

Voices of Identities

Voices of Identities:

Vocal Music and De/con/struction of Communities in the Former Habsburg Areas

Edited by

Daniel Ender and Christoph Flamm

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PREFACE

Austria, the self-proclaimed “land of music”, derives its identity to a large degree from institutions such as the Vienna Boys’ Choir, the New Years’ Concert in the Golden Hall of the Musikverein and the State Opera with its annual ball. In other countries and cultural areas, the threads of identity formation very often come together in music. Vocal music is an especially frequent vehicle for national, ethnic, regional and social manifestations of identity. This is certainly especially true of the territories and the period on which this book focuses: the countries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after its dissolution.

The contributions are based on an international conference that took place in Klagenfurt in October 2014, considering the relationship between vocal music and cultural identity in the countries of the former Habsburg monarchy during the last 100 years; it was simultaneously the annual conference of the Austrian Musicology Society. To create an appropriate mood, participants were able to visit the cottage in Maiernigg, on the banks of Lake Wörther, where Gustav Mahler withdrew to compose. While listening to his music in the middle of the forest, they could recall the composer’s statement that he was “thrice homeless”: “As a native of Bohemia in Austria, as an Austrian among Germans, and as a Jew throughout all the world” (Alma Mahler, Gustav Mahler. *Memories and Letters*, translated by Bosil Creigkton, New York: The Viking Press 1946, p. 98). We see this volume as a sign from a region (Carinthia) that not only has its own deep-rooted tradition of folk music but also a particular, indeed particularly problematic, political and cultural history that is often reflected in conflicts between the multiple identities of the place and the people. In this respect, Carinthia is perhaps a form of crucible in which the diversity and problems of cultural pluralism in the former Habsburg Empire are concentrated. That is one reason why this volume seeks to make a case for the plural—which is why we speak of “Voices of Identities.”

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that time, Prof. Dr. Martin Eybl, the Carinthian State Conservatory with Prof. Helfried Fister, and the former department of culture, literature and musicology at the University of Klagenfurt and its head at that time, Prof. Dr. Ruth Ayaß, for their joint work in holding the conference. We thank Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their agreement to publish this book, all authors for their patience, Mark Barden and Wieland Hoban for the translations into English, Marlene deWilde for her proofreading and Vivien Geldien for her editorial assistance.

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INTRODUCTION

DANIEL ENDER AND CHRISTOPH FLAMM

Identities in the Process of Change

Experiences of identity and foreignness are closely intertwined at a general level, as are individual and collective memberships or non-memberships in collectives. Here, identity, even without societal, political or social ruptures, is by no means a uniform concept. In real life, the logical definitions of the term as complete or absolute equality are largely left far behind in any case. The elusive paradox that an individual must give up at least a part of their individuality to be subsumed under a collective leads to a complex fragmentation. The extreme case of a collective identity absorbing personal individuality is something we not only encounter in times of political radicalization but also—during certain phases, at least—in the sublime domains of high culture and the cultures of the underground. Someone who has witnessed the frenetic admiration of Viennese Wagnerians for the conductor Christian Thielemann, who is known not least for his concentration on German repertoire, may recognize similar energies to those unleashed at a concert by Leatherwolf or other heavy metal bands, energies that allow the shedding of individuality and unification as a collective. The fact that we might encounter the same people the following day as bank employees reminds us that, for the most part, identities coexist as different layers and can sometimes bring together what seems irreconcilable.

The enactment of personal identity becomes a game of illusions in the case of Conchita Wurst, the winner of the 2014 Eurovision Song Contest. When she appeared before the European Parliament in Brussels in October the same year, the daily papers in her home country of Austria were as attentive as ever. Once again, the tabloid press in particular—a sure indicator of mass sensibilities—heaved this artistic persona onto their front pages; a liberal publication used her to convey its message while the more bourgeois newspapers tended to keep her under a veil of secrecy. This approach to Conchita Wurst, the artistic persona of the singer Tom

Neuwirth, exemplifies the way in which fragile social self-images determine reactions to divergent enactments.

Contrary to their firm conceptual core, identities show blurred edges, contradict and merge with one another. The problem only became an urgent one in modernity, and could be related as a story of freedom but also the story of a curse. The prevalence of the concept of identity in cultural studies during recent decades points to its undiminished, even increasing, relevance: those things that can no longer be taken for granted are especially at the centre of the discourse now. This discourse is questioning such concepts as coherence, stability, agency and autonomy, as well as the very cultural foundations of societies.

When George Herbert Mead, in his key work *Mind, Self and Society*, contrasted the “self”—translated into German as *Identität*—with the “generalized other”, which he saw as representing the internalized expectations of others, he presupposed stable social structures that would prove to be fragile. In his book *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (1968), the psychoanalyst Erik H. Erikson expounded the positive ideal of a “defined self within a social reality” even though he had already shown in his model of psychosocial development how the concept of self-identity is connected to the problem of role confusion. The sociologist Erving Goffman, however, had described the paradigm of a “spoiled identity” five years before that in *Stigma*, taking stigma as a metaphor for the gulf between what a person is supposed to be (their virtual social identity) and their actual social identity. Jürgen Habermas applied this thought pattern to collective identities with his model of a self-identity that is intended to create a balance between social and personal identity, and asked in 1974 whether complex societies can develop a reasonable identity. This rhetorical question still seems to be an open one.

In the course of critical theory and poststructuralism, the European discourse—based on the traditional dialectical understanding of identity and difference (a late text by Martin Heidegger from 1957 bears that very name)—made the non-identical or difference a central focus. In 1986, declaring his opposition to German idealism, Jacques Derrida emphasized his distance from Hegel’s concept of identity by describing *différance* as something that “opposes Hegelian sublation wherever it operates, as a boundary, an interruption and destruction” (Derrida 1986: 86). Since the 1980s, cultural studies—and in its wake gender, queer and postcolonial studies—has defined identities precisely by their divergence from dominant models, and with its critical examination of traditional forms of thought it also developed its own colourful identity. In our social reality, however, we are still confronted with powerful traditions and narrow

images in people's minds that continue to form the basis for action. This applies all the more because cultural identity, as Jan Assmann has explained, comes from a "specific conditioning which a person experiences by virtue of belonging to a particular society and its culture"; this is maintained "over generations through socialization and being passed on" (Assmann 1988: 9).

Beyond Kakania

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was an old-fashioned counter-model to the nation-states of the 19th century: a multi-ethnic state with a ruling German-speaking ethnic group, almost equally large groups of other ethnicities, and numerous minorities. Germans or German-Austrians—in this distinction, incidentally, lies one source of Austria's extremely difficult search for identity after 1918, and even more after 1945—as well as Hungarians lived together with Czechs and Slovaks, Croats and Serbs, Poles, Ruthenes or Ukrainians, Romanians, Slovenians, Italians and Ladins in a multi-ethnic amalgamation of mini-states. Although incipient nationalist tendencies also became perceptible throughout the Habsburg Empire, and ultimately erupted in the First World War, the fragile totality was held together until that point not only by the state apparatus but also by the emperor as a figure of identification. This figure and the symbols accompanying the monarchy—places, buildings, images and other artistic artefacts—possessed such radiance that their effects continued not only far beyond the end of the *ancien régime* but even to the present. One finds both nostalgic reminiscences and attempts to adapt this heritage to the world of today. For some years Europe has been in the processes of redefining itself. The Habsburg Empire may—as a past model but also a contemporary legacy—play a more important part in that, especially in cultural terms, than can be assessed at this point.

A hundred years after its expiry, writing about the culture of the former Habsburg areas in English, as practised in this book, might be viewed as taking a neutral linguistic point of view. As a matter of fact, spoken languages within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and after its dissolution included, among others, German, Hungarian, Rumanian, Croatian and Serbian, Czech, Slovakian, Slovenian, Italian, Ruthenian (Ukrainian) and Polish—with English as a major foreign language partially entering some regions after the Second World War and other regions only after the breakdown of socialism, supplanting the former lingua franca, German. In his novel *Radetzky March* (1932), Joseph Roth found a veritably emblematic image to represent the collapse of the Danube monarchy: A

large celebration is suddenly interrupted by news of the crown prince's murder in Sarajevo, and the officers present lapse into their native languages. This abrupt act of segregation is at once an involuntary expression of the subcutaneous or open conflicts within the crumbling multi-ethnic fabric.

Yet, as we know, culture has more types of languages, more channels of communication and media than the spoken or written word. Music is a language which, despite its alleged international comprehensibility, has always offered ways to create or secure identities—social strata, ethnic entities, religious groups, regional traditions, national coherence, etc.—ranging from self-identification singing in a private bathroom, to officially-imposed collectivity like singing national anthems at celebrations. Seen in a political context, music is both a supra- and an infra-national medium that may be used for national purposes.

This applies especially to vocal music, and in particular choral music, which already transports through the collective of singers, behind the notes and words themselves, the message of living cultural community. The choral world could probably be considered a gauge of a (national) assurance of identity, whether in the German vocal festivals of the mid-19th century or the choral culture of the smaller nations, especially in Eastern and Southern Europe, to this day. An interesting recent case study reconstructs the culture-political conception and reception of the foreign concert tours of the Belgrade Choral Society under its director Stevan Mokranjac in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Milanović 2014): Whereas some Russian critics decried an excessive Western influence in the Serbian folk song arrangements, German critics primarily emphasized the unfamiliar musical elements as the authentic expression of an “indigenous people”. German reviewers, at least, proved blind to the immense political aims that Mokranjac pursued with the collection of different South Slavic ethnicities in works and songs, which he adapted to the respective performance location (initially he dreamed of a Greater Serbia, then saw himself as the herald of a proto-Yugoslavian idea). But the collapse of the bond between nation and state was, and still is, a fundamental experience in the Balkans that makes any simple assignment of identity difficult or impossible—in compositional practice, musical reception and music historiography (cf. Milin/Samson 2014).

There are, however, many sounding symbols of the Danube monarchy that live on and know no ethnic or linguistic barriers. It was not least the marches and dance music of the Austro-Hungarian *Kapellmeister* that, in the diversity of their instrumentations and arrangements, more or less reached all strata of society, and some of their composers themselves

represented the ideal of multicultural unity under the double eagle. The Bohemian Kar(e)l Komzák, for example, studied in Prague and then embarked on an unparalleled career as a military band leader first in Linz then in Innsbruck and finally in Vienna, while his compositions offered programmatic insignias of the dual monarchy as a model for identification. Unlike text-based music, such sounds can stand for a supra-national amalgamation of states, something even expressed verbally in the Roman-Latin allegory of Vienna as “Vindobona” (which naturally also suggests historical depth (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Karl Komzák, *Windobona. Marsch für Clavier*, title page. Vienna: Adolf Robitschek, undated (private collection). Komzák’s composition, as indicated on the first page, makes use of the Viennese folk song entitled *Vindobona Du herrliche Stadt* in the trio section. The cover advertises versions for zither, piano four hands, string orchestra, small string orchestra and military band.

Notwithstanding the continued existence of some symbols, the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire inevitably created an identity vacuum for its constituent nations. Older political alternatives, such as pan-Slavic ideas—temporarily realized in the form of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—could partly prevent a disintegration into the microscopic; but many of the successor states felt they were in danger of losing their significance. Some of this fear of marginalization on the European map, which naturally dated back further and continues to this day, has been captured since 2006 by the Slovakian artist Ilona Németh in her work *Middle of Europe*. It shows a map of Europe indicating places which, from the late 18th century to nowadays, have claimed to represent the very centre of Europe (Fig. 2).¹ Nine nations in total have made efforts to localize the geographical centre of Europe in their own country. These nine places extend from Bavaria to Belarus. Obviously, the main question here is not about geography but rather identity: national, regional, ethnic identity. All these places want not to be regarded as peripheral; they want to stand at the centre of things. It is a cry for political attention and a means of cultural self-identification, defining oneself as the very heart of Europe. At the same time, this map testifies to a striking and absurd collision of alleged identities: often enough, communities are not looking for integration but differentiation, if not separation. When exhibited, Németh's map is accompanied by an increasing number of memorial stones, which display a graphic symbol for centre and the names of all exhibition places. In a private communication to the editors, she pointed out: "Since 2009 I have been working on a series of stone tablets, declaring and demonstrating that the Middle of Europe is where I am."

¹ On her website (www.ilonanemeth.sk), the artist gives the following description: "The project *Middle of Europe* focuses on how statements thought to be exact and scientific in nature become relative in light of national identity. Centred around a map, it shows and ironically undermines the efforts of various nation-states to "find" the geographic centre of Europe on their own territory. While the geographic middle of Europe could theoretically be unambiguously determined by science, at the moment nine European countries have got a monument demonstrating that the middle is in that particular country. It is always telling when and in what situation a country searches for and finds the centre in itself. For example, in 1992, Slovakia, exactly when it was getting ready for independency, erected such a monument in Kremnica, hoping to testify that the new state is not a periphery, but rather a centre. The map contains all the nine centres of Europe pinpointed on it, and also indicates when the claims were made."

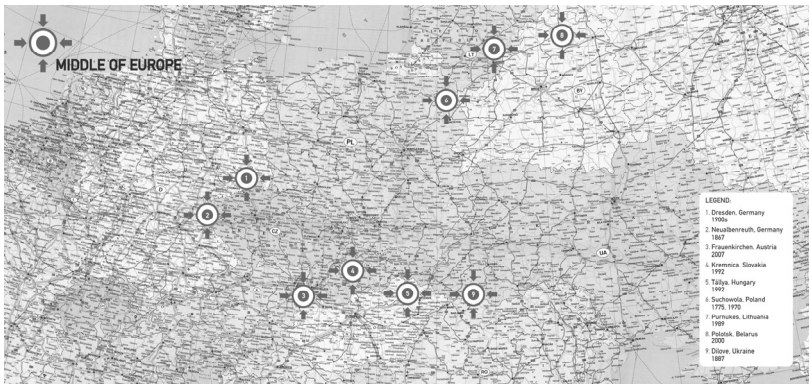


Fig. 2: Ilona Németh, *Middle of Europe*, map (2006), scale variable. (With kind permission of Ilona Németh, Bratislava.)

Stereotypes as Identity

The Babylonian mixture of languages in the collapsing Habsburg Empire is only one expression of different identities: religions, mentalities, cultural traditions—not least music—and many other factors are also community-forming elements that make the overall picture increasingly complex. In order to arrive at such a picture at all, people—and researchers show the same tendency—take refuge in generalizations that can become stereotypes and clichés.

A wonderful example of such stereotypical representations of Austria's ethnic identities is a caricature from c. 1908 (Fig. 3), published by the Austrian satirical journal *Kikeriki* (literally: cock-a-doodle-doo). On this map, all regions of the Danube monarchy are caricatured both visually and in verse form. The prologue states the following:

Mein Vaterland, mein Österreich,
 Dir gleicht kein Land auf Erden!
 In keinem Land der Welt mag wohl
 So viel – gestritten werden.
 D'rum sieht man hier im Kartenbild
 Im lieblichen Vereine,
 Die österreich'sche Rauferei
 Die allzu all – gemeine!

[My fatherland, my Austria,
 Unmatched by any other land.

No other country in this world
 Sees quarrels thus gain the upper hand.
 Hence we find, upon this map,
 In harmonious community,
 That abundant Austrian brawling
 Which exhibits our disunity!]

Then the regions of the empire are listed in alphabetical order: Bohemia, Bukovina, Dalmatia, Galicia, Carinthia, Carniola, Littoral, Moravia, Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Salzburg, Silesia, Styria, Tirol, Hungary, Transylvania and finally—deliberately outside of the list's order—Croatia-Slavonia and Bosnia. The caricature aims to expose, in words and images, the notion of a peaceful coexistence in a multi-ethnic state as a chimera: in reality, the different peoples cannot stand one another. As one can see from the portrayals in the map, almost all inhabitants of the empire are in conflict with each other, and none of them seem very appealing. It is difficult not to feel amused when regarding such a portrayal of human mediocrity and bad behaviour. Yet our smile might freeze when we realize that this humour includes drastic anti-Semitic stereotypes as well: here, Jews are depicted as a sort of criminal “grease” pervading the whole region. (In fact, the satirical journal *Krokodil* was known for its overt anti-Semitic tendencies.) And Carinthia, depicted as an idyll of choral singing, seems almost undisturbed by all this tumult: An Austrian Mount Rushmore as a little sonic Garden of Eden.

The epilogue sceptically formulates the hope for peace among the peoples who speak entirely different languages—not only in the linguistic sense:

Wie lange bleibt es wohl noch so?
 Wie lange soll das gehen?
 Verständigung der Völker – ja
 Wenn sie sich nicht verstehen,
 Dann werden außer Sprachen sie
 Noch andres lernen müssen!
 Der ‘Kikeriki’ schließt mit dem Wunsch’,
 Daß Frieden alle schliessen!

[How long will it continue thus?
 How can they keep it up so long?
 Agreement among nations, fine –
 But if they cannot get along,
 Then they will have to learn a thing or two
 Besides each other's tongues!
 The *Cock-a-doodle-doo* ends with the wish
 For peace, and no more wrongs!]

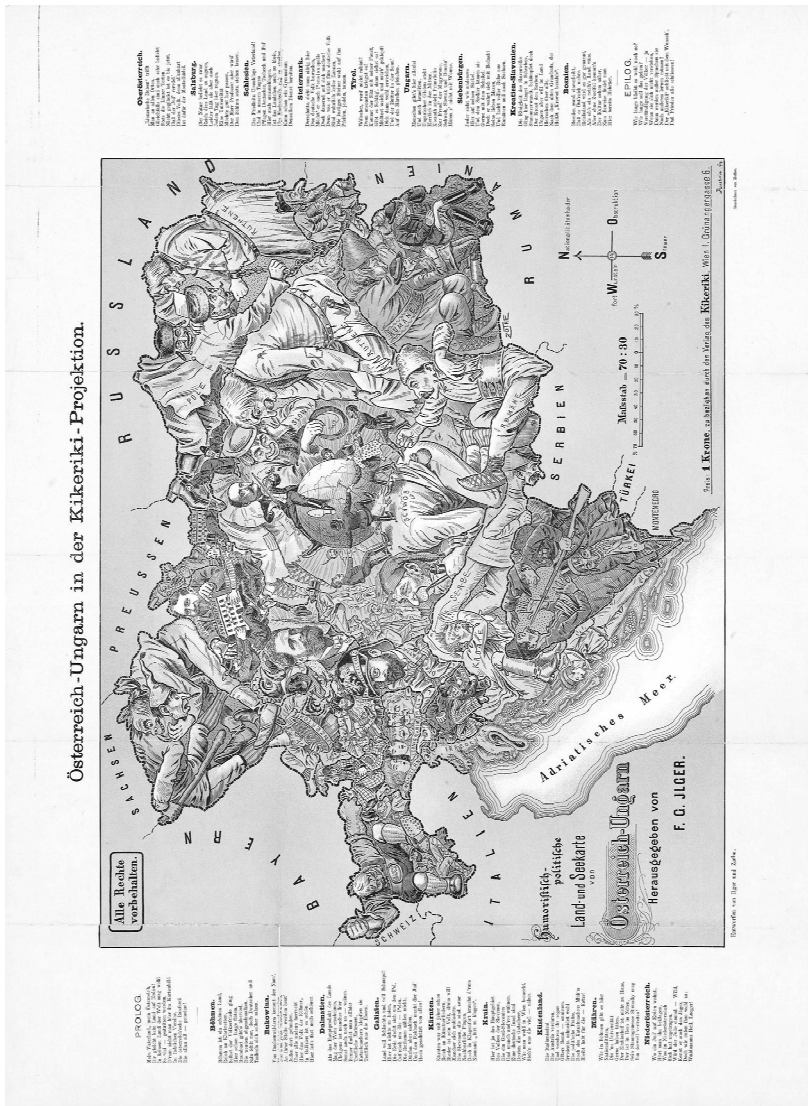


Fig. 3: The Austro-Hungarian Empire in the *Kikeriki* projection, a politico-humoristic land and sea map of Austro-Hungary, ed. Fritz Gabriel Ilger, drawn by Fridolin Zothe. Vienna: Kikeriki-Verlag [c. 1908]. (Graz, private collection, with kind permission of the owner.)

If we think of the breakdown of other multi-ethnic political structures such as the Soviet Union, or Tito's Yugoslavia, both of which led to bloody aggression and war, the sceptical diagnosis of the caricature seems to hold true until today. The idea of the multi-ethnic state is as unstable now as it was a hundred years ago: One can witness the desire for simplicity rather than multiplicity, and often enough the simple degenerates into the simplistic. Separatist tendencies are blossoming throughout Europe, from Scotland to Abkhazia. Even very pluralistic societies such as Switzerland still give birth to xenophobic visions and ideologies. Obviously, defining one's own identity leads only too often to the denigration of other identities, from suppression of minorities to so-called ethnic cleansings. Yet this volume is not aiming, at least not primarily, at a political discussion; its goal is to reflect on cultural dimensions of identity that transcend 19th-century born ideas of nationhood in all directions, whether multinational, regional, local or individual.

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THE VIENNA PHONOGRAMMARCHIV AS A MIRROR OF “VOICES OF IDENTITY”

GERDA LECHLEITNER

1. Introduction

The Vienna Phonogrammarchiv is the world's first research sound archive; it preserves a variety of sounds, mostly of human voices—spoken or sung. And such voices could be of interest in connection with the topic “voices of identity”.

As Stuart Hall points out with respect to cultural identity and diaspora, “identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past” (Hall 1990: 394). Identities are mostly attributed to individuals, but recent discussions also refer to collective identities, which are based on national or ethnic cultures. Such perceptions were created together with memory discourses and memory research. The attempt to describe identity requires distinguishing features such as differences; such differences might be measured, for example, by comparisons. Moreover, it is evident that identities are dynamic over time, that they are never completed or fixed. Another aspect should also be taken into account: Today we are aware of a situation being part of various cultural communities, and this situation produces various cultural identities which might also change during our lifetime.

This is roughly the field in which some of the sound examples chosen from the Phonogrammarchiv's collections will be discussed. But in order to understand, that is, to get an idea of such sound documents, the concept and idea of the Phonogrammarchiv will first be briefly introduced.

2. The Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences

The foundation of the Phonogrammarchiv in Vienna evolved from the idea of using the newly invented technique of sound recording for scientific

purposes. Previously, phenomena like tempo, accents, pronunciation and timbre could only be described by personal observation and could not be proved objectively because of the lack of sound recordings (cf. Graf 1978: 58). In order to turn sound recordings into sources, they had to be accompanied by detailed documentation concerning the contents as well as the recording technique. Moreover, the aim was to preserve such sound documents for further research, i.e., to create a sound archive. It was already well known that languages and music are constantly in flux and thus change over time, and sound documents could now figure as witnesses of such changes. Therefore, the newly established research methods, like comparing or analysing sounds in pitch, tempo and timbre on the one hand, and preserving and archiving the sound documents made in the course of the respective studies on the other hand, promoted ideas for finally founding a sound archive (see Exner 1900). While the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv collected and preserved sound recordings made for research purposes in any discipline and from all regions of the world (i.e., music and language recordings, but also children’s cries and animal and environmental sounds), the Berlin Phonogrammarchiv focused on music recordings from all over the world and is thus considered a special sound archive for ethnomusicology (cf. Lechleitner 2002).

In what way, then, can the Phonogrammarchiv be understood as a mirror of voices of or for identity? Research did not really involve a description or concept of identity 115 years ago. Rather, interests at the time focused on the study of the various pronunciations of one and the same language or on different languages as such. In order to reach such goals, certain strategies, namely comparative methods, were developed. Besides recording natural speech, standardized sentences seemed to be a reasonable basis. The founder of the Phonogrammarchiv, the well-known physiologist Sigmund Exner, suggested recording the *Lord’s Prayer* (as a standard text) in different languages (cf. Exner 1900); for the study of German dialects, the so-called Wenker-Sätze, created by Georg Wenker, were used.¹ Such efforts were also undertaken for other languages.

Music recordings and corresponding studies were focused on non-European music or European folk music. In this domain, the analysis of tone systems or rhythmic structures was in the foreground. Generally speaking, our forerunners were interested in cultural expressions as such; thinking about or discussing the identity of those recorded and their voices was not, however, a topic to be pursued. This was only done indirectly,

¹ “Die 40 (*endgültigen*) Sätze Georg Wenkers (1880)”, see <http://staff-www.uni-marburg.de/~naeser/wenker.htm>.

with scholars searching for the performer who might have best represented an ideal type of the respective culture (cf. Pösch 1917: 11–13). Thus, early sound recordings were not made for the study of identity—such a topic was not the main objective of the time. Nevertheless, some samples (spoken and sung), mainly from so-called “language islands”, will be taken as examples for discussing identity aspects as mentioned above; it is an attempt to figure out the message of the recordings on the whole, concerning also the identity of the speakers as identity aspects hidden in the recorded contents.

As has been shown above, new disciplines such as comparative linguistics or comparative musicology, based on the new technology of sound recording, appeared around 1900; consequently, they used the “real” sound to analyse specific features of sound production, compare them and define differences. Possibly, the step from contrasting various sound features to finding corresponding identity markers would not be so great.

3. Language Islands

“Language islands” are defined as selective or extensive, but rather small and closed, speech communities and settlements within a larger territory of another language.² The dialects preserved in such regions are mostly based on older layers because the speakers lived away from their home country and their manner of speaking developed in a different way. Besides such museum-like aspects, special innovations shape the dialects of language islands. Language contacts with the language of the new home country turned out to be most sustainable. These characterizations, described by members of the Language Islands Association, deal with identity in a very comprehensive way; they include the search for identity and its preservation but also delimitation and integration.

The first example, a recording featuring the dialect of Roana, is a recording from Asiago (Sette Commune, a German language island) made by the linguist Anton Pfalz in 1912. The inhabitants of the Sette Commune immigrated and settled at the plateau of Asiago (north of Vicenza) around 1100, coming from the western part of Tyrol and neighbouring Bavaria. It is situated in the region between the Bavarian and Allemanic language

² “Sprachinseln sind punktuell oder flächenhaft auftretende, relativ kleine geschlossene Sprach- und Siedlungsgemeinschaften in einem anderssprachigen größeren Gebiet” (<http://www.sprachinselverein.at/was-ist-eine-sprachinsel-273.html>; cf. Wiesinger 1980, 491-500; Hornung 1972; Schabus 1996).

zones, which is why the dialect of the Sette Commune has been characterized as an old-fashioned (conservative) southern Bavarian and Tyrolian dialect but with a significant Allemanic pronunciation. Moreover, there is some language contact with Romance dialects, which causes a characteristic pronunciation of s- and sh-sounds (see Schabus 2003: 63).

Such characteristics are external ones; additionally, the content of this recording is of great interest. The speaker, Benedetto Benetti, explained the origins of his forefathers (the history of the Cimbri) and the circumstances under which they had settled in that region. Thus, the text deals with the local identity, which has to be faced and managed because of the previous migration. In this recording from 1912, the “voice of identity” becomes manifest in the specific language but also testifies to changes and some conflicts; moreover, the voice of identity provides information about a certain assimilation.³

This historical recording is contrasted with a recording from 1987, made by Wilfried Schabus in Pozuzo. This recording is an example of the documentation of everyday culture; it deals with a culinary tradition and the description of a specific dish. Therefore, it represents another example of cultural identity.

Pozuzo, in Peru, was founded in 1859 by Catholic emigrants from the Rhine valley and by Tyroleans from the upper Inn valley. The German dialect in Pozuzo includes typical features of the Tyrolean region, but also influences from Spanish, the national language. Many field, animal and plant names originate from Quechua as spoken by the highlanders. The recording is a documentation of preparing and explaining Pachamanca (see Schabus 2003: 77).

³ Transliteration of the text: “Meine Herren! Die unseren Eltern haben horten (= immer) geködet (= erzählt), dass der unser Stamm von Zimbern ist von deutschen Ländern auf dem (= im) Norden gekommen in das welsche Land, in Zeit vom Kriege, wo der große Streich ist den[en] (= ihnen) [aus]gegangen übel. Der größte Teil von Kriegeren ist gefallen tot, und die anderen haben sich verborgen im Wald auf den Bergen von Dreizehn Gemeinden ober[halb] Bern (= Verona), und andere auf den Bergen von unseren Sieben Gemeinden ober[halb] Vitschenz (= Vicenza). Über diese hohe Ebene in dieser Zeit ist gewesen alles ein Wald, wo haben genistet die Bären und die Wölfe und keine Leute. Diese armen Buben in ihrem Kriegsgewand, erschreckt noch von dem hantigen (= bitteren) Tage, wer weiß, o und wie [die] haben gerastet die erste Nacht ohne eine sichere Herberge. Die ihren ersten Häuser sind gewesen Hütten, halb vergraben, zu sichern sich von (= vor) wilden Viehern (= Tieren) und vom (= vor dem) Frost in Winterszeit. Die ersten Äcker sind gewesen heute Reuten und Reutlein gewesen, wo (= welche) noch heute tragen den Namen.” (Schabus 2003: 64)

On the basis of this recording, it seems possible to detect a social affiliation with a particular culture, shown by an example of everyday culture. Evidently, from the sense of belonging to various cultural communities, a specific identity arose; such an identity might be a pretence but could also be chosen by chance or consciously. The language of the (mostly elderly) inhabitants of Pozuzo combines the original dialect with the language of the (new) country and that of the indigenous people. Daily life demands contacts with all these groups—and the contacts are mirrored in the language, which underlines a cultural identity (but also delimitation) in relation to the others.⁴

4. Croatian Music Recordings

Identity cannot only be proved by language but also by music recordings. Music can be seen as an essential feature of identity, and such findings

⁴ OEAW PHA CD 20: 25, B 33474; Preparation of *Pachamánka*, spoken by Rebecca Vogt-Huber de Egg, recorded by W. Schabus, in Pozuzo in September 1989. Transliteration of the text:

“R.E.: Wie sie die Pachamanca machen?

W.S.: Wie man das macht, ja.

R.E.: Ja, da wird—mhlm—die Pachamán, da wird ein Schwein geschlachtet, nachhin (=dann) wird es aufgehackt, und dann aufgeschnitten, da wird dann Ají gemahlen, Chincho, Pfeffer und Zimt, Essig wird dareingetan, und das wird dann bei der ganzen Nacht eingebeizt in einem Kessel. Und am nächsten Tag machen sie den Ofen, da wird aufgefeuert, werden die Steine heiß gemacht, [so] bald die Steine heiß sind, werden die Steine herausgetan vom Ofen, dann wird die Pachamanca hineingetan [in den Erdofen], die Yucca (=Maniokwurzel), die heißen Steine werden draufgelegt, und da wird mit Plátanopletschen (=Bananenstaudenblättern) rundum [zugedeckt], dass keine Erde hineinkommt—und oben drauf kommt der Crudosack (=Jutesack), und dann wird die Erde draufgetan [über den Jutesack], und [alles mit Erde] zugedeckt, und das [Fleisch und Maniok] wird zwei Stunden dringelassen im [Erd]ofen.—Dann ist die Pachamánca [fertig] gekocht. Dann wird sie ausgegraben nach zwei Stunden, und da wird sie dann gegessen.

A.E.: ‘Pachamánca’ will auf Quechua sagen: ‘Der Kochtopf in der Erde.’

R.E.: Das ist ein Indianers Wort, das ‘Pachamánca.’

W.S.: Wann tut man Pachamánca machen?

R.E.: Ja, Pachamánca machen sie für eine Hochzeit, einen Geburtstag, oder irgend so, für eine Kirmesse—

A.E.:—für ein Dorffest—

R.E.:—und so. Das gibt [es] für—Pachamánca ist für [ein] Fest, ja, nicht—. Das ist kein Hausessen.” (Schabus 2003: 78-79)

become even more evident in songs, specifically the text of songs, and the respective language tops such observations.

To start with, a historical sound example will once more be introduced, again from a language island but this time not from a German one. As is well known, the Balkan Peninsula was a multicultural region in the neighbourhood of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and also a part of it to some extent. Thus, the region was of scholarly interest in many respects; the Balkan Commission carried out research projects focused on cultural, linguistic, historical and geographical issues. The close contact between the Balkan Commission and the Phonogrammarchiv dates from the time of the Phonogrammarchiv's foundation; thus, some projects concerning studies on the cultures and languages spoken on the Balkan Peninsula were carried out together. Linguists were specifically interested in some dialectal boundaries but they were also interested in languages other than Slavic, namely the Romance elements there, e.g., Judeo-Spanish (Seroussi 2009: 17 ff.) or Istro-Rumanian (Liebl 2009: 52). Moreover, they studied Croatian language islands beyond the home country. Such studies were also conducted within larger projects (e.g., by Milan Rešetar, 1907). The outcome of sound documentation comprises language as well as music recordings and instrumental music but mostly vocal music, namely songs.

Milan Rešetar was sent by the Balkan Commission of the former Imperial Academy of Sciences to the southern Italian region of Molise, Provincia di Campobasso, in order to carry out field research on the variety of “Serbo-Croatian”. This minority language, also called Molise-Slavic or Molise-Croatian, includes three dialects corresponding to the three villages Acquaviva Collecroce, Montemitro and San Felice. Evidently, the identity of each village (identity of place) played an important part. Rešetar conducted ethnographic and linguistic studies, but he also made some sound recordings which he did not mention in his publication (1911). Those recordings were not known until the publication of the series 12/1 “Croatian Recordings 1901–1936” as one volume of the *Complete Edition of the Historical Collections of the Phonogrammarchiv* (Lechleitner / Marošević 2009). The text of one May song (OEAW PHA CD 27/1: 12, Ph 657, rec. in Oct. 1907 in Acquaviva Collecroce) is a good example to serve as proof of local identity—the translation says: “May is coming from Larino—we are greeting our Croatian compatriots” (see Breu 2009). Both language and content underline a national identity which, in this case, is articulated as the new identity in a new and different place.

Another Croatian language island is situated in southern Moravia. František Pospíšil, a schoolteacher who also studied in Vienna and followed his interests in traditional folk culture, made recordings during

his summer holidays in 1910. The Croatian colonization of Fröllersdorf (Frielištov, Frélichov) began around 1538, followed by that of the two other villages (Guttenfeld/Dobro Polje/Dobré Pole and Neu Prerau/Nova Prerava/Nový Přerov) around 1570. The Moravian Croats were living alongside Moravians and Germans, and were thus mostly trilingual (see Neweklowsky 2009: 59 ff.). This is clearly demonstrated in a recording of Ive Skokanić, a 55-year-old farmer from Fröllersdorf, who performed songs in Czech, German and Croatian.⁵

Pospíšil was very much interested in the repertoire of the Croats in that region. Being aware of the short recording time, he tried to get as many songs as possible onto one recording; therefore, he only asked for a few verses. He could have no idea that his recordings would preserve unique evidence of the language spoken in 1910.

Apart from a huge number of different songs, Pospíšil's collection also comprises some similar or even identical songs. In order to discuss the voice of identity from a further perspective, I have chosen three songs with the same first line sung by three different performers, and recorded in two different villages.⁶ This example could be explained by group identity ("Croatianess") but also as individual identity, since everybody sang his or her "own" songs. Such differentiation was probably possible in 1910; today, however, only a few individualists rooted in that region with its culture and history try to preserve that nearly vanished tradition with its cultural identity by compiling personal archives to keep some of the memory alive.

By chance I experienced the group identity of the Burgenland Croats on the occasion of the presentation of the Phonogrammarchiv's CD *Croatian Recordings 1901–1936* in the Croatian Centre in Vienna. When sound examples from the historical collections were played, namely those of Pospíšil, the audience hummed along. It was noticeable that the listeners were familiar with those old Croatian songs from Moravia since the two dialects are closely related. As was to be expected, the Burgenland Croats sang along with the Burgenland Croatian recordings presented that

⁵ OEAW PHA CD 27/1: 31, Ph 1433: Folk songs in Czech, German, Croatian, sung by Ive Skokanić; I. [Czech] Kdyš sem šel po rinku, II.a [German] O Strassburg, o Strassburg, II.b [Czech] Už se všeci oženili, III. [Croatian] Sviet je, sviet je, sviet je.

⁶ Song "Pri tih naših vrati": OEAW PHA CD 27/1: 22, Ph 1139, sung by Ive Čehovski, 80 years old, farmer from Guttenfeld; OEAW PHA CD 27/1: 27, Ph 1429, sung by Kača Šalamunka, 73 years old, from Fröllersdorf; and OEAW PHA CD 27/1: 32, Ph 1434, sung by Mare Skokanka, 70 years old, "Gospodarica" from Fröllersdorf.

evening. Here, the question arose of whether such a phenomenon might be called collective identity. But we have to be careful with the attribution of collective identity; collective identity is too often based on crude generalizations. Still, some sense of “we” might be justifiable if we take into consideration the status of a minority group.

Generally speaking, folk songs represent “the” tradition of the Burgenland Croats (cf. Hemetek 2009). How do young musicians deal with such long-lasting traditions? As far as I could find out, they search for a creative handling of their own culture or identity, work out new versions of traditional songs and use the musical expressions they like and consider adequate. The starting point is always the text: the musicians explain and interpret a text—thus, the original symbolic expressions are changed to real ones and finally one could say they “play” the text. The strophic song and the original melody are well-known and should be recognizable by their variations or transformations. This feature is very important for maintaining contact between the performers and the audience. In the course of a performance, the response of the audience, like laughter or acclamation, is the confirmation that the knowledge of tradition and the living memory figure as markers of identity. Language and music—both function only as long as the knowledge is at hand (see Lechleitner 2012). The ensemble Basbaritenori produced a special marker for their folk music interpretation, which can be seen as a synonym of identity.

This example shows multiple identities, a phenomenon recognized and emphasized today. There is no homogenous identity, as Hall has shown. Identity has to be seen as a dynamic process which is never finished. The ensemble Basbaritenori will probably find some more identities in their musical expressions while striving to live their Croatian identity.

5. Brief Conclusion

The sound documents presented here are ostensibly not evidence of “voices of identities” by the aforementioned criteria. Rather, the aim has been more or less to start a discussion about identities by explaining and interpreting the context. This method seems legitimate if we take into consideration Derrida’s term *différance*. Derrida (1967 [2005]) ignores that signs or symbols would have an original meaning; in his opinion, meaning is always constructed and only shows the relationship of expressions to one another (cf. O’Connell 2004: 1–4; Mouffe 2007: 12; Winter 2013). Characterizing identity therefore implies that identity is constructed by a subjective conception, either from outside (done by the

others) or by the persons concerned. The conclusion would be that any identity also demands the confirmation of a difference.

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THE LIBERATED THEATRE AND JEŽEK'S MUSIC RECONSIDERED

DAVID VONDRÁČEK

1. Introduction

Prague had a unique theatre: from 1927 to 1938, the Liberated Theatre or Unbound Theatre (Osvobozené divadlo) existed not far from Wenceslas Square and meant a challenge for the established institutions. It was artistically controversial and maybe aesthetically underrated, since it committed itself to entertainment. But the unique thing is that this comedy theatre could become a national symbol. In the songs of Jaroslav Ježek it is alive until today; they virtually became a 'second folklore' for the Czechs. Interestingly, these songs are a result of the process of cultural transfer. They sound more like Duke Ellington, Glenn Miller or Benny Goodman than anything else. In my paper, I would like to give an introduction to the theatre's history, aesthetics and music, and add some thoughts about its significance until today.

In 2013, the name Jan Werich and his signing of the anti-charter in 1977 were mentioned in the Czech presidential election campaign in front of television cameras. It was a fight of national symbols in which the name Werich was mentioned and in which Miloš Zeman eventually succeeded although (because?) he could evoke anti-German resentment against his contender Karel Schwarzenberg. However, such daily-to-day politics is just an example and not the topic of my paper. The aforementioned cultural background and its significance for Czech identity are hardly understandable for non-Czechs without a closer look into history.

2. The Liberated Theatre between East and West

Jan Werich (1905-1980), together with Jiří Voskovec (1905-1981), was one of the famous faces of the Liberated Theatre. It would be insufficient to call Werich and Voskovec only actors, since from 1927 they took on extensive functions, from the co-authorship of all plays to the theatre

management. The performances of the Liberated Theatre were described by Walter Schamschula as a mixture of Commedia dell'arte, Vaudeville, Viennese *Posse* and political cabaret (Schamschula 2004: 116). This might sound like a bit of everything, and is certainly partially motivated by commercial considerations. Everyone in the audience would find and pick something else that they personally liked. One saw it as an avant-garde stage, the other only as entertainment.

Jaroslav Ježek (1906-1942) was the sole composer and big band leader at the theatre. He composed and rehearsed the music for twenty revue programs, some of which saw over 200 performances during the theatre's short existence (Burian 1977: 176-177). Ježek attracted great attention with his piano improvisations, for he had had extremely limited eyesight since early childhood and could almost be called blind. He studied piano and composition at the Prague Conservatory and attended the master class of Josef Suk. He created his light music not only to earn money but as part of an aesthetic programme.

The fact that the Liberated Theatre was entertaining and earning well caused a persistent marginalisation of its aesthetic origins and development. It was founded in 1925, initially as a part of the artists' group Devětsil ('butterbur') which was at that time a leading force in Czechoslovak cultural life. Among its members were Vítězslav Nezval and Jaroslav Seifert, who was later awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. They called their art 'poetism', which is a specific Czech art movement strongly influenced by Dada, halfway to Surrealism and politically on the left. Until 1927 it also presented experimental theatre. Significantly, Alfred Jarry's *Ubu roi* was among its first productions.

The name refers to Aleksandr Jakovlevič Tairov's book *Das entfesselte Theater*. However, this is only the title of the German translation, whereas the Russian original is *Zapiski režissëra* ('Notes of a Director'). Soviet theatre aesthetics (with German mediation) on the one hand were combined with jazz as American music par excellence on the other hand. This forms the outlines for a field between East and West where the theatre can be located in the middle.

What may, in terms of music and dramaturgy, seem arbitrary and only loosely connected at first glance, must be seen as a challenge to theatrical and musical conventions of the established institutions which were still dominant in the nineteen-twenties. When we describe jazz as "de-centred music", archaic and progressive at the same time, challenging the paradigms of our thinking, it is the exact correlate of a de-centred theatre. Using the words "diversity" and "heterogeneity," we are able to identify in a positive way what formerly was marginalized as eclectic or simply