instrument for women was the fortepiano but in order to maintain the separation between the public and private spheres, they usually did not reach a virtuoso level on this instrument. Among professional musicians, the virtuoso was the ideal for the performer. Achieving this status gave them access to the salons of the aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeoisie. The old nobility gradually began to adapt to the new circumstances and to integrate into bourgeois circles. The relatively closed and semi-private musical world slowly opened up, mainly through the institutionalization of bourgeois musical culture and education.

At the turn of the century, bourgeois society began to increasingly form itself into various associations. These became the core of bourgeois society, bringing together the highest and lowest classes. Initially, societies were formed for practical purposes, for industry and agriculture, but later they expanded to include art and music.<sup>11</sup> The

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>7</sup> Marko MOTNIK: Glasbeni salon družine Zois na Dunaju [Music in the Salon of the Zois Family in Vienna], forthcoming.

<sup>8</sup> Alice M. HANSON: *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 117.

<sup>9</sup> \*\*\*: Kurze Uebersicht des Bedeutendsten aus dem gesammten jetzigen Musikwesen in Wien (Beschluss), *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 3 (1800) 4, 65-67.

<sup>10</sup> A. M. HANSON: *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, 117-119; M. MOTNIK: Glasbeni salon družine Zois na Dunaju.

<sup>11</sup> E. BRUCKMÜLLER: Nove raziskave zgodovine avstrijskega meščanstva, 375-377.

bourgeoisie took a stronger initiative to formalize its culture, especially in the provinces where there were fewer cultural and musical activities. Although similar private but informal musical societies already existed in Vienna in the late eighteenth century, the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana was the first in the Austrian Empire to formalize and institutionalize bourgeois musical culture as early as 1794. The bourgeoisie in Celje followed relatively soon, founding a musical association in 1801. In the more musically vibrant cities, similar musical societies were founded by the nobility and bourgeoisie only in the 1810s: Prague (1810), Vienna (1812), Graz (1815). However, before 1840, there was neither a law on associations nor a statutory regulation in the Austrian Empire. It was not until 1843 that instructions for associations were issued, and in 1849 the patent for association meetings was granted.<sup>12</sup>

### *Musical Life in Carniola in the Late Eighteenth Century: the Redoutensaal, Casino Club and Salons of the Upper Class*

During the Baroque period, the Duchy of Carniola was strongly exposed to Italian cultural influences.<sup>13</sup> Following the Italian model, the patricians of Ljubljana founded the *Academia philharmonicorum Labacensium* as early as 1701, one of the earliest music academies outside Italy, which was active until the 1740s.<sup>14</sup> The closed circles of the nobility remained, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, the centers of cultural gatherings and the development of musical art in Carniola. The children of the upper class received an excellent musical education both at home, at the Jesuit and Italian colleges,<sup>15</sup> and for the girls at the Ursulines,

<sup>12</sup> Rudolf ANDREJKA: *Društveno pravo v Sloveniji* [Law of Associations in Slovenia], Ljubljana: Samozaložba, 1928, 183, 205; For more information on this topic, see also Katja ŠKRUBEJ: The foundation of a free state is free (music) association? Continuity and change after 1849/67 in Vienna and Ljubljana: Contribution to the history of orchestra *en tant que* association, in: Jernej Weiss (ed.): *Glasbena društva v dolgem 19. stoletju: med ljubiteljsko in profesionalno kulturo* [Music Societies in the Long 19th Century: Between Amateur and Professional Culture], Koper: Založba Univerze na Primorskem, 2023, 215-252.

<sup>13</sup> Stanko ŠKERLJ: *Italijansko gledališče v Ljubljani* [Italian Theater in Ljubljana], Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1973, 120.

<sup>14</sup> Members could initially be only experienced musicians (*Musices periti*), later also amateurs (*Amatores*). Their activities were mainly of a closed nature, with performances for members only. However, on special public occasions they also performed in public. Following the example of their Italian colleagues, they performed their own compositions as well as works by other European composers. The Academy was most active during the first two decades of its existence and is documented to have remained active until 1743, when its last recorded performance took place. The last document of its existence dates from 1769. See Metoda KOKOLE: *Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium v evropskem okviru* [Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium in the European Framework], in: Ivan Klemenčič (ed.): *300 Years Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium 1701–2001*, Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU Muzikološki inštitut, 46-47, 53.

<sup>15</sup> S. ŠKERLJ: *Italijansko gledališče v Ljubljani*, 34-35; Marija KACIN: *Žiga Zois in italijanska kultura* [Žiga Zois and Italian Culture], Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2001, 47-83, 87-89; Marija KACIN: *Žiga Zois in italijansko gledališče* [Žiga Zois and the Italian Theater], Trst: Self-publishing, 2013, 11-73.

and thus music was part of everyday life in the noble residences. Various correspondences and lists of booksellers show that in the 1780s the higher circles of Ljubljana and the province were initiated into the art of music and played in various ensembles on the harpsichord, the fortepiano, the flute (transverse and *douce*) and the violin, and also sang opera arias.<sup>16</sup> The palace of Baron Edelstein, Siegmund Zois (1747-1819), was the central meeting place of the intellectual elite in Carniola and a venue for musical gatherings. Zois was a passionate promoter of music and a lover of musical theater. In addition to people from his wider circle, he also supported guest Italian impresarios, maintained close contacts with music scribes, and encouraged several musicians in their activities.<sup>17</sup> He was also the initiator and translator of popular arias into Slovenian which were used by traveling Italian theater troupes in their performances at the Estates Theater in Ljubljana.<sup>18</sup>

However, the high nobility of Ljubljana began to move to the imperial capital (Vienna) for a better standard of living and the opportunity to participate in state politics and obtain well-paid positions at court, in the army, and in the imperial government. The departure of aristocratic patrons and the inability of the small city on the periphery to establish a profitable commercial performance of art music led to gaps in the cultural life of the city, which the bourgeoisie tried to fill.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, musical life in Ljubljana began to open up beyond the public theaters, churches, and the barely accessible residences of the high nobility. In the late 1780s and early 1790s, music academies were held in the *Redoutenssal*,<sup>19</sup> administered by the Estate Theatre Directorate, and in the Casino Club (*Casino-Gesellschaft*). The Casino Club was located on the first floor of the theater building and served as a meeting place for the aristocracy and wealthy bourgeoisie.<sup>20</sup> However, access to the casino was reserved only

<sup>16</sup> M. KACIN: Žiga Zois in italijansko gledališče, 81, 84; Dragotin CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem* [The History of Music Art in Slovenia], Vol. 2, Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1959, 13-14, 336-337.

<sup>17</sup> M. KACIN: Žiga Zois in italijansko gledališče, 74-110; S. ŠKERLJ: *Italijansko gledališče v Ljubljani*, 321-324, 340-341.

<sup>18</sup> Marija KACIN: Žiga Zois in italijansko gledališče, 99; Stanko ŠKERLJ, *Italijansko gledališče v Ljubljani*, 442-446.

<sup>19</sup> The *Redoutenssal* was built in 1786 in the premises of *Laibacher Redoute* by the Regional Estates. It was mainly used for carnival balls and concerts. On other occasions, festivities were also held in the building of the Estates Theater, which also hosted theater and opera performances and concerts. See Ivan VRHOVEC: *Iz domače zgodovine. Zabave v stari Ljubljani* [From Local History. Entertainments in Old Ljubljana], *Ljubljanski zvon*, 6 (1886) 1, 32-33; Marko MOTNIK – Lidija PODLESNIK TOMÁŠIKOVÁ: *Laibacher Deutscher* after Congress of Laibach, *Muzikološki zbornik*, 57 (2021) 2, 24.

<sup>20</sup> On 4 December 1782, Hieronymus Moll from Trieste, asked the Provincial Governor Office of Carniola for permission to establish a kind of literary casino (*Lecturcasin*) in Ljubljana, following the example of Paris, London and Vienna. The aim was to establish a club for entertainment, political and scientific purposes and other pleasant things, with one room dedicated to reading with the library and another for social entertainment. The Casino Club was to be open to all honorable persons, including

for its members (the town's elite), who met at certain times for parlor games, conversation, and entertainment, while tickets for the academies in the *Redoutensaal* were publicly for sale to anyone who could afford them. The musicians also occasionally performed individual instrumental and vocal pieces between the acts of the theatrical performances.<sup>21</sup>

The musicians who performed in these music academies and between acts and other musical events in the theatre were local dilettantes and professional musicians, as well as foreign professional musicians who stayed in the city for varying lengths of time.<sup>22</sup> The latter included traveling virtuosos who stopped in the city for a week or two as part of musical tours,<sup>23</sup> military bands that were stationed in the city for weeks or months,<sup>24</sup> and orchestral directors and *Kapellmeis-*

women of rank and character, who were to be admitted at all times with due respect for their rank and sex. Members were required to pay a membership fee, and individuals from countryside could also become members. Around 1800, a local coffee house owner named Castania opened a Casino Club (*Casino-Gesellschaft*) in a theater building for undersigned local dignitaries, to whom he made available the two rooms on the first floor, one of which was a billiard and game room and the other a conversation and reading room with daily newspapers. On the ground floor of the theater building, the coffee and billiard club was open to everyone. The Casino Club initially existed without formal statutes and with interruptions during the war years. In 1810, on the initiative of the local merchant Franz Galle, the Casino Club (*Casino-Gesellschaft*) was officially established with statutes and opened on 25 February 1810. The purpose of the Casino Club was to promote patriotic trades, education and social entertainment for the educated class, avoiding anything that could in any way be associated with public administration. In 1813, the Casino Club had 178 members (including those who had left Carniola with the French and entered with the Austrians), consisting of locals of various classes of high and low rank, clergy and officials, scholars and merchants. In 1834, new statutes were drawn up and a new constitution was adopted. At the end of August 1837, the Casino Club (*Casino-Verein*) moved into its own house, which still stands (in the northwest corner of Congress Square and houses the Academy of Music). Any educated resident of the city and any stranger could become a member, without distinction of class. The board was composed equally of the three most numerous classes: the nobility, the notables and the burghers, and the civil servants. See Ivan LAH: Ob stoletnici ljubljanske kazine [On the Centenary of the Ljubljana Casino], *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 3 (1936) 3, 182-183; Ivan VRHOVNIK: Vodnik in Prešeren – člana Kazine, *Ljubljanski zvon*, 32 (1912) 3, 167; Henrich COSTA: *Reiseerinnerungen aus Krain*, Ljubljana: Eger, 1848, 34; Heinrich COSTA: Das Casino in Laibach seit 1782, *Mittheilungen des historischen Vereines für Krain*, 19 (1864) 12, 97-99.

<sup>21</sup> The music played between the acts of the theatre plays in the early nineteenth century consisted of vocal music, arias from popular operas, instrumental music, and dance music such as *Menuetts* and *Deutsche*. Instrumental music included pieces for various instruments such as cor anglais, clarinet, flute, flautino, French horn and violin. Variations were most often performed as one of the most popular instrumental forms of the time. See Narodni muzej Slovenije/National Museum of Slovenia, Comedien-Zettel, Sig. II 13085, 1801/1802, 1802/1802, 1803/1804.

<sup>22</sup> For more about musical performances at the Estates Theater see Maruša ZUPANČIČ: Between Acts: Instrumental Music in Ljubljana's Estates Theatre (1802–1837), *Muzikološki zbornik*, 59 (2023) 1-2, 225-277.

<sup>23</sup> In 1791, a famous musician [Simon] Molitor played twice in Ljubljana on the violin and a »completely new instrument«, made of wine glasses, probably a glass harmonica. See \*\*\*: Inländische Nachrichten, *Laibacher Zeitung*, (1791) 95, 2.

<sup>24</sup> Before Maria Theresa's reign there was no regular army and the soldiers were volunteers. Maria Theresa's reign introduced a standing army and conscription in 1771. Each regiment also received its own brass band (*Musikcorps*), which consisted of 18 musicians. Another type of military band was a



ters of various German and Italian opera troupes who stayed in the city for one or more seasons.

Local professional musicians included former town and provincial musicians,<sup>25</sup> as well as a few others who worked as private teachers in noble houses, in the music chapel of the Ljubljana Cathedral, in the music band of the Sniper Corps (*Scharfschützencorps*),<sup>26</sup> in the Estates Theater, or in several capacities simultaneously. There were also a number of musical dilettantes, including the music band of the Civic Hunter Division (*Bürgerliche Jäger-Division*). These local musicians, both professional and dilettantes, were probably also part of an orchestra that performed at various musical events, including opera performances by Italian and German opera troupes. The latter usually traveled only with singers, orchestral director, and *Kapellmeister*, and used local musicians for orchestral accompaniment at opera performances in the Estates Theater.<sup>27</sup> The performance level of the local musicians must have been decent, for we read that at the music academy »our musicians« performed in the orchestra, which was »exquisite and the

band that played Turkish music (»Feldmusik« or »Turkisch Musik«) which was very popular in Ljubljana. See Josip ČERIN: Zgodovinski razvoj vojaških oz. turških godb [The Historical Development of Military or Turkish Bands], *Pevec*, 7 (1927) 5-6, 19; D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 15-16.

<sup>25</sup> In Ljubljana since the sixteenth century there were town musicians, such as town pipers (*Stadtpfeifer*, *Stadtturner*) and town fiddlers (*Stadtgeiger*), and the provincial trumpeters and timpanists (*Land-schaftlichen Trompeter and Heerpauker*). The latter played in military bands and at church and theater events. Due to the tax and administrative reforms, the town was forced to cut its expenses. In 1754 they were forbidden by the state to participate in churches and processions, and in 1769 they were disbanded, although they had a considerable fund (»Trompeterfond«), which was later used, in 1816, to found a public music school and to pay a music teacher. After their dissolution in 1769, the town and provincial musicians were recruited elsewhere and were still active in Ljubljana several decades later. See Josip ČERIN: Zgodovinski razvoj vojaških oz. turških godb, *Pevec*, 7 (1927) 7-8, 26-27; Andrej RIJAVEC: Ljubljanski mestni muziki [Ljubljana Town Musicians], *Muzikološki zbornik*, 2 (1966), 50-51; D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 15.

<sup>26</sup> In 1789 the Sniper Corps (*Scharfschützencorps*) was founded in Ljubljana, which had its own brass band consisting of 8 musicians (*Hauptboistenbanden*), which performed, among other things, in honor of the reception of Leopold II when he came to Ljubljana in 1790. See Josip ČERIN: Zgodovinski razvoj vojaških oz. turških godb, *Pevec*, 7 (1927) 7-8, 28; \*\*\*: *Inländische Nachrichten, Laibacher Zeitung*, (1790) 43, 2.

<sup>27</sup> Around 1787, the Estates Theater in Ljubljana made it a condition that visiting theater troupes had to have 7 soloists, a *Kapellmeister* and an orchestral director in their family, so these troupes did not bring instrumentalists with them, as they were provided with an orchestra in Ljubljana. However, even the Estates Theater in Ljubljana did not have its own professional orchestra, but only a small number of its own instrumentalists, who were supported by dilettantes and woodwind players from the military bands and later, from 1794, also by dilettantes from the Philharmonic Society. Particularly problematic was the lack of woodwind players, whom the theater entrepreneurs had to hire expensively from elsewhere in the absence of military bands. See D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 25; Jože SIVEC: *Opera v Stanovskem gledališču v Ljubljani od leta 1790 do 1861* [*Opera in Estates Theatre in Ljubljana from 1790 to 1861*], Ljubljana: Slovenska matica v Ljubljani, 1971, 175.

applause unanimous«. <sup>28</sup> Something similar was reported on another occasion, when the opera was performed by an »excellent orchestra«. <sup>29</sup>

The central place among the local dilettantes was undoubtedly occupied by ladies from the Higher Upper Class and prominent bourgeoisie who were musically active in the circles of the Ljubljana elite in the Casino Club and especially in the salons. Besides the military bands, which played popular Turkish music during important visits to Carniola, <sup>30</sup> the ladies of the upper class played an indispensable role when life in Ljubljana had to adapt to the habits of high society, which was accustomed to evening and night parties. During the visit of Emperor Leopold II and the Court of Naples to Carniola between 1790 and 1791, the *Redoutensaal* was transformed into a casino and gaming tables with chairs, cards and all sorts of other things were set up. Honorable citizens were also allowed to enter the casino club. The role of hostess was assumed by Archduchess Elisabeth. <sup>31</sup> In August 1790, an academy was held in her honor at the Casino Club, where Countess Felizita Porzia and Maria Felizita Johanna Nepomuzena Bonaza (née Zois; 1759-1809) delighted the Archduchess with their beautiful playing on the fortepiano, followed by another aria sung by Miss Fanny von Gasparini in a »silvery voice«. <sup>32</sup>

Although they occasionally performed at such academies, the intimate *milieu* of musical salons, which served primarily to foster social ties, provided women with a venue for free artistic expression. <sup>33</sup> At these social gatherings of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, which increasingly took the reins of musical life, the ladies played the fortepiano and sang. <sup>34</sup> A fashionable musical genre at such social gatherings was also chamber music, duos with piano and vocal ensembles, but especially the string quartet. This popular musical form and ensemble revived the

<sup>28</sup> »[...] Unsere Tonkünstler verkündigten für denselben im hiesigen Redoutensale eine grosse Akademie zum besten des Armeninstituts, und eines ohne sein Verschulden verunglückten rechtschaffenen Mannes. [...] Das Orchester war auserlesen, und der Beyfall unzweytheilt [...]« See \*\*\*: Inländische Nachrichten, *Laibacher Zeitung*, (1789) 12, 3.

<sup>29</sup> In 1790, Georg Wilhelm's opera troupe (»Wilhelmische Säng- und Schauspieler Gesellschaft« performed, among others, the opera *L'arbore di Diana*, which was given with an excellent orchestra (»bey einem vortreflichen Orchester gegeben«) in the Estates Theater. See \*\*\*: Inländische Nachrichten, *Laibacher Zeitung*, (1790) 25, 1.

<sup>30</sup> \*\*\*: Inländische Nachrichten, *Laibacher Zeitung*, (1789) 43, 1; \*\*\*: Inländische Nachrichten, *Laibacher Zeitung*, (1790) 43, 2.

<sup>31</sup> Eva HOLZ: Popotovanje cesarja Leopolda II. in neapeljskega dvora skozi Kranjsko v letih 1790 in 1791 [The Journey of Emperor Leopold II and the Neapolitan Court through Carniola in 1790 and 1791], *Kronika*, 50 (2002) 3, 301-312.

<sup>32</sup> »Am 28ten [...] wohnte Abends im Kassin der Ihr zu Ehren angestellten musikalischen Akademie bey, und schenkte vorzüglich Ihren Beyfall den auf den *Forte piano* trefflich spielenden, Graffin Porzia, und Fr. von Bonazza, dann der Silberstimme der in einer Arie sich auszeichnenden Fräulein Fanny v. Gasparini.« See \*\*\*: Inländische Nachrichten, *Laibacher Zeitung*, (1790) 44, 1.

<sup>33</sup> M. MOTNIK: Glasbeni salon družine Zois na Dunaju.

<sup>34</sup> »[...] die Damen aus dem hohen Adel [...] zum Fortepiano [...] spielten oder sangen.« See Friedrich KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach seit dem Jahre ihrer Gründung 1702 bis zu ihren letzten Umgestaltung 1862*, Ljubljana: Ig. V. Kleinmayr & F. Bamberg, 1862, 18-19.



organized musical activities in Ljubljana under the name Philharmonic Society (*Philharmonische Gesellschaft*).

### *The Establishment of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana*

When the ideas of bourgeois culture reached the society in Carniola, four music-loving citizens of Ljubljana founded a string quartet in 1794.<sup>35</sup> The initiative came from the chimney sweep master Karl Moos (1765-1799), a talented dilettante violoncellist<sup>36</sup> in the chapel of Archbishop Michael von Brigido, and the physician Karl Bernhard Kogl (1763-1839),<sup>37</sup> an accomplished violinist.<sup>38</sup> They soon invited the dilettante violinist Joseph Jellemnitzky, a treasurer of the building department, and the violinist of the cathedral chapel Joseph Flikschuh. The main purpose of the quartet was music-making among music lovers. They played string quartets by Pleyel, Haydn, Mozart and other contemporaries of the time.<sup>39</sup> After a few months of work, Kogl invited other music lovers to join their society on 28 October 1794, with the following invitation:

»Some lovers of musical art have formed a quartet among them and, in order to enliven their sociable pleasures, would like to admit some music lovers and friends to their society as listeners and members. Weekly musical rehearsals are held in quartets, and each member who joins contributes 1 fl. per month to the treasury to defray the expenses of the quartet. The undersigned now gives himself the honor to kindly invite every connoisseur and lover of pure musical art to join.«<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Jellemnitzky (1st Violin), Carl Flikschuh (2nd Violin), Karl Bernhard Kogl (Viola), Karl Moos (Cello). See F. KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 13.

<sup>36</sup> »[Moos] zeigte bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten seine Talente und spielte unter anderem das Violoncello als Dilettant meisterhaft.« See Friedrich KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach, seit dem Jahre ihrer Gründung 1702, bis zu ihrer letzten Umgestaltung 1862 (Fortsetzung)*, *Blätter aus Krain*, 6 (1862) 36, 143.

<sup>37</sup> Carl Bernhard Kogl was born in Novo mesto on 20 August 1763, and was baptized with the name Carolus Bernhard Kogel. He studied in Novo mesto and Zagreb and continued with his medical studies in Vienna, where he received his medical diploma on 11 February 1788. In 1790 he became the head of the garrison hospital and teacher of veterinary medicine in Ljubljana, in 1807 the chief physician (»protomedicus«) and in 1809 court physician (»Hofmedicus«) in Vienna. In 1816-1820 he was again chief physician in Ljubljana. He married Franzisca Jugoviz, the daughter of the physician. They had a son and three daughters: their son Franz Xsaver Kogl (1797-?) was a court musician (»Hofmusicus«) in Vienna, the daughter Julie Kogl was an amateur pianist. Kogl died on 14 March 1839 in Ljubljana. See Franz Graf v. HOCHENWART: *Vaterländisches. Dr. Carl Bernhard Kogl, Illyrisches Blatt*, (1839) 19, 77-79; Nadškofijski arhiv Ljubljana, Novo mesto, Kapitelj, Taufbuch 1756-1772, Sig. 01616, fol. 221; Nadškofijski arhiv Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Sv. Nikolaj, Sterbebuch 1836-1866, Sig. 01215, fol. 20.

<sup>38</sup> »Er spielte Violine mit vieler Fertigkeit.« See Franz Graf v. HOCHENWART: *Vaterländisches. Dr. Carl Bernhard Kogl*, 79.

<sup>39</sup> F. KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 13.

<sup>40</sup> »Einige Tonkunstliebhaber haben unter sich ein Quartett gebildet und wünschen zur Belebung ihres geselligen Vergnügens einige Tonkünstler und Freunde als Zuhörer und Mitglieder in ihre

Within a few days, a merchant, a burgher, a painter and teacher, a canon, apothecaries, priests, civil servants, craftsmen and some others joined as members. The first academy was held on 12 November 1794. Although the Society originally intended to perform only string quartets, the first academy opened with a »small symphony«,<sup>41</sup> which was a great success, so that the orchestra participated in all subsequent academies from then on. A month later, on 15 December 1794, the Philharmonic Society (*Philharmonische Gesellschaft*) was constituted and Carl Moos was elected its first director,<sup>42</sup> but the Society was not officially approved by the authorities until 1802.<sup>43</sup> The core of the society initially consisted of 15 members and four quartet members, among whom there was no one from the nobility. However, the nobility gradually adapted to the new situation and began to cooperate with the bourgeoisie, later joining the society.<sup>44</sup>

The aim of the Society was to ennoble the feelings by the selection of good compositions and to educate the taste by good performances in the circle of the society. In the spirit of the bourgeois mottos of fraternity, equality and liberty, the society strove for social equality, and allowed membership to anyone willing to contribute to the society's progress, regardless of status or class, whether as a music connoisseur (*Musikkenner*), performing musician (*Ausübende Musiker*), or a music lover (*Musikfreund/Liebhaber*). So the members were performers (professionals and dilettantes) or listeners. Slightly different rules applied to women, and only dilettantes (*Musikdilettantinnen*), but not listeners, were allowed to join the society.<sup>45</sup> Women did not have to pay membership dues as they were automatically

Gesellschaft aufzunehmen. Wöchentlich wird eine musikalische Uebung in Quartetten gegeben und jedes eintretende Mitglied erlegt zur Kasse monatlich 1 fl. zur Bestreitung der Kurrentauslagen. Der Unterzeichnete gibt sich nun die Ehre; jeden Kenner und Liebhaber der reinen Tonkunst zum Beitritte freundlich einzuladen.« See F. KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 13.

<sup>41</sup> »[...] diese erste gesellschaftliche Akademie mit einer kleinen symphonie eröffnen zu sollen [...]«, F. KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 14.

<sup>42</sup> After his death in 1799, Moos was replaced as director by Kogl, a physician.

<sup>43</sup> On 26 June 1802, the high approval and authorization of the Philharmonic Society was granted by a letter of the supreme imperial and royal minister for court and state police on the basis of the statutes of 1801, with the condition that »the police director or his deputies be granted the right of free admission at all times«. See F. KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 33.

<sup>44</sup> The nobility were among the donors of scores listed in the oldest catalog, compiled between November 1794 and June 1804. In the list of members of the Society of 1801, the nobility is listed among the members. See National Library Ljubljana (NUK), Ljubljana, *Musicalien-Catalog der Philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach*. Zum Gebrauche für auswärtige Herren Mitglieder dieser Gesellschaft. Nro. 1. Seit 1 Nov. 1794 bis Letzten Juni 1804; *Verzeichnis sämmtlicher wirklichen, und Ehren-Mitglieder der philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach*, Ljubljana: Philharmonische Gesellschaft, 1801.

<sup>45</sup> »Die musikalische Gesellschaft nimmt Jeden, von dem es sich versprechen läßt, daß er entweder Musikdilettant, oder als Musikliebhaber den Zweck der Gesellschaft befördern, nicht aber stöhren werde, in so lang die Anzahl der Mitglieder nicht festgesetzt wird, mit Vergnügen als Mitglied auf. Frauenzimmer jedoch machen hievon eine Ausnahme, in so fern nur wirkliche Musikdilettantinnen zu Mitgliedern ausgenommen werden können.« See NUK, Ljubljana, *Statuten der musikalischen Gesellschaft zu Laibach*, Ljubljana: Johann Friedrich Eger, 1796, [ff. 7-8].

considered honorary members who were also exempt from paying dues.<sup>46</sup> However, in order not to completely exclude the female audience, a quarterly academy was held, to which members could bring a female or male guest. It was not until 1849 that anyone could become a member, regardless of status or gender.<sup>47</sup>

The rehearsals and academies were in the Casino Club, then in the *Redoutensaal*.<sup>48</sup> The existence of the Philharmonic Society depended entirely on the financial support of its members. The costs of the weekly academies, including the fees for the guest performers, were covered by the membership fees due and voluntary donations. Members also had to provide their own instruments and musical materials.<sup>49</sup> As the prestige of the society grew, so did the number of members. In 1805 there were already 134 members, of whom only 9 were professional musicians<sup>50</sup> and 11 were women (dilettantes). Besides 38 aristocrats, the majority belonged to the respectable middle class: civil servants, higher officers, priests, doctors, scientists, writers and poets. The title of honorary member was given to regular members who had to leave the city for professional reasons as well as to foreign »friends of music« who could benefit the society by their »outstanding talents and merits«.<sup>51</sup> Later, the rules for new admissions became stricter, and candidates for honorary membership were required to send their compositions and news and reports about their work to the Society.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, [fol. 7].

<sup>47</sup> »In die Gesellschaft können alle Personen von unbescholtenem Rufe, ohne Unterschied des Standes und Geschlechtes, als Mitglieder eintreten.« See NUK, Ljubljana, *Statuten und Instructionen der philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach*, Ljubljana: Ignaz Alois Kleinmayer, 1849, 1; D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 84.

<sup>48</sup> In 1795 Dominik Fuga, one of the first members of the Society and coffee house owner in the Casino Club, offered the Philharmonic Society his billiard room at the Casino Club free of charge for rehearsals and academies. Later, the Philharmonic Society acquired premises in the *Redoutensaal*, which could be used throughout the year, except on days when it was occupied for balls. See Friedrich KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach, seit dem Jahre ihrer Gründung 1702, bis zu ihrer letzten Umgestaltung 1862 (Fortsetzung)*, *Blätter aus Krain*, 6 (1862) 37, 147.

<sup>49</sup> The donors of the scores were thus members of the society: professional musicians, but above all music lovers (aristocracy and bourgeoisie). See NUK, Ljubljana, *Musicalien-Catalog der Philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach*. Zum Gebrauche für auswärtige Herren Mitglieder dieser Gesellschaft. Nro. 1. Seit 1 Nov. 1794 bis Letzten Juni 1804; See NUK, Ljubljana, *Statuten der musikalischen Gesellschaft zu Laibach*, 1801 [fol. 7].

<sup>50</sup> Joseph Miksch (»Hofmeister beim Herrn Fryh. Von Hallerstein«), Giulio Radichi (»erster Tenor=Sänger bei der italienischen Oper«), Anton Höller (»Kapellmeister bei der hiesigen Metropolitankirche«), Jakob Hirschler (»Tonkünstler in Agram«), Sebastian Huber (»Tonkünstler in Klagenfurt«), Franz Dussik (»Kapellmeister bei dem k. auch k. k. Baron Reiskischen Infanterie=Regimente in Görz«). See NUK, Ljubljana, *Verzeichnis sämtlicher wirklichen, und Ehren-Mitglieder der philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach*. Im Jahre 1805.

<sup>51</sup> Bibliothek und Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, *Statuten der philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach* (Nach den Statuten vom Jahre 1794. Umgearbeitet, und festgesetzt im Jahre 1801), 1-2.

<sup>52</sup> The Society granted honorary membership to several distinguished musicians during its activity: Josef Haydn (1800), Eduard von Lannoy (1817), Josef Böhm (1818), Karol Lipiński (1818), Johann Peter

The academies of the society were scheduled for every week on Friday but there were also extraordinary academies. The season lasted throughout the year and was divided into two sections: from May to October and from November to the last day of April. Originally, they were not very different from the customs of private musical gatherings, especially in terms of accessibility, dilettante performers, smaller banquets, and repertoire, with the exception of the orchestra and entrance fees. Performances at the academies were in the hands of local dilettantes. The orchestra members included canons (»Domherren«) who also sang in the choir,<sup>53</sup> and members of the music band of the Civic Hunter Corps (*Bürgerliche Jägerkorps*),<sup>54</sup> which numbered eight musicians in 1795<sup>55</sup> and eleven since 1799.<sup>56</sup> With such an ensemble, the music band of the Civic Hunter Corps could have played Harmoniemusik, some pieces of which can also be found in the list of the *Musicalien-Catalog*. The rules of the society explicitly protected the less able dilettantes in the orchestra, stating that the better dilettantes should help the worse ones and not mock or resent their unintentional mistakes.<sup>57</sup> In order to increase the quality of the performances, the Society hired professional cathedral musicians<sup>58</sup> and paid them modestly,<sup>59</sup> but treated them more generously in case of illness by covering the costs of the doctor and pharmacy.<sup>60</sup> Due to a shortage of orchestra musicians, women were allowed to join the orchestra in 1801.<sup>61</sup> The orchestra was in the hands of the orchestral director, and this position was filled exclusively by dilettantes until 1823 when the position was officially taken

Pixis (1818), Ludwig van Beethoven (1819), Franz Xsaver Wolfgang Mozart (1820), Georg Hellmesberger (1821), Niccolò Paganini (1824), Heinrich Proch (1828), Anselm Hüttenbrenner (1836), Leopold Jansa (1841), Maria Milanollo (1843), Anton Door (1855), Ferdinand Hiller (1862), Johannes Brahms (1885), and Josef Hellmesberger (1891).

<sup>53</sup> August DIMITZ: *Geschichte Krains von der ältesten Zeit bis auf das Jahr 1813*, Ljubljana: Ig. V. Kleinmayer & Fed. Bamberg, 1876, 292.

<sup>54</sup> The Civic Hunter Corps was founded in 1795 and had its own music band, which also played Turkish music. See Peter RADICS: *Geschichte der Laibacher Schützen-Gesellschaft*, Ljubljana: Ig. V. Kleinmayer & Fed. Bamberg, 1862, 5, 7.

<sup>55</sup> The music band was led by J. B. Novak and consisted of 2 bassoonists, 2 hornists, 2 oboists and 2 clarinetists. See *Schematismus für das Herzogthum Krain*, Ljubljana: Ignaz Merk, 1795, 185-186.

<sup>56</sup> The music band consisted of 2 oboists, 2 clarinetists, 2 hornists, 2 bassoonists, and 3 trumpeters since 1799, and was directed by Joseph Schrey in 1804. See NUK, Ljubljana, *Instanz Schematismus für das Herzogthum Krain 1800*, Ljubljana: J. L. Eger, 1800, 195; *Instanzen Schematismus vom herzogthume Krain, dann der gefürsten Graffschaften Görz und Gradiska*, Ljubljana: Leopold Eger, 1804, 260.

<sup>57</sup> NUK, Ljubljana, *Statuten der musikalischen Gesellschaft zu Laibach*, Ljubljana: Johann Friedrich Eger, 1796, [6].

<sup>58</sup> In 1797 Valentin Vodnik reported about the Academy of the Society, where professional church musicians and dilettantes performed: »[...] musika dershana v' Lublanskim theatri, od taistih musikan-tarjov, kteri so al v' zerkovne musike slushbi, al sizer perjatli inu vuzheni od musike [...] Poslushavzov niblo presilno dosti«. See Valentin VODNIK: *Lublana 17. Dan Svizhana, Lublanske novize*, (1797) 14, 9.

<sup>59</sup> In 1796 the society engaged professional church musicians such as Josef Moriz, Stech, Wagner, Schedwig, and Wenzel Wratny for its concerts and paid them very modest sums of between 60 and 100 fl. annually. See F. KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 19.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*; D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 84.

by a first professional violinist and virtuoso Joseph Benesch (1795-1873).<sup>62</sup> The orchestral director was responsible for the tuning of the orchestra, the discipline and the artistic direction of the orchestra and even the choir in vocal-instrumental works.<sup>63</sup> Probably due to the lack of experience of these dilettantes, as early as 1805 the Society adopted a document with instructions for the orchestra, defining the rights and duties of the orchestral director and musicians, as well as the proper performance of compositions.<sup>64</sup>

Occasionally, military bands and traveling virtuosi participated in the society's music academies. One of the oldest documented events of this kind was the performance of the famous pianist Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837) in Ljubljana in 1796.<sup>65</sup>

The exact repertoire of the early academies is not clear, but we can infer the stylistic orientation of the society from newspaper reports, the *Musicalien-Catalog*,<sup>66</sup> and some other sources. In late 1794, the Society purchased the scores of *Der sterbende Jesus* by Antonio Rossetti, quartets, and other works by the »new composers« of the day, Pleyel, Haydn, Gyrowetz, and Beethoven's quintet, which gives us a glimpse of the repertoire shortly after the Society's founding.<sup>67</sup> The repertoire also included symphonic, vocal-instrumental and solo instrumental music with orchestral accompaniment, as well as piano, chamber and vocal music. As early as 1800,<sup>68</sup> the orchestra and choir of the Philharmonic Society performed Joseph Haydn's Mass in C major (*Missa in tempore belli*) on the composer's personal instructions and to great acclaim.<sup>69</sup> Seven months later, they performed a symphony, a piano

<sup>62</sup> Josef Jellemizky (1794-1800), Georg Eissler (1801-1808), probably Ignaz Krombholz (1804), Josef Jellemitzky (1809-1813), Georg Eissler (1814-1820), Johann Georg Pommer (1821), Johann Georg Altenburger (1822), Joseph Benesch (1823-1828). See F. KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 123; D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 96.

<sup>63</sup> NUK, Ljubljana, *Statuten der musikalischen Gesellschaft zu Laibach*, 1796, [fol. 6]; D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 97.

<sup>64</sup> *Instruktion für das Orchester der philharmonischen Gesellschaft zu Laibach*, Ljubljana: Philharmonische Gesellschaft, 1805.

<sup>65</sup> Hummel performed in Ljubljana on 5 February 1796. See F. KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 25.

<sup>66</sup> Compositions donated by members of the society and listed in the catalog were used, as we can surmise from the annotations and markings in the surviving scores.

<sup>67</sup> Friedrich KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach, seit dem Jahre ihrer Gründung 1702, bis zu ihrer letzten Umgestaltung 1862 (Fortsetzung)*, *Blätter aus Krain*, 36 (1862) 6, 144.

<sup>68</sup> \*\*\*: Nachtrag zum Laibacher-Artikel, *Laibacher Zeitung*, (1800) 105, 8.

<sup>69</sup> When the Society decided to offer Joseph Haydn honorary membership in 1800, they contacted for this purpose Wolfgang Schmith (Schmitt; ?-1807) to act as their advocate. He was a Vienna-based retired »Landschaftstrompeter«, and member of the Society, originally from Carniola. The canon (»Domherr«) Joseph Pinhak delivered the letter of recommendation on his way to Bohemia and Moravia to present it to Schmith in Vienna, but Haydn was at that time with Prince Esterhazy in Eisenstadt, as Schmith reported in his letter to Ljubljana. Pinhak therefore met Haydn on the way back, and Wolfgang Schmith's son, Anton Schmith (1762-?), reports in the letter to his friend Johann Baptist Novak (Janez Krstnik Novak) that the composer immediately gave them a new passage from his composition



and a violin concerto, and a cantata (*Krains-Empfindungen*) by Johann Baptist Novak, the libretto of which was distributed among the audience while the timpani and trumpets played in the *Redoutensaal* of the Estates Theater.<sup>70</sup> In 1802 the orchestra numbered twenty-five musicians,<sup>71</sup> including 6 military musicians,<sup>72</sup> and with such a line-up it was possible to perform most of the repertoire of the time.

The academies of the Philharmonic Society were originally not public, but rather »semi-public« in the sense of newspaper coverage, public venues, and entrance fees, and intended only for the closed circle of its members. But each of the members had the right to bring to the academy excellent foreigners or music lovers traveling through Ljubljana.<sup>73</sup> However, already in 1801 the society held quarterly open academies »for the pleasure of the citizens of Ljubljana«, to which each member could bring a male or female guest.<sup>74</sup> During the period of the Illyrian Provinces, the work of the Philharmonic Society was interrupted by the circumstances of the war, and for this reason many notable personalities left Ljubljana. Between 1809 and 1813, in protest against the French occupation, the Society ceased its activities and maintained cultural silence. Only one concert list from 1811 has survived from this period.<sup>75</sup> Most likely, similar concerts were organized in this period and not all members, especially professional musicians, followed the cultural silence. However, musical life again retreated more into private circles outside the official organization of the Philharmonic Society. The stagnation during the period of the Illyrian provinces continued to affect its activities for some time after the withdrawal of the French. In 1814 a concert was organized in which 50 dilettantes performed declamations and musical pieces. The Philharmonic Society was not mentioned and it seems that officials and dilettantes, a

upon request. Haydn also played the piano and sang along with most of the beginnings, and provided various tempos and phrasing instructions to Novak, the conductor, and the performers in Ljubljana. See F. KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 25-26;

<sup>70</sup> \*\*\*: Laibach, *Laibacher Zeitung*, (1801) 60.

<sup>71</sup> 4 first and 4 second violins, 2 violas, 2 cellos, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 flutes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 1 clarino, 1 timpani, and 1 contrabassoon. Friedrich KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach, seit dem Jahre ihrer Gründung 1702, bis zu ihrer letzten Umgestaltung 1862 (Fortsetzung)*, *Blätter aus Krain*, 6 (1862) 39, 156.

<sup>72</sup> J. ČERIN: *Zgodovinski razvoj vojaških oz. turških godb*, *Pevec*, 7 (1927) 5–6, 20.

<sup>73</sup> D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 84.

<sup>74</sup> »Alle vierteljahre wird zum Vergnügen der hiesigen Einwohner eine freye Akademie gegeben, wozu jedes Mitglied eine Manns- oder Frauenperson aufführen kann.« See *Statuten der philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach* (Nach den Statuten vom Jahre 1794. Umgearbeitet, und festgesetzt im Jahre 1801).

<sup>75</sup> The concert took place on 8 January 1811, with unknown artists performing the following program: 1. *Eine grosse Symphonie von Beethoven*, 2. *Eine italienische Sopran-Arie, vom Herrn Paer aus Camilla*, 3. *Eine Sonate auf zwey Fortepiano, vom Herrn Mozart, ohne Begleitung*, 4. *Variationen für die neuerfundene Klappenflöte, vom Herrn F. Devienne*, 5. *Eine Ouverture aus Clemenza di Tito, vom Herrn Mozart*, 6. *Eine italienische Sopran-Arie mit Chor, vom Herrn Paisiello*, 7. *Ein 9 Stimmiges Concertino mit Obligater Flöte, Klarinete und Violine, vom Herrn Krommer*, 8. *Eine Schluß-Symphonie*. See NUK, Ljubljana, Concert Program, Philharmonische Gesellschaft, 8 January 1811.



singer Carl de Zur, Joseph Luzac and Carl Thaddäus Nittel founded a new music association to support the Invalids Fund.<sup>76</sup>

In 1816, the Philharmonic Society slowly resumed its activities and the number of musical dilettantes increased considerably, but its organizational structure remained largely unchanged. Its academies were still held behind closed doors and for invited guests only,<sup>77</sup> albeit with entrance fees.<sup>78</sup> The audience was relatively large, for in 1817 the Philharmonic Society had 161 members (94 regular and 67 honorary)<sup>79</sup> and the concert halls in Ljubljana at that time held 160 to 550 listeners.<sup>80</sup> In 1818, the Philharmonic Society invited all instrumental and vocal dilettantes to become members and receive a »dilettante card«, which gave them access to the otherwise closed academies, which were open only to »real members«.<sup>81</sup> Dilettantes, professional and military musicians followed the performance and repertoire trends of the music centers. In addition to the academies and other public events in Ljubljana, musical evenings in the private salons of Ljubljana's elite,<sup>82</sup> who were also members of the Philharmonic Society, flourished during this period, especially from the 1820s onward.<sup>83</sup> With the development of the bourgeois

<sup>76</sup> »[...] zur Unterstützung des österreichischen Invaliden-Fonds sich gebildete Musikverein [...]«. See \*\*\*: Grosses Konzert zur Unterstützung des Invalidenfonds, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1814) 74, 2; \*\*\*: Laibach den 5. Okt, *Laibacher Zeitung*, (1814) 81, 1.

<sup>77</sup> NUK, Ljubljana, *Statuten der Philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach*, Ljubljana: Joseph Sassenberg, 1817.

<sup>78</sup> No entrance fee was charged for the 1811 concert, while the 1817 concert lists already included entrance fees.

<sup>79</sup> Ljubljana, NUK, *Verzeichnis sämtlicher wirklichen- und Ehren-Mitglieder der philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach*, Ljubljana: Joseph Sassenberg, 1817.

<sup>80</sup> D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 138.

<sup>81</sup> \*\*\*: Von der Direction der philharmonischen Gesellschaft, *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, (1818) 9, 1-2.

<sup>82</sup> Well-known salons of the time were those of the Governor of Illyria Joseph Camillo von Schmidburg, Count Gaisruck, the physician Carl Kogl, and the provincial officials Franz Gordon and Ignaz Costa. They also hosted, among others, important virtuosos such as Karol Lipinski and Franz Xsaver Mozart. See Heinrich COSTA: Eine Mozartfeier in Laibach, *Faust: Poligraphisch-illustrirte Zeitschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft, Industrie und geselliges Leben*, 2 (1855), 4-5; Cornelia SCHOLLMAYR-COSTA: Alte Tagebücher, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 111 (1892), 1033-1035; Rudolph ANGERMÜLLER (ed.): *Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart: Reisetagebuch 1819–1821*, Bad Honef: Verlag K. H. Bock, 1994, 227-232.

<sup>83</sup> An important source for the study of salon music and dilettantes at least from the 1820s onward are the dedications on the covers of the scores of mainly dance piano pieces. Dedications to amateurs and ladies are not only a tribute to the selected person, but also a signal to the public that the works correspond to the musical tastes and performance abilities of this numerous, commercially valuable audience. At the same time, works with such dedications were excluded from public critical consideration from the outset. See Emily GREEN: *Dedicating music, 1785–1850*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2019, 148; Marko MOTNIK – Lidija PODLESNIK TOMÁŠIKOVÁ: Laibacher Deutscher after Congress of Laibach, 23; Nataša CIGOJ KRSTULOVIC: Posvetila na skladbah kot izhodišče za razpoznavanje kulturne zgodovine 19. stoletja na Slovenskem [Dedications on the Compositions as a Starting Point for Recognizing the Cultural History of the 19th Century in Slovenia], *Kronika*, 56 (2008) 3, 474; Nataša CIGOJ KRSTULOVIC: Glasbenozgodovinsko in glasbeno estetsko ozadje fenomena »salonska glasba« na primeru meščanske glasbene prakse na Kranjskem [The Musical-historical and Mu-



Figure 1: NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Ljubljana, Statutes of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, 1796

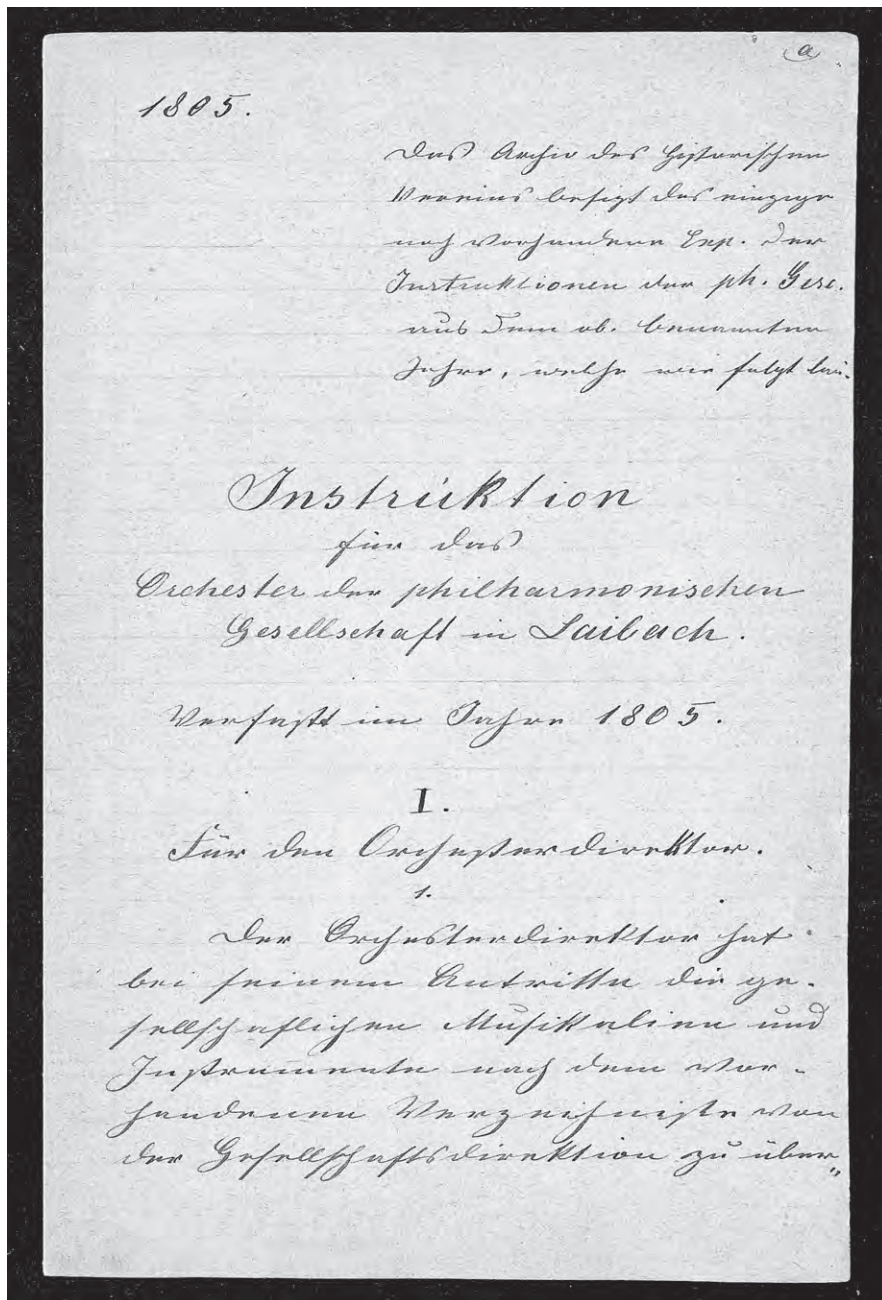


Figure 2: NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Instruction for the Orchestra of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, 1805

sie, concert life in Carniola in the nineteenth century gradually changed from a private to a public or institutionalized form of organization of musical life and became increasingly accessible and open.

### *Institutionalization of Music Education before 1850 in Carniola*

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, changes in thought, society, and economics led to the need to institutionalize music education. The demand for capable local musicians to perform church and theater music prompted the Philharmonic Society to establish a music school that would be accessible to a wider audience, but all three attempts between 1800 and 1803 were unsuccessful.<sup>84</sup> These efforts bore fruit a few years later, when in 1806 a music school was founded in the Ljubljana Cathedral with the aim of improving music and at the same time teaching talented young people in this art.<sup>85</sup> Regional scholarships were provided for pupils who lived in the seminary, and the teacher was allowed to hold two music academies annually in the *Redoutensaal* of the Estates Theater at his own expense. In the school 17 pupils (9 children and 8 adults) learned figured bass, choral singing, piano, organ, strings and other instruments.<sup>86</sup> However, French rule led to financial cutbacks and the dismissal of the entire ensemble of the cathedral chapel, leaving only an organist and four singers, which also meant the closure of the school.<sup>87</sup> This downsizing of the musical ensemble forced the dismissed professional musicians to relocate or work in other professions, which only widened the gap of professional performers and left the performance in the theater and orchestra of the Philharmonic Society in the hands of dilettantes.

Since public music education was unstable in the first half of the century, music instruction was in the hands of private teachers. In many cases, these teachers offered only individual music lessons, while some established their own private music schools, usually for singing and violin playing. In contrast to the public music schools, private music lessons were also open to girls learning singing or fortepiano. In the 1810s, basic lessons in fortepiano, violin, and singing were given privately in

sical-aesthetic Background of the 'Salon Music' Phenomenon, Exemplified in Bourgeois Musical Practice in Carniola], *Muzikološki zbornik*, 49 (2013) 1, 7.

<sup>84</sup> D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 109, 113, 115; Cvetko BUDKOVIČ: *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem I* [Development of Music Education in Slovenia], Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete Ljubljana, 1992, 13-14.

<sup>85</sup> The position for a teacher was advertised in various newspapers and the candidates were examined by a musically trained member of the Philharmonic Society. Out of five candidates, Ferdinand Schwerdt was accepted as a teacher. See D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 112; C. BUDKOVIČ: *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem I*, 15-18.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-17.

<sup>87</sup> Janez HÖFLER: *Glasbena kapela ljubljanske stolnice 1800-1810* [Ljubljana Cathedral Music Chapel 1800-1810], *Muzikološki zbornik*, 17 (1981) 2, 19.



Ljubljana by actors and musicians of the traveling opera troupes and some other private teachers. Although not required by law, basic music instruction with singing was also part of the general education system in elementary and secondary schools to promote vocal music for religious purposes.<sup>88</sup> Teachers at trivial schools were often also organists and *regentes chori*. Candidates with knowledge of music and mastery of musical instruments who could also teach instrumental music had an advantage when applying for vacant teaching positions, especially in smaller towns. In some cases, therefore, teachers at schools taught not only singing but also a variety of instruments such as strings, clarinet, flute, French horn and bassoon.<sup>89</sup> Musical knowledge and talent, with the exception of the trumpet in some cases, opened the door to education for poorer boys through scholarships, whereby they were obliged to continue playing music while on scholarship.<sup>90</sup>

However, the desire to establish a public music school in Ljubljana did not die out and was revived in 1814. At the invitation of the governorate, the Philharmonic Society prepared the basic outlines of the organization of the music school, taking into account the general advantages of public music lessons and the possibility of participation of teacher candidates. Among the Society's main objectives was that music instruction should last four years and be directed at boys between the ages eight and twelve. The major subjects were to be violin, piano, basso continuo, and organ, and pupils were to gain practical experience playing in church music and public academies during their music education. The requirements for a teacher were that he had to be a trained singer, organist and violinist, and also had a basic knowledge of woodwind instruments. The public music school at the Normal School (*Musikschule an der Normal-Hauptschule zu Laibach* or *Öffentliche Musikschule*) was established in 1816 and was also required to provide musical training for teacher candidates.<sup>91</sup> Priority was given to poorer boys, while children of wealthier

<sup>88</sup> Nataša CIGOJ KRSTULOVIC: Učenje glasbe in institucionalizacija glasbenega pouka [Learning Music and the Institutionalization of Music Lessons], in: Aleš Nagode – Nataša Cigoj Krstulović (eds.): *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem III: Glasba na Slovenskem med letoma 1800 in 1918*, Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2021, 193-194; D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 128-129.

<sup>89</sup> In 1814 the Trivial School in Trnovo was looking for a teacher of clarinet, flute, French horn and bassoon for 4 hours a week, and in 1815 the Trivial school in Postojna was looking for a teacher of organ, strings and woodwind instruments. In 1816, a position was advertised for a teacher at the trivial school in Čermelj who would be an organist and play several other instruments and give free instrumental lessons to the youth. See \*\*\*: Ein Schul- und Musiklehrer wird gesucht, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1814) 67, 3; \*\*\*: Verlautbarung, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1814) 79, 3; \*\*\*: Verlautbarung, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1816) 4, 4.

<sup>90</sup> \*\*\*: Gubernial-Verlautbarungen, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1823) 60, 907; \*\*\*: Gubernial-Verlautbarungen, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1823) 85, 1371.

<sup>91</sup> The position for a teacher was advertised in several newspapers in Ljubljana, Klagenfurt, Vienna and Prague, to which twenty-one candidates applied, including the nineteen-year-old Franz Schubert (1797-1828). The candidates from Vienna were examined by the court musician Antonio Salieri and applied with his recommendation. The first teacher became Franz Sokol from Bohemia.

parents had to pay school fees.<sup>92</sup> For moral reasons, all pupils were forbidden to play in the theater orchestra, let alone perform at dances, but with the teacher's permission they were allowed to play in the private academies of prominent families.<sup>93</sup> After a few years of operation, however, the school fell short of the expectations of the Philharmonic Society, which still depended on dilettantes for its orchestra and choir.<sup>94</sup>

In order to alleviate the shortage of musicians, which was becoming more and more noticeable every year, the Civic Hunter Corps (*Bürgerliche Jägerkorps*) took the initiative to open a private school for woodwind instruments for the sons of its members. The lesson plan was met with general approval, but fathers refused to let their sons learn music on the grounds that music produces only dissolute people.<sup>95</sup> The lack of a wide range of music instruction for various instruments was partially compensated for by Leopold Ferdinand Schwerdt (c. 1770-1854), the *Kapellmeister* of St James, who opened a public music school (»Öffentlichen Unterricht in der Musik«) in 1820 where he taught singing, strings, flute, clarinet, bassoon, oboe, horn, and other instruments.<sup>96</sup>

Although the Philharmonic Society had been striving to establish its own music school since at least 1799, and could only partially realize its goal in 1815 with the Violin School (*Violinanstalt*), which was closed a few years later due to poor and unprofessional work,<sup>97</sup> the music school in its organization did not begin until early 1821 with a singing school (*Singschule*).<sup>98</sup> The teacher for the first time was an officially trained musician, Caspar Maschek (1794-1873), a graduate of the Prague Conservatory. He gave also piano lessons at the school, which was for the first time open to girls that performed »the most difficult pieces of the greatest operas«.<sup>99</sup> Classes were open to all, but were free only for the children of Philharmonic Society members.

Among twenty-one candidates were public and private music teachers, church and military musicians from all over the Monarchy. See \*\*\*: Verlautbarung, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1816) 11, 1; Viktor STESKA: Javna glasbena šola v Ljubljani od leta 1816 do 1875 [Public Music School in Ljubljana from 1816 to 1875], *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 52 (1929) 2, 24-28.

<sup>92</sup> Twenty-four places were reserved for poorer boys aged 8 to 12, and 12 for children of wealthy parents who had to pay the fee. See \*\*\*: Oefentliche Musikschule zu Laibach, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1816) 86, 3-4.

<sup>93</sup> D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 116-117.

<sup>94</sup> D. CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 2, 131.

<sup>95</sup> F. KEESBACHER: *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 68.

<sup>96</sup> \*\*\*: Vermischte Verlautbarungen, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1820) 78, 1109.

<sup>97</sup> C. BUDKOVIČ: *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem I*, 51-52.

<sup>98</sup> On 2 November 1820, the singing school was founded and Caspar Maschek, a graduate of the Prague Conservatory, began teaching on 2 January 1821. 17 pupils (5 boys and 12 girls) attended the school. The school was in operation until 1829. C. BUDKOVIČ: *Razvoj glasbenega šolstva na Slovenskem I*, 52.

<sup>99</sup> \*\*\*: Anfichten eines Musikfreundes über die Gesangsschule der Laibacher philharmonischen Gesellschaft, *Illyrisches-Blatt zu Nutzen und Vergnügen*, (1823) 43, 165-166.



However, the problem of lack of local instrumentalists remained. After the Congress of Laibach (1821), which brought many foreign instrumentalists to the city and temporarily improved the situation, the shortage of violinists was already so great that it was impossible to assemble a medium-sized orchestra that could play in church music and theater without the participation of dilettantes.<sup>100</sup> Violin lessons were again taken over by private teachers. By 1826 there were private lessons in Ljubljana for violin, pianoforte, basso continuo, guitar and flute.<sup>101</sup> A great gain for the city was the arrival of two violin virtuosos in 1822, who opened their private violin schools one after the other. Schubert's friend Eduard Jaell (1793-1849) founded a private violin school (*Violinschule*) where he taught in four levels of difficulty, from absolute beginner to advanced player, following the method of the Paris Conservatory.<sup>102</sup> Joseph Benesch opened a private violin school with lessons for fortepiano and guitar in the fall with the permission of the governorate and on the recommendation of the Philharmonic Society.<sup>103</sup> In the same year the Philharmonic Society took the initiative to establish a school for woodwind instruments and organ. However, it was not until 1826 that a school (*Gesellschafts-Lehranstalt*) for string and woodwind instruments was founded, which, despite a great response, ceased its activities two years later for lack of funds. Music instruction was again in the hands of private music teachers, who offered lessons in singing, violin, fortepiano, and woodwind instruments. The Philharmonic Society searched for teachers in Vienna and Prague and in 1839 succeeded in organizing singing lessons for girls and men's choral singing. In 1848 the violin school was revived with Joseph Leitermeyer (1808-?).

Efforts to institutionalize music education in Carniola before 1850 did not result in well-organized and permanent instruction due to financial difficulties and limited opportunities to recruit trained teachers from the major European centers. Until 1850, women could generally only learn to sing and play the piano. The Philharmonic Society's music school did not flourish until the late 1860s, when new forces and formally trained musicians arrived from Vienna and Prague, laying a strong foundation for music education in the region.

<sup>100</sup> Arhiv Republike Slovenije/Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana, *Einreichungs-Protokoll des k. k. Guberniums zu Laibach*, registratura VIII, fasc. 55 (1821-1822), no. 159, AS 14.

<sup>101</sup> \*\*\*: Unterrichts-Nachricht für die Violine, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1821) 47, 790; \*\*\*: Im Musikfreunde, *Laibacher Zeitung*, (1822) 83, 1326; \*\*\*: Musik-Unterricht wird angetragen, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1824) 42, 893; \*\*\*: Unterricht im Clavierspielen, *Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 82 (1823) 1330.

<sup>102</sup> \*\*\*: Anzeige der neuerrichteten Violin-Schule, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1821) 102, 1613.

<sup>103</sup> \*\*\*: Unterricht im Violinspielen, *Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 82 (1823), 1330; Maruša ZUPANČIČ: Joseph Benesch: A Forgotten Bohemian Violinist and an Imitator of Niccolò Paganini Within the Central European Violinistic Tradition, *De musica disserenda*, 18 (2022) 1-2, 32-40.

**Anzeige der neuerrichteten Violin-Schule.**

(1) Unterzeichneter macht hienit bekannt, daß er seine bereits angekündigte Violin-Schule am 2. Jänner 1822 in seiner Wohnung eröffnen werde, und gibt zugleich die Eintheilung und Preise derselben zur allgemeinen Kenntniß. Sie wird aus 4 Abtheilungen bestehen:

	wöchentliche Stunden	Zahl der Schüler in einer Stunde	Preis monatlich
1. Abtheilung: Gänzliche Anfänger	3	6	2 fl.
2. Abtheilung: Solche, welche zwar schon einige Vorkenntnisse haben, aber dennoch die Anfangsgründe wiederholen müssen.	3	6	2 fl.
3. Abtheilung: Solche, welche die Anfangsgründe nicht mehr benötigen.	3	4	3 fl.
4. Abtheilung: Solche, welche sich im Vortrage einzelner Stücke ausbilden wollen.	5	4	3 fl.

Die Lehrmethode ist nach der Schule des Pariser Conservatoriums. Sollten zwey gleichartige Spieler eine Stunde für sich nehmen, so bezahlt jeder für wöchentliche 3 Stunden 4 fl. monatlich.

Eine Privatstunde, sie mag für einen Anfänger oder fertigen Spieler seyn, kostet 20 kr. Diejenigen, welche in eine oder die andere Abtheilung einzutreten wünschen, werden ersucht, sich baldigst zu melden, damit die nöthige Eintheilung getroffen werden könne.

Zugleich zeigt Unterzeichneter an, daß bey ihm aller Bedarf seiner Schüler an Saiten, Musikalien und Instrumenten, von guter Qualität und zu den billigsten Preisen, immer zu haben seyn werde.

Seine Wohnung ist am alten Markt Nr. 155 im zweyten Stock.  
Eduard Jäll, Violinspieler aus Wien.

Figure 3: Advertisement for the private violin school of Eduard Jäll, \*\*\*: Anzeige der neuerrichteten Violin-Schule, *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, (1821) 102, 1613.

### *Rise of the Slovenian Bourgeoisie and National Musical Aspirations in Carniola*

In the second half of the nineteenth century, musical life became increasingly institutionalized, and official regulations on the establishment of societies led to a proliferation of societies.<sup>104</sup> The revolutionary year of 1848 was marked by the demands of an economically increasingly powerful bourgeoisie for political rights, while at the same time many nations, including the Slovenes, were formulating their own national programs. The Slovenian clergy, as the most respected group of the Slovenian intelligentsia, took a leading role in the national awakening. By founding church choirs and associations, they awakened national consciousness and the struggle for the rights of the Slovene nation, especially among peasant youth.<sup>105</sup> This period saw the emergence of the Slovenian bourgeoisie, for whom education was a central factor in social mobility.<sup>106</sup> For them the focus was not on general bourgeois values, but on national goals.

With Bach's absolutism, the political attempts of the Slovenes were suppressed, and national aspirations shifted to the cultural sphere. In the period of national awakening and growing conflicts between Slovenes and Germans,<sup>107</sup> reading societies developed as a form of strengthening national consciousness and the cultural-political situation in the Monarchy. Their purpose was to read newspapers and books in various European languages and to enjoy recitals (*bésede*), dances and plays. However, only members could attend in these events, and only men of legal age could become members, while women could only join a reading society through their spouse. Although the reading societies were intended for the

<sup>104</sup> The first regulations on the formation of societies were issued in the Austrian Empire in 1840, but it was not until the imperial patent of 1849 that the field was really regulated, which provided for the formation of societies without the permission of the authorities, but only for those that complied with the general law and posed no danger to the state. Another patent of the same year regulated the freedom of association and assembly, dividing societies into political and non-political, while a new patent of 1852 divided societies according to their activities, including the promotion of science and art. The 1867 Law on Associations, which defined the conditions for the establishment of associations, the organization of meetings and, last but not least, the types of associations, brought more detailed regulation. Association meetings could be public, but only for members and guests, and all larger gatherings required special permission from the authorities, who strictly controlled the events. See Ivanka ZAJC CIZELJ: Društveno življenje v Celju do leta 1918 [Life of Associations in Celje until 1918], in: Tone Kregar (ed.): *Odsevi preteklosti 2: iz zgodovine Celje 1848–1918*, Celje: Muzej novejšje zgodovine, 1998, 208.

<sup>105</sup> Sanja URŠIČ: Čitalnice – Posebnost slovenske zgodovine. Nastanek, mreža in programi čitalnic v 1860–1900 ter njihov pomen na izobraževanje odraslih [Reading Societies – A Distinctive Feature of Slovenian History. The Emergence, Network and Programs of Reading Societies in the Period 1860–1900 and Their Importance in Adult Education], *Andragoška spoznanja*, 5 (1999) 3, 69–70.

<sup>106</sup> Damjan OVEN: *Javnost in meščanstvo na Slovenskem v 19. stoletju* [The Public and Bourgeoisie in Slovenia in the 19th Century], Master Thesis, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, 2016, 35, 76, 78.

<sup>107</sup> The transformation of Austrians in the mid-nineteenth century into Greater Germanic nationalists, German-speaking Austrians, Slovenian-speaking Austrians and Slovenians was an extremely complex process that took several decades, and the individual affiliations were in flux.

entire Slovenian nation, it was mainly the bourgeoisie and the nationally conscious intellectuals who gathered there.<sup>108</sup> Reading societies pursued their cultural mission with modest revenues, such as membership dues, entrance fees for various events, and other income that was barely sufficient to cover their operating costs, and were therefore rather limited in their activities.

One of the factors for the establishment of the National Reading Society (*Narodna čitalnica*) in Ljubljana in 1861 was the national disunity in the German-Slovenian choral society (*Liedertafel*), which was becoming increasingly German.<sup>109</sup> However, the national orientation did not initially prevent some Slovenes from renouncing membership in the Philharmonic Society, which at the time was at a much higher level of musical production. Among the Slovenes there were dilettante pianists and singers, for in the better Slovenian bourgeois houses piano and singing were part of the home education. These could perform at recitals and participate in choral music, but here also there were not enough instrumentalists to form an orchestra. For this reason, the National Reading Society tried for several years to maintain a music school and orchestra, but most of the time the orchestra did not have enough members and therefore had to rely on the municipal and military bands and the theater orchestra. Despite many difficulties, the National Reading Society succeeded in establishing the beginnings of a Slovenian concert production of vocal, symphonic, piano, solo and chamber music. The most successful were the local singers, while the instrumentalists, especially the pianists, remained at a dilettante level. However, immigrants and guest musicians (mainly Czechs and Croats) also made important contributions as instrumentalists with their outstanding performances.<sup>110</sup> In addition to its concert activities, the Reading Society also began to restore musical reproduction for the stage, founding the Drama Society (*Dramatično društvo*) in 1867.<sup>111</sup> Although music was only one of its tasks, the National Reading Society successfully laid the solid foundation for the institutionalization of Slovenian musical culture. The musical aspirations and organizational concept of the National Reading Society were adopted by the Slovenian Music Society (*Glasbena matica*),<sup>112</sup> which had been founded in 1872. For a time, the two societies worked side by side to promote Slovenian musical culture.

The Slovenian Music Society brought together amateur and professional musicians, the Slovenian educated elite, politicians and cultural figures. The rules

<sup>108</sup> S. URŠIČ: Čitalnice – Posebnost slovenske zgodovine, 71-72.

<sup>109</sup> Darja KOTER: Pevski zbori in glasbena društva [Choirs and Music Societies], in: Aleš Nagode – Nataša Cigoj Krstulović (eds.): *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem III: Glasba na Slovenskem med letoma 1800 in 1918*, Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2021, 83.

<sup>110</sup> Dragotin CVETKO: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Vol. 3, Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1960, 144-175.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 177-207.

<sup>112</sup> Nataša CIGOJ KRSTULOVIČ: *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina. Ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne* [History, Memory, Heritage. Ljubljana Music Society until the End of the Second World War], Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2015, 34.



of the music society stipulated that any educated person, male or female, could join the society.<sup>113</sup> In addition to the goal of improving the musical education of the widest possible range of amateurs, the society's long-term goal was to train professional musicians. However, financial difficulties already hindered the start of the school's activities when it was founded in 1882, as it was not even possible to hire teachers on a regular basis.<sup>114</sup>

In the absence of trained local teachers, mainly Czech musicians were hired from the Prague Conservatory.<sup>115</sup> The piano, violin and singing lessons were open only to children of Slovene parents.<sup>116</sup> The board paid for the school's inventory and teachers' fees from the founders' contributions and from the second school year on, the Music Society received support from the municipality, followed by regional and state support. In the first decades of its existence, however, it received many times less in state support than the Philharmonic Society, and this difference narrowed only gradually.<sup>117</sup> In addition to municipal, provincial, and state support, the Society's source of revenue consisted of membership dues, later tuition, and income from concerts, and the Society received some funds from the sale of its expenses and from donations.<sup>118</sup>

The Slovenian Society began to develop concert activity in the 1880s and in 1891 founded the choir as a regular but independent performing corps of the Society. At the turn of the century the Society began to establish branches in Slovenian and some other cities, such as Novo mesto (1898), Gorizia (1900), Celje (1908), Kranj (1909) and Trieste (1909). There, too, the music teachers were mainly from Bohemia and Moravia.<sup>119</sup> Since the Music Society of Ljubljana still lacked successful instrumentalists, its concert activities initially focused mainly on vocal music. However, it increasingly began to work towards the creation of an orchestra, the first Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra (1908-1913). On average,

<sup>113</sup> »Vsak izobražen človek, bodi si moškega ali ženskega spola, more pristopiti k društvu«. See NUK, *Glasbena zbirka, Ljubljana, Pravila glasbene matice, 1872.*

<sup>114</sup> N. CIGOJ KRSTULOVIC: *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina. Ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne, 36.*

<sup>115</sup> By the end of the First World War, more than 25 music teachers from abroad worked at the Music Society School. Most of them studied at the Prague Conservatory. See Maruša ZUPANČIČ: *The Role and Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Societies in the Slovene Lands Until the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary*, in: Jernej Weiss (ed.): *Glasbena društva v dolgem 19. stoletju: med ljubiteljsko in profesionalno kulturo*, Koper: Založba Univerze na Primorskem, 2023, 349.

<sup>116</sup> Music lessons took place first in the apartment of a board member on Kongresni trg, then in the National Reading Society and finally in various other places. After numerous moves, the idea prevailed that the school should have its own property, and finally a house was purchased, where the music society began its operations as late as 1896. See Nataša CIGOJ KRSTULOVIC: *Zgodovina, spomin, dediščina. Ljubljanska Glasbena matica do konca druge svetovne vojne, 38.*

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-37.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> M. ZUPANČIČ: *The Role and Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Societies in the Slovene Lands Until the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary, 394.*

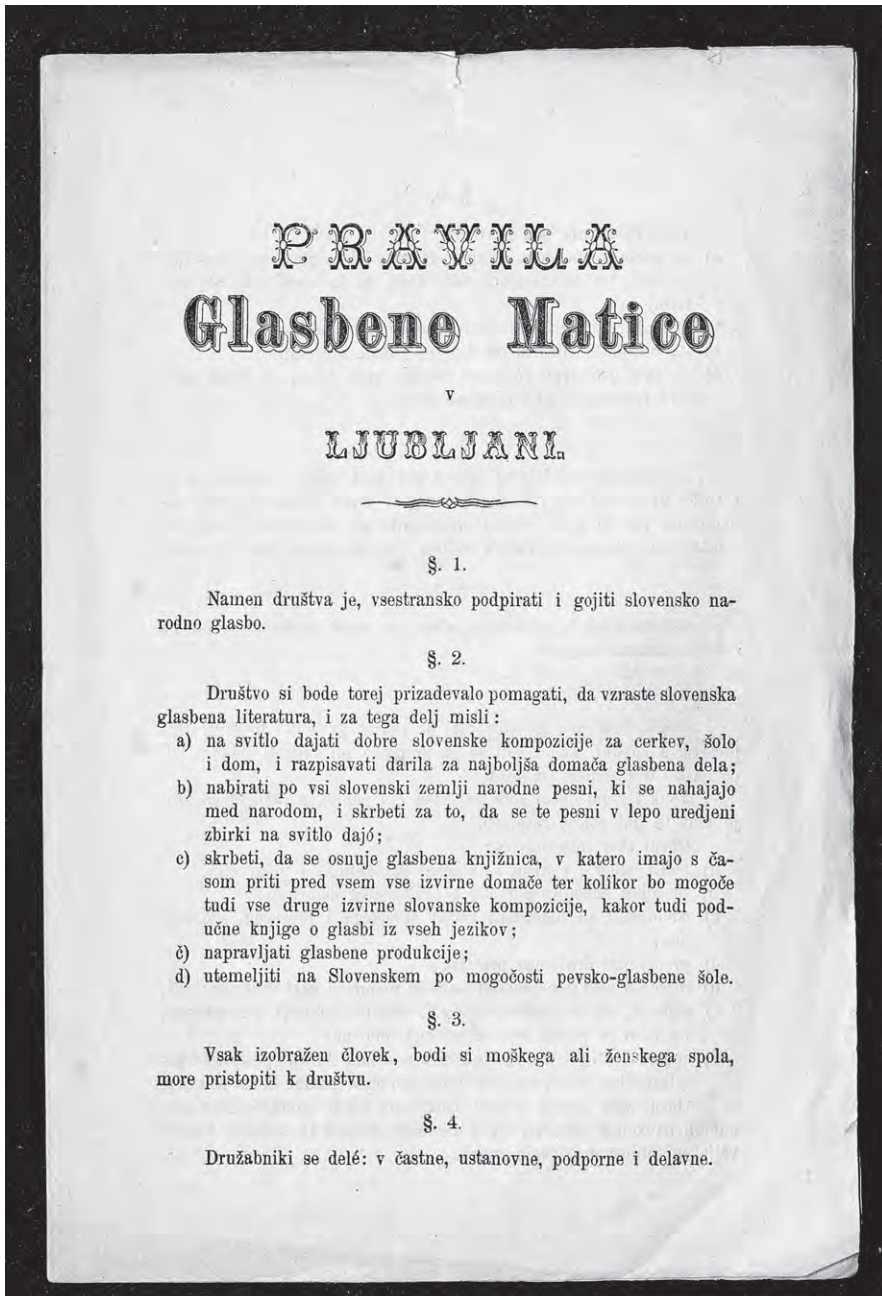


Figure 4: NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Rules of the Music Society (Glasbena matica) in 1872



the Society gave two regular concerts per season with vocal and vocal-instrumental repertoire and a male and female choir. It also organized musical evenings with a smaller number of performers and with mainly instrumental pieces, as well as singing evenings of a social character. By organizing concert life and educating concert audiences, it helped to establish a solid tradition in the field of singing and provided a starting point for the development of instrumental music and the modernization of Slovenian musical activities. With the establishment of the Music Conservatory (*Ljubljanski glasbeni konservatorij*) in 1919, the Music Society succeeded in creating the conditions for the professionalization of Slovenian musical activity.

### *Institutionalization of Modern Bourgeois Musical Culture in Lower Styria in the Pre-March Period*

At the end of the eighteenth century Lower Styria was a land of small markets and towns such as Maribor, Celje and Ptuj. The nobility and the bourgeoisie lived in towns, while the working class lived together with the peasantry in the suburbs. Music was cultivated by local church chapels, municipal brass bands, the nobility and the bourgeoisie in the music salons, and occasionally by traveling opera troupes and military bands. An important role in the development of music in Lower Styria at that time was played by a theater that served to entertain the bourgeoisie. Since the guest performances of the traveling theater troupes were irregular, the initiative for theater production came from the local dilettantes, who joined together to form dilettante associations.<sup>120</sup>

The first association with a cultural mission in Maribor was therefore the *Dilettantenverein*, founded in 1793 by Count Ignaz La Motte. Its members were not yet directly involved in music, but in theater with the staging of local theatrical performances, occasional musical declamations, academies and concerts. Their most

<sup>120</sup> Such associations also existed in Maribor and Ptuj. In Ptuj, the theater building was built in 1786 by the local nobility as well as merchants and craftsmen, and the performances were organized by the local association of dilettantes. In 1826, the first guest theater troupe performed operettas. Later, the theater groups, which usually stayed in the town for one or more years, were touring groups from Celje, Maribor and Varaždin. Besides serious and classical works, burlesques, farce comedies and operettas were performed, and occasionally an opera. The theatrical performances were later often accompanied by local musicians from the brass band, the music school and other musically talented citizens. See Manica ŠPENDAL: *Iz Mariborske glasbene zgodovine* [From the Music History of Maribor], Maribor: Založba Obzorja, 2000, 11-12; Ferdinand RAISP: *Pettau Steiermarks älteste Stadt und ihre Umgebung, topographisch-historisch geschildert*, Graz: A. Leykam, 1958, 239; Alenka BAGARIČ: *Ptujsko glasbeno društvo v letih 1878–1882* [Ptuj Music Society in the years 1878-1882], Bachelor Thesis, University of Ljubljana, Academy of Music, 1999, 20; Lidija ŽGEČ: *Glasbeno društvo 'Pettauer Musikverein' (1878–1920) in njegova notna dediščina* [The Music Society 'Pettauer Musikverein' (1878–1920) and Its Musical Heritage], Bachelor's thesis, University of Ljubljana, Academy of Music, 2004, 31-32.

important role, however, was that of charity, as they used the proceeds from the performances to support the poor of the town.<sup>121</sup>

The first serious steps towards the development of an organized musical life in the town were taken in 1823, when the teacher Anton Tremel (1775-1849) founded the Reading and Sociability Association (*Lese- und Geselligkeitsverein*) or Casino Club (*Casinoverein*) to keep the (permitted) periodicals, and organize social evenings with or without music.<sup>122</sup> The association was financed by the entrance fees and the annual contributions of its members, which included mainly the professors of the Gymnasium and the rest of the local bourgeoisie. The activities of the club initially flourished, organizing excellent entertainment events, musical evenings and dances with the support of local musicians and Count Kinsky's regimental band. However, the departure of many members also caused the musical performances to dwindle and the club ceased to exist in the 1850s.<sup>123</sup>

Two years after the Casino Club, the Music Association (*Musikverein*) was founded in 1825, whose purpose was to teach vocal and instrumental music and to perform church music and organize concerts. The members were music performers (*Ausübendes*) from the town, including several Czechs, and the surrounding area, while the honorary members were »friends of music« (professional and dilettante musicians) from abroad. The association was financed by annual dues and subscriptions paid quarterly. Music lessons were held in the gymnasium and in the normal school (*Normalschule*). The activities of the association were modest at first, and it was not until 1841, when it was reorganized, that it began to operate regularly under the leadership of Count Heinrich Brandis. The association organized musical evenings, concerts, and academies once a month, focusing on public vocal and instrumental performances by its members and the music school. Occasionally, foreign artists who stopped in the city on their way to Italy also performed. The Music Association and the Dilettante Association occasionally collaborated to organize some musical and literary events and to complement a theatrical season. In 1847, the Music Association had 140 regular members, including 62 performers, and there were about 160 pupils in the music school. The Music Association also gave rise to a male choral association (*Männergesangverein*) founded in 1846 by the aforementioned Anton Tremel. It was one of the first asso-

<sup>121</sup> Katarina KRAŠEVAC: Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru med leti 1793–1861 [Musical Life in Maribor 1793-1861], *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 76 (2005) 1-2, 42-43, 58.

<sup>122</sup> Rudolf Gustav PUFF: *Marburg in Steiermark*, Graz: Andr. Leykam'schen Erben, 1847, 264; K. KRAŠEVAC: Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru med leti 1793–1861, 44-45, 58.

<sup>123</sup> R. G. PUFF: *Marburg in Steiermark*, 264; Maja GODINA GOLJIJA: Social Life of Maribor Bourgeoisie in the Decade of Franz Liszt's Visit to Maribor: Between the Private and the Public, in: Valentina Bevc Varl – Oskar Habjanič (eds.): *Europe in Time of Franz Liszt*, Maribor: Pokrajinski muzej Maribor, 2016, 87; K. KRAŠEVAC: Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru med leti 1793–1861, 44-45.

ciations of its kind in the Habsburg Monarchy and organized concerts, tours and other events until 1936.<sup>124</sup>

In contrast to Maribor, musical life in Celje, a somewhat smaller town at the time,<sup>125</sup> was officially organized two decades earlier. There the first heralds of the new ideal of a bourgeois (civil) society were the civil servants employed by the *Kresija* (*Kreis-Amt*), mainly educated people, and advocates of new values, among whom there was also a great interest in music. As early as 1801 they founded a musical association (*Musikverein* or *Godbena družba*)<sup>126</sup> under the leadership of Johann Michael Neuner (1773-1854), a district treasurer from Bavaria.<sup>127</sup> Since 1805, French troops marched through the town and inflicted considerable damage on the already impoverished inhabitants,<sup>128</sup> which greatly affected the work of the association, which was dissolved in 1807 »due to the sad circumstances of the time«. <sup>129</sup> It was not until 1821 that an amateur theatre group was founded in Celje for entertainment and socializing, led by the printer Johann Jeretin (1803-1853), later his son Eduard. Men and women of all generations participated in these performances, which took place every fortnight in autumn and winter. Together with the former members of the music association founded at the beginning of the century, this amateur theater group also performed plays with singing and operatic works.<sup>130</sup>

At this time, the need for music education arose in the town, as the main school trained teachers from the wider region, and the position of teacher in the provincial schools was usually connected with the post of church organist. In 1824 Karl Kuppel, a first grade teacher and town organist, began teaching singing and organ at the school. However, by 1830, the singing and organ lessons were supplemented by the teaching of various instruments such as piano, clarinet, violin, flute, horn and trumpet at the main school. The age of the pupils ranged from 8 to 24, among them were also teacher candidates. Girls between the ages of 8 and 14

<sup>124</sup> R. G. PUFF: *Marburg in Steiermark*, 261; K. KRAŠEVAC: Glasbeno življenje v Mariboru med leti 1793–1861, 46-53; Katarina KRAŠEVAC: Musical Life in Maribor in the period 1793–1861, in: Valentina Bevc Varl – Oskar Habjanič (eds.): *Europe in Time of Franz Liszt*, Maribor: Pokrajinski muzej Maribor, 2016, 75-78.

<sup>125</sup> In the late eighteenth century Maribor was a small provincial town with about 246 houses and about 2,150 inhabitants and Celje with about 200 houses and 1,800 inhabitants.

<sup>126</sup> Ignacij OROŽEN: *Celska kronika*, Celje: Johann Jeretin, 1854, 182.

<sup>127</sup> J. M. Neuner died on 22 June 1854 in Celje. See Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor, Maribor, Celje – Sv. Danijel, Sterbebuch 1851-1861, sig. 00265, fol. 61.

<sup>128</sup> Janez CVIRN: Meščanski svet 1780–1848, in: Marija Počivavšek (ed.): *Odsevi preteklosti I. Iz zgodovine Celja 1780–1848*, Celje: Muzej novejšje zgodovine, 1996, 77.

<sup>129</sup> I. OROŽEN: *Celska kronika*, 186; Andreas GUBO: *Geschichte der Stadt Cilli von Ursprung bis auf die Gegenwart*, Graz: U. Mosers, 1909, 337.

<sup>130</sup> They performed the popular opera *Die Schweizer Familie* by Josef Weigl, and later also several times *Ahnfrau* by Franz Grillparzer. See A. GUBO: *Geschichte der Stadt Cilli von Ursprung bis auf die Gegenwart*, 348.

also took singing and piano lessons. Music teachers at the main school also offered private violin and piano lessons for boys between the age of 5 and 16.<sup>131</sup>

All these efforts led the teacher and director of the school Simon Rudmasch (1795-1858) and Abbot Franz Xaveri Schneider to take the initiative to found a music association, mainly to revive the musical culture and spread the musical knowledge in the town, but above all to improve the musical knowledge of the teacher candidates. At the beginning of 1832, the first subscriptions to the new musical association were accepted at a bourgeois ball on 29 January 1832, attended by the entire social elite of Celje and its surroundings. In February the statutes were drawn up and on 1 March 1832 the Lavant Music Association (*Lavanter Musikverein*) was officially founded.<sup>132</sup> On 1 May, Joseph Leitermeyer (1808-?) from Vienna became music teacher and orchestral director at the newly founded association. The association recruited its personnel also from the preparatory course at the local primary school (*Hauptschule*) in Celje. The statutes of the Lavant Music Association connected the school service with the orchestral director of the association.<sup>133</sup> The Lavant Music association participated with the theatrical group and gave musical performances on the theater stage in Celje. They played orchestral works, and virtuoso pieces.<sup>134</sup> Leitermeyer opened a private school for singing (for girls) and violin playing (for boys) and performed Weigl's *Die Schweizer Familie*, Schenk's *Dorfbarbier*, Haydn and other great works in town with his singing and violin pupils and local dilettantes.<sup>135</sup> The music society Lavant was dissolved at the end of 1846, because the bourgeoisie in Celje lacked a »sense of music« and the expenses exceeded income.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Slovenski šolski muzej Ljubljana/The Slovenian School Museum in Ljubljana, Glavna šola, Aufweis der Musikschüler der kaiserl. Königl. Kreißhauptschule zu Cilli, 1832/1833.

<sup>132</sup> Ignaz Orožen in his *Celska kronika* incorrectly states the founding year as 1836. See I. OROŽEN, *Celska kronika*, 198; Slovenski šolski muzej Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Glavna šola Celje, Protokol der Verordnungen in Schulsachen für die k. k. Hauptschule Cilli von 1831 bis 1847, Fasc. 79/2, fol. 295; Zgodovinski arhiv Celje, Chronik der Cillier Hauptschule (1777–1870), SI ZAC/0868, sig. 32/324.

<sup>133</sup> Ivanka ZAJC CIZELJ: K zgodovini glasbe v Celju (1824–1866) [To the History of Music in Celje (1824–1866)], *Celjski zbornik*, 23 (1987) 1, 306; Karl KRONER: Simon Rudmasch – Nekrolog, *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 4 (1858) 1, 20–26.

<sup>134</sup> The newspaper reports on two events where the Overture to *Weissen Frau* and Meyseder's *Rondeau* were performed successfully and precisely, Mr. Freudenreich from Zagreb shone with the flute, Joseph Leitermeyer played Variations on a Hungarian Theme by Johann Taborsky »with fire, power and reliability«, and the unknown musician showed a rare skill on the guitar, and the duets *Vestalin* and the Overture to *Le nozze di Figaro* were also well played. See \*\*\*: Aus Cilli. 5. November, *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung und Originalblatt für Kunst, Literatur, Mode und geselliges Leben*, 25 (1832) 236, 943.

<sup>135</sup> NUK, Glasbena zbirka, Ljubljana, Philharmonische Gesellschaft, Personalia, Joseph Leitermeyer to Joseph Wagner, 24 September 1837.

<sup>136</sup> The remainder of its assets, including musical instruments, were donated to the Church of St Daniel. See Slovenski šolski muzej Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Glavna šola Celje, Protokol der Verordnungen in Schulsachen für die k. k. Hauptschule Cilli von 1831 bis 1847, Fasc. 79/2, fol. 295; I. ZAJC CIZELJ: K zgodovini glasbe v Celju (1824–1866), 306.

After that, the bourgeoisie of Celje could only enjoy themselves in the theater in the summer and in the Casino Club in the winter as there were no other places left in the town which provided opportunities for it. However, with the general modernization and the strengthening of the new bourgeoisie and the political changes in the Monarchy, social life in Celje became more and more differentiated and diverse.<sup>137</sup>

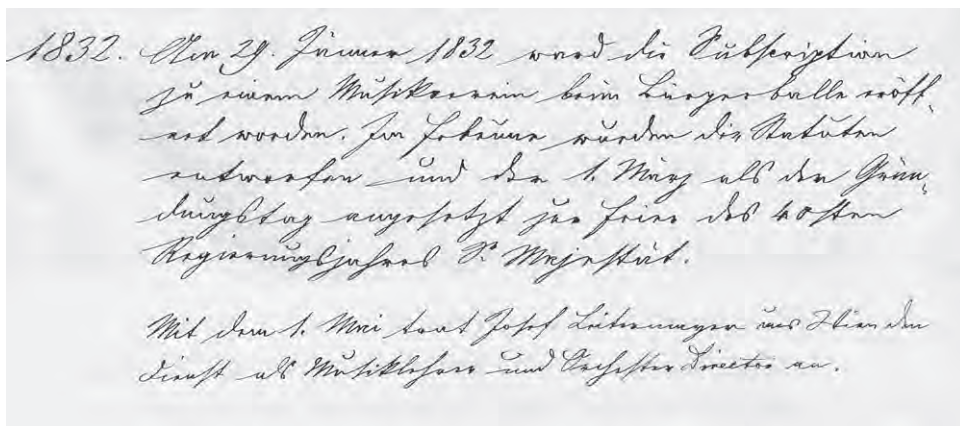


Figure 5: The establishment of the Lavant Music Association, Zgodovinski arhiv Celje, Chronik der Cillier Hauptschule (1777–1870), SI ZAC/0868, sig. 32/324.

### *Music Associations and National Division in the Musical Life of Lower Styria after the March Revolution*

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Lower Styria was home to a thriving petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie. This group consisted of a variety of professions such as small entrepreneurs, engineers, technicians, lawyers, doctors, teachers, various civil servants and professors. Despite their varying social statuses, they shared a common bourgeois lifestyle that mirrored the habits and customs of their urban counterparts. While German and Slovene bourgeois societies had previously coexisted in Lower Styria, their relations and dynamics changed considerably over time. German was the predominant language in Lower Styria, and the German majority prevailed in the upper echelons of society. Regardless of the regional, occupational, income and class differences between the bourgeois factions, a national divide emerged, especially toward the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Janez CVIRN: Družabno življenje celjskega meščanstva v Celju [The Social Life of the Celje Bourgeoisie in Celje], in: Tatjana Badovinac – Rolanda Fugger Germadnik (eds.): *To in ono o meščanstvu v provinci*, Celje: Pokrajinski muzej, 1995, 29.

<sup>138</sup> Vasilij MELIK: Središča, provinca, meščani, in: Tatjana Badovinac – Rolanda Fugger Germadnik (eds.): *To in ono o meščanstvu v provinci*, Celje: Pokrajinski muzej, 1995, 6-9; A. BAGARIČ: *Ptujsko glasbeno društvo v letih 1878–1882*, 6.



Music continued to be an important part of the daily life of the bourgeoisie. Playing instruments and singing remained essential elements of education and refinement. The piano, in particular, occupied a prominent position in the homes of the bourgeoisie and was an important part of family celebrations and other social gatherings. In bourgeois families, it was common for daughters to learn to play the piano and sing in order to entertain guests during visits. In their pursuit of bourgeois ideals, the less affluent classes also tried to emulate this trend, with the pianino – a smaller version of the piano – intended for them.<sup>139</sup> In Celje, for example, the arrangements of symphonies by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven for piano four hands, as well as popular opera arias, lieds, and salon works for violin and piano were performed in some bourgeois houses.<sup>140</sup>

Soon music moved from the homes of the bourgeoisie to various cultural associations, which became a new form of social life for the bourgeoisie to satisfy a variety of their interests. Most of these associations focused on entertainment and filling leisure time providing ample opportunities for their members to enjoy music and dancing. In the 1850s, municipal brass bands contributed to cultural revitalization and entertainment.<sup>141</sup> More and more associations were founded in which the cultivation of music was the main focus. These organized concerts and singing meetings played an important role in all major events in Lower Styria. The musical societies founded by Germans in the region, the musical activities of the Slovene reading societies and the German and Slovene choral societies shaped the musical tastes and habits of the Styrians and helped to spread the arts to a wider population. Attending musical and theatrical events was an unwritten obligation

<sup>139</sup> Andrej STUDEN: Meščanska stanovanjska kultura, in: Tatjana Badovinac – Rolanda Fugger Germadnik (eds.): *To in ono o meščanstvu v provinci*, Celje: Pokrajinski muzej, 1995, 13.

<sup>140</sup> Fritz ZANGGER: *Künstlergäste*, Celje: Celeja, 1933, 1-4.

<sup>141</sup> In Ptuj, the brass band musicians of Ptuj organized themselves into an independent musical association as early as 1855, within the framework of which the municipal brass band (*Städtische Musikkapelle*) began its work, continuing the rich tradition of the previous centuries. The city administration endeavored to maintain the brass band and for this purpose brought additional instrumentalists from elsewhere, who were offered positions as city officials with a satisfactory salary. It played a central role in the musical life of Ptuj, and performed at all municipal festivities, such as vocal-instrumental masses in the parish church of St George, processions, weddings, funerals, reading society events and in the theatre. In 1878 it came under the auspices of the newly founded Ptuj Music Association (*Pettauer Musikverein*). In Maribor, the municipality in Maribor founded the Municipal Chapel (*Städtische Musik-Kapelle*) in 1855, which was composed of members of Count Kinski's regimental band, the Maribor Music Association, and former pupils of the association's music school. Two years after the opening of the workshops, the Maribor Southern Railway Choral Society (*Marburger Südbahnliedertafel*) was founded in 1865, followed by the Southern Railway Workshop Band (*Südbahn-Werkstätten-Kapelle*) in 1869. Some of the musicians had previously played in various military bands. In Celje was a municipal brass band (*Ständischen Musik-Kapelle*), conducted by Anton Zinauer (1822-1883). See L. ŽGEČ: *Glasbeno društvo 'Pettauer Musikverein' (1878-1920) in njegova notna dediščina*, 20; Bruno HARTMAN: *Mariborsko filharmonično društvo [Maribor Philharmonic Society]*, *Časopis za zgodovinske in narodopisje*, 78 (2007) 2-3, 81-83; M. ZUPANČIČ: *The Role and Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Societies in the Slovene Lands Until the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary*, 352-353.

for the middle classes. National consciousness and the growing national intolerance between the Slovene and German populations, which, especially at the end of the century, divided the hitherto largely common audience, led to the division of societies into Slovenian and German. Nevertheless, the German music societies founded in the late 1870s and early 1880s in Ptuj, Maribor and Celje established concert life and music education and remained a driving force until the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

In 1878, in Ptuj, the local bourgeoisie and music lovers discussed the establishment of a brass band and an association that would be responsible for musical events.<sup>142</sup> With the generous support of the town's residents, the Ptuj Music Association (*Pettauer Musikverein*) was founded on 9 March 1878. The driving force behind the association was Victor Schulfink, a merchant and amateur pianist. The other founders included merchants, landowners, lawyers, civil servants and some craftsmen. Although some Slovenian intellectuals were also among the founders, most of the members of the association were Germans. The committees of the association consisted exclusively of Germans until 1920.<sup>143</sup> The association was founded with the aim of promoting good music, and for this purpose a music school and an orchestra were established.<sup>144</sup> The orchestra participated in all important events in Ptuj and the association founded several ensembles that met the needs of the town musical events.<sup>145</sup> The association regularly organized various events such as soirées, concerts and park music. According to the statutes the orchestra had to participate in private and public events (with or without payment), and pupils of the music school were obliged to participate in the association's events free of charge after obtaining the qualification.<sup>146</sup> The repertoire performed by the association included symphonic and choral music as well as solo pieces, often with guest musicians from Graz. As early as 1879, the association began organizing chamber music evenings, which were mainly performed by local musicians. The association was led by amateur musicians, while musical direction and instruction were entrusted to professional musicians. Since there was a lack of trained local musicians, artistic directors and teachers were mainly employed from the German,

<sup>142</sup> \*\*\*: Musikverein, *Pettauer Wochenblatt*, 1 (1878) 2, [2-3].

<sup>143</sup> L. ŽGEČ: *Glasbeno društvo 'Pettaufer Musikverein' (1878–1920) in njegova notna dediščina*, 34.

<sup>144</sup> The orchestra performed for the first time two weeks after its formation on 31 March 1878. To improve the quality of the orchestra, a music school was established on 1 June 1878. In 1885 it was upgraded to a public music school. See A. BAGARIČ: *Ptujsko glasbeno društvo v letih 1878–1882*, 23.

<sup>145</sup> They had a string sextet and a string orchestra of 14 or 16 musicians who played at soirees and dances. A brass band (*Harmonie-Kapelle*) of 16 or 18 musicians played at soirees, excursions and dances and 14 musicians played at funerals (*Leichenmusik*). In the theatre (*Theaterkapelle*) a sextet or group of ten played. The orchestra was therefore called by different names: *Kapelle*, *Städtische Kapelle*, *Harmonie-Kapelle*, *Blech-Harmonie-Kapelle*, *Grosse und Kleine Orchester*, etc. See Alenka BAGARIČ: *Ptujsko glasbeno društvo v letih 1878–1882*, 35.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

Czech and Austrian regions. Most of them received their musical education in Weimar and Graz, but also in Dresden, Leipzig and Vienna.<sup>147</sup> The first female teachers appeared at the Ptuj Music Association School only at the beginning of the twentieth century to teach piano, while the first female violin teacher appeared at the school only a few years before the First World War. If musical events were initially subordinated to the requirements of social events and the tastes and preferences of the majority of the audience, the Ptuj Music Association succeeded in establishing a concert life and systematic music education in Ptuj, especially from the late 1880s. Despite many obstacles, they performed a demanding repertoire that included overtures or shorter works for orchestra, supplemented by concertos for violin, piano or cello with orchestral accompaniment, chamber music works and works for various vocal ensembles.<sup>148</sup>

A year after the establishment of the music association by the bourgeoisie in Ptuj, a group of music-loving burghers founded in 1879 the Celje Music Association (*Cillier Musikverein*).<sup>149</sup> Their aim was to promote the musical culture in Celje, to train young musicians and to establish an orchestra.<sup>150</sup> At the beginning, the orchestra consisted mainly of rural musicians who played »little more than peasant music«. <sup>151</sup> But when the town office and the district court began to fill auxiliary positions with professional musicians, and the number of capable amateur musi-

<sup>147</sup> M. ZUPANČIČ: The Role and Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Societies in the Slovene Lands Until the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary, 384.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> On the founding committee were: Franz Blümel, Eduard Jeretin, Fritz Mathes, Josef Negri, Dr. Prosinagg, Josef Rakusch, Josef Reitter, Franz Zangger, and Anton Zinauer. See \*\*\*: Das erste Decenium der Cillier Musikvereins-Schule, *Deutsche Wacht*, 15 (1890) 61, 4; F. ZANGGER: *Künstlergäste*, 21; Roman DROFENIK: Glasbena šola glasbenega društva (1879–1918) [Music School of the Music Society (1879–1918)], *Celjski zbornik*, 25 (1989) 1, 331–346.

<sup>150</sup> Thirty-two candidates applied for the vacant position of a *Kapellmeister* who would also be a teacher at the music school and organizer of member productions. The first association's concert was on 9 May 1880, and the first performance of the orchestra was on 17 August 1879. The music school (*Musikvereinschule*) was opened on 1 October 1879. The music school began with violin and wind instrument lessons and enrolled only 12 students. Due to low enrolment, the actual lessons were limited to violin and divided into four groups. The first student examination on 15 February 1880 did not meet expectations. It was decided to make music lessons accessible to other circles and to extend them to other instruments and singing. In 1887, piano lessons were introduced. Finally, in the tenth school year, singing lessons began, as well as lessons in instruments other than piano and violin. There were 24 students for piano, 23 for violin, two for cello, one for flute, two for clarinet, and nine for various wind instruments. The level of the school developed gradually. After ten years, the violin and piano lessons were divided into two sections: for beginners and advanced students three hours a week. In piano lessons there were always two students, in violin lessons there were individual lessons. See \*\*\*: Das erste Decenium der Cillier Musikvereins-Schule, *Deutsche Wacht*, 15 (1890) 61, 4–5; \*\*\*: Musikschule, *Deutsche Wacht*, 5 (1880) 79, 3; \*\*\*: Cillier Musikverein, *Cillier Zeitung*, 4 (1879) 25, 2; \*\*\*: Der Musikverein in Cilli, *Laibacher Tagblatt*, 12 (1879) 70, 3.

<sup>151</sup> »Diese Kapelle bestand in den ersten Jahren zum großen Teil aus ländlichen Musikanten und leistete kaum mehr als eine bessere Bauernmusik.« Among the forces were a policeman and his son, several workers, railwaymen etc. See F. ZANGGER: *Künstlergäste*, 21.

cians gradually increased, the quality of the orchestra improved. Moreover, the treasury of the association was strengthened by a grant from the City Council.<sup>152</sup> The Celje Music Association then hired foreign *Kapellmeisters* and teachers, mainly from Austrian, Czech and German regions, who had received their musical education in Vienna, Graz, Salzburg and Prague. Under their direction, the orchestra and the association held one or more symphonic concerts annually, featuring works ranging from classical to contemporary composers. The first female music teachers, exclusively singers and pianists, did not appear in the Celje Music Association until the 1890s. The repertoire of the association included overtures to well-known operas, as well as solo pieces for violin. Occasionally, larger symphonic performances were supported by amateurs and other musicians from Celje and the surrounding of Ptuj, Maribor, and Graz.<sup>153</sup> In 1890, the first chamber music evening was held, but it was not until the foundation of the Chamber Music Association (*Kamermusikvereinigung*) in 1908 that chamber music performances began to flourish. Until the end of World War I, the Association organized symphonic and chamber concerts and maintained the musical life of the town at an exemplary level. However, Slovenes, who made up only one third of Celje's population at the turn of the century, were also active in the cultural sphere. Although they excelled in vocal music, they did not play a significant role in music due to financial constraints and the dominance of German societies. Until the establishment of the Slovene Music Society (*Glasbena matica*) in Celje in 1908, most of their events remained sporadic.<sup>154</sup>

In 1881, Dr. Matthaeus Reiser, the esteemed mayor and notary of Maribor, set out a mission to revitalize and modernize town by founding a musical association. With the support of like-minded citizens, they drafted the statutes of the newly founded Maribor Philharmonic Association (*Marburger philharmonischer Verein*). The aim of this association was to cultivate instrumental and vocal music among its members and to spread the arts in the town through concerts and vocal performances. That same year, the association invited citizens to join either as performing members (*Ausübende Mitglieder*) or as supporting members (*Unterstützende Mitglieder*). This invitation attracted a diverse group of music lovers, including nobles, important officers, wealthy citizens, and priests and church musicians from the town and beyond. Women were also welcome as performing and supporting members. The latter, in particular played a crucial role in the functioning of the

<sup>152</sup> F. ZANGGER: *Künstlergäste*, 23.

<sup>153</sup> M. ZUPANČIČ: The Role and Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Societies in the Slovene Lands Until the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary, 365.

<sup>154</sup> After the war, the inventory of the association was given to the Music Society (*Glasbena matica*) in Celje, founded in 1908 but officially approved only in October 1909. Most of the teachers and *Kapellmeisters* there were from the Czech lands and were former students of the Prague Conservatory. See M. ZUPANČIČ: The Role and Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Societies in the Slovene Lands Until the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary, 365-366.

association, with over 200 people joining in the first year alone. Their membership was an important source of financial sustainability for the association. The city council also recognized the value of this noble initiative and supported the association financially. In 1885, the Graz Regional School Board granted a concession to the music school, which received an annual subsidy from the Styrian Regional Council.

At the end of 1881 the orchestra, a choir and a music school were founded.<sup>155</sup> Initially, the school offered only violin and singing lessons (*Gesangscurs für Mädchen*) for girls. The association was obliged to organize four concerts per season, one of which was devoted to chamber music.<sup>156</sup> Soon the association began to organize social evenings and to give small concerts with chamber music ensembles for social purposes. Most of the performers, conductors, and teachers were professional musicians who came from Bohemia and various Austrian cities. They had studied mainly in Prague and Vienna, modernized the curriculum, raised the level of teaching, and introduced individual instrumental lessons, thus making a significant contribution to music education.<sup>157</sup> The first female teacher appeared in 1902.<sup>158</sup> The association's repertoire included overtures or shorter works for orchestra, supplemented by concertos for violin, piano or cello with orchestral accompaniment, chamber music works and works for various vocal ensembles.<sup>159</sup> For almost four decades (until 1917),<sup>160</sup> the Philharmonic Association was responsible for regular concert activities and music education in Maribor, thus contributing significantly to the cultural upswing of the town's population.

<sup>155</sup> Choir and orchestra rehearsals began in early January 1882, and a music school was opened with a vocal and violin section only. In its first season, the school had 104 pupils: 69 violin students and 28 vocal pupils. The choir consisted of 40 singers and the orchestra of 35 musicians. In subsequent years, the orchestra was augmented by professional musicians from the Theatre Orchestra and the Southern Railway Brass Band. See Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor/University of Maribor Library (UKM), *Erster Jahresbericht des philharmonischen Vereines in Marburg a/D*, Marburg: Im Selbstverlage des Vereines, 1882, 10-11; B. HARTMAN: Mariborsko filharmonično društvo, 88.

<sup>156</sup> The first concert of the association took place on 6 February 1882 in Grand Casino Hall. See UKM, *Enota za domoznanstvo in posebne zbirke, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, Erster Jahresbericht des philharmonischen Vereines in Marburg a/D. Am Schlusse des Vereinsjahres 1881/82*, Marburg, 1882, 15.

<sup>157</sup> M. ZUPANČIČ: The Role and Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Societies in the Slovene Lands Until the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary, 376-377.

<sup>158</sup> UKM, *Enota za domoznanstvo in posebne zbirke, Zbirka drobnih tiskov, XXII. Jahresbericht des philharmonischen Vereines in Marburg a/D. für die Zeit vom 1. September 1902 bis 31. August 1903*, Marburg, 1903, 9.

<sup>159</sup> M. ZUPANČIČ: The Role and Contribution of Immigrant Musicians to the Music Societies in the Slovene Lands Until the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary, 377.

<sup>160</sup> At the end of October 1917, the association ceased its activities and after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, it was dissolved by the Slovenian government on 31 May 1919. The newly founded Music Society (*Glasbena matica*) in Maribor took over the premises and the inventory (music archive). See B. HARTMAN: Mariborsko filharmonično društvo, 117.



Die Eröffnung der von **Cillier Musik-Verein** u. s. w. Itenen

840-1

## Musikschule

findet am **2. Oktober 1880**, Nachmittag 4 Uhr, im Musikvereinslok I., durch die Vorlesung der Musikschulordnung und Stundeneintheilung, eventuell Prüfung einzelner schon vorgebildeter Schüler statt.

Die Einschreibungen erfolgen am 30. Septemb., 1. und 2. Oktober 1880 von 1-2 Uhr Nachmittags im Vereinslokale; Etwaige spätere Anmeldungen können nur ausnahmsweise durch den Director des Vereines entgegen genommen werden.

Das Unterrichtsgeld beträgt für jedes Unterrichtsfach monatlich Ö.W. fl. 2.— (Für Vereinsmitglieder und deren Angehörige Ö.W. fl. 1.—) Für unbemittelte, reislustige und talentvolle Schüler kann halbe oder vollständige Befreiung vom Schulgelde erlangt werden und sind die disabenzügelichen Gesuche bis spätestens 15. Oktober bei der gefertigten Direction zu überreichen.

### Auszug aus dem Lehrplane.

Das Lehrziel der Cillier Musikvereinschule besteht zunächst in einer möglichst gründlichen allgemeinen elementaren Musikbildung und einer entsprechenden Ausbildung in den verschiedenen Zweigen der ausübenden Tonkunst. Die Erreichung dieses Zweckes wird angestrebt:

- a) Durch Ertheilung eines geregelten Musikschulunterrichtes durch den Musiklehrer (zugleich Vereinscapellmeister) und mehrere Hilfslehrer und Instructoren.
- b) Durch musikalische Musteraufführungen, (Vereinsconcerte) bei welchen allen Schülern der Besuch, und nach erlangter Befähigung auch die Mitwirkung gestattet wird.

Der Unterricht wird mit nachstehendem Lehrstoffe und durch nachbenannte Lehrkräfte ertheilt:

**I. Gesang und allgemeine musikalische Vorbildung.** Wöchentlich 3 Stunden. Musikalische Elementarlehre und damit verbundene Treff- und rhythmische Übungen, kleinere Übungsstücke mit Beachtung reiner Intonation und schönen Klanges nach der Chorgesangschule von Franz Willner, Lehrer Herr Kapellmeister David.

**II. Violinechule** in 2 Abtheilungen und mehreren je nach der Schülerzahl bemessenen Gruppen von je 4 Schülern.

- I. Abtheilung: Scales und Intervallübungen, leichte Übungsstücke nach der Schule von Hohmann, I. Theil.
- II. Abtheilung: Repetition des Lehrstoffes der I. Abtheilung, Schule von Hohmann, II. Theil. Lehrer: Herr Kapellmeister David, Hilfslehrer die Herren Hans B. von Villefort, N. Marschal, Radolf Schmidt.

**III. Violoncellschule.** Schule von Kummer, Duette von Dotzner, Kummer etc. Lehrer: Herr Kapellmeister David, Hilfslehrer Herr Vincenz Schmidt. Ausserdem wird je nach der Anmeldung von entsprechend musikalisch vorgebildeten Schülern auf allen übrigen wichtigeren Orchesterinstrumenten vom Herrn Kapellmeister unter Mitwirkung nachbenannter Mitglieder der Vereinscapelle als Instructoren unterrichtet.

**IV. Contrabass.** Schule von Johann Biddle. Instructor: Herr Gutschek.

**V. Clarinette.** Instructor: Herr Josef Kleppf.

**VI. Flügelhorn.** Instructor: Herr Neymayer.

**VII. Trompete.** Instructor: (kommt erst zur definitiven Besetzung.)

**VIII. Waldhorn.** Instructor: Herr Josef Repetz.

**IX. Fagotte und Bassflügelhorn.** Instructor: Herr Zisaj.

**X. Schlagwerk.** Instructor: Herr Roddeuscheg.

Nicht minder wird es Sorge der Direction sein, auch für den Unterricht an Klaviere und anderen oben nicht genannten Orchesterinstrumenten geeignete gute Lehrkräfte zu finden und werden diesbezüglich noch besondere Bekanntmachungen erfolgen.

CILLIER, am 28. September 1880. Die Direction des Cillier Musikvereines.

Figure 6: Invitation to enroll in the Music School of the Celje Music Association, \*\*\*: *Musikschule, Cillier Zeitung*, 5 (1880) 79, 4.

### Conclusion

With the decline of the power of the old aristocracy and the emergence of the new classes such as the wealthy bourgeoisie and the lower nobility (ennobled bourgeoisie), commonly referred to as the »Second Society«, salon music culture gradually began to open up. However, the transition of modern bourgeois musical culture from the private to the public sphere was a long and gradual process. While theaters had long been open to the public, albeit with an entrance fee, the salons of the upper echelons remained private for a time and were accessible only by invitation and recommendation until the early nineteenth century. These newly emerged classes lived alongside, but in strictly separate circles from the old nobility. They had access to the latter's salons only in exceptional cases. Professional musicians, on the other hand, had access to the salons of both the nobility and the bourgeoisie.

At the turn of the century, the bourgeoisie established musical societies and took over the reins of cultural and musical life. Until the legal regulation of the

establishment of societies in the second half of the nineteenth century, societies were financed mainly by the bourgeoisie through membership fees, entrance fees and donations. The founding of the Philharmonic Society (*Philharmonische Gesellschaft*) in Ljubljana in 1794 marked the transition of bourgeois musical culture in Carniola into the semi-public sphere, as the academies were reserved only for its members. At first, members came exclusively from the bourgeoisie, but eventually the nobility also adapted to the new social situation and joined the Philharmonic Society, thus participating in the development of the cultural scene.

Exceptions to the strict exclusivity of academies existed as early as the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For example, each member had the right to bring to the academy excellent foreigners or music lovers traveling through Ljubljana, and the society held quarterly open academies »for the pleasure of the citizens of Ljubljana«, to which each member could bring a male or female guest. During the period of the Illyrian Provinces and the Philharmonic Society's cultural silence, musical life again retreated more into private circles. Although the Philharmonic Society slowly resumed its activities in 1816, the academies were still held behind closed doors and were open only to members and invited guests, albeit with entrance fees. Attendance at the events was probably relatively high, however, as in 1817 the Philharmonic Society had 161 members (94 full and 67 honorary). It was not until 1849 that anyone, regardless of status or gender, could become a member of the society, a change that made musical culture accessible to a wider, albeit wealthier, audience.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, with the establishment of numerous musical societies in Carniola in Lower Styria, musical life no longer remained a privilege of the wealthy and became accessible to the general public, although some musical societies continued to restrict access to their events to their members. The transition of bourgeois musical culture from the private to the public sphere also meant broader access to musical education, which until the beginning of the nineteenth century had been a privilege of the nobility and the wealthy bourgeoisie. Adequate education was one of the basic ideas of the bourgeoisie. In line with this vision, and at the same time due to a lack of good local musicians, the first efforts were made in Carniola at the turn of the nineteenth century to establish public schools with special attention to socially weaker boys. As a rule, these boys were exempted from school fees or could receive scholarships for their further education based on their musical knowledge. Until 1821, public music instruction in Carniola was open only to boys or men, while girls could be taught music only privately. In Lower Styria, efforts to institutionalize music instruction began in 1820s and 1830s. However, well-organized and permanent music instruction did not occur until the 1850s in Carniola and the late 1870s and early 1880s in Lower Styria. It was not until 1919 that the national music conservatory (*Ljubljanski konservatorij*) was founded, which also created the conditions for the professionaliza-

tion of music and the establishment of professional orchestras and other music corps in Slovenia.

The development of bourgeois culture, along with the institutionalization of music education, played a pivotal role in the transition from dilettantism to the general professionalization of musical culture in Carniola and Lower Styria. In the eighteenth century, the musical world distinguished between professional musicians, connoisseurs, and music lovers or musical dilettantes. By the end of the century, the virtuoso became the ideal for public performance, leading to the embarkment of musical journeys. However, it was the dilettantes, including teachers, civil servants, lawyers and women who were the bearers of bourgeois musical culture. Although the Philharmonic Society of Ljubljana was occasionally assisted by professional church musicians and foreign musicians who played at its academies, its members were essentially dilettantes. It was not until the 1820s that the first professional musicians were employed by the Philharmonic Society as teachers, *Kapellmeisters*, and orchestral directors, including the first professional musician officially trained at the Conservatory in Prague. Generally, the music societies in Carniola and Lower Styria began to employ musicians trained at music conservatories only in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly from the 1870s and 1880s. The first professional female singers in Ljubljana were already singers of traveling theater troupes at the end of the eighteenth century, but it was not until the 1820s that professional female private singing and piano teachers appeared in Ljubljana.

The development of bourgeois culture and the democratization of society also paved the way for women to enter the broad cultural life. However, their role and rights in bourgeois musical culture were slow to change and were not given equal consideration in all towns and musical societies. In the 1770s, women played a significant role in the salons of the aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeoisie. They often played and sang with their guests and professional musicians, practiced musical criticism, and expressed their tastes and esthetic values through patronage, and coordinated musical events. Because of the separation between the public and private spheres, women at the pianoforte had generally not yet reached a virtuoso level in the late eighteenth century, but the situation was different for professional singers in theater troupes. In the 1780s and 1790s, women in Ljubljana were already performing in the semi-public academies in the *Redouten Hall* and the Casino Club, which were primarily reserved for Ljubljana's elite. Nevertheless, the intimate setting of the music salons offered them a space for free artistic expression and the strengthening of social ties. Women, however, had limited access to musical societies. While women had unrestricted access to theatrical performances at the Estates Theater, only women who were also dilettante musicians could become members of the Philharmonic Society in 1794 and join its orchestra in 1801. The female audience could attend the academies only quarterly, accompanied by a

member of the Society. In 1805, the ratio of male to female members of the Philharmonic Society was high: there were more than eleven times as many male members as female members. It was not until 1849 that all women (and men), regardless of their status, could become members of the Philharmonic Society. The Slovenian National Reading Society (*Narodna ljubljanska čitalnica*) was quite conservative, and in the 1860s, for example, women could become members of the Reading Society only through their husbands, while in 1872, any educated woman could join the Ljubljana Music Society (*Glasbena matica*). Until the 1820s, women in Ljubljana and Lower Styria were limited to private lessons, and by 1850, in keeping with the role of women in society, they generally learned to sing and play the piano. The first private female music teachers, who were exclusively singers and pianists, appeared in Ljubljana in the 1820s, while the first female teacher at the Philharmonic Society did not become a teacher until 1839. The first female teachers, still exclusively singers and pianists, at the music associations in Lower Styria appeared only at the end of the nineteenth century: in Celje in the 1890s, and in Maribor and Ptuj at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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### Sažetak

#### INSTITUCIONALIZACIJA MODERNE GRAĐANSKE GLAZBENE KULTURE U KRANJSKOJ I DONJOJ ŠTAJERSKOJ U 19. STOLJEĆU

Opadanje moći stare aristokracije dovelo je do uspona novih klasa – bogatog građanstva i nižeg plemstva, zvanih »drugo društvo«. Glavna sastajališta za izvođenje glazbe i društveni život viših slojeva bili su glazbeni saloni koje su obično vodile domaćice (*salonnière*). Barem do početka 19. stoljeća saloni su bili dostupni samo na poziv i preporuku. Svijet salonske kulture u Kranjskoj postupno se počeo otvarati organiziranjem glazbenih akademija koje su se u Ljubljani održavale tijekom 1780-ih i 1790-ih u dvorani *Redoutensaal* i klubu *Casino*. Glazbenici koji su nastupali u tim akademijama bili su lokalni amateri i profesionalci, ali i strani profesionalni glazbenici koji su se zadržavali u Ljubljani. Središnje mjesto među lokalnim amaterima zauzimale su gospođe iz gornjih slojeva i bogatog građanstva, koje su pjevale i svirale klavir na tim poluprivatnim glazbenim akademijama. Usto, intimni miljei glazbenih salona pružali su im mogućnost za slobodnije umjetničko izražavanje u pjevanju i sviranju klavira. Pomodni glazbeni žanr na takvim društvenim okupljanjima bila je i komorna glazba, osobito gudaći kvartet. Godine 1794. za ljubitelje glazbe u Ljubljani osnovan je gudaći kvartet za amatersko muziciranje koji je uskoro pozvao i druge glazbene zanesenjake da se pridruže tom društvu, kasnije poznatom pod imenom

*Philharmonische Gesellschaft*. Društvo se isprva sastojalo od članova iz građanstva i četiriju članova kvarteta, no plemstvo se naposljetku prilagodilo novoj situaciji i počelo surađivati s građanstvom. Vlasti su službeno odobrile djelovanje toga društva 1802. godine i dopustile članstvo svakomu tko je bio voljan pridonijeti njegovu napretku bez obzira na status ili klasu. Žene su se mogle pridružiti društvu samo kao izvođačice (amaterke). Postojanje toga društva potpuno je ovisilo o financijskoj podršci njegovih članova. Akademije i koncerti društva održavali su se tjedno i bili su polujavni, ali namijenjeni samo zatvorenom krugu svojih članova. Tek je 1849. bilo omogućeno da svatko postane članom toga društva bez obzira na status ili spol.

U Donjoj Štajerskoj najstarije udruge s kulturnom misijom bile su u kasnom 18. stoljeću amaterska kazališna društva. Još 1801. građanstvo, uglavnom činovnici, u Celju je osnovalo *Musikverein*. Od 1820-ih nadalje bilo je drugih pokušaja da se osnuju glazbena društva uključujući *Musikverein* 1825. u Mariboru, koji je počeo redovito djelovati tek 1841. godine, zatim *Lavanter Musikverein* 1832. u Celju te nekoliko drugih. Međutim, tek je u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća s osnutkom brojnih glazbenih društava u Kranjskoj i Donjoj Štajerskoj – uključujući najvažnija kao što su *Glasbena matica* (1872), *Pettauer Musikverein* (1878), *Cillier Musikverein* (1879) i *Marburger philharmonischer Verein* (1881) – glazbeni život postao dostupniji i prestao biti privilegij bogatih iako su neka glazbena društva i dalje ograničavala pristup njihovim priredbama samo na svoje članove. Zabilježeno je i nekoliko pokušaja da se glazbena poduka i u Kranjskoj i u Donjoj Štajerskoj institucionalizira, ali oni nisu doveli do dobro organiziranih i stalnih institucija sve do 1850-ih u Kranjskoj i 1880-ih u Donjoj Štajerskoj.