

THE SCOPE OF SLOVENE MUSIC EMIGRATION SINCE 1918: FROM POLKA TO SOUND ART

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Abstract. *The paper illustrates the range of Slovene music emigration after the Great War through three complementary case studies that will form three levels of what C. Small terms “musicking,” H. Becker the “art world,” or K. Blaukopf “musical practice”: the everyday experience, institutional level, and personal experience. First, the everyday level: the Slovene emigration and its music are discussed as presented officially by The Government Office for Slovenes Abroad through the website <http://www.slovenci.si>. From this perspective, it appears that the musical practices cultivated by Slovenes abroad are intimately bound to two musical phenomena – to a choir culture and the so-called Oberkrainer music. Yet, it is more heterogeneous than this, and the only clear finding here points to the need for future systematic research regarding the lively musical practices by Slovenes abroad. In the second story, the Slovene composers-émigrés are discussed through a critical reading of the only systematic study regarding the Music Production of Slovenes Around the World (1997) by Edo Škulj. The text confines itself mainly to composers of Slovene origin who were active in and around the Catholic church – one of the music institutions – leaving all other profiles of composers and musicians outside of the horizon. The third part illustrates the personal experiences of two Slovene composers living more or less abroad: Uroš Rojko (b. 1954) and Vinko Globokar (b. 1934). Their experiences, alongside the everyday perspective on the Slovene music emigration as well as the chosen institutional aspect of only one musical practice, define the scope of Slovene music emigration as a part of cultural mobility. Pragmatic, institutional, and personal variables indicate the range of emigration culture as one connecting pragmatics, ideology, and the personal experiences of the multiple identities of an emigrant – as typical of our (not only musical) “glocalized” present.*

SAUSAGES, DANCE & ACCORDION: EMIGRATION IMAGERY AND MUSICAL PRACTICES

Seen through the eyes of our well-informed world, there is a rich variety of Slovene societies abroad.¹ Geographically, the Slovene emigration is found primarily in Europe, North and South America, and Canada.

1 Cf. Janez Rogelj, “Kdo so pravzaprav Slovenci po svetu in koliko jih je? [Who Really are Slovenes Around the World and How many are there?],” in: *Moja Slovenija. Net*, 2010, <http://www.mojaslovenija.net/8-novice/slovenska-zgodovina/383-ne-spreglejte-kdo-so-pravzaprav-slovenci-po-svetu-in-koliko-jih-je> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

Different versions of Slovene folk music may be seen as the most recognizable musical legacy connected to emigration – along with other souvenirs. Folk music is but a part of the heterogeneous imagery of *us* as wittily described by the editor of the book *A Medley of National Favourites: Things That Make Slovenes Shine*. (The second part of the Slovene title is more spiritually loaded and means literally: *The holy objects of the Slovenes*):

Carniolan sausage, accordion, Prekmurska gibanica cake, and Vače Situla are elements that you exposed in your book. Why? The answer is simple: the selection or enlistment of this medley is mainly arbitrary, and the book would be thicker if we could find a person who is willing to bite into this potica cake, display a *kozolec* [corn-rack], and have a refreshment with *cviček* [a sort of wine from Lower Carniola region].²

The notorious *Oberkrainer* music – the embodiment of popularity not only among Slovene emigrants – is, together with a more traditional folk music as well as urban choral music practices,³ the hallmark of Slovene national identity.⁴ The National Cleveland-Style Polka Hall of Fame and Museum in Ohio, USA,⁵ indicates the breadth of the polka-and-choir-culture, not only outside Slovenia but also within. A differentiated award system conferred the honourable title *Greatest All-Time Cleveland-Style Hit Song* in 2015 to two pieces: the waltz of Lojze Slak *V Dolini Tihi* (1966) and the polka *Na Golici* (a.k.a. *Trompetten-Echo*; 1955) by Slavko Avsenik. The list of *greatest hits* in the genre since the introduction of the award in 1993 is, of course, much longer.⁶

The practice of music styles involved in emigrant musicking may be illustrated for instance with the choir *Mučačas*, young ladies with Slovene backgrounds: besides (medleys of) folk songs, they sing different popular pieces without any close connection to Slovenia.

2 Tadej Čater, “Slovenecm sveti predmeti: od kranjske klobase, vaške situle do copat in gibanica [Slovenes’ sacred objects: from Carniola sausage, village situla to slippers and Prekmurje layer cake],” in: *MMC*, 7. 4. 2015 <https://www.rtvsllo.si/kultura/knjige/slovenecm-sveti-predmeti-od-kranjske-klobase-vaske-situle-do-copat-in-gibanice/362304> (accessed on 8. 1. 2016).

3 Cf. Frank Molly, “Glasbena matica,” in: *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Cleveland: Cleveland West University, 1997), <http://ech.case.edu/cgi/article.pl?id=GM2> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

4 Matjaž Merljak, “Pomen in vloga glasbenega ustvarjanja med Slovenci po svetu [The Meaning and Role of Music Production among Slovenes Around the World],” in: *Radio Ognjišče*, 1. 11. 2010 <http://radio.ognjisce.si/sl/111/ssd/2678/> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

5 Details about this organization are available on <http://www.clevelandstyle.com> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

6 “Greatest All-Time Hit Songs – Cleveland-Style Polka and Waltz Hits,” [a web page without an author] <http://www.clevelandstyle.com/awards~show~2015a.html> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

The culture of folk musicking seems to be in a favourable period. Commentators are pointing to the growing number of popular folk-music (*narodnozabavna glasba*) broadcasts on Radiotelevizija Slovenije⁷ as well as among Slovene emigrants. However, folk music is only one part of the musical life of the emigrants. It seems that the ancient motto *ubi bene ibi patria* is still valid in today's world. As Lorena Mihelač testifies in her study of *National identity and music in school-age adolescents*, from the perspective of the immigrants in Slovenia,⁸ folk music is considered an important link to the country of origin only if folk music is considered a value in the family.

They experience folk music as one of the agents by which it is possible to keep their national identity and by means of which they can show what the members of other nationalities (perhaps) do not have. They are aware of the value of folk music, although they prefer to listen to music styles (genres) that have more appeal for them, i.e., to popular music genres, because they live in an age in which (momentarily) they more easily identify themselves with them. Therewith they confirm that an individual can identify himself nationally with any music that connects him with his country of origin.⁹

It is probably needless to emphasize that the concept (and experiences) of *emigration* combine a thorny set of variables in which two premises – the geographical and the ethnic – seem to be crucial. For instance, if the bass-baritone Marcos (Marko) Fink (1950) considers himself “born in Buenos Aires, Argentina into a Slovene family”¹⁰ his sister, the mezzo-soprano Bernarda Fink Inzko (1955), seems to be recognized as an “Argentine mezzo-soprano of Slovene parentage.”¹¹ The nuances of combining geographical embeddedness and ethnical affiliation have hardly any negative connotations with regard to Bernarda Fink Inzko and Marcos Fink: they are praised as “noble proof that a national affiliation is a deep yet not necessarily one-way feeling.”¹² Moreover, they both support the thesis that “[t]he emigrants have always been a model for organized minorities, because they preserve their love for the homeland highly motivated while their cosmopolitanism

7 Matjaž Kitak, *Pomen narodno-zabavne glasbe v programih javne televizije* [The importance of folk-entertainment music in public television programs], Diploma, University of Maribor, 2011, 27.

8 Lorena Mihelač, *Nacionalna identiteta in glasba pri šoloobveznih mladostnikih* (National identity and music in school-age adolescents), PhD diss., University of Nova Gorica, 2011, 147.

9 Idem, 142.

10 “Marcos Fink,” <http://marcosfink.si/en/domov/> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

11 Steane, J.B., “Fink, Bernarda,” in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

12 “Žlahтна Bernarda in Marcos Fink. Vrhunski pevski koncert v Trstu [The Noble Bernarda and Marcos Fink. Topmost concert in Trieste],” *Novi glas*, 15. 6. 2918, <https://www.noviglas.eu/zlahtna-bernarda-marcos-fink/> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

and, at the same time, a strong awareness of their own (also different) roots can be an interesting cue for reflecting the future of minorities.”¹³ However, that the variables of *foreignness* inherent in the concept of e/migration are much more complex than in the Finks’ case is indicated not only by the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities (founded in 1998) but also by the “needy” existential habits of the “glocalized” – those both globalized and localized – within the culture. Parallel worlds marked by minority issues in music are growing within geographical and ethnic systems. For instance in Slovenia, there are two committees for music at the Ministry of Culture: one “Expert committee for music – serious music, opera, and ballet” and the other “Expert committee for music – other music.” And it is exactly the parallel co-habitation of similar practices that forms a rich Slovene musical emigration. Although never researched systematically, it seems that one thing holds true: “I have to emphasize the singing [... and] the special meaning, for the emigrants and their descendants, of the Slovene folk song, the waltz [one may wish to add polka too] and popular song [popevka],”¹⁴ Marjan Drnovšek, a scholar on Slovene emigrants in the 19th and 20th centuries, described the many scattered Slovene musical practices throughout the world.

RESEARCH ON SLOVENE MUSIC EMIGRATION

Generally, the official attitude toward the emigrants was since 1945 rather perplexed; it started to be more inclusive only gradually, from the 1960s onward until the 1980s.¹⁵ Yet the different experiences and circumstances within socialist Yugoslavia and the different statuses of the emigrants (the most common division was between economic and political emigration), as well as their perspectives on their home country, call for future systematic research of individual testimonies.¹⁶ This holds true especially for music. Music has been considered a marginal activity, a cultural stepchild, hardly capable of proper political engagement. As far as the general experience regarding music among Slovene emigrants is concerned, it

13 Idem.

14 Matjaž Merljak, “Pomen in vloga glasbenega ustvarjanja med Slovenci po svetu [The importance and role of creating musical among Slovenes around the world],” *Radio ognjišče*, 1. 11. 2010, <http://radio.ognjisce.si/sl/111/ssd/2678/> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

15 Aleš Gabrič, “Odnos oblasti do kulturne ustvarjalnosti slovenske emigracije [The attitude of the authorities towards the cultural activity of Slovene emigrants],” in: *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino*, 2003/2, 105–113.

16 Probably the most thorough contemporary series of contributions addressing Slovene emigration is gathered in the Slovene Migration Institute of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts (<http://isim.zrc-sazu.si/#v>) and the journal *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*, published since 1990 (<http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si/>).

is nicely indicated not only by the aforementioned scholar Marjan Drnovšek but also in the so far only systematic survey of Slovene musical emigration, written in 1997 by Edo Škulj.¹⁷ He offered an overview of the musical creativity of the Slovene emigration, leaving out the reproduction and reception of their work:

Within the European Cultural Month in Ljubljana 1997 we had a set of lectures under the title *Cultural creativity of the Slovenes in the diaspora*. The *Slovene orthography* interprets the word ‘diaspora’ in the sense of ‘disseminated around the places’ [*razsejanost po krajih*] and there is also a meaning of ‘scattered around the world’ [*raztreseni po svetu*] [...]. But I find a better explanation in the *Biblical Lexicon* which states that ‘diaspora’ is a Greek word meaning ‘dispersion’ [*razkropitev*]; it speaks of a religious minority amidst a majority of different religions.¹⁸

It would be questionable to claim that Škulj – himself born in Buenos Aires in 1941, returning to his homeland in 1975 – emphasized the power relations between an individual (or minority) and the majority instead of sticking to the more “formal” geographical and to a certain extent also pragmatic (‘biologist’) meaning of the word. His subtle distinction between ‘dissemination’ and ‘dispersion’ nicely defines the range within which the music has also been perceived, at least since the Great War. Both expressions may be used roughly as synonyms for ‘scatteredness,’ but with differing connotations: *dissemination* is a phenomenon in which many see a vehicle of ‘scattering seeds’ (*disseminare*), i.e., of scattering certain *values*, loaded with positive connotations and hints of something valuable; while *dispersion* merely signifies ‘scattering’ (*dispergere*), more objectively and somehow free of connotations other than the basic idea that something is spatially scattered around, with a somewhat negative echo attaching to one of its synonyms: *diaspora*. This nuance of difference grows more important as the range of emigration in music is seen not only as a sociological or anthropological concept but also as a compositional, ‘technical’ musicological phenomenon. As Škulj notes in his survey of the Slovene creativity in the diaspora,

Today we have numerous first-class composers active outside of Slovenia, but they have emigrated after 1950 not in the first place because of the political but mainly because of artistic or vital reasons [*umetniških in življenjskih razlogov*]. The composers are: Ivan Florjanc, [...], Vinko Globokar, Božidar Kantušer, [...] Janez Matičič [...] and Božidar Kos. We could add to the line also Ciril Kren [...] and mention composers in the neighbouring countries: Pavle Merku [...] and Jože Ropitz.¹⁹

17 Edo Škulj, “Glasbeno ustvarjanje Slovencev po svetu [Music Production of the Slovenes around the World],” in: *Meddobje = Entresiglo*, 31/3–4 (1997), 198–214.

18 Idem, 199.

19 Idem, 199–200.

The performance practices among the diasporas are left out in this case. And one might wish to add more names to the the list of composers: in North America Pavel Šifler (John Paul Sifler, 1911–2001), Peter Velikonja (1938), and Jerica Oblak Parker (1966); in Canada Klaro Marija Mizerit (1914–2007), Frederik (Mirko) Rener (1919–1993), and Marjan Mozetich (1948); in Germany Igor Majcen (1952); and in neighbouring countries along with Merkù and Ropitz also Aldo Daneu (1933), Fabio Nieder (1957), and Rojac Corrado (1968). The fact that Škulj omitted these composers from his survey is not as telling as is the fact that he focused on composers who “left the country in 1945” and “did not hang up their harps, as did the people in Babylonian exile (cf. Psalm 172:2), but took them in their hands and sang. [...] These composers were Franc Cigan, Alojzij Geržinič, Metod Milač, Jože Osana, and Vendelin Špendov.”²⁰

The composers addressed by Škulj were active mainly in the field of church music – music close to the everyday experience of the many. Škulj does not mention one of the most influential Slovene composer-performers in the USA, Matija Arko (1891–1960) alias Matt Hoyer (he went to Ohio, where the majority of Slovene emigrants live in the USA), although he was “exceptionally popular, even more than rock’n’roll in the 1960s.”²¹ Similar popularity welcomed the *Oberkrainer Musik* when it was introduced in Slovenia in 1953.

The style-and-genre bifurcation – so characteristic of the entire ‘heroic era’ of individualist approaches to music – has not been even indicated for the Slovene musical emigration. However, it seems that it is exactly the lack of any hint (not to mention coherent approach) regarding the undeniable “varieties of cultural history” (Burke) in the context of the Slovene émigrés and music that points to the core set of issues gathered around one of the central phenomena of the modern world: cultural mobility. Stephen Greenblatt and his colleagues proposed the concept of cultural mobility as a perspective for addressing “microhistories of ‘displaced’ things and persons”²² with a certain “sensation of rootedness.”²³ In this sense, the final part of this paper addresses the migrational experiences of two composers: Uroš Rojko and Vinko Globokar.

20 Idem, 201.

21 Drago Kunej and Rebeka Kunej, *Glasba z obeh strani: gramofonske plošče Matije Arka in Hoyer tria [Music from both sides]* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2016; Ribnica: Rokodelski Center), 93.

22 Stephen Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 17.

23 Idem, 252.

UROŠ ROJKO: THE EXPERIENCE OF MIGRATION

Uroš Rojko studied in Germany (1983–89) and remained there; since 1995 he has travelled between Germany and Ljubljana, where he teaches composition classes at the Academy of Music. Although he is not an émigré, his migrational experience is an interesting one. He sees himself as a kind of ‘amphibian’:

I am active prevalently in Germany [...] When I come to Ljubljana, I have to change the tape in my head. Many things change. In thinking and acting. I live a certain double life. Like the same book of twin brothers on a vacation – I feel that way.²⁴

It has been a long time I am moving in parallel worlds; the first one is tied to my roots [...] the other is my unrest, ‘nomadism,’ living in Germany, which moulds me on her own. Sooner or later the question of identity had to appear. Who am I? As a person? As an artist? Both worlds are in their essence so different that I was not able to approach both in the same way. I never burdened myself (at least not consciously) with the question *Who is the potential listener to my music?* – it was clear to me that a certain aesthetics, a stylistic determination has an effect in one and not in another place. If it counts for a regressive infantilism especially, but not only, in the German cultural space when an artist flirts with the past uncritically, what counts especially in the post-communist countries of the European East and South is the experimentalism, avant-gardism and critical rationalism for an elitist hermeticism. For a creator who ‘finally’ reaches irreversibly certain ‘deeper truths,’ this is a schizophrenic situation, because it is impossible to identify yourself with what is mutually exclusive. Yet, everyone who has accepted himself as a sensitive sensor calibrated on a cosmopolitan space is confronted with similar dilemmas. The roots remain, but often an abyss emerges between these paradigms. The synthesis of the both is usually complicated.²⁵

Apart from his personal success and a dichotomy regarding his own “schizophrenic situation,” his “cosmopolitan calibration” obviously rests on the mechanisms of critical evaluation regarding his musical aesthetics. Is this cosmopolitanism a parallel (or an appearance) of the *Weltethos* culture propagating ‘respectful tolerance’ – yet not ‘indifference’ – toward the *other*?²⁶

24 Radio broadcast by Nina Zagoričnik, “Proti etru: Uroš Rojko [Against the Airwaves: Uroš Rojko],” broadcast of Radio Slovenia, 25. 11. 1999.

25 Gregor Pompe, “Intervju. Uroš Rojko. Skladatelj in profesor kompozicije [Interview. Uroš Rojko. Composer and Professor of Composition],” in: *Deloskop*, 25. 11. – 1. 12. 2004, 15–17.

26 I use the term *Weltethos* in its current meaning, as in *Was ist Welthethos?*, in: http://www.weltethos.org/was_ist_weltethos (accessed on 1. 2. 2019).

Rojko's position of *moving* between oppositions is analogous to the sociological concept of *transnationalism* or to the artistic concept of *postmodernity*: they all emphasize the *dialogue, integration, complementarity* etc. of different values. This is exactly what Rojko experiences with his "two worlds": a process of reconciling differences.

Furthermore, his sharp North-and-South-European generalization indicates the notorious (at least in Europe) quandary regarding cultural migration: should one speak of integration or assimilation? Rojko has tried to *integrate* himself: as a typical modernist, he is trying to make himself a name as a *distinct individual*, not to *assimilate* himself (and thus become similar to many others). And aesthetically, he sees music as a highly intellectual endeavour, an autonomous phenomenon detached from the everyday life practices and elevated into another – *special* – world of *sublime expression*, anchored in a mixture of aesthetics close to French spectralism. His music is not *integrative* in terms of stylistic heterogeneity; on the contrary, he sticks to the romantic ideal of musical autonomy. However, socially his thought still persists on a cultural "synthesis" of his two worlds, which is another token of the same type of the process of *assimilation*.²⁷

VINKO GLOBOKAR: MUSIC ABOUT (E)MIGRATION

Rojko never addressed the issue of emigration through or *in* his music – his music hardly 'migrates,' as it were, beyond the medium of sound with allusive gestures. His roots somehow remain in the medium of music as an abstract art of sound.

Vinko Globokar, to the contrary, himself a cosmopolitan by birth, returned several times in his artistic work to emigration. He explicitly thematized emigration issues in the triptych *Les Émigrés* (1982–86) and the three pieces *L'Exil* (2012–14). The main procedure in these pieces is *collage*: a collage of musical styles (from serialism, jazz, and free improvisation to folk tunes), of texts (ranging from Homer to Peter Handke), and of spoken languages. In *Exile 3 (Das Leben des Emigranten Edvard)* for orchestra, choir, soprano, narrator, contrabass clarinet, and improviser, Globokar wrote his autobiography.

Alone with his entire œuvre, his existentialist – always socially engaged and psychologically stimulated – approach to music was noted already in the 1970s. He is in many respects the very opposite of Rojko's delicate spectralism. Far from

27 The same quandary of integration or assimilation may be added to the list of antinomies of the whole twentieth-century music about which historiographers often speak, as for instance Hermann Danuser in his *Die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft – Band 7; Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997).

searching for any *synthesis* of the differences, his musical motto may be summed up with the genre-label of musical theatre in which the sound-art artistry is endless, whereas his social concern is emphatically existential. In 1996 he admitted: “I have probably never uttered the sentence ‘Let’s go home!’ – but very often ‘Let’s go!’ when we went to live to France, Germany, USA, and again to France, Germany [... France again].”²⁸

His reputation as a cosmopolitan is well founded. As a composer and performer, he is searching not only for integration but also for a juxtaposition of whatever he finds appealing. It would be difficult to find a more upright representative of “our postmodern modernity” (W. Welsch) in Slovene music history. His inborn straightforwardness regarding stylistic mixing and acceptance of cultural diversity may be seen as an embodiment of migrational transnationalism, juggling personal experiences as transcultural phenomena, comparable to the approaches met in world-music fusions or modern (dance) electronic music: anything goes, so long as it is aesthetically efficient. Yet he is not just a passive companion of his time, he is not *reacting* to his surroundings – he tries to *act*, to actively shape the world around him with his music. Thus, his stance regarding music’s function is clear: “art is not only an emotional, personal expression. Art is also a critique.”²⁹

The very concept of autonomous art is unacceptable for Globokar. His compositional vocabulary is extremely heterogeneous and heteronomous: a true collage of sounds and styles, assimilating everything into conspicuous modernist music theatre. However, socially he sees music as far from a medium of synthesis: music is but a mirror of fragmented realities and constant changes.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GLOBOKAR AND ROJKO

Globokar and Rojko share common poetic (avant-garde) roots yet hold opposite views on the social functions of music (as a specific artistic medium). As for the common poetics, Rojko and Globokar are both trying to mediate through sound their experiences of a world in which different phenomena coexist. They both grew up with musical and artistic modernism as a referential approach to music as an autonomous creation. They both aim at a certain transnational, cosmopolitan narrative, yet their aesthetic vocabularies are opposed. Rojko, with his spectralist logic of *pure* music, searches for a certain incommensurable, almost expressionistic

28 Vinko Globokar, “‘Mi,’ ta vsesplošna propustnica demagogov [‘We’, A Universal Pass of the Demagogues],” in: *Delo (Sobotna priloga)*, 13. 4. 1996, 42. A fine example of his approach is offered in the trailer *Uraufführung von Vinko Globokars “Exil 3.”* Bayerischer Rundfunk, 24. 2. 2015, https://youtu.be/sDoG_QYdyoU?t=1m26s (accessed on 8 January 2016).

29 Vinko Globokar, “‘Mi,’ ta vsesplošna propustnica demagogov,” 42.

flow in which the semantics are *tamed*, *reduced* to elemental meaning, confined to universalistic *gestures*. On the other hand, Globokar is a rhetorician working with a plethora of semantic figures, citations, a collage of eloquent hints and allusions sparkling with theatrical vigor.

They both develop an imagery of music as a mental *migration* from an idealistic (and idealized) ‘other world’ – a distant world of longing – to a realistic, fragmented and fragmentary world with a wide, hardly definable scope of feelings and rationality. If Rojko’s music offers parallels with a microcosm, personal, subjective, ‘localized’ experience, Globokar tries to encompass the whole cosmos, the entire transpersonal experiential world a person can possibly face.

In their different aspirations – Rojko with his subjectivism and Globokar with his objectivized sound theatre oriented toward culture, existence, and politics – they both may stand for the functions that music has for emigrants: as a personal imagery that many people use to reflect the segments of their current as well as their past identities.³⁰

THE RANGE AND SPECIFICITIES OF SLOVENE MUSIC EMIGRATION

For many (not only emigrants), music is not only a cultural practice within a certain social circle but also private imagery. It is not difficult to find in it something for oneself regardless of one’s social (or cultural or political) identity: the examples of the choir Muččas and the church composers mentioned by Edo Škulj are but segments of the Slovene music emigration. In fact, these musical phenomena are by no means limited to the emigrants; they form a socially widespread field of different musical activities. The important perspective (not only for emigrants) of music as a lever for the “management of self-identity”³¹ that co-creates former and current identities is not touched upon here. Music is an important cultural good as well as activity that pushes, as for Vinko Globokar, in “the centre of thinking simply the man, the fate of a man.”³² Globokar’s existentialist view regards music as a tool for reflecting the “central questions of a humanistic, social, and psychological kind.”³³

30 The line of Slovene emigrants, also musically, may be complemented through The Slovene Genealogy Society International (<http://www.Slovenegenealogy.org>) and the Slovene Genealogy Society (www.rodoslovje.si). (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

31 David J. Hargreaves and Adrian C. North, “The functions of music in everyday life: redefining the social in music psychology”, in: *Psychology of Music*, 1999/27, 71.

32 Vinko Globokar, *Laboratorium: Texte zur Musik 1967–1997*, ed. by Siegfried Konrad (Saarbrücken: Pfau, 1998), 185.

33 Idem.

The question that arises from Globokar's relation to musicking is identical to the question regarding the variables that inform any musical practice: how has it been practiced, for whom it being practiced, and what does it convey, and to whom? It would be interesting to know (even for domestic musical culture, let alone the emigrational), which mechanisms dictate the differences between different profiles of musicians in an era in which musical habits have changed the concept of the fine arts. In the case of Slovenia, for instance, there are about 120 members in the official Association of Slovene Composers; the copyright association SAZAS states that "there are more than 5,800 domestic authors and holders of musical rights."³⁴ The disparity between academic composers and creators within the music industry officially recognized by law as *the* music-makers indicates an un-tuned practice of recognizing artists academically and *de iure*. Are academic composers a minority, comparable to emigrants abroad, foreigners in their own – predominantly – DIY culture? Or are the 'authors' of music just much more 'scattered' over different pop-up forms of music? The questions are actually misleading: one would have to specify the commonalities of the different musical practices first in order to speak about the differences.

In spite of this, any possible answer to the questions above could not hide the fact that music creativity, both at home and abroad, is far more diverse than it seems on the basis of the known data about Slovene music in emigration. For further research into the musical practices of the Slovene emigrants it would be sensible to question the assumption that music creativity is limited only to one segment of the population (such as church musicians) or one widespread genre (*Oberkrainer* music); the analysis should start from the concept of the art world (H. Becker), musical practices (K. Blaukopf), or musicking (C. Small), integrating production, mediation and reception, including professionals as well as amateur musicians, media and their editors, sound designers, and artists.

By increasing the number and profiles of those who create music and extending the horizon toward the mediation and reception of music, an epistemological quandary arises. Namely, the above-outlined spheres of Slovene musical emigration indicate *exclusive* views on certain musical practices; no inclusive points of view are offered, let alone any integrative points of view. What is considered a "global paradox"³⁵ – that globalization simultaneously strengthens local characteristics – and is often labelled *glocalization*, has actually never been well defined

34 The details about SAZAS Society k.o. are available on <https://www.szas.org/English-forms> (accessed on 1. 12. 2016).

35 John Naisbitt, *Global Paradox: The Bigger the World Economy, the more Powerful its Smallest Players* (New York: W. Morrow, 1994).

within music studies, although it addresses the main processes of our far from 'postcolonial' era: re-functionalizations of or within a certain musical practice.

The growing diversity within a musical practice, brought about in the name of the richness and diversity of its 'consumers,' has rather the opposite effect: instead of bringing people together and creating an environment of many possibilities, it seems to produce ignorance about whatever remains beyond an observer's horizon. If the friction between different profiles of creators led Antoine Bemetzrieder in *Le tolérantisme musical* (1779) to plead for tolerance regarding the three major 'schools' of his time (the Gluckists, the Piccinnists, and the lovers of French music),³⁶ Mladen Dolar summed up the main premises on which we tend to think about creation today as two sets of practices: a "militant élite making a stand against mass production."³⁷ Yet, the two attitudes seem the paler and more ramified the more individualized listening habits are being reproduced in the Google era, with smart technologies and a culture of various kinds of human transfer.

Just as Edo Škulj pointed out the difference between the concepts of emigration as something 'scattered' as opposed to something 'disseminated,' it seems that the 'parallel worlds' in which we live demand a constant re-evaluation of such basic concepts. It seems that a quandary regarding the concept of musical practice also for the Slovene music emigration brings to the fore a 'strange' relation among music production, mediation, and reception. In this respect, it seems that ethno/musicology may benefit from using the existent technologies for big data retrieval to define the segments of various musical practices, and not only those of the emigrants.

CONCLUSION

A terminological note may be useful. It may be better to speak of aesthetic *transfer* in the cases of Vinko Globokar and Uroš Rojko, and of the trans-ethnic *functionality* of church music regarding the church musicians addressed by Edo Škulj, just as it would make more sense to speak of a common re-contextualisation of the *Oberkrainer* waltz-and-polka culture. In any case, the concept of migration becomes the more awkward the more we approach our own time. The very idea of migration evades the classical sociological confines: phenomena, as well as people, tend to *migrate* as well as *transform* after 1918 through a set of "microhistories of 'displaced'

36 Cf. Leon Stefanija, "Le tolérantisme musical – komentarji k študiji Antoineta Bemetzriederja o nacionalnih glasbenih kulturah v 18. stoletju: Pripombe k spoznavoslovju glasbe [*Le tolérantisme musical – comments on Antoine Bemetzrieder's essay on national musical cultures in the 18th century*]," *Muzikološki zbornik*, 43/2 (2007), 179–215.

37 Mladen Dolar, "Function beyond function?: Reflections on the functionality of the autonomous," in: *De musica disserenda*, 2006/2, 11–19.

things and persons.”³⁸ Even in music historiography there is an obvious ‘feedback loop’ regarding the processes through which phenomena are transferred or re-contextualized: if a student wishes to gain insight into what a ‘mainstream’ means in music from, for instance, *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*,³⁹ one uneasily accepts the fact that there is not one mainstream but that there are several of them. Just as there are several ‘microhistories’ of the mainstream as well as of the side-streams, the Slovene musical emigration is rather more heterogeneous than is indicated by each of the three parts of this contribution.

Thus, this contribution is a plea for systematic research into musical practices as understood from the perspective of an *integrative* approach. The three parts of the contribution above indicate three levels of musicking:

1. A superficial picture of music by Slovene emigrants indicates that *Oberkrainer* music – pejoratively referred to as ‘beef music’ (*goveja glasba*, in allusion to the classical Sunday Slovene dish, beef soup) and by many advocated positively as ‘Slovene music’ – is but a part of the story in which everyday culture is important also for music research.
2. The church music addressed by Edo Škulj is but an insight into/about the musical rituals, the public ones in this case, tied to Catholic church practices.
3. The ‘gourmet music’ of the modernists, such as Vinko Globokar or Uroš Rojko, seems hardly connected to the Slovene music emigration. They tend to understand themselves as cosmopolitans, their art being too idiosyncratic to fit into any national/ethnic identity in the most basic meaning of the word/s – although both composers thematise the migration *in* or *through* music by their personal experience of émigrés.

These three layers are by no means all that may be addressed in more detail. However, they – the everyday culture (in the choir-and-dance practices), the institutional contexts (in this case the Catholic church), and the personal experiences interwoven in musical utterances and experiences – indicate rather nicely that the concept of emigration has the potential to offer not only better knowledge about the emigrants but also of our own musical past as well as present. But it should be viewed in terms of the various sets of contents embodied in it.

38 Stephen Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, 17.

39 Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

The intersections of the musical practices of the emigrants with other musical practices are, after all, a part of the process of *migration*, or *going to* – of a *transfer* – of people and their practices from one world into another: the arts, and music especially, are the embodiment of this process. It seems that the stylistic diversity of music reflects the diverse experiences and musical practices, also of the Slovene emigrants – and indicates re-definitions of their identities (whether social, economic, political, cultural, or private). And it is exactly this *redefinition* of the relation between *us* and *them* – a redefinition of the most basic set of facts about any human being, not only a migrant – that offers an appealing scholarly perspective on emigration as a special form of socialization, and one so characteristic of the modern world. To find the mechanisms that play a role in these changes is, of course, by no means a central issue for emigrants or emigration with regard to music. Yet, it is an important issue also in understanding the “wider social reality [...] approached from diverse perspectives”⁴⁰ and, in this case, the musicking of the Slovene émigrés.

40 John Shepherd, Phil Virden, Graham Vulliamy, and Trevor Wishart, *Whose Music: A Sociology of Musical Languages* (London: Latimer New Dimensions Limited, 1977), 1.