CHAPTER 11

Gospel *versus* profane music in Slovakia[1]

Yvetta Kajanová

Abstract
This study provides a historical perspective on the establishment of church music as a market segment. The political changes after 1989 meant that sacred music became a regular part of Central Europe culture, and the previously homogenous market became divided between secular and sacred segments. Due to the communist ideology and strong atheist propaganda in the former communist countries of Central Europe, the separation processes followed a different path than in the western world. The research has shown that, during the communist regime, illegal recording studios and secretive distribution of sacred music were the basis for the later character of music market. Up to the present time, the music industry still maintains the secular-sacred segmentation even though the two music streams are tending towards convergence.
The author uses historical, analytical, and statistical methods to explain the particular case of the winners of the 2009 Eurovision Song Contest in Slovakia, in which both gospel and profane music singers participated and where the gospel music supporters outvoted the profane audience. From numerous historical facts obtained during a 2005–2008 study of oral tradition, those relevant for the formation of the Slovak audience, its self-confidence, and transformation have been selected to support this paper.

1. Beginnings

Contrary to the traditional idea of cultural identity, which spoke of a solid and fixed self, umbilically related to a territory and collective history, nowadays we must take in account the volatility of these identities. Crane's perspective on this is of course of the utmost importance (2002). The global music culture, spread in the media conglomerates, is mostly centred in English language countries (in that process excluding the remaining ones) (Guerra & Quintela, 2016; Guerra, 2015), with the repertoires of major labels focusing ever more in a small number of international stars. There is then a renovated model of "media imperialism based on global capitalism" (Crane, 2002: 6). In the advent of globalization two tendencies are in a struggle:

[1] This research was funded by Vedecká Grantová Agentúra (the VEGA Research Agency), grant no. 1/0086/15.

> on the one side, the international media conglomerates are expanding their influence and control over certain types of global culture. On the other, the growing importance of regions as producers and market-developers of their own media, helps to develop a network system of cultural globalization. Regions exhibit their own sub-networks, with thicker nodes connected to a global network context, and other, less intense, communication vehicles with other areas. (Crane, 2002: 7).

Therefore, we have simultaneously globalization and localization in a complex web of network flows, showing progressive cultural homogeneity while assuring that identity and specific values are ever more crucial in understanding popular music (Huq, 2003, 2006). The case of Gospel versus profane music in Slovakia is paradigmatic.

Before discussing the segmentation of the music market, it is necessary to point out that sociologists consider polarization of music to be an important aspect in its development and innovation. We can see polarization not only between the secular and the sacred, but also between monophonic and polyphonic music, between vocal and instrumental music and so on. Polarization between sacred and secular music can also be seen globally, with gospel music in the USA, for example, being divided between Afro-American (Evans, 1976: 135) and the wider American spectrum, between gospel and rhythm and blues; gospel music and pop music… Finally results of this polarization can be traced also inside of the genre like gospel blues and Christian country music; gospel music and Contemporary Christian Music, and etc. Among them the European sacro-pop scene has also emerged as a new phenomenon developed from the hybridising Afro-American gospel and pop rock.

The initial development of the Euro-American music industry relied on the marketing of secular music as its principal product. Popular and salon music at the end of the 19th century, having recording qualities suitable for the sound media of the time, were well-placed to be successful on the music market (Tschmuck, 2003: 8). Such music mostly included short compositions and songs that, when recorded, could still evoke an emotional impact on their listeners, or otherwise entertain them. During the 20th century, all music genres came to be recorded and marketed. The other components of the music industry progressively developed: publishing houses, agencies, festivals and concerts, music organisations, associations, and media including magazines, books, radio, television and the internet. As the music industry developed, similar institutions also formed in the church sector in response to an increasingly secular world.

The church institutions objected to the secular organisations, particularly because their content preferences meant the selection of exclusively secular topics in the media and of secular repertoires at festivals, concerts and in broadcasting. Also, in the communist countries neither secular nor sacred music concerts were allowed in sacred venues. Sacred music, although permitted in non-church venues, was performed rarely. Let´s use the sample of Czechoslovak music market as an example for analysing the process of dividing to profane and sacred segment.

2. The homogenous music market in Czechoslovakia

Between 1948 and 1989 the Czechoslovak music market was controlled by monopolies. In Slovakia the monopolies were held by the Slovkoncert agency (1969) and the Opus publishing house (1971); in the Czech Republic the Supraphon publishing house (1948) and the Pragokoncert agency had control. Similarly, there was only one television and one radio broadcasting company. In the former Czechoslovakia, Supraphon supplied the whole market until the establishment of the Opus publishing house in Slovakia in 1971. The government's atheistic propaganda elicited, particularly in Slovakia and Moravia, an illegal underground movement with its own subcultures. Gospel music or sacro-pop did not exist until 1948, and only sacred classical music was performed. The first underground attempts to create original songs with sacred lyrics were influenced by waltzes, polkas and 1950s' Slovak folk music. The first illegal gospel bands combined Afro-American spirituals, hard rock and pop music, and they were the seedbed for the music market's later division into sacred and secular segments. In 1958, the band *Matuzalem* and, in 1968 the girls vocal group Polaris were founded by the Baptist church; the Catholic band *Crédo* formed in 1968. The influences of hard rock and pop music, *Beach Boys* and the *Beatles*, together with new rhythmic and melodic structures, could be heard in their music. In 1968, *Matuzalem* and *Crédo* even gave public performances, hence becoming known to the secular world. *Crédo* performed the first big beat mass in a church in Bratislava. In 1969, the band had an LP recording contract signed with the Supraphon publishing house. However, due to the Prague Spring movement, the album was not released until 1989. Songs by *Crédo* were broadcast over Radio Vaticana and Radio Free Europe. Similarly, *Matuzalem* and *Polaris* were invited by JAS, the Czechoslovak Baptist choir, to perform at the

stadium in Vsetín 1969, Czech Republic. The musicians of the band *Matuzalem* were included on the American recording *Billy Graham*: 'Euro ´70: Where East Meets West'[2] as members of a Brotherhood Unity of Baptist choir. All these events were prompted by the emergence of hard rock music around the world.

However, the influence of international TV and radio stations was deliberately 'regulated' by interference with their transmission signals, so making it impossible to tune into and listen to them freely. In the communist era, the support of domestic and Eastern European productions was another form of ideological intervention in the field of culture. A directive containing exact percentages regulated the amounts of domestic and foreign music that were allowed to be broadcast. However, the quality of the music programs and the trends they followed were related to development patterns in the media during particular periods. In the 1960s, the news of 'Beatlemania' was spread by newspapers and television, but mainly through the broadcasts of Radio Luxembourg. Musicians knew the *Beach Boys*, the *Beatles* and other hard rock bands via the radio broadcasts of the Voice of America, BBC London and Radio Luxembourg. Religious services and programs on Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America and Radio Vaticana were further ways that gospel and sacro-pop music spread into Central Europe. Czech and Slovak Radio immediately reacted to the development abroad and broadcast modern music for home audiences with the following limitations: 70% of home music production and 30% foreign production; the latter included western music and also the music of socialist countries. Influences from new rock bands came not only through radio broadcasts, but also directly from the performances of visiting foreign bands. Starting in 1966, many foreign musicians performed at the *Bratislavská lýra* [Bratislava Lyre] international festival, but bands were also invited for single night performances during their European tours. For instance, the hard rock-oriented *Manfred Mann* band performed in Bratislava in 1965 (Matzner, Poledňák & Wasserberger, 1987). *Mann*'s music was characterized by a strong emphasis on improvisation. At that time, the band was developing the hard rock style and its performance in Bratislava, so to speak, preceded the establishment of the hard rock genre. The group showed a direction towards the psychedelic scene and its expressive means. Like the 1968 Prague performance of the British group *The Nice*, *Manfred Mann*'s concert in Bratislava made an important contribution to foreign music appreciation in Slovakia with a significant

[2] World Wide Rec. LP 1970, B G 2932Z4RS – 2933.

influence on Slovakian musicians of the time. In 1968, Brian Auger and The Trinity with singer Julie Driscoll performed at the *Bratislavská lýra* to the critical acclaim of the press and public. Auger, an organist and singer from Great Britain, represented a rock scene that drew on blues and soul. His music was one of the first attempts to combine rock with jazz and, hence, to establish the jazz-rock style.

Julie Driscoll with Brian Auger and the *Trinity Band* from Great Britain supposedly knows how to foresee tomorrow's fashion and taste:

> At Midem in Cannes, the audience and the experts both agreed and rejected this opinion. Today, we will see how she will impress our audience (N/A, 1968: 1).
>
> Julie Driscoll and her band gave an extraordinary performance in Bratislava…in spite of the extreme anxiety in their music, the concert was very memorable (Dlouhá, 1968: 6).
>
> Singer Julie Driscoll with the British Brian Auger and the Trinity band was extremely interesting (I regard their performance the most important event of the festival, along with the last minute replacement of Cliff Richard by The Shadows band) (Jurík, 1968: 7).

Another foreign band that performed at the same festival was *The Shadows*. Its engagement was a replacement of equal measure for Cliff Richard, who had cancelled.

Foreign groups' performances in Czechoslovakia did not always have the same standard as when these groups performed in their countries or elsewhere abroad. There are several explanations: sometimes the organizers and their agencies were not professional in their arrangements; also, the visiting musicians did not have sufficient knowledge about the cultural and artistic environment and they underestimated their audiences. In 1968, Dennis Wilson, the drummer of the American group, *The Beach Boys*, gave a concert in Prague and another in Bratislava several days later. Both performances were full of contradictions. In the early phase of their career in 1962–66 *The Beach Boys*, with their characteristic multi-part vocals and a sharp electric guitar sound, represented the modern rock style and evoked the atmosphere of Californian beaches and surfing. However, after 1968, their music deteriorated and the band's popularity declined. As with the Prague concert, at the jam session in the V Club in Bratislava the audience booed Wilson (Tesař, 1992). In point of fact, Wilson's performance in Bratislava juxtaposed and affirmed the styles and qualities of the emerging Slovakian musicians in the group Modus and the teenagers who later

formed the Elán band. These are only a few, but very important, examples of the receptions of hard rock and pop bands in 1960s' Czechoslovakia which proved that Czech and Slovak audiences built confidence in their ability to distinguish between good and bad quality music regardless of the musicians' provenances.

According to historical sources, during the time of political liberalisation in the 1960s' Czechoslovakia, sacred and secular elements were intertwined. The state radio made broadcasts of Czech-written songs with sacred themes which secular listeners also found very attractive, entertaining and humorous. Such songs included one about St. Dominic, a recluse desired by every girl. The song was made world famous in 1962 and became a hit in the USA and other foreign charts. It was sung by a Belgian Sister, a member of the Dominican Order Soeur Sourire, and it was also translated into the Czech language. Another song was about an errant church sexton who secretly drinks the church wine. Sacral symbols were also present in the songs of Marta Kubišová, whose 'Modlitba pro Martu'[3] became the hymn of the Prague Spring movement.

Globally, divergence between secular and sacred segments continued, and gospel music was given a special category 'Best Gospel or Other Religious Recording' at the 1962 Grammy Awards. The category changed name several times and was repeatedly divided into smaller segments with new categories being created. The indirect influence of spirituals seeped into contemporary Czech and Slovak popular music, as some musicians included Afro-American spirituals in their concert performances. To them there belong *Juraj Velčovský Orchestra*, *Braňo Hronec Orchestra* and *Siloš Pohanka Dance Orchestra*, who performed such spirituals and folk songs like 'Oh Brothers, Oh Sisters', 'I Want to Die Easy' and 'We Shall Not Be Moved'[4]. Although Slovakia is a country known for its religious convictions, in 2011, as many as 73.5% of the Slovak population claimed Christian affinity (Tizik 2011, 2013)[5], the music market at that time was

[3] SP Soeur Sourire/Jiřina Fikejzová/Judita Čeřovská: *Dominiku* [Dominic], Duba Karel: *Pražská nedele* [Prague Sunday], Supraphon 1964*,* 013163, SP Evžen Pach/Jiří Zmožek: *Ranní mše/Hříšnej kostelník* [Morning Mass, Sinful Sacristan], Supraphon 1969, 043 0655; Jiří Brabec/Petr Rada: *Modlitba pro Martu* [Prayer for Marta], LP *Songy a balady,* Supraphon 1969, 10 0587-1311, censored version 1970.

[4] SP *Tanečný orchester Siloša Pohanku* [Siloš Pohanka Dance Orchestra] with Zuzka Lonská, Zdeněk Kratochvíl and Tatjana Hubinská*: Ó bratia, ó sestry* [Oh Brothers, Oh Sisters], Supraphon 1965, 013780; SP *Eva Sepešiová and Traditional Club*, SP Supraphon 1969.

[5] In 1950, 94.2% of the Czech and 99.9% of the Slovak populations claimed to have religious beliefs. In 2011, the figures decreased to just 21% for the Czech population and 73.5% for the Slovak population.

not yet segmented between secular and religious listeners and the two music types shared the same market place. The spiritual 'Down By the Riverside', for example, sung in the period of revivalism between 1947 and 1948, had revised Czech lyrics about 'boy meets girl', and another Slovak secular version about "the morning over the river... and a skylark above" (Dorůžka & Mácha, 1964; Výborná, 2007). Spirituals were regarded as a cultural heritage and their performance did not necessarily represent musicians' religious beliefs. There were, therefore, spirituals recorded in the Dixieland style and in contemporary pop music styles where rhythm and blues, rock and roll, soul, or twist elements were combined. The *Traditional Club* band recorded Dixie Party in 1969 where the spirituals 'When the Saints Go Marchin' In' and 'Down by the Riverside' were also listed. The album was released for foreign listeners in Zürich[6] and also contained, together with spirituals in the Dixieland style, the Slovak folk songs. Three *Traditional Club* members (Igor Čelko, Peter Móric and Pavol Molnár) emigrated later to Switzerland.

Listeners also became familiar with Afro-American spirituals through traditional jazz bands like *The Ali Jazz Band* (1949), the *Traditional Club* (1961–1969) and the *Revival Jazz Band* (1963). Such bands, however, only attracted the minority of listeners interested in instrumental jazz pieces. A greater number of listeners were drawn to spirituals in their vocal-instrumental versions[7]. The spirituals 'Deep River' and 'Just A Closer Walk With Thee' sung by Elena Pribusová are included on LP Traditional Club Bratislava. The *Czech Spiritual Quintet*[8], founded in 1960, was another key contributor to the popularity of spirituals in their vocal-instrumental versions. The spiritual, as a valuable cultural heritage, but not as a sacred music genre, was also reflected in the literature of the time; such books were, however, rarely published (Kožnar, 1955; Dorůžka, 1961).

[6] Switzerland, Intercord 709-08 MB. It contained the Slovak folk songs *Slovenské mamičky* [Slovak Mothers] and *Pod tým naším okienečkom* [Under Our Little Window].

[7] Edition *Jazzová edice Gramofonového klubu* [The Jazz Edition of the Gramophone Club], Supraphon 1969, 1150584.

[8] EP Spiritual kvartet, Supraphon 1963, and EP Spiritual kvintet, LP Traditional jazz studio, Supraphon 1967.

3. The illegal distribution of sacred music

Gospel music audiences were associated with the same social classes as the audiences for the 1960s' rock movement. Some gospel audiences had the same background as audiences for other popular music broadcasted on radio. A very significant group of listeners came through the jazz movement, as jazz listeners were receptive to and eager for all forms of American jazz styles. Hard rock, pop music, jazz and gospel music attracted especially the younger generation. The alternative rock scene in the Czech Republic was orientated towards the dissident movement, which probably led to a divergence between the Czech and Slovak undergrounds. The activities of the Czech underground were connected with *Charta 77*, while the Slovak gospel scene was closely associated with the Church and musicians who focused on gospel music in 'silent' protest. The years 1969 to 1989 saw the grouping of Czech musicians in alternative rock bands such as *The Plastic People of the Universe* and *Pražský výběr*. Among the singers with *The Plastic People of the Universe* was Paul Wilson, a Canadian writer and translator, who, while teaching in Prague, learned the Czech language. Wilson also translated into English many of the works of the dissident playwright Václav Havel, who was later the President of the Czechoslovak Republic between 1989 and 1992.

Between 1969 and 1989 there were, according to available data, 37 illegally distributed gospel music albums in Slovakia. The data were collected through a field research among different Slovak church denominations in the period 2005–2009 (Baptist Church, Brethren Church, Blue Cross Movement, Catholic Church and Lutheran Church). Although in 1969 Supraphon legally released four LPs, their tracks were the European church music of minor religious denominations and consisted of classical choral music with religious lyrics, rather than gospel music[9]. The albums were a compromise between Church activities and state restrictions during the 1960s that were to finally culminate in the total prohibition of sacred music after 1969. The music on these albums were remnants of the sacred choir heritage from the first half of the 20th century.

Clandestine recording studios were established and producing music cassettes at the beginning of the 1980s. They used recording equipment sourced

[9] Records were made by The Mission Youth Choir of the Church of Brotherhood and The Brotherhood of Baptists choir, Bratislava. LP *Misijný spevokol mladých Cirkvi bratskej v Bratislave: Rozhovory so synom* [Dialogus with the Son]. Supraphon 1969; LP *Zborové duchovné spevy (The Church Choir Chants).* Supraphon 1969, 029 9878.

from Western countries. In 1984, *Zázrak vykúpenia–Košičania* [The Miracle of Redemption–Citizens of Košice], an illegal tape with music by Marcel Šiškovič, was produced. It was recorded in a secret amateur studio in Hýľov, near the Eastern Slovak city of Košice. A significant contributor was Anton Fabián, a Catholic priest, who already had previous experience with underground movements in Slovakia and in Prague. One hundred copies of Košičania were made in the studio, then distributed to priests, and young people secretly made and distributed many more. It is estimated that at least 100,000 copies circulated. Composers, musicians and lyricists became excited about working illegally and about young people having created a network for music distribution.

The following year, *Nový ľud* [New People] was recorded in the Hýľov studio and had a similar success. By that time, the portable studio was already equipped with a Fostex 8-track tape recorder, as well as a music mixer, donated by another priest, Dr. Anton Hlinka, who was a radio broadcaster in Radio Free Europa and later in Voice of America too. Electronic reverb units and other tape recorders were sent from Germany. Slavo Kráľ, a composer and pianist from the Baptist community, tells of another way the recording technologies were obtained. The Baptist churches had close contacts with their Western counterparts, and visiting Western church singers often brought their own sound equipment into Slovakia, and then returned home without it[10].

Between 1983 and 1989, another successful band *Radostné srdce* [A Joyful Heart] recorded eleven tapes in an illegal studio set up in the cellar of a house in Bratislava. Once again, the recordings were secretly distributed. In 1990, after the Velvet Revolution, the same band legally recorded the CD *Vianočné koledy* [Christmas Carols][11] and sold approximately 90 000 copies with proceeds committed to a chapel[12]. This album's success is comparable with the best-selling pop music bands of the time in the former Czechoslovakia. For instance, in 1987, the most successful Czechoslovak pop-rock band, Elán, sold 92 309 copies of its album *Neviem byť sám* [I don't know how to be alone][13]. Despite the *Vianočné koledy's* success, the market for pop music was still significantly

[10] From an interview with Slavo Kráľ and the members of the Unity of Baptist Church choir in Sept. 2008.

[11] P.S.Publisher 1990, 2002; 7304.

[12] From the written interview with Marina Wiesner (June 2008), the band's guitarist, who performed in front of the audience from the Blue Cross Movement and Catholic Church.

[13] Opus, 9113 1910-11.

greater than for gospel music. It should be pointed out that *Elán*, at the peak of popularity, sold 542 939 copies of its album *Detektívka* [Whodunit] (1986). In 1981, the most popular Czech rock band, *Olympic*, sold 170 000 copies of the album *Ulice* [The Street][14]. Both *Olympic* and *Elán* were also promoted abroad and released five albums with English lyrics for foreign listeners.

4. The dual music cultures: Official *versus* private and youth education

During the communist era, the education of young people had a strong ideological focus. Composers wrote classical and special ideological songs which were sung by elementary school choirs and served as an instrument of communist education. In the 1980s, for example, there were slightly more than 2 780 school choirs in Slovakia (Medňanská, 2011), and the number of municipalities was around 2 891. It meant that almost every school had its own choir[15]. The communist hegemony meant that religious convictions became taboo. However, despite government controls, a majority of the Slovak population were able to maintain their religious beliefs, and church rituals such as baptism, first communion, confirmation, weddings and funerals were separated from public life and mostly held in secret. For example, for a baptism, first communion and confirmation some families had to travel to a place where they were not known. Others might have asked for a priest to come to their place. With funerals, some families organized a secular ceremony followed by a mass conducted in secret the following day. In the case of a wedding, only a civil ceremony was accepted for a legal marriage, but very often a church ceremony was conducted in addition to a secular one. Baptism, for instance, also had its secular substitute, a ceremony known as 'welcoming new-borns to society' which was held at municipal offices. In the vast majority of Slovak families, religious rituals were always followed by a private celebration where some sacred music was played.

Furthermore, Afro-American spirituals and gospel songs seeped into Slovakia through secular music, and sacred songs were sung not only at religious family rituals but also at other non-official occasions. Hence, church music became a part of everyday life and contributed to the dualistic nature of music

[14] Supraphon, 1913 0376.

[15] http://portal.statistics.sk/showdoc.do?docid=2213 (accessed 2 February 2015).

culture. Slovak bands also performed sacred songs in visits to Western countries. For example, the *Traditional Club*, a Slovak traditional jazz ensemble, was recorded for NBC's popular television program, the Bell Telephone Hour, at the height of its popularity. The program — sponsored by The Bell System and aired on Sunday, 26 February 1967 — documented the young musicians' performance at the 1966 Comblain-la-Tour International Jazz Festival in Belgium and their playing of 'We Shall Overcome' at Sunday mass in a local church. Benny Goodman's sextet performed in the second half of the program. Other opportunities for the *Traditional Club* to perform in a church came in 1967 when they played in a church in Munich, and at the wedding of the band's drummer at St. Martin's Cathedral in Bratislava. They performed the spirituals from their stable repertoire which included 'Just a Closer Walk with Thee', 'Just a Little While to Stay Here', 'When the Saints Go Marchin' In', and 'St. James Infirmary Blues', the last being a band's hit[16]. The situation changed after the 1989 Velvet Revolution when most school choirs dissolved and spontaneously emerging church choirs began to take their place. According to the data available in 2009, the number of choirs active at primary schools fell from the former 2 780 to just 35 (Medňanská, 2011). On the contrary, the number of church choirs as well as gospel bands has continued to increase and, at present, there are more than 2 000.

5. The music market after 1989

After the Velvet Revolution the Czech and Slovak music industries were divided into secular and sacral segments. State radio and television, though maintaining their monopoly positions[17] began to allocate time to Christian programs. However, the now-legitimate sacred media and new commercial broadcasters became progressively established which created not only a competitive media environment, but also permitted religious plurality and a wider public discourse. In the first period, between 1989 and 1997, the newly established media included Christian Radio Lumen, several youth Gospel magazines, a large

[16] From written interviews with Igor Čelko, June 2008.

[17] Slovak television has been broadcasting since 1956; Slovak Radio originated from private Radiojournal broadcasts in 1926.

number of Christian publishing houses and agencies[18] and also many gospel music festivals[19]. Some of the festivals were held locally, others were Slovakia-wide (for instance *Lumen*, *Aleluja*, and *Verím*, *Pane* [I Believe, My Lord]). As this period was characterized by the enthusiasm of artists and listeners, the early Christian festivals and concerts typically had high attendances, even though they did not reach the standard of those after 1997. In contrast with secular jazz, rock and pop music bands, which were successfully releasing CD recordings, Gospel producers were initially struggling with financial problems and were producing music on cassette tapes.

Hence, the transition of sacred music production from its amateur underground roots was inevitable, but complex, because it required many free-of-charge amateurs — editors, soundmen, managers, journalists, critics, lyricists, composers, singers and instrumentalists — to become professionally skilled. Simultaneously it meant using effective promotional methods and finding new opportunities for entering foreign markets, not only through festivals and concerts, but also in the marketing of music products. After 1997 however, the Christian music industry in Slovakia achieved professional capabilities. Lux television was established in 2008, in addition to the sacred media which became active in the earlier time. The competition between secular and Christian markets led the Slovak media into a cooperative arrangement with Czech Proglas radio, Czech Christian TV Noe, and also with the Polish Christian media (Radio Maryja, TV Trwam, CCM Media).

A specific for the Christian music industry is that the managers of Gospel festivals decline sponsorship from companies distributing tobacco or alcohol products; also Christian radio and television do not seek subsidies from state revenues. In the new millennium, the post-revolutionary enthusiasm of Gospel music authors and listeners has diminished. Some of the earlier festivals originating between 1989 and 1997 have ceased and the overall number of sacred music events has declined. On the other hand, in response to praise and worship — the sacred songs' new artistic form — other festivals have been founded. CampFest, an open-air-festival held in Tatranská Lomnica since 1999, is one example. It is a sports camp which features religious music presentations. The most challenging task in the transitional process was for the amateur

[18] Poltón, Carmina Sacra and Cantante Publishing House, LUX Media, LUX Communication, and Spirit ART recording studio are examples.

[19] Such festivals included New Sacro Song (1989); Aleluja and Verím, Pane (I Believe, My Lord, 1990); Spievajme Pánovi [Let's Sing to the Lord] and Lumen (1993).

Christian bands and choirs to transform themselves into professional music ensembles. In doing so, artists and spiritual leaders were faced with two issues: how to separate and differentiate themselves from popular secular music on the one hand, and how, on the other, not to lose their spontaneity and Christian enthusiasm while strongly re-focusing on a high professional standard of music and lyrics. Although the professionalism and high artistic standards expected from musicians provide the basis for their musical ascendancy, they might also stifle religious enthusiasm and emotionality. There is a thin line between professionalism and the highest artistic standard, but professional performers remain balanced within those boundaries.

Hence, being professional does not so much involve the risk of losing spontaneity, but it rather means finding ways to spark the young listeners' interest, and to be topical while still using the language of a Christian person. These issues have been presented as a problem concerning the relationship between religious and artistic experience (Podpera, 2006), and that of one between a presentational and representational performance (Scruton, 2003) in which the artists represent spiritual values, even though they do not represent the particular subculture or community. Podpera speaks of music's manifest social function as intended by the composer, and of music's latent social function which differs from the original intent.

6. The convergence of sacred and secular music

Today the music industry in Slovakia maintains a secular-sacred differentiation. Publishing houses and agencies recognize and reinforce the division by specific marketing strategies to their target groups. At the same time, within the music itself, there is an ongoing process of convergence between music genres and styles which confounds the strict separation of secular and sacred. Spirituals and gospel music, for example, have their counterparts in soul and contemporary Rhythm and Blues; God Rock shares common features with progressive rock; and white metal has the same musical characteristics as heavy metal. The distinctions between sacred and secular music are the lyrics, the semantic meanings they hold, and the emotions which the music evokes in its listeners. The gradual convergence of sacred and popular styles in Slovakia after 1989 and especially after 2000 was presumably inevitable and probably very similar to other post-socialist countries like the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and the

former East Germany (Lange, 2003). Comparative research between the two styles has not yet been conducted because there is a lack of available resources.

However, investigations have found several language variants of 'Here I am to Worship', an Australian Hillsong Church's worship song written by Tim Hughes (2001); the song was translated by young people of different religious denominations and is still sung in its Polish variant 'Jestem tu by wielbić', in Czech as 'Zde jsem, aby chválil', as well as 'Ich will dich anbeten' in German and 'Prišli sme ťa vzývať' in Slovak. Other songs with more language variants include 'The Heart of Worship' (1997) and 'Once again' (1997), both being written by Matt Redman; and there is also Richard Wayne Mullins's 'Awesome God' (1988). Resources for gospel music can be found on several websites; printed songbooks with national lyrics and scores made by fans are also available.

However, there are many Slovak Gospel groups whose lyrics contain both sacred and secular themes and, hence, complicate any endeavours in stylistic categorization. Such ensembles, if introduced to the market through Christian media and agencies, continue to hold a spiritual and religious identity. Once associated with a sacred label, these groups cannot establish themselves in the secular market, even though they have style characteristics common with secular ones. Since the new millennium a large number of Slovak artists have been able to make a transition from Gospel to pop. Many singers and musicians have even become active on both scenes and collaborate in numerous projects. Although the music industry still maintains its secular and sacred market segmentation there are occasional projects with a genre crossover. Listeners, on the other hand, have been largely indifferent to the genre segmentation. At the national round of the Eurovision Song Contest in 2009 listeners voted favourably for Gospel music singers who were performing pop songs. Three Gospel singers — Kamil Mikulčík, Mária Čírová and Janais (proper name Jana Dzurišová) — reached top places. Kamil Mikulčík, from the Gospel bands Fragile and the Continental Singers, and also the sacro-pop Trinity Group, became the winner of the national round (in a duet with Nela Pocisková) with the song 'Leť tmou' [Fly through the Darkness][20]. The duo then represented Slovakia in the Eurovision final in Moscow. Mária Čírová was another member of the *Trinity Group* and won the fourth place in the national final with 'Búrka' [Storm], while

[20] Music by Rastislav Dubovský; lyrics by Ada Žigová and Nella; English translation of lyrics by Pavol Janík.

Janais was the eighth place-getter with 'Taram ta rej'. She also began her career in the Gospel scene with several sacro-pop recordings.

7. Closing remarks

More than 250 contemporary Christian music albums were recorded in Slovakia between 1989 and 2012. Even though their production quality was not necessarily proportional to the quantity, it was a marker of a free democratic society where anyone possessing artistic skills, innovative ideas and an interest in music had a fair opportunity to develop their potential. The data from the Slovak branch of the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) have been used to compare gospel music production in Slovakia from 1995 to 2005 to the production of jazz, rock, pop, country, blues and folk music. Among approximately 100 albums produced annually, 10 to 15 were gospel music albums[21]. In 1990s' Slovakia (with the population of 5 445 000), the sale of more than 5 000 units was needed to obtain a Platinum Award. In the new millennium this limit was decreased to only 2 000 units, because the market changed in favour of new formats, new ways of distribution and promotion, which has also led to the closure of the Slovak branch of the IFPI after 2010.

The first post-revolutionary period (1989–1997) was characterized by the endeavours of Christian musicians to reach a professional standing; it was achieved soon after and sacred music became artistically comparable with popular music. In the post–1997 period, the music market remains strictly divided into secular and sacred. The divergence can be seen mainly in pop music market, which tends to reinforce the genre differentiation. On the other hand the artists, most especially, seek the opposite: a pathway to stylistic convergence. The strongest impetus for convergence comes from musicians collaborating in jazz and rock genres. Many singers have made a transition from the sacred to the pop scene, and some Gospel musicians have established themselves as accompanying instrumentalists for such pop celebrities as Zuzana Smatanová, Tina, Katka Koščová, Peter Lipa, and Soňa Horňáková. There are also musicians on both sides who balance their commitments across the sacred and secular fields. During the second half of 1990s, the commercial media industry became dominant over concert performances which resulted in a rising group

[21] http://www.edata.sk/ico/30811252/Slovenska-narodna-skupina-Medzinarodnej-federacie-fonografickeho-priemyslu--SNS-IFPI---v-likvidacii (accessed 10 February 2015).

of celebrities whose performances were styled to audience taste and emphasized non-musical elements. Here 'superstars' are being created, not necessarily on the quality of their music.

In Slovakia, pop music faces problems with the quality of its original songs. Secular Slovak pop seems to be privileged solely for already-established artists, and there is a strict separation between the amateur and the professional scene, and between the mainstream and the independent; this intensifies the division between the mainstream and the alternative, and between commercial and underground music. Sacred media much more readily embrace newly emerging Slovak artists and groups and the broadcasts of new songs. They especially provide opportunities to the minority genres and styles which attract fewer listeners. The sacred media's openness to broadcasting secular music is in contrast to the secular media that refuse to broadcast the music of those with ties to Christian agencies or publishing houses.

In concluding, we can make some predictions about future music market trends. Where both secular and sacred music listeners accept certain lyrics and music visualization — particularly evident in video clips and stage designs — there is a like hood that their common interests will draw them together to attend the same concerts and festivals, and to buy similar clips and audio media. For example, secular listeners with an interest in progressive rock will lean towards God rock. Similar outcomes are likely in the currently segmented media. Since Christian media and festivals have not prevented the penetration of secular music and artists — even those discredited from the communist past — by the same measure, the penetration of Christian musicians and groups into commercial media should also occur. This convergence between pop and gospel music is common abroad, where great singers such as Aretha Franklin, Stevie Wonder, Whitney Houston and Mariah Carey grew up in Baptist gospel ensembles.

References

Crane, D. (2002). Culture and globalization: Theoretical models and emerging trends. In D. Crane, K. Kawasaki, & K. Kawashima (Eds.), *Global culture: Media, arts, policy, and globalization* (pp. 1–25). New York: Routledge.

N/A (1968, June 13). Dnes overtúra Bratislavskej Lýry [Today overture of Bratislava Lyra]. *Smena*, pp. 1.

Dlouhá, N. (1968, June 14). Strhujúci Angličané. *Večerní Praha*, pp. 6.

Dorůžka, L., & Mácha, Z. (1964). *Od folklóru k Semaforu*. Praha: SHV.

Dorůžka, L. (1961). *Spieva Paul Robeson*. Praha-Bratislava: ŠHV.

Evans, D. (1976). The Roots of Afro-American Gospel Music. *Jazzforschung*, 8, pp. 119–35.

Guerra, P. (2015). Keep it rocking: the social space of Portuguese alternative rock (1980–2010). *Journal of Sociology*. doi:10.1177/1440783315569557.

Guerra, P., & Quintela, P. (2016). From Coimbra to London: To live the punk dream and 'meet my tribe'. In J. Sardinha, & R. Campos (Eds.), *Transglobal sounds: Music, youth and migration*. New York/ London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Huq, R. (2003). Global youth cultures in localized spaces: The case of the UK new Asian dance music and french rap. In D. Muggleton, & R. Weinzierl (Eds.), *The post-subcultures reader* (pp. 195–208). Oxford (UK): Berg.

Huq, R. (2006). *Beyond subculture: Pop, youth, and identity in a postcolonial world*. London: Routledge.

Jurík, M. (1968, June 19). Bratislavská lýra. *Smena*, p.7.

Kožnar, Z. (1955). *Černošské spirituály*. Praha: SNKLHU.

Lange, B. R. (2003). *Holy brotherhood: Romani music in a Hungarian Pentecostal Church*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Medňanská, I. (2011). Detská zborová tvorba na Slovensku v rokoch 1945–1990. *Cantus Choralis Slovaca* 2010, 20–28. Banská Bystrica: PFUMB.

Matzner, A., Poledňák, I., & Wasserberger, I. (1987). *Encyklopedie jazzu a moderní populární hudby [Encyclopedia of modern jazz and popular music]*. Praha: Supraphon.

Podpera, R. (2006). *Quo vadis Musica. Premeny sociálnych funkcií hudby [Transformation of social functions of music]*. Bratislava: VEDA.

Scruton, R. (2003). *Průvodce inteligentního člověka po moderní kultuře [Guide The intelligent man in modern culture]*. Praha: Academia.

Tesař, M. (1992). *Elán, rock na život a na smrť. História jednej legendy [Elán, Survivor Rock. History of a legend]*. Bratislava: Champagne avantgarde.

Tizik, M. (2011). *Náboženstvo vo verejnom živote na Slovensku [Religion in public life in Slovakia]*. Bratislava: VEDA.

Tizik, M. (2013). 'Riziká merania religiozity na Slovensku'. After The 2011 Census Does Slovakia Still Need Another One? Risks of Measuring Religiosity in Slovakia, pp. 53–68. Bratislava: SOSR.

Tschmuck, P. (2003). *Kreativität und Innovation in der Musikindustrie [Creativity and innovation in the music industry]*. Insbruck: StudienVerlag.

Výborná, T. (2007). Afroamerická a africká duchovní hudba (křesťanského typu) a její místo v české společnosti [African-American and African spiritual music (Christian type) and its place in Czech society]. In I. Poledňák (Ed.), *Proměny hudby v měnícím se světě [Music transformations in a changing world]*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého.