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Migration of Central European Musicians Exemplified by John Dopyera, Diana Krall, Andreas Varady, and Celeste Buckingham

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Abstract

The author examines the different reasons behind the emigration of musicians from the territory of today's Slovak Republic during various eras. The migration of Slovak people from the Austro-Hungarian Empire around the end of the 19th century was largely motivated by economic factors. Ideological doctrines that constrained free artistic thinking propelled another wave of emigration during the former socialist Czechoslovakia (1948–1989). After the birth of the Slovak Republic (1993), migratory movements continued especially with Czech and Slovak jazzmen trying to establish themselves on the global scene. The examples of departing artists (John Dopyera, the inventor of the resophonic Dobro guitar; Diana Krall, jazz pianist and singer; Andreas Varady, a jazz guitarist of Romani origin; and Celeste Buckingham, a singer with multicultural ancestry) contribute to the debate on migration's cultural and artistic significance. The author discusses the instrumentalist approach to the issue of ethnicity for those globally successful artists who pragmatically stress the appropriate element of their ethnic background relevant to the circumstances. Additionally, the article gives attention to the primordialist aspects and emotional issues relating to the ethnicity of those Slovak musicians whose success abroad was only localized.

Key words

Andreas Varady, Diana Krall, global music, migration, multiculturalism, resophonic guitar

Cultural Exchange

Cultural exchange, the melting pot, and multicultural are newly coined terms, closely associated with integrating the achievements of other cultures. These phenomena are triggered by non-musical processes such as the migration of people, political movements, changes to regions with the emergence of new independent states, changes in religiosity, and also the spread of music by the media. Theoreticians speak of convergent and divergent processes in music, culture, and the arts,¹ which affect the uniqueness as well as the global character of music styles and genres within the functional context of their economic background. At the same time, the factors which play a major role in a musician's assimilation to a new environment are their talent and musicality. While in the past, artists had to adapt to the traditions and customs within a given regional music culture, at present they also have to cope with establishing themselves in the virtual reality of the global music industry.² Since the 1990s, we have seen a continuing acceleration and a reduction of the intermediary elements between the listeners and the artists' music, with 'disintermediation' characterizing the current communication process.³ This brings a change in the previous relationships between the artist, their agency, the record label, and the media.

An artist's talent is related to their inherited dispositions carried from generation to generation, and also to the developmental influences of the primary—most often homogeneous—musical environment, such as family and school, which shapes musicians' tastes and style predilections until their teenage years. When they embark on professional careers,⁴ artists face the problem of adapting to heterogeneous audience preferences, rivalry with competitors, agencies, and publishing houses. Within the context of multiculturalism, talent and aesthetic dispositions remain relatively constant factors. What increasingly changes, however, is the homogeneity of the musical ambience. In the analysis of multicultural music, importance is placed on the bipolar relationship between the nationality and the citizenship of not only the musicians but also their parents. Another significant factor is the style or genre, as a relic of the musical tradition upon which they draw. Essential aspects in creating multicultural music include the musical environment from which the artist hails as a component of their musical heritage, or 'cultural capital'⁵ and their way of preserving 'a musical memory' in a new environment through their dispositions, abilities, as well as traditions, customs, and experiences that Pierre Bourdieu

1 BOHLMAN, Philip V. *World Music. A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 2; POWELL, Helen. *Promotional Culture and Convergence*. London & New York: Routledge, 2013.

2 HEINICH, Nathalie. 'Practices of contemporary art: a pragmatic approach to a new artistic paradigm'. In *Artistic Practices, Social Interactions and Cultural Dynamism*, Tasos ZEMBYLAS (ed.), London: Routledge, 2014, pp. 32–43.

3 JONES, Steve. 'Music that moves: popular music, distribution and network technologies'. *Cultural Studies*, 16(2), 2002, 213–232.

4 BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Distinction. A Social Critique of Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 106.

5 BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Teorie jednání*. Praha: Karolinum, 1998, p. 13.

terms 'habitus'.⁶ These phenomena will be analysed using examples of Slovak emigrants: specifically John Dopyera (b.1893, Šaštín-Stráže, today in the Slovak Republic–d.1988, Grants Pass, Oregon, USA), the inventor of the Dobro guitar; jazz pianist and singer Diana Krall (b.1964, Nanaimo, British Columbia, Canada); jazz guitarist Andreas Varady (b.1997, Rimavská Sobota, Slovak Republic); and popular music singer Celeste Buckingham (b.1995, Zürich, Switzerland). The issues of migration and cultural exchange will be more closely examined with regard to the new millennium, and with a focus on several generations of musicians identifying themselves with the Central European region or with Slovakian ancestry. I have drawn on critical reflections, published in magazines, which concentrate on the ethnic identity of the selected artists. The main goal was to analyse the extent to which migration has been essential for their global success.

Multicultural Relics of Early-20th-Century Migration

The early-20th-century exodus from the territory of Slovakia was mainly for economic reasons. At that time, Slovak people were mainly small landowners making their living by farming. However, life in the Upper-Land (which was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1867–1918 and included the territory of today's Slovakia) was economically stressful for the majority of population⁷ with poverty as the principal driver of emigration.⁸

Diana Krall's great-grandparents left for Canada in 1905 and decided to settle in Michel (today's Sparwood in British Columbia).

John Dopyera's family departed from the village of Dolná Krupá for Los Angeles in 1908, and Dopyera became one of the first Slovak emigrants to leave an imprint in the world. According to Velden and Jantoščiak⁹, the Dopyeras were millers with reasonable financial security. They emigrated for political reasons, due to the approaching danger of World War I. On the other hand, Radványi and Kalinics¹⁰ speak of the financial hardships of the Dopyera's 10-child family. I follow Radványi's and Kalinics's interpretation

6 Ibid., p. 16.

7 LISZKA, József. *Národopis Maďarov na Slovensku*. [Ethnography of the Hungarians in Slovakia]. Komárno-Dunajská Streda: LiliumAurum, 2003, p. 26, 136, 377.

8 According to the Federal Census of 1920, a quarter of the Slovak population left between 1880 and 1920, of which 619,866 Slovaks lived in the USA in 1920, of whom 274,948 were born outside the USA, and 344,918 in the USA. In 1880, the number of Slovak inhabitants in Austria-Hungary was 2,477,521, and 2,993,859 Slovaks lived in Czechoslovakia in 1921. UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU. *Statistical abstract of the United States: 1920*. 1921; ALZO, Lisa A. *Slovak Pittsburgh*. Charleston SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006, p. 7; MÉŠÁROŠ, Július. *Zložitá hľadanie pravdy o slovenských dejinách*. [A Complex Search for the Truth in Slovak History]. Bratislava: Veda, 2004.

9 VELDEN, Emily van der 'Dopyera family'. *Slovo z Britskej Kolumbie*, 6 (2), 2013, p. 9; JANTOŠČIAK, Peter. 'Malé veci vedú k veľkým veciam. Poznámky k pôsobeniu Rudolfa Dopjera.' [Small things lead to big things. Notes on the work of Rudolf Dopjera]. In *Malé osobnosti veľkých dejín*, [The Small Personalities of Great History]. Bratislava: SNM-HM, 2018, p. 401–402.

10 RADVÁNYI, Peter – KALINICS, Milan J. 'Dobro – hudební nástroj a jeho historie. Josef Dopyera a Slovensko. Historie resofonických kytar'. [“Dobro” – the musical instrument and its history. Joseph Dopyera and Slovakia: the history of the resophonic guitars]. *Bluegrass*, 1999, 2005, 2009.

because of the correspondence with the economic situation in Slovakia at that time, whereas Velden's account applies a refinement to the Dopyera story.

John Dopyera and Diana Krall exemplify the legacy of the early 20th-century emigration that resulted in world-wide accomplishment.

The Reception of John Dopyera and Diana Krall

In socialist Czechoslovakia, information about emigrants was practically unknown to the public because it was taboo to discuss this topic in the media or with exiles themselves.¹¹ Departure without the permission of the government incurred a political stain. The authorities regarded emigrants as traitors, although in the eyes of their compatriots in the motherland they were heroes who had managed to stand up to the socialist dictatorship and establish themselves abroad. Discussion about emigration gradually opened after 1989.¹²

Although the name of Ján Dopyera (John Dopyera) already appeared in the *Slovak Biographical Dictionary* in 1986,¹³ he came to be known to the public mainly through the Dobrofest festivals in Trnava organized by activists and enthusiasts from 1992 to 2012 (later, due to financial difficulties, only tribute concerts have been held). The Dopyera family still living in Slovakia supported Dopyera's rehabilitation and the promotion of his name. Uncovering Dopyera's Slovakian roots was a systematic process over the last three decades, instigated by American organologists interested in the origin of the resonant Dobro guitar.¹⁴

Revealing Krall's Central-European provenance was the product of her team's strategic management. Krall's managers have advantageously used the currently favourable and sensitive public feelings towards patriotism while, at the same time, embracing a cosmopolitan outlook. Despite the distrust of a number of critics and speculators about Krall's ancestry, her revelation of Slovakian roots at the 2009 Bratislava performance¹⁵ captured the attention of the public and won the favour of her audience. When Krall's forebears left Central Europe (in 1905), the region had constituted a large part of Austria-Hungary. Nevertheless, recurrent shifts in geographical and political boundaries have represented a nationality provenance issue for artists like Diana Krall, as their ancestors moved from Austria-Hungary before the emergence of the first Czechoslovak Re-

11 ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav. 'Úloha komunistickej propagandy vo vytváraní obrazu emigranta ako triedneho nepriateľa'. [The Role of communist propaganda in creating an emigrant's images a class enemy]. In *Jazyk a politika. Na pomedzí lingvistiky a politológie III*. [Language and Politics. Between Linguistics and Political Science III] Štefančík, R. (Ed.) Bratislava: Ekonóm, 2018, p. 345.

12 REYNOLDS, Matthew J. 'John Dopyera's guitar legend lives on'. *The Slovak Spectator*, 9 October 2001.

13 KUČMA, Ivan. *Slovenský biografický slovník*, vol. A-D. [The Slovak Biographical Dictionary, vol. A-D]. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1986, p. 495.

14 BROZMAN, Bob. *The History and Artistry of National Resonator Instruments*. Centerstream Publishing, 1993, p. 11.

15 ULÍČIANSKA, Zuzana. 'Diana Krall si v uliciach Bratislavy hľadala bratrancov'. [Diana Krall Searched for her cousins in the streets of Bratislava], *Sme*, 13 November 2009.

public in 1918. Due to broken contact with their relatives in Czechoslovakia (later in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic), many Czech and Slovak exiles identified themselves as ‘Czechoslovaks’. For example, when Krall performs in the Czech Republic, she emphasizes that she has ‘roots in Prague’ or in ‘Czechoslovakia’, and when giving concerts in Bratislava, she talks about her Slovak origin.

In an interview for HNonline.sk, she said:

By the way, do you know that the parents of my grandfather from my father’s side were originally born in Czechoslovakia? So, in a way, I have my roots in Prague. They were originally called Králs, and only my grandfather added another ‘l’ so that he didn’t feel so foreign in America.¹⁶

Although the Králs were born in the Slovak part of Czechoslovakia, they spoke of ‘beautiful Czechoslovak music and Smetana’s *Má vlast* [My Homeland]’.¹⁷ On the other hand, they still knew and could sing Slovakian folk songs.¹⁸ Nevertheless, they were unable to distinguish between Czech and Slovak music and, what is more, they were unfamiliar with contemporary Slovak artists since their musical memory was tied to the 19th and 20th centuries. Since Krall’s uncles and aunts already represent the third generation in North America,¹⁹ Czechoslovakia’s 1993 division into two independent republics represented further difficulties for the understanding of their territorial origins. The third generation of emigrants was well assimilated into the new ambience, as was the case for John Dopyera’s grandchildren, as well as for Diana Krall herself. They do not speak the Slovak language and are not familiar with modern Slovak music culture. However, the situation in the families immediately after their arrival in the USA and Canada was completely different. Dopyera’s son John Edward (1929–2014)²⁰ and Diana Krall, great-granddaughter of Michael Král (1878–1950) and Mária Král (née Špaková, b.1884 in Henclová; from the birth register in Nálepkovo) remarked that their migrant ancestors spoke Slovak at home and that great-grandfather Michael Král could not even speak proper English.²¹ Speaking Slovak at home, however, caused difficulties for John Edward’s American mother, Elisabeth Vera Candee-Dopyera.²²

16 ‘Môj pradedo je z Česka’, [My great-grandfather was from the Czech Republic], *HNonline*, 9 October 2012.

17 LASSOUED, Ben Zuzana. *Reception of Diana Krall*. Bratislava: UK; Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Warszawa, Wien: Peter Lang, 2018, p. 50.

18 ‘Vypočujte si nový singel jazzovej divy Diany Krall’. [Listen to the new single of jazz diva Diana Krall], *Hudba*, 25 July 2012.

19 KLEIN, Danica. ‘Jazzová kráľovnu Dianu čakalo vyprodané pražské Kongresové centrum’. [Jazz Queen Diana was awaited by the old-out Prague Congress Centre]. *Kultura*, 12 November 2012.

20 RADVÁNYI, Peter. ‘John Edward Dopyera (1929–2014)’, 12 November 2014.

21 LASSOUED, *ibid.*, p. 47.

22 BROZMAN, *ibid.*, p. 11.

Cultural Exchanges and their Consequences

The creation of new cultural values needs a trigger in the exchange process which, in the cases of John Dopyera and Diana Krall, was the emigration movement around the close of the 19th century. However, the transitions from music-making to professionalism, moulding talent to extend one's abilities, from artistic performance to self-evaluation, and from performing music to marketing it, are very complex. Explaining and comprehending the phenomenon of cultural exchange is possible by taking into account the existing convergent and divergent processes. Cultural exchange is a long process carried over several decades through many generations of musicians, familial connections, and also through exchanges of experiences between musicians in their new environments. Professional management was also indispensable for the commercial distribution of John Dopyera's 1926 Dobro guitar and its later models. When the Dobro prototype appeared for the first time in 1926, the management focused on supporting Dopyera's inventions that drew upon the tradition of violin workshops, manufacturing various folk instruments, and that the Dopyeras had brought from Slovakia. The Dobro's improvements led to the 1932–1936 production run of an electric guitar in which Dopyera made use of his Dobro system. In 1932, in collaboration with the guitarist Art Simpson, John Dopyera made several resonator guitars with magnetic sensors which are considered to be the first industrially made electrified Spanish guitars.²³ The electric guitar was first produced by the Dobro company, although some sources²⁴ state that the first manufacturer was Gibson Guitars in 1936; however, the alternative attribution of the patent for the single-cone guitar to the entrepreneur and investor George D. Beauchamp is disputable.²⁵ Beauchamp stood behind the Dobro guitar's production, taking possession of its patent, and that led to the 1931–34 lawsuit between Dopyera and Beauchamp. In 1928, the Dopyeras left the National company and, a year later, established Dobro Manufacturing Corporation. The inventor of both the single- and tri-cone resonator systems was Dopyera, but he patented only the tri-cone system as he considered the single-cone one to be imperfect.²⁶ Nevertheless, it was Beauchamp who gained the patent for the single-cone system and whose highly developed entrepreneurship and marketing led him to manipulate the invention story. Hence, he is regarded as the inventor of the electric guitar in 1931 along with Paul Barth and Adolph Rickenbacker. It is arguable who the real inventor (of the electric guitar) was because 'Dopyera pretty much maxed out the capabilities of the acoustic guitar for electric augmentation of sound when he put amplifiers into the tops of steel guitars'.²⁷ In the end, despite the cultural capital that

23 RADVÁNYI – KALINICS, *ibid.*

24 BROWN, Ken. 'More than you really wanted to know about the dobro.' *Resoguit*, 1995, 11 December 2008; GEAR, Robert F. 'Resonator guitars: a history'. *Pickin'*, 5(6), 1978, 52–55; KELLERMAN, Jonathan. *With Strings Attached: The Art and Beauty of Vintage Guitars*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2008, p. 242.

25 KELLERMAN, *ibid.*, p. 66.

26 BROZMAN, *ibid.*

27 THEODOROS II. 'How the electric guitar was invented'. *Gizmodo*, 29 October 2013.

Dopyera brought to American music,²⁸ his name seldom appears in historical accounts of the invention.

After Dopyera won his lawsuit against Beauchamp, the Dobro company was taken over by his brothers, Emil and Leopold. They had acquired a business talent from their Jewish mother, Catherine Sonnenfeld, who converted to Christianity.²⁹ In 1934, the Dopyera's brothers merged their Dobro Manufacturing Corporation with the National Company to form the National-Dobro Corporation.

John Dopyera's skills were broader than inventions and discoveries. He spoke Czech, German, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, and English,³⁰ which he had mastered as a teenager while communicating with flour mill customers in Dolná Krupá (in the former Austria-Hungary).

Diana Krall's music-making transition progressed from local events through to a professional and global career. Unlike Dopyera, her achievements in 1993, when she recorded her first album *Stepping Out*, were facilitated by a considerably different music industry environment. Krall's career had started in 1979 with performances in small local clubs and cafes until she won major concert opportunities, recorded a number of albums, and earned global acclaim. However, indispensable to her career path was the support of a managerial team. Krall's management faced the problem of how to make the internally closed world of jazz more attractive to the contemporary listener, how to offer her audience a lost world of beauty, how to visualize, and not vulgarize the natural sex appeal of female artists in the traditional rendering of the attraction between men and women. Since Krall herself did not create the swing style she composes and performs in, her competitive strategy is that of an adopter.³¹ In order to ascend in the game of ultimate success, she pragmatically adjusts her ethnicity. Belonging to a national and ethnic group is in Krall's case only social construction and mystification³².

Migration from the Former Czechoslovakia between 1938 and 1989

During socialist era, the artists' exodus was mainly motivated by their desire for free artistic expression.³³ Musicians most often headed for the USA, Canada, Brazil,

28 BOURDIEU, 1998, *ibid.*, p.13.

29 GALVÁNEK, Roman. 'Dobro ako kultúrne dedičstvo Slovákov'. [Dobro as a cultural heritage of the Slovaks]. *Musicologica*, 2017.

30 BROZMAN, *ibid.*

31 PIETRASZEWSKI, Igor. 'Strategies of domination or ways of differentiation from rivals in the jazz field'. In *Jazz from Socialist Realism to Postmodernism V*. In KAJANOVÁ, Yvetta – PICKHAN, Gertrud – RITTER, Rüdiger (Eds.). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016, p. 217; BOURDIEU, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

32 ELLER, Jack David – COUGHLAN, Reed M. 'The poverty of primordialism: the demystification of ethnic attachments,' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16, 1993, p. 183, 199.

33 PALEČEK, Pavel. *Exil a politika. Historici o nejnovejších dějinách a o sobě*. [Exile and Politics. Historians on the Most Recent History and on Themselves]. Tišnov: Sursum, 2004, p. 18.

Argentina, and Australia, along with Germany and Switzerland,³⁴ and included performers both from Czechia and Slovakia, who were all to take a place in the history of jazz. The importance of working in a free cultural space with constant artistic involvement and inspiration is demonstrated by the fact that between 1968 and 1989 approximately 22% of professional jazz pianists left the former Central European socialist countries.³⁵

Czech jazz players Miroslav Vitouš, Jiří Mráz, and Jan Hammer became world renowned and all received scholarships at the Boston Berklee College of Music in 1968. They were assisted by long-term foreign contacts, particularly with the American producer John Hammond, who, even in 1947, had visited Prague³⁶ and spread the reputation of Czech jazz. Hammond also supported the careers of American music stars.

Unlike Vitouš, Mráz, and Hammer, their Slovak colleagues Laco Déczi, Jan Jankeje, Peter Mórica, Igor Čelko, Pavol Molnár, Juraj Berczeller, and Viktor Zappner only achieved local recognitions in their new country. Notwithstanding, there is still a difference between the status of a local artist in the United States (in the case of Déczi), in Australia (Zappner), and in Slovakia. After the 1989 change of regime however, only few of them (e.g., Déczi) have continued to advance their artistic careers either abroad or in Slovakia.

Cultural Exchange at the Turn of the Millennium

Post-1989, jazz artists have faced the challenge as to what strategies and styles would distinguished them from rivals in the quest for dominance,³⁷ necessary for international success. Whether the process of cultural exchange is labelled with old terms such as syncretism, synthesis, or acculturation, or more recent ones like westernization, Americanization³⁸, melting pot, or multi-culture, the outcome is always the birth of a new form³⁹, style, genre, or a 'product' denoted as a hybrid,⁴⁰ a variant, cover version, remix, or production. What is essential and decisive are the artist's relationship and approach to the old, i.e. authentic material which was produced at a historical point of time, and their

34 POLIŠENSKÝ, Josef V. 'Problems of studying the history of Czech mass emigration to the Americas'. In *Emigration from Northern, Central, and Southern Europe*. Kraków: Uniwersytät Jagielloński, 1984, pp. 185–194.

35 KAJANOVÁ, Yvetta. 'Communism and the emergence of the Central European Jazz School'. *Journal of Literature and Art Studies*, 2(6), 2012, pp. 622–640.

36 ŠVÁB, L. 'Americký kritik o nás.' [American critic about us]. In *Jazz*, II, 1, 1948, p. 3, In KOTEK, Josef – HOŘEC, Jaromír. *Kronika české synkopy II. Půlstoletí českého jazzu a moderní populární hudby v obrazech a svědectví současníků 1939–1961* [*Chronicle of Czech Syncopation II. The Half-Century of Czech Jazz and Modern Popular Music in Pictures and Testimonies of the Contemporaries 1939–1961*]. Prague: Supraphon, 1990, p. 136.

37 PIETRASZEWSKI, *ibid.*

38 ERLMANN, Veit. 'The politics and aesthetics of transnational musics,' *The World of Music*, 35(2), 1993, p. 4.

39 BAYARD, Nielsen D. – PICKETT, Cynthia L. – SIMONTON, Dean K. 'Conceptual versus experimental creativity: which works best on convergent and divergent thinking tasks?' *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts*, 2(3), 2008, pp. 131–138.

40 RADANO, Ronald M. – BOHLMAN, Philip V. *Music and the Racial Imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

way of re-working and elaborating it. There are two basic methods of creating a relationship to musical heritage: either by conservation-restoration or innovation; the latter opens up a wide range of possibilities in processing the musical material. The relationship to the old, historical material in a new environment is, at the same time, a challenge for the immigrant who brings along different hereditary musical patterns and distinct values. Theoreticians and critics often speak of an orthodox, conservative, or reformist approach to music⁴¹ and, at other times, of returning to history in the form of neo-styles.

In Krall's case, natural musicality, a relative complaisance with the process of assimilation, and the ability to leave behind the old while absorbing fresh elements in a new musical world, have played a major role. In the favourable English-speaking environment of Canada, Krall embraced the established jazz culture. She was raised by her parents as well as her grandparents, who had ties to Central Europe and, on her mother's side, to England and Scotland. Krall came to the fore by mainstream swing performed in small ensembles, bringing its rhythmic pulsation and introvert conservatism in harmony to the attention of the wearied contemporary listener. She managed this across a wide range of attractive jazz and rock genres and styles, which is truly admirable and somewhat mysterious. There is no phenomenon of Slovak ethnic identity, since she has taken on the already-existing American swing style. Essential for Diana Krall is a respect for the heritage and culture, to which her ancestors had once moved. Her jazz art is perceived not only as part of American jazz (she moved to New York in 1990) but also that of her American-Canadian heritage. With the support of the Canadian government, market researchers have looked into extending the Canadian jazz market even to Singapore and, in this context, they mention artists like Diana Krall, Michael Bublé, and Celine Dion.⁴² Here, a certain shift can be seen in the perception of jazz music as a cultural legacy which has reached beyond the borders of the USA. Reflections on the history of American and European jazz have a long-time tradition.⁴³ Practically, they began with the emergence of jazz music at the beginning of the 20th century in association with British, French, and Italian jazz. However, reflections on national jazz cultures in Europe, such as Swedish, German, Polish, Czech, Slovak, and others, did not commence until the appearance of the Scandinavian jazz phenomenon and the pianist Jan Johansson in the 1960s.⁴⁴ In contrast, the integration of Cuban, Brazilian, and Canadian jazz into American jazz history had already begun in the late 1940s with personalities like Oscar

41 DAVIS, Francis. *Jazz and Its Discontents: A Francis Davis Reader*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2004; CIMENT, James. *Encyclopedia of Jazz Age: From the End of World War I to the Great Crash I*. California: M.E. Sharpe, 2008, p. 254.

42 MALÉPART, Anne – GU, Jiazhen. 'The jazz music market in Singapore'. In *Canadian Heritage*, Government of Canada Publications. <http://publications.gc.ca/site/archivée-archived.html?url=http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/CH4-110-3-2006E.pdf>, 2005, accessed 10 March 2006.

43 MATZNER, Antonín – POLEDŇÁK, Ivan – WASSERBERGER, Igor et al. *Encyklopedie jazzu a moderní populární hudby*. Heslo Jazz IV. – dějiny, Evropa. [The Encyclopedia of Jazz and Modern Popular Music. Entry Jazz IV.] Prague: Supraphon, 1983, pp. 174–190.

44 WASSERBERGER, Igor. 'The emergence of the Nordic concept as a precursor of emancipation and Slovak-Scandinavian relations (1950–1970)'. In KAJANOVÁ, Yvetta – PICKHAN, Gertrud – RITTER, Rudiger (Eds.), *Jazz from Socialist Realism to Postmodernism* 5. Frankfurt am Main Peter Lang, 2016, pp. 73–82.

Peterson and Chano Pozo. Several recent publications on the history of European jazz cover the multicultural and, conversely, also its national aspects.⁴⁵

Migration after 1989

As the adoption of national jazz cultures in Europe began later than the global outspread of Canadian jazz, any opportunity for the recognition of Slovak jazz music did not emerge until after 1989. The 1989 Czechoslovakia Velvet Revolution completely changed the political landscape and allowed freedom of travel for Czech and Slovak musicians without the need of permits, and without intimidation or extortions by the State Security (ŠtB) agency. It also meant the spread of Slovak and Czech cultures abroad. Nevertheless, due to their distrust of the newly founded Slovak Republic (1993), a large number of Slovak artists moved to Prague, as had also occurred in the past when they sought better management and more performance opportunities.

The migration of Slovak musicians has continued. Artists living abroad include many distinctive figures who have managed to secure permanent collaboration and engagements, e.g. pianist and composer Peter Breiner (from 1992 in Toronto, since 2007 in New York), drummer Martin Valihora (lived in Boston and New York between 2000 and 2008), pianist Michal Vaňouček (since 1999 in The Hague, Netherlands), vibraphonist Ludmila Štefániková (from 2007 to 2011 studied in Paris and Boston, and moved back to Paris after 2014), and Hanka G (real name Hanka Gregušová; performed in Washington in 2001, and since 2016 has lived in New York). Whilst Peter Breiner's arrangements, compositions, and numerous albums have brought him international acclaim, other artists have balanced between global and local jazz scenes, as they alternate between living abroad and in Slovakia. In order to identify themselves with Slovak ethnicity, their pieces incorporate Slovak folk song motifs and the Podhalanská scale (a combination of the Lydian and Mixolydian modes). Although typical of Slovak folk music, the Podhalanská scale can occasionally be found in the works of Polish and Moravian jazzmen (Krzysztof Komeda and Emil Viklický respectively). It needs to be noted, however, that foreign listeners perceive and identify Slovak jazz music rather more with the Central European region than with the territory of Slovakia itself.⁴⁶ Irregardless, identifying Slovak ethnicity through folk music and the Podhalanská scale as in the case of Peter Breiner, Martin Valihora, Hanka Gregušová, Ludmila Štefániková, and Michal Vaňouček is definitely a more appealing emblem of 'Slovakism' than using the universal and global style characteristics which are typical of Krall, Varady, and Buckingham.

45 CERCHIARI, Luca – CUGNY, Laurent – KERSCHBAUEMER, Franz. *Eurojazzland. Jazz and European Sources, Dynamics, and Contexts*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2012; MARTINELLI, Francesco, et al. *The History of European Jazz. The Music, Musicians and Audience in Context*. United Kingdom: Equinox eBooks Publishing, 2018.

46 LANGE, Barbara Rose. *Local Fusions. Folk Music Experiments in Central Europe at the Millenium*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, p. 75, 117.

Andreas Varady and Celeste Buckingham

For the jazz guitarist Andreas Varady (b. 1997 in Rimavská Sobota, Slovakia) and the singer Celeste Rizvana Buckingham (b. 1995 in Zurich, Switzerland), the cultural exchange processes were triggered by migrations at the turn of the new millennium. The Varadys moved to Ireland in 2007 in order to start off the musical careers of their children: the guitarist Andreas and the drummer Adrian (b. 2002). Buckingham came to Slovakia in 1998 after her father, a Chicago-born cardiologist had accepted a permanent employment offer. The history of the post-1989 Slovak Republic has been marked by a wave of Romani exodus to the UK (particularly in 1998), as well as by subsequent efforts to seek asylum and refugee status as a discriminated ethnic group.⁴⁷ However, according to the data, many more Romani people left the Czech Republic than Slovakia.⁴⁸ In the background of this migration, there lay attempts to take advantage of the country's social system and discrepancies in its legislation. The decision by Andreas Varady's father to move to the Irish town of Limerick occurred during a Romani emigration. Although Slovakia was already a free country, it did not provide a suitable start for Andreas, a child prodigy who is of Romani-Hungarian origins. At that time, several Slovak jazz musicians endeavoured to start their careers in the USA (e.g., Peter Breiner, Martin Valihora, Eudmila Štefániková, Hanka Gregušová, and Michal Šelep) or opted to study at the jazz academy in Graz (Austria), in Prague (Czech Republic), or in Krakow (Poland). This time, jazzmen's motivation shifted from merely economic reasons, as in the past, to truly artistic ones, for instance to obtain new experiences and make contacts, as well as to develop their careers through multicultural exchanges.

Andreas Varady's move from Slovakia was beneficial to his further artistic development. When the family relocated to Ireland, their Slovakian hometown of Rimavská Sobota had an unemployment rate of more than 28%, the highest amongst all towns in Slovakia.⁴⁹ Along with Varady, other Slovak jazzmen with Romani roots were also at the beginning of their careers. Despite the fact that racial discrimination has not been entirely erased in Slovakia, many Romani have now accomplished a prominent standing and success, including Milo Suchomel, Klaudius Kováč, Eugen Botoš, Robert Vizvári, Eugen Vizváry, and Ondrej Krajňák. They were supported by several state institutions, principally the Music Fund and the Music Centre. Varady's achievements, however,

47 They were mostly Romani from eastern Slovakia, being 650 people in 1998. The departure of Romani families to Canada and to the UK continued in 2012; allegedly, this meant some 100 to 200 children along with their parents. 'Rómovia z okresu Michalovce sa v týchto dňoch hŕfnú do Veľkej Británie'. [The Romani of the Michalovce district are moving to the UK in large numbers], In *Sme*, 9 September 1998; 'Veľké sťahovanie slovenských Rómov. Do Kanady odišlo niekoľko rodín.' [Massive migration of the Slovak Romani. Several families left for Canada], In *Aktuálne*, 23 February 2012.

48 According to some, local populations wanted to pay the Romani to go abroad so that they could be rid of their unwanted neighbours. OGURČÁKOVÁ, Jana. 'Rómom chceli zaplatiť odchod do zahraničia.' [They wanted to pay the Romani to leave for abroad]. *Korzář*, 11 September 2009.

49 'Nezamestnanosť v Rimavskej Sobotě stále rastie.' [The unemployment in Rimavská Sobota is still increasing]. *Noviny*, <https://www.noviny.sk/ekonomika/31462-nezamestnanost-stale-rastie-napriek-expanzii-sewonu->, 21 October 2007.

could be attributed to the developed Irish music environment and the managerial skills of his father, Bandy. He firstly introduced Andreas to music circles in Ireland and later to the management of Quincy Jones. Jones presented Varady at the 2012 Montreaux Jazz Festival, where he demonstrated a smooth and mature jazz expression.⁵⁰ He collaborated with prestigious musicians, such as Frank Vignola, Lee Ritenour, Andreas Oberg, Casey Benjamin, Terell Stafford, Stochelo Rosenberg, Alfredo Rodriguez, Nikki Yanofsky, Henry Cole, Reinier Elizarde, Louis Stewart, and Soweto Kinch. Varady's 2014 album titled *Andreas Varady* and released by the renowned Verve Music Group can be considered as today's mainstream jazz with inspirations by Herbie Hancock, Chick Corea, and George Benson from the 1980s and 1990s, to which Andreas was also led by his father, his first teacher. Both father and son admit that they never studied at any music school, cannot read music and are autodidacts. Varady's music style does not contain any national features which would draw upon his Slovak-Hungarian-Romani roots. Rather, one can speak of a multiculturally dynamic and situational form of identification with the ethnic environment.⁵¹ Later, as an adult, Varady has characterized his new style as a combination of hip hop and bebop, which he features on CD *Quest* (Resonance Records, 2018). Notwithstanding, it needs to be emphasized that the young artist's success was facilitated by the general phenomenon of discovering 'child prodigies' which, in the end, brought the three Varady musicians (Bandy, Andreas and Adrian) onto the global scene. Living and being educated in an English-speaking country helped Andreas reach proficiency in English. However, he can also give interviews in Hungarian as the family communicates in that language at home. The Hungarian press describes Varady as 'a 16-year-old Hungarian boy making global news'.⁵² Because of his collaboration with Slovak musicians, e.g. Radovan Tariška, Varady has also been learning their language.⁵³ Within the context of Slovak culture, Varady is seen as an internationally successful Slovakian, an identity rather stronger than he himself claims.

In 2012, when Varady reached the heights of international recognition in Montreaux, Buckingham was appearing in the European charts for the first time with the song *Run, Run, Run* (by Celeste Buckingham, Andrej Hruška, and Martin Šrámek), which became a worldwide hit. In the same year at the 19th MTV Europe Music Awards in Frankfurt, Buckingham came second in the Best Czech and Slovak Act category. She won first prize in 2013, the year when she was also nominated for the Radio Disney Awards in the USA. That meant she had not only made it into global charts but was also achieving widespread acclaim. It is noteworthy that, in the European and world pop music charts of the

50 PÁRKÁNYI, Daniel. 'Hiphopové vízie jazzového gitaristu'. [Hiphop visions of a jazz guitarist], *Nový Populár*, 4, 15 October 2014.

51 SÝKORA, Peter. 'Etnicita v evolučno-psychologickej perspektíve'. [Evolutional-psychological perspective on ethnicity]. In *Filozofia*, 58, 1, 2003, p. 64.

52 'Szász Barna: 16 éves magyar fiú a világhír küszöbén'. [A 16-year-old Hungarian boy on the threshold of worldwide fame], *Index*, 20 June 2014.

53 'Saxofonista Radovan Tariška žije sen: Hrá v skupine, ktorej skladajú poklony džezové legendy!' [Saxophonist Radovan Tariška lives his dream: he plays in a band to which jazz legends pay tribute!], *Aktualita*, 11 June 2016.

MTV Europe Music Awards, the Czech and the Slovak Republics were included amongst Eastern European countries, which is geographically inaccurate. In addition, labelling Buckingham's 2013 victory as the 'Best Russian Act' was linked to outdated geopolitics rather than the actual regional location of the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

Similarly to Varady, Buckingham grew up in a multicultural family, although one quite atypical of Slovak society. More common in Slovakia is a cosmopolitan mix of Hungarian, German, Jewish, Romani, and various Slavic nationalities, as it had been in Varady's childhood world. Buckingham claims American origins with British-Irish roots on her father's side, and Iranian-Russian ancestry from her mother, who was born in Iran. After Buckingham's parents had worked together in Alaska and then lived for some time in Switzerland, they eventually, in 1998, settled in the small Slovak village of Borinka near Bratislava. Buckingham holds both Swiss and Slovak citizenships and, at present, lives in Nashville, Tennessee. After the 2012 global success of her song *Run, Run, Run*, she reaffirmed her achievements when *Crushin' My Fairytale* (a song by Buckingham and Jon White from the 2013 CD *Where I Belong*, Buckingham Entertainment Group/B.E.G.) made it to the American Billboard Chart in 2016, coming 34th in the Top 40. This accomplishment was the result of four years' work by her managerial team⁵⁴. *Crushin' My Fairytale* was to be originally recorded by Selena Gomez but, in the end, it was sung by Buckingham herself. All Buckingham's songs have been written and performed in a soul style, without the usual pathos of Afro-American music and without ornamentation; at times, she combines electronic dance music and hip hop with pop rock (as on her 2017 CD *Bar*, B.E.G.). With her pieces and singing style, Buckingham comes close to the performers Selena Gomez, Nelly Furtado, Natasha Bedingfield, or Madonna. In the 2016 Billboard Chart Top 40, Buckingham's recording was classified as 'adult contemporary' and 'contemporary hit radio' (AC and CHR) genres, while being labelled in other charts as 'europop'.

If accepting the view that ethnicity is related to common language, territory, religion, and culture, Dopyera is the only of the four musicians who fulfils these criteria.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, if Krall, Varady, and Buckingham claim Slovak ethnicity – no matter how complicated their relationship to it – for the sake of Slovak music's cultural capital it is more advantageous to welcome them as Slovaks.⁵⁶ The appropriation of the new qualities these artists have brought is a nascent multicultural development of Slovak music (and typical of the universality of jazz and global music). However, there are a number of Slovak jazzmen (e.g., Déczi, Breiner, Valihora, Hanka G, Štefániková, and Vaňouček) who, from the conservative perspective (having common language, territory, and culture), essentially match the listener's ideas of Slovak ethnicity.

54 'Svetový úspech Celeste Buckingham: Debut v prestížnej hitparáde Billboard Mainstream Top 40 Indicator Chart!' [The global success of Celeste Buckingham: her debut in the prestigious Billboard Mainstream Top 40 Indicator Chart!], *Gregi*, 5 April 2016.

55 ELLER – COUGHLAN, *ibid.*, p. 183, 199.

56 BORDIEU, *ibid.*, 1998, p. 13.

Conclusion

Had the Dopyeras not left for the USA in 1908, the Dobro and the electric guitar produced by the Dobro company would never have been born because John Dopyera's invention was so closely connected to developments in American country music, blues, jazz, and rock. It was important to be in the centre of events as linkages between small local or national scenes had not yet developed, as was the case for Slovak music culture in post-1918 Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, since the Dopyeras claimed Slovak origins after 1989, the Dobro is a heritage of not only American, but also of the Slovak music culture. However, Dopyera's lack of financial capital still means that he is less recognized as his rival Beauchamp.

The 1993 split of the former Czechoslovakia into two independent republics led also to the division of its music industry. Buckingham's emergence on the scene in 2011 was within the small Slovak local network and coincided with a time when many managers were trying to reform the Slovak music market into a singular Czecho-Slovak one. Buckingham used her 'habitus'⁵⁷, which differed from those found in Czech and Slovak pop music, and she directed her skills to a small segment of the music industry.⁵⁸ The first year of the combined Czech and Slovak SuperStar competition was held in 2009; the Slovak National Group of the IFPI in Bratislava ceased in 2010 and is now represented by the Czech National Group in Prague which is responsible for sales monitoring. The MTV Europe Music Awards now has a unified Czecho-Slovak category. In the context of statehood, this is a step backward, but with regard to music industry development, it increases competition. In the 2011 Czecho-Slovak SuperStar, Buckingham made the finals for Czech and Slovak female singers. Her professional achievements in Slovakia from 1998 to 2017 were only the first stage in her career, because she has managed to advance to the world stage and maintains her position there. However, as pop music encompasses a big field of rivalry, Buckingham's global breakthrough may only be short-lived.

Andreas Varady had already entered the global scene at the age of fourteen (Montreux Jazz Festival in 2012). He frequently performs in Slovakia and maintains contacts with homeland musicians but, since he left the country as a ten-year-old boy, he has only become known to Slovak audiences after achieving worldwide success. The move to Ireland definitely helped this young musician, although his talent would not have been lost in Slovakia, though it may well have taken him longer to reach global prominence.

Returning to Central Europe meant that Diana Krall's path has been the most difficult one. Her contact with the Slovak and Czech socio-cultural milieu is complex and many connections are unclear. Although Krall's qualities are undoubted, they go hand in hand with her conservative attitude in preferring swing and a traditional approach to music. Avoiding experiments and leaning toward traditions is characteristic of the Slovak nation as a whole.⁵⁹

57 RŮŽIČKA, Michal, VAŠÁT, Petr. 'Základní koncepty Pierra Bourdieu: pole-kapitál-habitus.' [Pierre Bourdieu's basic concepts: field-capital-habitus] In *AntropoWebzin*, 2, 2011, pp. 129-133.

58 BOURDIEU, *ibid.*, 1984, p. 99.

59 VÁROSSOVÁ, Elena. 'Ján Lajčiak and the criticism of cultural conservatism'. In *Language, Values and The*

To characterize Krall's, Varady's and Buckingham's artistic styles and work, they all bear features of universality while focusing on fine innovations rather than radical changes, experiments, or novel styles.

The achievements of the selected personalities have demonstrated that for Slovak artists to ascend the global stage it is necessary to live abroad for a long period. At the same time, international acclaim is not guaranteed, as musicians might only become engaged within a narrow local network. On the other hand, local success can lead to an enduring career development. Moreover, as global success also carries a risk of being only short-term, the question arises as to whether it is vital for the artist's professional advancement. Global prominence has a more powerful relevance to a national music culture than the individual artists themselves because the culture is associated with ethnic identity and, therefore, regarded as a 'representative cultural object.'⁶⁰

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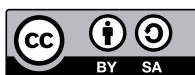
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60 BORDIEU, *ibid.*, 1998, p. 16.

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