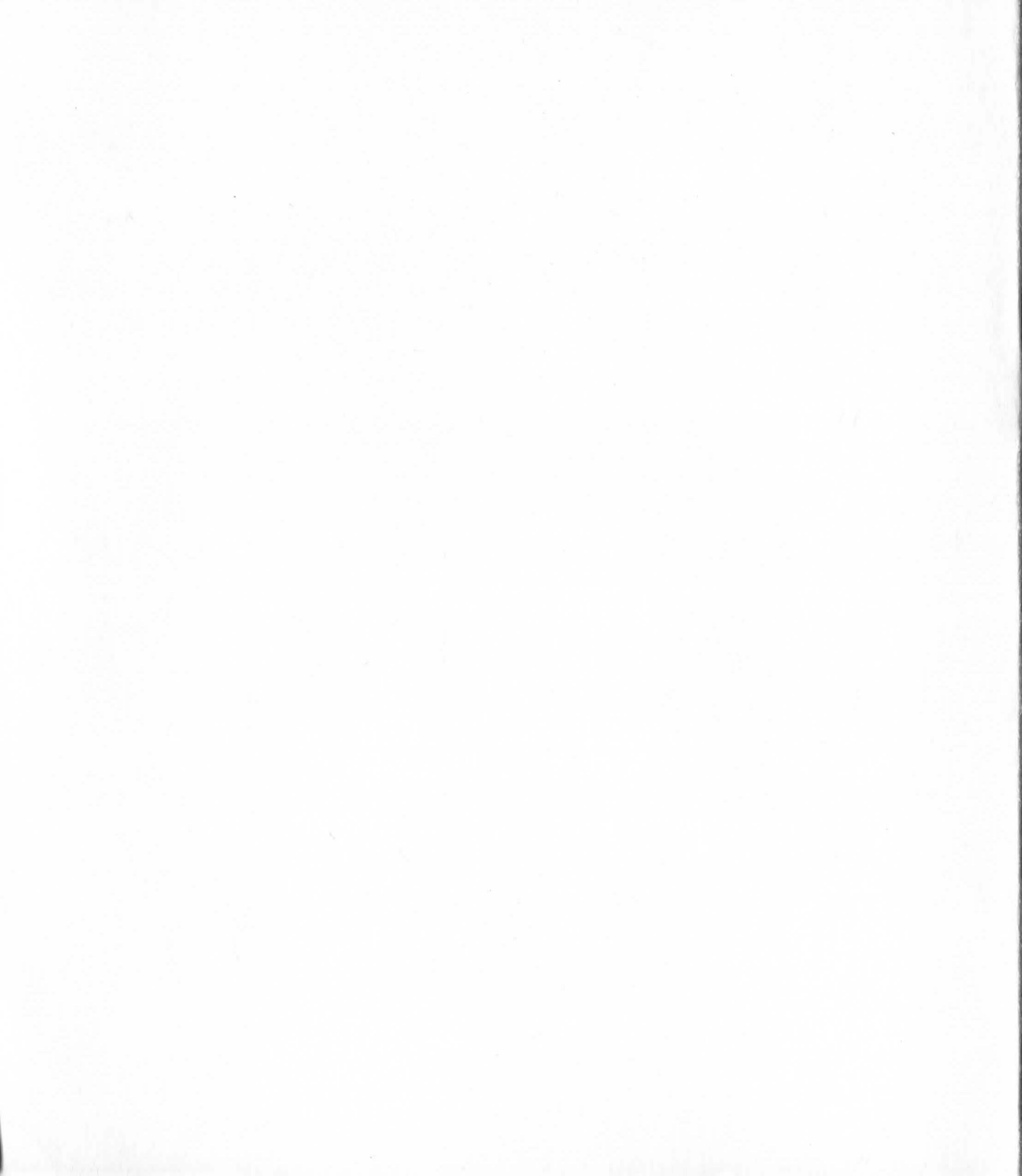






**MED GODCI IN GLASBILI
NA SLOVENSKEM**

**AMONG FOLK MUSICIANS
AND INSTRUMENTS IN SLOVENIA**

Razgledi

Views

Zbral in uredil

Collected and arranged by

Igor Cvetko

Ljubljana, 1991

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SLOVENSKI ETNOGRAFSKI MUZEJ



K E.01 A.11.02

SEM

1991



020130139

COBISS •

SLOVENSKI
ETNOGRAF-
SKI MUZEJ
LJUBLJANA

CIP – katalogizacija v knjigi
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

39(497.12):681.81
781.91(497.12)

MED godci in glasbili : razgledi / [zbral in uredil Igor Cvetko ; prevod v angleščino Alenka Goričan ; risbe Franc Feldin]. – Ljubljana : Slovenski etnografski muzej; Znanstvenoraziskovalni center, Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje, Sekcija za glasbeno narodopisje, 1991

J. Cvetko, Igor
24304640

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Predgovor

Povod in spodbuda za nastanek pričujočih Razgledov so bile priprave na razstavo Ljudskih glasbil in godčevstva na Slovenskem, ki jo v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju v Ljubljani postavlja Sekcija za glasbeno narodopisje Inštituta za slovensko narodopisje Znanstveno-raziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti. Če je smisel take razstave pokazati glasbilo in okolje, v katerem to živi, predstavlja knjiga misel o njem in njegov referenčni prostor. Sodelujoči avtorji so o tem razmišljali vsak na svoj način, vsak iz svojega področja in svojih izkušenj. Tako je nastal »kolaž« najrazličnejših pogledov na ljudsko glasbo in godčevstvo pri nas, delo, ki ta prostor širi in bo kot tako, upam, zanimivo tudi za širši krog bralcev. Razmišljanja si sledijo od razpravljanja o narodovi identiteti skozi zvok in ljudsko muziko, vključujejo vprašanja o mestu godca in ljudskih glasbil v življenju in šegah ljudi, vlogi, mestu in pomenu glasbil v ljudskem plesu, do obravnavanja zvočil in zvočnih igrač kot delu glasbene (zvočne) tradicije otrok na Slovenskem ter študije o glasbenih inštrumentih v slovenski književnosti. Kot pomemben dodatek omenjenim razpravam bi izpostavil zbrano bibliografijo o ljudskih glasbilih in ljudski inštrumentalni glasbi pri nas.

Vsak od podpisanih avtorjev sam stoji za vsem napisanim. Redakcijskih posegov v smislu nestrinjanja z vsebino in obliko ni bilo nobenih. Zdi se mi, da je tudi to dejstvo izziv za delo vnaprej.

Zahvaljujem se Slovenskemu etnografskemu muzeju, ki je kot založnik omogočil izid Razgledov, Sekciji za glasbeno narodopisje ISN ZRC SAZU pa za spodbudo in pomoč pri njihovem nastajanju.

Igor Cvetko

Preface

The reason and stimulus for these Razgledi (Views) were the preparations for the exhibition of folk instruments and traditional music making in Slovenia, which is under way at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana. The exhibition is organized by the Department of Ethnomusicology at the Institute of Slovene Ethnography, the Scientific Research Center at the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences. If the purpose of this exhibition is to show an instrument and its environment, the book represents the idea and its aspects. The authors whose contributions appear in this publication, have expressed their own views on the subject, from their own field and experience. Thus the »collage« contains different opinions about folk music and traditional music making in Slovenia. The environment with which it is concerned can in this way be broadened and will be of interest to a wider circle of readers. The authors discuss the national identity through sounds and traditional music, they deal with the inclusion of folk musicians and instruments in people's lives and customs and the role, place and meaning of instruments in traditional dances. They also write about children's sound producing instruments and musical toys as part of the musical tradition of children in Slovenia, as well as present a study of musical instruments appearing in Slovene literature. The collected bibliography of folk instruments and traditional instrumental music can be considered as an important additional contribution to the treatises mentioned above.

Each of the authors takes full responsibility for what he/she has written. There have been no editing on the part of the editor as to the content and form of the articles. It seems to me

that this fact is a challenge for any future work. I would like to thank the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, which has made this publication possible. Particular thanks are due to the Department of Ethnomusicology at the Institute of Slovene Ethnography, the Scientific Research Center at the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences for the stimulus and help offered by.

Igor Cvetko



Mira Omerzel-Terlep

ZVOČNA IDENTITETA SLOVENSКИH LJUDSKIH GLASBIL

1. Staro in novo ali preteklost in prihodnost skozi sedanjost

Vsaka narodopisna razstava je *retrospektiva*. Pomeni iskanje narodove identitete v ljudskem izročilu. *Korenine naše identitete* sežejo v slovanski in predslovanski (keltski) svet, prepojene so s kulturami narodov, ki so v zgodovini vplivali na naš etnični in kulturni prostor ali pa so s svojimi vpadi (Turki) pustili sledove v našem izročilu. *Živimo na prepihu kultur*: evropske na severu, panonske na vzhodu, mediteranske na zahodu, slovanski jug pa nas veže prek balkanskih prvin z orientalsko kulturno identiteto. Bogati, pa kljub temu skromni arheološki viri nam dajejo slutiti tisočletja dedovano kulturno jedro. Sprejemanje, prenašanje in preoblikovanje poteka po naravnih, intuitivnih in nepisanih zakonih.

Od preteklega stoletja smo priče procesu »izgubljanja« prvin, ki so nas določale v preteklosti. Druga svetovna vojna in naš čas s temeljito spremenjenim načinom življenja, razumevanjem in vrednotenjem sveta, so povzročili prelom stoletnih in počasi spreminjajočih se tradicij. Spreminjanje, naglo kot nikoli poprej, pomeni za človekovo zavest skokovito sprevredenje starega.

Novo izpodriva staro ali se skozi čas staplja v zmes »starega in novega«. V dvajsetem stoletju, v času razpadanja starih vrednot, najdemo vse: *staro in novo, v sožitju in disharmoniji*. Evropska umetnost (stilna in ljudska) je dospela do razvojne premene, ko staro odhaja, novega pa še ni tu, je zapisal Vilko Ukmar.¹

Mira Omerzel-Terlep

THE SOUND INDENTITY OF SLOVENE FOLK INSTRUMENTS

1. The old and the new or the past and future through the present

Every ethnographic exhibition is retrospective and represents the search for a nation's identity in its folk tradition. The roots of our identity go back to the Slav and pre-Slav (Celtic) worlds. They are nurtured by the cultures of nations which in their history influenced our ethno-cultural area or whose invasions (the Turks) left traces in our folk tradition. We live at the crossroads of different cultures: the European in the north, the Pannonian in the east, the Mediterranean in the west whereas in the Slovenic south we are connected, by means of Balkan elements, with the cultural identity of the Orient. The rich though numerically modest archeological sources help us to sense the cultural core of our heritage, which is millenia old. The receiving, transmitting and adapting of such influences is subjected to natural, intuitive and unwritten laws.

For the past century we have been able to follow the process of "losing" the elements by which we were identified in the past. The Second World War and the present period with its profound changes in the way of life, its understanding and evaluation of the world have reached a turning-point in the centuries-old, slowly changing tradition. These ever so rapid changes have led to an abrupt revaluation of the old in man's consciousness.

The new ousts the old or gradually merges into a mixture of "the old and the new". In the 20th century, a time when old values are disap-

Priče smo izgubljanju pripovednosti kot oblik komunikativnosti, izgubljanju spontane improvizacije kot oblik naše sproščenosti, priče smo izgubljanju svobodnega tempa (*rubata*) in različnih ritmov (zlasti pet-delnega) kot oblik naše neuniformirane glasbene ustvarjalne svobode. Priče smo torej procesu našega ukapljenja v evropsko in svetovno (ameriško) zavest, ki najmočnejše in morda tudi najhitreje deluje prav v svetu glasbe. Priče smo prehanju od aktivne glasbene ustvarjalnosti k pasivni, ki nastopi z vsesplošno razširjenostjo radijskih in televizijskih komunikacijskih sistemov in hromi individualno (ustvarjalno) in krepí splošno (povprečno). Večini slovenskih vasi je bil v času med obema vojnama radio dosegljiv. Mnoge muzikante so prestrašili visoki tehnični dosežki (ne vsebinski!), ki jih posredujejo množična občila, in jih paralizirajo v njihovem snovanju. V ustvarjanju je postalo pomembno *k a k o* in ne *k a j*. Mnogi so se pričeli sramovati, da bi igrali slabše, kot jim ponujajo radijski in televizijski sprejemniki, gramofoni ali magnetofoni. Tako sta se med ljudskimi godci zasnova dva pojma glasbenika: *godec in muzikant*. Prvi naj bi bil »naraven«, vezan na svoje ljudsko (mnogokrat tehnično nepopolno) glasbilo in na človečnost napak, drugi pa je »tehnično popoln« in nedosegljiv vzornik »muskontarja«, čeprav mnogokrat vsebinsko prazen in tudi nesmiseln (primer so izdelki narodnozabavnih ansamblov, ki so se prebili v telekomunikacijsko mrežo).²

pearing, everything can be found: the old and the new living together in harmony as well as disharmony. European art (both stylistic and popular) has arrived at a turning-point in its development when, according to Vilko Ukmar¹, the old is disappearing and the new has not yet fully arrived.

We are confronted with the loss of narration as a form of communication, the loss of spontaneous improvisation as a form of relaxed feeling, the loss of free tempo (*rubato*) and various rhythms (especially the five-part rhythm) as forms of our non-uniform freedom of creativity in music. Thus we are confronted with the process of our being moulded into European and world (American) consciousness, which is felt most strongly and probably most rapidly as well in the world of music. We are confronted with the transition from active to passive musical activity, which is caused by the extensiveness of radio and television communication that numbs the individual (creative) and strengthens the general (average). During the inter-war period, the radio was available in most villages in Slovenian. However, many folk musicians were frightened by the high standards of technological achievement mediated by the mass media, which paralyzed their creativity (– the content, however, was not significant). The how became important instead of the what. Many musicians were ashamed to play worse music than that offered by radio and television sets, gramophones and taperecorders. Thus folk musicians became divided into two types: folk musician and folk entertainment musician. The former was, as it were, "natural", tied to his folk instrument (frequently technically deficient) and the human tendency to err whereas the latter was "technically perfect" and an inaccessible ideal

Današnji čas je čas intelektualizma.³ Glasba pa je »svojevsestna govorica, izpovedovalka posebne vsebine, ki ni usmerjena v človekov miselni svet in tedaj ni ugotovljiva s pojmi, pač pa z občutji.«⁴ Jezik razlaganja sveta in življenja je lahko različen: instinktivno (intuitivno) doživljajski ali intelektualistično racionalen. Prevod glasbe v besede se glasbenemu instinktu upira, zato se tudi manifestira z zvoki in ne z besedami.⁵ Prav zato je istočasno na nek način umetnost ljudskega izročila. In če jo poskušamo razlagati samo z jezikom razuma, je enako, kakor če bi z njo poskušali iskati nova pomagala za iskanje resnice, s katerimi pa lahko samo krožimo okoli njenega bistva. Resničnost glasbene danosti pa je mnogo bogatejša kakor nam more odkriti razumski jezik znanosti. Toda prav tisti del resničnosti oziroma glasbe, ki se izmika racionalnemu iskanju, je za človekovo umetnost bistven in izpovedljiv samo z glasbeno govorico. *Umetnost in znanost* iščeta neznano, *iščeta resnico*. In če najdemo resnico na katerikoli od obeh poti, sta najdeni resnici vsaj navidez različni: različni zaradi različnih razpoznavnih poti in različnih opisnih govoric. Ali drugače: ljudska glasbena umetnost je razumljiva in izpovedljiva le z glasbenim jezikom. Če jo hočemo razumeti, se moramo prepustiti sporočilnosti in komunikaciji zvenov – tudi zvenu glasbil. Vendar se moramo zavedati, da glasbe z verbalnim (racionalnim) jezikom ne more razložiti niti psihologija, še manj etnologija in etnomuzikologija, če govorimo o ljudski glasbi.

for the folk musician, although the music is often "empty" as well as lacking in sense (an example of this is the production of folk entertainment groups which succeeded in penetrating into the mass media)².

The present time is the era of intellectualism³. Music is a unique language, declaring a special meaning which is not directed towards man's conceptual world. Thus it is defined not by mental notions but by the senses man's conceptual world. Thus it is defined not by mental notions but by the senses⁴. The language used to explain the world and life differs: it is either instinctively (intuitively) experiential or intellectually rational. The translation of music into words resists musical instinct and is therefore manifested by means of sound rather than words⁵. Precisely for this reason it is, in a way, an art of folk tradition. If we tried to explain it only rationally, it would be the same as if we tried to find new aids to searching for truth. They would, however, only make us trace the circumference around its essence. True musicality is much richer than the rational language of science can express. It is just that part of reality, or music, which shuns rational explanation, that is essential for human art and can be expressed only through the language of music. Art and science search for the unknown, i.e. truth. And if truth can be found on either of these two paths, it consists of two apparently different parts: different on account of the different cognitive paths and different descriptive languages. In other words: the tradition of folk music is intelligible and expressible only through the language of music. If we want to understand it, we must be open to its capacity for conveying a message and to the communication of sounds, including those produced by instruments. In other areas, words in their inadequacy should be used to

Duh glasbenega jezika je zgodovinski. ⁶Tako imamo opraviti pri razlaganju ljudske glasbe z *dvema paroma nasprotij*, ki nam meglita vpogled v razumevanje človekovega glasbenega ustvarjanja. Prvi par nasprotij sta intuitivno – emocionalni jezik in intelekt (ratio), drugi par nasprotij pa vsebuje polarnost časa; preteklosti (zgodovine) in sedanjosti. In tu nastopi svojo vlogo *spomin na proces, iz katerega je izšlo vse obstoječe*, kar je (po Dahlhausu)⁷ *zgodovinska zavest*. V našem stoletju, ko prične v tako imenovano ljudsko kulturo kmetijske večine v preteklosti vdirati nasprotujoč meščansko materialističen način življenja in prične odmirati poprej načelno trdna vaška skupnost, večina tudi izgubi evropsko in ožje pokrajinsko zavest (identiteto), ki pripelje tudi do izgube kakršnekoli zavesti o našem časovnem in prostorskem bivanju. Ljudska kultura večine postane vse številnejšemu meščanstvu in delavstvu tuja, saj je bila obrnjena v agrarno civilizacijo, ki je sledila zakonom plodnosti zemlje in naravnemu ritmu. O tem izgubljenem (pozabljenem) času in prostoru urojenosti pa pričajo tudi tako imenovana ljudska glasbila, ki govorijo tudi meščanu in delavcu, saj sta po svoji biti še vedno naravni bitji. Sporočila glasbene biti sprejemata tudi nezavedno.

explain notions and facts. However, we should be aware that even psychology cannot explain music by means of reason. In the case of folk music, this is even more true of ethnology and ethnomusicology.

The spirit of musical language is historical.⁶ In dealing with folk music we are thus confronted with two pairs of contrasts which obstruct our understanding of human creativity in the field of music. The first pair of contrasts consists of the intuitive-emotional language and intellect whereas the second contains the polarity of time: the (historical) past and present. Here, the memory of the process from which everything we know has emerged begins to play its role. According to Dahlhaus,⁷ this is the historical consciousness. In our century the bourgeois, materialist way of life began to penetrate into the so-called folk culture of the predominantly peasant population and the formerly strong village communities went into a decline. The population lost its European and also its locally conditioned consciousness (identity), which can lead to the loss of any consciousness in our temporal and spatial existence. Folk culture has become estranged from the ever more numerous bourgeoisie and proletariat as it was directed towards an agrarian civilization, which observed the laws of the fertility of the soil and the rhythm of nature. This lost (forgotten) time and space of primeval existence is engrained in the so-called folk instruments, which convey their message to the bourgeois citizen and the worker, too, since basically, they are still natural beings. They receive the messages of musical tradition unconsciously.

2. Dualizem tradicije in mode, življenja in smrti

Druga svetovna vojna je povzročila kulturni stres, ki ga velik del ljudske kulture iz predvojnih dni ni preživel ali po vojni ni imel več pogojev za oživitev. Omotica poveljne svobode je zavračala vse staro in povzročila tudi veliko materialno in duhovno škodo v varovanju kulturne dediščine, zlasti ljudske, ki je pripadala staremu in ne več sprejemljivemu svetu. Dobrih štirideset let po vojni se je pozabilo (tudi hote) skorajda vse, kar bi omogočilo prenos tradicije (navade, šege, življenjski in kulturni stil). Lahko bi zapisali, da je *danes pretrgana tradicija* dedovanja kulturne identitete (glasbenega) izročila. Novo, ki nastaja, danes ne korenini več v izročilu, v kolikor se je slednjemu docela odreklo. Res je, da z množičnostjo določenih kulturnih sestavin lahko pride do nasičenja z obstoječim, čemur sledi *odpor*. Rutinskim izkušnjam stoji nasproti potreba po preseganju obstoječega in po izogibanju pravil ter po odkrivanju novega. Dvomi in dileme so nedvomno gonilne sile razvoja. Vendar odpor, ponavadi vezan na časovno bližino spornega, v določeni časovni distanci (tudi stoletje ali več stoletij trajajoči) preraste v *oživljanje* vrednot, v iskanje in odkrivanje novih odnosov v svetu (tudi glasbenem), preraste v odkrivanje vrednot, ki so pravzaprav stare, v katerih tudi moda ni izjema in je le nova oblika starega.⁸ V tem smislu tudi retrospektivni pregled glasbil, zazrt v preteklost, ne more biti izjema. Povsod in v vseh časih je tekla bitka med tradicijo, ki je na nek način tudi konservativna in med trenutno (sodobno, modno?) ustvarjalnostjo posameznikov: vsi godci (pa tudi pevci) imajo v svojem repertoarju tudi *svoje viže ali melodije*, ki pomenijo nekakšno *preseganje stare-*

2. The dualism of tradition and fashion, life and death

The Second World War caused a cultural stress which the greater part of pre-war folk tradition could not survive or it lacked conditions for renewal after the war. In the giddiness of post-war freedom, everything that was old was rejected, causing great material and spiritual damage to the protection of the cultural heritage, especially the folk heritage, which belonged to the old, but no longer acceptable world. A good forty years after the war almost everything that made the handing down of tradition (i.e. habits and customs, style of life and culture) possible was forgotten. It can be admitted that the present time has torn away the habit of passing down the cultural identity of musical tradition. The new that arises no longer has its roots in tradition because it has completely renounced it. It is true that the mass production of certain cultural elements can cause saturation with existing values, which provokes resistance. Opposite to routine experience is the need to go beyond the already existing and to circumvent any rules in order to discover something new. Doubts and dilemmas certainly provide the driving forces of progress. However, this resistance, which is generally tied to the temporal proximity of the controversial, within a certain span of time (lasting even one century or longer) causes a revival of values, a search for and discovery of new relations in the musical world. It is concerned with the discovery of values which are actually old and which are frequently influenced by fashion, appearing simply in a new form.⁸

In this sense a retrospective survey of instruments looking back to the past, cannot be an

ga, v repertoarjih sestavljalcev pa imajo posebno mesto, pomen in veljavo.

Lahko bi zapisali: *kolo zgodovine se vrti naprej in nazaj*. Če se premika k zanikanju preteklosti in se zavrti predaleč, se zopet obrne nazaj k tradiciji, se torej zazre v preteklost in črpa iz njene modrosti, ki je kljub drugačni ravni okusa in zavesti le ni mogoče nikdar čisto zavreči. Morda pa ji znamo samo ponovno prisluhniti. Za veliko glasbil, izpričanimi že v arheološki davnini, so se za več stoletij izgubile sledi, a so spet dobila veljavo in nato ponovno potonila v pozabo. Najzanimivejši tovrstni primer so *trstene orglice ali trstenke* (panove piščali), izpričane že v keltski plemenski družbi in kulturi, pred drugo vojno glasbilo revnih haloških kmetij in goric, danes pa takorekoč izumrlo svojstveno zvočilo. Se bo kolo zopet zavrtelo k tradiciji? Gotovo je sledeče: tik, predno je izginilo iz slovenskega glasbenega izročila (izdeluje in igra jih le še en godec), je dobilo novo funkcijo – funkcijo suvenirja in simbola slovenskih ljudskih glasbil in ljudske glasbe. In ko smo v krizi (in v glasbeni krizi prav gotovo smo) osebni ali narodni, se radi obračamo v preteklost, k tradiciji, preverjamo prehojeno in iščemo morebitne napake, ki bi utegnile povzročiti naš ustvarjalni krč – tudi glasbeni. Skozi prehojeno začutimo sedanost in skušamo predvideti prihodnost. Iščemo sožitje preteklega, sodobnega in tudi prihodnjega. In tovrstnim razmišljanjem naj bo namenjen tudi pregled ljudskih glasbil, kajti tradicija ni samo konservativni element, temveč tudi zdrava kontrola napredka, ki jamči kontinuiteto kulture.

exception. Everywhere and at all times the battle has been fought between tradition, which can be considered as conservative in a way, and very short-lived creativity on the part of individuals: all musicians (as well as singers) also have their own tunes or melodies in their repertoire, which in a way exceed the old and have a special place, significance and validity on the programmes of selectors.

One could say: the wheel of history turns forward and backward. If it moves towards a negation of the past and makes a turn too fast, it goes back again to tradition, thus looking back to the past and drawing from its wisdom, which can never be completely ignored, despite a different level of taste and consciousness. Perhaps we know how to listen to it again. Many instruments (testified to) known in the oldest times were lost track of for several centuries. Then they regained its validity to become lost and forgotten for a second time. The most interesting such example is the pan-pipes which were known in the culture of Celtic tribes. They existed before the Second World War among the poor peasants of Halôze, but their unique tradition has now virtually died out. Will the wheel of history turn towards tradition again? Something is certain: before the pan-pipes disappeared from Slovene musical tradition (they are produced and played at present by only one folk musician), they received a new function, that of souvenir and symbol of Slovene folk instruments and music. Whenever confronted with a crisis (like the present one in music), either individual or national, people like to turn towards the past, to their traditions, verifying the distance covered and looking for any possible mishaps which could cause a shock regarding creativity – including musical creativity. Through the distance we can feel the present and try to

predict the future. This kind of reflection should also be elicited from our survey of folk instruments as tradition is not only a conservative element but also a healthy control over progress which guarantees the continuity of culture.

3. Uglasenost in razglasenost ali naravna uglasitev in temperacija

Prežitki minulega pričajo o nekdanj veljavnem, a danes zavrženem, zavrženem tudi zaradi sprememb glasbenega okusa in veljavne mode, ki seveda ni neodvisna od kulturno socialnega in gospodarskega dogajanja v našem etničnem prostoru in v sosednjih evropskih deželah. S temi spremembami in s človeško psiho so povezane duhovne transformacije, ki dokazujejo tudi prehod od *spontane ali naravne netemperirane* (poltonsko neizravnane) uglasitve glasbenega jezika k šolani *temperiranosti* ali poltonski izravnavi. V netemperiranem sistemu se melodije običajno gibljejo okoli tonalnega centra, kjer o harmoniji v klasičnem smislu še ni moč govoriti. Tovrstnemu glasbenemu izrazu so prilagojene celo uglasitvene možnosti nekaterih ljudskih glasbil, predvsem *glasbil bordunskih uglasitvenih zasnov* kot so *dude*, *lajne*, *drumlice*, *bordunske citre* in vse do našega stoletja tudi okoli *desetstrunske citre domače izdelave*, pa *trstene orglice* in delno tudi *žvegle*. *Temperacija* pa je umetni sistem urejanja intervalskih glasbenih odnosov in je rojena v baročni dobi. Leto 1678⁹ je njeno rojstno leto. Sistem poltonske enakosti je razumski produkt in služi tehničnim izboljšavam glasbenega jezika in glasbil. Nekako nam je tudi vsiljen. Temperacija je priučljiva in v ljudski glasbeni ustvarjalnosti uresničljiva s

3. In and out of tune or natural tuning and temporing

Remnants of bygone ages speak about bygone values. These have been rejected today on account of changes in musical taste and the current fashion which, however, also depends on cultural, social and economic events in our ethnic area and the neighbouring European countries. These changes and the human psyche are connected with spiritual transformations which provide proof of the transition from the spontaneous or natural untempered (unequated in the semitones) tuning of musical language to the artificial temperation of levelling of semitones. In the untempered system, melodies tend to move around the tonal centre where harmony in the classical sense does not exist. The possibilities of tuning some folk instruments have been adapted to this kind of musical expression, particularly instruments with bourdon tuning such as the bag-pipes, barrel-organ, Jew's harp, bourdon zither and, up to this century, the Slovene-made ten-string zither, pan-pipes and partly also the "žvegla", an Alpine wooden duct flute. Tempering is an artificial system of arranging internal relationships and came into being in the Baroque period – in 1678, ⁹ to be precise. The system of semitonal equality is a rational product and serves the technical improvement of musical language and instruments. In a way, it has

širjenjem telekomunikacijskih sistemov naše dobe (20. stoletje). Je tipičen *produkt evropskega geografskega prostora* in vrednota, ki se nam dozdeva dandanes popolnoma razumljiva, vendar sodi v sistem norm, ki smo jih kot človeška skupnost tega prostora sprejeli po skoraj tri stoletja trajajočem prilagajanju. Če je stilna ali »visoka« ali »umetna« glasba (zdi se, da zanjo še vedno nismo našli popolnoma ustreznega izraza) pričela uvajati temperacijo istočasno z njenim pojavom¹⁰ in je v stoletju osvojila ves profesionalni glasbeni svet, je v ljudski glasbi pričela svojo zmagovito pot šele s pojavom glasbene reprodukcije in konzervacije, torej s širjenjem radia, televizije, gramofonov in magnetofonov na naše podeželje, torej od 30-ih let našega stoletja dalje. *Proces sprejemanja temperacije še traja*. Temperacije se glasbenik uči leta in leta, še posebej čutijo ta proces pevci. Uči pa se je vsakdo tudi nezavedno. Včasih nas zbega *nenavadna »razglašenost« godcev in pevcev*, ljudskih ali drugih nešolanih. Presenečajo nas z odstopanji od razumskega sistema poltonske izravnave, ki so celo trmasto zavestna. Zaradi ukalupljenosti v (tudi glasbene) sheme naše dobe, smo se navadili označevati drugačnost za razglašenost, kar pa v svojem bistvu ni! Je le *»naravnost in neuniformiranost«*, ki je odvisna od posameznikovih miselnih in čutnih (slušnih) sposobnosti. Dokaz so tudi starejša ljudska glasbila svojstvenih uglasitev in ljudska glasba različnih svetovnih etničnih skupin. Prav zato je ljudska glasba tako imenovanih *»naravnih ljudstev«* neevropskega sveta tako *»zastrašujoče«* različna od evropske.

been imposed on us. Tempering can be learned and realized in folk creativity in music by the spreading of the telecommunication system of the 20th century. It is a typically European product and a value which is perfectly understandable nowadays although it belongs to the system of norms accepted by European society after nearly three centuries of adaptation. If stylistic or "high-brow" or "artificial" music (an adequate expression has yet to be found) began to introduce tempering as soon as it had appeared¹⁰ and conquered the entire professional world in that century, its breakthrough in folk music only occurred with the appearance of musical reproduction and preservation through the mass media: radio, television, gramophones and tape-recorders in country life from the 'thirties of this century on. The process of adopting the tempered system is still under way. A musician learns how to use it for years, a process which is mainly felt by singers. Anybody learns it unconsciously. Sometimes we are disturbed by the unusual "out-of-tune" performances by musicians and singers, folk or other unprofessional artists. They surprise us with their deviations from the rational system of semitone temperation, which are even stubbornly deliberate. Because of our conformism with the schemata of our times (including musical ones), we have become accustomed to labelling "otherness" as "out-of-tuneness", which is basically wrong. It is only "naturalness and non-uniformity" which depends on the individual person's rational and perceptual (hearing) abilities. The evidence for it also comes from older folk instruments with a tuning of their own and those of various ethnic groups around the world. This is why the folk music or the so-called "natural peoples" of non-European origin is so "frightfully" different from the European.

Poleg ljudskih glasb različnih narodov, ki so v osnovi netemperirane, so dokaz *naravne uglasitve* tudi starejša evropska ljudska glasbila svojstvenih uglasbitev, ki jim je težko najti uglasitveno enaka, saj so unikatna, neuniformirana, uglasitev pa je odvisna od človekovih estetskih in glasbenih potreb, naravnih danosti (na primer od debelin in dolžin rastlin določenega okolja, iz katerih izdelujejo glasbila) od znanja, zavesti in predvsem čustvovanja, oziroma od *emocionalnega razumevanja zvočno lepega*. Redka glasbila, ki so priče naše minule *individualnosti* – ne samo slovenske, temveč *predvsem pokrajinske* – so prežitki *arheološke davnine*, katerih starost bolj slutimo in le dokazujemo pripadnost drugačnim človeškim družbam, vse do mitotvornih skupnosti izpred naše ere. Med najznačilnejša glasbila oziroma prežitke starejših dob na Slovenskem, sodijo *paleolitske piščali* (čeljustnice in mandibule jamskih medvedov z luknjicami),¹¹ *trstenke*, *dude*, *piščali* iz različnih naravnih materialov ali tako imenovana *naravna glasbila* kamor sodijo tudi razne *piske* iz drevesnih vejic, lubja, trave, slame, jesenskih plodov, torej glasbila domače izdelave in s tem tudi svojstvene uglasitve.

Temperacijo imenuje občutljivi opazovec in raziskovalec zahodnoslovenske ljudske glasbe skladatelj Pavle Merkù,¹² *glasbeno tesen*, ki zamenjuje in zamrežuje zahodno glasbeno kulturo¹³ Poltonska izravnavo oziroma ekvacijo (po Merkùju) glasbene lestvice dvanajstih poltonov pomeni odpoved prvobitnemu slušnemu razkošju naravnega in najhujši udarec tudi slovenski ljudski glasbi, kakršno smo pododovali in uživali tja do 18. stoletja. Najdlje je bilo naravnemu (ljudskemu v pravem smislu besede) glasbenemu jeziku prizanešeno v svojstveni *rezijski ljudski glašbi*, vendar tudi slednje temperacija ni obšla. Razpad na-

Apart from the folk music of different nations, which is basically untempered, the older European folk instruments with their special tuning are proof of natural tuning. They cannot be compared with any other instruments as they are unique and non-uniform. Their tuning depends on man's aesthetic and musical needs, natural circumstances (for example, the thickness and length of the reeds in a given environment where these instruments are made) on knowledge, consciousness and particularly on the emotional understanding of what has a beautiful sound. Only a few instruments which have witnessed our past individuality – not only Slovene but particularly the more narrowly provincial – are remnants of the archeological past. We can only guess at their age, trying to prove their connection with different societies, down to mythological communities before our era. Among the most significant instruments from the early periods in Slovenia are the paleolithic pipes (cave bears' jaw bones¹¹ and mandibles with holes), pan-pipes, bag-pipes, flutes from various natural materials or the so-called natural instruments, which include various whistles from tree twigs, bark, grass, straw, autumn fruits, in short, home-made instruments with their own individual tuning.

The composer Pavle Merkù,¹² sensitive observer and researcher in west Slovene folk music, calls temperation the musical bottleneck which delimits and fences off western musical culture.¹³ According to Merkù, the levelling out of the musical scale of twelve semitones means renouncing the primeval musical luxury of what is natural and the hardest blow to the Slovene folk music we inherited and enjoyed until the 18th century. The natural musical language (folk music in the proper sense of the word), was longest spared in the

ravnega netempiranega sistema je danes v Reziji (še) očiten, drugod po Sloveniji pa še občuten in ugotovljiv, če natančno prisluhnemo navidezni »razglašenosti«. Vendar se tudi danes ni potrebno odpeljati prav daleč od mestnih središč, da prisluhnemo svojskosti glasbenega izraza. Le z glavnih poti moramo zaviti.

Zaradi pomanjkanja zgodovinske zavesti v delih o ljudski glasbi, ki bi nam pomagala razložiti naravno neuniformiranost, si je ljudska glasba pridobila sloves razglašenosti, čeprav tudi po krivici. Zaradi povedanega so se izničili tudi ljudski godci in pevci sami.

Vendar se zdi, da je čas za natančnejše raziskave že zamujen, kajti omenjeni proces prilagajanja novi ekvaciji ali poltonski izravnavi se je v drugi polovici našega stoletja tudi končal. Kjer imamo opraviti z ljudskimi glasbami ali glasbenim izročilom razpoznavamo prežitke, ki se trdovratno zgledujejo po tradiciji, nosilčeva občutenja pa so zazrta v preteklost in pogojena z različnimi okoliščinami (npr. z geografsko izoliranostjo) in z različnimi psihološkimi vzgibi nosilcev in poslušalcev.

Tudi stoletja veljavne *bordunske zasnov* *uglasitev* glasbil (spomnimo se zvenenja *lajn, dud, bordunskih citer*) in *petja*, ki je razvijala elementarni glasbeni izraz nad ležečim in ponavljajočim se tonalnim centrom – *bordunom*, so se v 20. stoletju docela umaknile nekaj stoletij »mlademu« *akordskemu glasbenemu mišljenju*, ki je razvil harmonski jezik. Ta je s klasično in romantično dobo snovanj dosegel v glasbeni umetnosti do razbitja vse dotlej veljavnega glasbenega in do popolne prevlade razuma – torej do prevlade najmanj glasbenega v glasbi. Vendar to razbitje v ljudski glasbi nima vzporednice v harmonskem upor, temveč v *razgraditvi smisla in vsebine; dokaz so narodno zabavni ansambli*, ki muzicirajo s

folk music of Resia but even that could not avoid temperation. The decline of the natural untempered system is still evident in Resia today. In other parts of Slovenia it can be felt and established if one listens carefully to the apparently "out-of-tune" sounds. Even nowadays it is not necessary to go long distances from the city centres to hear original musical expression. One should only leave the main roads.

Because of the lack of historical awareness in works dealing with folk music, which could help us to explain the natural non-uniformity, folk music has wrongly acquired a notorious reputation for being "out of tune". Thus, folk musicians and singers have themselves participated in the above-mentioned process.

It seems, however, that the time for any thorough research is over as the process of adaptation to the equalizing of semitones was finished in the second half of the present century. In dealing with folk instruments or musical tradition we can trace remnants which stubbornly follow tradition whereas the performers' feelings are directed towards the past and subjected to various circumstances (such as geographical isolation) and different psychological actions of both performers and listeners.

Even the centuries-old bourdon elements of tuning instruments (heard, for example, in the sound of street organs, bag-pipes, or bourdon zithers) and singing, which developed an elemental musical expression above the horizontal and repetitive tonal centre – the bourdon – had to give way, in the 20th century, to the few centuries "young" musical use of chords from which the language of harmony emerged. In the classical and romantic periods, this brought about the destruction or everything that was valid in music up to then and the complete dominance of what is the least musical in

harmonskim jezikom in tekstovnimi nesmisli ter neiskrenostjo. Za zabavne ansamble poveljnih dni bi lahko zapisali, da se je iskanje (umetniške) resnice umaknilo večji tehnični dovršenosti glasbil in izvedbe, s čemer pa so se tudi umaknili od bistva umetnosti in njenih iskanj, zato so povzročili toliko ogorčenja ustvarjalnejših iskalcev nad praznino in stereotipi zabavnih besedil ansamblov, ki se razglašajo za »narodne«. *Njihova vse večja množičnost je pokazatelj praznjenja duhovnosti naroda (identitete?) in dokaz vključevanja v materialističen svetovni nazor evropskega človeka ter industrije zabave.*

music. This destruction in folk music has no parallel in the separate rebellion of harmony but in the dissolution of meaning and content; the evidence for this lies in the folk entertainment groups which make music by using the language of harmony and texts of little meaning together with a great deal of insincerety. As far as these post-war groups are concerned, it can be noted that the search for (artistic) truth has give way to the greater technical perfection of the instruments and performances, all of which has resulted in a withdrawal from the essence of art and its searchings. Thus these groups have caused so much indignation on the part of more creative musicians over the emptiness and stereotyped content of the texts used by groups which claim to produce "folk" music. Their ever-increasing number shows the decline of the nation's spirit (identity?) and provides evidence for its inclusion in the materialist weltanschauung of Euro-man and the industry of entertainment.

4. Istočasnost in zapoznelost naravno (ljudsko) in umetno (stilno)

Zdi se, da sta si bili v preteklosti ljudska glasba in tako imenovana umetna ali stilna glasba bližji kot danes. Kdaj je do delitve med njima prišlo, je težko zagotovo reči. Nekateri ta čas razmejitve postavljajo celo že v prazgodovino.¹⁴ Če se je tisto najboljše v preteklosti, kar se je gojilo za »dvor« – in v razmišljanju lahko pričemo s *trstenkami* vsaj v staroilirski plemenski razslojenosti – pričelo razvijati v »profesionalni« službi umetnika, ki je bil skoraj do našega časa raziskovalec življenja, svečenik

4. Simultaneity and tardiness the natural (folk) and the artificial (stylistic)

In the past folk music and artificial, or stylistic, music seem to have been closer than they are today. Just when the separation between them took place is difficult to establish; some think that it goes back to prehistoric times.¹⁴ If the best that was created in the past for the "court" – and we can begin our consideration with pan-pipes going as far back as old Illyrian tribal society – started to develop as the artist's professional activity, separation and variety are understandable.

ljudstva in umetnik hkrati, razvijati po individualni poti, različni od tiste, ki jo je zmogla ustvariti večina v okviru obredja življenja, sta ločitev in različnost razumljiva. Vendar še vedno ostaja tudi prepletanje med ljudsko in stilno glasbeno zvrstjo: zdaj v eni, zdaj v drugi smeri. In če v likovni umetnosti *socialno razlikovanje* življa nekega prostora in časa narekuje v veliki meri tudi umetniško podobo, »saj so bile velikanske razlike med tistim, kar si je lahko privoščil stradajoči tlačan ali vsega siti fevdalec ali prelat«, ¹⁵ te razlike še najmanj pogojujejo glasbeno umetnost, ki je v prvi vrsti psihološka determinanta. Seveda pa različna *izobrazbena raven* ustvarjalcev ne ostaja vnevar pri oblikovanju ljudske umetnosti. Vendar pa bi lahko rekli, da se ljudska glasba večinskega kmetstva minulih stoletij trdovratneje drži sprejete (tradicije) in se počasneje spreminja. Ne samo, da se nam dozdeva, da čas na podeželju teče počasneje, zdi se, da se življenje odvija tudi v *časovnem (umetnostnem) izostanku*. Dokaz so tudi ljudska glasbila, ki jih kot spomenike oziroma prežitke ohranja naš čas, pred stoletji pa jih je poznal tako ljudski kot stilni glasbeni svet, a jih je le-ta po krajši ali daljši dobi opustil, kot ljudska glasbila pa so se ohranila do danes. Mednje sodijo *oprekeli, dude, lajne, drumlice, rogovi*, delno tudi *citre in žvegle*, iz arheološke davnine pa trstene orglice. Tudi moda na podeželju ni nikdar vplivala tako močno kot na meščana. Tako je *skoraj v vsakem srednjeveškem ali renesančnem glasbilu mogoče videti prototip ali skoraj identično različico poznejšega ljudskega glasbila* in sicer tudi v rabi še stoletja za tem, ko je izginilo z »resne scene« umetne glasbe. Seveda je med starejšo stilno in polpreteklo ljudsko glasbo tudi *polno zvočnih podobnosti* v glasbenem izrazu, v glasbenih oblikah, v tehničnih dosežkih, v harmonijah in stilnih mani-

The artist has been a researcher into life almost up to the present day, a priest of the people and artist at the same time, going his individual way, which was different from the one followed by the majority within the framework of life rituals. Nevertheless, the intertwining of folk and stylistic music has remained moving in one direction or another. If the artistic image in visual art depends to a great extent on the social differentiation of life in a certain area and at a certain time, "for there were enormous differences between things which the starving serfs and the well-fed feudal and ecclesiastical lords could afford", ¹⁵ the art of music is conditioned least of all by these differences as it represents in the first place a psychological determinant. The differing educational level of the artists naturally plays a role as well in the creation of folk art. It can nevertheless be said that the folk music engrained in the peasant majority of the past centuries sticks more stubbornly to tradition and undergoes changes more slowly. Not only does it seem that time in the country passes at a slower pace, but it also seems that life (in art) unrolls with temporal (artistic) delay. Evidence for this is the folk instruments preserved as mementos or survivals up to the present day whereas some centuries ago they were well-known by both the folk and stylistic musical worlds. The latter, however, discarded them at some point, though as traditional folk instruments they still lived on. These include dulcimers, bag-pipes, street organs, jew's harps, horns and, partly, zithers and flutes whereas pan-pipes date back to the archeological past. Moreover, country people were never as subject to current fashion as their town counterparts. Thus, nearly every medieval or Renaissance instrument represents a prototype or an almost identical variety of the later folk instrument.

rah. Vendar pa najdemo v ljudskemu instrumentariju tudi glasbila, ki jih ni mogoče primerjati z nikakršnimi znanimi glasbili.

Na drugi strani imamo opraviti z umetnostnimi oblikami *nadčasovnega zvena*, saj ni naključje, da je včasih več navideznih podobnosti med sodobnimi ljudskimi oblikami in oblikami (tudi glasbili) iz zgodovinskih obdobj, kot pa med ljudskimi oblikami in sočasno stilno umetnostjo, kar potrjuje tudi likovna umetnost.¹⁶ In zato moramo pričeti z razmišljanji o naši glasbeni dediščini od prazgodovine, v obdobju paleolitika, ki nam zastavlja najstarejšo glasbeno uganko – *piščali iz kosti jamskih medvedov*. Pa tudi *otroški imitativni svet glasbil* v veliki meri sodi v umetnost nadčasovnega zvena.

Misleč na ljudsko glasbo in glasbila bi lahko ponovili tudi besede Ivana Sedeja, ki sicer veljajo za likovno umetnost: »*Navidez zakasnelih pojavov ljudske umetnosti* v času, ko se je družba bistveno spremenila in ko so povsem izginili zadnji spomini na nekdanjo fevdalno odvisnost in povezanost srenje v srednjeveškem pomenu besede, je še mnogo. Navsezadnje je tudi sorazmerno visok odstotek muzejskih eksponatov (predvsem ljudske plastike) iz tega časa (na prelomu 19. in 20. stoletja – opomba avtorice), tako kot znamenite keramične figurice iz Ribnice ali keramike iz okolice Šentjerneja,«¹⁷ med katere sodijo tudi *glinene zvočne igračke – žvrgolčki*.

Pritrdili pa bi lahko tudi ugotovitvi, da je v okolici industrijskih središč ljudska umetnost kmetske večine zamrla skoraj v hipu, kar velja tudi za ljudski godčevski instrumentarij, čeprav so oblike na videz daleč zapoznelega glasbenega izraza in oblikovanja živela še daleč v 20. stoletje. In mi smo jim zadnje priče.

They were in use for centuries after they had disappeared from the "serious scene" of stylistic music. The older stylistic music and the folk music of the not so distant past share a number of similarities in musical expression, musical forms, technical achievements, harmony and stylistic mannerisms. There are, however, some folk instruments which cannot be compared with any other known instruments. On the other hand, there are artistic forms of supratemporal sound for it is no accident that there can be more apparent similarities between contemporary folk forms and others from prehistoric times – this also applies to instruments – than between traditional forms and contemporary stylistic art, a phenomenon which is also evident in the plastic arts.¹⁶ This is why we have to begin our reflections on the Slovene musical heritage in prehistory, in the paleolithic age, which presents us with the oldest musical enigma – pipes made from the bones of cave bears. The child's imitative world of instruments also largely belongs to the art of supratemporal sound. When considering folk music and its instruments, we could quote Ivan Sedej's words referring to the plastic arts: "There are still many apparently tardy phenomena in folk music at a time when society has undergone crucial changes and when the last memories of the former feudal dependency and the interconnectedness of a community in the medieval sense of the word have completely vanished. After all, there is a relatively high percentage of museum exhibits from that period (i.e. at the turn of the 20th century – author's note), especially folk sculptures, for example the famous Ribnica figurines or ceramics from the surroundings of Šentjernej."¹⁷ The latter include clay musical toys – clay whistles.

It can also be confirmed that in the surroundings of industrial centres the folk art of the peasant majority died out very rapidly, which is also true of folk instruments, although these forms of the apparently greatly delayed musical expression lived on far into the 20th century. And we are their final witnesses.

5. Narodno ali samo zabavno?

V drugi polovici preteklega stoletja, ko so se pričeli po mestih (in pozneje po trgih) ustanavljati čitalniški zbori, so doživele razcvet *godbe na pihala in trobila*, ki so v slabem stoletju skoraj popolnoma spremenile sestavo kmečkih muzik. »Godčevski sestavi starejšega tipa so se pod vplivom meščanskih godb, po socialnih prilikah in iz glasbenotehničnih razlogov (godčevska spretnost, trpežnost glasbil) menjavali po krajevnih prilikah in okoliščinah«, je že leta 1954 zapisal France Marolt.¹⁸ Poleg harmonike na gumbе »*frajtonarice*«, ki je do prve svetovne vojne prednjačila, so se tako pojavili pihalni instrumenti in trobila, ki so zaradi svoje tehnične izpopolnjenosti (v primerjavi z lesenimi žveglami ali trstenimi piščalmi in intonančno negotovimi citrami) hitro našle simpatije tudi med kmečkim prebivalstvom.

Kali omenjene transformacije je potrebno iskati že v zgledovanju slovenskih ljudskih godcev pri čeških *potujočih muzikantih*, ki so potovali po deželah Avstro-ogrske od 18. stoletja dalje. Znameniti »Progarji« so raznašali poleg čeških melodij, ki jih še danes igrajo starejši godci, stari vsaj 60 let (Zlata Praga marš, Češki marš, Češki muziki . . .) *modo »pleh muzike«* v slovenske vasi, trge in mesta. Kmetje oddaljenih kmetij so hodili na vaje pihalne godbe tudi po več ur daleč. Tu so se naučili igrati pihalnih in trobilnih instrumentov, od *klarinet*a, *roga*,

5. Folk music or just entertainment?

In the second half of the previous century, when reading societies were established in towns (and later on in market towns), brass bands flourished and within barely a century, almost completely changed the composition of peasant bands. "The components of the older type changed under the influence of the town bands according to the social conditions and for musical and technological reasons (the musicians' skill, the durability of the instruments)," France Marolt wrote as early as 1954.¹⁸ Apart from the "*frajtonarica*", i.e., a diatonic accordion which had been foremost in use up to the First World War, wind and brass instruments appeared. On account of their technical advantages (when compared with wooden flutes or pan-pipes and the musically unreliable zithers) they soon found acclaim among the peasant population.

The beginnings of the already mentioned transformation have to be looked for in the imitation of Czech itinerant musicians by Slovene folk musicians. Czech musicians travelled across the provinces of Austro-Hungary from the 18th century on. The famous "Progarji" spread Czech melodies which are still played by older folk musicians of sixty and more (The Golden Prague March, the Czech March, the Czech Musicians . . .) as well as the fashion of brass bands in Slovene villages, market towns and towns.

trobente, tube . . . in ta glasbila so pričeli vključevati tudi v svoje »domače sestave« vezane na dom in sosesko. Modni okus, ki se je naglo pričel spreminjati na vsem podežlju, je pomenil tudi odskočno desko pojavu narodno-zabavne glasbe.¹⁹

Glasbena moda je pred stoletjem zanesla k nam harmoniko na gumbe, imenovano »frajtonarica«, ki se je na Slovenskem razvila v slovensko različico glasbila nešteti izdelovalcev. Pomagala je izrivati iz godčevske scenografije starejša (predvsem netemperirano uglasena) glasbila (od oprekla, trstenih orglic, žvegel, lajn, dud in citer). Njena množičnost je prerasla v fenomene izredne širine, a komaj je zablestela kot najbolj razširjeno »slovensko ljudsko glasbilo« 20. stoletja, že se je morala pričeti unikati kromatični harmoniki imenovani »klavirka«, brez katere ni narodno-zabavnih ansamblov povojnih dni.

S frajtonarico gredo v pozabo tudi stoletje ali dve stare melodije. Vzroke je treba iskati tudi v lastnostih in stilu starih melodij. Mlajši godci se rajši oprimejo narodnozabavnih viž, ker se je teh lažje naučiti. Tako se končuje stil, ki je živel pred vojnama, med vojnama in še kratek čas po zadnji vojni, ko je nastopil tudi že novi okus in nove želje. Končne meje ni moč postaviti, ker se oba stila tudi mešata, zmaguje pa novo, še ne preverjeno, tudi vsiljeno. Po vsej Sloveniji se rojevajo ansambli po vzoru poslušanih NZA, katerih sestavi pomenijo vzor in posnemanja vredno, v godčevske sestave pa *vdirajo še novi instrumenti: (električne) kitare, bobni, saksofoni* . . .

Zaradi tehničnega razvoja nas je glasba preplavila. Z njim se je rodil problem zabavne glasbene kulise po vsem svetu. Glasba se je sprevrgla v svoje nasprotje. Nima več moči iskati resnico, terapevtske in nazadnje tudi razvedrilne zmožnosti, zmožnosti, ki so jih

Men from remote farms walked for several hours to attend brass band rehearsals. There they learned to play wind and brass instruments such as the clarinet, horn, trumpet, tuba, etc. and included them in their "local bands" at home and in the neighbourhood. Fashionable taste, which began to change rapidly all over the countryside also gave a good send-off to the phenomenon of FEM.¹⁹

A good century ago, musical fashion introduced us to the diatonic accordion called the "frajtonarica", which developed into the Slovene variant of the instrument made by innumerable craftsmen. It helped to oust from the folk music scene older (particularly untempered) instruments (such as dulcimers, pan-pipes, wooden flutes, street organs, bag-pipes and zithers). Its popularity outgrew that of all other instruments, but it had hardly achieved fame as the most widely known "Slovene folk instrument" of the 20th century when it had to give way to the chromatic or "piano" accordion, which had never been missing from post-war FEGs.

Melodies that were one or two hundred years old disappeared together with the diatonic accordion. The causes should be looked for in the characteristics and style of the old tunes. Younger musicians prefer FE tunes, since they are easier to learn. Thus the style which was alive in pre-war, inter-war and briefly post-war times came to an end. Then a new taste and new aspirations arose. A dividing line cannot be established as both styles merge, but the new one, not yet verified, that was even imposed, is taking the lead. All over Slovenia new groups are appearing, following other FEGs in this genre, which are worth recording on account of their composition. New instruments, such as (electric) guitars, drums, saxophones, etc., are included.

poznali in jih ponekod še poznajo »naravnejše« človeške skupnosti, kamor tehnični razvoj še ni nasilno posegel. Tehnični razvoj, se zdi, je omogočil razvoj pojava NZG, ki prav tako sodi v svet zabavne industrije (funkcionalne glasbe), v *zvrst glasbene kulise in industrializacije glasbe, ki jo opredeljuje stopnja glasbene izobrazbe in zavesti kmečko-delavskega prebivalstva*. NZG je prerasla v pojav, kot ga pozna le malokateri narod in ki je povzročil *na eni strani velik odziv ljudi in na drugi velik odpor*.

Niti nas ne preseneča množičnost NZG, saj živimo v času, ki je izjemen: še nikoli poprej se ni toliko ljudi ukvarjalo z glasbo kot danes! In *dobra dva milijona Slovencev ima 200–300 narodnozabavnih ansamblov! In to število utegne še narasti*.

Po NZG in NZA nas pozna Evropa, svet in naše bratske republike. Izseljencem in zdomcem pomeni svojstven simbol pripadnosti. V očeh pripadnikov drugih etničnih skupin so postali simboli Slovencev v ZDA in Kanadi *polke – klobase in harmonike s spremljevalci: kitarami, basi, pihali, trobili in bobni*. Svoje ljudske glasbe ne poznamo niti sami.

NZG je evropeizirana (in z njo tudi *amerikanizirana*) glasbeno zabavna zvrst (industrija), prilagojena najširši, glasbeno nezahtevni, ne-kreativni in pasivni publiki in priča tudi o zanižanju lastne identitete, čeprav z razglašanjem te zvrsti za ljudsko izročilo istočasno zahteva izključno domovinsko pravico.

Due to the rapid technological development, music flooded the country. This brought about the problem of musical entertainment scenery all over the world. Music changed into its opposite. It is no longer capable of searching for truth, for therapeutic and even entertainment features that were known and in some places are still known by the "more natural" human communities, not yet overpowered by modern technology. Technological development seems to have made possible the phenomenon of FE public which also belongs to the world of the entertainment industry (functional music) and thus to the genre of musical scenery and the industrialization of music characterized by the level of musical education and the consciousness of the rural-working class population. This kind of music has developed into a phenomenon known by only a few nations. On the one hand, it has elicited an enthusiastic response and, on the other hand, strong opposition.

The mass consumption of this music is not surprising as the time we live in is unique. Never before have so many people gone in for music as they do now. Among the Slovenes, who number over two million, there are 200 to 300 FEGs! And this number may still be growing.

The other Yugoslav republics, the whole of Europe and the world know us by this music and its entertainment groups. Slovene emigrants and gastarbeiters abroad feel it as a symbol of togetherness. In the eyes of other ethnic groups, the symbols of Slovenes living in the USA and Canada have become the polkas, sausages and accordions with their accompaniment consisting of guitars, basses, wind and brass instruments and drums. Our genuine folk music is unknown even to ourselves.

FEM has become a Europeanized (and also Americanized) industry and is adapted to the broadest, musically undemanding, uncreative and passive audiences. It also means the annihilation of the nation's identity, although by proclaiming this genre as part of the Slovene folk tradition, it demands to be granted the right of domicile.

Opombe

- ¹ Vilko Ukmar, *Po lepoti k resnici* (Through beauty to truth), Ljubljana, 1972, p. 5
- ² Narodno-zabavna glasba je v nadaljnjem tekstu označena s kratico NZG.
- ³ Današnja znanost znova potrjuje spoznanja čutno-spoznavnega sveta in odkriva razumu prekrite (tudi glasbene) vrednote.
- ⁴ V. Ukmar, str. 22. in ta vsebina, ki jo nosi umetnina v sebi, se zopet izpoveduje dojemajočemu človeku in nanj deluje.
- ⁵ Lojze Lebič, *Zvok in tišina, Ustvarjam, torej sem*, Celje 1985, str. 87.
- ⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Estetika glasbe*, Köln 1967, prevedel Andrej Rijavec, Ljubljana 1986, str. 76.
- ⁷ Prav tam, str. 138.
- ⁸ Med številnimi tovrstnimi revitaliziranimi sredstvi sporočanja je na primer zanimiva primerjava s punk glasbenim gibanjem, ki je po rabi glasbenega jezika bližje srednjeveškemu ali še starejšemu glasbenemu okusu s stalno ponavljajočimi se (bordunskimi) fundamentalnimi toni kot pa glasbenemu okusu dvajsetega stoletja, gibanjem, ki je istočasno še vedno uporno gibanje proti (lažjemu)sentimentalizmu, ki se je tako zelo zasidralo v ponarodeli pesmi, kar med drugim pojasnjuje tudi odpor do nje, oziroma izgubo pravega glasbenega pomena! Pravzaprav je ta glasba gibanje mladih za uveljavljanje svojih (novih) pogledov kot kritika obstoječega, glasbe, jezik pa je le sredstvo (pomagalo) izraza. Po tej strukturi je še najbližje obrednim malotonskim pesmim (na primer kresnim), kjer je smisel v tekstovni izpovedi, oboje pa je kot priprošnja, obred, ki kliče k razumevanju. Seveda pa glasbenega neznanja in nespretnosti, ki se pojavlja tu in tam, ne gre poistovetiti s povedanim.

Notes

- ¹ Vilko Ukmar, *Po lepoti k resnici*, Ljubljana 1972, str. 5.
- ² The abbreviation FEM is used henceforth for folk entertainment music
- ³ Contemporary science confirms the findings of the perceptive cognitive world, revealing the values (also in music) hitherto hidden to the intellect.
- ⁴ Vilko Ukmar, p. 22. This meaning which is inherent in the work of art, is transmitted to the individual on whom it acts.
- ⁵ Lojze Lebič, *Zvok in tišina* (Comprehending Sound and Silence), *Ustvarjam, torej sem* (I create, therefore I am), Celje, 1985, p. 87.
- ⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Estetika glasbe* (The Aesthetics of Music), Köln, 1967, translated by Andrej Rijavec, Ljubljana, 1986, p. 76
- ⁷ Ibid., p. 138
- ⁸ Among the numerous, intentionally revitalized means of communication, comparison with the punk movement is interesting. Its use of musical language is more reminiscent of the medieval or even older musical taste with its repetitive (bourdon) fundamental tones than the taste of the 20th century, a movement which still represents resistance to (sham) sentimentalism, so strongly anchored in the traditional folk song. This clarifies, among other things, the opposition to it or else it has no real musical sense! This music is actually a movement of the young who want to establish their (new) views as a critique against the establishment but the music is only a means of expression. In its structure, punk is closest to ritual songs with few tones (such as Midsummernight songs) where the meaning lies in the text and, together with the music, it is an intercession, a ritual, calling for understanding. Of course, musical ignorance and unskilfulness, which appears here and there, cannot be identified with what has been said..

- ⁹ Leta 1678 izide »Musikalische Temperatur« Andreasa Werkmeistera.
- ¹⁰ V prakso jo uvede J. S. Bach z zbirko preludijev in fug pod naslovom »Das Wohltemperiertes Klavier« (1722–1744).
- ¹¹ Avtorica tega sestavka je v letih 1984–1986 raziskovala zvočno podobo paleolitskih kosti z luknjicami, ki bi utegnile biti piščali, hrani pa jih Institut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU v Ljubljani. Leta 1986 sva s soprogom Matijem Terlepom, strojnim inženirjem in flavtistom, dokazala tudi zvokotvornost nekaterih manj poškodovanih fosilnih kosti medvedovih femurjev in znamenitih čeljustnic jamskega medveda iz paleolitske lovske postojanke v Potočki Zijalki.
- O teh prvih morebitnih evropskih zvočilih je izpod peresa podpisane nastala razprava »From Paleolithic Bone Pipes to Folklore and Collective Memory« (tipkopis; oziroma »Od paleolitskih koščenih piščali do ljudskega izročila in spomina« (tipkopis za nastajajočo publikacijo Mire Omerzel-Terlep »Slovenska ljudska glasbila od koščenih piščali do lajne«.
- ¹² Pavle Merku, Poslušam, Trst 1983.
- ¹³ Pavle Merku je o tem procesu pri Rezijanih zapisal: »... tod smo ga (avtentični netemperiran sistem) čuli do nedavna, pravzaprav še danes – ampak to bo trajalo komaj še kako leto – lahko slišimo tri različne stopnje ljudske glasbe: starejši citiravci Džuen Pikòt v Učji, Jozéf Palá v Osojah in rajni Džuánkala v Bili, pa biske babe, ki so še 10. februarja 1974 pele v tržaškem Kulturnem domu – so še godli in pele po netemperiranem sistemu, ... srednji – to je moj rod, ki šteje godce in pevke na ravni Livjótá Klítavega in Marice Fínine v Bili, so že pod vplivom množičnih obveščevalnih sredstev oddaljuje od netemperiranega sistema. medtem ko je mlajši rod – to so citravci, ki danes godejo pri Rezijanski folkorni skupini – že opustil netemperiran sistem in pristal na obalo od industrije vsiljene ekvacije. Odslej je vsaka industrijska (in politična) manipulacija z ušesi Rezijanov možna kakor z ušesi vseh drugih slovanskih davkoplačevalcev v Italiji.«
- ¹⁴ Zanimive so tudi primerjave z razmišljanji o likovni umetnosti Ivana Sedeja v knjigi »Ljudska umetnost na Slovenskem« (Ljubljana 1985) in Gorazda Markoviča »Slovenska ljudska umetnost« (Ljubljana 1981).
- ¹⁵ Sedej, str. 9.
- ¹⁶ Prav tam.
- ¹⁷ Sedej, str. 135.
- ¹⁸ Slovenski glasbeni folklor, Slovenske narodnoslovne študije IV, Ljubljana 1954, str. 19.
- ¹⁹ V nadaljnjem besedilu kratica NZG (narodnozabavna glasba) in NZA (narodnozabavni ansambli), NZ (narodnozabaven).
- ⁹ Musikalische Temperatur by Andreas Werkmeister was published in 1678.
- ¹⁰ It was put into practice by J. S. Bach with his collection of preludes and fugues entitled Das wohltemperiertes Klavier (1722–1744).
- ¹¹ From 1984 to 1986 the author of this treatise did research into the sound image of paleolithic bones with holes, which may have been pipes, and are kept at the Archeological Institute of the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences in Ljubljana. In 1986 she and her husband Matjaž Terlep, a mechanical engineer and flautist, proved the musical capacity of some less damaged fossil bones of bear femurs and the famous jawbones of cave bears from the paleolithic hunting cave of Potočka Zijalka.
- These first European pipes were treated by the same author in From paleolithic bone pipes to folklore and collective memory (typescript) or, respectively, Od paleolitskih koščenih piščali do ljudskega izročila in spomina (typescript for the coming publication by Mira Omerzel-Terlep, Slovenska ljudska glasba od koščenih piščali do lajne.
- ¹² Pavle Merku, Poslušam (I'm listening), Trieste, 1983.
- ¹³ Pavle Merku wrote about the process in Resia: "... here we have been able to hear it (i.e. the authentic untempered system) until recently, even until today, but this will hardly last another year. Three different levels of folk music can be heard: the older fiddlers Džuen Pikòt of Učja, Jozéf Palá of Osoje and the late Džuánkala of Bila, and the Bila women, who on Feb 10, 1974 still played and sang at the Trieste Cultural Centre, following the untempered system ... whereas the middle, my generation, which includes players and singers on the level of Livjót Klítavi and Marica Fínina in Bila, are already under the influence of the mass media, thus departing from the untempered system. However, the younger generation – the fiddlers who play in the Resia folklore group – have given up the untempered system and have landed on the shore of levelling out (equation) enforced by industry. From now on any industrial (or political) manipulation is possible with Resian ears as well as the ears of other Slav tax-payers in Italy.«
- ¹⁴ Comparisons with ideals on visual art in Ivan Sedej's book Ljudska umetnost na Slovenskem (Folk Art in Slovenia), Ljubljana, 1985 and Gorazd Makarovič's work Slovenska ljudska umetnost (Slovene Folk Art), Ljubljana, 1981, are of interest here.
- ¹⁵ Sedej, p. 9
- ¹⁶ ibid.
- ¹⁷ Sedej, p. 135
- ¹⁸ Slovenski glasbeni folklor (Slovene Musical Folklore), Slovenske narodnoslovne študije IV, Ljubljana, 1954, p. 19
- ¹⁹ In the following text the abbreviations FEM (folk entertainment music), FEG (folk entertainment group) and FE (folk entertainment) are used.

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Tanja Tomažič:

LJUDSKA GLASBA IN ŠEGE

1. Šege in godci

Povečini so šege povezane z godbo. Ponekod ima godba manj, drugod pa bolj pomembno vlogo. Pri nekaterih šegah ne gre brez godbe, drugod pa je nadležna in se je komaj ubranijo, včasih celo s prepovedjo.

Godba spremlja človeka pri vseh življenjskih šegah, je obvezna pri mnogih koledarskih in navadno zelo dobrodošla pri delovnih, ali preprosto – pri delu.

Najpogosteje je glasba navzoča pri ženitovanjskih šegah, pri ohceti in pri vseh dogajanjih, ki se odvijajo pred in po obredu. Godba je bila na ženitovanjih tako pomembna, da so o tem ohranjeni podatki na najrazličnejših krajih tudi iz starejših časov; od začetka 19. stoletja pa je podatkov o različnih godčevskih sestavih na ženitovanjih sploh veliko. Prinašajo jih odgovori na razne ankete,¹ predvsem pa različni dopisovalci in sporočevalci v časopise. Precej podatkov o godcih in godbi po vaseh in v mestih na Dolenjskem lahko dobimo v Trdinovih zapisih, pa tudi v slovenski beletristiki, predvsem iz druge polovice 19. stol. in naprej.

Po doslej zapisanih dejstvih v literaturi lahko ugotovimo, da so bili najrazličnejši sestavi, ki so sodelovali na ženitovanjih, prav dobro obdelani.

Svatbe, o katerih se navadno sodi, da so bile najbolj živahne prireditve v vaški skupnosti, so bile res lahko zelo razkošne in bogate, lahko pa tudi ne. Izraz razkošja so bili tudi godci, lahko en sam, lahko pa cel orkester. V Novicah, kjer so si prizadevali, da bi kmetje, ki so bili čedalje bolj ubožani, začeli z manj razkošni-

Tanja Tomažič

FOLK MUSIC AND CUSTOMS

1. National Customs and Folk Musicians

Most national customs are linked with music. In some cases it plays an essential role while in others it is less important. Some events are unthinkable without music while in others it is not only inconvenient but even forbidden. Music is part of almost all the customs connected with people's lives. It is obligatory in many events throughout the calendar year and a welcome element at work.

Most frequently music is present in customs connected with weddings, accompanying the wedding itself as well as all the events preceding and following the ceremony. Music used to be extremely important at weddings so that much information about it has been preserved in different parts of the country, even from quite early periods. Since the beginning of the 19th century, however, information concerning groups of village musicians playing at wedding parties has been preserved. It is to be found in answers to a questionnaire¹ and in various newspaper reports. Considerable information on village and town musicians and their music in Dolenjsko can be found in the works of Janez Trdina as well as in other works by Slovene writers since the mid 19th century.

It can be established that various kinds of musician groups performing at weddings have been well described in literature.

Wedding parties, which are as a rule believed to be the most exciting events in a village community could be very luxurious and rich in some cases in the past. One sign of luxury and

mi svatbami, so za vzgled navedli naslednji primer: »Po tukajšnji navadi se podajo ženitvalci (oba premožna) ravni v tisto gostivnico, izpraznit ga kak poliček pred kosilom. Bilo je ženitvavcev 6 parov z ženinom in nevesto. Godcev niso imeli.«²

To so bile tiste vrste svatb, s katerimi še ni bilo hvaliti. Vse več je podatkov, v katerih nam sporočajo, kako so se po zvokih muzikantov vrteli veseli svatje. Iz leta 1857 je reklama v Novicah, kjer Franc Ženica, kapelmajster mestne muzike iz Novega mesta (»iz 30 godcev obstoječe,«) objavlja naslednje besedilo:

wealth was musicians; sometimes one, sometimes a whole orchestra. At a time when the Slovene peasants became poorer and poorer, the newspaper "Novice" tried to persuade them to celebrate their weddings in a more modest way. As an example, "Novice" published the following report: "According to the local custom the wedding party (both the bride and the bridegroom very rich) just went to the village inn to have a glass of wine before lunch. There were six couples, including the bridegroom and the bride. There were no musicians."² But this was certainly not the type of wedding party one could be proud of.



Svatba v Bučečevcih pri Ljutomeru, 1924, fotoarhiv SEM

Wedding at Bučečevci near Ljutomer, 1924, SEM photoarchives

»... Ob enem se priporočam visokočastiti duhovščini novomeške okolice (!), ako bi utegnili moje muzike v cerkvi potrebovati, kakor vsem, ki žele ob ženitvah dobre godbe. Prosim, naj se vsak na me obrne.« Oglas je bil objavljen na Novo leto, torej v času, ko so pričakovali največ porok. Ni dvoma, da so bili kapelmajster in njegovi godci kar dobro plačani za svojo godbo.

Nekako čez dvajset let je zapisal Trdina: »Kar sem videl letos svahteb in svatovščin ni bilo nikjer godcev – razun pri Malnarjevih, kjer se je omožila hči na bogatijo, da bo imela 7 zidanic... Povsod drugod je godel kak svat na orgeljce in plesa in družega veselja je bilo ravno toliko, kakor z veliko muzike. Kakor kaže, bo te hude potrate (muzikel) kmali konec na vsaki kmečki svatbini.«²

Ne glede na to, da se je Trdina zmotil, ko je predvideval, da glasbe na svatbah kmalu ne bo več, si lahko predstavljamo, da so bili najeti godci vendar tisti pokazatelj, ki je pomembno dvignil ugled družine. Podobno vrednotenje velja tudi danes.

Godci, ki so hodili po svatbah, so morali biti ne samo dobri muziki, ampak tudi iznajdljivi in šaljivi. Pogosto so vodili (ali vsaj pomagali voditi) dogajanje na svatbah. »Jurij Vodovnik, kamor pride, ga povsod radi imajo, posebno na kolinah in ženitvah,« se je zdelo pomembno zapisati poročevalcu v Novicah.⁴

Z godbo in petjem so pospremili na oni svet pokojnika in včasih se je primerilo, da so se godci spozabili in ubrali tudi take viže, ki bi bolj sodile na veselice kot v slovo, posebno ob varovanju pokojnika.

Čez godce so se velikokrat pritoževali domači župniki, saj so jim bili preglasni tudi na žegnanih in na romanskih shodih. Za shod pri sv. Roku v letu 1879 je »župnik prepovedal igrati pred oltarjem poskočnice in marše, pa ga

There is much more information reporting how the cheerful wedding guests danced to the tunes of the musicians. In 1857 the following advertisement was placed in "Novice" by Franc Zenica, the bandmaster of the Novo mesto town band ("consisting of 30 musicians"): "... At the same time I recommended my services to the honourable clergy of the surroundings of Novo mesto (!) if they should need my music in their churches, as well as to anybody who wants good music at their wedding parties. Please apply to me." The advertisement was published at New Year, at the time when most of the weddings were expected to take place. No doubt the bandmaster and his musicians were quite well paid for their music.

Some twenty years later Trdina wrote: "Wherever I saw a wedding this year there were no musicians except at the Malnars', whose daughter married into a rich family that owns 7 vineyard cottages... At all of the other weddings only one of the guests played the mouth organ but there was as much dancing and merrymaking as in places with a lot of music. It seems that such a bad way of wasting money (on music!) at peasant weddings is coming to an end."³

Apart from Trdina being wrong when he supposed that very soon there would be no more music at peasant weddings, one can only imagine that hired musicians were the element that added greatly to the family's reputation. And nowadays people share the same view.

The musicians who went around to play at wedding parties not only had to be good musicians but also good jesters and entertainers. Very often they were leading or at least helped to lead the celebration at weddings. "Jurij Vodovnik, wherever he goes, is received with pleasure, especially at pig slaughterings

sploh niso poslušali. Sploh so se jezili tudi vsi drugi ljudje, kaj je začela duhovščina delati »žegnarjem« napote, zmanjševati slovesnosti in groziti še clo z odpravo te starinske šege.«⁵

Tudi Fran Erjavec je ob opisu romarskega shoda na Kumu zapisal: »Zaslišiva okroglo muziko iz cerkve, tako okroglo, da bi si človek mislil, da so svatje na podu. Kumljanski godci tudi v cerkvi godejo malo bolj na poskok in imajo zato že stare pravice.«⁶

Ob godbi so tudi zapili porodnico in novorojenčka, vendar pa je treba poudariti, da so bile te vrste zabave (še bolj kot svatbe) redko spremljane z godbo.

Skozi vse leto so se vrstili prazniki, ki so tako rekoč za vsako ceno potrebovali godce in njihovo godbo, pa naj je že bila bolj ali manj ubrana.

Najdlje so trajale zabave pred pustom in za pusta. Tedaj so prišli na svoj račun tudi vsi godci, kar jih je premogla vas. Znane so različne godčevske skupine, ki so hodile s pustnimi šemami na obhode.⁷ Prav tako so hodili s šemami po hišah posamezni godci. Sestava skupin se je v času spreminjala, tako tudi raznolikost sestavov po pokrajinah. Poleg običajnih glasbil so kot obvezno zvočilo uporabljali še pokanje z biči in tudi drugače povzročan hrup in trušč, posebno z zvonci.

Ob veliki noči so še posebno pogosto in slovesno pritrkavali z zvonovi.

and weddings." a reporter found worth writing in "Novice".⁴

It was with music and singing that a deceased person was accompanied to the graveyard and sometimes the musicians happened to forget what they were hired for and started to play tunes that suited a party better than a funeral or a wake. Local parish priests often complained about the musicians playing too loudly even at fairs and pilgrimages. At the pilgrims' gathering at St Rok's in 1879 the parish priest forbade the musicians to play dancing tunes and marches in front of the altar, but they would not listen to him. The other people were angry with the clergy because they interfered with the pilgrims, trying to reduce their ceremonies and even threatening to abolish the old customs.«⁵

In his description of the pilgrims' gathering on Kum, Fran Erjavec wrote: "We heard merry music from the church, so merry that one would think there was a wedding party going on. The Kum musicians play merry tunes in church, too, and have a long acquired right to do so."⁶

There was drinking and music to celebrate the birth of a child and to honour the mother, but such events were not frequently celebrated with music.

Throughout the year there were a number of events in which musicians and their music were essential and it was not important whether the music was very harmonious or not.

Most entertainment took place during the Carnivals period. This was the time when all the musicians available in the village had a lot of work to do. According to the data, various groups of musicians went around the village together with the Carnival masqueraders.⁷

Individual musicians also went from house to



Maškare »na fašenk«, Bučecovci pri Ljutomeru, 1973, fotoarhiv SEM

Shrovetide maskers, Bučecovci near Ljutomer, 1973, SEM photoarchives

Pomembni so bili vaški godci ob koledovanjih, ko so (spet različno po slovenskih pokrajinah) hodili od božiča do treh kraljev in ponekod vse do svečnice, od hiše do hiše, ponekod samo pevci, drugod obvezno tudi godci. Skoraj ni minilo skupno kmečko delo brez glasbe. Glasba je tukaj pač pomenila le spremeljavo k plesu, manj pogosto k pesmi. Tako se je godec pojavil pri končnih večjih delih ob likofih; ko so zaključili košnjo, žetev, mlatev, mletje prosa, ob koncu gnojvože in steljeraje, pa po trgatvi, ob preji in ličkanju. Navadno so

house together with the masqueraders. It was the composition of the groups that changed in the course of time, varying from region to region. Apart from the usual instruments, several other sound-producing utensils were used to create sounds and noise, for example bells for ringing and whips for cracking.

Chiming was particularly solemn and frequent at Easter. Village musicians were an important part of "koledovanje", when groups of singers and musicians went from house to house between Christmas and Twelfth-night and in

vs a skupna dela morali na nekakšen na čin proslaviti, kako drugače kot z godbo in plesom.

Pri tem so sodelovali domači godci, torej godci, ki so sami poznali teren in bili tudi na tekočem, kdaj bodo rabili njihove usluge, takoj pripravljeni, in jih menda ni bilo treba vabiti. Redkokdaj so godli zastonj. Pri nekaterih delih, ki so se jih v večini udeleževala dekleta, so fantje, ki so se prikazali ob koncu del, zbrali denar za godce. Ponekod je plačal gospodar, ali pa je dal vsaj za jedačo in pijačo. Šuštarji in krojači, ki so hodili v štero, so vedno imeli s seboj še svoj instrument, če so ga le znali igrati, ker so jih kmetje tako menda raje najemali. Tako je povedala hčerka nekega kmeta iz Grahovega, da so k njenemu očetu sosedje še pred drugo vojno raje hodili, ker je znal sam gosti, in jih je tako že ob delu zabaval.

Pisani zapiski o godcih iz 19. stoletja se ne razlikujejo dosti od ustnih pričevanj, ki so jih zbrali etnologi pred in po drugi vojski v tem stoletju. Edini večji premik v pojmovanju skupnega dela in s tem tudi skupnega veselja, plesa in godbe, pomeni pravzaprav razlika v tehnologiji kmečkega dela po drugi vojski. Veselje ob skupni zabavi je bilo v prvi polovici 20. stoletja prav podobno tistemu, kar opisuje Valvasor kot razposajenost mladih fantov in deklet ob mletju prosa.

Med godci so bili posebno priljubljeni plesi ob nedeljah, ki so jih prirejali gostilničarji v pripravnih gostilnah, predvsem pa v mestih ali trgih, ob semanjih dneh in ob romanjih.

To so bile priložnosti, ki so godcem nudile precej dober zaslužek. Zelo znani so bili likofi z godbo in plesom ob koncu gradnje hiše ali gospodarskega poslopja, pa tudi cerkvenih stavb.

Godci so bili zaželeni ob gasilskih veselicah. V drugi polovici 19. stoletja so gasilci najemali v

some regions even till Candlemas. Some of these groups consisted of singers only, others again of singers and musicians.

Hardly any farms group work was carried on without music. In these cases, music was played mostly for dancing, rarely as an accompaniment to singing. Thus musicians appeared at feasts at the end of important agricultural tasks like mowing, harvesting, threshing, millet winnowing, taking manure to the fields, gathering litter and at vintage time, as well as at spinning bees and corn husking. All these common jobs had to be celebrated in some way and music and dancing seemed to be the best way of doing it.

Local musicians took part in these festivities, that is, musicians who were well acquainted with the village and knew very well when their services would be needed. They were always ready to play and they did not have to be invited. In jobs that were usually done by girls, the young men appeared when the job was finished, and collected the money for the musicians. In some places the farmer paid for the music or at least provided the food and the drinks. Hired shoemakers and tailors who went to work from house to house also used to bring their instruments if they could play one. Farmers preferred to hire someone who could play. The daughter of a Grahovo farmer said that before the second World War their neighbours liked to come to their farm to help as her father could play the fiddle and entertained his workers during works.

Written data about village musicians dating from the 19th century do not differ much from the oral evidence gathered by ethnologists before and after the Second World War. The only greater difference concerning group work including the accompanying merrymaking, dancing and music, was caused by the

glavnem glasbene sestave.

Po posameznih pokrajinah so v časteh različni svetniki. Ob njihovih praznikih, ki so se največkrat končevali s plesom in godbo, so našli svoj prostor tudi vaški godci. Ob procesijah so v večjih naseljih sodelovale tudi različne obrtniške in vojaške godbe. Ta tradicija se je podobno ponavljala ob prvomajskih paradah po drugi vojni, ali pa ob različnih občinskih praznikih, ob volitvah in podobnih državnih praznovanjih, ki so v večji meri nadomeščala prejšnje cerkveno praznovanje. Podobne priložnosti za muzikante, kot so bile ohceti, pa so bila vaška žegnanja.

Še pred drugo vojno so ponekod domači muzikanti predvsem v manjših krajih vodili pravo evidenco o večinoma bogatih in znanih meščanih in njihovih godovih. Kdor je bil pri volji, so mu prišli zaigrat in zapet pred hišo, za kar so seveda pričakovali plačilo. Na vasi je bilo to verjetno bolj prijetna navada, po mestih pa včasih prava nadloga.

change in rural technology after the war. In the First half of the 20th century, the merry-making following some group jobs was very much like the romping of young boys and girls as described by Valvasor at millet winnowing. Sunday dances organized by pub owners in the villages and dances organized in towns, at markets, fairs and pilgrimages used to be very popular with musicians. These were good opportunities to earn a fair sum of money. Very popular were also topping-out ceremonies with music dancing when a house, a farm building or even a church were completed. Musicians were also welcome at fire brigade parties. In the second half of the 19th century the firemen usually hired larger bands.

In various parts of the country particular saints were honoured. On these saints' days, which usually ended with dancing and music, village musicians were part of the celebration. In larger settlements, processions included craftsmen's and military bands. After the Second World War this tradition was continued in the form of parades on 1st May, on municipal holidays, at elections and similar state holidays which were celebrated instead of church holidays. Church fairs and weddings were good opportunities as well.

Before the Second World War the local musicians, particularly in small villages, usually kept track of the rich local people and their name-days. If the person agreed, they came and played and sang in front of his house, for which they expected to be paid. In villages this was regarded as a pleasant custom while in towns it sometimes became a real nuisance.

2. Godci, veselje in zaslužek

Godci so večinoma postali iz veselja do glasbe, ostali pa tudi zaradi zaslužka. Igrali so za denar. Ne vedno, zelo pogosto pa le.⁸ Ni bilo vedno, da je sin poleg muzikaličnosti očeta podedoval tudi godčevsko obrt, ki je tako ostala v družini.

2. Musicians, Merrymaking and Profit

Most people became musicians because they liked music but some took to music because of the money.

They played for money. Not always, yet very often they did. Very often the son inherited the talent as well as the craft of being a musician from his father and thus the activity remained in the family.⁸ In a certain sense, being a mu-



Naborniki s harmonikarjem, Sajeve pri Postojni, 1933, fotoarhiv SEM

Recruits with accordion player, Sajeve near Postojna, 1933, SEM photoarchives

V nekem smislu imamo godčevstvo lahko za obrt, za institucijo, ki se je vzdrževala v svoji sredini kot nekaj samo po sebi umevnega in potrebnega. Plačilo za delo je bilo ob določenih priložnostih običajno in nujno: za igranje na plesih v gostilnah, torej javnih prostorih, za igranje na ženitovanjih, na žegnanjih, ob posebnih praznikih (po drugi vojni za 8. marec, 1. maj, občinski praznik itd.). Vse več pa je bilo priložnosti, ki so bile godcem tako rekoč na voljo in so prinašale zaslužek: igranje ob kmečkih delih po domovih, na likofih, na kolinah, ob pustnih obhodi, ob obhodi kolednikov, gasilcev; igranje godovnikov, spremljava romarjev in podobne priložnosti. Tukaj je moral godec paziti na svoj ugled. Niso se vsi udeleževali prav vseh »pohodov s petjem in godbo«, kjer je bil glavni namen nabiranje denarja ali hrane. Dasiravno so vsi vedeli, da je sodelovanje godbenikov pri nekaterih šegah tako rekoč obvezno, so vendar tudi vedeli, kdo od godbenikov bo sodeloval, igral, nabiral hrano, pobiral denar.

Mnenje sovaščanov o godcih je bilo različno, navdušeno, odklonilno ali pa popolnoma nevtrarno. Godca so navadno cenili na osnovi ekonomskega položaja v vaški skupnosti. Glasbeni talent je pomenil le del njegovega uspeha.

Če je bil godec res pravi godec, muzikus, je precejšen del svojega časa posvetil glasbi. V tem primeru se pač ni ukvarjal z delom na kmetiji, kakršnakoli je že bila. Veljalo je le tisto, kar je od prisluženega denarja, z godbo prisluženega denarja, spet vložil nazaj v posest.

Znano je, da so bili godci na slovenskih tleh v preteklosti predvsem manjši kmetje, pa tudi izučeni obrtniki: čevljarji, krojači, peki, zidarji, mesarji, če ne štejemo še številnih beračev (kakršnihkoli poklicev) in odsluženih vojakov. Njihov današnji položaj je pravzaprav zelo podoben. Kmetje, ki se po vaseh združujejo v mo-

sician can be regarded as a craft, an institution which existed in an environment as something natural and necessary. Paying a musician for his work was usual and went without saying. They were paid for playing at dances in pubs, in public places, at church fairs and on special holidays. After the Second World War these included March 8th, May 1st, municipal holidays, etc. But there were many other opportunities available for the musician to choose like playing at work, at people's homes, at topping-out ceremonies, pig slaughterings, Shrovetide festivities, going around with "koledniki", playing at fire brigade parties, playing to people for their name-days, accompanying pilgrims on their pilgrimages and other events. In these cases the musician had to keep his reputation. Not everybody took part in all the "expeditions with singing and music" in which gathering food and money was the main purpose. Although everybody in the village knew that musicians were obligatory in some of the customs, they also knew who would take part and play, or gather the food and the money.

Opinions concerning the musicians varied greatly from village to village, ranging from enthusiastic to resentful or quite neutral. The musician used to be appreciated according to his economic status in his community. His talent represented only part of his success. If the person was a real musician, he dedicated a lot of his time to music. In such cases he did not do much work on his farm whatsoever. What was appreciated was the money he earned and invested in his farm.

It is well known that on Slovene land most of the musicians in the past were smallholders and craftsmen like shoemakers, tailors, bakers, masons and butchers as well as numerous beggars (of any profession) and ex-

dernejše godčevske skupine, so prav tako kmečki sinovi, ki jim kmetija ni dovolj za preživljanje, in so navadno zaposleni v bližnji tovarni kot kvalificirani delavci (vzporejani z izučeni obrtniki v preteklosti).

Ljudski godec je kot nosilec ljudskega izročila, le-to skoraj vedno prenašal naprej tudi za plačilo.

Kadar godci pripovedujejo o svojem delu, se jim spomin prav gotovo ustavi pri tistih dogodkih, ko so z igranjem dobro zaslužili. Čestokrat jim je v dobrem spominu tudi znesek zaslužka in njegova poraba.

Največkrat so fantje že zelo zgodaj začeli z igranjem za plačilo, včasih so vskočili celo namesto očeta, ali kakšnega drugega sorodnika. Tako je začel Miro Šušteršič, r. 1922, ki je prvič igral za ples v gostilni v Žerovnici na Notranjskem, ko je bil star komaj sedem let in je zaslužil, kot se dobro spomni, 12 dinarjev in 50 par. Dokler je bil še mlajši, je denar dajal materi in tako pomagal vzdrževati družino. »Nobena skrivnost ni, da se je dalo z godbo dobro zaslužiti, a treba se je bilo pošteno potruditi, saj se muzika in hec nista nikoli tako cenila kot delo na polju.«

Tudi Trdini se je zdelo pomembno, da je v svojih dnevnikih zapisal marsikaj o godcih. Iz leta 1870 je naslednji odlomek: »Mnogo obrtnikov je godcev. Eden (zidar) je pravil, da je kupil harmoniko za 27 forintov. Tudi v Dobrniški fari, v Mali vasi, je eden, ki jih dela – nekatere pozna, ki so s to obrtnijo si opomogli in kupili lepe kmetije. Na piru dobi godec s harmoniko ex offo 4 forinte, maškare pa tudi dajo po 1 forint, erga = 5 forintov. Tudi o drugih veselicah živi godec dobro – šestica je gotovo – zraven pa pijače, več, nego more nositi želodec in glava. On že po štiri noči ni nič spal – kako bo potem zidal! Trdi, da vsaki ima prav, ki si omisli in nauči harmoniko igrati – mnogo veselih ur si s

soldiers.

Nowadays the situation is quite similar. People forming modern musical groups are also farmers' sons, whose farms are not large enough to provide a suitable income so they work as qualified workers in the nearby factories and can be compared to craftsmen in the past.

The folk musician has always been the transmitter of folk traditions and has been paid for it.

Whenever musicians talk about their work, the best remembered events are certainly those when they earned a good sum of money by playing. Very often they will remember the amount they had earned and what it had been spent on. Usually the boys would start to play very early in their lives, substituting for their father or some relative if necessary. Miro Šušteršič, born in 1922, played at a dance at a pub in Žerovnica in Notranjsko for the first time at the age of seven and remembers very well having earned 12 dinars and 50 paras. Until he became older he gave the money to his mother, thus helping to support the family. "It was no secret that one could make a lot of money by playing, but one had to work hard as music and fun were never appreciated as much as work in the field."

Trdina found it important to write many a note about musicians. The following passage is from 1870: "Many craftsmen are musicians. One of them (a mason) said he had bought an accordion for 27 forints. And in the Dobrnič parish in Mala vas there is man who makes them – he knows some people who made a lot of money in this way and bought themselves beautiful farms. At a feast a musician with an accordion gets 4 forints ex offo while the masqueraders also give him 1 forint, ergo = 5 forints. A musician has a good time at other celebrations, too, – he is sure to get a six – and

tem pribavi in v kratkem življenji je veselje vredno kaj več.«⁹ Prav tako nas s kratko opombo pouči isti avtor, kako pomembno je bilo glasbeno znanje učiteljev in organistov v dolenjskih vaseh 19. stoletja: »Učitelj Kaliger znal je prekrasno orglati, dekleta so v cerkvi začela z nogami drencati, vedno nove in lepše napreve je igral ... Dale so mu o beri, kar je hotel.«¹⁰

more drink than his stomach can take. Sometimes he does not sleep four nights at a time – how can he build then! He says that everyone who gets himself an accordion and learns to play it spends many a merry hour and being merry is something really worth-while in our short lifetime.»⁹ The same author also informs us how important the musical knowledge of teachers and organists was in the villages of Dolenjsko in the 19th century: "Kaliger, the teacher, could play the organ beautifully, the girls in the church started tapping their feet, he always played new and better tunes ... When he visited their homes to collect the payment, they gave him 'whatever he wanted.'"¹⁰



Godba v Vidmu ob Ščavnici, 1947, fotoarhiv SEM

Music band at Videm ob Ščavnici, 1947, SEM photo-archives

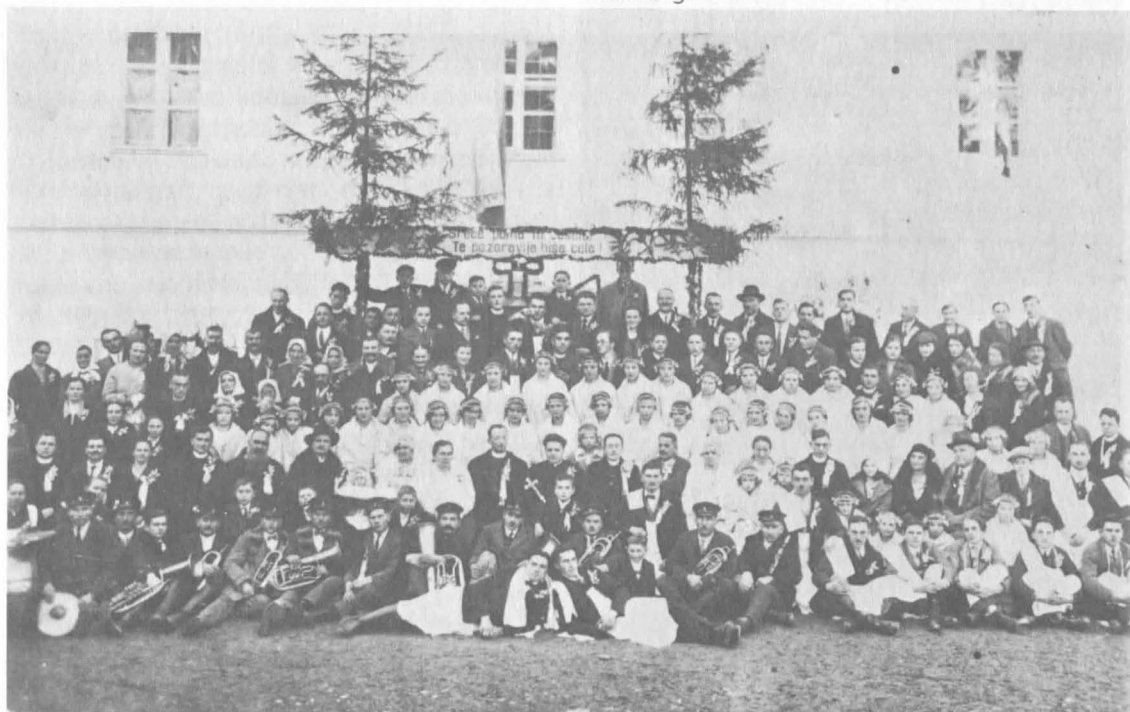
Sklepamo, da so bili učitelji in organisti glasbeno izobraženi, vsaj toliko, da so poznali note. Za tim. ljudske godce pa je gotovo značilno, da so bili zvečine vsaj do srede stoletja glasbeno popolnoma nepismeni.

Kdor se je torej želel ukvarjati z glasbo, je moral imeti dober posluh, saj so se večinoma vseh pesmi naučili tako, da so jih nekajkrat slišali in po svoje ponovili.

Vprašanje je tudi, kdaj so sploh imeli čas za vaje. Če je bil godec iz glasbene družine, je morda doma naletel na večje razumevanje, in so mu bili pripravljeni odpustiti tisti čas, ki ga je porabil za igranje.

It can be assumed that teachers and organists had some sort of musical education, at least they could play from music. On the other hand, it was characteristic of folk musicians, that they were mostly illiterate as far as playing from music was concerned. This is true of folk musicians at least up to the middle of this century. That means that whoever chose to be a musician had to have an ear for music as they usually learned to play by listening to songs and reproducing them on their instrument.

The only problem was how to find the time to practise. If the musician belonged to a musically gifted family, it may have shown much understanding by letting him play instead of working.



Premicija, Videm ob Ščavnici, 1931, fotoarhiv SEM

Installing a Catholic priest, Videm ob Ščavnici, 1931, SEM photoarchives

Harmonikar Matiček Mertelj iz Pregarij, r. 1920, je vadil v začetku vedno zvečer po delu, igral je le po posluhu, v glavnem pa komade za ples, ki jih je slišal po italijanskem radiu. Take igra še danes, če ga le kdo zaprosi.

Če prebiramo starejše zapiske o godcih, tako npr. odgovore na Göthove vprašalnice, vidimo, da so zapisovalci dostikrat tožili nad hudo neubranostjo takih kmečkih godb. Ne glede na različnost okusov, bi lahko dejali, da bi bil morda eden od vzrokov za to neblagoglasnost tudi pomanjkanje časa za vaje. Ti godci si gotovo niso jemali prav dosti časa, da bi namenško vadili. Šlo je pač, kakor je šlo, uigranost je prineslo šele daljše sodelovanje, izbrušeno igranje pa jim je dalo pogosto nastopanje. Velikokrat so bile skupine izbrane na vrat na nos iz vseh vetrov. Šele tiste, ki so že nekaj časa nastopale skupaj, so postale bolj znane in je šel o njih glas o njihovi kvaliteti.

Omenili smo že, da je bila godba – ali bolje, igranje na instrument, tudi eden od načinov za služka. Godci in njihovi sovaščani so prav dobro vedeli, da je marsikdo z glasbo prišel do premoženja, mnogo pa jih je tudi bilo, ki jih je glasba pogubila. Seveda ne dobesedno, pogubila so jih tista vzporedna dejanja, veseljačenja in popivanja, ki so se godca prijela zelo hitro, če je bil le nagnjen k temu.

Ljudje, ki se danes spominjajo dogodkov pred drugo vojsko, vedo povedati, da je bilo godec vedno dovolj, za večja slavlja pa so pazili, koga so najeli, s pijanci je bil vedno križ. Na ohcetih jih niso radi videli, ker so lahko vse pokvarili. Igranje na svatbah je bil hud in dolgotrajen posel, pri katerem se ni smelo preveč piti.

V kmečki sredini je bil dober godec prav tako cenjen kot dober kmet, da je le dobro nalagal denar in da ga ni zapravljajal za pijačo. Zaslužki so bili veliki, kar so priznavali vsi, seveda pa

When Matiček Mertelj, born in 1920, an accordion player from Pregarje, started to play, he could only practise in the evening after work. He played without music, mainly dancing tunes he heard on the Italian radio. He still plays them if asked.

In older reports about folk musicians, for example in the answers to the Göth questionnaires, one can see that the people recording the music frequently complained that the village bands played out of tune. Irrespective of differences in taste, probably one of the reasons for this was also that the musicians had very little time to practise together. Those musicians certainly did not take much time for practising. As they started to play, they simply improvised but with the time spent playing together the harmony improved. It was only after a long period of performing together in public, however, that their playing became perfect. Very often the groups came together on an ad hoc basis. Only those that performed together for a long time became famous and word spread about their fame. It has been mentioned that music, that is, playing an instrument was also a good way of earning money. The musicians as well as their fellow villagers knew very well that many people had made fine fortunes by playing but on the other hand, they aware that music could also be a man's ruin. Of course it was not the playing, but the adjoining activities like merrymaking and drinking which many musicians took to if they were not stable enough.

People who still remember events from before the Second World War usually say that a number of musicians were always available, but for important celebrations people were careful about who to hire as there could be problems if the musicians got drunk. They were particularly inconvenient at weddings since

ne stalni, tako da so bili ravno pravšnji za enkratne naložbe, na primer za nakup večjih kmečkih strojev, za kakšno njivo, komad živine. Največ so zaslužili tisti godci, ki so igrali na svatbah, pa tudi tisti, ki so ob nedeljah in na semanje dni stalno igrali po gostilnah. Ob teh priložnostih se je kmalu začelo plačevati po tarifi, tako da godec ni bil odvisen od dobre volje svatov ali gostov. Težko bi bilo dognati, kaj se mu je v bistvu bolj splačalo. Nemara bi radodarnost gostov še več navrgla kot gostilničarjev izračun. Tako se ta način plačevanja, po tarifi, »drži« že kar dolgo. Na plesih pa so po gostilnah navajeni tako, da je godec plačan po tarifi (ali po pogodbi), za posebne želje gostov pa mu plačajo še posebej. Tedaj pride posebej do izraza godčeva zmožnost improviziranja in dober posluh: gostom je najbolj všeč, če si izmišljujejo vse mogoče pesmi, ki jih mora muzikant takoj zaigrati. Tak način igranja prav gotovo ni nobena značilnost le nekega določenega slovenskega območja, ampak bi ga zlahka našli vsepovsod.

Marsikateri sosed je bil godcu nevoščljiv za tiste denarje, ki si jih je prislužil s tem, ko se je z instrumentom preganjal po okolici. Prav tako so vsi dobro poznali navado, da je godec pil in jedel zastonj, pa še »po vsaki ohceti je v fačolu prinesel polno mesa, potice in piškotov, da so doma dobro jedli še cel teden. Vsi smo videli, kako so dobro jedli!« Tako se še danes spominja kmet iz Huja, ki je bil pred drugo vojsko še otrok, in so se mu cedile sline, ko je gledal godčeve sinove, ki so bili njegovi vrstniki in sosede. Precejšnjo naložbo je godcu pomenil nakup instrumenta. Vendar pa, sodeč po zdajšnjem pripovedovanju, to ni bilo nikoli posebno vprašanje. Instrument je moral biti, četudi je zaradi tega odpadel kakšen drug, po mnenju žene in otrok, pomembnejši nakup. Ko je postala harmonika tako zelo popularna, si je

they could spoil the party. Playing at weddings was hard work and one should not drink too much.

In rural environments a good musician was as much appreciated as a good farmer, especially if he knew how to invest his money and not spend it on drinks. Everybody agrees that earnings were good although not regular but the sums were large enough to buy a farm machine, a piece of land or an animal. Musicians playing at weddings were the best paid as well as those who regularly played dancing music in pubs on Sundays and on market days. In those cases the musicians did not depend on the goodwill of the guests but there were set prices. It is difficult to say which was more profitable. Sometimes the generosity of the visitors may have brought more money than the pub owner's tariff. Thus payment according to tariff has become a usual way of paying musicians. At dances in pubs there is a custom of paying the musician according to tariff or contract but guests pay themselves if they have any special wish. In such cases, the musician's ability to improvise is shown as the guests like to suggest all sorts of songs which the musician has to play for them. This kind of playing is certainly not a characteristic feature of any special region in Slovenia but can be found everywhere.

Many a neighbour envied the musician for the money he earned going around playing his instrument. And there was also the custom that the musicians' food and drink were free. Moreover, after each wedding he was given a packet of meat, cake and biscuits to take home so that the whole family could eat well for an entire week afterwards. "Everybody saw them eating good food!" These were the words of a farmer from Huje, who was a child before the Second World War and his mouth would wa-

bilo težko zamišljati, da bi bil godec brez nje, četudi je igral še kakšen drug instrument. Navadno se godci dobro spominjajo, koliko so dali za glasbilo in kje oziroma od koga so ga kupili. Marsikdo si jih je privoščil po več, in je s tem postal majhna znamenitost kraja. Trdina je v svojih dnevniških zapiskih pohvalno pisal o raznih dolenjskih izdelovalcih harmonik, ki so zaradi svojih kvalitetnih izdelkov postali znani daleč naokoli.

Gostilničarka iz Spodnje Ščavnice je navdušeno pripovedovala o izučenem mlinarju iz njihovega kraja, ki je včasih igral pri njih, in ima deset harmonik. Kamorkoli gre, vedno ima s seboj vsaj eno. Seveda toliko lažje, ker se vozi z avtomobilom. »Prav posebna družba mora biti zbrana v gostilni, da jim je všeč še star harmonikar. Pa jih že pripravi, da ga poslušajo!«

ter when he watched the musician's sons, who were his age, eating the food their father had brought home. Buying an instrument was a great investment for the musician. But, judging by what people tell now, this never presented a problem. The instrument had to be bought even if buying some other thing, regarded by the family as very important, had to be postponed. When accordions became very popular, it was difficult to imagine a musician without one, even if he could play another instrument. Musicians usually remember how much they paid for their instruments and where and who they bought them from. Many musicians could afford to buy several instruments and in this way became famous in their villages. In his diaries Trdina praised various accordion-makers in Dolenjsko who became famous for the quality of their instruments.

A pub owner from Spodnja Ščavnica told excitedly about a miller living in the village, who used to play in her pub and had 9 accordions. wherever he went he took at least one of them with him. This wasn't very difficult as he drove a car. "It has to be a special company in a pub that likes an old accordion player. But he still makes them listen to him," she said.

3. Godci in godčevske skupine

»Spet se pojavljajo v podeželju godčevske skupine, ki se deloma zgledujejo po mestnih »ansamblih«, deloma pa pomenijo nadaljevanje starega godčevskega izročila, vendar v novih okoliščinah, z novimi možnostmi in novimi težnjami po uveljavljanju.«¹¹

3. Musicians and Groups of Musicians.

"Nowadays in the country groups of musicians are being formed again, modelled partly after the town "ansambl". But on the other hand, they represent the continuation of the old tradition, yet in new circumstances, with new possibilities and new aspirations for success."¹¹



Tamburaški zbor mladinske zveze, Idrija, 1913, fotoarhiv SEM

Tamburitza players of the Youth Union, Idrija, 1913, SEM photoarchives

Takih skupin je na slovenskem ozemlju kar precej, vendar nastajajo skladno s potrebami tržišča. Vtis, da jih je tako nenavadno veliko, daje pravzaprav tudi kratek čas njihovega trajanja. Skupine se rojevajo in umirajo na zelo kratke časovne roke. Največji davek novemu času je pravzaprav le njihovo prizadevanje, da bi uspeli, postali slavni, zaslužili veliko v najkrajšem možnem času.

Mladi fantje, ki sestavljajo skupino, so zelo redko glasbeno šolani, če že so, pa njihova izobrazba ne sega čez nekaj let nižje glasbene šole, večina jih je pa še vedno brez. Not ne poznajo, in je način njihovega dela zelo podoben delu godcev pred sto in več leti, čeprav se ukvarjajo (a ne vsi!) s popolnoma drugačno glasbeno tehniko.

V skupini, kjer sta eden ali dva šolana glasbenika, drugi trije pa so nešolani, se morajo pošteno potruditi, da dobro uskladijo svoje delo. Koliko ima kdo glasbene izobrazbe, menda ne vpliva na to, kako se sodelavci med seboj cenijo. Vendar v tem primeru najbrž ne kaže verjeti na besedo. Gotovo je vsaj en »pismen« glasbenik skupini potreben, če želijo iti vštric z modernimi komadi. Zaradi upanja oziroma prizadevanja, da bi že v najbližji prihodnosti posneli prvo kaseto za predvajanje na lokalnem radiu, so prisiljeni na mnogo bolj strogo disciplino, kot so je bili vajeni njihovi predhodniki.

Zanimivo je, da je precej teh fantov ravno tako iz godčevskih družin. Pogosto sta nekaj let aktivna še oba, oče in sin, vendar na drugačnih prireditvah, ne da bi se bila tekmeča ali da bi si kako drugače »hodila v zelje«.

»Stari« in »novi« godci imajo razdeljeno območje delovanja, vsak naj bi imel tudi svojo publiko. Seveda se čuti v pripovedovanju »starih« rahlo obžalovanje, ker trde, da imajo mladi radi pač drugačno glasbo, ki ni za njih, na

There are numerous groups like that on Slovene territory, formed according to the needs of the market. They usually last for a very short time, hence the impression that there are so many of them. They wish to succeed, to become famous and to earn a lot of money in the shortest possible period of time.

Young men who usually form a group seldom have a musical education and if they have some, it is no more than a few years of elementary music school. They cannot play printed music and their way of playing is very similar to that of musicians of a hundred and more years ago. However, most of them (not all!) use completely different techniques.

Groups consisting of one or two musicians with some musical education and three without it, have to work hard to produce good music. They say that musical education plays no role in appreciating each other as fellow musicians. This seems to be rather unlikely and most certainly at least one educated musician is necessary in the group if they want to follow the modern trends in music. As many groups today hope to record their first cassette to be broadcast on the local radio, they are forced into greater discipline than their predecessors were used to.

It is interesting to note that a number of these young men come from folk musicians' families. It happens that both father and son are active musicians but play at different events so that they never compete with each other.

The "old" and the "new" musicians are active in different areas of music and they usually have different audiences. A slight regret is felt in the words of the "old" ones when they say that the young people like a different kind of music which is not suitable for them. But in fact they refrain from playing because of their age. When talking to people during research it is

splošno pa se odpovedujejo igranju na račun svoje starosti in podobno. Po razgovoru na terenu se da izluščiti, da so starši večinoma ponosni na fante, ki igrajo na žegnanjih, na plesih in ženitovanjih, četudi drugačno in novo glasbo.

Pred dobrimi dvajsetimi leti so »izbruhnili« na slovenskih tleh džuboksi, ki so grozili, da se bo z njihovo uporabo počasi pozabilo na ljudsko godčevstvo. Vendar se kaj takega ni zgodilo, po določenem obdobju so postajali za obiskovalce gostiln vedno manj zanimivi. Industrija kaset jih je spravila iz uporabe.

Tak razvoj je bil pravzaprav nenavaden in nepričakovan, a tudi obdobje lajn v gostilnah je razmeroma hitro ponehalo.

Tako kot lajne, so bili tudi džuboksi pomemben glasbeni vir, kjer so se napajali godci, ki so še igrali za ples na ohceti ali ob redkih priložnostih, ko so si jih poslušalci še zaželeli. Melodije, ki so jih vrteli po džuboksih, so postale tako domače, da so si jih navadno želeli slišati poslušalci tudi od »žive muzike«. Godci, ki so jim želeli ustreči, so bili primorani igrati iste ali vsaj podobne komade.

Po Prlekiji so še vedno navajeni, da jim za ohcet »po ta starem« igrajo skupine godcev, kjer ni električnih kitar in podobnih modernih instrumentov. Predvsem pa so navajeni, da jim glavni godec vodi zabavo, zbija šale. Ohceti so navadno na kmečkih domovih, kjer imajo lastniki prijavljen tim. kmečki turizem, v resnici pa so to gostilne, ki imajo goste le ob sobotah in nedeljah. Vendar se je ta čudni administrativni izraz na tem območju prijel, tako da ga pogosto slišimo v povezavi s kmečko godbo in godci.

Starejše skupine godcev so bile, ali so še, večina anonimne in so jih poznali po imenih glavnega v skupini, ali po kraju, odkoder je bila večina. Za mlajše pa so značilna zveneča imena,

possible to infer that the parents are usually proud of their boys playing at church fairs, dances and weddings although they are playing different, new music. About twenty years ago there was an "explosion" of juke-boxes in Slovenia, threatening to destroy the folk musicians. But nothing of the kind happened. After some time the pubgoers lost interest in them. The cassette industry took over. This kind of development was unusual and unexpected but the era of barrelorgans did not last very long either. Like barrel-organs, juke-boxes became a source of music for the folk musicians who played at wedding parties or at any other events when people still wanted them. Juke-box melodies had become so familiar that people wished to hear them played live. The musicians, who tried to meet their wishes, were forced to play the same or at least similar melodies.

At weddings in Prlekija the custom still prevails that musicians should play "in the old fashion", that is, without using electric guitars and other modern instruments. And above all, the main musician is expected to lead the celebration and to crack jokes. Wedding parties usually take place at farms registered as tourist farms, which actually are a kind of pub taking guests on Saturdays and Sundays only. However, the term "tourist farm", unusual as it may sound, has become familiar in the area and it is often used in connection with folk music and folk musicians.

Groups consisting of older musicians used to be and mostly still are anonymous. They were only known by the name of the leader of the group. Characteristic of the younger groups are flashy names, usually without any sense. The names are generally made up to arouse the interest of the public. At the same time the young groups also follow the Anglo Saxon

pogostokrat brez smisla. Izbrana so bila za to, da bi že vnaprej vzbudila zanimanje poslušalstva. Mladi pri tem prav tako sledijo anglosaksonski modi kot pri izbiri glasbenih komadov, in kombinaciji instrumentov.

Kako se godbeniki najdejo skupaj, je odvisno od poznanstva, ki zdaj ni več vezano le na domači kraj, ampak predvsem na službeno mesto. Lokalno slavo, ki je zelo pomembna za določanje cene za nastop, si pridobijo z nastopanjem po plesih v gostilnah, na žegnanjih, gasilskih veselicah in na podobnih prireditvah.

Po besedah gostilničarja iz Ključarovcev pri Ljutomeru, kjer so zamenjali že veliko skupin, so ti fantje mnogo bolj disciplinirani in bolj profesionalni od starih godcev. Pijejo manj in se tudi bolj držijo dogovorov. Plačajo jih po ceni-ku, sicer pa dobijo še posebej od gostov, če jim igrajo po posebnih naročilih.

V to gostilno hodi čez teden harmonikar iz vasi, ki zaigra, če ga le kdo zaprosi. Ne igra več za denar, ampak za veselje in za pijačo. Dober in slab glas se je o godcih včasih hitro razširil, kakor se še danes. Naj je bil godec še tako dober, pa se ga je zraven preveč nacedil, je prav kmalu zgubil naročila. Četudi je bil član vaškega občestva, je bil njegov ugled podoben ugledu potujočega godca – berača ali odsluženega vojaka. Preostalo mu je igranje ob obhodu pustnih šem in za podobne dneve, ko za svoje igranje pravzaprav ni dobil plačila, ampak le darove ali miloščino.

V Brkinih imajo še dandanes (ali pa spet dandanes!) čez poletje nenavadno veliko plesov, ki jih prireajo domači fantje ob »shodih«, žegnanjih v vasi. Tak shod ima vsaka vas, če le ima svojega patrona s cerkvijo ali kapelico.

Večdnevna veseljačenja gotovo niso pogodu cerkvi, vendar božji in posvetni praznik živita skupaj. Od prvega shoda v maju (v Zarečici) do zadnjega na Martinovo (v Sabonjah) častijo

trends as to the choice of melodies as well as to the combination of instruments played.

The musicians starting a group are usually friends. Yet they are not friends from the village they live in but friends from the place they work at. By playing at dances in pubs, at church fairs, at fire brigade parties and similar events they become locally famous, which is very important in establishing the price of their performance.

According to the pub owner of Ključarovci near Ljutomer, where many different groups have played, the young musicians are much more disciplined than the more professional old ones. They drink less and keep the arrangement. They are paid according to the price list but they may get extra money from guests who ask them to play some time especially for them.

During the week an accordion player from the village comes to the pub mentioned above and plays if someone asks him to. He does not play for money any more but just for fun and for a drink or two. In the past as well as today good or ill reputation about musicians spread very fast from village to village. Even if the musician was very good, he would lose his orders if he became drunk when playing. Although he belonged to the village community, his reputation was not better than that of an itinerant beggar-musician or an ex-soldier. He had to resort to playing when Carnival masqueraders went around and at similar events, without being paid for it, only getting presents or alms.

In the Brkini area there are many dances organized by the local young men at church fairs in villages. The custom had been abandoned for some time but is being revived again. Church fairs are held in any village that has a patron saint with a little church or chapel of its own.



Proščenje v Zahomcu v Ziljski dolini, 1951, foto: Jernej Šušteršič

Church fair at Zahomec in the Zilja Valley 1951, photo by J. Šušteršič

domače svetnike vsak teden. Shod pa ni samo v nedeljo. Takrat je glavni del, plesi z glasbo pa morajo biti že v petek, soboto in še v ponedeljek. Navadno za vsak ples najamejo svojo skupino. Vasi tekmujejo, katera bo imela bolj znane ansamble. Za shod na sv. Lovrenca v Pregarjih so imeli najetih pet godčevskih skupin, za vsak dan posebej, za nedeljo pa celo dve, ker so imeli opoldanski in večerni ples. Igrali so jim: v petek ansambel Bonton (fantje iz Podgore), v soboto ansambel The Kamn's (fantje iz Ilirske Bistrice), v nedeljo opoldne spet The Kamn's, v nedeljo zvečer je bil glavni adut Slak s pevci, v ponedeljek pa ansambel Bonton.

Merrymaking which may last for several days is not welcomed by the church, yet ecclesiastic as well as secular celebrations have to go together. From the first church fair in the area that takes place in Zarečica in May until the last one on St Martin's day in Sabonje, local saints are worshipped every week. Church fairs are not only held on Sundays. Sunday is the main day of the fair, but celebrations with dances and music start on Friday and last until Monday. Usually a different group is hired for each dance. The villages compete in hiring the most famous groups. At St Leonard's church fair in Pregarje as many as five different groups were hired, each playing on one day

Razen Slakov so ostali fantje znani le na ožjem območju Brkinov, kadar pa govorijo o njih, jih večinoma ne poznajo po zvanečem imenu, ampak po krajevni pripadnosti, npr.: Aha, ti-le so iz Podgorja! Jelšan! iz Huj, in podobno.

Z organizacijo glasbenih prireditev te vrste se ukvarjajo poklicni managerji, ki urejajo rezervacije za posamezne termine, obenem pa tudi plačilne pogoje. Zdi se, da so starejši godci, ki jih še premore vas in ki bi ustrezali oznaki »ljudski godci«, nekako odrinjeni od praznovanja shoda. Vendar kaže, da je njihova povezava z glasbo in s šego še tolikšna, da si tega ne pustijo vzeti kar tako.

Ob prazničnih dneh, ko so se mladi pripravljali na ples in je praznik potekal po ustaljenem urniku in navadah, se je po Pregarjih sprehajalo in pozneje ustavilo pri balinišču s točilnico najmanj pet godcev, ki so se tja napotili s svojimi instrumenti (dve harmoniki, klarinet, trobenta in boben). Trije so bili iz bližnjih vasi, dva pa domača.

Njihova godba je trajala prav tako dolgo ali pa še dlje kot najeta, kjer so plesali.

Nič ne kaže, da bi godčevstvo na podeželju zamrlo. Šeg, ki jih spremlja glasba, ne zmanjkuje, in če danes ne igrajo več po steljaraji ali gnojvoži, potrebujejo godca na plesu za osmi marec (kaj ga bo nadomestilo?), na upokojenskih izletih, borčevskih srečanjih ali v avtobusih romarjev, ki se vozijo na svete kraje. Godčevstvo nikoli ni bilo domena premožnejših kmečkih sinov in je pomenilo skoraj tragedijo za bogato kmetijo, če se je nanjo priženil kdo, ki se je ukvarjal še z glasbo. Večkrat pa je bilo godčevstvo dodatni vir zaslužka ali pa sploh vir za preživetje.

Fantje, ki se danes združujejo v kratkotrajne godčevske skupine, dajejo svojim skupinam zelo različna imena. To večinoma s stilom igranja nima dosti zvez, kar se pokaže ob prvi pri-

while on Sunday there were two groups, one playing at the afternoon dance and another at the evening one. On Friday there was the Podgora group Bonton, on Saturday the Kamn's from Ilirska Bistrica were playing, on Sunday at noon the Kamn's again and in the evening the Slaks were the main attraction. The Bonton ensemble played once more on Monday.

Apart from the Slaks, both other groups are known locally. When speaking about the musicians' groups, people usually do not call them by their flashy names. They just say "Yes, the boys from Podgora, or Jelšane, or Huje" and the like. The organization of musical events of that kind is done by managers who agree on the time and terms of payment. It seems that the older village musicians, who could still be characterized as folk musicians do not get enough offers to play at dances. But their connection with music and customs is so firm that they do not want to be rejected. On the Pregarje holiday when the young people were preparing for the dance and the celebrations went in the usual way, at least five old folk musicians with their instruments walked through the village and stopped at the little bar near the bowling alley. They had two accordions, a clarinet and a drum. Three of them were from nearby villages and two of them were local people.

They played as long as the group hired to play at the dance or even longer.

It is not likely that folk music in the country will stop. The customs which are accompanied by music are not dying out. In the past musicians played at gathering litter and when manure was brought to the fields while today they play at the dance on Women's Day, 8th March (Whatever is going to substitute it?), at pensioners' excursions, veterans' meetings or in coaches taking worshippers to sacred places.



Bratje in sestre Tomšič iz Cerknice so igrali po gostilnah in kavarnah, 1937, fotoarhiv SEM

The Tomšič brothers and sisters from Cerknica played in pubs and cafés, 1937, SEM photoarchives

ložnosti, ko so odvisni od poslušalstva. Ne glede na zveneče zahodno ime bodo zagodli po domače, če bo od tega odvisno plačilo.

K popularnosti teh skupin prispevajo vse tiste šege, pri katerih sodelujejo, pa tudi radio in televizijske postaje, še posebno lokalne radijske postaje. Vprašanje je, kaj ima večji vpliv, ali ti sta glasba, ki jo vrtijo noč in dan na radiu ali ona, ki se je učijo v različnih društvenih orkestrih in skupinah. Še pred drugo vojsko so imeli pomemben vpliv na splošen glasbeni okus pihalni orkestri, številni predvsem v rudarskih krajih.

Zanimiva je seveda uporaba glasbil. Ker je postala harmonika tako zelo popularna, se ji je med ljudmi že zabrisal pojem o starosti in jo imajo večinoma za starejšo kot je. Kaže pa, da je še dovolj mlada, da bo še dolgo živel.

Težje najdemo godce, ki so jim domača še starejša glasbila. Ansamblom in solistom, ki se lotevajo igranju na njih, je namen igranja drugačen kot godcu, ki si zadega harmoniko na ramena in gre neznanemu poslušalcu naproti.

A takih je še dovolj, tako da jih pri številnih harmonikarskih tekmovanjih nikoli ne zmanjka.

Folk music never was the domain of rich farmers' sons and it was almost considered to be a tragedy when a rich farmer's daughter married a man who would play an instrument. On the other hand it was the music that often provided an additional source of income or even the means of survival.

Young men who form short-lived musical groups today give their groups various western sounding names. But the names do not necessarily tell anything about the style of playing. When the opportunity comes, when the musicians depend on the listeners, they will go back to the familiar melodies, particularly when the payment depends on it.

The popularity of such groups is increased by the customs they take part in as by radio and television programmes, particularly local ones. It is not quite clear whether the public taste is more influenced by the music played on the radio round the clock or by the music played by orchestras and groups belonging to cultural associations. It is known that before the war the public taste was influenced by brass bands, particularly in mining districts.

The use of instruments is also interesting. As the accordion has become very popular, the people tend to believe it is a much older instrument than it really is. Yet it seems to be popular enough, which may extend its life into the future.

It is much more difficult to find musicians who are familiar with older types of instruments. The purpose of groups and solo players who learn to play those instruments is different than of a folk musicians who hangs his instrument on his shoulder and goes to meet an unknown listener. However, there are still quite a number of that kind of musician and they are usually found in accordion players competitions.

Opombe

- ¹ Glej N. Kuret, Slovensko Štajersko pred marčno revolucijo 1848, Topografski podatki po odgovorih na vprašalnice nadvojvode Janeza (1811) in Georga Götha (1842), Gradivo za narodopisje Slovencev 3, Ljubljana, 1985, 1987, 1990.
- ² Kmetijske in rokodelske novice, leto 1854, str. 48.
- ³ Janez Trdina, Podobe prednikov I, Pohujšljive za vsakogar, str. 335/48, Ljubljana, 1987.
- ⁴ Kmetijske in rokodelske novice, leto 1854, str. 304.
- ⁵ Janez Trdina, Podobe prednikov III, Trezne vinske in praznoverne, str. 919/33, Ljubljana, 1978.
- ⁶ F. Erjavec, Ena noč na Kumu, Slovenski glasnik, Ljubljana, 1862, str. 97.
- ⁷ Glej N. Kuret, Praznično leto Slovencev I in II, Ljubljana, 1988. Z. Kumer, Ljudska glasbila in godci, Ljubljana, 1983.
- ⁸ O tej temi je obširno in dokumentirano pisala Z. Kumrova v nav. knjigi.
- ⁹ Janez Trdina, Podobe prednikov I, Pohujšljive za vsakogar, str. 253/184, Ljubljana, 1987.
- ¹⁰ Janez Trdina, Podobe prednikov I, Pohujšljive za vsakogar, str. 4/9.
- ¹¹ Z. Kumer, Ljudska glasbila in godci, Ljubljana 1983.

Notes

- ¹ See N. Kuret, Slovensko Štajersko pred marčno revolucijo 1848, Topografski podatki po odgovorih na vprašalnice nadvojvode Janeza (1811) in Georga Götha (1842), Gradivo za narodopisje Slovencev 3, Ljubljana, 1985, 1987, 1990.
- ² Kmetijske in rokodelske novice, 1854, p. 48.
- ³ Janez Trdina, Podobe prednikov I, Pohujšljive za vsakogar, p. 335/48, Ljubljana, 1987.
- ⁴ Kmetijske in rokodelske novice, 1854, p. 304.
- ⁵ Janez Trdina, Podobe prednikov III, Trezne, vinske in praznoverne, p. 19/33, Ljubljana, 1978.
- ⁶ F. Erjavec, Ena noč na Kumu, Slovenski glasnik, Ljubljana, 1862, p. 97.
- ⁷ See N. Kuret, Praznično leto Slovencev I in II, Ljubljana, 1988. Z. Kumer, Ljudska glasbila in godci, Ljubljana, 1983.
- ⁸ This subject has been extensively dealt with and documented by Z. Kumer in the book mentioned above.
- ⁹ Janez Trdina, Podobe prednikov I, Pohujšljive za vsakogar, p. 253/184, Ljubljana, 1987.
- ¹⁰ Janez Trdina, Podobe prednikov I, Pohujšljive za vsakogar, p. 4/0.
- ¹¹ Z. Kumer, Ljudska glasbila in godci, Ljubljana, 1983.

Igor Cvetko

OTROŠKA GLASBILA IN ZVOČNE IGRAČE KOT DEL GLASBENE (ZVOČNE) TRADICIJE OTROK NA SLOVENSKEM

1. Nekaj o otroški tradiciji nasploh, posebej še o instrumentalni

Pomembnost otroških izdelkov in otroške ustvarjalnosti so raziskovalci v preteklosti navadno sodili in vrednotili po kriterijih, ki veljajo v svetu odraslih. Največkrat so jih imeli za naiven, preprost in nedokončan proizvod sveta odraslih, njihovih posebnosti in značilnosti pa niso znali razložiti. Metodologija, s katero so se etnologi lotevali področja folkore odraslih, se navadno pri proučevanju »folklore otrok« ni obnesla. Redkokdaj so namreč v svoje raziskave vključevali etnologiji mejna področja – muzikologijo, lingvistiko, psihologijo, sociologijo ipd. – skoraj nikoli pa niso upoštevali svojevrstnosti in zakonitosti otroškega izraza. Prezrli so tudi dve nadvse pomembni posebnosti otroške psihe: njeno para-logičnost, ki izvira iz magičnega in mitičnega v otrokovi zavesti¹ in dejstvo, da (predvsem) v stanju igre otroci živijo v drugačnem koordinatnem sistemu od tistega, ki »ureja« svet odraslih.² Tako marsikaj, za kar si odrasli prizadevajo in skozi obredja ohranjajo, otroci *žive*, svet, ki ga odrasli poskušajo z rituali urejati (in si ga s tem podrediti) pa imajo otroci *že urejen* v sebi.

Če zdaj te zakonitosti pri ocenjevanju otroške folkore upoštevamo in vključimo v naša razmišljanja, vidimo, da:

– prevzemanje in presajanje sveta odraslih v otroško izročilo ni zgolj ludiranje in mime-

Igor Cvetko

CHILDREN'S INSTRUMENTS AND MUSICAL TOYS AS PART OF THE MUSICAL TRADITION OF CHILDREN IN SLOVENIA

1. Something about children's tradition in general and instrumental tradition in particular

Researchers in the past used to judge and evaluate the importance of children's hand-made products and creativity by criteria which are valid in the world of adults. They mainly considered them naive, simple and unfinished devices of the world of adults whereas they could not explain their particularities and characteristics. The methodology by means of which ethnologists tackled the field of adult folklore, usually could not be applied to "children's folklore". It rarely included any border sciences of ethnology such as musicology. Moreover, ethnologists hardly took into account the singularity and laws of children's unt the singularity and laws of children's expression. They also overlooked two very important features of the child's psyche: its paralogic, originating from the magic and myth engrained in the child's consciousness¹ as well as the fact that particularly at play children live in a different coordinate system from the one which "regulates" the world of adults.² Thus many things that adults try to achieve or obtain and keep alive through certain rituals, are *inherent* in children's lives whereas the world which adults try to regulate by means of rituals (in order to subject it) is *already well-arranged* in the children themselves.



Otroški pustni sprevod v Kostanjevici ob Krki, 1957, foto Valens Vodušek, fotoarhiv GNI

Children's carnival procession in Kostanjevica-on-Krka, 1957, photo by Valens Vodušek, GNI photo-archives

sis, temveč v otroškem svetu največkrat normalno stanje stvari, in da se
– stvari v otroškem svetu v glavnem ne dogajajo v krajevni in časovni odvisnosti, temveč tu in zdaj vedno so, pogojene objektivno in subjektivno, po pomenu in namenu pa so »take«, lahko pa tudi malo »drugačne«, odvisno pač od trenutnega razpoloženja otrok(a), njegovega mentalnega stanja in njegove (neposredne) okolice. Razlaganje dejstev, določanje parametrov, upoštevanje funkcij, (de)kodiranje simbolov, ipd. v otroški folklori nikoli niso enoznačna dejanja.

In our attempt to consider these laws and include them in our reflection on the evaluation of children's folklore, we can see that

– the adaptation and transfer of the adult world to children's tradition is not only ludicrousness and mimesis, but mainly represents a normal state of things in the world of children and that

– things in the world of children generally do not depend on space and time but *happen here and now* under objective and subjective conditions whereas, according to meaning and aim, they are as they are or somewhat "different", depending on momentary moods of children, their mental state, as well as their (immediate) environment. The explanation of facts,

Poglejmo zdaj bliže instrumentalno glasbeno (zvočno) tradicijo otrok, ki predstavlja pomemben del otroške folklorne. Trditev, da so otroška glasbila (zvočila) in zvočne igrače le »poenostavljeni ali pomanjšani že znani in ustaljeni instrumenti, največkrat pihala in tolkala«,³ ob že povedanem ne zdrži. Tako kot ljudsko kulturo v celoti, bi morali (tudi) otroško glasbeno izročilo, konkretno otroška glasbila (zvočila) in zvočne igrače, raziskovati v njihovem okolju in funkciji.⁴ Opazovati bi jih bilo potrebno v življenju, katerega del so in jih tako obravnavati *celotno*, v konkretnem času in prostoru.

definition of parameters, consideration of functions, the en- or decoding of symbols etc. are never one-sided actions in children's folklore.

Let us now consider more closely the instrumental musical (sound) tradition of children, which represents an important part of children's folklore. The claim that children's instruments (or sound producing devices) and musical toys are only »simplified or diminished well-established instruments, mainly wind and percussion instruments«³ does not hold after what has been said before. Like popular culture as a whole, children's musical tradition and children's instruments and musical toys should be examined in their own environment and function.⁴ They should be observed as *part of life* and dealt with holistically, in real time and space.



Adlešički »zeleni Jurij«, 1909, foto Juro Adlešič, fotoarhiv GNI

Celebration of "zeleni Jurij" at Adlešiči, 1909, photo by Juro Adlešič, GNI photoarchives

Naravno okolje, v katerem otroška glasbila (zvočila) in zvočne igrache najdemo, je ali skupina otrok, skupaj z odraslim(i) ali brez njega (njih), večkrat pa tudi en otrok sam. Naštete kombinacije ustvarjajo mrežo (vrsto) odnosov, ki se spleta(jo) med njimi. Psihologi imajo že dalj časa enotno mnenje, da je *igra* – vsaka dejavnost, ki je porojena iz veselja do te dejavnosti, v delnem nasprotju z namensko določenim delom⁵ – najbolj naravna aktivnost otrok(a), njegova biološka potreba. Kot spontana, nezavedna dejavnost otrok (mladičev sploh), je imanentna tako rekoč vsemu otrokovemu početju. Vrsta (tip) igre, najširše vzeto, ki si jo otroci v času in prostoru ob priložnosti izberejo, je odvisna od vrste faktorjev, ki jih pogojuje okolje in številni notranji in zunanji dejavniki, ki ga sestavljajo. Ti se v času spreminjajo, skupaj z njimi pa se aktivno spreminja tudi tip in način igre.



Rezijanski otroci z velikonočno ragljo (körkilica) in klepetalom (k'áčavc), Korito, 1963, fotoarhiv GNI

The natural environment in which children's instruments (or sound producing devices) and musical toys can be found, is either a group of children, sometimes mingled with adult(s) or a single child. Such combinations create a network of relationships arising between them. For some time, psychologists have been of the opinion that *play* (i.e. any activity emerging from the enjoyment of it, partly in contrast with the purposefully determined component),⁵ represents the most natural activity of a child or children and its/their biological need. As a spontaneous, subconscious activity of children (or any young in general) is inherent in their lives. The kind (type) of play is, speaking broadly, taken up by children at a certain time, place or on a certain occasion and depends on a number of factors conditioned by the environment, as well as by a number of internal and external components. These change within time as does the type and manner of play.

Resian children with Easter rattle (körkilica) and wind-rattle (k'áčavc), Korito, 1963, GNI photoarchives

V našem razmišljanju bi se preveč oddaljili od zastavljene teme, če bi se zaustavili ob vprašanju vloge zvoka in večkrat poudarjenega pomena ritma, melodije in besed v otrokovi igri. Tudi zvok namreč otroka privede v posebno stanje zavesti v prostoru med »myself« in »not-self«, v katerem (s)teče in se vzdržuje proces spontane(ga) igre (igranja).⁶ Za ilustracijo vzemimo primera, kako otrok v igro vključuje instrumentalni zvok in glasbila (zvočila), kar nam lahko pomaga vsaj delno osvetliti kompleksnost pojma *igre kot temeljnega nosilca otroške tradicije*.

Če drži, da je (tudi) igra način komuniciranja z okoljem, vidimo, da komunikacija lahko teče navzven (kot dialog) ali navznoter (kot monolog). Zvok lahko pri tem igra pomembno vlogo. Poglejmo najprej nekaj primerov tipičnega otroškega »zvočnega dialoga« z okoljem!

Our reflections would take us away from the chosen theme if we stopped at the problem of sound and the frequently emphasized importance of rhythm, melody and words in children's games. As we shall see later sound also puts the child in a special state of mind in space between "myself" and "not-self", in which the process of spontaneous play(ing) is triggered off and kept up.⁶ To illustrate this, we should look at two examples showing how children include instrumental sound and musical instruments in their play, which can help us, at least partly, to throw light upon the complexity of the notion of *play as the basic factor in children's tradition*.

If we assume that play is (also) a way of communication with the environment, we can see that communication either flows outward (as a dialogue) or inward (as a monologue). Here, sound can play an important role.

Let us enumerate some examples of a typical children's "sound dialogue" with their environment!



Pehtra baba iz Podkorna, foto Srečko Kolar

"Pehtra baba" from Podkoren, photo by Srečko Kolar

Draženje Pehtra babe v Podkornu na Gorenjskem, v šegi, v kateri so otroci to znanilko zime preganjali po vasi s kravjimi zvonci,⁷ ali klicanje šoje z »orglicami« (čivinkom) iz lesa in trave,⁸ sta primera takega dialoga, vzeta prav dobesedno. Podobno funkcijo je imel zvok tudi v Goriči vasi, ko so otroci včasih »podili vouka« in pri tem vrteli nad glavo ravnila privezana na vrvice (=brnivke).⁹ Grozeči zvok brnivke, ki je pri tem nastajal, je nedvomno ustvaril primerno ozračje, v katerem je igra lažje (s)tekla.⁹



Deček s koruznimi goslicami, fotoarhiv GNI

The teasing of "Pehtra baba" at Podkoren in the Gorenjsko area is a custom in which children chased this herald of winter through the village with cow-bells.⁷ Another custom is the calling of the jay with a little mouth organ (čivink) made from wood and grass.⁸ Both are literal examples of the dialogue mentioned above. Sound had a similar function in Goriča vas where children used to "chase a wolf", turning round rulers (brnivke) which were tied to pieces of string, above their heads.⁹ The terrifying sound emerging from this "instrument" undoubtedly created a suitable atmosphere necessary for the start and continuation of the play.⁹

Boy with maize fiddle, GNI photoarchives

Drugačno vlogo je imel zvok, kadar so si npr. pastirji na paši iz koruznega stebelca izdelali »goslice« in z njimi potem »cvilili«, kot so temu pravili.¹⁰ Pri takem muziciranju so zvok doživljali znotraj sebe, v posebnem psihičnem stanju, odmaknjeni od realnosti zunaj njih. Še nazornejši primer takega »zvočnega monologa« je tiho brenkanje na vrsto gumijastih strunic, napetih preko prazne vžigalične škatlice ali prek koščka lesa.¹¹ Ko si otrok s tem glasbilom prekrije uho, ga zvok v celoti prestavi iz realnosti v svet osebnega doživljanja sebe in svoje okolice. Zunanjih motenj ni več, otrok neposredno prisluhne svoji notranjosti.¹²

Sound had another role when, for example, shepherds in the meadow made a "fiddle" from a maize stalk and "squealed" as they called it.¹⁰ Such music making made them experience sound internally, in a special state of mind, removed from reality outside them. Perhaps an even more obvious example of such a "sound monologue" is the gentle plucking of numerous rubber strings strung over an empty match-box or a piece of wood.¹¹ When the child covers his/her ear with this kind of instrument, the sound transfers him entirely from reality into the world of personal experience of himself and his environment. Any external disturbances have disappeared and the child can give its immediate attention to its inner self.¹²

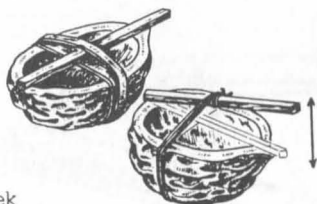


Skupina otrok z velikonočnimi ragljami, fotoarhiv GNI

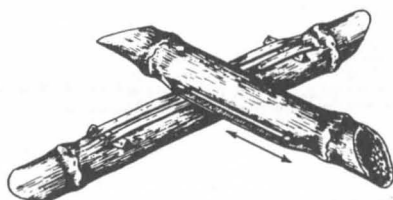
Group of children with Easter rattles, GNI photo-archives

Še tretjo možnost je potrebno omeniti: tisto, pri kateri otroci z zvokom le »vzdržujejo« igralni prostor igre. V Medani na Primorskem so se otroci še pred časom igrali »Slepo muho«. Slepi muhi, nekomu izmed njih, so zavezali oči in jo nekajkrat zavrteli okrog, ostali pa so pričeli tolči na kamne, ki so jih držali v rokah. Slep muha je morala po zvoku prepoznati izvajalca in se ga dotakniti. Ta je potem postal Slep muha, igra pa se je nadaljevala.¹³ V Solčavi so se šli včasih otroci na podoben način »Žabe dražiti«. Dva igralca sta si zavezala oči, eden izmed njiju je »po žabje regljal«, to je: drgnil med seboj treski z narezanimi »zobmi«, drugi pa ga je lovil po zvoku.¹⁴ Zvok je ostajal torej z n o t r a j (psihičnega) prostora, v katerem se je odvijala igra. Tudi enakomerno tolčenje z nožičkom po lubju med majenjem piščali vzpostavlja svojevrsten *odnos* med izdelovalcem piščalke in (še neizgotovljenim) glasbilo. Ustvarja se »magično« igralno polje. Da bi se lubje lažje snelo, si otroci marsikje še danes pomagajo s posebnimi čarnimi izreki, na Dolenjskem npr.: »Maji se, maji žvižgica«,¹⁵ da pa se sosedu to ne bi posrečilo, otroci izgovarjajo urok: »Cuper baba, cuper mož, da ne boš!«.¹⁶ Včasih so si, na Koroškem, na primer, zraven celo peli (?) pesmico: »Maj, maj, maj majnika, / v Tuzah Kopajnika, / da bi se majiva, / prov l'pu peva«.¹⁷ Kot kaže, ostaja igra (po definiciji: neproduktivna, prostovoljna, časovno in prostorsko pogojena, pa vendar (naprej) nepredvidljiva in nedoločljiva dejavnost, ki se odvija v posebnem stanju zavesti)¹⁸ ob nekaterih dodatnih vzporednih dejavnostih, slej ko prej glavna vzdrževalka, poganjalka in oblikovalka otroške tradicije.

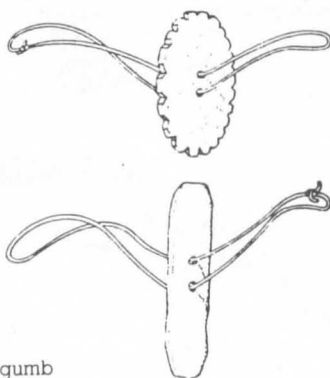
A third possibility should be mentioned: the one which helps children to use the sound for "*maintaining*" the playground for their game. In Medana in the Primorsko region, children not so long ago used to play "Blindman's buff". One of them was blindfolded and turned round several times while the other children began to beat a stone against another stone they held in their hand. The blindfolded child had to recognize a person by the sound and touch him/her. Then this one was blindfolded and the game went on.¹³ In Solčava children used to play a similar game which was called "Teasing Frogs". Two players were blindfolded, one of them croaked like a frog, i.e. rubbed two splinters with carved teeth against one another whereas the second player tried to catch him/her by following the sound.¹⁴ The sound thus remained inside the (mental) area where the game was taking place. The steady beating with a panknife against the bark when making a whistle also established a special *relationship* between the carver of the whistle and the (as yet unfinished) instrument. A "magic" playground has been created. To make the bark come off more easily, children still use special sayings, such as in the Dolenjsko region: "Maji se, maji žvižgica".¹⁵ In order to impair the neighbour's attempt of the same job, they chant the following spell: "Cupr baba, cupr mož, da ne boš!"¹⁶ In former times Carinthians used to sing (?) this song: "Maj, maj, maj majnika, / v Tuzah Kopajnika, / da bi se majiva, / prov l'pu peva".¹⁷ It appears that playing (defined as unproductive, voluntary, temporally and spatially conditioned, but an unpredictable and indeterminate activity) takes place in a special state of mind,¹⁸ is accompanied by additional parallel factors and remains the chief maintaining, driving and creating force of children's tradition.



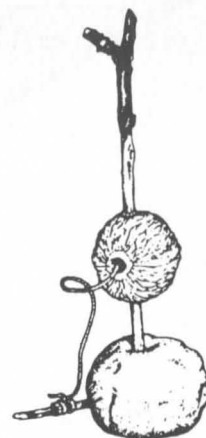
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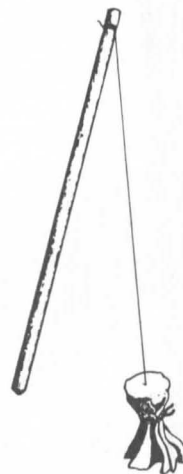
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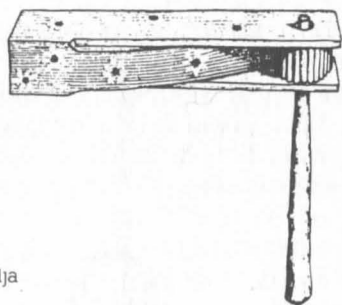
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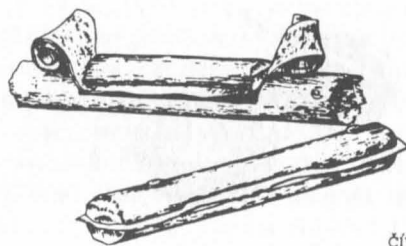
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Nekaj značilnih tradicionalnih otroških glasbil na Slovenskem, risba: Franc Feldin

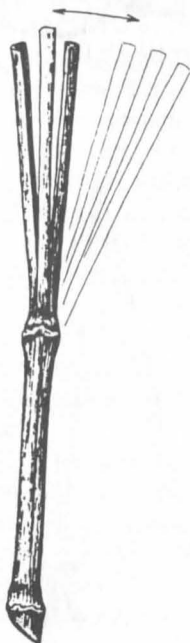
Characteristic traditional children's instruments in Slovenia, drawing by Franc Feldin



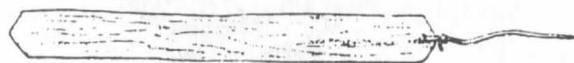
raglja



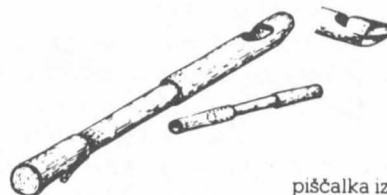
črvink



klepétec



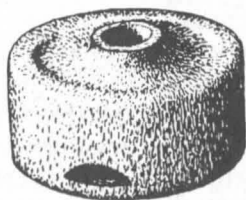
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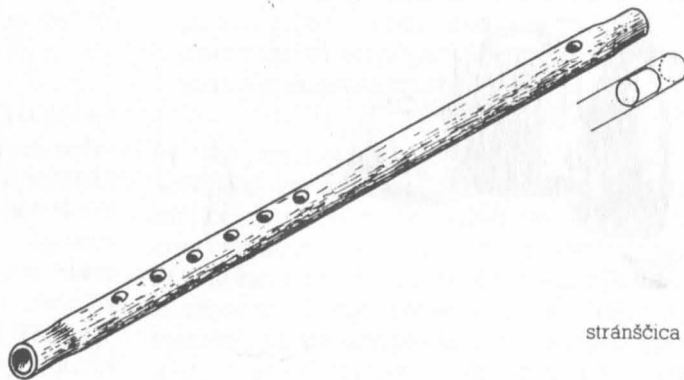
piščalka iz lubja

Nekaj značilnih tradicionalnih otroških glasbil na Slovenskem, risba: Franc Feldin

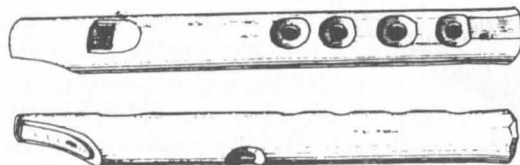
Characteristic traditional children's instruments in Slovenia, drawing by Franc Feldin



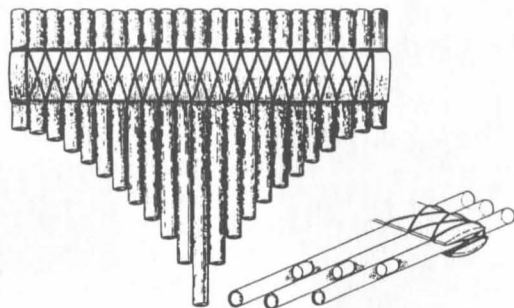
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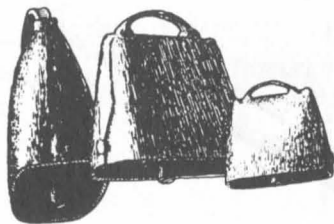
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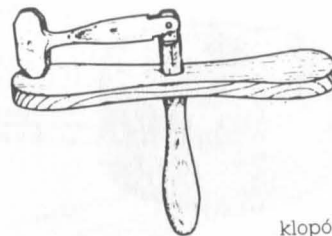
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Nekaj značilnih tradicionalnih otroških glasbil na Slovenskem, risba: Franc Feldin

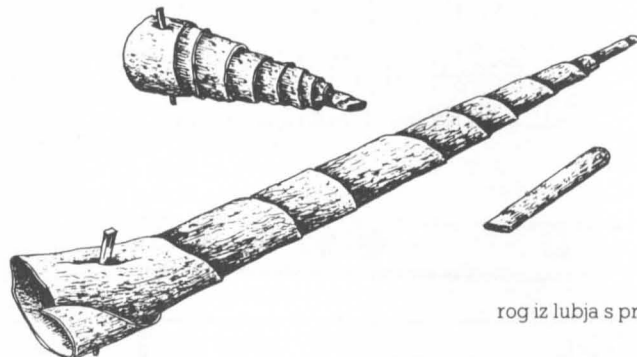
Characteristic traditional children's instruments in Slovenia, drawing by Franc Feldin



zvonci

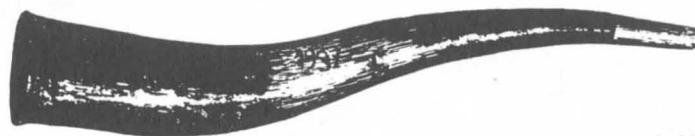
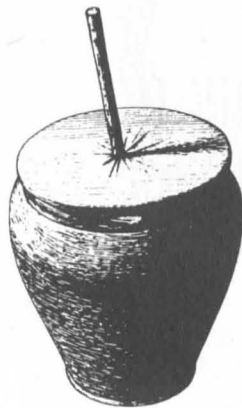


klopótec



rog iz lubja s prdo

lončeni bas



pastirski rog

Nekaj značilnih tradicionalnih otroških glasbil na Slovenskem, risba: Franc Feldin

Characteristic traditional children's instruments in Slovenia, drawing by Franc Feldin

2. Kakšna in katera glasbila (zvočila) sploh imenujemo otroška glasbila (zvočila) in zvočne igrače?

Po sprejetem in danes splošno uveljavljenem mnenju velja za »glasbilo vsak predmet, iz katerega hote zvajljamo zvoke, ki nam pomenijo glasbo« (Stockmann, 1961). Če to pravilo za potrebe etnomuzikologije razširimo, ugotovimo, da »ljudsko glasbilo lahko postane vsako glasbilo, če igrajo nanj ljudski godci melodije iz ljudskega izročila ob priložnostih, ki sodijo v njegov okvir, in pa predmeti, ki jim ljudska raba daje veljavo glasbila«. ¹⁹ Če v zametku že Stockmannova definicija glasbila (bolje; zvočila, saj spadajo sem npr. tudi otroške zvočne igrače, bič o pustu pa zvonci, raglje in klopotci) vključuje ob ergologiji tudi njegovo (upo)rabo, obravnava ga torej v funkciji(!), druga direktno izpostavi širši etnološki okvir, v katerem se glasbilo (zvočilo) pojavi: godca, njegov repertoar, priložnost, za katero si izbere primerno glasbilo, indirektno pa celo način igranja in publiko, celotno glasbeno okolje.

Široko zastavljena definicija sicer dovolj dobro določi pojem ljudskega glasbila, pa vendar ne da uporabnih rezultatov pri opredeljevanju pojma *otroško glasbilo* in *zvočna igrača*. Poskušajmo na podlagi naših prejšnjih sklepanj zato nekaj folklornih pojmov zamenjati z ustreznimi iz otroške psihologije. Priložnost, ki sodi v njegov (=otrokov) okvir, bi lahko nadomestili z otroško igro, 'ljudska raba' pa se ravno tako nanaša nanjo. Vsebinska določitev pojma se tako spet skrči na kratko Stockmannovo definicijo o glasbilu, ki se »prevedena« v dosedanje razmišljanje lahko glasi:

Otroško glasbilo (zvočilo) ali zvočna igrača je lahko vsak predmet, ki ga otrok uporablja pri igri, tako da s pomočjo njega »dela« muziko (zvok)«.

2. Which and what kind of music instruments (sound producing devices) are called children's instruments (sound producing devices) and musical toys?

By the established and today generally accepted opinion that "a musical instrument can be any object that produces sound that means music to us" (Stockmann, 1961). If this rule is extended to cover the need of ethnomusicology, it can be established that "any musical instrument can become a folk instrument if melodies inherent in folk tradition are played on it by folk musicians on occasions cherished by this tradition; and further, any object which is used as such by tradition". ¹⁹ If even Stockmann's definition of instruments (or rather, sound producing devices including children's musical toys, such as the carnival whip, bells, rattles and wind rattles) includes their use, thus dealing with their functions (!), the later definition takes into immediate account the more extensive ethnological framework, within which an instrument appears: the musician, his repertoire, the special occasions for which a suitable instrument must be chosen, and, indirectly, the manner of playing, the audience; in short, the entire musical environment.

The notion of folk instrument has been determined well enough by the comprehensively expressed definition, nevertheless the results are not applicable to the notion of *children's musical instrument* and *musical toy*. Let us, then, on the basis of our former conclusions, exchange a few folkloristic notions which correspond to those from children's psychology. The "occasion within the child's framework" could be exchanged for children's play whereas "popular use" also refers to the same (i.e. play). Thus, the content of the notion is again

Med otroška glasbila (zvočila) in zvočne igrače, lahko tako uvrstimo vse, s čimer otroci muzicirajo, »delajo godbo«, zvok, se oglašajo: vse, na kar piskajo, trobijo, vse, s čimer ropotajo, drdrajo, drsajo po podlagi, na kar brenkajo, godejo, tolčejo itd. Iz definicije ni izpuščena raba instrumenta, vključuje torej tudi njegovo funkcijo.

Preglejmo zdaj, kako se nam iz zgodovinske perspektive kažejo otroška glasbila (zvočila) in zvočne igrače in kaj lahko zaključimo na podlagi teh ugotovitev.

Videti je, da se v vsej človekovi zgodovini, od prazgodovine do danes, otrokov doživljajski in izrazni svet ni bistveno spreminjal. Izkopani ostanki glasbil (zvočil) iz otroških grobov pri nas in po svetu izpred dveh, treh tisoč let, so namreč presenetljivo podobni otroškim zvočnim igračam, s kakršnimi se še danes igrajo otroci po vseh zemljepisnih širinah in dolžinah ali so se vsaj do nedavnega igrali. Tudi izkopa- ne glinaste (otroške?) ropotuljice iz obdobja eneolitika s kolišč ljubljanskega barja ali arheoloških najdišč po Sloveniji: najdeni deli ropotuljic iz naravnih snovi, lesene, koščene in glinene piščalke, drdrala, najdeni kovinski kraguljčki in ostanki tolkal (bobenčkov) vseh vrst, so bili nekdanj prav mogoče (tudi) otroške zvočne igrače, čeprav se tovrstna zvočila v svojem času v svetu odraslih nedvomno lahko imela (tudi) magično funkcijo.

Oblika teh glasbil (zvočil) se bistveno ni spremenila, celo po tipih jih zlahka prepoznamo. Številne risbe, slike in druge likovne upodobitve od paleolitika do iznajdbe fotografije nam kažejo celo, ob kakšnih priložnostih in kako so ljudje (tudi otroci) ta glasbila (zvočila) uporabljali.

reduced to Stockmann's brief definition of the instrument. According to our line of thought, the definition of the said notion runs as follows: "*A children's instrument (sound producing device) or musical toy can be any object that a child uses at play in order to make sounds (music)*". So: anything that children use for making music (sound) or even making themselves heard can be considered as a children's instrument (sound producing device) and musical toy, i.e. anything that they use for whistling, trumpeting, rattling, clattering, skidding, strumming, fiddling, beating etc. The use of the instrument has not been omitted from the definition so that it also includes its function.

Let us now take a close look at children's instruments (sound producing devices) and musical toys in their historical perspective, to see what can be established on account of our findings.

It seems that in the entire human history, from prehistorical times to the present day, the child's world of experience and expression has not changed, basically. Remnants of musical instruments (sound producing devices), excavated from children's graves here and in other parts of the world, which are two or three thousand years old, are surprisingly similar to the musical toys that children all over the world play or used to play with not so long ago. Children's(?) clay rattles excavated in the Ljubljana marsh area (eneolithic period), as well as (later) remnants of rattles made of natural materials, whistles made of wood, bone or clay, whizzers, metal jingles and the remains of all kinds of drums in Slovenia were once (also) children's musical toys although *such sound producing devices undoubtedly had, at their time, (also) a magic function in the adult world.*



Lončene piščalke in žvrgolci z Dolenjskega in Štajerskega, fotoarhiv GNI

Clay flutes and whistles from Dolenjsko and Štajersko, GNI photoarchives

Omejimo se na otrokov zvočni svet, kot nam ga kaže zgodovina. Časovne komponente, ki bi bistveno vplivala na otroško izročilo, kot nam dokazujejo ti dokumenti, ni. In prav očitno tudi bistvenih (večjih) razlik v »vsebini« (funkciji) otroških glasbil (zvočil) in zvočnih igrač po geografsko različnih koncih ni zaslediti. S tem odpade še prostorska komponenta tovrstne tradicije. Instrumentalna tradicija otrok se je pač spreminjala (se prilagajala) skupaj z osnovnimi spremembami življenja in okolja, kar pa je, kot kaže, vplivalo bolj na njeno obliko kot na vsebino.²⁰ Kot da bi se otrokova aktivnost in kreativnost v igri odvijala na arhetipskem nivoju, kot da bi v njegovi podzavestni aktivnosti gledali moč (in univerzalnost) arhetipskih simbolov!²¹

Pomemben mejnik v razvoju in razumevanju evropske otroške glasbene (zvočne) tradicije predstavlja 18. stoletje, čas, ki ga značilno oblikuje nov pristop do glasbene pedagogike, in ko se je občudovanje preprostega zvoka iz otroške instrumentalne (zvočne) zakladnice in njegovih izraznih možnosti, prvič odkrito prikradlo celo v klasično glasbeno tradicijo. V Berchtesgadnu pri Salzburgu je tedaj namreč delovala vrsta malih komornih skupin in komornih orkestrrov, ki so z velikim uspehom izvajale t.i. *otroške simfonije* (toy symphonies), ki sta jih med drugimi komponirala (tudi) Leopold Mozart in Michael Haydn. Obliko, klasično sicer določenih skladb, so skladatelji priredili otroški publiki, zvočnost običajne komorne zasedbe pa so obogatili z vključevanjem vrste »tipičnih« otroških glasbil (zvočil) v instrumentacijo: kukavic, prepelic, malih piščalk, malih lesenih in kovinskih trobent, ragelj, ropotuljic, bobenčkov, ipd.²²

Zanimiva umetniška inovacija ni ostala brez takojšnjega in precejšnjega komercialnega odmeva: širom po Evropi so začeli serijsko (obrt-

The form of these instruments (sound producing devices) has basically not changed, they can be easily recognized according to type. Numerous drawings, pictures and other artistic presentations from the paleolithic period to the invention of photography show on what occasions and how the people then (including children) used such musical instruments (or sound producing devices).

Let us restrict ourselves to the child's world of sound as we know it from history. The time component, which would essentially influence children's tradition and which is evident from these documents, does not exist. Moreover, no basic differences in the "content" (function) of children's instruments (or sound producing devices) and musical toys can be traced in geographically different areas. Thus the space component of this kind of tradition can also be eliminated. The instrumental tradition of children changed (adapted itself) together with the basic changes of life and environment, which apparently influenced its form rather than content.²⁰ As if the child's activity and creativity at play developed on an archetypal level, or as if we could see the power (and universality) of archetypal symbols in its (i.e. the child's) subconscious activity!²¹

A famous land-mark in the development and comprehension of children's musical (sound) tradition is represented by the 18th century, a period which is significantly marked by a new approach to musical pedagogics, and at a time when admiration for the simple sound of the children's instrumental (or sound producing) treasury and its modes of expression for the first time openly found its way into the classical musical tradition. At the time, a number of small chamber groups and chamber orchestras were very active in Berchtesgaden near Salzburg. They successfully interpreted the

no) izdelovati otroška glasbila (zvočila) ter zvočne igračke.²³ Trg, predvsem po mestih, zanje ni bil gluh.

Z industrijsko revolucijo v 19. stoletju se začne masovna (industrijska) produkcija glasbil (zvočil) in zvočnih igrač. Pomanjšanim (in poenostavljenim) klasičnim instrumentom (klavirčkom, harfam, godalom, kitaram, flavtam, trobentam, rogovom) se priključijo razni zvončki, kraguljčki, citrice, ustne harmonike (orglice) in drumlice pa enostavna zvočila, npr. žabice, ptičji klici, vrtivke ali še drdrala, pihavke, kričala itn. Poseben razvoj so doživeli (in še doživljajo) glasbeni avtomati, od mehaničnih pojočih skrinjic, prek vgrajevanja Edisonovega cilindra (izum iz leta 1877) v igračke, malih plastičnih gramofonskih plošč v otroških punčkah do sodobnih elektronskih zvočilc, ki jih v tovarnah igrač danes vstavljajo v igračke ali ponujajo kot samostojna glasbila (zvočila).

so-called *toy symphonies*, which were (also) composed by Leopold Mozart and Michael Haydn. Composers adapted the classical form of certain compositions to children's audiences, enriching the sound of the usual chamber cast by including a number of "typical" children's instruments (or sound producing devices): cucoos, quails, small flutes, small wooden and metal trumpets, rattles, whizzers, little drums, etc.²² in the orchestra.

This interesting artistic innovation did not remain without an immediate and considerable commercial response: all over Europe the manufacture of children's instruments (or sound producing devices) and musical toys was initiated.²³ Consumers could mainly be found in towns.

With the industrial revolution in the 19th century the mass production of instruments (or sound producing devices) and musical toys began. Diminished (and simplified) classical instruments (toy pianos, harps, strings, guitars, flutes, trumpets, horns) were joined by various kinds of bells, jingles, zithers, mouth organs, jew's harps, as well as simple sound producing devices, such as frog-shaped clickers, birdcalls, humming tops, clappers, scrapers, flutes and whistles, squeakers etc. A special development was visible in musical-boxes, from mechanical singing boxes or toys with Edison's cylinder (an invention from 1877), built into a small plastic gramophone used in dolls, to contemporary electronic sound producing devices of small size, which in toy factories are built into toys or sold as independent musical instruments (or sound producing devices).

3. Kdaj in zakaj otroku instrumentalni zvok, kakšen zvok in zakaj ter kakšno glasbilo (zvočilo) in katero?

Omenili smo že, da vsaka stvar, ki jo otrok uporablja kot igračko, v njegovih rokah to tudi postane. Poleno tako lahko v igri postane avto, stara cunjica ali nekoliko preurejena blazinicica pa punčka ali medvedek, objekt in subjekt otrokovega intimnega sveta. Že relativno zgodaj v razvoju t.i. senzorno-motoričnega stadija je otrok sposoben predmete tudi koordinirano prije(ma)ti, ne samo (z)grabiti z rokami. To pomeni obvladovati proces t.i. »kinetične melodije«²⁴, niza povezanih gibov brez krčevitosti in lomljenja. Pravimo, da jih je v času in prostoru otrok sposoben tudi že zavestno nadzirati. Slučajnostne gibe tedaj zamenjajo hoteni, otrokova gibna aktivnost postane stvar njegove volje, želja, potreb. Prične se proces individualizacije, organiziranja izkušenj na višjem nivoju.

Kako otrok gradi svoj glasbeni ali zvočni (instrumentalni) izkustveni svet, če vemo, da njegov razvoj oblikujejo tako njegove dedne dispozicije, kot njegovo »objektivno« okolje – biološko, socialno in kulturno?

Ropotuljice vseh vrst in oblik so navadno prvo zvočilo, s katerim pride otrok v stik. Obešene nad posteljico ali v njegovih rokah mu predstavljajo dragoceno zvočno igračo. Ko mu zavzvenijo, jim prisluhne, prisluhne pa tudi samemu sebi, komunicira z okolico in odgovarja na njene dražljaje in izzive. V istem obdobju se mu posreči že kontrolirano in hote z raznimi predmeti (žlicami, kuhalnico, ropotuljico) tolči po (zveneči) podlagi (krožniku, mizi, stolčku, stranici posteljice) ali drdrati po čemerkoli, kar se mu oglašja. Zvočno pestra, v osnovi sicer ritmična zvočna aktivnost, je mnogo več kot zgolj »izvajanje« ritma. Otrok že v najzgod-

3. When and why is the child confronted with the instrumental sound, what kind of sound and why and what kind of instrument (or sound producing device) and which?

It has already been mentioned that anything a child uses as a toy also becomes a toy – the object or subject of the child's intimate world – in its hands. Thus a log of wood can at play become a car and an old rag or a differently arranged cushion turns into a doll or a teddy-bear. Relatively early in the child's development, at a time when the child is in its sensory-motor stage, it is able to grasp objects coordinately, not only grab them with its hands. This means that the child has mastered the process of so-called "kinetic melody",²⁴ a series of connected movements without convulsiveness and abruptness. At this stage, the child is able to control its movements consciously within time and space. Arbitrary movements are replaced by deliberate ones, the child's motional activity is the result of his will, his wishes, or needs. This is the process of individualization, the child's experiences are organized on a higher level.

How does the child build his musical and sound (instrumental) world of experience if we know that its development depends on the child's hereditary disposition as well as on its "objective" environment – the biological, social and cultural?

Rattles of various kinds and forms are usually the first sound producing devices with which the child comes into contact. Hung over the bed or held by its hands, they represent precious musical toys. When such a toy produces a sound, the child listens to it as it listens to itself. It communicates with its environment and responds to its stimuli and challenges. At the same stage the child makes controlled, deliberate movements by beating on a sound-

nejšem obdobju namreč razpolaga s precejšnjim izraznim potencialom, ki ga v igri sprošča in skozi igro uresničuje.

Inštrumentalni zvok, ki ga pri tem ustvarja, je otroku nadvse zanimiv. Pritegne ga v »prostor igre«, ki ga na ta način lahko uspešno vzdrži. Raziskovanje različnega zvoka in zvokovnih možnosti celo na istem glasbilu (zvočilu) otroku omogoča vzpostavljanje raznovrstnih slikovitih asociacij. Ni potrebno posebej poudarjati, da je glasbeno-umetniško doživljanje in oblikovanje takega inštrumentalnega »početja« sestavni del otrokovega celostnega izražanja. Zveneči predmeti iz narave, brleki in drdre pa koruzne goslice ter piščalke vseh vrst, torej tehnološko in izvajalsko kar male večšine, kmalu zamenjajo tista preprostejša, a zato nič manj pomembna in izrazno bogata »ritmična« zvočila iz njegovega prvega obdobja. Izrazni svet otroka se (tudi) zaradi njegovih večjih intelektualnih, psihomotoričnih in fizičnih sposobnosti na tej razvojni stopnji poveča.

Ob tem se mi zdi potrebno opozoriti, da velik del tovrstne otrokove glasbene (zvočne) aktivnosti (in kreativnosti!) uvrščamo v specifični otroški folklorni izraz, ki je rezultat posebnih otrokovih dispozicij in njegovih doživljajskih in izraznih sposobnosti. Izštevanka, »izmišljarije«, govorno-ritmično-gibne igre, vokalne improvizacije (včasih) z inštrumentalno spremljavo in čiste inštrumentalne improvizacije spadajo med najbolj čiste primere otroške glasbene (zvočne) ustvarjalnosti. Ker je otrok sposoben univerzalnega prilagajanja na najrazličnejše socio-kulturne pogoje in med seboj direktno povezovati arhetipske strukture, ki so del njegovega sveta, so njegovi »izdelki« presenetljivo izvirni, tako v povezavah, kot zaključkih, so »čisti« in originalni.

ing surface (a plate, table, chair, bedside) or whizzing on anything that produces sounds by means of various objects (spoons, ladles, rattles). Varied in sound, although basically rhythmic, this activity means to him much more than just performing rhythm. At its earliest age the child possesses a considerable potential of expression, which can be released and experienced through play.

The child finds the instrumental sound created in this way extremely interesting. By means of sound, a space of play is created, as well as maintained. Experimenting with different sounds and possibilities of making sounds, even on the same instrument (or sound producing device), the child is able to establish various visual symbolic associations. It goes without saying that the musical artistic experience and formation of such an instrumental activity is part of the child's integral expression. The simple but nonetheless important rhythmic toy instruments from the child's earliest age children soon replaced by sounding some objects found in natural surroundings (primrose, for example) or use dandelion stalks, leafs, crab claws, corn cobs etc. to make music. They know how to make "brlek" and "drdra" as well as tube zither (corn stalk fiddle) and all sorts of pipes. Owing to their technological as well as performing qualities these toy instruments may be considered as little masterpieces. At this stage of development the child's abilities of expressing itself have considerably increased due to its higher intellectual, psychomotoric and physical abilities.

It must be emphasized that a considerable part of this kind of music activity and creativity in children can be classified as specific children's folklore. It is the result of special dispositions in children and their abilities to experien-

Šele z začenjanjem procesa imitacije (posne-manja tako starejših kot njih samih), čemur sledi usihanje ustvarjalnosti in originalnosti, kar je nadaljnja faza v otrokovem razvoju, začno otroci vse bolj osvajati model, ki je blizu ti-stemu, po katerem je urejen svet odraslih. Z lastnim izrazom sicer, ki je še zasidran v otroški glasbeni (zvočni) tradiciji, pa vendar se oblika in vsebina že podrejata modelu, ki prevladuje v vsaki etnično urejeni družbeni skupnosti.



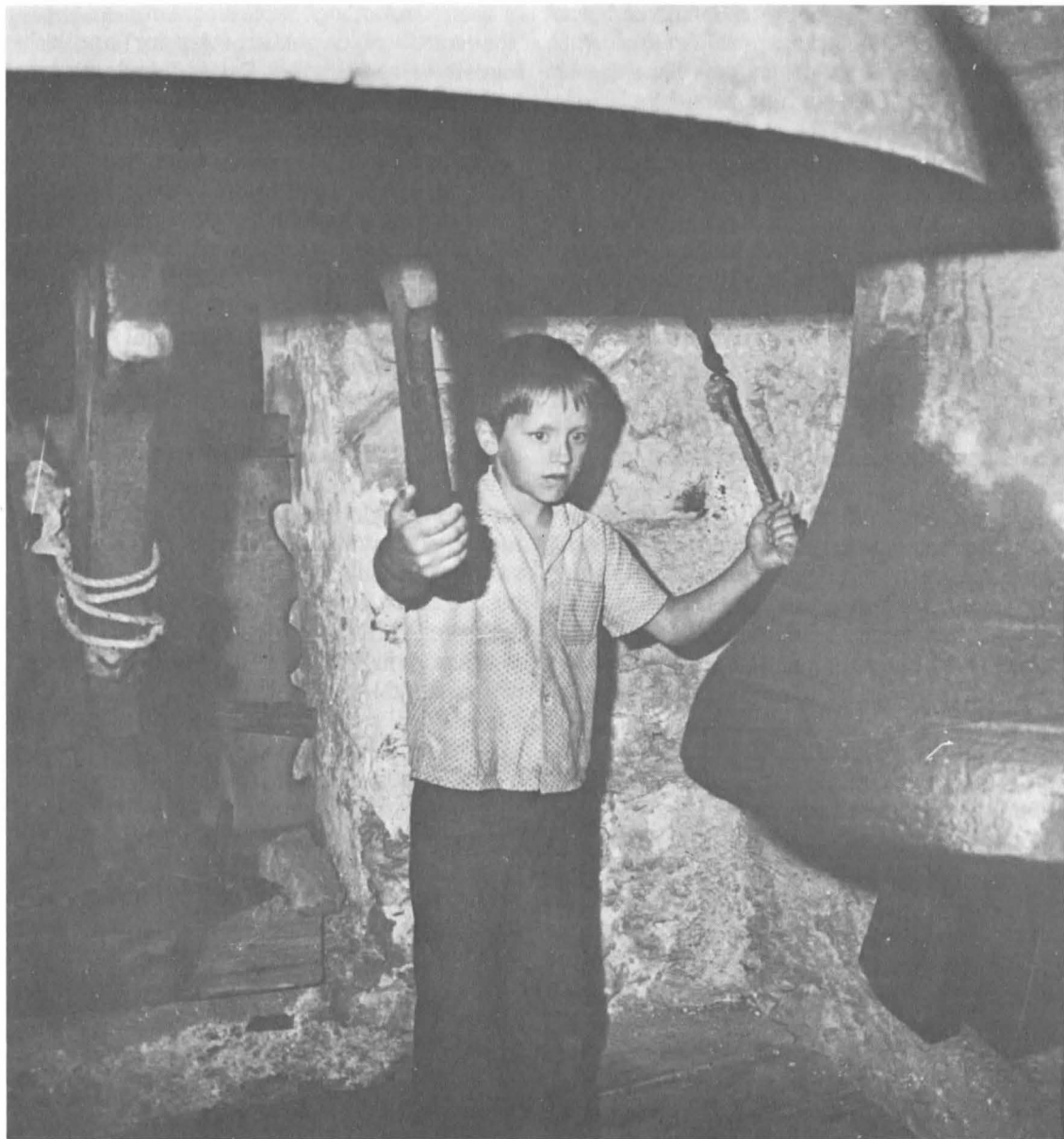
ce and express themselves. Counting rhymes, phantasies, games involving speech, rhythm and movement, vocal improvisations, (sometimes) accompanied by musical instruments, as well as pure instrumental improvisations are the most typical examples of children's musical (or sound) creativity. The child possesses a universal ability of adapting itself to all sorts of socio-cultural conditions and of directly linking archetypal structures which are part of his world. This makes his "products" surprisingly original and pure in their associations as well as conclusions.

Once the process of imitating adults as well as other children begins, creativity and originality diminish. This is a further phase in the child's development. The children gradually adopt a model similar to that of the adult world. Their specific expression, engrained in their musical and sounding tradition, is still present, yet the form and contents follow the model prevailing in every ethnically well-regulated social community.

SLOVENSKI
ETNOGRAFSKI
MUZEJ
LJUBLJANA

Prenašanje instrumentalne tradicije, fotoarhiv GNI

Passing down of instrumental tradition, GNI photo-archives



Marsikje se že malo večji fantiči poskusijo v pritrkavanju, fotoarhiv GNI

Biger boys give chiming a try, GNI photoarchives

V okolici Kobarida sta se za veliko noč npr. včasih »oglašala klepetalca in brniuka«. ²⁵ V Šentjerneju so nekaj prihajali na ohcet fantiči oblečeni v maskare z »dudami«, piskri, preko katerih je bil napet mehur z navezanim sirkovim klcem in delali muziko. Ponekod na Koroškem so otroci na Jurjevo »zvonkljali naokrog s kravjimi zvonci in tulili«, plesali ob ognju in metali okrog goreče šibe, »ognjena kolesca«. ²⁶ Marsikje za razne priložnosti še vedno »godejo na kempel«, ²⁷ igrajo na trstenke, ²⁸ dipke ²⁹ in skoraj povsod še piskajo na piščalke iz regrata, ³⁰ tolčejo na klepetce ³¹ ali »streljajo na perje«, ko udarjajo z roko po listju. ³² V Prekmurju poznajo otroci pravi mali otroški zvočni »arzenal«, ki jim pride prav ob raznih prilikah: gudalo z dreto (!), fučko (piščal na eno luknjico), fučkarico (piščalko na 3–4 luknjice), žveglico (piščal s 6 luknjicami), orglice (iz korus), »medveda« (gudalo), ³³ piskajo pa še na gosje pero in orglice iz vrbe, godejo na gosli iz korus in se oglašajo z regetačo. ³⁴ V Velesovem in v Kropi so včasih otroci za god »muzicirali«: udarjali so na pokrovke in tolkli s poleni po škafu, zraven včasih še trobili z rogovi, zvončkljali z zvonci in/ali godli na harmoniko in orglice. Prav tam so znali na prazno polžjo lupinico tudi oponašati klic sove.

In the surroundings of Kobarid, for example, "the sounds of klepetalca (clapper) and bull-roarers were heard" at Easter. ²⁵ In Šentjernej, little boys dressed in fancy dresses used to come to the wedding and make music with "bagpipes" and pots over which pigs' bladders were drawn, with a little stick fastened to them. In some places in Koroško children used to "go round and ring cattle bells and howl" on St. George's day, dance around the fire and throw about burning rods and "little fire wheels". ²⁶ In many places they still "play the comb", ²⁷ the reed-pipe, ²⁸ and the double flute ²⁹ on various occasions. Almost everywhere they whistle with dandelion stems, ³⁰ beat klepetec, the rattle of corn stalks ³¹ or "shoot with leaves" when beating leaves with their hands. ³² In Prekmurje the children use a real little arsenal of sounding devices, used on various occasions, such as gudalo z dreto, the friction drum, fučka, (a one-hole whistle flute), fučkajna (a three or four-hole whistle flute), žveglica (a six-hole flute), orglice (made from maize stalks), "a bear", friction drum, etc. ³³ They also whistle using a goose feather and orglice made of willow twigs, they play fiddles made of maize stalks and make sounds with regetača, the wooden rattle. ³⁴ In Velesovo and Kropa children used to make music for somebody's name-day – they beat lids together, they beat wooden pails with pieces of wood, sometimes they blew horns, rang little bells and/or played the accordion and mouth organs. They could also imitate an owl's hoot using an empty snail shell.

Poskušajmo zdaj razvrstiti otroška glasbila (zvočila) in zvočne igrače po njihovem *izvoru* oziroma v kategorije, ki bi omogočale etnomuzikološko sistemizacijo glede na na izdelovalca in funkcijo, ki jo ima glasbilo (zvočilo) ali zvočna igrača v svetu otroka. Glasbila (zvočila) in zvočne igrače so torej:

1) Preprosti predmeti iz narave ali otrokove okolice, ki jih lahko otroci kar sami poiščejo, in ki (za)zvenijo že taki, kot so, ali jih otroci z lahkoto preuredijo v zvočila. Tako je npr. piskanje na travo, list, pero ali cvet trobentice, piskanje »na kampil« ali bodečo nežo, žvižganje na želodovo skodelico, brenkanje na pletilko, zataknjeno v špranjo v mizi, ali na napeto žimo in elastiko pa tolčenje s kamnom ob kamen ali bobnanje po stolu.

2) Tisti zvočni predmeti, ki si jih napravijo otroci sami za zadovoljevanje lastnih potreb po zvoku v svojih aktivnostih. Odlikuje jih velika domišljija (in ustvarjalnost), s katero so jih otroci naredili. Take so različne piščalke iz lubja, lesa, slame, trstike ali gline, pokalice iz bezga, klepetec iz koruze, brlek, drdra, »žabice«, koruzne goslice, gúdalo s sirkom ali vrteči gumb na vrvi, glasbila (zvočila), ki jih največkrat in z lahkoto uvrstimo med otroška glasbila in zvočne igrače.

3) Tisti zvočni predmeti, ki si jih napravijo otroci s pomočjo odraslih, ali ki jih za otroke naredijo odrasli in tako zadovoljujejo potrebe otroka po zvoku v njegovem, t.j. otroškem svetu. Med te bi lahko prišteli klepetce, orglice (male trstenke), nunalco, postranico, razne lesene piščali z različnim številom luknjic, čivink, citrice, glinaste žvrgolce ipd.

4) Tisti predmeti, ki si jih otroci napravijo sami:

a) da se ob posebnih prilikah z njimi in njihovim zvokom lahko vključujejo v svet odraslih, npr. »ciganska muzika« na svatbi (z metlo drg-

The following is an attempt to classify children's musical instruments and sound producing devices according to their *origin*, that is, into categories enabling us to form an ethnomusicological systematization in which the maker as well as the function of the instrument or the musical toy in the child's world are considered.

Instruments (sound producing devices) and musical toys can be classified as follows:

1. Simple objects taken from natural surroundings or from the child's environment, found by the child itself. They can either be used as they are or they can be slightly adapted. Children can, for example, whistle by means of a leaf of grass, a leaf, a feather, or a primrose, they can create sounds by means of a comb or a thistle and by blowing into an acorn cup. They can strum a knitting needle driven into a crack in the table, a strung up horsehair or a piece of elastic and they can beat two stones against each other or drum on a chair.

2. Sound producing devices made by children in order to produce sound in their activities. These are characterized by great imagination (and creativity). Instruments and sound producing devices like whistles made of bark, wood, reed or clay, pokalice, popguns made of elder, klepetec made from maize stalks, brlek, drdra, žabice, koruzne goslice, fiddles made from maize stalks, gúdalo s sirkom, clay friction drum or brneči gumb, a button fastened to a piece of string can be considered as typical children's musical instruments and musical toys.

3. Sound producing devices made by children with the help of adults or made by adults for the children and satisfying the children's need for sound. This group includes klepetec, reed-pipes, nunalca, postranica, various kinds of wooden pipes with different numbers of

nejo po tleh, lonec s kovanci in žlicami), piskanje na pero pa brenkanje na strune v pinji, ali

b) glasbila (zvočila), za potrebe in prilike, ki so v procesu »degradacije«³⁵ izgubile ritualni in mistični pomen in mesto v svetu odraslih ter prešle v izrazni in doživljajski svet otroka. Taki so, npr. lubnati in živalski rogovi, tuli, brnivke, biči, raglje in klopotci.

5) Tisti zvočni predmeti, ki jih ob raznih prilikah (npr. 4b) (iz)delajo otroci s pomočjo odraslih, ali jih otroku naredijo odrasli, npr. zvonci, rogovi vseh vrst, korobači, lončeni bas ipd.

6) Tisti zvočni predmeti, ki jih ob različnih prilikah otroci direktno prevzamejo od oraslih, npr.: zvonci, rogovi, biči, drumlice, dvojnice, lončeni bas in podobno.

7) Tisti zvočni predmeti, ki jih za otroka izdelava nekdo drug iz različnih razlogov (uporabnostnih, magičnih, ritualnih, didaktičnih, komercialnih ipd.) in v različne namene, lahko celo mimo njegovih potreb. Sem bi lahko prišteli vsa industrijska, obrtniška in tehnična zvočila, od orglic (ustne harmonike), preproste otroške kovinske trobente ali piska na balončku, prek glasbil t.i. Orffovega instrumentarija, do vgrajenega »gramofona« v trebuhu punčke za deklice.

Vidimo torej, da pojma *otroško glasbilo* (zvočilo) ne moremo enačiti s pojmom *glasbila* (zvočila) *za otroka*, in da obstajajo med njima velike pomenske razlike. Gledano sociološko in etnološko pa tudi kulturno-zgodovinsko, se te kategorije med seboj prepletajo v (so)odvisnosti od vrste dejavnikov, ki jih vključuje pojem kulturne ekologije. Razvoj in oblika otroške tradicije je torej produkt »biološke danosti« otroka in njegovega kulturnega in družbenega okolja.

holes, čivink (a kind of mouth organ), citrice, clay whistles, etc.

4. Objects made by children

– in order to join the adults, for example "gipsy music" at weddings (they rub the floor with brooms or shake a pot filled with coins or spoons), whistling with a feather, strumming strings in a butter tub, and

– instruments (and sound producing devices) originally used in cases of a ritual and mystic character which has been lost in the process of degradation.³⁵ These instruments passed over from the adult world into the world of children's experience and expression. Such instruments are bark and animal horns, tul, whizzers, whips, rattles and wind rattles.

5. Sound producing devices made for the above mentioned purposes by children with the help of adults or by adult persons only. Examples are all sorts of bells and horns, scourges, earthen pot basses and the like.

6. Sound producing devices taken directly from adults in various cases, for example bells, horns, whips, jew's harps, double flutes, earthen pot basses, etc.

7. Sound producing devices made for children by other people for various reasons such as usability, magic, ritual, didactic and commercial reasons, etc. and for various purposes, possibly not even considering the child's needs. This group includes all instruments and sound producing devices made by industry and craftsmen, as well as technical devices ranging from mouth organs, simple metal trumpets, whistles in balloons to instruments such as the Orff Instrumentarium and the "gramophone" built into a doll's tummy.

It can be seen that the notion of *children's musical instruments* (or sound producing devices) is not identical with the notion of a *musical instrument* or *sound producing devi-*

ce for children. There is a great difference in meaning. From a sociological and an ethnological as well as from a cultural and historical point of view these two categories intermingle, depending on a number of factors including the notion of cultural ecology. The development and from of children's tradition is the result of the child's biological disposition and its cultural and social environment.

4. Preglednica tradicionalnih otroških glasbil (zvočil) in zvočnih igrac na Slovenskem

Iz povedanega se jasno izlušči širina in kompleksnost problema otroške glasbene tradicije. Če zdaj poskusimo razvrstiti otroška glasbila (zvočila) in zvočne igrace po v etnomuzikologiji uveljavljeni Sachs-Hornbostlovi (S-H) klasifikaciji, vidimo, da so v otroški inštrumentalni tradiciji zastopane vse glavne skupine zvočil³⁶ z različnimi vrstami inštrumentov, s številnimi podvrstami in v raznoterih variantah. Še več: celo glasbila istega tipa lahko otroci ozvočujejo na različne načine. V takem primeru moramo (glasbilo (zvočilo), ki sicer spada v eno od skupin, uvrstiti v kakšno drugo skupino ali vsaj k drugi vrsti (tipu). Klasificirati ga je mogoče torej šele potem, ko smo ob ergologiji upoštevali celotno organologijo.³⁷

Preglednica inštrumentov,³⁸ ki bi jih lahko uvrstili med otroške, in ki so del otroške glasbene tradicije pri nas, nam pokaže, da so bili:

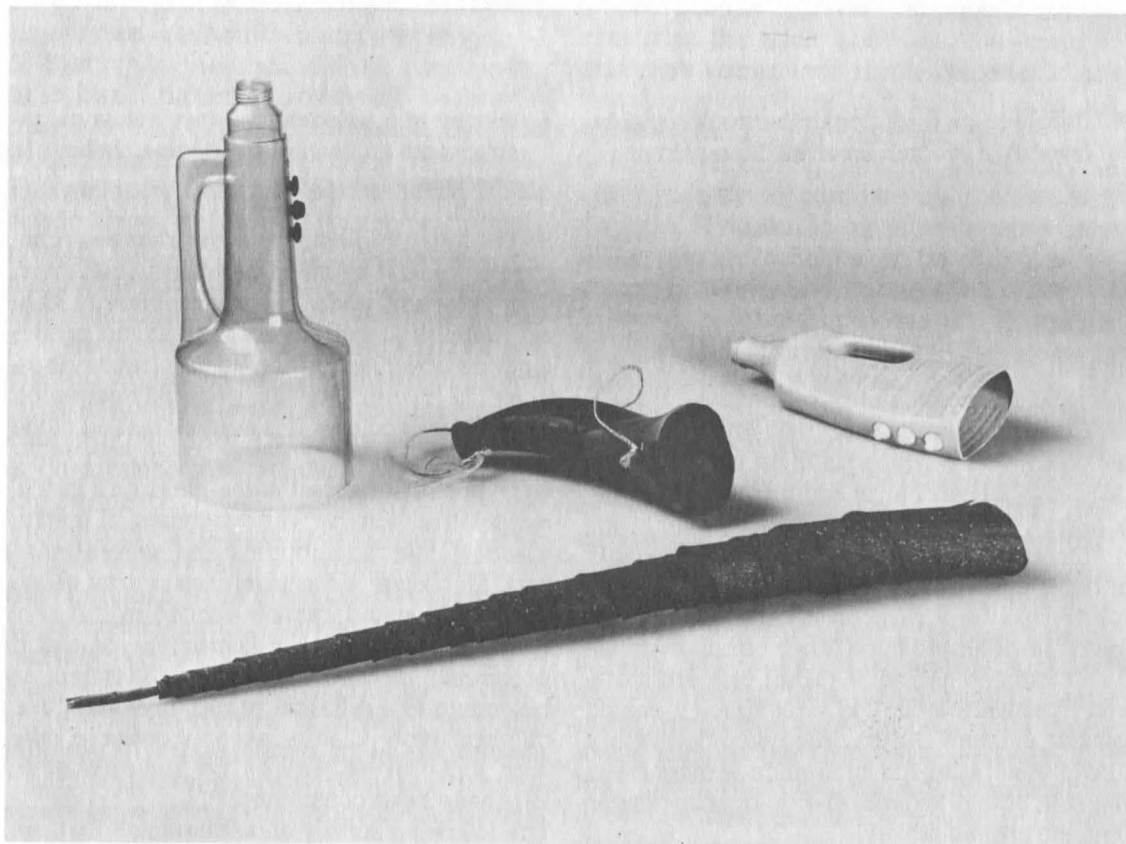
4. Survey of traditional children's musical instruments and sound producing devices in Slovenia

So far the complexity and the range of children's musical tradition has been presented. The following is an attempt to classify children's musical instruments (and sound producing devices) according to the Sachs-Hornbostel (S-H) classification, generally accepted by ethnomusicology. It is evident that all of the four main groups of sound producing devices³⁶ are represented in the children's instrumental tradition by various types of instruments, numerous subtypes and several variants. Moreover, even from instruments of the same type sound can be elicited in different ways. In such cases the instrument (or sound producing device) should be classified as belonging to a different group or at least to a different type. Classification is possible only after ergology as well as the entire organology have been considered.³⁷

The following survey of instruments³⁸ that can be classified as children's instruments and are part of the children's musical tradition in this country, shows, that:

Aerofoni, v številnih različicah in variantah, nekdanje najbolj uporabljane in najbolj priljubljene otroška glasbila. Sorazmerno hitro in enostavno se jih da izdelati in so dovolj privlačni tako za izdelovalca (izvajalca) kot za poslušalca.

Numerous variants of *aerophones* used to be most used and most popular children's toys in the past. They were comparatively easy and simple to make and were effective enough for both the maker and performer as well as the audience.



Nekaj otroških aerofonov – med tradicijo in sodobnostjo, foto Edo Gregorič

Some children's aerophones – between tradition and present, photo by Edo Gregorič

*Prosta zrakovna glasbila/Free aerophones**S-H 411–413*

- Bič: gajžla, hajžva, ježva (Kor., Gor.)
 křbač (Bkr.)
 korobač (Dol., Gor.)
 korombač, žlajga (Prim.)
 pokc, pletájsa (Štaj.)
- Brklja: bržgla (Gor.)
- Brneči gumb
- Brnek: volk, bolha
 brníca, brndalo, brúnda, brkljávka (Štaj.)
 brnek, brček, brkalice, brljica, brlez (Prim.)
 brenklja, drgeljč (Gor.)
- Brnivka: gúngalca, zíngolca (Brkini)
 striga (Trst)
 brnkač (Štaj.)
- Drdra: brndac (Bkr.)
 brk, drgljač, raglja (Dol.)
 drgla (Gor.)
 brn, brlez (Prim.)
 drdra, dršela (Štaj.)
- Piskala iz trave (pero, čivink): piščalka, pišuka (Gor.)
 rega (Kor.)
 gusle, srákalca, pískalo, pëskolič, zvízdalo (Prim.)
 dideldáčka, sova, drvéne muzike (Bkr.)
 čvrčuljica (Lj.)
 srákalca (Brkini)

Pihala / Wind instruments: Flavte / Flutes

S-H 421

- Dvojnice s piskom: dvojčaka, svirale, piščale, vidále, vidalice (Bkr.)
- Lončene piščalke: ptiček
konjiček
žvrgolc
kukavica
- Lubnate piščalke: piska, fučk (Bkr.)
pišuka, piščavka (Dol.)
pišavka, pišala, pišuka (Gor.)
májnkova pískov. piskovca. pišu, piša, pišla,
pískalca, piščala, paskulca, piskalca, pšovca,
pišela, žvižgalca, žvižglica, žvižgovca (Kor.)
fučka, žveglica, fůčka (Prkm.)
fůčkanca, pišča, žvegla (Por.)
pišávka, fůček, pišala, fůčka, žvegla, pišu, pišela (Štaj.)
piščálca, piščála (Rez.)
paskulič, čefújc (Ben.)
- Naravne piščali: polžja hišica
rakove klešče
- Pisk: jezik (Kor.)
jeziček, pilk, pijzdək, klinc (Dol.)
jedro, zamah, jesk, tutka, hlodč, čepek, zátrk (Prim.)
čep (Gor.)
- Piščali s premičnim zamaškom: brlízgajca (Prim.)
piščal na firuli (Gorica)
- Stránčica: stránica, strančica (Bkr.)
postránica, postránka, stranščica (Štaj.)
stránjščica (Prkm.)
- Trstenke: trstíke, orgelce, piševne orgelce, piskulíce, pišole (Štaj.)
trstovínke, piščalka, flavta, dudle, (hrvaška) dudla (Dol.)
orglice, pišóle (Kor.)
pištulíce, igrce (Prkm.)
pistole (Por.)
/posamezne cevke/: igrci (Prkm.)
glasilke (Por., Štaj.)

Oboe/Oboes

S-H 422.1

Lubnati rog: troba, prdéla, ta velíka fékara (Kor.)
tromba, trobc, tul. tula, tulc, prdalo, rulež, poprdon, roženice (Prim.)
trumba (Gor.)
tutovka (Por.)
svíralo (Čič.)
túlonca, tulič (Prkm.)

Prda: prdalo, prdéla, pazdac, pisk, pisek (Bkr.)
prdúla, prdlja (Gor.)
prdala, prdika, frcka, frkalica, prcka, füčkec, pišela, núnika (Štaj.)
prdevka, poprduček, piskālič, troba, tulc (Prim.)
púprdelca (Notr.)
fékara, piščel, trompetica, godalo, pišau, fenka (Kor.)
pepica, igríca, prc, prdunca (Prkm.)

Klarineti / Clarinets

S-H 422.2

Klarinet: klanet, klenet, krnet, pišču, piščála (Prim.)
karnet (Štaj.)
piskóvt (Gor.)

Trobila / Trumpet

S-H 423

Leseni rog
Naravna trobila: živalski rog
Trobente

Od druge vojne naprej, predvsem pa v zadnjem času, narašča število domiselno narejenih in na (naj)različne(jše) načine ozvočevanih *idiofonih* instrumentov, ki jih lahko uvrstimo med otroška glasbila (zvočila) ali zvočne igranje.

Since the Second World War, and particularly in the past few years the number of imaginatively made *idiophone* instruments that can be sounded in various ways has increased. They can also be classified as children's "traditional" musical instruments (sound producing devices) or musical toys.



Vrsta otroških idiofonov, foto Edo Gregorič

Children's idiophones, photo by Edo Gregorič

Udarala z neposrednim udarjanjem / Idiophones with direct striking

S-H 111

Klepetala / Cymbals

SH 111.1

Pokrovke: réne, pokriváče, (Brk.),
cintájner (Por.)

Nabijala / Clappers

S-H 111.2

Klepetálo: ropotáč, ropotávka, ropotélca, klépec, klépa,
klopótec, žvápła (Kor.)
brenča, tablica (Gor.)
klepétec, klepótec, klepetálca
klopotáča, klápec, klapátec,
šklepótec, brzla, škrabatúlja,
škrgatíca, cvrljávka (Prim.)
čicəc (Kanal)
kjač (Učja)
k'ačavc (Rez.)
laskutác, drlíca (Ben.)
klepec, klepalo, klepetulja, regetača (Štaj.)
ropotulja, ropótec, škrabljica, škrebetávka (Prkm.)
klépač (Por.)
Klopotec: raglec (Štaj.)
Pikatora
Pókalica: klepétec (Slov.)
brodúlja, flekó, pokac (Bkr.)
pókanca, pókovec, pókovnik, ropótec, ropotáča, klopotáča (Dol.)
Ropótec: ropótec, ropotáč (Gor., Kor., Notr.)
raglja (Dol., Prim., Staj.)
regla, klépetavc (Kor.)
drdrec, ropotačka (Bkr.)
drdrač, drdralo (Dol.)
klepetác, ropotávka, škgalo, drdrač (Prim.)
Zvonci: burovž, bombek (Dol.)

Udarala s posrednim udarjanjem / Idiophones with indirect striking

S-H 112

Ropotaia / Rattles and jingles

S-H 112.1

- Kraguljčki: škrgétec, škrget, škrábelj, škrabljič
grigič, zvončkulja (Rez.)
- Ropotulje: ropotúlč, rogátenca, rozgotúlč (Gor.)
bobnica, šekláčka, ragláčka, ropotáč (Dol.)
réškac, ropotáč (Bkr.)

Trzala / Plucked idiophones

S-H 121 - 122

- Drumljica: brnica, brunda (Bkr.)
tintina (Rez.)
brnbice, brenka, brumbice, brümljice (Štaj.)
struna (Dol.)
- Stržek: brlec (Prim.)
brlek, pokec, pokavica (Štaj.)
brndac (Brk.)
orehova stopa (Prkm.)

Drgala/Scraped idiophones

S-H 131-133

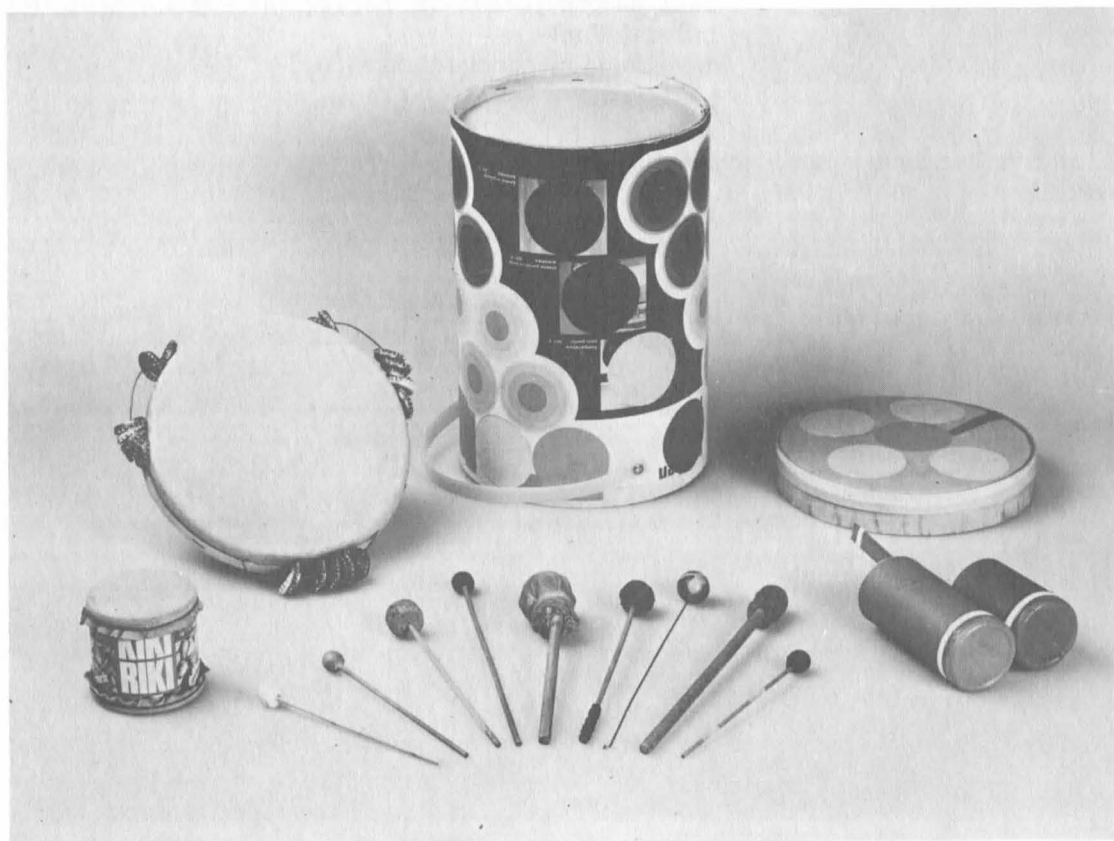
Paličasta drgala

Ploščata drgala

- Raglje: rakla, rekva, regla, ropotac, repetavc
terlec, drskla (Kor.)
raglica, ropotec, ropotulca (Gor.)
reglja, radla, ropotavka, regljavček, drdrálo (Dol.)
reglica (Štaj.)
ropotec, drlica, škrgetávka, brkalca,
hréstalca, róuštalca, rapatauka,
brlca, brla, drčolivka, škrjavka,
rezgetulke, krotá, ropotula, brlivka,
škrbatula (Prim.)
drkotác, laskotác (Ben.)
škrebetavka (Prkm.)
rogátauc (Por.)

Membranofonov med tradicionalnimi (otroški-mi) glasbili (zvočili) ni veliko, so pa med otroci priljubljeni in jih zato kar pogosto uporabljajo. Pomembnejši med njimi so:

The number of *membranophones* among traditional children's musical instruments is comparatively low. However, they are very popular among children and rather widely used.



Nekaj otroških membranofonov narejenih iz industrijske embalaže, foto Edo Gregorič

Children's membranophones made from industrial packaging, photo by Edo Gregorič

Bobni/Drums

S-H 211-212

drumla, pavka (Kor.)
dromba (Štaj.)
tambur, tamburin (Brkini)

Drgalni bobni / Friction drums

S-H 231-233

gúdalo, díplenjak (Bkr.)
lončeni bas, bas, baston, **bobən**, duda, muga (Dol.)
düda (na lonec) brundanje, **medved**, vuk, vugač, vugaš (Prkm.)
brundaš (Por.)
moga, kuga, mehurjeva muzika (Štaj.)
pinja (Prim.)

Vrteči drgalni bobni z vrvico/Friction novelty

S-H 232.2

žabice (Štaj.)

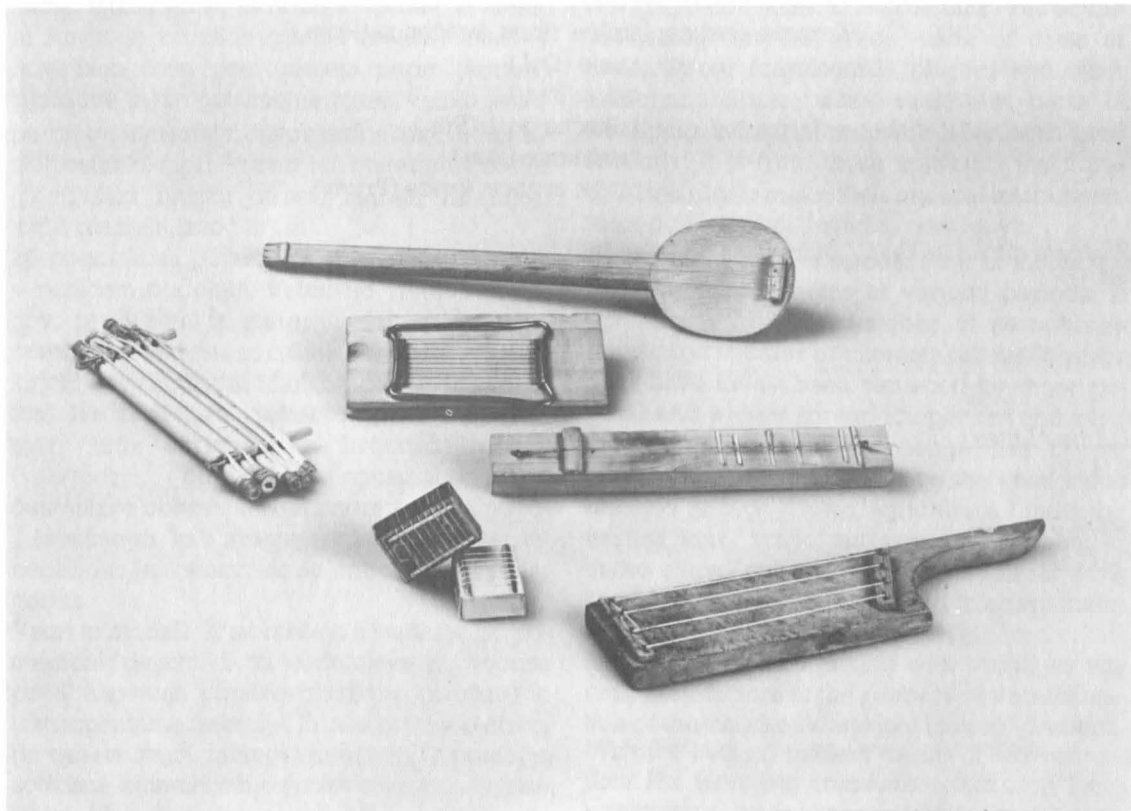
Z usti zanihane opne / Mirlitons

S-H 241

ru-ru, núnalca (Prim.)

Kordofonov je med otroškimi glasbili (zvočili) pravzaprav najmanj. To je razumljivo, saj se jih relativno težko izdela, tudi igrati nanje ni lahko, občutljivi so na poškodbe in so zvočno šibki. Pa vendar predstavljajo pomemben delež v otroški tradiciji.

The number of *chordophones* is the smallest among children's musical instruments (and sound producing devices). This is quite understandable since they are comparatively difficult to make and not easy to play, either. They can be easily damaged and their sound is not strong enough. Still, they are also an important part of the children's tradition.



Skupina domiselno narejenih otroških kordofonov
foto, Edo Gregorič

Some fanciful children's chordophones, photo by
Edo Gregorič

Nesestavljena strunska glasbila (citre) / Zithers

S-H 311-316

drsovca (Gor.)
drskalca, pleče (Prim.)
švrkovnce, citrce (Dol.)
citera, cingule (Prkm.)
špile (Kor.)
citre na biglo (Štaj.)

Cevaste citre / Tube zithers

S-H 312.11

Koruzne goslice: širšče, škant, širščenca (Prim.)
gusle (Dol.)
citira (Rez.)
kúkrčne gosli (Por.)
tamburice (Štaj.)
orgle, orglice, ígrice (Prkm.)

Ploščate citre s tolkalci / Dulcimers

SH 314.1

»Oprekelj«: citrce (Dol.)
cingule (Prkm.)

Lutnje / Lutes

S-H 321

Harfe / Harps

S-H 322

vsi prirejani / all diminished, simplified

Kot zanimivo dejstvo se že pri površni analizi preglednice pokaže očitna kontinuiteta v otroški instrumentalni glasbeni tradiciji v času in prostoru, vendar so opazne precejšnje spremembe, predvsem v:

a) uporabi materiala, iz katerega so (bila) narejena glasbila. Les, trstika, (bambus), lubje, koruzna stebila, slama in določeni deli rastlin prevladujejo med materiali, iz katerih so bili svojčas narejeni instrumenti. Sledijo materiali živalskega izvora: živalska »ohišja«, lupine, deli kosti, rogovje, koža in nekatere naravne snovi: žgana glina, keramika, kamen. Iz stekla in kovin je otroških glasbil (zvočil) manj. V novejšem času prevladujejo papir (karton), plastične in druge umetne mase, veliko je odpadnega materiala, delov embalaže, industrijskih ostankov ipd. Prav iz teh materialov danes (predvsem mestni otroci) najraje izdelujejo svoja glasbila (zvočila); in

b) pogostnosti pojavljanja posameznih skupin v različnih obdobjih. Relativno veliko aerofonov, predvsem iz starejših dokumentov (iz pred 50 let), so danes izrinili bolj zaželeni, razširjeni in priljubljeni idiofoni, celo membranofoni. Na to dejstvo vsekakor vplivajo v veliki meri tudi spremenjeni življenjski pogoji (vas/mesto, agri-kultura/industrija, prosti čas/šolske obveznosti), in s spremenjeni pogoji (etničnega, kulturnega, socialnega in naravnega) okolja, katerim so se otroci morali prilagoditi.

Vzori in modeli, ki se mešajo s tradicijo, so pomembni dejavniki, ki sodelujejo v procesu preoblikovanja otroške glasbene (zvočne) in instrumentalne tradicije. Danes prihajajo otroci (in njihovi starši, mentorji in učitelji) s pomočjo sodobne komunikacije (potovanja, muzeji, razstave, filmi, časopisi, revije, knjige) zlahka do informacij, ki segajo daleč prek časovnih in prostorskih okvirov, v katerih žive. Tako smo

From the survey a continuity in the children's musical tradition in time and space is evident at the first glance. Yet, quite a number of changes can be noticed, considering

a) the materials used in making the instruments. Wood, reed (bamboo), bark, maize stalks, straw and certain parts of plants prevailed in instruments made at an earlier time. These materials are followed by materials of animal origin like shells, hulls, parts of bones, horns, hides and some other natural materials like earthenware, ceramics and stone. Very few children's musical instruments (and sound producing devices) were made of glass or metal. Paper (cardboard), plastics and other man-made fibres, waste materials, parts of wrapping, industrial remnants have been used recently. It is from those materials that town children like to make their musical instruments (sound producing devices) nowadays.

b) the frequency of appearance of individual groups of instruments at various periods. A comparatively large number of aerophones mentioned in older documents (about 50 years ago) have today been replaced by more popular and widely spread idiophones and even membranophones. The change has by all means been brought about by the changes in lifestyle (village / town, agriculture / industry, leisure time / school tasks) as well as changes in the ethnic, cultural, social and natural environment, to which children had to adapt themselves.

Ideals and models mixing with traditions are important factors in the process of transformation of the children's musical (sound) tradition. With the help of modern means of communications like travelling, museums, exhibitions, films, newspapers, magazines and books, the children, their parents and teachers are able to obtain information about far away places and times.

priče nastajanju zanimive mešanice arheoloških, eksotičnih (v etnološkem smislu) in otroških izdelkov. Ti so si med seboj v sorazmerno tesnem sorodstvu, prepletajo se in dopolnjujejo in to največ prav zaradi skupne *arhetipske* osnove.

Kaj se v otroški inštrumentalni tradiciji potem pravzaprav spreminja in kaj ostaja isto? Tip glasbila (zvočila), zvočne igrače, njegova arhetipska zasnova, odsev iz pradednine, »dedna forma«, predstavlja temelj, pravo »vsebino« tej tradiciji, stalnico, medtem ko se številne izvedbene variante, njihova »oblika«, način igranja in s tem v zvezi različne zasedbe in uporabnost, v času in prostoru spreminjajo. Danes očitno hitreje kot kdajkoli prej!

The result is the appearance of an interesting mixture of archaeological, exotic (in an ethnological sense) and children's products. These are comparatively well related, they intermingle and complement each other, mostly due to their *archetypal* basis.

What is changing and what has remained the same in the children's instrumental tradition? The type of instrument (or sound producing device) as well as of the music toy, their archetypal basis, the reflection of the distant past, the inherited form, as it were, represent the foundation, the real *contents* of the tradition. On the other hand, numerous variants in make, their *form*, the manner of playing and various combinations and uses, change according to space and time.

Nowadays these changes are much faster than ever before.

Opombe

¹ Prim.: Andrei, 1988, 88

² Prim.: Cvetko, 1988, 1

³ Prim.: GDMI, III, 613

⁴ Prim.: Cvetko, 1985, 38

⁵ Leksikon CZ, 386

⁶ Prim.: Cvetko, 1988, 4

⁷ Vir: GNI, Ob 470

⁸ Vir: GNI, Trbovlje, 1963

⁹ Vir: Goriča vas, 1963

¹⁰ Vir: GNI, Kapela, 1958

¹¹ Vir: GNI, Trbovlje, 1963

¹² Prim., terapevtski učinek slušalk: Cvetko, 1985, 39

Notes

¹² A therapeutic effect of a receiver made of rubber strings over a small cardboard box (or a plastic cap)

- ¹³ Vir: GNI, K 1273
- ¹⁴ Vir: GNI, Solčava, 1954
- ¹⁵ Vir: GNI, Dole, 1976
- ¹⁶ Prim.: Kumer, 1983, 109
- ¹⁷ Vir: Š-7850, Borovlje
- ¹⁸ Prim: Callois, 1965, 40
- ¹⁹ Prim.: Kumer, 1983, 8
- ²⁰ Prim: Cvetko, 1985, 42
- ²¹ Prim.: Jung, 1976, 98, 99
- ²² Prim.: GDMI, III, 614
- ²³ Bogato zbirko otroških glasbil (zvočil) in zvočnih igrac iz tistega časa hrani Carolino Augusteum Spielzeugmuseum v Salzburgu
- ²⁴ Prim.: Supek, 1987, 55
- ²⁵ Vir: Hrovatin, 1951 GNI
- ²⁶ Vir: Möderndorfer, GNI
- ²⁷ Vir: GNI, Prim., In 190
- ²⁸ Vir: GNI, Dol., In 19
- ²⁹ Vir: GNI, Prim., In 51
- ³⁰ Vir: GNI, In 29
- ³¹ Vir: GNI, In 56
- ³² Vir: GNI, In 58
- ³³ Vir: Vse: In 108
- ³⁴ Vir: GNI, In 15
- ³⁵ »Degradacija«, etnološki terminus. Proces, ko neko obredno dejanje v svetu odraslih izgublja svoj prvotni pomen in namen ter obliko in pri tem preko (krajše) šaljive faze preide v otroško izročilo, kjer (za)živi svoje »drugo« življenje. Po nekaterih teorijah pa je otroška tradicija živa ves čas, obenem z obredjem odraslih. Tako ostaja celo po njegovem razpadu v isti funkciji kot poprej. R. Callois (Prim. Callois, 1965, 89–100) npr. zavrača teorijo degeneracije, t.i. resne aktivnosti odraslih v otroško zabavo in se bolj nagiba mnenju, da morda istočasno obstajata dva registra enega pojava.
- ³⁶ Danes bi jim lahko dodali še številno skupino elektrofonov, ki pa jo v preglednico ne uvrščam
- ³⁷ Prim.: Hood, 1971, 123 naprej. Organologija – znanost o glasbenih instrumentih – naj bi
- ²³ A rich collection of children's musical instruments, sound producing devices and musical toys can be found at the Carolino Augusteum Spielzeugmuseum in Salzburg.
- ³⁵ The process of "degradation", an ethnological terminus. The process when ritual is losing its meaning, its primary purpose and form in the world of adults and in this way over its (shorter) humorous phase passes into children's tradition where it lives its "second" life. According to some theories this children's tradition is everlasting with the rituals of adults. In such a way it remains even after its decay in the same function as before. Roger Callois (Comp. Callois, 1965, 89–100) for example, rejects the theory of degeneration as the decay of serious activity of adults changing into children's fun. It gives the possibility that both could exist simultaneously as "two registers of one (and the same) phenomenon."
- ³⁶ Nowadays a large group of electrophones could be added, which have not been incorporated in the table.
- ³⁷ Compare: Hood, 1971, from p. 123 onwards. Organology – the science of musical instruments

vključevala ne le zgodovino glásbila in njegov opis, ampak v enaki meri največkrat spregledano celotno »znanost« o glasbenih inštrumentih, npr. posebne tehnike izvajanja, njihovo glasbeno funkcijo, dekoracijo (za razliko od konstrukcije) in vrsto socio-kulturnih dejavnikov.

- ³⁸ Podatke črpam iz arhiva GNI (Inštituta za slovensko narodopisje, Sekcije za glasbeno narodopisje, Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani) in drugih dostopnih virov, s katerimi razpolaga GNI

– includes not only the description and the history of the instruments, but also the entire knowledge of musical instruments, for example, special playing techniques and their musical function, as well as decoration (compared with the construction) and a number of socio-cultural factors.

- ³⁸ The data are taken from the GNI archives of the Institute for Slovene Ethnography, Section of Musical Ethnography of the Scientific Center of the Slovene Academy of Science and Arts in Ljubljana) and other sources available at the GNI.

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Mirko Ramovš

LJUDSKA INSTRUMENTALNA GLASBA IN PLES

Neločljivi del plesa je glasba, ki pa jo moramo široko pojmovati. Glasba je namreč tudi topot nog, ki daje edino zvočno ritmično spremljavo mnogim plesom na Balkanu in jim po krivici rečejo »nema« kola.¹ Z Uskoki je »nemo« kolo prišlo na Slovensko v Belo krajino, kjer ga imenujejo v Predgradu *na trumf*, a v Bojancih *mutasto kolo*. Danes ga »nemo« plešejo le še v Bojancih, medtem ko v Predgradu *na trumf* že spremljajo tamburaši. Še v 2. polovici 19. stol. je bilo »nemo« plesanje v navadi tudi v Starem trgu ob Kolpi, a dandanes o njem ni več sledi, le ritmični in koreografski obrazec dokazujeta, da je ples varianta *mutastega kola* in kola *na trumf*. »Nemi« plesi se pač niso mogli ohraniti v okolju, kjer je bila v navadi instrumentalna spremljava. Bojanci so izjema, saj so sredi gozdov dolga stoletja ostali ločeni od drugih. V slovenskem plesnem izročilu je bilo še nekaj plesov brez instrumentalne ali pevske spremljave, vendar so bile to bolj igre kot plesi, npr. *kovtre šivat*, *vrečo šivat*, *kačo vit*, *zvezda* in dr.²

Na Slovenskem je malo plesov, ki jih spremlja samo pesem. Doma so izključno v Beli krajini (*mostne igre*, *metliško kolo*, *črnomaljsko kolo*, *Pobeledo pole*) in so večinoma uskoškega izvora. Peti plesi so tudi otroški, npr. *Ringa ringa raja*, *Lepa bela lilija*, *Rdeče češnje rada jem*, *Gremo dekline v kolivrat*, *Marička sedi na kamenu*.³

Vsi drugi plesi so imeli izključno instrumentalno spremljavo, le v nekaterih primerih je bila spremljava povezana s petjem. V skupino petoinstrumentalnih plesov spadajo belokranjska kola *Lepa Anka*, *Hruške*, *jabuke*, *slive*, *Igraj*

Mirko Ramovš:

INSTRUMENTAL FOLK MUSIC AND DANCE

Music is an inseparable part of dancing, however, it has to be understood in a broader sense. The stamping of feet can also be considered as music being the only sound accompanying and providing the rhythm for numerous Balkan dances which are unjustifiably named "mute" dances.¹ The "mute" round dance was brought to Bela krajina in Slovenia by the Uskoks. In Predgrad it is named "*na trumf*" and "*mutasto kolo*" (mute dance) in Bojanci. Nowadays it is performed in a "mute" way in Bojanci only, while in Predgrad "*na trumf*" is accompanied by tamburitza players. "Mute" dancing was practised in Stari trg on the Kolpa as far back as the second half of the 19th century, but there is no trace of it nowadays. Only the rhythmic pattern and the choreography show that the dance was a variant of the "mute" round dance and the dance "*na trumf*". "Mute" dances simply could not survive in an environment in which instrumental accompaniment was a custom. Bojanci is an exception, as the village is surrounded by forests and was separated from the rest of the world for hundreds of years. Still other dances exist in the Slovene tradition that were not accompanied either by instrumental music or singing, but they can be considered as games rather than dances. Examples are "*kovtre šivat*", "*vrečo šivat*", "*kačo vit*", "*zvezda*", etc.² There are very few dances in Slovenia that are accompanied by singing only. They are to be found exclusively in Bela krajina (bridge dances, the Metlika and Črnomelj round dances, the Pobeledo pole) and are mostly of Uskok origin. Children's dances, like "Ringa

kolo, *Lipa moja gora zelena*, večina variant plesa z izbiranjem na Štajerskem, Koroškem in Dolenjskem (*povštertanc*) in prekmurska *Marko skače*, v Prekmurju (Goričko), kadar so *ponjave šivali* in v Beltincih, ko se je nevesta poslavljala od doma (*Fsaka ftica je vesela*), na Pohorju tudi pri plesu z nadštevilnim plesalcem (*krajcarski ples*). Skoraj povsod so peli ob *šuštarski*. Pri *zibenšritu*, *mrzulinu*, *šamarjanki*, *potrkani*, *nojkatolišu*, *carski kasi*, *kosmatači*, *špicpolki* in še katerih so le občasno peli parafraze na plesne melodije. Enako pojo ob plesu priložnostno v Reziji, kadar si dajo plesalci duška svojemu veselju. Petje je bilo v navadi tudi pri *štajerišu*, vendar se je izmenjavalo s plesom, ki so ga spremljali godci. Podobno velja za koroški ziljski *prvi rej*.⁴

Instrumentalna spremljava k plesu je bila na Slovenskem različna in se je od časov, ko imamo o njej zanesljivejše podatke, glede na sestav zelo spreminjala. V srednjem veku, verjetno do 16. stol. so bile v navadi dude in različne piščali. V nemški pesmi Seifrieda Helblinga »Der junge Luzidarius« iz ok. 1290 je namreč rečeno:

ringa raja", "Lepa bela lilija", "Rdeče češnje rada jem", "Gremo dekile v kolivrat", "Marička sedi na kamenu" are also sung.³

All the other dances were accompanied by instrumental music, only in some cases the dancers sang in addition. The group of dances that were sung and accompanied by instrumental music includes "Lepa Anka", "Hruške, jabuke, slive", "Igraj kolo", "Lipa moja gora zelena", all of them from Bela krajina. Furthermore, there were most of the variants from Štajersko, Koroško and Dolenjsko in which the dancer had to choose another dancer to continue the dance in the middle of the round such as the "povštertanc". This group also includes "Marko skače" from Prekmurje, the dance called "ponjave šivati" from Goričko, "Fsaka ftica je vesela", which was danced in Beltinci when the bride was taking leave of her family as well as "krajcarski ples", danced on the Pohorje with an extra male dancer. Almost everywhere the dancers sang when dancing the "šuštarska". In the dances called "zibenšrit", "mrzulin", "šamarjanka", "potrkana", "nojkatoliš", "carska kasa", "kosmatača", "špicpolka" and some others, only paraphrases of the melodies were sung occasionally. The same happened in Rezija when dancers wanted to give vent to their joy. Singing was usual in the "štajeriš" as well, but it alternated with musical accompaniment. The same is true of the Koroško "prvi rej", danced in the Zilja valley.⁴

Instrumental accompaniment to dancing has varied in Slovenia in the course of time. Since the time when information became more reliable, it has greatly changed as to its instrumental structure. During the Middle Ages, probably until the 16th century, bagpipes and various flutes were used. In the German song "Der junge Luzidarius" by Seifried Helbling from about 1290 we can read that

... Ze Kreine si wir des gebeten,
daz wir windischen treten
nâch der blâterpffifen ...⁵

O dudah kot spremljavi za ples nam pričajo pristavska freska in podatki o godcih na dude v Beneški Sloveniji.⁶ Ob dudah so plesali, kot poroča B. Hacquet, še v drugi polovici 18. stol. v Ziljski dolini, iz ankete ljubljanskega gubernija⁷ je razvidno, da na Vinici tudi v 1. polovici 19. stol. Fotografija iz leta 1912 pa dokazuje da so bile tam v navadi celo do 1. svetovne vojne.⁸

... Ze Kreine si wir des gebeten
daz wir windischen treten
nâch der blâterpffifen ...⁵

The use of bagpipes as an accompanying instrument is documented by the Pristava fresco and the data about bagpipe players in Venetian Slovenia.⁶ According to the report by B. Hacquet, dancers danced to bagpipe tunes in the second half of the 18th century in the Zilja valley while it can be seen from the survey of the Ljubljana province⁷ that the same was true in Vinica in the first half of the 19th century.



Ples na Gorenjskem, Valvasor, Ehre II./6, str. 279

Gorenjsko dance, Valvasor, Ehre II/6, p. 279

V 17. stol. se tedanjim glasbilom pridružijo gosli, na Valvasorjevem bakrorezu igrata namreč za ples pod lipo goslač in godec na nekakšno prečno flavto.⁹ Poročila iz 18. stol. dokazujejo, da je bil v tem času na večjem delu slovenskega ozemlja (Kranjsko, Koroško, Štajersko) že znan sestav gosli-oprekeljbas.¹⁰ V 19. stol. se, kot je razvidno iz ankete, ki je bila izvedena na Štajerskem (1811–1847)¹¹ in v ljubljanskem guberniju (1838), začno pojavljati tudi druga pihala in trobila, oprekelj pa se umika in počasi tone v pozabo. Tako so znani

Moreover, a photograph taken in 1912 proves that bagpipes were used in Vinica even until the beginning of the First World War.⁸ In the 17th century the usual instruments were joined by the fiddle. In a Valvasor copper engraving a fiddler and a musician playing a kind of transverse flute can be seen playing at a dance under a lime tree.⁹ Reports from the 18th century prove that the instrumental structure of groups included a fiddle, a dulcimer and a bass in most of the Slovene territory (Kranjsko, Koroško, Štajersko).¹⁰ From the survey which was carried out in Štajersko between 1811 and 1847¹¹ and in the Ljubljana province in 1838 it can be seen that other wind and brass instruments started to appear while the dulcimer was retreating and gradually fell into disuse.



Plesni par in godca, panjska končnica, 1832, fotoarhiv SEM

Dancing couple with musicians, beehive end, 1832. SEM photoarchives

različni sestavi, npr. oprekelj-gosli-klarinet, gosli-bas (mali bas na tri strune)-klarinet, gosli-klarinet-trobenta-rog, gosli-klarinet-trobenta, gosli-klarinet-trobenta-bas, gosli-klarinet-rog-bas in tudi pihalne godbe.¹² Citre se pojavijo v 1. polovici 19. stol., toda samostojno le na domačih plesnih zabavah, sicer pa skupaj z drugimi glasbili.¹³ Proti koncu 19. stol. se začne v tedanje godbe vrvati diatonična harmonika. Nastajajo različne godčevske skupine, večkrat bolj po naključju kot po neki ustaljeni navadi. Na začetku 20. stol. je harmonika že popolnoma prevladala in ponekod postala edino godčevsko glasbilo za ples.¹⁴ Tamburaški sestavi so se udomačili v Beli krajini šele pred 1. svetovno vojno in danes obvezno spremljajo tamkajšnje folklorne skupine.¹⁵ Med obema vojnama so v okviru društev ustanavljali tamburaške zборе drugod po Slovenstem, vendar so za ples igrali priložnostno. Pač pa so iz tamburaških zborov često nastale male godčevske skupine, ki so v sestav vključevale tudi druge instrumente, predvsem harmoniko, in postale priljubljena spremljava za ples.¹⁶ Predvsem na Primorskem (Kras, okolica Trsta in Kopra) so bile med obema vojnama za ples na šagrah najbolj iskane godbe na pihala.¹⁷ V Prekmurju so pri večjih plesih in na gostijah igrale bande, sestavljene vsaj iz 4 godcev: 1. in 2. primaša, ki sta igrala na gosli, kontraša, ki je igral na violi, in cimbo-laša. Pri večji zasedbi so bila zraven še druga glasbila kot klarinet, kontrabas in čelo.¹⁸

Thus various instrumental structures were documented, for example, dulcimer-fiddle-clarinet, fiddle-bass (a small three-stringed contrabass)-clarinet, fiddle-clarinet-trumpet-horn, fiddle-clarinet-trumpet, fiddle-clarinet-horn-bass and also brass bands.¹² The zithers appeared in the first half of the 19th century. They were played as the only instrument at domestic dancing parties while at public festivals they were played together with other instruments.¹³ Towards the end of the 19th century the diatonic accordion made its appearance. New groups of musicians were formed incidentally rather than as a rule. At the beginning of the 20th century the accordion completely took over and in some places it became the only instrument played as a dance accompaniment.¹⁴ Tamburitza groups became familiar in Bela krajina only before the First World War and nowadays they regularly accompany folklore dancing groups.¹⁵ Between the two wars tamburitza associations were established all over Slovenia but they played at dances only occasionally. However, tamburitza groups were often split into smaller groups of musicians including other instruments, the accordion above all. These became a popular accompaniment to dancing.¹⁶ Brass bands were very much in demand for playing at dances at church fairs mainly in Primorsko (the Kras, the surroundings of Trieste and Koper) between the two wars.¹⁷ Bands consisting at least of four musicians used to play at bigger dances and weddings in Prekmurje. The band consisted of the 1st and 2nd "primaš", who played the fiddle, a "kontraš", playing the viola, and a cymbalom player. In larger bands other instruments like the clarinet, the contrabass and the cello were included.¹⁸ Nowadays the accordion has replaced the cymbalom and a drum is sometimes used in smal-

Namesto cimbal dandanes navadno igra harmonika, manjšim zasedbam se včasih pridruži tudi boben.¹⁹ V Reziji se je ohranil sestav citre (violine) in bunkule ali brunkule (čelo, ki je zamenjal prvotni mali bas na tri strune). Citravec igra melodijo in na vsako četrtniko udarja z nogo ob tla, medtem ko ga bunkulaš spremlja v burdonu.²⁰ Na domačih zabavah po skupnem delu (ličkanje koruze, obrezovanje repe, česanje perja, steljaraja in dr.) so ob odsotnosti godčevskih skupin ali harmonikarja zadostovala tudi tišja glasbila, npr. citre, trstenke, žvegle, orglice, lončeni bas, često tudi improvizirana glasbila kot glavnik, bršljanovo pero, pokrovke, metlin ročaj, strgala ali žlice v kozarcu. Danes igrajo za ples povsod po Sloveniji sestavi po vzoru znanih ansamblov, kot sta npr. Avsenik in Slak, vendar ima še vedno najpomembnejšo vlogo harmonika, ki je na manjših zabavah in svatbah dostikrat edino glasbilo.²¹

Tako kot plesi novejše plasti so tudi njihove melodije tujega izvora. Vendar so jim slovenski godci dali svoj pečat in s tem slovenski značaj. Ker niso poznali not, so si melodije zapomnili, kot so jih slišali, če je kaj ušlo iz spomina, so jih zaigrali po svoje. Enako se je dogajalo s plesom, zato so se morale melodije prilagoditi tudi tem spremembam. Večina novejših plesnih melodij je dvodelnih (AB), vsak del ima 8 ali 16 taktov, ki sta se navadno pojavljala in odstopanja niso bila pogosta. Dvodelnost je bila povezana s plesom, saj se je melodija lepo prilagajala plesnemu obrazcu. V prvem delu je bilo lahko ploskanje, potrkanje z nogami ob tla, žuganje, odskakovanje, izvajanje različnih gest z neobteženo nogo in pod., v drugem pa polka ali pri tridobnih melodijah valček. Nekatere plesne melodije kot npr. mrzulinova so tridelne (ABC), štajeriševa često

ler groups.¹⁹ In Rezija the following structure has been preserved: the cytira (violin) and bunkula or brunkula (a cello which has replaced the small three-stringed bass). The cytira player plays the melody and beats with his foot every crochet while the bunkula player accompanies him with burden tones.²⁰ On farms, after joint tasks like corn husking, cutting turnips' heads, feather stripping, gathering litter material etc., quieter instruments such as zithers, pan pipes, home made flutes, mouth organs and earthen pot basses were used when no musicians or accordion players were available. Very often simple instruments would be improvised, by using combs, ivy leaves, lids, broom handles, scrapers or spoons in a glass. Nowadays groups modelled after the wellknown "ensembles" like the Avseniks and the Slaks play at dances all over Slovenia, but the accordion still plays the most important role and is often the only instrument played at smaller entertainments and weddings.²¹ Like more recent dances, their melodies are also of foreign origin. However, Slovene musicians have given them a Slovene flavour and character. As they could not play from printed music, they simply remembered the tunes as they heard them and if some part escaped their memory, they played it in their own way. The same happened to dances, so the melodies had to follow the changes as well. Most of the more recent dance melodies consist of two parts (AB), each part containing 8 or 16 bars. The parts were usually repeated and deviations were not frequent. The two-part structure was connected with dancing, the melody accorded with the dance pattern. Hand clapping, beating a foot on the floor, wagging one's finger, jumping, doing various movements with the unweighed foot and similar things were possible in the first part while

večdelna, le da so posamezni deli večinoma variacije prvega (A). Tudi pri štajerišu je spremembi melodije (v B, C itd.) sledila sprememba figure. Melodije štajeriša, mazurke in njenih variant (mrzulin, mašarjanka) imajo praviloma predtakt. Pri štajerišu sta plesalca na predtakt razbremenila nogo, ki je začela ples, pri mrzulinu pa je predtakt pomenil začetek plesa (plesalca sta naredila klec). Pri drugih melodijah se predtakt redkeje pojavlja. Dvodelnost je posebej izrazita v rezijanskih plesnih melodijah, ki se kaže v tem, da igrata godca menjaje enkrat »na tenko« (v D-duru), nato »na towsto« (isto transponirano v G-duru). Ko se plesalci šele pripravljajo na ples, igrata godca melodijo »na tenko«, ples sam pa se začne na melodijo »na towsto«. Oboje se potem ves čas plesa poljubno dolgo izmenjava, plesalci na vsak konec melodije »na tenko« potrkajo z nogo ob tla. Zaključek plesa godec napove s tem, da še enkrat ponovi melodijo »na tanko«. Značilno za rezijanske godce je tudi, da melodijo, ki navadno obsega 8 taktov, radi podaljšujejo z enotaktnimi vložki. Rezijanov pri plesu taka improvizacija ne zmede, ker osnovno melodijo poznajo in se v plesu vsaki spremembi prilagodijo. Podobnih improvizacij so bili vajeni tudi harmonikarji po drugih slovenskih pokrajinah. Zato je včasih prišlo do razhajanja med godci in plesalci, ki s plesom niso mogli slediti vrinjenim trem četrtnkam v sicer dvočetrtnski melodiji in so vmesni korak nekako »pomečkali«. ²²

the second part consisted of a polka, or a waltz in three-time melodies. Some of the dancing melodies, such as the "mrzulin", consist of three parts (ABC). The "štajeriš" frequently contains more parts but the individual parts are mostly variations of the first one (A). In the "štajeriš", the change in melody (in B, C, etc.) was followed by the change in the figure. As a rule, the melodies of the "štajeriš", the mazurka and its variants ("mrzulin", "mašarjanka") have an anacrusis. In the "štajeriš" the dancers shift the weight from the foot starting the dance while in the "mrzulin" the anacrusis itself meant the start of the dance (the dancers made a curtsy). In other melodies the anacrusis does not appear so frequently. The two-part form is particularly distinctive in Resian dance melodies and is shown by the musicians playing alternately "na tenko" (in D-major), then "na towsto" (the same transposed into G-major). As the dancers are preparing for the dance, the musicians play the melody "na tenko", but the dance starts with the melody "na towsto". Both melodies alternate as long as the musicians choose to play. At the end of each melody, the dancers beat a foot on the floor. The musicians announce the end of the dance by repeating the melody "na tenko" once again. It is also characteristic of Resian musicians to prolong the melody, usually consisting of 8 bars, by inserting one-bar pieces. The Resians are not confused by such improvisation as they know the basic melody and adapt to any changes. Accordion players in other regions were also accustomed to improvising in a similar way. This sometimes caused discord between the musicians and the dancers, who could not follow the inserted three crochets in an otherwise two-four melody and had to muddle through the step between. ²²



Nastop rezijanske folklorne skupine, fotoarhiv GNI

Performance by Resian folklore group, GNI photo-archives

Večina plesnih melodij ima dvodobni (2/4) in tridobni (3/4, 3/8) ritem, le v dobršnem delu rezijanskih plesnih melodij in pri ziljskem *prvem reju* se menjavata tridobna in dvodobna mera (3+2/4), kar je znamenje starejšega izročila. Menjajoča se tridobna in dvodobna mera rezijanskih melodij ne vpliva na ritem plesa, ker daje citiravec plesalcem enakomeren ritem s tem, da udarja na vsako četrtniko z

Most of the melodies have a two-time (2/4) and a three-time (3/4, 3/8) rhythm. Only in a considerable part of the Resian dancing melodies and in the Zilja "prvi rej" are the three-time and the two-time measure (3+2/4) played alternately, which is a sign of an older tradition. The changing three-time and two-time measure of the Resian melody does not influence the rhythm of the dancing as the fiddler gives a regular rhythm by beating his foot on the floor at every crochet. The dancers adapt themselves to the rhythm, consequently there

nogo ob tla. Temu ritmu se podrejajo, zato v plesu ni razlik, če igra godec dvodobno ali menjajočo se $2+3/4$ melodijo. Vendar je zanimivo, da Rezijani raje plešejo na »viže« z menjajočim ritmom.²³ Ritem melodije in plesa pa se opazno razhajata pri ziljskem *prvem reju*, kjer je melodija v menjajoči tridobni in dvodobni meri, medtem ko ima ples stalno tridobno. Oba ritma se ujemata le v prvem in sedmem (pri plesu šestem) taktu.²⁴

are no differences in the dancing no matter whether the musicians play the two-time or the alternating $3+2/4$ melody. However, it is interesting to know that the Resians prefer dancing to tunes with an alternating rhythm.²³ On the other hand the rhythm and the dancing differ visibly in the Zilja "prvi rej", where the melody has an alternating three-time measure and a two-time measure while the measure of the dancing is an unchanging three-time one. Both rhythms correspond only in the first and the seventh bar (the sixth bar in the dance).²⁴

France Marolt found this rhythm confusing so



Ritem melodije $3+2/4$

The rhythm of the melody



Ritem plesa $3/4$

The rhythm of the dance

Razhajanje je motilo Franceta Marolta, zato je domačine iz Ziljske doline, ki so ob Koroškem dnevu v Ljubljani leta 1935 prikazali štehvanje s prvim rejem,²⁵ popravljaj, tako da so na nastopu plesali, kot se je F. Maroltu zdelo prav: da sta se namreč melodični in plesni ritem ujemala. V Hrovatinovem opisu prvega reja iz Čače v letu 1951²⁶ se melodični in plesni ritem

he corrected the native group from the Zilja valley when they performed the "prvi rej" at the "štehanje" at the Carinthia Day festivity in Ljubljana in 1935. At the performance they danced as F. Marolt thought correct, that is, the dancing rhythm of the music were the same. Hrovatin's description of the "prvi rej" as it was danced in Čače in 1951²⁶ also reports that the

tudi ujemata. Zato njegov opis dopušča domnevo, da razhajanje plesnega in melodičnega ritma ni bilo značilno za vso Ziljsko dolino, ampak le za posamezne vasi (npr. Zahomec) in celo, da je ta lastnost morda značilna razkroja. Je bil torej Maroltov poseg razumljiv in upravičen?

Pri plesu je zelo pomembna vloga godca, saj je od njega odvisno, ali gre ples »v noge«. Igrati mora ritmično in ujeti pravi tempo, da se plesalci razživijo v plesu. Med godci in plesalci mora biti sodelovanje, dobri plesalci spodbujajo godce k temperamentnejši igri. »Če so slabi plesalci, jih tudi gledati ne smeš. Če ni znal plesati in če sem ga gledal, sem se tudi jaz zmotil. Če je dobro plesal, se mi zdi, da mi je kar pomagal,« je pripovedoval godec Anton Intihar, p.d. Jurmanov iz Zavrha na Bloški planoti.²⁷ Zanimivo je, da plesne »viže«, ki so jih godci odigrali ob snemanju pred mikrofonom, torej brez plesalcev, skoraj nikoli niso bile zaigrane v pravem plesnem tempu prav zaradi tega, ker godec ni igral za ples. Zato so pogosto ritmično labilne. Godci so ob snemanju večkrat poudarili, da jih odsotnost plesalcev moti.²⁸ Za ples ima pomembno vlogo tudi glasbilo. Na javnih plesih je bila večja instrumentalna zasedba nujna, medtem ko je v manjšem zaprtem prostoru zadostovalo že eno glasbilo. Za ples v ritmu valčka in polke je kot nalašč ustvarjena diatonična harmonika in ni čudno, da je tako hitro izpodrinila tišje in ne-nejše instrumente, kot sta violina in oprekelj.

rhythm of the melody and the dancing were in accordance with one another. His description allows us to assume that the discordance between the dancing rhythm and the rhythm of the melody was not characteristic of the whole Zilja valley but only of some of the villages (Zahomec, for example). Moreover, this quality may even be a sign of disintegration. Was, then, Marolt's intervention understandable and justified? The role of the musician is very important in the dance as it depends on him if the dancers feel it in their feet. He has to keep the rhythm and a suitable pace so that the dancers can get into a proper mood for dancing. There has to be cooperation between the musician and the dancers. Good dancers encourage the musician to more sorted playing. "If the dancers are no good, you mustn't even look at them. If someone couldn't dance well and I looked at him, I made mistakes. If they danced well, they seemed to help me," said Anton Intihar, known as Jurmanov from Zavrha on Bloška planota.²⁷

It may be interesting to learn that the dancing tunes played by the musicians while they were recording them, that is, without dancers, were hardly ever played at an appropriate dancing pace precisely due to the fact that the musicians were not playing for dancing. For this reason the tunes are rhythmically unstable and the musicians have often stressed that they were disturbed by the absence of dancers during the recording.²⁸ The instrument is also very important in dancing. At public dances a large instrumental group was essential while in small indoor places one instrument was sufficient. The diatonic accordion is just right for dancing in the rhythm of a waltz or a polka. It is thus not surprising that it has replaced quieter and finer instruments such as the violin and the dulcimer.

Opombe

- ¹ J. Dopuđa, Sistem razvrstavanja narodnih igara (plesova) Bosne i Hercegovine – po oblicima. – Bilten Instituta za proučavanje folkloru u Sarajevu, Sarajevo 1951, str. 30.
- ² M. Ramovš, Plesat me pelji, Ljubljana 1980, str. 47.
- ³ M. Ramovš, o.c., str. 47–48.
- ⁴ M. Ramovš, o.c., passim.
- ⁵ Z. Kumer, Ljudska glasbila in godci, Ljubljana 1983, str. 9.
- ⁶ Z. Kumer, o.c., str. 9–10.
- ⁷ B. Hacquet, Abbildung und Beschreibung der südwest- und östlichen Wenden-Illyrer und Slaven, I. Theil, Leipzig 1801, str. 16. Odgovori na okrožnico o noši, zabavah in plesih, ki jo je poslal gubernijski prezidij petim kresijam pred nameravanim cesarjevim obiskom v Ljubljani. Prepis gradiva je v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju.
- ⁸ Kopija fotografije se nahaja v arhivu Sekcije za glasbeno narodopisje Inštituta za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU (dalje SGN).
- ⁹ J. W. Valvasor, Die Ehre des Herzogthums Krain, Laibach 1689, VI. Buch, II. Capittel, str. 279.
- ¹⁰ B. Hacquet, o.c., passim.
- ¹¹ Odgovori na anketo, ki so jo po naročilu nadvojvode Janeza izvedli na Štajerskem. Gradivo je v Štajerskem deželnom muzeju v Gradcu pod imenom Göthova serija. Prepisi so v Institutu za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU.
- ¹² Z. Kumer, o.c., str. 133–134.
- ¹³ Z. Kumer, o.c., str. 64–65.
- ¹⁴ Z. Kumer, o.c., str. 89; M. Ramovš, o.c., str. 49.
- ¹⁵ Z. Kumer, o.c., str. 83–84; M. Ramovš, o.c., str. 49.
- ¹⁶ Podatki iz arhiva SGN ISN.
- ¹⁷ Podatki iz arhiva SGN ISN.
- ¹⁸ Z. Kumer, o.c., str. 150.
- ¹⁹ Podatki iz arhiva SGN ISN.
- ²⁰ M. Ramovš, o.c., 39, J. Strajnar, Citira, Instrumentalna glasba v Reziji, Videm-Trst 1988, passim.

Notes

- ¹ J. Dopuđa, Sistem razvrstavanja narodnih igara (plesova) Bosne i Hercegovine – po oblicima (The system of classifying folk dances from Bosnia and Herzegovina according to form). – Bilten Instituta za proučavanje folkloru u Sarajevu, Sarajevo 1951, p. 30.
- ² M. Ramovš, Plesat me pelji (Let me dance), Ljubljana 1980, p. 47.
- ³ M. Ramovš, op. cit., pp. 47–48.
- ⁴ M. Ramovš, op. cit., passim.
- ⁵ Z. Kumer, Ljudska glasbila in godci (Folk Instruments and Folk Musicians), Ljubljana 1983, p. 9.
- ⁶ Z. Kumer, op. cit., pp. 9–10.
- ⁷ B. Hacquet, Abbildung und Beschreibung der südwest- und östlichen Wenden-Illyrer und Slaven, I. Theil, Leipzig 1801, p. 16. Answers to the questionnaire concerning national costumes, entertainment and dances, sent by the provincial presidium to five local governments before the expected imperial visit to Ljubljana. A copy of the materials can be found in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum.
- ⁸ A copy of the photograph can be seen in the archives of the Section for Musical Ethnography at the Institute of Slovene Ethnography The Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (henceforth SAZU).
- ⁹ J. W. Valvasor, Die Ehre des Herzogthums Krain, Laibach 1689, VI. Buch, II. Capittel, p. 279.
- ¹⁰ B. Hacquet, op. cit., passim.
- ¹¹ Answers obtained by a survey which was carried out in Štajersko and commissioned by Archduke Johann. The materials can be seen in the Styrian provincial Museum in Graz under the title of the Göth Series. Copies can be found at the Institute of Slovene Ethnography ZRC SAZU.
- ¹² Z. Kumer, op. cit., pp. 133–134.
- ¹³ Z. Kumer, op. cit., pp. 64–65.
- ¹⁴ Z. Kumer, op. cit., p. 89; M. Ramovš, op. cit., p. 149.
- ¹⁵ Z. Kumer, op. cit., pp. 83–84; M. Ramovš,

- ²¹ Podatki iz arhiva SGN ISN.
- ²² M. Ramovš, o.c., passim.
- ²³ J. Strajnar, o.c., str. 143–206; M. Ramovš, o.c., str. 49–50, 375–374; Podatki iz arhiva SGN ISN.
- ²⁴ M. Ramovš, Visoki ali prvi rej? – Traditiones, 17, Ljubljana 1988, str. 200–201.
- ²⁵ Podatki iz arhiva SGN ISN.
- ²⁶ M. Ramovš, Visoki ali prvi rej?, str. 197–199.
- ²⁷ Z. Kumer, o.c., str. 163.
- ²⁸ Podatki iz arhiva SGN ISN.
- op. cit., p. 49
- ¹⁶ Data from the SGN ISN archives
- ¹⁷ Data from the SGN ISN archives
- ¹⁸ Z. Kumer, op. cit., p. 150
- ¹⁹ Data from the SGN ISN archives
- ²⁰ M. Ramovš, op. cit., 39; J. Strajnar, Citera, inštrumentalna glasba v Reziji (The Fiddle, Instrumental Music in Rezija), Videm-Trst 1988, passim.
- ²¹ Data from the SGN ISN archives
- ²² M. Ramovš, op. cit., passim
- ²³ J. Strajnar, op. cit., pp. 143–206; M. Ramovš, op. cit., pp. 49–50, 374–375; Data from the SGN ISN archives
- ²⁴ M. Ramovš, Visoki ali prvi rej? ("Visoki" or "prvi rej?"), Traditiones, 17, Ljubljana 1988, pp. 200–201
- ²⁵ Data from the SGN ISN archives
- ²⁶ M. Ramovš, Visoki ali prvi rej? ("Visoki" or "prvi rej?"), pp. 197–199
- ²⁷ Z. Kumer, op. cit., p. 163
- ²⁸ Data from the SGN ISN archives



Ilustacija k Cankarjevemu Kurentu, Božidar Jakac, 1920

Komaj je harmonika začutila
Kurentove roke, je zapela, kakor
ni pela nikoli poprej.

Illustration of Cankar's Kurent by Božidar Jakac, 1920

Marjetka Golež

GLASBENI INSTRUMENTI V SLOVENSKI KNJIŽEVNOSTI

V slovenski književnosti najdemo zelo pogosto omenjene glasbene instrumente (godce) v različnih vlogah in z različnimi pomeni, posebno v tistih literarnih obdobjih, ki poudarjajo medsebojno vplivanje zvočnosti in pomena besed, in tistih, ki so kakorkoli močneje povezani z glasbo. Zato lahko pojav instrumentov v slovenski književnosti opazujemo na dveh ravneh: na zvočni in pomenski, ki se medseboj prepletata in skupaj ustvarjata vizualno predstavo. Prepletanje je torej lahko zvočno učinkovito: npr. beseda *citre* in njena predmetna predstava¹ lahko v zavesti bralca sproži spomin na glasbeni doživljaj povezan z njo (slika instrumenta in njegova melodija), v posameznem literarnem delu pa instrument lahko postane metafora ali simbol, ali pa izraža nadpomene, ki mu jih v posameznem kontekstu doda ustvarjalec sam. Posebno pa je pomembno kako pojav instrumenta učinkuje skupaj s sosednjimi besedami (predvsem pridevniki in prislovi) v stavku, odstavku, kitici, celotnem besedilu. Instrument je lahko motiv, »leit motiv«, glavni motiv, celo téma. V daljšem besedilu je lahko ponavljajoči se simbol kot gibalo celotnega teksta, ali pa metafora za nekaj drugega – npr. za človeka, kar vidimo v slovenski moderni in ekspresionizmu.

Kakšni oziroma kateri instrumenti so v določenem besedilu, je prav gotovo odvisno od časa v katerem je besedilo nastajalo, od namena besedila, zvrsti in vrste besedila in stila obdobja ter osebnega stila ustvarjalca. Zaradi prostorske omejenosti te razprave se žal ne bomo mogli razgledati po celotnem korpusu naše slovenske literarne ustvarjalnosti, paš pa bomo zajeli le tista literarna obdobja, ki so na posebni način vključevala pojav in vlogo in-

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN SLOVENE LITERATURE

Musical instruments (and folk musicians) are frequently mentioned in Slovene literature in various roles and meanings, particularly in those literary periods which emphasize the inter-relational influence of sound and the meaning of words, as well as those which are in a way closely connected with music. Thus the appearance of instruments in Slovene literature can be observed on two levels, that of sound and meaning, which are mutually intertwined in the creation of visual presentation. This intertwining can be tonally effective: e.g. the word *zither* and its material presentation¹ can trigger off, in the consciousness of the reader, the reminiscence of a musical experience connected with it (i.e. the picture of the instrument and its melody), whereas in the individual literary work the instrument can become a metaphor or symbol, or express overtones which are added to the context by the author. It is particularly important how the phenomenon of the instrument acts together with the adjoining words (especially adjectives and adverbs) in the sentence, paragraph, verse, the whole text. The instrument can be motif i.e. the "leit motif" (the main motif), or even theme. In a longer text it can be a repetitive symbol acting as a motif of the entire text, or the metaphor for something else, for example man, which can be seen in the Slovene "Moderna" or expressionism.

Which or what kind of instruments appear in a text certainly depends on the time in which the text was created, the aim of the text, its genre and kind, as well as the style of the period and the author. Given limited space, the author of this treatise will, unfortunately, not be able to look at the entire bulk of Slovene literary out-

štrumentov v njih. Ta tekst torej obravnava ljudsko pesništvo, slovensko moderno in ekspresionizem ter sodobno slovensko poezijo. Poskušali bomo na motivu, ki se pojavlja v treh literarnih obdobjih, pokazati, kakšno vlogo in pomen imajo inštrumenti (godci) v teh tekstih, in kakšen način predstavitve le-teh uporablja ustvarjalec. Ta literarna triada obsega ljudsko pesem Godec pred pekom, »starodavno pripovedko« Kurent Ivana Cankarja in sodobno pesem Godec pred peklom Vena Tauferja.

Rekli smo že, da imajo glasbeni inštrumenti poleg svojega prvotnega pomena lahko še nadpomen, da so v literarnem delu zato, da vključeni v njegovo idejno strukturo kot simbol, sporočajo še neko nadresnico. Ker pa literarni ustvarjalec upošteva še primarni pomen inštrumenta in njegovo vlogo v resničnem življenju, so zato taka literarna dela povezana z glasbo.²

Ždi se, da je že Cankar spoznal, »da je mitični pravir umetnosti ljudska pesem in godba s plesom«,³ zato začnemo našo analizo prav z ljudsko pesmijo. Ljudska pesem pa je kot peta pesem prav posebno povezana z glasbo. V njej so inštrumenti vedno povezani s človekom in z njegovim vsakdanjikom. Inštrument je v njegovih rokah, sam ga oblikuje, izdela in nanj igra, inštrument skupaj z godcem odseva življenjsko resničnost,⁴ le včasih je personificiran ali simboliziran. Inštrumenti so v ljudskem pesništvu del vsakdanjega in prazničnega življenja, s svojo ilustrativno in tudi raznoliko pomensko vlogo v pesmi predstavljajo tudi tiste trenutke v življenju človeka ljudske pesmi, ki so tesno povezani z glasbo, plesom, ljubeznijo, s smrtjo ... Naj navedemo nekaj primerov:

put, but will devote herself to those literary periods which in a special way included the phenomenon and the role of instruments. This text, then, deals with folk poetry, the Slovene "Moderna" and expressionism, as well as contemporary Slovene poetry. A motif appearing in three different literary periods will serve as an example of the role and meaning of instruments (or musicians) in these texts and the presentation applied by their authors. This literary triad contains the traditional poem "The Folk Musician at the Gates of Hell", the "ancient tale" of Kurent by Ivan Cankar and the contemporary poem "The Musician at the Gates of Hall" by Veno Taufer.

It has been mentioned that, apart from their original, musical instruments have an additional meaning which justifies their inclusion in a literary work. They are included as symbols in the idea of the work, thus conveying an additional truth. Since the author of a literary work also takes into account the primary meaning of the instruments and their role in real life, such works are connected with music.²

It seems that Cankar realized that "the mythical ancient source of art is the folk song and music accompanied by dancing".³ This is our reason for beginning this analysis with folk poetry. The traditional poem which is sung is particularly closely connected with music. In it instruments refer to people and their everyday lives. The instrument is in people's hands. They model it, produce it and play it. The instrument and the musician reflect real life.⁴ Only here and there is it personified or symbolized. In traditional poetry instruments are part of everyday life, holidays included. With their illustrative and manifold meaning they also represent those moments in people's lives found in a folk song which are closely connected with music, dancing, love and death ...

Let me mention a few examples:

Kteri hoče hohcet met,
mora *muzikante* met:
z arfami, klenetami
ino tudi *trompetami*.
(Š 6109)⁵

To celebrate a wedding,
musicians with harps, clarinets
and trumpets should be invited.

Kdor pa voče plesat jet,
more dnarce zraven štet',
*z orglam*⁶ al s *klenetam*
al pa s *trobentam*.
(Š 6111)

To go dancing some money must be
given to accordion players,
clarinetists and trumpeters.

Z gajžlo bom poknil,
da glas poleti
na velbasto kamro,
čjer dečla leži.
(Š 3280)

I'll crack the whip so that
its sound will fly into the
room where my sweetheart
sleeps.

Prešmentane *citre*
kak *lepo pojo*
da ne morem jes slišati
dočvo mojo.
(Š 3661-3665)

The confounded zither sings
so beautifully that I cannot
hear my sweetheart.

Bobni bodo ropotali,
boj krvavi napovdvali ...
(Š 6865)

The drums will rattle and
announce a bloodbath ...

Oj, ta *soldaški boben*,
ta bo moj *ta velki zvon*.
Oj, ta mi bo *zazvonil*,
kadar jaz umrl bom.
(Š 7108-7120)

The drum in the marching band
will be my church bell
to ring when I die.

Ljudska pesem odseva veliko raznovrstnost instrumentov, izdelavo, načine igranja, časovna obdobja v katerih se je neko glasbilo uporabljalo, priložnosti za igranje ...

The folk song reflects a large variety of instruments, their make, ways of playing, the periods in which an instrument was used and occasions when it was played.

Miška je *citre igrala*,
Zajčka dva sta pa plesala.
Veverca j' na *prekli bila*,
Polha dva sta pa *trobila*.
Dihur je na *boben treskal*,
da se je res pod potreskal.
Godci pa so zraven stali,
So *piskáli*, so *piskáli*.
(Š 972)

The mouse played the zither,
the squoirrel hammered the
dulcimer, the doormice sounded
the trumpet, the polecat beat
the drum, the rabbits danced
and the musicians piped.

Dva zajca sta *citrالا*,
Miš na *gosli ciglala*,
Jeverca je na *prekl bila*,
Dva povha sta *trobila*.

The rabbits plucked the strings
on the zither, the mouse played the
violin, the squirrel hammered the
dulcimer and the doormice sounded
the trumpet.

*Pertisni šenterijo*⁷
potegni na bas ...
Me bo slišala ljubca
in cela ta vas.
(Š 3634)

If I tap on the dulcimer and
play the bass, my sweetheart
and the whole village will
hear me.

Po malnu hodi mlinar mlad,
ter žvižga, poje prav lepo,
še lepši *piska na peró*.⁸
(Š 359)

The miller walks around his mill,
whistles and sings but he is
best when blowing a leaf.

Moja *piščalka* je *suha*,
mi *noče več pet*,
moja ljubca je gluha,
mi neče odpret.
(Š 2087)

My pipe is dry and does not want
to sing. My sweetheart is deaf and
does not want to let me in.

Inštrumente opisuje tako kot jih vidi, z inštrumentom ponazarja ljudska pesem tudi emotivna stanja ljudi v pesmi:

In a folk song instruments are described as they appear. It also contains emotional states of people:

Da b' *brumbice*^{8A} mela,
Igrala si bi!
Zdaj *žveglico* imam,
Pa igrat ne znam!

Sa b' *brumbice*^{8A} mela,
Si *brumbala* bi!
Zdaj *brumbice* mam,
pa si *brumbat* ne znam.

Da b' ljubega mela,
Ljubila ga bi!
Zdaj ljubega mam,
Pa ga ljubiti ne znam!
(Š 1349)

If I had a "žveglica" (wooden flute)
and a "brumbica" (a stringed folk
instrument), I'd play them. If I
had a sweetheart, I'd love him.
Now I have him, but don't know
how to love him.

Inštrument se lahko pojavi kot »čudežno« glasbilo, s katerim človek ljudske pesmi rešuje svojega dragega iz brezizhodne situacije. To vidimo v pesmi Romar sv. Jakoba Komposteljskega:

The instrument can appear as a "magic" musical device by means of which the character in the folk song tries to rescue her lover from a hopeless situation. This can be seen in the song of the "Pilgrim" by St. James of Compostello.

To je zvedila kraljica.
Se naprav po romarsko,
Se držala kot srotica,
Z' sabo vzela *citrice*,
Aj te *citre pisane*.
Šla v' Turčijo globoko.
Gor in dol po Turškem gre,
In je *citrata lepo*.
(Š 37)

The queen put on a pilgrim's
clothes, took the colourful zither
and went to Turkey to rescue
her husband from Turkish captivity
with her beautiful playing.

V bajeslovni pesmi Gosli iz človeškega telesa izdajo umor je opis delov čudežnega inštrumenta in njegova izdelava. Glasbilo, narejeno iz umorjenčevega telesa, izda umor:⁹

In the mythical song of the "Human fiddle which discovers a murder", there is a description of this magic instrument and its make. The instrument made from the body of the murdered man betrays the murderer.⁹

Peršu je ribič ribce l^uovit,
 ujev je nu čudnu ribicu,
 z ročic je naredu l^uokiče,
 s perstu je naredu šravbiče,
 z leščiču je naredu strunice,
 ne b^leli grad je u g^uosti šew.
 On je začiew milo gosti,
 an starši milo jokati.
 (SLP 52)

A fisherman caught a strange
 little fish from whose hands
 he made a bow, from its fingers
 he made pegs, from its hair,
 strings, and then he went up to
 the white castle and began to
 play sweetly.

Večkrat je instrument tudi personificiran, tako, da poje in govori:

The instrument is frequently personified, singing and speaking in the following way:

Slišal sem bobnati na glas,
 Citra pravi tudi,
 Škentič¹⁰ pravi: »K ljubi
 Gremo v vas!«
 (Š 5279/3)

The drum can be heard,
 the zither sounds and the violin
 says that we should go to see
 our sweetheart.

Prav tako je v pesmi lahko tudi človek primerjan z instrumentom (postava, glas):

In the song, a human being can be compared with an instrument (body, voice):

In tanka ko strunica
 tak moja je ljubica.
 (Š 1087)

My sweetheart is as slender as
 a string.

Še lepše golči,
 kak struna brni.
 (Š 1085)

My sweetheart sings more sweetly
 than a string.

Poleg že prej navedenih instrumentov naj naštejemo še nekaj glasbil, ki se pogosto pojavljajo v ljudski pesmi: gosli (Š 3632); lajna (Š 137); orgle (kot naziv za harmoniko), klenete (klarinet), trobenta (Š 6111); šenterija (opreke-lj), bas (Š 3634); tambur (Š 7003); vojaški boben (Š 7108, 7110); klarinet, trompeta, pomprdon, harmonika (Š 8352) ...

In če je ljudska pesem predvsem odsevala življenje ljudi, pa je za slovensko moderno značilno, da odseva ustvarjalčevo notranje vide-nje sveta, njegovo lastno čutenje sveta in ljudi. In tako se v tem literarnem obdobju prepletata impresionistična in simbolistična poetika, ki sta bili bolj kot kdaj koli prej tesno povezani z glasbo: »Cankar si je pravo pesniško besedo predstavljal le skupaj z muziko in ritmom, z melodijo in gibanjem.«¹¹ Zato ni čudno, da je v tem obdobju literarni ustvarjalec v svojih tekstih uporabil najrazličnejše instrumente, ki so včasih del pesnikovega razpoloženja, njegovih vtisov, pa drugič spet »simbolistična muzikalna beseda.«¹²

V Murnovi pesmi z naslovom Pesem (Pesmi, 1979, str. 159) zvon v njej ni več zvon ljudske pesmi, zvon farne cerkvice, pač pa sta njegova podoba in zvok izraz pesnikovega notranjega sveta, je impresija njegove duše:

1. Na nebu visokem
bledijo zvezde,
v daljavi, čuj, *rahlo*
zvonovi zvone ...
2. *Glase se kot sanje*
o rajskih željah,
glase, oh, ko pesem
o utekljih solzah.
5. Tak mirno je v duši,
tak čudno lahkó –
Ah, mislim, *zvonovi*
so peli takó ...

Apart from the above mentioned instruments there are others which frequently appear in folk songs: violins (Š 3632); street organ (Š 137), organ (as the diatonic accordion was called informally), clarinet, trumpet (Š 6111), dulcimer, bass (Š 3634), tambour (Š 7003), drum (Š 7108, 7110); clarinet, trumpet, double bass, accordion (Š 8352) ...

If folk song reflected the life of the people Slovene "Moderna" was characterized by the author's internal vision of the world and his own feeling for the world and the people in it. Thus, impressionist and symbolist poetries, which were more than ever linked with music merged in this literary period: "Cankar's idea of genuine poetic speech was that it should be accompanied by music and rhythm, melody and movement."¹¹ Thus it is not surprising that in this period creative writers used all kinds of instruments in their texts which were sometimes part of their mood and impressions, and at other times they represented "symbolist musical speech."¹²

In Murn's poem entitled "Poem" (Poems, 1979, p. 159) the bell is not the same as in the folk song i.e. the bell of the parish church, but its image and sound are the expression of the poet's internal world, the impression of his soul:

... in the distance the bells are
softly ringing ...

They sound like dreams of Eden
or a song of tears.

I think that the bells have sung so ...

Zdi se, da je to tipična impresionistična pesem, saj je sam Murn leta 1898 pisal I. Šorliju, »... da mu je lirika predvsem dokument, izraz čustvovanja, razpoloženja.«¹³ Da mu je »... »važen tudi harmonični človek, krepko življenje in veličastna narava...«,¹⁴ pa kaže tudi tretja kitica Jesenske pesmi (Pesmi, 1979, str. 61), kjer je zvon kot znanilec človeške smrti, prikazan vzporedno z močjo narave:

3. Motna kot mogočni vali
silna reka proč drvi
in nekje tam daleč, daleč
zvon na zadnjo pot zvoni...

This seems to be a typical impressionist poem, as Murn himself wrote to I. Šorli in 1898: "... that a lyrical poem is mainly a document, the expression of emotion or mood".¹³ That to him "a harmonious human being, a wholesome life and magnificent nature are also important..."¹⁴ is evident from the third verse of "Autumn Poem (Poems, 1939, p. 61) where the bell is the epitome of human death, parallel to the power of nature:

... the death-bell tolls ...

Prav gotovo pa je najbolj značilna pesem v Murnovem pesniškem opusu pesem Vlahi (Pesmi 1979, str. 102), kjer je vloga instrumenta *dude ali diple z mehom*¹⁵ zelo nazorna. Žalostni zvoki, ki jih iz tega instrumenta izvajajo Vlahi, so izraz njihove stiske, ko se utrujeni potikajo po svetu. Instrument tako izraža razpoloženje celotne pesmi, slišijo se otožni zvoki nekega sveta. Vtis, ki so ga na pesnika naredile podobe teh ljudi, je zlit v skupno melodijo celotne pesmi... Ali kot pravi Cankar: »... z vsakim obrazom, vsakim pogledom, z vsako besedo je združena melodija. Barve so zbledele, besede so pozabljene, ostala je melodija.«¹⁶ (Melodija, 1914)

Z mehovi pod pasho gredo,
v dolgih plaščih suknenih gredo,
k tlom sklonjeno glavó,
vsi imajo visoko telo
in držijo se žalostno,
da nikoli tako.

Definitely the most characteristic of Murn's poems is the one called "Vlahi" (Poems, 1979, p. 102), where the role of *bag-pipes*¹⁵ is clearly seen. Sad sounds elicited from this instrument by the Vlahi people are the expression of their distress when they sadly roam through the world. The instrument conveys the mood of the whole poem, in which melancholy is heard from a certain world. The impression made by these people on the poet merges with the melody of the poem. Or, as Cankar says: "... each face, each look, each word linked to a melody... The colours have faded, the words are forgotten, but the melody has remained."¹⁶ (Melodija, 1914)

They walk with pipes tucked
under their arms ...

*S piščalmi na ustnih gredo,
v klobukih širokih gredo
in zdaj z desno roko
piščali prebirajo žalostno,
da nikoli tako.*

*Z mehovi pod pasho gredo
v dolgih plaščih suknenih gredo
pa v klobukih širokih gredo –
in zapiskajo še v slovo,
da nikoli tako.*

Tako se zdi, da instrumenti v večini pesmi slovenske moderne izražajo ubranost med snovnim in duševnim, med naravo in človekom – a le za hip! Dragotin Kette že razširja vtisnost pesmi z metafiziko in zato v pesnitvi *Moj Bog II* v prvi in drugi kitici (*Izbrano delo*, 1977, str. 77) uporabi liro kot »nebeški instrument«, njen zvok je otožen in oznanja smrt:

*A tu ni govora o koncu, ni . . .
Globoko brezno sije pred menoj.
In liro mojo, ki na dnu leži,
zakriva z nepremaganoj temoj.*

*Le malo strun napetih je na nji,
in skoz temo duha še mali broj
le malo- malokdaj se oglasi
z obupa polnoj, žalostnoj tožboj.*

*They hold their flutes to their mouths . . .
Their right hands entice sad
tunes from their instruments . . .*

They give a farewell whistle . . .

Thus it appears that instruments in most poems by the Slovene Modernists express a harmony between the material and the spiritual, nature and man – but only for a moment! Dragotin Kette extends the impression of the poem to metaphysics, and in his poem "*Moj Bog II*" in the first and second verses (*Selected works*, 1977, p. 77) he uses a lyre as a "heavenly instrument". Its sound is melancholy and announces death:

And my lyre . . .

*Its sounds are full of
despair and grief.*

Tudi Oton Župančič v svojih pesmih uporablja in zgosti vse glavne principe impresionistične tehnike: načelo trenutka, svetlobe, zvoka, gibanja in dosledne snovnosti. V prvi kitici pesmi Poetu (Izbrane pesmi 1978, str. 41) so glasovi zvonov podobni letajočim golobicam. V tem primeru prehaja zvočno-vizualni vtis v simboliko. Ali z besedami Franca Zadravca: »Župančič kar naprej 'snema' z očesno kamero in sluhom svetlobne in barvne odenke, trepete, šume...¹⁷

Oton Župančič also applied impressionist techniques, assembling the main principles: the moment, light, sound, movement and consistent materialism. In the first verse of the poem "Poetu" (Selected works, 1978, p. 41), the sounds of bells are reminiscent of flying doves. In this case the tonal-visual impression merges with symbolism. Or as Franc Zadavec says: "Župančič keeps on 'shooting a film' by means of his eye camera and his ear, producing shades of light and colour, trepidation and noises...¹⁷

*Sami so razmajali se zvonovi
v ta lepi dan,
kot golobica v soncu jim glasovi
hite čez plan.*

The bells unleashed themselves...

Their sounds hurry across the countryside like doves...

Močna čustvena doživetja, viharne dogajanja v človeški duši Župančič vzporedno primerja z zvoki zvonov ob viharju v naravi. Tako v pesmi Vihar (Delo Otona Župančiča, 1976, str. 58, 59) zvonovi ne pojo več ubrano, pač pa se njihov zvok popolnoma podreja silam narave, ki pa pravzaprav ponazarjajo divje strasti v človeški duši:

Župančič compares strong emotional experience and stormy movements in the human soul with the sounds of bells in a thunderstorm. Thus is the poem "Vihar" (Works of O. Župančič, 1976, pp. 58, 59) the bells do not ring harmoniously but subordinate their ringing to the powers of nature which, as it were, illustrate the wild passions in the human soul:

*Zvon je zaječal, zvon na oblak,
veter raztrgal mu je prošnjo,
vrgel jo v mrak,
razbil ob goró;
obnemogel zvok je vsak,
grom gospodari v žrelu prostorja...*

The bell wailed...

It clashed with the mountain;
its sound grew feeble...

V Župančičevi pesnitvi *Duma* (Izbrane pesmi, 1978, str. 61) je izrazita zvočnost nadgrajena še s simboliko. Instrument, ki to sporoča je zopet zvon in ta izraža stisko slovenskih izseljencev. Zvon je zamenjal človeško tožbo, v tej pesmi je simbolični instrument človeške stiske. Pesnik z zvokom stopnjuje notranjo napetost v pesmi, izraziti ritem in zvočno barvanje ustvarja posebno melodijo in vizualizira situacijo. Naj navedemo še besede Franca Zadravca: »Nekateri vtisni motivi opozarjajo, da svetlobna senzacija včasih ponazarja »pojem« pa tudi zvok ...»¹⁸ (npr.: zvok zvona *pada črno*, je v tem primeru sinestezija):

Hamburk, Hamburk! – *Véliki zvon*
poje ji, *bije*,
toži, *vpije*,
pada trdó na njeno glavo.
Hamburk, Hamburk! – *pada črnó*,
meša se, lije,
vse *ovije*
v svojo *motnjavo, zemljo in nebó*.

Tudi v dramsko delo, v enodejanko *Noč na verne duše* Župančič vplete zvon. (Izbrano delo, 1976, str. 21, 22, 27) V njej je »manjši zvon za skrajno uro« glavni motiv te dramske pesnitve ali drame v dušah. Župančič uporabi avditivno senzacijo »cimbelika, cimbeliik« in s tem doseže srhljivo ozračje slutnje smrti. Cimbelikati pomeni oznanjati smrt. Za glavne osebe te drame je značilno, da močno slišijo. Zvon jim ne poje več, pač pa vpije, ječi, jih opozarja in oznanja nek strašen dogodek. Zvoki so neke vrste projekcija ali zapis duše posamezne ose-

In Župančič's poem "*Duma*" (Selected Poems, 1978, p. 61) tonality is emphasized by symbolism. The instrument which conveys this is the church bell again and expresses the distress of Slovene emigrants. The bell has replaced human lamentation in the poem and represents the symbolic instrument of man's unhappiness. By means of sound the poet accelerates inner tension in the poem. The singular rhythm and the colour of sound creates a special melody, thus visualizing the situation. The words of Franc Zadravec should be added here: "Some impressionist motifs call attention to the light sensation which sometimes illustrates the 'notion' as well as the sound ..." (e.g. "the sound of the bell is black" is synaesthetic).

The big bell sings to her,
tolls, laments, cries, falls
hard on her head ...

It falls black, it intermingles,
flows, enveloping everything ...

In his dramatic work, for example the one-act play "*Noč na verne duše*" (All Souls' Night), Župančič interweaves a bell (Selected Works, 1976, pp. 21, 22, 27). The "smaller bell for the ultimate hour" is the main motif of this play about human souls. Župančič applies the auditive sensation, thus achieving the shuddering atmosphere linked with an apprehension of death. The clang of cymbals has the meaning of death. The ability to hear well is characteristic of the main characters in the play. The bell does not

be. Impresionistično dojemanje se prepleta s simbolističnim upomenjevanjem. Župančič sam pravi, da je ta drama »kot neke vrste balada« (ZD VI, str. 290) in zato je funkcija zvona še bolj poudarjena. Zvok in pomen se tesno prepletata:

Kajfež: E, mali, že se boš *nacimbelikal* – smrt kleplje koso . . .

Mike: A jaz bom *cimbelikal cimbeliiiiik!* (z *zvoncem za skrajno uro*).

Ključar: Sosedje pijmo – potle bodo *pele zvonovi* kot na *svatbo vernim dušam*.

Nedvomno ima uporaba zvona v Župančičevem literarnem ustvarjanju poseben pomen. Prav gotovo je ta instrument največkrat uporabljen v slovenski moderni, če ne bo to veljalo celo za vso slovensko besedno umetnost. Lahko pa pritrdimo tudi ugotovitvi Zmaga Kumerove: »Zvon je za Slovence več kot samo glasbilo, zvon poje.«¹⁹ Toda iz harmonije zvokov se Župančič že razpoje v disharmonično disonantno pesem, kjer se zvok že trga in lomi. Tako vidimo v odlomku pesnitve *Dies irae* (Izbrane pesmi, 1978, str. 69, 70), da tu ni več zvočne niti pomenske harmonije, pač pa bivanjska disonanca in zvočna disharmonija. Iz impresionizma in simbolizma je Župančič s to pesmijo že prestopil v ekspresionizem: »Mogočni ton, ki pada s svinčeno težo od velikega zvona, nenadoma ni več ton in zvok, ampak se raztrga v pošast, ki . . .«²⁰

sing to them any longer, but shouts, groans and warns them of a terrible event. Sounds are a kind of projection or the state of the soul inherent in the individual character. Impressionist attitudes are interwoven with the symbolist meaning. Župančič himself says that this play is "a kind of ballad" (Selected Works VI, p. 290) and thus the function of the bell is emphasized even stronger. Sound and meaning merge with one another:

I'll give a tinkle-tink-tink . . . (the sound of a death-bell)

. . . bells will ring to all souls as on wedding-day.

Undoubtedly the use of the bell in Župančič's literary output has a special meaning. The instrument is the most frequently applied by the Slovene Modernists and probably in Slovene literature in general. Zmaga Kumer should be quoted here: "The bell is more than an instrument to the Slovenes as it sings to them."¹⁹ With Župančič the harmony of sounds in his poems eventually becomes a dissonance, with sounds breaking and rending the air. It can be seen in the extract from the poem "Dies irae" (Selected Poems, 1978, pp. 69, 70) that in both sound and meaning, harmonies are missing and have been replaced by spatial dissonance and a disharmony of sounds. With this poem Župančič left impressionism and symbolism for expressionism: "The mighty sound which falls like lead from the big bell, suddenly ceases to be a sound but is torn apart to change into a monster which . . ." ²⁰

Dom

*razmajál je svoj véliki zvon;
kakor da toži nad mestom Bog,
kroži glas vse naokrog,
trka na okna, bije ob duri,
preko strehe stresa s peroti
črno grozo dušam nasproti,
plaši in buri,
bega otroka in sega z mračno rôko
starcu v prsi globôko.*

The church bell was set free ...

It knocks at the window,
it raps on the door ...

it is frightening and exciting
it scares the child ...

Župančič je torej v tej pesmi zvok že razkrojil. Glas zvonov oznanja nekaj strašnega, končnega. V nadaljevanju pa Župančič vse še zaostri, poudari disharmonijo sveta in zvoka, s tem, da primerja svet z bobnom, na katerega udarjajo kopita jezdecev Apokalipse in zraven še odmevajo orgle, trombe in zvonovi:

In this poem Župančič has torn the sound apart. The ringing of bells forebodes something terrible and ultimate. On continuing, Župančič writes with even more tension, emphasizing the disharmony between the world and the sound. He compares the world to a drum beaten by the hooves of the Apocalyptic Riders. In addition there are the echoes of the organ, trombones and bells:

Čujte jahače, čujte jih za goro.
Svet kot boben napet,
in kopita, trdi tolkači
ga bijó
vse bolj in bolj:
Suhi jahači
k nam gredo
na pokolj!

The world is as stretched
taut as a drum; it is beaten
by hooves and hard pestles ...

Milost v *orgel* bučanju prihaja,
trombe ima s seboj in *zvonove* ...

Mercy arrives with a roaring
organ, accompanied by trumpets
and bells ...

Tudi pri Cankarju so pomembni elementi v njegovem ustvarjanju prav instrumenti. Rekli smo že, da so zanj zvočnost besed, stavkov, njihov ritem in melodija zelo pomembni, tako zvočnost sama brez posebnih pomenskih nadgradenj, kot tudi zvočnost besed, ki pomensko še bolj poudari njegovo misel. Tako pravi Franc Zdravec, da: »*Zvonko besedo v pesmi je v gimnazijskih letih doživil kot nekaj posebno lepega (Na klancu, 1902), »zato pa užival tudi ob pesmi, ki ni bila več kot 'zvonček', ki je božal le uho, ... srca ni presunil.*« (Moje življenje, 1914)²¹

Torej imajo tudi v Cankarjevi poeziji in prozi instrumenti posebno vlogo. Naj navedem le dva instrumenta, ki kot motivna drobca skupaj s pridevnikom in prislovom, ustvarjata živo sliko dogodka, nekega globokega čustvovanja, ideje. S harfo in njeno melodijo v pesmi Sulamit (Zbrano delo 1976, str. 73, 74) še bolj izrazi svojo »bolno občutljivost za zvok«.

3. *Iz zlatih harp takó sladkó
v ro pesmi koprneče
in srce plaka in drhti
od žalosti, od sreče.*

8. *In zlate strune
mrtvaško melodijo
poslednji vzdih sužnih prs
nocoj iz njih zvenijo ...*

V črtici Velika maša iz ciklusa Podobe iz sanj (Zbrano delo 1975, str. 116) je slušno-vidna sinestetična podoba zvokov instrumenta – orgel. Del Cankarjeve ideje o vstajenju iz trpljenja. A tudi orgle, ki so v tej črtici prikazane kot instrument »črne maše trpljenja, groze ...«, lahko le jecljajo:

To Cankar as well, instruments are important elements to be used in his creative writing. It has been said before that for him the sound of words and sentences, their rhythm and melody are significant. Thus the sound by itself, without any additional meaning, and the sound of words which emphasizes his idea are of great importance. Franc Zdravec writes that "in his grammar school days he (i.e. Cankar) experienced the sonorous word in a poem as something especially beautiful" (Na klancu, 1902) ... he also enjoyed a poem that was nothing more than a little bell caressing the ear ... but which did not go to one's heart ... «

(Moje življenje, 1914)

Thus instruments play their special part in Cankar's poetry and prose. Allow me to mention only two instruments, which as motif fragments, together with adjectives and adverbs, create a live picture of an event, some deep emotion or an idea. By means of the harp and its melody Cankar emphasizes his "sick sensitivity to sound" in his poem Sulamit (Selected Works, 1976, pp. 73, 74).

Golden harps seethe with
sweet songs of longing ...

Golden strings play a deathly
melody ...

In his short story, Velika maša (High Mass), from the cycle "Podobe iz sanj" (Selected Works, 1976, p. 116) the audio-visual synaesthetic image of organ sounds is part of Cankar's idea of resurrection from suffering. But even the organ, which in this short story is introduced as the instrument of the "black mass of suffering, horror ..." can only stammer:

»Ko je stopil župnik pred oltar, so se oglasile orgle, njih glas pa je bil hripav in neubran. zvoki so se lovili in prevračali brez cilja.«

V nasprotju s slovensko moderno, predvsem impresionizmom in delno tudi simbolizmom, pa sta v ekspresionizmu²² vloga in pojav instrumentov drugačna. Pomensko-zvočna vloga instrumenta v posameznih literarnih delih ekspresionizma je drugačna od prejšnjih impresiv pesnikove duše in tudi ni več impresionistični simbol. Njegova funkcija je v ekspresivni predstavi, v intenziteti pojava glasbila v pesmi, dramatičnosti... Je lahko simbol izbruha neke močne duše, postane barvita metafora ali pa celo znamenje človeka samega, kot simbol zanj. Prejšnjo harmonijo zamenja disharmonija, jecjanje, burne podobe. In tako so najpogostejši instrumenti v tem obdobju naslednji: trobente, bobni, trube, podzemeljski bobni, zvonovi, klavir, flauta... Pred nami je prvi primer in sicer pesem Edvarda Kocbeka *Znamenje* (Izbrano delo, 1972, str. 22)

4. Vesoljna groza poje, gromska moč
s trobentami in bobni polni noč.

5. Naposled čujem trube tujih trum
in Jeriho sesuje večni hrup.

Instrumenti so iz območja metafizike in s svojo zvočno in pomensko podobo oznanjajo bližajoče se usodne dogodke, uničenje in smrt.

Zelo podobno vlogo ima trobenta tudi v pesmi Boža Voduška *Sodni dan* (Izbrano delo, 1972, str. 117)

"When the parish priest approached the altar, the organ sounded. Its sound was hoarse and disharmonious, the tones chased one another, turning aimlessly in all directions."

Contrary to the Slovene "Moderna", particularly impressionism and partly symbolism, the role and appearance of instruments were different in expressionism.²² The role of an instrument concerning meaning and sound differs from the previous impressions in the poet's soul. Moreover, it no longer represents an impressionist symbol. Its function concerns expressionist performance, the intensity of the instrument's appearance in a poem or play... It can be the symbol of outburst from a powerful soul and becomes a colourful metaphor or even replaces a person as his/her symbol. The former harmony is replaced by disharmony, stammering, tempestuous, instruments during this period were trumpets, drums, tubas, underground drums, bells, etc, drums, tubas, underground drums, bells, pianos, flutes... Edvard Kocbek's poem *Znamenje* (Selected Works, 1972, p. 22) should serve as an example of this.

Horror sings... trumpets
and drums fill the night...

... the eternal sound of the
trumpet...

The instruments come from the field of metaphysics. With their images of sound and meaning they announce the approach of fatal events, destruction and death.

A similar part is played by the trumpet in the poem "Sodni dan" by Božo Vodusek (Selected Works, 1972, p. 117)

1. Ko bo po mrtvem svetu *zadonela*
trobenta angela na sodni dan
in se bo v blisku vstalim razodela
skrivnost, kdo je zavržen, kdo izbran,

On Judgement Day the
angel's trumpet will
sound . . .

2. ne bova v trumi, ki bo pohitela
med petjem s palmami na svetlo stran,
tja bova šla, kot sva sama hotela
v temo na veke neutešnih sanj.

Resignacija in zavračanje kakršne koli metafizične rešitve ustvarja v teh pesmih disonantne tone in razpoloženja. Še bolj pesimistično slikanje človeka in njegovega bivanja nam ustvarja Voduškova pesem *Zapuščeni klavir* (Izbrano delo, 1972, str. 109), kjer klavir metonimično prevzame človeško podobo osamljenega, zapuščene predmeta, bitja, ki ob dotiku zaječi od bolečine in hrumi od jeze:

Resignation and the rejection of any metaphysical solution creates dissonant tones and moods. Vodušek's poem of the "Deserted Piano" (*Zapuščeni klavir*, see Works, 1972, p. 109) where the piano metonymically takes over the human qualities of a lonely, deserted object which – like a human being – gives groans of pain at the slightest touch, or roars with fury.

Potisnjen v kot temačnega hodnika,
obdrnjen, vegast, zaprašen klavir
vsem mimoidočim kaže mrk prezir
in hlini asketa, ki se nam umika.

The piano is shabby, unsteady
and dusty . . .

Ogibam se ga v loku kot bolnika,
ves v strahu, da bi ga zadel v okvir
in da bi se morda grenak nemir
prebudil v njem od krutega dotika.

Nekoč, prevzet od takšne pritajene
bridkosti, le preizkusim *razglašene*
njegove strune, pa kot da v osir

Its strings are out of tune . . .

sem dregnil, se namesto razbolene
otožnosti ves *besen* vrže v mene
krohot in rezek vik, hrušč in prepir.

I am surrounded by a hue and
cry, furious noise and
quarrel . . .

Čisto drugačen simbol kot pri Vodušku pa je klavir v pesmi *Skica na koncertu* (Pesmi in konstrukcije, 1977, str. 40). Pred nami je zvočno-barvno kontrastiranje in na videz čista harmonija. V tej pesmi človek išče globine, s pomočjo glasbe. V nekaterih drugih pesmih Srečka Kosovela pa zasledimo še liro, zvonove in harfo, kot prispodobje zvočkov in tonov človeške duše.

Ves poln sanj je črni klavir,
ko da globina mrakov
v njem se zrcali.

Za njo je sprostrl
bele roke pianist.

Tiho,
ko da na črnem
mramornem jezeru
odplavala laboda bela sta
neskončnosti iskat ...

Inštrumenti so v ekspresionizmu velikokrat simbol za človeka ali za človeško telo. Alojz Gradnik (*Izbrano delo*, 1976) ima poleg harfe, harmonike, ki vrešči, v svojih pesmih tudi piščal, ki je metafora za človekovo telo. Enako funkcijo ima piščal tudi v pesmih Antona Vodnika. Tako pravi Franc Zadravec, da gre tu za: »... redukcijo in zoževanje telesa v glasbilo, kar naj bi bilo kliše tedanjega poduhovljajočega pesništva«²³ Včasih pa je inštrument v pesmi del zvočnega valovanja in je pesem poduhovljena, eterična podoba situacije in človeka v njej. Tak primer je pesem *Ihteči zvoki* Antona Vodnika (*Pot skozi noč*, 1966, str. 66).

A completely different symbol from Vodušek's work is the piano in the poem "Skica na koncertu" (Pesmi in konstrukcije, 1977, p. 40). We are confronted with contrasts of sound and colour and an apparently pure harmony. In this poem one looks for depth by means of music. In some poems by Srečko Kosovel we come upon a lyre, bells and harp as metaphors depicting the sounds and tones and the human soul.

... the black piano ...

... the black marble lake ...

In expressionism, instruments frequently represent symbols for man or the human body. Apart from the harp, Alojz Gradnik has a flute in his poems used as a metaphor for the human body. The same function is performed by the flute in poems by Anton Vodnik. Franc Zadravec writes that in this case one is confronted with the "... reduction and shrinking of the body down to an instrument which represents, as it were, the cliché of the then spiritualized poetry"²³ Sometimes the instrument is part of a sound fluctuation which makes a poem the spiritualized and ethereal image of the given situation and the role of man in it. An example is the poem "Ihteči zvoki" by Anton Vodnik (*Pot skozi noč*, 1966, p. 66).

Moje roke jokajoče
po tvojih žalostnih laseh dehtijo ...
Utihnile piščali so pojoče,
le rože še neke dehtijo ...

Kje je *jeknil glas zvoná?*
Kako je v rožah zajokalo ...

Nekdo se blede je nasmehnil,
pritisnil k ustnicam piščal
proseč k nevidnim rokam pal.

»Anton Vodnik rad zasipa besedila z retoričnimi podvojitvami; z njimi verz tudi melodizira in polni z zvočno orkestracijo.«²⁴ Tako pravi Franc Zdravec in nam kaže naslednji primer, ki vsebuje tudi sinestetično podobo.

o to *zvonenje,*
ki *sinje, sinje veje.*

O, kako *opojno* daljno
pojejo, pojo zvonovi ...

Inštrument ima v obdobju ekspresionizma močno simbolnost, poetsko silo, pesmi vsebujejo eksplozijo duše, intenziteto in krik. V pesemskem ciklusu Mirana Jarca Kraljevič na samotnem gradu (LZ, 1924) je v tretji kiti ci naslikana »ekspresivna burna podoba«:

In ko je bila čaša *duše* polna bisernih snov,
je v prostore *tiho zvenečih zlatih zvonov*
pav zaklical v noč.

My weeping hands ...

The singing flutes have
become silent ...

Where does the bell's echo
come from?

Somebody has pressed the flute
to his lips ...

"Anton Vodnik likes swamping his texts with rhetorical doubles; they provide the verse with melody and fill it with sound orchestration"²⁴ These words were written by Franc Zdravec, who also gives the following example which contains a synaesthetic image.

Oh this blue, blue ringing ...

How ravishingly the bells
sing and sing ...

In the expressionist period, the instrument possesses strong symbolist features and a poetic power. The poems of this period contain an explosion of the soul, its intensity and outcry. In the poetry cycle of Miran Jarc, "Kraljevič na samotnem gradu", (Selected Works, 1921) the third verse contains a "stormy expressionist image":

... gently sounding
golden bells ...

»V novi poeziji hoče naravnost spregovoriti naravni, s kulturo neizumetničeni človek v obliki afekta, krika, ječanja, vzdihaja,«²⁵ je za ekspresionistično poezijo zapisal Franc Zadravec.

Tudi v dveh dramskih delih Slavka Gruma *Trudni zastori* in *Dogodek v mestu Gogi* je inštrument simbol za človeka, ga označuje in predstavi njegov značaj. V *Trudnih zastorih* je izražena močna vizualizacija in ekspresivna zvočna podoba: »*Zaprta klavir, molčeča harfa je človek, dotik prstov šele ga zazveni v pesem.*« Ta poetična podoba je porojena iz idealističnega in idealizatorskega principa dramske osebe, slikarja Larsena.

Podobno slikanje vidimo tudi v *Dogodku v mestu Gogi* (Izbrano delo, 1976, str. 113), kjer je ena od oseb ponazorjena s flauto. Gre za šibkega človeka, ki se na koncu tudi delno zlomi. V prvem dejanju in v začetnem prizoru beremo v didaskalijah: »Večer, po ozračju se nosi drobna *trzajoča pesem flaute*... flauto igra Klikot, kot prelomljen sloni ob svojem oknu s pokorno nagnjeno glavo.« Ta zvok flaute je disonantni muzikalni motiv, ki je kontrasten s črnobelim vtisom in negibnostjo prvega dejanja.

Disharmonični človek tega obdobja se bori z Bogom, se utaplja v hlipanju in eteričnem razpoloženju, včasih kriči in stoka, in prav zato se zdi, da je vloga inštrumentov v slovenskem ekspresionizmu pomembna in zvočno ter pomensko učinkovita.

Zadnje obdobje, ki ga v tej razpravi analiziramo, je sodobna poezija, ki ne pozna več izbruhov strasti, krikov... Inštrument (človek) v pesmi ne vzdihuje več in ne kriči iz razbolele in eksplozivne duše, pač pa je v pesmi lahko kot motivni drobec, za katerega ni nujno, da bi sporočal kakšno idejo, je lahko le zvočni element v svoji primarni vlogi. Včasih se pesnik z

"In the new poetry the natural human being, unburdened by culture, speaks up. He is not devoid of passion, outbursts, groans and sighs",²⁵ Franc Zadravec wrote to describe expressionist poetry.

In two plays by Slavko Grum, "*Trudni zastori*" and "*Dogodek v mestu Gogi*", the instrument is the symbol of man. It defines him and introduces his character. In "*Trudni zastori*", a powerful visualization and an expressive sound image are in the foreground: "*A closed piano or a silent harp is like human creature who only turns into a song upon the touch of fingers*". This poetic image emerges from the idealistic and idealizing principle of a character, the painter Larsen.

A similar presentation can be seen in "*Dogodek v mestu Gogi*" (Selected works, 1976, p. 113) where one of the characters is given a flute. He has a weak personality and breaks down at the end. In the first act and the initial scene the stage directions read as follows: "It's evening. The *twitching sounds of the flute* are carried through the atmosphere... Klikot is playing the flute standing at the window as if broken in the middle, with his hand obediently bent forward". The sound of the flute is a dissonant musical motif which is in contrast with the black and white impression and the lack of movement in the first act.

The discordant man of this period fights God, sinks into moans and ethereal moods, shouts and groans. This is the reason why the role of instruments in Slovene expressionism is important and effective with regard to sound and meaning.

The last period analyzed in this treatise is marked by contemporary poetry, which does not know outbursts of passion, outcries... The instrument (i.e. man) in the poem does not sigh any more or cry out from the pain-stricken,

vključevanjem glasbil v pesem samo besedno-
zvočno igra in nato v tej igri išče nadpomene
besed. V tem obdobju vidimo dva pojava, ki
sta pomembna za razumevanje posebne vloge
inštrumentov v sodobni poeziji. To sta »absolu-
tna metaforizacija – prisposode, ki se osa-
mosvajajo in rojevajo tako rekoč same iz sebe,
iz jezikovne imaginacije«²⁶, in drugi pojav, ki
mu pravimo proces demetaforizacije. V neka-
terih pesmih tega obdobja pa je viden tudi
proces iskanja odnosnic iz pretekle literarne
ustvarjalnosti. V pesmi Svetlane Makarovič
Kost (Pesmi, 1979, str. 50) je odnosnico pesnica
poiskala v ljudski pesmi:

2. *Belo kost bom izvotlil,
bom piščalko naredil,
da mi pela bo lepo
suho belo pesmico.*

Tak postopek uporablja tudi Štefan Remic
(Pesniški almanah mladih, 1982, str. 68, 76, 86),
ki ima v pesmi »piškav meh« (ko godec stegne
piškav meh, / se strast več ne prikriva), in ta
ima posebno moč. V pesmih Lajnar in Orgli-
čar, pa sta oba godca znanilca nečesa bolne-
ga in razkroja. Osamosvajanje metafor in igra
besed je vidna v pesmi Aleša Debeljaka Za-
menjave št. 7 (Pesniški almanah mladih,
1982, str. 305):

explosive soul, but can represent the fragment
of a motif which does not necessarily convey an
idea in the poem. It is simply a musical ele-
ment in its primary role. Sometimes the poet
includes instruments in order to play with
words and sounds, thus looking for the hidden
meanings of words. In this period one can
observe two phenomena which are important
for the comprehension of the special role of
instruments in contemporary poetry. These
are the "absolute metaphorization – metaphors
which become independent and literally
emerge from themselves, from the imagination
of language"²⁶ and, second, the process of
demetaphorization. In some poems of the pe-
riod, the process of searching for antecedents
of past literary creativity is visible. In "Kost", a
poem by Svetlana Makarovič (Poems, 1979, p.
50) such an antecedent was found by the poet
in this folk song:

The white bone . . .
a whistle
which will sing to me
a dry white song.

This kind of procedure is also used by Štefan
Remic (Pesniški almanah mladih, 1982, pp. 68,
76, 86) who uses "piškav meh" (i.e. rotten
accordion; when the musician plays his accor-
dion, passion cannot be concealed any lon-
ger). This instrument has a magic power. In the
poems "Lajnar" and "Orgličar" (The Street
Organ Player and the Harmonica Player) both
musicians predict something sick and destruc-
tive. The independance of metaphors and play
on words are seen in the poem "Zamenjave št.
7" (Exchanges) by Aleš Debeljak (Pesniški
almanah mladih, 1982, p. 305):

... zares in brez naglice vznemirja sled, želja
v podplatu, *violina*,
od moke mokra, zaigra uverturo v tujem
jeziku: godba spanja, če more?

V zbirki *Pesmi in plesi* (*Pesniški almanah mladih*, 1982, str. 243) je v eni od pesmi Braneta Mozetiča zaigrala frula: »z *drobno frulo* v bre-gu piskam ...«, v eni od pesmi iz cikla *Jemanje št. 7* Irene Zorko-Novak (*Pesniški almanah mladih*, 1982, str. 131) pa je zvenenje flayte kot čista lepota in skrivnost. Delno je v območju nenavadnih metafor in igrivosti besed še Niko Grafenauer (*Pesmi*, 1979, str. 79) v pesmi *Opilki mraza*:

... *lete pogledi*, živa sled
v zamrznjeni belini
in *diamantni rez napet*
kot tenek zvok na violini,

A na *zobeh klavirja pena*
sonate, v kakšen gib
iztegnjen, ki izbriše, ...

Z zvočno igro besed se je ukvarjal tudi Jože Udovič, ki ima v svojih pesmih izvirne zvočno-slikovne podobe. V eni od kitic pesmi *Fantazija v mestu na vodi* se popolnoma prepusti lastni imaginaciji, tako da so mandolina in zvonovi le drobci neke fantazijske slike:

Na strehi *igrá*
mesečna deklica *mandolino*
gondola hiti med oblaki,
zvonovi letijo iz zvonika v zvonik,
v oknih gorijo lampijoni,
luna kupuje med gotskimi hišami
kamnite čipke.

... the violin
wet with flour, plays
the overture in a foreign
language: the music of
sleep ...

In the collection "*Pesmi in Plesi/Poems and Dances*" (*Pesniški almanah mladih*, 1982, p. 243) the pipe is played in a poem by Brane Mozetič: "I play my *little pipe* on the hill ..." whereas in one of the poems from the cycle "*Jemanje/Taking No. 7*" by Irena Zorko-Novak (*Pesniški almanah mladih*, 1982, p. 131) the music of the flute is like pure beauty and a secret. Niko Grafenauer partly exploits the field of unusual metaphors and playful words (*Poems*, 1979, p. 79) in his poem "*Opilki mraza* (*Filings of Frost*):

the sharp diamond cult
like a high sound on the violin

on the teeth of the piano
the froth of the sonata ...

Jože Udovič also dealt with the musical play of words. In his poems he uses original musical-visual images. In one verse in the poem "*Fantazija v mestu na vodi*" he completely gives in to his imagination, so that the mandolin and the bells are only fragments of a fantasy picture:

On the roof a girl plays the mandolin ...

bells fly from tower to
tower ...

V izrazito fantazijskem območju se giblje še Kajetan Kovič v pesmi *Zvonci* (Pesmi, 1973, str. 44), kjer so *zvonci* del nenavadne metafore: »Tudi potok zdaj zvoni, / tudi kri je majhen zvonec.« V okviru razumljive semantike, kjer je pomen tesno povezan z zvočno vlogo instrumentov, pa ostajata Ivan Minatti s *harmoniko* kot *dobrim starim mehom* (Stara pesem – Prisluškujem tišini v sebi, 1985, str. 48) in Jože Šmit z *zvonovi* – »peti pesem zvonklaje kot bardi ali žalostno kot pojeta mrliški in velikonočni zvon« v pesmi *Hotel sem* (Vzeti kamen iz ust, 1988, str. 11) in z *bobni*, ki utišajo pesnikovo jecljanje v pesmi *Sodobni pesniki* (prav tam, str. 13).

Naj za konec tega literarnega obdobja dodamo še zanimiv primer zvočno-pomensko-vizualne podobe, ki jo kot celota predstavlja pesem Saše Vegri Žene (Tristo ljubezenskih, 1986, str. 178, 179). V njej Vegrijeva primerja žene z lutnjami, z instrumenti, ki zahtevajo nežne dotike glasbenika, da lahko izvabi ubrane tone. Zanimiva je grafična podoba pesmi, razporejenost besed v eno samo strnjeno kitičo, ki spominja na polovico instrumenta – lutnje.

Kajetan Kovič moves in the area of imagination in his poem "*Zvonovi*" (Poems, 1973, p. 44) where *bells* are part of an unusual metaphor: "*The brook also rings, blood is a small bell.*" But Ivan Minatti with the *harmonica* as the good old mellows (Stara pesem – Prisluškujem tišini v sebi, 1985, p. 48) and Jože Šmit with *bells* – "*to sing a song tinkling as bards do or sadly as death – and the Easter bells*" in the poem "*Hotel sem*" (Vzeti kamen iz ust, 1988, p. 11) and with *drums* which silence the poet's stammering in the "*Sodobni pesniki*" (ibid., p. 13) remain within the framework of intelligible semantics, where the meaning is closely connected with the musical role of instruments.

Let me give another interesting example to illustrate the end of this literary period, an example of an image of sound-meaning-vision in the poem "*Žene*" ("*Women*" by Saša Vegri) (Tristo ljubezenskih, 1986, pp. 178, 179). The poetess compares women with lutes, i.e. instruments which demand a musician's gentle touch so that harmonious sounds can be elicited. The graphic presentation of the poem is interesting, the arrangement of words in a single verse reminiscent of one half of a lute.

Žene
so
kakor *lutnje*
mirne in vdane,
ko čakajo
da zapoje
njihovo telo.
In kadar
kdo nanje
ubrano zaigra
pojo
o žalosti
srebrnih noči,
ko jih možje
puščajo same,
o rojstvu,
ki ga pletejo
v sebi
in o ljubezni
razpeti
kot strune
od ust
do bokov.

Women are like lutes, quiet and
devoted ...

When somebody play them harmoniously,
they sing about sadness ...

they sing about love, highly strung
like strings from mouth to hips ...

Tako se procesi ustvarjanja v sodobni slovenski poeziji gibajo od absolutne metaforike, prek demetaforizacije besed, ki prehaja v zvočno ali grafično igro z besednim gradivom samim. Inštrument ima torej v sodobni poeziji različne valence: je lahko metaforični element, zvočni element ... Kadar pa sodobni pesnik išče odnosnice v drugih literarnih obdobjih (npr. v ljudskem ustvarjanju), lahko dobi inštrument nov pomen ali nadpomen. Gre torej za zanimiv ustvarjalni krog, ki ga lahko pozorimo z analizo literarne triade, ki prikaže transformacijo Orfejskega motiva.

Pa poglemo kako je motiv godca in njegovega čudežnega inštrumenta prikazan v nekaterih variantah ljudske pesmi Godec pred peklom, kako je tega godca zasnoval Ivan Cankar v Kurentu in kakšna je formalna in pomenska preobrazbena struktura sodobne pesmi Vena Tauferja Godec pred peklom.

Ljudska bajeslovna pesem ima v svojih variantah več različnih inštrumentov in godcev. (liki godcev so: od kralja Matjaža, prek sv. Davida do fantiča in deklice). V vseh variantah sta vloga in pojem godca in inštrumenta več ali manj enaka. Ker hočejo godci iz pekla rešiti duše, potrebujejo zato čudežen inštrument, ki pa je v vseh variantah naslikan tako, da odseva resničnost. Inštrumenti so v pesmih taki, kot so jih ljudje ljudske pesmi zares poznali, le da jim je dodana posebna moč. Inštrumenti, ki se v pesmih pojavljajo, so: gosli (SLP 48/3), peró (SLP 48/5), gosli in črn lok (SLP 48/3), citre (SLP 48/14, 16) ... in v eni od variant lahko opazujemo izdelovanje glasbila s posebno močjo. Navedli bomo le tri primere:

Thus the processes of creation in contemporary Slovene poetry move from the absolute use of metaphors over the demetaphorization of words, which passes on to a musically or graphically expressed word play. In contemporary poetry, the instrument then contains different valences: it can be a metaphorical or a musical element ... However, when the contemporary poet looks for antecedents in other literary periods (e. g. folk tradition), the instrument can obtain a new or special meaning. Here, we are confronted with an interesting creative circle which can be interpreted by means of analysis of the literary triad which shows the transformation of the Orphic Motif. Let us see how the motif of musician and his magic instrument appears in some folk song variants, where The Musician stands at the Gates of Hell, and how this musician was interpreted by Ivan Cankar in "Kurent"; and further, what the mutated structure of form and meaning is in Veno Taufer's contemporary poem "The Musician at the Gates of Hell".

The traditional mythical poem contains a number of different instruments and musicians in its variants (the characters of musicians cover those appearing in Kralj Matjaž, St David, and the Boy and the Girl). In all these variants the role and meaning of musician and instrument are more or less the same. In order to rescue (human) souls from hell, the musician needs a magic instrument which in all variants reflects reality. In poems, instruments are the same as they were known by people appearing in traditional poetry. However, they possess a special power. The instruments in the poems are violin (SLP 48/3), leaf (SLP 48/14), violin and a black bow (SLP 48/3), zither (SLP 48/14, 16) ... and in one variant the production of an instrument with magic power can be observed.

Gre Kralj Matjaž na senjim ljep,
si kupi žolte goslice
 ino *pred peklom zaigra.*
 (SLP 48/1,2)

Jaz mam ene *citrice*
*grem pred pekel igrat ze.**
 Lerela rela, lerela ralala.
 (SLP 48/8) + zdaj

Le pojd na britof žegnani:
z kosti naredi goslice,
iz zof pa naredi šravfike,
iz was pa naredi strunice.
 Potlej pa *pojd pred pekov gost!*
 (SLP 48/9) + zob

V Cankarjevem Kurentu je pomenska nadgradnja že razširjena, saj sta tako godec kot inštrument že simbolizirana. Pravzaprav si je Cankar zgodbo o Kurentu izbral samo zato, da je vanjo lahko položil svoje misli o slovenskem narodu in slovenskem umetniku. Tako je globoka idejna miselnost zavita v simboliko. V Kurentu sta kar dva inštrumenta: harmonika in gosli. Harmonika je v rokah Kurenta žalosten inštrument: »Komaj je *harmonika začutila* Kurentove roke, je *zapela*, kakor ni pela nikoli poprej.« »*Kako godeš?*« je vzkliknil Jernejc. Take *žalostne pesmi* še nisem slišal. *Pogrebem godeš, svatom ne!* »*Harmonika ni jezik, ne vé za hinavščino, pesem ni beseda, ne laže!*« je rekel Kurent.^{26A}

To je bil leta 1910 radikalen pisatelj izziv, ki kaže Cankarjevo povezanost z glasbo in izpričuje njegovo osnovno idejo o iskrenosti pesniškega ustvarjanja v nasprotju z lažnivo besedo, ki je bila globoko prisotna v življenju tedanjih ljudi. Tako je pri Cankarju inštrument le podaljšek človekove roke, saj se po njej pretoči njegova pesniška duša: »*Iz srca gre*

Here are only three examples:
 King Matjaž buys a fiddle
 at the fair and plays at the
 gates of hell.

I'm going to play my little
 zither before hell.

Go to the churchyard and make
 a fiddle from bones and pegs
 from teeth and strings from
 hair. Then go and play before
 hell.

In Cankar's "Kurent" the meaning is extended as both musician and instrument are symbolized. Actually, Cankar chose the story of "Kurent" in order to implant in it his idea of the Slovene nation and the Slovene artist. Thus his ideas are wrapped in symbols. In "Kurent" there are two instruments, accordion and violin. The accordion is a sad instrument in Kurent's hands: "As soon as the *accordion felt* Kurent's hands, it began to *sing* as never before." "How can you play like this?" Jernejc exclaimed. "I've never heard such a *sad song*. *It's the mourners you are playing for, not the wedding guests.*" "An *accordion is not a language, it doesn't know of hypocrisy. A song is not a word, it never tells lies!*" Kurent said.^{26A}

In 1910 this was a writer's radical challenge. It shows Cankar's connection with music and expresses his basic idea about the sincerity of poetic creation as contrasted with the lies which were deeply ingrained in the lives of contemporary people. Thus, Cankar's instrument is the prolongation of man's arm along which his poetic soul flows: "From the heart

koprnenje v roke, iz rok v harmoniko, iz harmonike med ljudi – kaj bi ljudje z mojim koprnenjem, ko so veselja polni?«²⁷ Ker pa hoče Kurent inštrument, ki bo imel posebno moč, zapiše svojo dušo hudiču (v podobi škrate) in v zameno za žalostno harmoniko dobi vesele gosli in moč orfejskega petja, da bo z njim razveseljeval svoje trpeče ljudstvo in osvojil vsa srca. Tako se je Cankar zapisal literaturi in umetnosti, ko je zapel svojo prvo mladostno pesem.

Torej so gosli inštrument, ki ima posebno moč, njihova glasba je mamilo, s katerim za nekaj časa Kurent (Cankar) zaziba v pozabo svoje ljudstvo, ki živi v črni blatni resničnosti, v neki vrsti pekla: »Ná te gosli, Kurent, pa nič se ne boj! *Stare gosli so in oglajene, rok mnogotero jih je že zibalo; plesalcev brez števila je že romalo za njimi, dolge procesije, rodovi in ljudstva! Kadar jih objamejo tvoje roke, zapleše lok po strunah, bodo pijana vsa srca, pijane vse oči*«. ²⁸

Toda gosli v tem delu niso samo inštrument, ki vliva upanje, ki osrečuje, v sanjah vidi Kurent gosli, ki jih v rokah drži ogromna senca, in nanje igra melodijo smrti. Ta senca je torej vizija smrti, ki stopa prek slovenske zemlje, in takrat je Kurentu (Cankarju) dano videti nevarnost, ki preti njegovi domovini, se spoprijeti z njo in to ne z orožjem, pač pa s čudežnimi goslimi ljudskega umetnika. Le tako lahko Kurent rešuje ljudi iz pekla življenja in smrti: »Sanjalo se mu je, da se je *visoka senca* vzdignila izza hriba. Nogé so lomastile po zemlji, glava pa se je s kuštravimi lasmi dotikala samega neba. Silne gosli je zibala v *levici, desnica pa je lok držala*. Tako je lomastila senca preko zemlje, iz doline v dolino; ...«²⁹

V tem delu torej oba inštrumenta skupaj z godcem tvorita glavni motiv, ki je zaradi prozne oblike pomensko razpršen in simbolno nad-

longing flows into the hands, from the hands into the accordion, from the accordion to the people – what will people do with my longing as they are full of joy?«²⁷ As Kurent wants to have an instrument with magic power, he sells his soul to the devil (who appears as a goblin) and in exchange for the sad accordion he gets a merry violin and the power of Orphic singing to cheer up his suffering people and conquer people's hearts. Thus Cankar devoted himself to literature and art when he wrote his first youthful poem.

The violin, then, is an instrument with magic power. Its music is a drug by means of which Kurent (i.e. Cankar) rocks his people into oblivion. They live in black, muddy realities, a kind of hell: "Take this violin, Kurent, and don't be afraid. *It is an old violin, well in tune, and many hands have rocked it before; numberless dancers have followed it and long processions of generations and peoples. When you embrace it with your hands, the bow will dance upon the strings and all hearts and eyes will be drunk.*"²⁸

In this work the violin is not only an instrument which gives hope and happiness. In his dream, Kurent sees a violin held by an enormous shadow which plays a tune of death. This shadow is the vision of death walking across Slovenia and Kurent (i. e. Cankar) is able to see the danger threatening his country. He can fight against it, not with weapons, but with the magic violin of a folk musician. Only thus can Kurent rescue the people from the hell of life and death. "He dreamt that a *high shadow rose beyond the hill. Its feet trampled the ground, its head covered with shaggy hair reached up to the sky. Its left hand was rocking an enormous violin, its right hand was holding the bow.* Thus the shadow stormed across the earth, from valley to valley ..."²⁹

grajen zaradi drugačne funkcije, ki jo ima v tem stilnem obdobju.

Pesem Godec pred peklom (v večih variantah) Vena Tauferja (Pesmarica rabljenih besed, 1975, str. 6, 8, 9) pa razkriva nenavadno formalno in miselno strukturo. Taufer prvotno zgodbo razdrobi na praelemente in jih na novo združi. Inštrument (piščalka iz kosti) je tako skrit v hitrem menjavanju besed in ritma pesmi:

deveti kralj
okrog prazen
votlo znotraj
noter v kost
piska skozi in skozi
naprej nazaj
deveti kralja

Inštrument je tudi pri Tauferju magično, uročno čudežno glasbilo. Njegov pojav v pesmi je pojav nekega relikta, ki ima starodavni arhaični zven, zven nečesa nadzemjskega. Taufer se z uporabo tega elementa kot odnosnice (iz ljudske pesmi) vrača k prvotnemu mitičnemu jeziku, ki ima v tej pesmi sodobno obliko in pomen. Orfejski motiv je tako na novo transformiran ali z avtorjevimi besedami: »... ko ne poje Orfej, marveč stvari, bitja in on bitje med bitji in stvarmi enak vsemu, enako različno pesem drugačnih bitij in stvari.«³⁰

Pojav in vloga inštrumentov v slovenski književnosti sta torej zelo različna. V ljudski pesmi odseva resnično življenje ljudi in časa v katerem so živeli, je realni predmet vsakdanjega in prazničnega življenja ljudi v njej. Njegova predstava je slikovita, tako zunanost, izdelava, način igranja kot zvok. Včasih je personificiran a le redko simboliziran. V obdobju slovenske moderne ob Ketteju, Murnu, Župančiču in Cankarju spoznavamo impresionistično in simboli-

In this work, both instruments and the musician constitute the main motif, the meaning of which is, on account of its prose form, dispersed and symbolically constructed because of the different function it had in this stylistic period.

The poem of the "Musician at the Gates of Hell" (in several variants) by Veno Taufer (Pesmarica rabljenih besed, 1975, pp. 6, 8, 9) discloses an unusual structure of form and idea. Taufer dissolves the primary story into primeval elements only to unite them again. The instrument (a bone pipe) is thus hidden by the rapid changing of words and the rhythm of the poem.

The hollow bone whistles ...

With Taufer the instrument is also magic, bewitching. Its appearance in the poem is that of an ancient remnant which possesses an archaic sound, the sound of something beyond the world. By using this element as an antecedent (from traditional poetry). Taufer returns to primeval mythical language, which in this poem takes on contemporary form and meaning. The Orphic motif is thus transformed again, or as the author says: "... when Orpheus does not sing, but things, creatures and he a creature among creatures and things, equal to everything, sing the same different song of different creatures and things."³⁰

The phenomenon and role of instruments in Slovene literature are, then, very different. In folk songs instruments reflect the real life of people and time in which they lived, and are real objects in everyday life and festivals. Their presentation is picturesque and concerns appearance, manufacture and way of playing. Sometimes an instrument is personi-

stično funkcijo instrumentov, ki so odsev impresij človeške duše in prav posebno povezani z glasbo. V ekspresionizmu pa instrument funkcionira drugače. Če je bilo pesniško ustvarjanje v slovenski moderni še harmonija besed in zvokov, pa je v ekspresionizmu drugače in je zato instrument disonantno vključen v besedilo. Zvok je disharmoničen, kot je disharmoničen tudi svet v človeku in zunaj njega. V sodobni slovenski poeziji so instrumenti lahko del metaforičnega izražanja ustvarjalcev, pa tudi del procesa prevzemanja nekaterih elementov iz drugih literarnih del (npr. iz ljudske pesmi), kjer postane njihova primarna vloga povezana z novim načinom življenja besed v sodobni pesmi. Instrumenti pa lahko v delih nekaterih ustvarjalcev sodobne pesmi postanejo tudi elementi njihove nebrzdane zvočne in grafične igre z besedami in pomeni.

Glasbeni instrumenti so torej v slovenski književnosti del zvočnega in miselnega valovanja besednega gradiva, ki nam s svojo raznovrstnostjo omogočajo, da še bolj polno in celovito doživimo posamezna literarna dela.

fied, but rarely symbolized. In the period of the Slovene "Moderna", with Kette, Murn, Župančič and Cankar, impressionist and symbolist functions of instruments appear. They are the reflection of the impressions of the human soul and have a special connection with music. In the period of expressionism, instruments behave differently. If poetic creation in the Slovene "Moderna" was still a harmony of words and sounds, this is not so in expressionism: the instrument is dissonantly included in the text. The sound is disharmonious, as the world in and outside man is disharmonious. In contemporary Slovene poetry instruments can be part of the writer's metaphysical expression or part of the process of the inclusion of some elements from other literary works (e.g. from traditional poetry) where their primary role is connected with the new way of life that words lead in contemporary poems. In the works of some modern poets, instruments can also become elements of unbridled musical and graphic play with words and meanings.

Thus musical instruments in Slovene literature are part of the musical and meaningful behaviour of words. With their variety they enable the readers to experience literary works more fully and completely.

Opombe

- ¹ Primož Kuret, *Glasbeni instrumenti na srednjeveških freskah na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1973
- ² Stéphane Mallarmé, *Glasba in književnost* (odlomek), predavanje v Cambridgeu in Oxfordu, v: *Knjiga* (prevod Marko Crnkovič), Ljubljana 1990, str. 186, 187
- »Postavljam torej estetsko tvegan zaključek: da sta Glasba in Književnost izmenljivo lice istega, tu razširjeno v temò, tam spet lesketajoče se s pričanostjo, pojava, imenovanega Ideja.«
- ³ Vera Remic – Jager, Ivan Cankar in njegov Kurent, *Spremna beseda v knjigi Kurent Ivana Cankarja*, Ljubljana 1979, str. 91
- ⁴ Zmaga Kumer, *Pesem slovenske dežele*, Maribor 1975, str. 44
- ⁵ Karel Štrekelj, *Slovenske narodne pesmi 1–4*, Ljubljana 1885–1923. V nadaljevanju teksta navajamo ob vsaki pesmi zaporedno številko, ki jo ima v teh knjigah.
- ⁶ Orgle je seveda naziv za harmoniko v ljudski pesmi.
- ⁷ Zmaga Kumer, *Ljudska glasbila in godci*, Ljubljana 1983, str. 89. Šenterija je na Primorskem naziv za oprekelj.
- ⁸ Zmaga Kumer, *ibid.*, p. 94. "Peró" means the leaf of a tree.
- ^{8A} Zmaga Kumer, *nav. delo*, str. 53, 54. Brumbica je brenkalo.
- ⁹ *Slovenske ljudske pesmi*, uredili: Boris Merhar, Zmaga Kumer, Milko Matičetov, Valens Vodusek, Ljubljana 1970, str. 301
- ¹⁰ Zmaga Kumer, *nav. delo*, str. 78. Škentič je gorenjski in primorski izraz za violino.
- ¹¹ Franc Zdravec, *Elementi slovenske moderne književnosti*, Murska Sobota 1980, str. 10
- ¹² Franc Zdravec, *nav. delo*, str. 12
- ¹³ Franc Zdravec, *nav. delo*, str. 92
- ¹⁴ Franc Zdravec, *nav. delo*, str. 93
- ¹⁵ Zmaga Kumer, *nav. delo*, str. 118, 119
- ¹⁶ Franc Zdravec, *nav. delo*, str. 16
- ¹⁷ Franc Zdravec, *nav. delo*, str. 131
- ¹⁸ Franc Zdravec, *nav. delo*, str. 131
- ¹⁹ Zmaga Kumer, *nav. delo*, str. 22

Notes

- ¹ Primož Kuret, *Glasbeni instrumenti na srednjeveških freskah na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1973
- ² Stéphane Mallarmé, *Glasba in književnost* (extract), lecture at Cambridge and Oxford, in: *Knjiga* (translation by Marko Crnkovič, Ljubljana 1990, pp. 186, 187.
- "My conclusion is aesthetically risky: Music and Literature are interchangeable parts of the same face, which at times wanders in the dark and at other times appears persuasively glittering with the phenomenon called Idea."
- ³ Vera Remic-Jager, Ivan Cankar in njegov Kurent. Foreword in the book *Kurent* by Ivan Cankar, Ljubljana 1979, p. 91
- ⁴ Zmaga Kumer, *Pesem slovenske dežele*, Maribor 1975, p. 44
- ⁵ Karel Štrekelj, *Slovenske narodne pesmi 1–4*, Ljubljana 1895–1923. Further in the text each song is provided with the current number appearing in the books.
- ⁶ In a folk song the expression "organ" is used for the diatonic accordion
- ⁷ Zmaga Kumer, *Ljudska glasbila in godci*, Ljubljana 1983, p. 89. In the Primorsko area, "šenterija" stands for sulcimer.
- ⁸ Zmaga Kumer, *ibid.*, p. 94. "Peró" means the leaf of a tree.
- ^{8A} Zmaga Kumer, *ibid.*, pp. 53, 54. "Brumbica" is a stringed instrument.
- ⁹ *Slovenske ljudske pesmi*, edited by Boris Merhar, Zmaga Kumer, Milko Matičetov, Valens Vodusek, Ljubljana 1970, p. 301
- ¹⁰ Zmaga Kumer, *ibid.*, p. 78. "Škentič" is an expression used for violin in the Gorenjsko and Primorsko areas.
- ¹¹ Franc Zdravec, *Elementi slovenske moderne književnosti*, Murska Sobota 1980, p. 10
- ¹² Franc Zdravec, *ibid.*, p. 12
- ¹³ Franc Zdravec, *ibid.*, p. 92
- ¹⁴ Franc Zdravec, *ibid.*, p. 93
- ¹⁵ Zmaga Kumer, *ibid.*, pp. 118, 119
- ¹⁶ Franc Zdravec, *ibid.*, p. 16

- ²⁰ Franc Zdravec, Spremna beseda v zbirki pesmi Pot skozi noč; Izbor iz slovenske futuristične in ekspresionistične poezije, Ljubljana 1966, str. 114
- ²¹ Franc Zdravec, Elementi . . . , str. 11
- ²² Lado Kralj, Ekspresionizem, Literarni leksikon 30, 208 str.
- ²³ Franc Zdravec, Elementi . . . , str. 342
- ²⁴ Franc Zdravec, Elementi . . . , str. 306, 307
- ²⁵ Franc Zdravec, Pot skozi . . . , str. 97
- ²⁶ Boris Paternu, Metaforizacija in demetaforizacija v sodobni slovenski liriki, XXII. Seminar slovenskega jezika, literature in kulture, Ljubljana, 1986, str. 119
- ^{26A} Ivan Cankar, Kurent, Ljubljana 1979, str. 9
- ²⁷ Ivan Cankar, nav. delo, str. 11
- ²⁸ Ivan Cankar, nav. delo, str. 14
- ²⁹ Ivan Cankar, nav. delo, str. 14, 15
- ³⁰ Veno Taufer, O rabi rabljenih besed, Spremna beseda v pesniški zbirki Pesmarica rabljenih besed, Ljubljana 1985, str. 65
- ¹⁷ Franc Zdravec, ibid., p. 131
- ¹⁸ Franc Zdravec, ibid., p. 131
- ¹⁹ Zmaga Kumer, ibid., p. 22
- ²⁰ Franc Zdravec, Foreward in the collection of poems *Pot skozi noč*: Selection from Slovene futurist and expressionist poetry, Ljubljana 1966, p. 114
- ²¹ Franc Zdravec, Elementi . . . , p. 11
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- ²⁶ Boris Paternu, Metaforizacija in demetaforizacija v sodobni slovenski liriki, Ljubljana 1986, p. 119
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Sanjalo se mu je, da se je visoka
senca vzdignila iz za hriba. Nogé
so lomastile po zemlji, glava
pa se je s kuštravimi lasmi dotikala
samega neba. Silne gosli je zibala
vlevici, desnica pa je lok držala.
Tako je lomastila senca preko
zemlje, iz doline v dolino; en
sam korak, pa je prestopila hrib.

Ilustracija k Cankarjevemu Kurentu, Božidar Jakac,
1920

Illustration of Cankar's Kurent by Božidar Jakac,
1920

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Ljubljana, 24. 4. 1991

Robert Vrčon

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Among Folk Musicians and Instruments in Slovenia**

**Razgledi
Views**

Zbral in uredil / Collected and arranged by **Igor Cvetko**
Prevod v angleščino / Translated into English by **Alenka Goričan**
Oblikoval / Designed by **Jovo Ojdanič**
Izdal in založil / Issued and Edited by
**Slovenski etnografski muzej in
Znanstvenoraziskovalni center
Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti,
Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje,
Sekcija za glasbeno narodopisje**
Natisnil / Printed by **Kodrič Ljubljana**
Ljubljana, 1991

SLOVENSKI ETNOGRAFSKI MUZEJ



K E.01 A.11.02

SEM

1991



020130139

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