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Studies

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Zagreb Salon Music in the Second Half of the 19th Century: "The Darker Side of the Moon"?

Keywords: chamber music, trivial music, art music, private music-making, public concert space

INTRODUCTION

n the second half of the so-called long 19th century, Zagreb – in parallel with its emergence as a political, social, economic and cultural center of continental Croatia, i.e. the *Kronländer* of Croatia proper and Slavonia – was still a peripheral location at the edge of the Habsburg Empire. However, it went through significant changes during the sixty or so years between c. 1850 and 1914, undergoing substantial developments – consisting both of improvements and setbacks – in all areas of public and private life. In this, several periods can be articulated which result from and follow the overall socio-political arch bridging the post-1848 revolutionary events and the beginning of the First World War.

As generally known and accepted, the salon as a socio-cultural institution became a phenomenon of the late feudal and later bourgeois societies which exercised a certain influence in political, artistic and scientific life (Ballstaedt 1998: 855). However, the *terminus technicus Salonmusik* in German and *musique de salon* in French, denoting a specific musical genre, entered into everyday communication only in 1830s (for example, the series *Le Troubadour des Salons* [1825-29] in Paris). In this one should differentiate between music performed *in* the salon and the music produced *for* the salon. The latter one is a *Salonmusik* in the stricter sense of the word and its existence spanned the period from 1830s to the First World War, characterized, among other things, by musical standardization and social functionalization.

But before introducing the main topic of this paper, let me remind some topoi of the Salonmusik issue in general. One should take into consideration the fact that the character of the salon as a private institution was its partial accessibility, because access was granted either by invitation or recommendation on the one hand, and on the other, it stood throughout its existence, up to the first half of the 20th century, between an quasi-aristocratic exclusivity and the egalitarianism of bourgeois society (Ballstaedt 1998: 856). It has also been stated that in general there existed three types of salons: 1) with conversation in the form of an open-minded exchange of overall ideas as the only purpose of social gathering; 2) the same, having as its purpose some topics outside the sociability of the salon conversation, first of all in politics; 3) a salon conversation with specific topics, among which could also figure music; this type formed a nucleus of specialized music salons. During the first half of the 19th century such well-known salons were those in Paris in, for example, the homes of Cherubini and Kalkbrenner, and especially the salon of Countess Cristina Trivulzio de Belgioioso, frequented, among others, by Balzac, Musset, Heine, and Chopin, Thalberg, Liszt, Rossini, Bellini; in Berlin the house Mendelssohn; and in Vienna the Fanny Arnstein salon (1780-1800; 1803-1818) (Ballstaedt 1998: 857-59).

However, salon as an institution began to be criticized from the first half of the 19th century and later – from E. T. A. Hoffmann and Franz Liszt to Hyppolite Taine and others. The reproaches referred to the superficiality, lack of education, and clichéd behavior of the audiences who became more and more passive listeners, etc. Possibly negative connotations were also attributed to the exaggerated fascination with virtuosity, the presentation of purely manual facilities and the fetishism of famous artistic names. On the other hand, Liszt was among the most ardent critics of treating musicians too often as mere *Salonamuseurs* (salon entertainers) and *Possenreißer* (buffoons) (thus in his letters from 1837 and 1838), and Berlioz reported that even Chopin would not start to play in a salon before the annoying guests who were speaking too loudly left the space (Ballstaedt 1998: 859).

Finally, in spite of the decline of great music salons in the second half of the 19th century in great European cities, there still existed specialized music salons (for example, in Paris those in the houses of Saint-Saëns and Rossini) and those from which music was not banished (for example, in Vienna the salons of Josephine von Wertheimstein and later of Alma Mahler-Werfel, among others) (Ballstaedt 1998: 860).

But, let us now turn again to the topic announced in the title of this paper.

Space

Since 'salon' is physically first of all a spatial phenomenon, let us briefly present Zagreb as a natural and urban location. It has been articulated since its beginnings at the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries in twin but separated settlements on the neighbouring hills: the ecclesiastical part called *Kaptol* (Chapter) and the *Castrum on Mons Graecensis (civitas Montis Grecensis de Zagrabia*), in Slavic: *Brdo Grič* or *Gradec*. It was only in 1852 that the two often hostile settlements were united in the town of Zagreb, encompassing also the fast growing settlements on their foothills, later Lower Town (Downtown). The population of Zagreb increased five times between 1850 and 1910: from 16 000 to c. 80 000, shifting from a 'small great town' to a 'big small town', as it was wittily put by the outstanding Croatian poet and cultural chronicler Antun Gustav Matoš (Matoš [1940]).

Since earlier times the private enclosed spaces, including larger halls suitable for socializing, were palaces on both hills: for example, the huge ecclesiastical Baroque palace of the Zagreb Bishop, and several aristocratic Baroque and Classicist palaces on *Gradec* – the Zrinski palace (17th c.), the Vojković-Oršić-Rauch, Kulmer and Pejačević-Amadé palaces (18th c.). And in practically all of them salons, some existing physically even today, were used for house music making long into the 19th century, along with some middle-class gathering spots which came into existence in the first half of the 19th century (for example, the Vancaš family salon, Palajnovka café from 1841, Rakovec salon at St. Marcus Square 9, and others).

In the second half of the 19th century, more than twenty aristocratic and bourgeois locations existed in Zagreb where music was privately cherished. (In this, one should differentiate between house music and salon music making: house music making encompassed the strictly private learning or performing of music by individuals and relatives within one household.) Let us briefly number the majority of them with the known corresponding basic data (all data have been taken from Goglia 1930: 149-155):

- The residence of the Zagreb Archbishop and later Cardinal Juraj Haulik: publicly known performances in 1856, 1860, 1862 and 1868;
- 2) Leopoldina Gilly, citizen: piano composition on folk motives, trio;
- Franjo Keller (1813-1892), forester, citizen: collection of music instruments (allegedly Guarneri and Guadagnini violins) and rich collection of sheets of violin music;
- 4) Marshall lieutenant Gjuro Count Jelačić Bužimski: Demetrova St. 7

(Magdalenić-Drašković-Jelačić palace), professional and amateur musicians;

- 5) Franjo von Žigrović, theatre director, vice-chancellor: Mletačka St. 8, chamber ensembles;
- 6) Septemvir Dioniz Blažić, citizen: Mesnička St. 13, string quartets;
- 7) Dr. Leopold Schönstein, citizen: chamber music;
- 8) Cecilija Frank, citizen, pianist: chamber music àFranjo Krežma, citizen, confectioner, family of musicians: chamber music;
- 9) Anka Barbot-Krežma, citizen, pianist: Nova Ves St., chamber music;
- 10) Composer and cellist Gjuro Eisenhuth, citizen, family of musicians: chamber music;
- 11) Marija Eisenhuth-Rac, citizen, harp-player and pianist: chamber music;
- 12) Zvonimir Tkalčić, citizen, family of musicians: various addresses (Preradovićeva St., Jurjevska St., Kaptol), chamber music, professional and amateur musicians;
- 13) Samojlo Tolnay, State Railways supervisor, citizen: chamber music;
- 14) Dr. Franjo Marković, university professor, citizen: Grič, Upper Town, chamber music;
- 15) Septemvir Florijan Kavić, citizen: chamber music;
- Baroness Paula Vraniczany-Dobrinović: chamber music soirées (in the 1880s);
- Milovan Zoričić, Director of the State Statistical Office, citizen: chamber music;
- 18) V. Nespor, State Railways clerk, citizen: string quartet;
- 19) Dr. Antun Goglia, citizen, music writer, family of musicians: chamber music;
- 20) Dr. Adolf Koreizl, citizen, Ban's Court councilor: chamber music;
- 21) Dr. Aleksandar Kuhar, town physician: chamber music;
- 22) In the Duga (Long) St. 22: a society of music lovers gathered from November 1882 to November 1883, playing in front of invited guests; according to their Programme zu Musik-Abende im Winter 1882-1883 they played trios, quartets and quintets by Mendelssohn, Rubinstein, Beethoven, Schubert, Haydn and Schumann.

It is interesting to note that in documents the locations where these salons were organized were named mostly by male owners of the buildings, but that hosts were – as was usual in western and other central-European cities – often hostesses (the so-called *salonnières*).

MUSIC IN THE SALONS

Go and walk with me along the Zagreb streets! Don't you hear how from almost all houses graceful sounds of piano reach your ears? – It is a real joy to hear 'Les cloches du monastére' sounding, even the pianist performs it 'more naturally' than written by the composer; therefrom sounds 'Das Gebet einer Jungfrau' so that your heart cries, and yet a boy is coming on, with nicely polished shoes, and when hearing that a performer (he or she) has come to the end, accompanies him/her by whistling! This fantasy is so beautiful and so nice that in Zagreb even a shoemaker's apprentice is whistling it. ("Naša narodna glasba i g. Koch" 1871)

That was reported – with a certain *licentia poetica*, of course – in one Zagreb newspaper in late 1871. We do not know today at which or on how many occasions in the Zagreb Chapter, Upper or Lower Town streets were heard Louis Lefébure-Wély's¹ (1817-1869) nocturne or Tekla Bądarzewska-Baranowska's² (1829/1834-1861) notoriously sentimental salon piece, whether in the daily practising of town girls or boys or during salon-type socializing.

The year 1871, as it might seem at first glance in this report, was no idyll at all in Zagreb and continental Croatia. In the aftermath of revolutionary turmoil of 1848/1849, the Habsburg Empire went through a very turbulent period over the following two decades. The 1850s were the period of neo-absolutist quasi-dictatorship, imposed by the so-called Octroyed Constitution of March 4th, 1849, by which the centralistic orientation of Vienna's rule was legalized and the aspirations of the Croatian and South-Slavic political movement in reorganizing the Monarchy as a federation of equal nations failed. The 1860s witnessed the defeats in northern Italy; the restoration of the parliamentary system (October Diploma, 1860; February Patent, 1861); the so-called Seven Weeks' Austro-Prussian War in 1866 ending in a new defeat

¹ Louis Lefébure-Wély (1817-1869), the French organist, composer and dandy, a protégé of the aristocracy who frequented the Paris bourgeois salons, and to whom Gioacchino Rossini allegedly said: "You are admired more for your faults than your virtues" (Smith 2012).

² Tekla Bądarzewska-Baranowska (1829/1834-1861), the Polish composer, whose piano composition *Modlitwa dziewicy* [A Maiden's Prayer; French: *La prière d'une vierge*], Op. 4, in spite of the fact that it was called a "dowdy product of ineptitude" by the pianist Arthur Loesser, it is nevertheless considered to be the most famous salon piece of music of the 19th century (Loesser 1990: 506).

(battle at Königgrätz/Sadowa) and followed by a serious economic crisis; the 1867 Compromise (*Ausgleich*) forming a Dual (Austro-Hungarian) Monarchy; and the 1868 Hungarian-Croatian Compromise.

Finally, in the cultural sphere, one of the positive effects of the weakening of absolutist rule was that some important events took place during the 1860s and 1870s: the National theatre with performances in Croatian started in 1860 and the permanent opera company was established in 1870; in the same year the outstanding composer Ivan Zajc moved from Vienna to Zagreb; and in 1862 the Zagreb Singing society *Kolo* was founded (alongside a Classicist building and hall erected in 1883), which in 1875 would, along with some one hundred other societies, form the Croatian Singing Union; the first building of the Croatian Music Institute was opened in 1875 with two concert halls. All these improvements in musical institutionalization brought an increase in public spaces for music making, resulting in a certain retreat in the public importance of salons. But they retained the same old attraction as ever for private socializing and music making.

Moreover, in the sphere of private life, the national cause once again formed part of social gatherings and gained in importance. The music historian Josip Andreis put it in this way:

> Patriotic motives, which became prominent again after the absolutist rule, appeared in numerous choral compositions, large and small, and in some music written for the stage. Such compositions were full of patriotic enthusiasm and glorification of everything Croatian and were certainly not always free from romantic pathos (Andreis 1974: 188-89.)

However, regarding instrumental music, which prevailed in salon culture, a process which was happening in this area consisted of two parallel components, both depending on ideology. Namely, there existed a permanent tendency that Zagreb and Croatia should be *au courant*, i.e. fully informed about top international art music pieces and their high-level performances, in step with most developed European music production. This tendency was sometimes ironically commented upon in this way:

So, you can see: here exists cosmopolitism in music as nowhere else; our players are somehow musically most universal. Here have western, northern and southern Muses called the meeting. ("Naša narodna glasba i g. Koch" 1871) But the mixture of art and light music pieces in the same repertories was also mocked:

Various playings occur because it is played in this way in salons of enlightened nations and because "it is demanded by 'bon ton', i.e. 'good manners'" (?) He whose fingers fly as oiled is showing-off in sonatas and more difficult playing, grasping for Mozart, Beethoven and Haydn, while he whose fingers are somewhat muddling up plays polkas, waltzes, mazurkas and quadrillas, and sometimes also fantasies. ("Naša narodna glasba i g. Koch" 1871)

On the other hand, in addition to permanent complaints, the endeavour to produce national music pieces was on agenda in critiques and other public writings. As a consequence, repertories of both house and salon music making "were a patchwork of pieces, encompassing compositions of Classical masters and popular compositions" (Blažeković 2002: 244), on the one side, and a montage of internationally and nationally oriented pieces, on the other. In addition, in private salon performances in chamber ensembles – trios, quartets and quintets – "professional musicians played . . . together with amateurs, who were often equally skilful players" (Blažeković 2002: 244).

The sources have supplied us with information on chamber music played in the Zagreb salons but not composed explicitly for such purposes. Among them were various chamber works by Friedrich Ernst Fesca, Ludwig van Beethoven, Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Felix Mendelssohn, Robert Schumann, Franz Schubert, Anton Rubinstein and George Onslow; and among domestic composers whose works were performed were Leopoldina Gilly, Franjo Krežma, Juro Tkalčić, Gjuro Wisner-Morgenstern, and Antun Vancaš (Goglia 1930).

Works by these and very probably also by some other composers were performed – according to the same sources – with the participation of 78 Zagreb musicians (amateurs and professionals), among which were eleven women; they are:

Pianists (23):

Anka Barbot-Krežma, dr. Marko Breyer, Hektor Catinelli, J. Döring, Franjo Dugan, Lujza Eisenhuth, Nikola Faller, Adolf Felbinger, Cecilija Frank, Leopoldina Gilly, Anka Goglia, Gogolja, dr. Žiga Herrenhäuser, Jela Kavić-Perok, Vatroslav Kolander, Mme Kopić, Vatroslav Lichtenegger, Dragica Marković, Marija Rac (also harp), Mme Schönstein, Ivica Tkalčić, Ivan Zajc, Gjuro Zlatarović, ing. Teodor Zloch, Milovan Zoričić. Violinists (26):

Dragutin Danielić, Gjuro Eisenhuth, dr. Vladimir Frank, Colonel Gentilli, M. Holeček, Franjo Jilek (also viola), Franjo Keller, Vilko Kohn-Eckstein, Antun Kostial, Felicita Kostial-Drechsel-Vodnik, Milan Krešić, Franjo Krežma, dr. Aleksandar Kuhar (also viola), dr. Radovan Marjanović (also viola), dr. A. Pack, Dragutin Pretner (also viola), Antun Rojc, dr. Alfred Schönstein (also viola), Antun Schwarz, Luis Svećenski, Ladislav Škatula, Slavko Šrepel (also viola), Milan Žepić, Oto Žert (also viola), Franjo Žigrović-Pretočki, Ivan Žigrović.

Violists (alto) (8 + 7):

dr. Adolf Koreizl (also piano), Milan Kovačević, dr. Ernest Krajanski, Vjekoslav Rosenberg-Ružić, Ivan Schneider, Antun Schönauer, Emanuel Simm, Antun Stöckl, Samojlo Tolnay.

Cellists (11):

Adolf Benčić, Josip Eisenhuth, A. Forray, Antun Goglia, Leopold Kavić, Colonel Kopić, Stjepan Kugler, Ivan Oertl, Milan Smrekar, Rudolf Šega, Juro Tkalčić.

Flutist (1):

Vladoje Dukat, Gjuro Jelačić Bužimski.

Unidentified instrument players (7):

dr. V. Čačić, Josip Karbulka, Vjekoslav Klaić, Josip Pretner, Eduard Šmid, Zvonimir Tkalčić (Goglia 1930).

These musicians were performing in various combinations: as soloists with or without accompaniment and as members of trios, quartets, quintets and sextets. There were among them also eleven female performers, all of them, except one, piano players.

Concerning ethnic/national origins it can be easily stated that among these instrumentalists there were, along with Croats, also Germans and Austrians, Hungarians, Italians, Czechs, Serbs and Jews. However, they did not gather for musical performances along ethnic lines, except for the short-living exclusively pro-German Society of music lovers in 1882-83 from *Duga* (Long) St.

Regarding the professions of amateur musicians among them were foresters, military officers, administrative officials, building constructors, lawyers, physicians, military doctors, craftsmen, engineers, and university professors and scholars.

Private salons were complemented by performances in some Zagreb public spaces such as the concert halls of the Croatian Music Institute, the *Kolo* Singing society hall, Shooting range facility, etc.

MUSIC FOR THE SALONS

When talking about Zagreb in the second half of the 19th century and regarding music intentionally created for salon use, often indicated explicitly as *pièce de salon, morceaux de salon, Salonstücke* etc., practically only the existing collections are at our disposition. To my knowledge there exists no precise information about this repertory in secondary documentation such as newspaper notices or diaries. It is possible that private correspondence might be a second-hand account on this area of music making, but it seems that only a thorough and extensive research needed, e.g. for a doctoral thesis, might shed some light on this issue. And it has not been done as yet. So, the researcher is for the moment in the position of a cosmologist before the Apollo 17 mission, when the space shuttle finally orbited the moon with cameras: we know that music created for the salon existed, we have indirect proof of it, but nobody knows either in detail or in general terms when, what and who performed it. A real "dark side of the Moon"...

Of course, we surmise where it was happening – in the same and very probably in some further locations indicated in the previous survey of music in the salons. And we also surmise why was it done on such a large scale. It was a matter of prestige in the emerging local middle-class layers as means of socialization and a kind of escapism from everyday life; it was also in the nature of the 19th-century bourgeois lifestyle to cherish so-called good manners and elevated emotions, even – alas! – often to the detriment of what was proclaimed by high-brow culture as good taste. In vain has Schumann characterized this genre of music as a "mixture of sentimentality and piano passages", and in vain has Heine in 1841 degraded it as "gesungenes Rattengift" (= "a sung poison for rats"). Broader middle-class social circles, mostly well-off owing to their early capitalist financial successes, just wanted to entertain themselves and to be entertained in a less demanding musical spheres. And who are we to blame them for it?! Or, let's put it in a more Aristotelian than Platonic frame of thought:

But there are two different kinds of audiences. One is an audience composed of the free and educated; the other is the common audience composed of mechanics, hired labourers, and the like. There should therefore be contests and festivals to provide relaxation for this second kind of audience. . . . A man derives pleasure from what suits him best; and we must therefore permit musicians who are competing before this kind of audience to use the corresponding kind of music. (Aristotle 1995: 316)

Regarding domestic production of salon music, one should mostly rely on several publicly accessible collections, the most important being those kept in the Croatian Music Institute and the National and University Library. These collections had been gathered at random, mostly having no special sub-collections of salon music. They contain printed sheet music from various publishers then existing in a broader region, i.e. from Austria, Hungary, Italy and today's Slovenia, but also from Germany, Bohemia, France, Russia, etc. However, there existed in parallel domestic publishers and bookshop-keepers, the most important being Lavoslav Hartman (since 1860s), Stjepan Kugli and Deutsch (since 1881), and Franjo Šidak.

However, the most original contribution to salon music in Zagreb belongs to the area of dance music. It was called hrvatsko (Croatian) kolo or salonsko (salon) kolo. It appeared for the first time in 1835, when the composer Ferdo Wiesner-Livadić published in Graz his composition Ilirique Kolo: National-Tanz der Ilirier. The idea was to try to replace foreign salon dance music such as Hungarian verbunkos, Austrian Gallop and waltz, French quadrille and Polish mazurka with something Croatian. The inspiration was found in the South-Slavic folk dance kolo (= reel). After 1860 the salon version was called slavonsko (Slavonian) kolo, and was mostly performed and danced in public places. It soon acquired political connotations which culminated with the so-called Walzeraffäre from February 7th, 1862, when during the entertainment in the Zagreb Hall (Dvorana) all Croatian civilians left the event (with only Austrian officers remaining) after the waltz was announced (Blažeković 2002: 122-23). Kolo was gradually diminishing in popularity toward the end of the century, when "[t]o speak the vernacular, dance national dances and sing national songs during the period of liberalism was no more an event of exceptional importance" (Blažeković 2002: 125). Since Livadić and Lisinski in the mid-century, further authors of kolo compositions were Franjo Ks. Kuhač, Hinko Hladaček, Josip Kwiatkowski, Antun Schwarz, Vilko Müller and Franjo Serafin Vilhar (Blažeković 2002: 127). Although originating from the same Romantic impulses as other European dances of the time, kolo never succeeded to impose itself outside of Croatian national boundaries. It lacked a strong compositional personality "which could transform national enthusiasm into aesthetically articulated musical form . . . and present it throughout Europe as a Croatian musical symbol, as Chopin did with mazurka" (Blažeković 2002: 128).

The outstanding personalities of Zagreb public life expressed mostly mixed feelings towards the music typical of the salon. Thus, August Šenoa (1838-1881), critic, writer and journalist, once published this ideologically imbued statement: From the West there comes an ungracious guest, who offers his merchandise, and whose name is German; we somehow got rid of him, but there are still traces of him in our salons, at our nobility 'par excellence', our promenades... (Šenoa 1861)

On the other hand, Antun Gustav Matoš (1873-1914), one of the best Croatian fin-de-siècle poets, critics, essayists and travel writers, gave in 1909 a favourable remark with sociological touch on the Tkalčić brothers as salon musicians:

They remained aristocratic, artistic salon music-makers as Chopin and Rubinstein brothers. They could not have had great open concert successes, because for this you need a lot of money and a lot of publicity. Already as boys in Zagreb they have amazed visitors in their musical paternal home. (Matoš 1909)

To conclude: music performed in salons and written for salons, known in English-speaking countries also as 'parlour music', existed in Zagreb throughout the second half of the 19th century. It was burdened by various ideological, aesthetical and social opinions, it also manifested its market-oriented character and it lasted somewhat longer into the 20th century than in more developed cities. It was gradually disappearing after the First World War with the new types of dissemination of popular and entertainment music such as gramophone records³ (Lipovšćak 216: 473) and radio broadcasting⁴ (Vončina 1986: 3; Čunko 2012: 13), coming practically to its end with the collapse of the traditional bourgeois society destroyed by the Communists' coming to power in 1945. Some contemporary musicologists in Croatia are currently engaged in recovering this history from the oblivion into which it fell during the last seventy years or so. May thus the dark side of the Moon soon show its brighter face...

³ The first gramophone records factory was established in Zagreb in 1926 under the name of Edison Bell Penkala Ltd. as a joint venture between Edison Bell England and the Croatian inventor Slavoljub Penkala. However, the first recordings of gramophone records in Zagreb started as early as in 1902 by Franz Hampe from The Gramophone & Typewriter Ltd. Company.

⁴ The Zagreb radio station started to function in 1926 as chronologically the fourth radio station in Europe after British, German and Czech stations.

APPENDIX OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A selection of salon pieces from the collection of the *Hrvatski* glazbeni zavod [Croatian Music Institute] in Zagreb



Fig. 1. Title page of Polka mazurka Svibanjski čar [The May Charm] by Nikola Faller (May 12th, 1889), Zagreb.



Fig. 2. Title page of Tri bizareske za glasovir [Three bizaresques for piano] by Žiga Hirschler, print: Kugli, Zagreb.



Fig. 3. Title page of Hrvatski plesovi [Croatian Dances] for piano by Žiga Jelenić (Hirschler), print: Kugli, Zagreb.



Fig. 4. Title page of the Album bosansko-hercegovačkih pjesama [Albem des chansons nationales de la Bosnie et de la Hercegovina] for piano by Šandor Bosiljevac, print: Kugli, Zagreb.

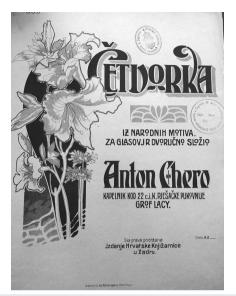


Fig. 5. Title page of Četvorka iz narodnih motiva [Quadrille from Folk Motives] for piano by Anton Chero, print: Hrvatska knjižarnica, Zadar.



Fig. 6. Title page of Südslavische Rhapsodie for great orchestra by Karel Bendl, print: N. Simrock, Berlin (1896).

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