

Building cultural memory in south-eastern Europe at the eve of modernity

Guest editor:
Tatjana Marković



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EDITORIAL

BUILDING CULTURAL MEMORY IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE AT THE EVE OF MODERNITY

TATJANA MARKOVIĆ (VIENNA/BELGRADE)

The second issue of the journal *TheMA* is dedicated to the formation of cultural memory through theatre, music and arts in south-eastern Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, over a wide geographical and chronological context. The papers consider the process of memory building both *within* the region and *on* the region. Along with the centres of our chosen perspective – Belgrade, Ljubljana, Zagreb, as well as Sarajevo – the focus is broadened to include the imperial spaces among which the given societies constructed their national identities: the Austrian Empire, that is, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Kingdom of Hungary, then the Ottoman Empire, the Kingdom of Italy and its predecessors, the Kingdom of Prussia; even Great Britain was fascinated by entangled Balkan history.

Considered to be a social construction of the past, cultural memory manifests itself through different rituals and ceremonies as a basis of collective identity, articulating the past not only through remembering, but also through forgetting. Since the 1980s, the concept of cultural memory has signified an interdisciplinary research perspective, uniting archaeologists, historians, anthropologists, geographers, and psychologists, as well as historians and theoreticians of the arts. The process of creating a narrative of remembrance or amnesia contributes to the construction, reconstruction or deconstruction of cultural and national identity. The cultural memory of south-eastern Europe necessarily demands (re)considering the intertextuality and cross-referentiality of the Byzantine, Ottoman, Habsburg, and Venetian worlds. According to Pierre Nora, the three coexisting aspects of the *lieux de mémoire* are material, symbolic and functional, and these are embodied in museums, archives, cemeteries, festivals, anniversaries, treaties, depositions, monuments and texts, as well as in theatre plays, films, musical compositions and instruments, photography and other *loci memoriae*. The papers included in this issue of the journal *TheMA* illuminate cultural memory, in and on the region in theatre, music, literature, and arts; its construction through nationalistic cultural policy, arts and historiography; and its contribution to building and (re)defining a national identity.

Memory and history, far from being synonymous, are thus in many respects opposed. Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer.¹

In these coordinates, cultural memory building is embodied in a journey from Belgrade to Vienna via the Danube and then from Vienna, through Ljubljana and Zagreb via the river Sava, back to Belgrade. This circle will be crossed in order to shed light on the cultural transfers within another imperial context: the Ottoman Empire (Venetian-Hungarian-Ottoman and Bosnian-Ottoman). The cultural memory of south-eastern Europe is marked by shared historical legacies; crucial among these are the Byzantine and the Ottoman.²

The starting point of the journey – presented at the cover page – is Belgrade, the centre of the crossroads between East and West, the battlefield of numerous armies over the centuries. Two rivers permeate the region, passing through Vienna and Budapest (the Danube), Ljubljana and Zagreb (the Sava), and meeting each other in the heart of Belgrade.

Due to its geographical position, the city was conquered many times. As Michael Hüttler shows in his paper, the Sieges of Belgrade from the eleventh and fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, pitting Hungarians or Austrians against the Ottomans, or Hungarians against Bulgarians and Greeks, were elaborated in four theatre plays (by Kisfaludy, Brandt, Cobb, and Kaiser).³ The Ottomans conquering the Balkans and progressing to the north-west threatened the entire European Christian world and was certainly perceived as a trauma in the Austrian/Viennese cultural memory.

Vienna was a centre of south-eastern culture(s), including people whose territories were within the borders of the Habsburg Monarchy (Slovenia, partly Croatia, partly Bosnia and Herzegovina) and outside it (Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria).

1 Pierre Nora: "Between Memory and History: Lieux de Mémoire", in: *Representations* 26 (1989), p. 8.

2 Maria Todorova: Introduction to *Balkan identities: Nation and Memory*, ed. Maria Todorova. London: Hurst & Company, 2004, p. 12.

3 This paper by Michael Hüttler, as well as the papers by Jernej Weiss and Maximilian Hartmuth, were presented at the interdisciplinary and international conference *Cultural memory and the arts in/on Southeast Europe / Kulturelles Gedächtnis und Kunst in und über Südosteuropa* (<http://www.suedosteuropa.uni-graz.at/en/event/2012/cultural-memory-and-arts-inon-southeast-europe>), organised by the Hertha-Firnberg- und Elise-Richter-Stelleninhaberinnen Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik and Tatjana Marković at the University of Graz on 24–25 May 2012.

Consequently, the construction of their national identities was inevitably connected with Vienna, as it was explicated with Slovenian (musical) culture. Through the case study of the “German” Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, Jernej Weiss explores the shift in national self-representation, from belonging to the empire to forging a national identity outside of it, starting with music historiography.

Historiography was a means of national-identity construction in another Habsburg province: Croatia, along with Slavonia and Dalmatia. Croatian identity assumed influences from Austria, Hungary and Italy/Veneto, prompting Maximilian Hartmuth to consider how one of the most significant art historians and lexicographers, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, aimed to build national cultural memory through his “Croatisation” of the artists of Italian origin. The “Croatian Vasari” (Hartmuth) hence proclaimed the Italian artist Giulio Clovio for a Croatian Julio Klovio. This and many other known cases of appropriation of Italian, German or Czech artists, authors and musicians is a result of self-presentation: Croatian historiographers used to equate the contemporary territory with the national identity. Hartmuth also refers to the case of the fifteenth-century architect and sculptor Niccolò Di Giovanni Fiorentino alias Nikola Firentinac.

These aspects of Croatian-Italian cultural appropriation are connected to the following Hungarian-Croatian cultural transfer by a line that crosses along the region and presents the complex network between Venetian, Ottoman and Hungarian cultures through the majolica ceramics “Candiana” prior to the period in focus. This type of majolica was produced in Veneto between the end of the sixteenth and the first decades of the eighteenth centuries. It remained, however, atypical of the Italian productions. Federica Broilo points out that, while close to the ceramic art known as “Haban ware” in Habsburg Hungary after the sixteenth century, it is most probably an interpretation of Ottoman tiles produced at Iznik.

Continuing on the journey leads us back to Zagreb and Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, whose contribution to national appropriation was in the area of theatre too. A national drama was established and developed in many so-called peripheral cultures through the nationalization of foreign theatre plays, and the works of August von Kotzebue had a very significant role in this process. Ana Mitić witnesses how Sakcinski not only translated, but also adapted Kotzebue’s theatre play *Bela’s Flucht* (1813) – depicting the medieval Hungarian king Béla, the defeat of his army by the Mongols, and his escape to Dalmatia – as the drama *Stjepko Šubić ili Bela IV. u Horvatskoj* (1841), referring to the historical medieval Battle of Grobnik between Croats and Mongols within an Illyrian ideological and nationalistic framework.

Zagreb was also a hometown of numerous Serbian artists, musicians and composers, who defined their national program through their own institutions.

Among them was the Akademsko pjevačko društvo *Balkan* (Academic Choral Society 'Balkan'). Srđan Atanasovski places the performances of the displaced Serbian Choral Society on the regional map, showing how one music society implemented national policy, defined by the Srpska samostalna stranka (Serbian Independent Party) in Habsburg Croatia. The guest performances of the Choral Society *Balkan* were held in all areas where dispersed Serbs lived, including Serbia proper and Belgrade, the point at which this circular journey finishes.

One other line crosses the closed circle, illuminating Sarajevo and/as the Ottoman heritage. Presenting Ottoman architecture through the public buildings and mosques of Sarajevo in his publication from 1913, the Bosnian Sheikh Kemura mapped his (Ottoman) "homeland". In this way Maximilian Hartmuth confirms the power of historiography.

The cultural memory of south-eastern Europe – centers such as Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana, as well as Sarajevo – is considered in two ways, from inside and from outside, through imperial contexts and multi-levelled inter-communication and cultural transfers. The lengthy dominance of south-eastern European countries by one or more empires resulted in a unique cultural memory expressed in literature, theatre, music and the history of arts, as well as in languages, scholarship, law, medicine and cuisine. As these papers explicate, the nationalistic cultural memory is based on (self-)presentation through the past in order to provide continuity through artistic practices and historiography. "The quest for historic continuities is to be located especially in those places and at those times in which a national identity emerges and crystalizes",⁴ as was the case with the considered south-eastern European societies' collective cultural memories at the eve of modernity.

4 Monika Baár: *Historians and Nationalism: East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 66.

THEATRE AND CULTURAL MEMORY: THE SIEGE OF BELGRADE ON STAGE

MICHAEL HÜTTLER (VIENNA)

Abstract: *This contribution considers the historical image of Belgrade created by European playwrights and librettists of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Istanbul has been for a long time the symbol of an oriental city and lifestyle in the Western European mind – an image that was transmitted especially in poetry and dramatic texts. Belgrade seems to be present in a different way in the European cultural memory. Analysis of the representation of history related to Belgrade in the medium of theatre is based on the four selected historical theatre texts: Hannah Brand’s Huniades, or The Siege of Belgrade (Norwich, 1791/1798); Carl Kiszfaludy’s Ilka oder die Einnahme von Griechisch-Weissenburg (Pest, 1814); James Cobb’s The Siege of Belgrade (London 1791/1828); und Friedrich Kaiser’s General Laudon (Vienna, 1875).*

In this article I would like to investigate the historical image of Belgrade created by European playwrights and librettists of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. What are the contents transported in the dramatic texts about Belgrade? Is a certain historical-political context present, which dominates the entertainment factor? Istanbul has been for a long time *the* symbol of an oriental city and lifestyle in the Western European mind – an image that was transmitted especially in poetry and dramatic texts. Belgrade seems to be present in a different way in the European cultural memory.

In his 1963 essay *Sur Racine* ('On Racine') Roland Barthes already posed the question of how to deal academically with the challenge of the relation between history and a work of art, be it music or a dramatic text. There are “on one side, the raw materials – historical, biographical, and traditional (sources) – and on the other (for it is obvious that there remains an abyss between these raw materials and the work), a *je ne sais quoi* with vague and noble names: the *generative impulse*, the *mystery of the soul*, the *synthesis*, in short *Life*”.¹

Barthes was referring to the gap between positivistic and normative science. That gap still exists today but has been narrowed down, especially in cultural studies, with the notion of “cultural memory”.

1 Roland Barthes: “History or literature?”, in: *On Racine*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1964 (orig. 1963/60), p. 167.

Cultural memory (orig. “kulturelles Gedächtnis”), a concept coined by the German scholar Jan Assmann, “draws our attention to the role of the past in constituting our world through dialogue and intercommunication, and it investigates the forms in which the past represents itself to us as well as the motives that prompt our recourse to it”.² Theatre plays an important role insofar as it can be perfectly used as an external storage medium.³

The power which today is generally attributed to media such as newspapers and TV, or the various new social media tools such as blogs, Twitter or Facebook, was until the nineteenth century particularly connected with theatre. The significance of theatre, both for entertainment and education, was considerable and, at least at the court and within the bourgeois class in the cities, undoubted. Hilde Haider-Pregler called the theatre of the eighteenth century with regard to its educational function “des sittlichen Bürgers Abendschule” (‘evening school of a moral citizen’) in her book of the same name.⁴

The repeated re-presentation of a subject or a certain group of people, and the way in which they are portrayed, can introduce a specific image to the cultural memory of the recipients. This function of theatre could be politically directed with ease by the ruling elite, and state-controlled theatre censorship was active in the Habsburg Empire until the end of the empire in 1918; it even survived in the Republic of Austria – under different circumstances – until 1955.⁵ The ideological function of theatre continued in twentieth-century theatre with, for example, Agitprop theatre groups; the pedagogical is also still widely in use, e.g. in the Theatre of the Oppressed and various similar methods. Dramatic texts and libretti serve perfectly as storage media for traditional experiences and memories.

I will analyse the representation of history related to Belgrade in the medium of theatre, using the example of four selected historical theatre texts: Hannah Brand’s *Huniades, or The Siege of Belgrade, a tragedy*, Norwich, 1791/1798;⁶ Carl Kisfaludy’s *Ilka oder die Einnahme von Griechisch-Weissenburg, Vaterländisches Original-Schauspiel in 4 Akten*, Pest, 1814;⁷ James Cobb’s *The Siege of Belgrade, a*

2 Jan Assmann: Preface to *Religion and cultural memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006, p. IX.

3 For questions of cultural memory and media cf. Aleida Assmann: *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*. München: C. H. Beck, 1999.

4 Cf. Hilde Haider-Pregler: *Des sittlichen Bürgers Abendschule. Bildungsanspruch und Bildungsauftrag des Berufstheaters im 18. Jahrhundert*. Wien: Jugend und Volk, 1980.

5 Cf. Norbert Bachleitner: “Die Theaterzensur in der Habsburgermonarchie”, in: *LiThes Zeitschrift für Literatur und Theatersoziologie* 5 (2010), http://lithes.uni-graz.at/lithes/beitraege10_05/heft_5_bachleitner.pdf

6 Hannah Brand: “Huniades, or The Siege of Belgrade, a tragedy”, in: *Plays, and poems; by miss Hannah Brand*. Norwich: Beatniffe and Payne, 1798. (Premiere Norwich 1791).

7 Carl von Kisfaludy von Kisfalud: *Ilka oder die Einnahme von Griechisch-Weissenburg, Vaterländisches*

comic opera, in three acts with music by Stephen Storace, London, 1791/1828;⁸ and Friedrich Kaiser's *General Laudon*, *Geschichtliches Volksstück mit Gesang und Tanz in fünf Bildern*, Wien, 1875.⁹

A lot of dramatic texts refer to a certain siege or battle of Belgrade in their titles without specifying it further. The authors obviously expected their contemporary audience to allocate the events historically, or else they intended to give the audience a certain understanding of the historical events in a pedagogical manner. *The Siege of Belgrade*, a title used by both Hannah Brand in 1791 and James Cobb in 1828 for their respective texts, may concern incidents which at a first glance cannot be associated with a specific historical event. Even a short consultation of a lexicon reveals at least eighteen sieges, from the year AD 488 until 1828.¹⁰

The following events were used by the authors of the dramatic texts selected for this paper: Carl von Kisfaludy depicted in *Ilka oder die Einnahme von Griechisch-Weissenburg* a certain battle of 1073 between Hungary and the Byzantine Empire,¹¹ which does not exist in encyclopedia entries. Hannah Brand's *Huniades, or The Siege of Belgrade* uses as background the battle of 1456 between the Hungarians and

Original-Schauspiel n 4 Akten, s.l.: s.a. (handwritten addendum in the volume used for this article: Pest, 1814). There are different ways to spell his name: Carl or Karl in German, Károly in Hungarian and on the title page of *Ilka* he appears as Carl von Kisfaludy von Kisfalud.

8 James Cobb: *The Siege of Belgrade, a comic opera, in three acts, as it is performed at the Theatres Royal, London and Dublin*. Dublin: Booksellers, s.a. [1791?] and James Cobb: *The Siege of Belgrade, a comic opera in three acts. Printed from the acting copy, with remarks, biographical and critical [...]*, London: John Cumberland, 1828 (Cumberland's British Theatre, with remarks, biographical and critical. Vol. XX).

9 Friedrich Kaiser: *General Laudon, Geschichtliches Volksstück mit Gesang und Tanz in fünf Bildern*. Wien: Wallishausser, 1875 (Don Juan Archiv Wien, Komplex Mauerbach, KMB 2888).

10 If we understand Wikipedia as the true product of today's public cultural memory, it is noteworthy to list all the entries titled as Siege of Belgrade in different national editions of the online encyclopedia: Siege of Singidunum (488), Siege of Singidunum (504), Siege of Singidunum (584), Siege of Singidunum (630), Siege of Belgrade (827), Siege of Belgrade (971), Siege of Belgrade (1316), Siege of Belgrade (1382), Siege of Belgrade (1440), Siege of Belgrade (1456), Siege of Belgrade (1521), Siege of Belgrade (1688), Siege of Belgrade (1690), Siege of Belgrade (1717), Siege of Belgrade (1739), Siege of Belgrade (1789), Siege of Belgrade (1804), Siege of Belgrade (1806).

English version, The Siege of Belgrade – http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Belgrade (accessed on May 20, 2012): 488, 504, 548, 630, 827, 971, 1316, 1382, 1440, 1456, 1521, 1688, 1690, 1717, 1739, 1789, 1804, 1806, 1944. Italian version, Assedio di Belgrado – http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assedio_di_Belgrado (accessed on May 20, 2012): 1456, 1521, 1688, 1717. French version, Siège de Belgrade – http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Si%C3%A8ge_de_Belgrade (accessed on May 20, 2012): 1414, 1456, 1521, 1688, 1690, 1717, 1739, 1789. German version, Schlacht um Belgrad – http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schlacht_um_Belgrad (accessed on May 20, 2012): 1440, 1456, 1521, 1688, 1690, 1717, 1739, 1789, 1805 – 1807, 1944. The Serbian version actually designates seventeen "sieges", one "liberation", two "battles" and three "bombings". Serbian version, Опсада Београда – http://sr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Опсада_Београда (accessed on June 23, 2013).

11 Kisfaludy: *Ilka*, Personen, s.p.

Ottomans.¹² Scholars are divided about the dating of the setting of James Cobb and *The Siege of Belgrade*, as the author does not indicate anything himself: both dates 1456 and 1789 can be found in literature. There is no doubt that, when he wrote *General Laudon*, Friedrich Kaiser had in mind the historic battle of Belgrade between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in 1789.

HANNAH BRAND: *HUNIADES, OR THE SIEGE OF BELGRADE*,
A TRAGEDY¹³

Hannah Brand's (1754–1821) five-act tragedy, a monumental 142-page-long dramatic text, was first performed in 1791. Its focus is the battle and siege of Belgrade in 1456, fought between the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror (b.1432, r.1444–1446 and 1451–1481), here called Mahomet II and the Hungarian John Hunyadi (1387–1456), here John Corvin Huniades. Sultan Mehmed II, who conquered Constantinople in 1453 and ended Byzantine rule, now advances towards Hungary with an army of 150,000 men aiming to lay siege to the stronghold Belgrade. The Hungarian hero Huniades and a small troupe bravely fight against this superior number of soldiers. With the help of the Franciscan Giovanni da Capistrano, Huniades and his crusaders succeed in fighting off the Ottomans. Not only Hungary but also the whole of Christendom are gloriously saved from the Turks.

Author Hannah Brand – one of the very few female dramatists of the eighteenth century – added a historical introduction to her 1798 publication of the text, explaining Hungary's historical and political situation in 1456 – the rivalry between Ulrick, Count of Cilley, and the Huniades (John Corvin and his son Ladislaus Corvinus) – as well as details about Sultan Mehmed II known in Brand's time. In her introduction she tries to add historical value and authenticity to her dramatic text by giving as sources for these details quotations from various history books of her time, including the *New universal history* or "D'Ohssons Hist. gen. of the Othoman Empire".¹⁴

Brand's distribution of roles is immediately clear in the *Dramatis Personae*, visually parted into two political-religious camps on two different pages of the book: "Christians" and "Turks". From the beginning, she leaves no doubt about the frontline and where her sympathy lies. Her introduction labels the Ottoman

12 Brand: "Huniades", p. 10.

13 Ibidem.

14 Brand: Introduction to *Plays, and poems*, p. 8. Brand refers to Ignatius Mouradzea d'Ohsson: *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane, l'autre, l'histoire de l'Empire othoman*, 3 vols., Paris, 1787–1820, also published as 7 vols., Paris, 1788–1824.

Sultan Mahomet II as the “terror of all Christendom”,¹⁵ whereas the Hungarians, especially father and son Huniades, are brave heroes. Unfortunately their heroic fight is betrayed within their own ranks by Ulrick.

In return for sparing Belgrade, Sultan Mahomet II asks for princess Agmunda to be his bride – otherwise the city will be destroyed. Agmunda is in love with John Huniades’s son Ladislaus Corvinus, and he quickly marries her to protect her from this fate. Ulrick abducts her and hands her over to the sultan, but Agmunda remains steadfast. Zilago, governor of Belgrade, kills the villain Ulrick and the Hungarians under the Huniades defeat the Turks. But this is a tragedy, and in the end Agmunda still will be poisoned by Sultan Mahomet II. A good part of the play resembles the typical abduction plot found in many libretti and dramatic texts of the late eighteenth century. Its happy ending, however, is political rather than personal.

The tragedy discusses if one single noble person should be sacrificed for the good of a whole people – in this case, the marriage of Agmunda to Mahomet II in exchange for the retreat of the Ottoman troupes from Belgrade. David Chandler identifies in this idea an early mirroring of the events in the French Revolution which led to Marie Antoniette being beheaded in 1793 for the good of the people.¹⁶ In Hannah Brand’s tragedy, written in 1791, both classes, people and nobility, reject that deal.

Huniades, or The Siege of Belgrade is a political play with didactic, historical-critical aspirations. To support that claim, the author quotes from trustworthy sources in her introduction. The camps are divided by religion rather than by nationality: it is Christians versus Turks, with the latter being synonymous for the Islamic faith. The Christians are heroic and steady, the Turks are gruesome and superstitious – rationality versus irrationality.

JAMES COBB: *THE SIEGE OF BELGRADE*, A COMIC OPERA

In James Cobb’s libretto of 1791¹⁷ the dramatis personae are divided simply into men and women. The setting is in a “Village of Servia, with the Danube; on one side the Turkish camp, on the other the Austrian”,¹⁸ later inside the “Seraskier’s tent” and also in Belgrade.

15 Brand, *ibidem*.

16 David Chandler: “The conflict: Hannah Brand and theatre politics in the 1790s”, in: *Romanticism on the net* 12 (1998), <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/005819ar> (accessed on May 20, 2012)

17 James Cobb: *The Siege of Belgrade*, [1791?].

18 *Ibidem*, p. 3. Interestingly enough, in the later version of the libretto, printed in London 1828, there is no Austrian camp anymore. cf. James Cobb: *The Siege of Belgrade, a comic opera, in three acts. Printed from the acting copy, with remarks, biographical and critical [...]*. London: John Cumberland, 1828.

Which historical battle the text is about remains unclear. The Turkish commander is called “Seraskier”, which actually is not a name but a title, similar to general or general field marshal. No sultan or other historical person who might give a hint to the period of the setting appears or is referenced.

The composer of the comic opera, Stephen Storace (1762–1796) borrowed the music generously from Vicente Martin y Soler’s drama giocoso *Una Cosa Rara* (Vienna, 1786): nine out of twenty-nine pieces are taken from Martin y Soler’s composition.

Unlike Brand, Cobb does not add a historical introduction. In literature attributions can be found to the battle of 1456¹⁹ – which is rather implausible as there are “Austrian soldiers” and not Hungarians – and also to the battle of 1789. The latter would suggest that the author used contemporary events, which is rather unusual but of course possible.

Luckily we have for this opera a rare instance of reports about performances from various sides, which gives us an idea of its contemporary reception. One of the singers, Michael Kelly (1762–1826), commented in his biography about the performances in London. Kelly sang the part of Seraskier and was also a singer in the premiere of *Una cosa rara* in Vienna, 1786, and he described his rather positive memories in his *Reminiscences*: “The opera was received with great applause, and was performed the first season sixty nights to overflowing houses. The acting of Mrs. Crouch, in the ‘Letter Duett,’ with the Seraskier, was beyond all praise, and Palmer’s bye-play was excellent.”²⁰

The sister of the composer, Nancy Storace (1765–1817), had already been a star in Vienna – in 1786 her roles included Susanna in the premiere of *Le nozze di Figaro* and Lilly in the premiere of *Una cosa rara* – and she also appeared prominently in this opera, singing the role of Lilla.

Kelly obviously had quite good memories about the piece – although he might have been biased, having sung the leading role. The commentator with the initials D.G., however, had quite a critical opinion about the text in the introduction of the print edition, London 1828: “the plot is singularly unimportant and trivial”.²¹ During the siege of Belgrade, a young woman (Katharine) gets abducted by Turks and is brought to the Seraskier, the Turkish general field marshal. Her husband,

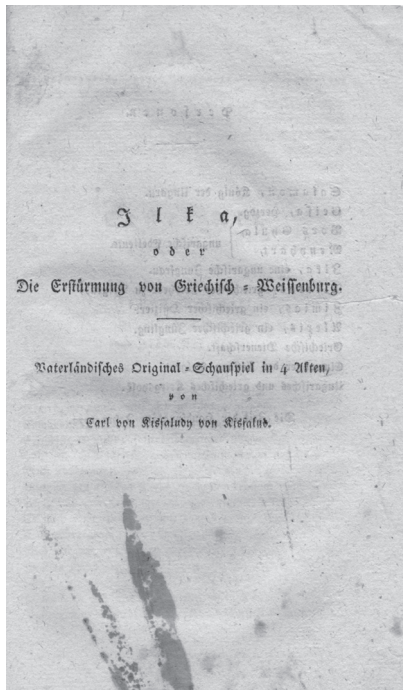
19 Cf. Centre for Performance History / RCM London: *Virtual exhibition – pantomime and the Orient; 6. The Siege of Belgrade (1791)* (accessed on May 20, 2012) <http://www.cph.rcm.ac.uk/Virtual%20Exhibitions/Music%20in%20English%20Theatre/Pages/Caption6.htm>

20 Michael Kelly: *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, vol. 2. Second edition, London: Henry Colburn, 1826, p. 1.

21 D. G.: “Remarks”, in: James Cobb: *The Siege of Belgrad*, 1828, p. 3.

the Austrian Colonel Cohenberg, is also arrested while trying to rescue her. What follows is a typical abduction plot: the Turkish leader Seraskier would like to have the captured Christian woman as his bride, but she stays firm; as revenge her husband is sentenced to death. In the end the Austrians prevail over the Turks and all of them are freed. Colonel Cohenberg now shows clemency and keeps the captured Seraskier alive: “Rise and learn from this how Christians treat a captive foe.”²²

The historico-political message is meagre, with the whole plot centering around a standard captivity-story like so many others. The only difference is that the setting is not in the Levante but in Belgrade. Here the author might have been influenced by the real historical battle of Belgrade in 1789, which happened two years before the London premiere of the piece in 1791. As comic-opera the main aim of Cobb’s *The Siege of Belgrade* was to entertain the audience rather than to provide historically correct information or to encourage the recipients to reflect upon their own situation.



Ill. 1: Frontispiz, in: Carl von Kisfaludy von Kisfalud: *Ilka oder die Einnahme von Griechisch-Weissenburg, Vaterländisches Original-Schauspiel in 4 Akten*. s.l.: s.a. (handwritten addendum in the volume used for this article: Pest, 1814)

²² Cobb: *ibidem*, p. 45.

CARL (KÁROLY) KISFALUDY:
ILKA ODER DIE EINNAHME VON GRIECHISCH-WEISSENBURG,
EIN VATERLÄNDISCHES ORIGINAL-SCHAUSPIEL IN 4 AKTEN²³

The chosen genre title “vaterländisches Original-Schauspiel” (‘patriotic original-play’) provides the first hint that the content of the play is written in a patriotic manner. The Hungarian author Carl (Károly) Kisfaludy (1788–1830) is one of the founders of Hungarian romanticism. His dramatic plays deal mostly with subjects from Hungarian history.²⁴

The plot is about a siege of Belgrade in the year 1073. In this case the rival camps are not the Ottomans and Austrians, but the Hungarians and the “Griechen” (‘Greeks’ or Byzantines). The Greeks have captured the fortress “Griechisch Weissenburg” (the German name of Belgrade) with the help of the Bulgarians, and now the Hungarians are trying to liberate it.

Again there is a brave maiden, Ilka, the Hungarian heroine. She has been captured by Niketas, the Greek field marshal and new commander of Belgrade. He is in love with her and ready to release her if she agrees to become his wife. Ilka however is in love with a Hungarian commander and stays firm. Niketas’s Hungarian foster-son is also in love with Ilka but tries to stay loyal to Niketas. This constellation leads to various entanglements.

Throughout the play, the Greeks and their Bulgarian allies are painted as unreliable and morally weak. Niketas, their commander, laments about his own soldiers:

Nicht fürchte ich des Feindes Macht so sehr,
Wie meine eig’ne Schaar. – Die Griechen sind
Ein ausgeartet Volk.

[...]

...Gold ist nun sein einz’ger Götze,
Und drum erröthet er nicht mehr, auch vor
Dem Fremdling selbst im Stau zu kriechen.²⁵

(‘I am less afraid of the enemy
than of my own regiment. – The Greeks are
a degenerate people.

[...]

23 Kisfaludy: *Ilka*.

24 E.g. *Die Tataren in Ungarn* (Pest, 1814), *Stibor* (Brünn, 1820).

25 Kisfaludy: *Ilka*, Dritter Akt, p. 139.

Gold is their only idol,
they don't even blush, when
licking the boots of a foreigner.')

Zimias, his officer, agrees with him:

Schnell griffen die
Bulgaren wieder zu den Waffen, da
Du ihren Sold erhöht; [...]²⁶

('The Bulgarians quickly
took up arms, when
you raised the pay;')

As opposed to the Greeks, the Hungarians are generous. They promise to protect the citizens of Belgrade if they surrender. Menyhart, a Hungarian nobleman, philosophises: "Herrlich ist und wünschenswerth der Sieg, wenn Großmuth ihn Begleitet: er verewiget den Helden. Doch höher zielt und adelt noch Erbarmen und Milde ihn."²⁷

Basically the story has a genre-typical captivity plot. What is remarkable is its exceptional, strong, female Christian hero Ilka – neglecting all dangers she remains steadfast and rejects all promises and the love of the Greek occupier of Belgrade. She frees herself from captivity without any male help: she outsmarts the guards and sets the fortress of Belgrade on fire, enabling the Hungarian soldiers to invade the city and achieve victory. Only through her heroic deeds is Belgrade made Hungarian again.

The author's intention is to show that the Greeks are so weak that they can be defeated even by a woman. Ilka acknowledges before the Hungarian king: "Ilka ist Mein Nahm', Ungarn mein Vaterland – ein Held, Den meine Seele liebt, mein Reichthum; und Mein schönster Ruhm ist meines Königs Gnade und Vaterlandsliebe."²⁸ ('Ilka is my name, Hungary my fatherland – my soul loves a hero, he is my wealth; my greatest glory is the grace of my king and the love of my fatherland.')

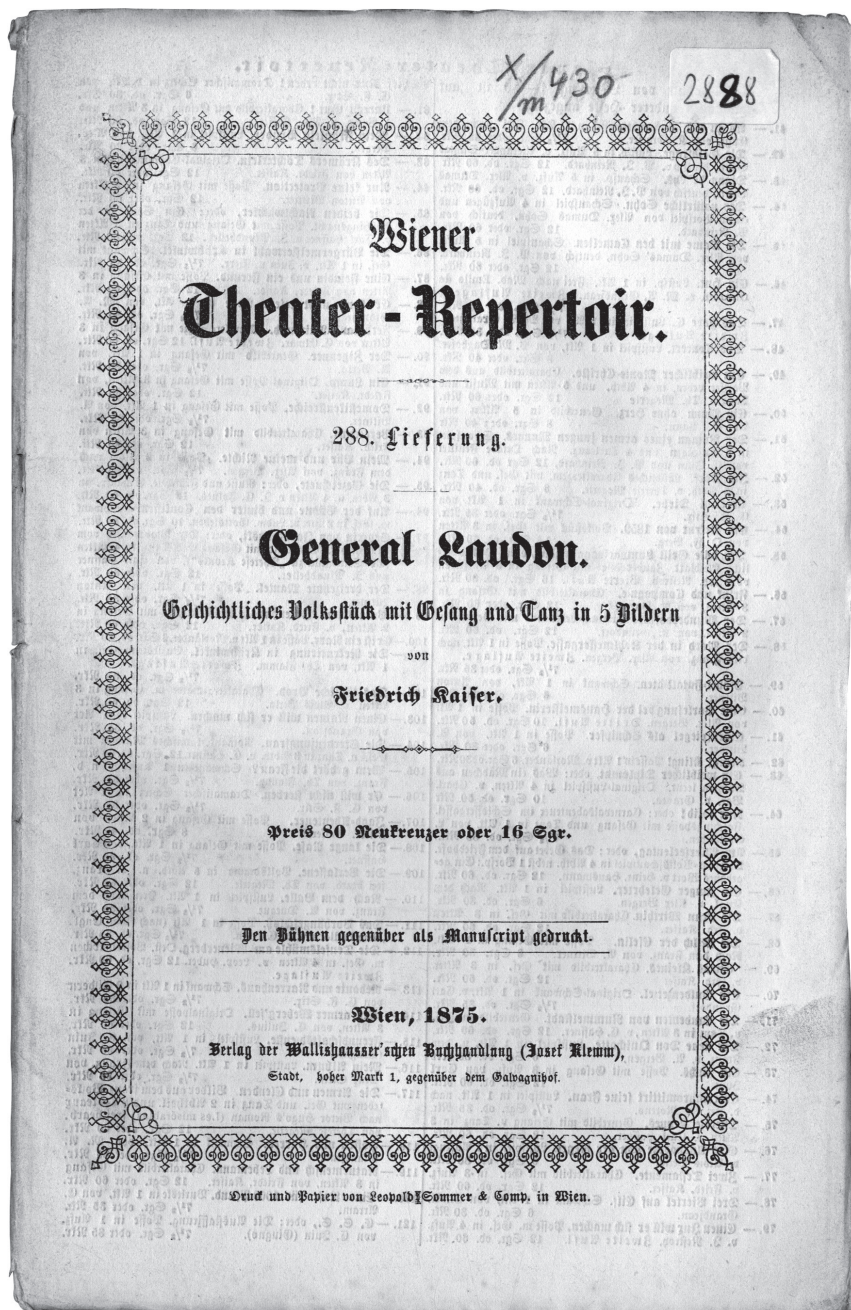
The heroic deeds of a woman have to be rewarded: There is a happy ending in the final scene when Ilka is reunited with her beloved hero Gyula before the Hungarian king and gets married.

Kisfaludy's play is openly patriotic. Its political and religious opponents are the Hungarians (the Roman Catholic Christians) and the Byzantine Empire (the Orthodox Christians). Greeks and Bulgarians are depicted as morally weak and greedy. For them, gold is more important than patriotism and faith. The Hungarians, on the other hand, are noble, brave and generous.

26 Ibidem, p. 140.

27 Kisfaludy: *Ilka*, p. 165.

28 Kisfaludy: *Ilka*, p. 168.



Ill. 2. Frontispiz, in: Friedrich Kaiser: *General Laudon. Geschichtliches Volksstück mit Gesang und Tanz in fünf Bildern.* Wien: Wallishauser, 1875.

FRIEDRICH KAISER: *GENERAL LAUDON*,
GESCHICHTLICHES VOLKSSTÜCK
MIT GESANG UND TANZ IN FÜNF BILDERN²⁹

The dramatist Friedrich Kaiser (1814–1874) was employed as a playwright in Vienna at the Carltheater and later on at the Josefstädtertheater. One of the most frequently performed authors of his time, Kaiser wrote at least 143 pieces, most of them comedies or Wiener Possen, but also “historische Volksstücke”, so called Lebensbilder, apart from *General Laudon* also a play about *Sonnenfels* and *Abraham a Santa Clara*.³⁰ He was a contemporary of Johann Nestroy, for whom he worked after the death of Carl Carl, the director of the Carltheater, in 1854. Kaiser was a professing liberal, and in the revolutionary year of 1848 he became famous when he was chosen to proclaim publicly the new constitution to the people in Vienna. Yet his plays were heavily loaded with patriotism and heroism.

The monumental play *General Laudon* has thirty-eight roles, among them a good deal of Habsburg dignitaries and politicians of every kind, starting with the highest ranking in the empire, Kaiserin Maria Theresia and Franz der Erste, followed by the main hero Gideon Ernst Freiherr von Laudon, k. k. Feldmarschall-Lieutenant, as well as such roles as Woitic, croatischer Feldpater and generals, adjutants, volunteers, soldiers and further folk.

The whole combination makes for quite an overblown, drippingly patriotic five-act “Geschichtliches Volksstück” (‘historical piece’) as it was named by the author. Kaiser’s aim was to celebrate the heroic deeds of the Austrian field marshal Ernst Freiherr von Laudon. To make the play more interesting for the audience, Kaiser also included a half-hearted love story about a tailor’s son who, despite his love, goes to war full of patriotic pride for his leader Laudon.

Most of the play – acts two and three – are about the historic siege of the Prussian fortress Schweidnitz in 1761 by Laudon and his famous victory. Act five, years later, shows Laudon retired at his castle in Hadersdorf near Vienna, lonely and grumpy because nobody needs his service when peace prevails. He comes to joyful life again only when he learns that he will receive the command of an expedition to free Belgrade from the Turks. He and his loyal soldiers march enthusiastically towards Belgrade and are immediately victorious.

The plot relates to the historic Eighth Austro-Turkish War of 1788–1789, in which the real Laudon received supreme command of the main army – after Field

29 Kaiser: *General Laudon*.

30 Roswitha Woytek: “Kaiser, Friedrich”, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 11 (1977), <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118874748.html>

Marshal Hadik von Futak fell ill – and on 8 October 1789 recaptured Belgrade from the Ottoman army.

The piece ends with the Laudon Lied³¹ and a tableau showing “Laudon in dem Momente [...], in welchem ihm der besiegte Commandant von Belgrad die Schlüssel überreicht”.³²

The heroes are without doubt the Habsburg field marshal Laudon and his unconditionally loyal officers. There is no single enemy – Laudon fights wherever his fatherland needs him, be it against Prussia or against the Ottomans.

CONCLUSION

While other Eastern cities such as Istanbul usually serve in theatre as a background for exotic fantasies, Belgrade appears only in a political and war-like context. In the presented dramatic texts and libretti about Belgrade, the plot concerns the struggle between two empires and at the same time two religious confessions. It is either Christians against Muslims or Roman Catholic Christians against Orthodox Christians. The texts are loaded with examples of faithfulness, loyalty and patriotism. The enemy always comes from the East and has a different faith. The winner of the struggle not only liberates or defends the city from an occupying force but also saves Europe as a whole from the threat of conquest by the Other. Here the fortress and city of Belgrade stands for the European/Christian defense and symbolises a bulwark of freedom. If Belgrade is falling, the Christian Western world is in danger.

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31 “[...] Der Name imponiert dem Feind, | Der siegessicher sich gemeint, | Ein Schreckenswort wird jetzt ihm kund, | Und bebend geht’s von Mund zu Mund‘ | ,Wird Der uns gegenübersteh’n, | Dann müssen wir zu Grunde geh’n!‘ | Der Türk‘ fangt da zu zittern an | Denn der Laudon – der Laudon rückt an!” (“The enemy is impressed by his name alone, who was confident until now, a cruel word comes to light, trembling it is passed on from person to person, “he will face us, we will perish”. The Turk starts trembling, Laudon – Laudon is approaching”) cf. Kaiser: *General Laudon*, p. 64.

32 Ibidem.

THE SIEGE OF BELGRADE ON STAGE

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MUSICAL CULTURE IN SLOVENIA REVISITED: THE CASE OF THE “GERMAN” PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY

JERNEJ WEISS (LJUBLJANA/MARIBOR)

Abstract: *The Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana was the successor to one of the oldest philharmonic societies in Europe, the Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensis, established in 1701. Because of the growing national tensions among the German- and Slovenian-speaking populations of the Slovenian lands in the 1860s, a certain degree of competition between domestic and foreign, more precisely, between the so-called German and Slovenian music societies, appeared in the musical life of Slovenia. But many distinguished Slovenian musicians even later remained members of the so-called German Philharmonic Society. It was therefore not until the end of World War I that nationalism became the prevailing way of thinking in Slovenia. Afterwards, it became necessary to break with everything from the past (especially with the “German” Philharmonic Society and the “German” Opera in Ljubljana), and to rely solely on Slovenian achievements. Slovenian music and later on, unfortunately, also a part of Slovenian musicology thus made an exceptionally dangerous step backward and suppressed a very important part of its musical culture.*

There are not many institutions or individuals in Slovenian musical history with such a rich tradition as the Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensis. The Academia, which followed the model of similar societies in Italy, was established in 1701 and was one of the oldest philharmonic societies in Central Europe.¹ As a meeting place of Ljubljana’s rich bourgeoisie, it significantly enriched musical life in Ljubljana through the organization of concerts and, above all, laid new foundations for its development. Even when the supporting pillars of the Academia Philharmonicorum disappeared in the 1770s, its memory lived on. Without the Academy’s example, the new Philharmonic Society (Philharmonische Gesellschaft) could not have been founded in 1794.² This, too, was one of the first associations of its kind in Europe.³

1 Metoda Kokole: “Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium v evropskem okviru”, in: *300 let / years Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium 1701–2001*. Ljubljana: Muzikološki inštitut ZRC SAZU, 2004, p. 34.

2 Primož Kuret: *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794–1919: kronika ljubljanskega glasbenega življenja v stoletju meščanov in revolucij*. Ljubljana: Nova revija, 2005, p. 17.

3 Ibidem, p. 18.



Ill. 1: The old building of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, which was destroyed in 1887 by fire. Jernej Weiss: *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939): življenje za glasbo*. Maribor: Litera & Univerza v Mariboru, 2010, p. 83.

The Society accepted into its membership anyone who was willing to assist in the realization of its goals irrespective of his national origin. For a new member to be admitted, a two-thirds majority was needed. Famous foreign musicians who could benefit the Society “with their brilliant musical talents and merits” became honorary members.⁴ Among the most important honorary members of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society, Josef Haydn (1800), Ludwig van Beethoven

⁴ Ibidem, p. 24.

(1819),⁵ Nicoló Paganini (1824), Johannes Brahms (1885), and Eduard Hanslick (1891) should be mentioned.

The Philharmonic Society began its significant rise in 1856 with the arrival of an exceptional Czech musician, Anton Nedvĕd,⁶ who just two years later became musical director of the Society. Nedvĕd managed to attract young musicians to the Society, and included more demanding works in the concert programmes. Another key figure in the history of the Society was a Viennese musician, Josef Zöhrrer,⁷ who succeeded Nedvĕd in 1883. Under Zöhrrer, the Society made continuous progress and enhanced its reputation. Appearances by well-known foreign artists became even more frequent. Amongst them were Austrian conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic Felix Weingartner, violin virtuosos Joseph Joachim and Pablo de Sarasate, violin pedagogues Otakar Ševčík and Antonín Bennewitz, famous pianists Alfred Grünfeld, Eugen d'Albert, and Leopold Godowsky, singers such as famous Moravian tenor Leo Slezak, numerous string quartets, and many others, to name just a few.⁸

In his statements Zöhrrer supported a policy oriented towards the Austrian cultural environment, which is why the Philharmonic Society began to be looked upon as a “German” institution in the 1880s, when Ljubljana (Laibach) at the time was still an extremely ethno-nationally mixed city with a majority Slovenian-speaking population.⁹ After a brief directorship by Rudolf von Weiss-Ostborn,¹⁰

5 As gratitude for membership Beethoven dedicated to the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana a transcript of his Pastoral Symphony that is kept in the Music Collection of the Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica Slovenije (National and University Library of Slovenia).

6 Anton Nedvĕd (Hořovice, August 19, 1829–Ljubljana, June 16, 1896), conductor, composer, and teacher. He studied at the Music Conservatory in Prague and worked as music teacher and opera singer in Prague and Brno. From 1856 onward he lived in Ljubljana. He was director of the Philharmonic Society (1858–1883), from 1859 onward he was a teacher at the original name in Slovenian (Public Music School), and he also taught at a secondary school and a seminary. Within the scope of the Philharmonic Society, he established a mixed choir and a male choir. He was one of the founders of the Glasbena matica (Music society) and its committee member until 1880. Primož Kuret: “Nedvĕd, Anton”, in: *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, ed. Marjan Javornik. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1993, p. 349.

7 Josef Zöhrrer (Vienna, February 5, 1841–Ljubljana, November 20, 1916), conductor, teacher and composer. In 1860 he finished at the Music Conservatory in Vienna and started to perform as a pianist. From 1865 he was a teacher on the Music School of the *Philharmonic Society* in Ljubljana. Later he was Director of the Philharmonic Society (1883–1912). He became also an honorary member of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society. Primož Kuret: “Zöhrrer, Josef”, in: *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, ed. Dušan Voglar. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 2000, p. 215.

8 Kuret: *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794–1919*, pp. 348–360.

9 Fran Zwitter: *Nacionalni problemi v habsburški monarhiji*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1962, pp. 22–24.

10 Rudolf von Weiss-Ostborn (Graz, November 8, 1876–Graz, December 18, 1962), composer and conductor. After his study at the Philosophical Faculty in Graz (finished in 1900) he played viola

Zöhrer was succeeded by the last – one could say “wartime” – musical director of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society, Hans Gerstner¹¹, one of the most influential personalities of Ljubljana’s musical culture in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹²

Gerstner came to Ljubljana in 1871 and began to work at the Philharmonic Society, initially as a concert master, solo violinist, and a conductor of philharmonic and chamber concerts. He is among those who contributed the most to enriching the society’s programme of philharmonic concerts by including works that were practically unknown to the Ljubljana public until then. Among these are also some excerpts from Wagner’s operas.¹³ On the other hand, it is also interesting to note that he was the first in Slovenia to premiere almost the entire opus of Brahms.¹⁴ Gerstner’s extensive legacy, today held in the Viennese archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, also includes, among others, a postcard from Brahms in which this famous Viennese master responds to Gerstner’s request for the performance of his *Clarinet Quintet*. Brahms’s reply to Gerstner was as follows: “Sehr geehrter Herr. Das Quintett habe ich nicht mehr in Händen, es, erscheint bereits allernächsten bei Simrock in Berlin. Ihr hochachtungsvoll ergebener Johannes Brahms.”¹⁵

in the orchestra of the Music Society of Styria in Graz. From 1902 he was a musical director in Knittelfeld. In 1912 he was a short term musical director of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana. Kuret: *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794–1919*, p. 397.

11 Hans (Johann) Gerstner (Luditz, 17 August 1851–Ljubljana, January 9, 1939), violinist, conductor, and teacher. After childhood, which he spent in Luditz, today known as Žlutice, he studied (1864–1871) at the National Conservatory in Prague. In 1871 he came to Ljubljana where he worked as a violinist and teacher until the end of World War I. As a performer, as well as concertmaster of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society, as a soloist and conductor of philharmonic and chamber concerts, as well as of various charity events, he performed at twelve to fifteen concerts yearly, hence in his entire, more than forty-year career as a music reproducer in Ljubljana, at a total of almost six hundred concerts. It was Gerstner who from 1883/84 season began to organize chamber concerts within the framework of Ljubljana’s Philharmonic Society. As one of the main protagonists of musical developments in Slovenia in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through his music reproduction, music education and, ultimately, his music organization activities in the period between 1871 and 1939 within the framework of the Philharmonic Society and some other central musical institutions in Ljubljana at the time, Gerstner contributed immensely, irrespective of nationality, to the transition from more or less gifted dilettantism to a gradual, qualitative rise of musical works in Slovenia. Jernej Weiss: *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939): življenje za glasbo*. Maribor: Litera & Univerza v Mariboru, 2010.

12 Ibidem.

13 Ibidem, pp. 42–43.

14 Hans Gerstner: “Johannes Brahms: Aufführungen seiner Werke in Laibach (1875–1918)”, in: *Archiv Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*, 15968/168.

15 ‘Dear Sir, The Quintet is no longer in my hands. It appears that it was recently released by Simrock in Berlin. Respectfully yours, Johannes Brahms.’ Johannes Brahms: *Archiv Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*.



Ill. 2: Hans (Johann) Gerstner. Weiss: *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939)*, front page.

Johannes Brahms

II. Marktgasse 4.

Das größte Gne.
Als Quintett habe ich
auf mich in Frankfurt, ob
sich nicht auch alle
auf dem bei Dir sind in
Berlin. Ihr freudigster
Gegner

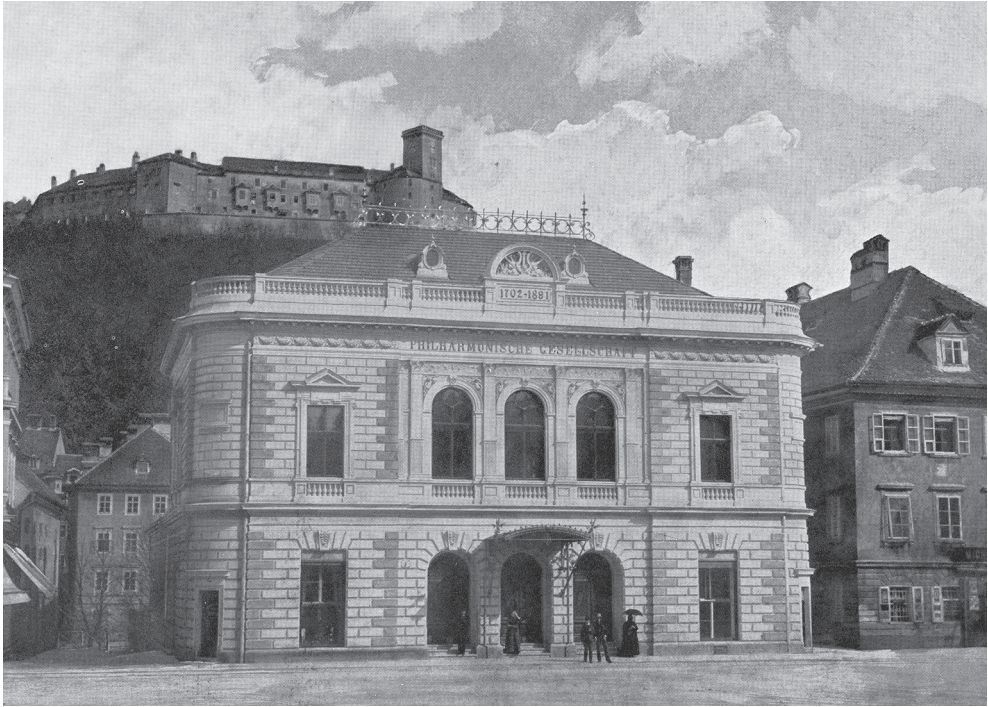
Ill. 3: The back side of Brahms's answer to Gerstner. Weiss: *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939)*, p. 85.

Gerstner then wrote directly to Simrock and, four days later, received Brahms's *Quintet in h-moll*, still “damp from fresh paint”, as Gerstner wrote.¹⁶ On March 1893 he and his colleagues performed the Clarinet Quintet in Ljubljana as one of the very first international performances, just few months after its Berlin premiere.¹⁷ This demonstrates Gerstner's effort to familiarize the Ljubljana public with the most recent creative achievements of some of the leading composers of that time. With this and similar performances, it seems that at the turn of the nineteenth century, Ljubljana was not much behind the much richer cultural cities, such as Vienna and Berlin, as far as chamber and orchestra music was concerned.

This was more than evident in the guest appearances of some of the leading foreign orchestras in 1891 in the newly constructed Ljubljana Philharmonic Hall, named Tonhalle (Music Hall).

16 Weiss: *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939)*, p. 51.

17 Ibidem.



Ill. 4: The new building of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana, 1891. Weiss: *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939)*, p. 83.

Among the most important concerts of that time was by all means the performance on April 28, 1900, of the Berliner Philharmoniker under the leadership of the famous Austrian–Hungarian orchestral and operatic conductor, Hans Richter.¹⁸ Richter was reputed as one of the greatest interpreters of Wagner in his time, and had participated as assistant conductor in the premiering of Wagner’s *Meistersinger* as early as 1868, and more than three decades later presented an overture of this work to the Ljubljana public.¹⁹

Another first-class event in the exceptionally rich history of philharmonic concerts was also the guest performance on March 8, 1903 of the Berliner Tonkünstler Orchester under the conduction of Richard Strauss.²⁰ At this concert

18 Ibidem, pp. 53–54.

19 The Berliner Philharmoniker under conduction of Hans Richter performed Wagner’s *Mastersingers*, Liszt’s *Rhapsodie hongroise*, Richard Strauss’s *Don Juan*, and Ludwig van Beethoven’s *Eroica*. Kuret: *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794–1919*, p. 706.

20 Gerstner had after the concert a more than hour-long discussion with Richard Strauss in the Tonhalle. Weiss: *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939)*, p. 55.

Strauss performed his symphonic fantasy, *Aus Italien* (From Italy), which he had written in 1886.²¹

Conhalle der Philharmonischen Gesellschaft.

Sonntag, den 8. März 1903, mittags halb 12 Uhr

Gastspiel-Konzert
des Berliner Conkünstler-Orchesters

•• 70 Künstler ••

○

Dirigent:

Richard Strauss.

○ ○ ○

Programm:

Ouverture zum Trauerspiel „Egmont“
von Goethe Ludwig van Beethoven

Entr'acte aus „Messidor“ Alfred Bruneau

Vorspiel zu „Die Meistersinger von
Nürnberg“ Richard Wagner

„Aus Italien“, symphonische Phantasie,
op. 16, komponiert 1885 . Richard Strauss

„Auf der Kampagne“ (Andante) • „In Roms Ruinen“ (Allegro
molto con brio) • „Am Strande von Sorrent“ (Andantino) •
„Neapolitanisches Volksleben“ (Allegro molto).

Sitze zu K 7.—, 6.—, 5.—, 4.— und 3.—; Stehplätze zu K 2.—;
Schülerkarten zu K 1.50 bei Otto Fischer, Musikalienhandlung, Laibach,
Conhalle, und vormittags an der Kasse.

Helmayer & Bamberg, Laibach. 888

Ill. 5: A poster from Strauss's concert in Ljubljana. Kuret: *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794–1919*, p. 320.

21 Kuret: *Ljubljanska filharmonična družba 1794–1919*, p. 718.

Many other first-class foreign artists and orchestras also performed in Ljubljana. Among them the guest appearance of Wiener Konzert-Vereins Orchester under the conduction of renowned Austrian conductor Ferdinand Löwe should be mentioned. As Bruckner's pupil he wanted to present in Ljubljana his teacher's Ninth Symphony.²² It is interesting to note that all the mentioned musicians had stayed in room number eight of what was then one of Ljubljana's major hotels, Hotel Elefant (Hotel Elephant), today known as Hotel Slon, for which Gerstner himself, or his father-in-law, Gnesda, was to blame. As the owner of Hotel Slon at the time, Gnesda was obviously well aware of the excellent promotional opportunity and offered these musicians free accommodation in his hotel.²³

Gerstner was constantly endeavouring to bring as many high-quality foreign performers as possible to Ljubljana. Understandably, most of them were his fellow countrymen from the Czech lands, with whom he had become acquainted during his studies at the Prague Conservatory and afterwards. One of them was also twenty-one-year-old Gustav Mahler, who came to Ljubljana as a performer in the 1881/82 season. Mahler was employed as conductor at the Ljubljana Provincial Theatre, and even performed in a number of chamber concerts in the last few months before his departure from Ljubljana. As a pianist he did not particularly impress Gerstner who played violin with him in a duet,²⁴ but as a conductor he attracted considerable attention at the theatre, especially with the performance of Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*. Gerstner evidently had a better opinion of Mahler the conductor than of Mahler the pianist.²⁵

It was in Ljubljana that Mahler took his first decisive steps as a conductor. He achieved both artistic and financial success, as his Ljubljana performances were generally well attended and his reviews were favourable. Very little is known, however, about Mahler's social life in Ljubljana. Since he did not have many friends in Ljubljana, it comes as no surprise that he soon made a friendship with his fellow countryman Gerstner. Every evening, Mahler would set out for the *Zur Blume* on Jüdische (Jewish) Street for a vegetarian meal, after which he would often join Gerstner and his friends for a pint or two of Pilsen beer.

Being one of the most important individuals of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society, Gerstner naturally did not cooperate only with Mahler, but with practically all musicians in Slovenia regardless of their ideological and political beliefs or

22 Besides Bruckner's Ninth Symphony they performed also Weber's overture *Oberon*, Wolf's symphonic poem *Penthesilea*, and one of the most popular pieces on the Ljubljana symphonic concert programmes, the overture of Wagner's *Mastersinger*. Ibidem, pp. 722–723.

23 Weiss: *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939)*, p. 53.

24 Ibidem, pp. 39–41.

25 Ibidem, p. 40.

their national origins. Among those with whom he most often performed are also some of the most important Slovenian musicians at the turn of the nineteenth century, among them the aforementioned Anton Nedvĕd, Anton Foerster,²⁶ and Fran Gerbiĉ.²⁷ Gerstner's diary, which was discovered by the author of the present article in 2002 at the Sudetendeutsches Musikinstitut (Sudeten German music institute) in Regensburg,²⁸ thus offers numerous evidence of excellent cooperation between the Slovene- and German-speaking citizens of Ljubljana.

Even the biggest Slovenian patriots took their children to the music school of the so-called German Philharmonic Society in the morning, sat in the first rows of Slovenian national awakening events called *ĉitalnice* (reading halls)²⁹ in

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- 26 Anton Foerster (Osenice, December 20, 1837–Novo Mesto, June 17, 1926), composer, organist and pianist. He studied law (graduated in 1863) and music in Prague; he was *regens chori* of the cathedral in Senj, today Croatia (1865–67), and from 1867 onward worked in Ljubljana. He was choirmaster of the Glasbena matica in Ljubljana and conductor of the *Dramatiĉno druŝtvo* (Dramatical Society), then *regens chori* of the Cathedral (1868–1909) and music teacher in Ljubljana's secondary schools. In 1877 he established the Organist School, was a co-founder and long-time editor (1878–1908) of the magazine *Cerkevni glasbenik* (Church musician). Andrej Rijavec: "Foerster, Anton", in: *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, ed. Vladimir Guzelj. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1989, p. 129.
- 27 Fran Gerbiĉ (Cerknica, October 5, 1840–Ljubljana, March 29, 1917), composer and singer. He was taught music by Kamilo Maŝek in Ljubljana, and from 1865 to 1867 he attended the Prague Conservatory, studying singing with Frantiŝek Arnold Vogl and composition with Josef Krejĉí. From 1882 to 1886 he taught singing at the Lemberg Conservatory. In 1886 he went to Ljubljana and was active there until his death, having connections with various institutions as choral director, conductor, and teacher; he was also director of the music school of the Glasbena matica. He was a very versatile musician, successfully active as singer and teacher, as publisher (of a collection of hymns, *Lira Sionska*, Prague, 1866), and as the director of the periodical *Glasbena zora*. In 1892 he established the first professional opera ensemble in Slovenia. At the same time he made an important contribution to the organization of the music school in Ljubljana and to the general development of Slovenian music at the end of the nineteenth century. Dragotin Cvetko and Zoran Krstuloviĉ, "Gerbiĉ, Fran", in: *Grove Music Online*, accessed on May 2, 2013.
- 28 In his diary, which, as a unique document of that time, is a highly valuable source for music culture in Slovenia, Gerstner describes his childhood, which he spent in Luditz, today known as Źlutice. The diary follows his study years at the National Conservatory in Prague and his contacts in that period with Smetana and Dvořák. The most extensive part of the diary comprises a description of Gerstner's life and work in Ljubljana from the beginning of the 1870s until the end of World War I. His diary also reveals a slightly more personal side of this musical artist, who devoted the greater part of his life to music. The reader comes to know Gerstner as an enthusiastic mountaineer, and a no less passionate drinker of Plzen beer at the famous *Zur Blume* in Ljubljana where, among others, he enjoyed a good mug of beer with Mahler. Hans Gerstner: *Ein Leben für die Musik: 17. 8. 1851 Luditz–9. 1. 1939 Laibach*. Regensburg: Sudetendeutsches Musikinstitut, 1935. Cf. also the translation of the diary: Weiss: *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939)*, pp. 89–176.
- 29 These were established in Trieste (January 29, 1861), Maribor (July 17, 1861), Ljubljana (October 20, 1861), and elsewhere on the territory of today's Slovenia. Slovenian patriots found models for them in the Czech Lands. They performed special events called *bĕsede* (speech) on them. They were used in almost everything that was being created, which strongly expanded the possibilities of

the afternoon, and in the evening escorted their wives to the opera performance of the so-called “Deutsches” Landstheater (German Provincial Theatre). A music culture marked with nationalist tendencies was namely unimaginable to the then still mostly bilingual Slovenian bourgeoisie. Despite being aware of the need for the performances of Slovenian music within some newly established Slovenian institutions, the bourgeoisie found it difficult to accept the idea that the Slovenian side had to compete by all means with the ancient Philharmonic Society.

Slovenian societies did not pose any serious threat to the functioning of the Philharmonic Society in the period before the establishment of main Slovenian concert institution, the new Slovenian Philharmonic, in 1908 under the conduction of the famous Czech conductor Václav Talich.³⁰ During the first years of their existence, Slovenian societies had more of a side than a central role in the Slovenian musical life. In the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, the so-called German music institutions, or even more, the music institutions oriented towards the German-speaking cultural environment, such as the Provincial Theatre and the Philharmonic Society, still played a central role in the musical life.

This type of division between Slovenian institutions and individuals on the one side and German or Austrian institutions and individuals on the other side is thus not so much an expression of the actual situation, but more the consequence of the so-called divisional concept devised soon after the end of World War I. Namely, at the beginning of the twentieth century, a group of Slovenian composers led by Anton Lajovic³¹ tried to lean just on Slovenian achievements and thus partly transformed the musical-historical memory in order to create a pure, Slovenian music culture.³²

performing Slovenian compositions and directly stimulated more intensified musical creativity. Manica Špental: “Prispevek k verodostojnosti podatkov o ustanovitvi čitalnic na Slovenskem”, in: *Muzikološki zbornik* 43 (2007) 1, pp. 107–110.

30 Jernej Weiss: *Češki glasbeniki v 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja na Slovenskem*. Maribor: Litera & Univerza v Mariboru, 2012, pp. 234–244.

31 Anton Lajovic (Vače, December 19, 1878–Ljubljana, August 28, 1960), composer. After studies at the Ljubljana Glasbena matica music school, he was a composition pupil of Robert Fuchs at the Vienna Conservatory (1897–1902), concurrently completing his training in law at the university. While practising law in Slovenia and Croatia he composed and published articles on music. Influenced by late Romanticism and, particularly after World War I, Impressionism, he became a champion of new developments in Slovenian music. His greatest contribution was in his songs and choruses. He was a member of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Ivan Klemenčič and Andrej Rijavec, “Lajovic, Anton”, in: *Grove Music Online*, accessed on April 8, 2013.

32 Anton Lajovic: “O večnih krasotah in o strupu Beethovnovih, Bachovih in Wagnerjevih del”, in: *Slovenec*, Ljubljana, 6 April 1924.

If such a negative attitude towards everything German or Austrian of some Slovenian musicians can be considered from the purely existential point of view as more or less understandable after World War I, one would have more difficulty understanding some later interpretations given by some of the leading Slovenian musicologists. In the new cultural-political reality of the post-war period, it seems that even some of our musicologists were strongly under the impression of the divisional concept. Some individuals were thus omitted, not surprisingly above all those who were linked to the so-called German cultural milieu.

So where, for example, in the Slovenian music history is the Sudeten German Hans Gerstner, who at the turn of the nineteenth century was one of those who had contributed the most to the international recognition of Ljubljana's Philharmonic Society? His name is not to be found in the basic post-war Slovenian music-historical literature.³³ Although Gerstner had never defended nationalist orientations, the problem probably lies in the fact that his almost half a century-long artistic activity at the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society was not "Slovenian" enough for the writers of post-war Slovenian musical history.

The main problem lies in fact that after the end of World War II, at least a part of Slovenian music-historical literature seems to have been capable of seeing only the German-Slovenian political battles and not the daily life of the mentioned individuals. The consequence of this was that the creative achievements of some Slovenian individuals were all too often overvalued, while their differently oriented "German" colleagues working in Slovenia were mostly overlooked.

To be concrete, in a new cultural and political situation after World War I and the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Gerstner witnessed, as its last musical director, the planned closure of the Philharmonic Society, which he describes in his diary.³⁴ The new post-war Slovenian authorities thus forced him, after forty-eight years of service, to retire and gave him a very modest pension that was barely enough for his survival. This meant that even as a seventy-year-old, he had to support himself by giving private lessons. To make matters worse, during the migration flow that followed World War I, he was abandoned by practically all his friends, and all three children, who went to live in Vienna.

33 As for example: Dragotin Cvetko: *Slovenska glasba v evropskem prostoru*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1991.

34 Weiss: *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939)*, pp. 67–74. Cf. also: Hans Gerstner: "Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach: Tätigkeit und Ereignisse im Vereinsjahre 1918/1919: vom 15. September 1918 bis Ende September 1919: 217. Vereinsjahr, 104. Schuljahr", in: *Archiv Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*. It is necessary to stress that it is still now not clear to where the largest part of funds of the Philharmonic Society disappeared after the World War I.

It is thus a fact that the concept of a more nationally coloured musical culture left a strong impact not only on the music of the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries in Slovenia, but also on Slovenian music historiography. It would therefore be necessary to take a critical distance from some of the more explicitly nationally determined interpretations from past Slovenian musical history.

The purpose of such post-war interpretations was primarily to promote the politically correct idealization of Slavic brotherhood that stemmed from the joint struggle against Austro-Hungarian “tyranny”. However, recent research has discovered that the polarization of Slovenian and Slavic cultural efforts on one side and Austrian-German efforts on the other side frequently does not correspond to the actual situation that existed in the musical culture of the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries in Slovenia.³⁵

Owing to these and other unjustified national labels which some of Slovenian musicologists granted to certain institutions and individuals, we easily gave up a part of a very important music culture of which we should rightfully be proud. That is not German, Slovenian or Austrian, but above all “transnational” nineteenth-century musical culture of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society. So it would by all means be necessary to enlighten the activities of certain individuals that have been “forgotten” for too long. One of these exceptional personalities was certainly Hans Gerstner, as well as many others who contributed decisively to the musical culture in Slovenia.

The above-mentioned phenomenon is, of course, the consequence of one of the darkest sides of the concept of national music historiography; and one of the principal reasons for its occurrence is the mechanical transferring of global historical facts to the level of concrete decisions of individuals, which often results from the absence of primary research. It would therefore be necessary to enlighten the role of certain institutions or individuals in the musical culture of Slovenia by including some new sources. Only such an approach would slowly change some truly outdated concepts in Slovenian music history.

35 Jernej Weiss: “Hans Gerstner in koncept nacionalne glasbene kulture”, in: *De musica disserenda* 6 (2010) 2, pp. 55–70. Cf. also: Weiss: *Hans Gerstner (1851–1939)*, pp. 177–188.

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THE MAKING OF HERITAGE: A CROATIAN VASARI AND HIS 'DICTIONARY OF SOUTH SLAV ARTISTS' AS AN ESSAY IN COLLECTIVE MEMORY CONSTRUCTION

MAXIMILIAN HARTMUTH (VIENNA)

Abstract: *This paper presents an analysis and interpretation of the 'Dictionary of South Slav artists', a compilation of artists' biographies by the Illyrian and later Croat nationalist Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski. Released in 1858 after many years of research, it was modelled on earlier publication projects that had helped produce a modern literary genre flexible enough to be used to further agendas beyond a disinterested quest for knowledge. Kukuljević was a cultural-political activist intent on advancing the standing of Slavic communities in the Habsburg monarchy's south and neighbouring territories. His 'Dictionary', as I shall argue, must be understood as an essay in national pedigree building. Disputing the 'ownership' of objects, monuments and outstanding historical personalities, it promoted a sense of collective cultural self.*

"In our learned age", Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski wrote in mid-nineteenth-century Zagreb, "there is hardly a nation with ambitions of cultural erudition that has, next to its history of art, not also a biographical work of its artists ... Only the Slavs, the most numerous nation in Europe, cannot point to similar works in the[ir] literature".¹ He also found this gap to be of serious consequence, being convinced that, as he wrote, "the history of art and literature sets the standard for assessing the cultural level of a people".² With his *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* ('Dictionary of South Slav artists'), published in 1858, he sought to set the record straight. While today this work is most often remembered as a stepping stone in what came to be a historiography of Croatian art, soon superseded in terms of the knowledge it offered, my paper seeks to analyse this text not as the disinterested

1 "U sadašnjemu izobraženomu vieku neima skoro naroda, koj pokraj svoga zgodopisa liepieh umjetnostih, nebi imao i slovnika svojieh umjetnikah... Samo Slaveni, najveći narod u Europi, neimadu podobnih djelah u svojoj književnosti..." Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski: *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*. Zagreb: Tisk. Gaj, 1858, unpaginated preface.

2 "A ipak moramo na žalostju prineti, da je pomanjkanje takovieh djelah velika oskudica, da ne rečem sramota, jer samo po historiji znanostih i umjetnostih sudi se izobraženje i prosvjeta svakoga naroda. Da ovoj oskudici barem u ječemu doskočim, stao sam prije dvanaest godinah sabirati podatke za životopis naših jugoslavenskih umjetnikah, od kojih sam tada jedva nekoliko njih po imenu poznavao. Ali težki biaše to posao..." Ibidem.

lexical exercise as it is often portrayed, but as the product of (or even better, as an instrument in) what one might call cultural-historical activism.

I shall begin with a portrait of the author of the text and his agenda, continue with an historical analysis of the literary format in question and the use to which it has been put in various contexts, and conclude with remarks on the function and aims of the text in its specific historical context.

THE FIRST NATIONAL ART HISTORIAN AND THE FIRST NATIONAL ARTIST

Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (cf. Ill. 1) had a long and productive life that began in Varaždin in 1816 and ended in 1889 in Zagreb.³ A member of the Hungarian-Croatian nobility and a well-educated man, he managed to hold various positions in the provincial administration of his native province in the course of his career. He was also active in the so-called Illyrian Movement. A precursor to Yugoslavism, this movement sought to promote a greater political and cultural union among the Habsburg monarchy's South Slavs. It was named after what was then wrongly believed to be their common ancestral group: the Illyrians, a group of tribes that had inhabited the Dinaric region in antiquity, long before the Slavic invasions.



Ill. 1. Portrait of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski by Josef Mukařovský (1851–1921), published in *Světazor*, 41/42 (1889), p. 389.

3 A concise biography authored by Mirko Šeper is found in the *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, IV, ed. Eva Obermayer-Marnach. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1969, pp. 339–340.

The events of 1848 and the ensuing suppression of oppositional voices brought a heavy blow to the movement, whose protagonists continued their pan-Slavic activism under different precepts. Kukuljević forsook his political career during the following decade, choosing to devote himself to learning instead. He was in Vienna in 1850 when the Serbo-Croatian standard language was born; he also founded a society for research into the history of the South Slavs, which published a very important research journal; and he was there when in 1866 this society was promoted, with the emperor's consent, to become the Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti (Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts). Thus, while the protagonist of our story is best remembered in his native Croatia, he really must be considered a key agent in what we would now call cultural capacity building with implications not only for Habsburg Croatia and Slavonia but for the wider region.

It was in his Illyrianist phase in the 1840s that Kukuljević began collecting material for a compilation of biographies of certain artists he thought should be collectively identified with the South Slav ethnos. It took more than a decade for the project to be completed. Information was hard to come by, previous works were largely lacking, and collections of books and original works were often hardly accessible. Where too much travel would have had to be involved, Kukuljević had to rely on verbal descriptions of artworks sent to him by mail. A curious detail: he readily conceded that he himself had never before heard of most of the hundreds of artists whose biographies he collected. Not an artist himself, he felt rather ill-equipped to comment on the works in question.⁴

Despite all these quite fundamental hurdles, the project aroused interest long before its completion and presentation to the public in 1858. Six years earlier, there had appeared a translation "from the Illyrian" into German of the lengthy biographic entry Kukuljević wrote for one specific artist.⁵ The weight of this individual biography was that it bequeathed the Croat nation with a "national artist", perhaps its first: Kukuljević had discovered that the roots of the Renaissance painter Giorgio Giulio Clovio (1498–1578) were not in Italy but in a mountain village not far behind Rijeka (Fiume). He left his native Croatia to train, live, and work in Venice, Florence, and Rome, where Clovio received tuition by the renowned Giulio Romano and befriended such famous artists as Michelangelo, Giorgio Vasari, Pieter Breughel the Elder, and El Greco, who also painted a portrait of Clovio. Vasari, the quasi-inventor of the historical genre of compilations of artists' biographies, called him "il più eccellente miniatore".⁶ In sum, Giulio Clovio was a truly illustrious

4 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski: *Leben des G. Julius Clovio: Ein Beitrag zur slawischen Kunstgeschichte*, trans. "M. P." Zagreb: Suppan's Buchdruckerei, 1852, p. xi.

5 Ibidem.

6 Giorgio Vasari: *Delle vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori et architettori*, III/2. Florence: Giunti, 1568, p. 849.

figure from the past, which any emerging nation would have been proud to count among its own.

The problem was only that, despite his origins, Clovio remained an Italian for scholars in the nascent field of art history. Kukuljević was determined to change that (Ill. 2). In all fairness to Croat nationalists, it must be admitted that Clovio's signatures often do show a degree of awareness for his origins outside Italy. His autographs occasionally contain epithets such as *Crovatinus*, *da Croazia*, *Schiavone*, *Illiricus*, or even *Macedonus*!⁷ Yet Kukuljević searched in vain for any historical record of what he believed would be the artist's original Slavic name, which he must have abandoned after making the step to Italy. The name by which he came to be referred to in modern Croatia, *Juraj Julije Klović*, is entirely in the domain of historical fiction. However, even long before a museum called *Klovićevi dvori*, or 'Klović's apartments', opened in the 1980s in a former Jesuit monastery in Zagreb, it had become the historical truth.



Juraj Julio Klovio	†	G. Giulio Clovio
slikar hrvatski	†	Miniatore croato

Ill. 2. Portrait of Giulio Clovio from Kukuljević's *Leben des G. Julius Clovio* (cf. footnote 3), n.p.

⁷ Kukuljević: *Lebes des Clovio*, pp. 3–4.

GATHERING CULTURAL CAPITAL

The essay on Clovio was only part of a larger project whose goals are best explained in the prefaces by Kukuljević and his translators. The principal target group of these texts was a German-reading audience, which they hoped to persuade that the cultural achievements of the 'South Slav people' had not been properly acknowledged in the available literature. They lament the "sorry political and geographical position" in which the "South Slav people" found itself, having to engage in a continuous struggle for the recognition of its nationality and related 'national rights'. Despite all that, it is claimed, this people had proven capable of preserving its power of mind, as best evidenced by its production of sophisticated artworks.⁸ Now the mission was to have that acknowledged by an international audience.

In order to achieve recognition, this claim was best to be communicated in an established format: the biographical dictionary.⁹ The literary source of this format was the collected hagiographies of saints, a format secularised for the promotion of artists' interests in Renaissance Florence in Giorgio Vasari's famous work of 1550 on "the lives of the most excellent painters, sculptors, and architects".¹⁰ A little more than a century later, Vasari's format was adopted by the German painter Joachim von Sandrart, who ventured to prove in a work named *Teutsche Akademie* that great artists were not only found in Italy but also in "Teutschland".¹¹ The compilation of biographies had come to be an accepted literary format for making a certain point by presenting evidence. The eight hundred-odd biographies collected by Kukuljević were to present the evidence for his claim that the South Slav nation must be counted among those nations producing sophisticated art. Most importantly, it was to establish these individuals as the heritage of the South Slavs – not of other nations. A key part of Kukuljević's mission was to claim back all those *schiaivoni* (Slavs) from the Italians.

SELECTION AS PRODUCTION

The final, and maybe most important, point I would like to address here is that of selection – a process that is at the core of the practice of history. There is a

8 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski: *Leben Südslavischer Künstler*. Zagreb: Albrecht, 1868, p. I.

9 Cf. Karin Hellwig: *Von der Vita zur Künstlerbiographie*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005.

10 Giorgio Vasari: *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri*. Florence: Torrentino, 1550.

11 Joachim von Sandrart: *L'Academia Todesca della architectura, scultura & pittura oder Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, 1/1. Nürnberg: Sandrart, 1675, p. IX ("Durch Euch/ gleich Italien/ Teutschland sich kan sehen lassen").

certain rationale to the choice of people, things, or events, and the value given to them in accordance with a certain narrative to be promoted. This process is never disinterested, because what it echoes and produces is not an objective truth but a representation. In our case, it is thus essential to determine Kukuljević's procedure of selection. As already indicated above, he thought that the origin of individuals in the region qualified them for inclusion, irrespective of the fact that their careers were made elsewhere – usually in Italy. If artists were born outside the region to parents of South Slav origin, they were also included. Also considered were all artists born or working in what the author identified as South Slav lands. Also in terms of the kinds of arts considered, Kukuljević was rather generous: in addition to architects, sculptors, and painters – the trinity of Fine Arts in the modern period¹² – the *Slovník* included woodcarvers, engravers, lithographers, embroiderers, goldsmiths, and even composers, printers, and makers of organs and bells.

It appears that Kukuljević's criteria for inclusion simply reflected his intention to produce a book that was as bulky as possible: the higher the number of individuals, the stronger his argument. We must thus not be surprised to find entries for people like the thirteenth-century Carinthian painter Heinrich von Gurk or the Palermo-born musician Johann Jarnovich. Even a few female artists were included, although this was all but the rule in a nineteenth-century context. It is because of these extremely tolerant criteria of inclusion that the author managed to produce such a seemingly substantial account.

Before I conclude, it remains to be remarked that the compilation is extremely weak with regard to naming artists who worked across the border in Ottoman territory. Kukuljević did not know of even the most famous of them. The Serbs included, and usually identified as such, are usually those operating within the Habsburg framework in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Concerning the artists from his own lifetime, which are also included, he must have relied on oral information. Crucially, not a great deal of biographical information is provided about artists active in Croatia proper in any period. Kukuljević tries to pardon this by pointing to this province's population's historical role of being busy with the defence of Christianity.¹³

12 Cf. Paul Oskar Kristeller: "The modern system of the arts", in: *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XII (1951) 4, pp. 496–527 and XIII (1952) 1, pp. 17–46.

13 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski: *Kroatisch-dalmatische Künstler am Hofe des Mathias Corvinus*. Zagreb: Gaj, 1860, p. 4.

CONCLUSION: THE BROADER CONTEXT

The development of art history as a scholarly discipline paralleled the rises of nationalism and of the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century. It institutionalised the demarcation of borders and voiced claims for the collective ownership of objects and monuments and agents in their production, be they individuals or abstract 'spirits' supposedly underlying the cultural development of a certain group of people. Artworks, many of which were previously only accessible to a tiny segment of society, now became the heritage of a much larger part of the population that was defined not according to its monetary or symbolic power but by its membership in an ethnic community. To publish monuments or other works of art meant making them accessible to anyone wishing to 'inherit' them, which could be easily achieved by committing to a certain cultural identity. This process was facilitated by narratives devised to gloss over many often serious gaps and inconsistencies. Unfortunately, this also meant that these narratives were easily attacked, even though their representation as the canonical national truth was to shield them from being questioned.

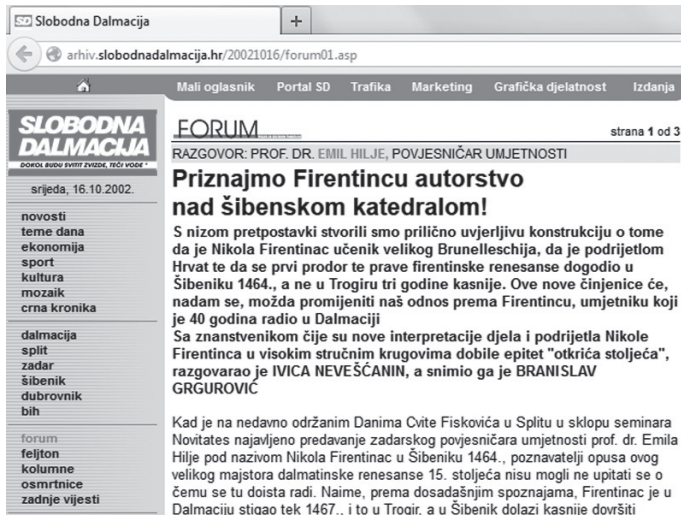
Kukuljević's *Slovník* was successively forgotten because the narrative it used as its substructure fell out of fashion. However, we are constantly reminded that the mindset that brought about works like his is all but dead. I see it this exemplified in the rather recent 'discovery' of the potentially Croat roots of the fifteenth-century architect and sculptor Niccolò Di Giovanni Fiorentino, a.k.a. Nikola Firentinac. Again, this was not just anyone, but the author of a work of architecture so major that it was put on the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 2000: the Šibenik cathedral (Ill. 3).

Thereby, its importance was universally acknowledged. When the mentioned 'discovery' was promoted in Croatian media, the Split-based daily *Slobodna Dalmacija* published a headline, formulated as an imperative, that perhaps makes clear why I think these cases can be related (Ill. 4.); it reads: "Let us claim Fiorentino's authorship of the Šibenik Cathedral!"



Ill. 3. Šibenik cathedral, drawing by Anton Weber, from *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, XI. Vienna: Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei, 1892, p. 275.

A CROATIAN VASARI AND HIS 'DICTIONARY OF SOUTH SLAV ARTISTS'



Ill. 4. Article in *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16 October 2002.

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NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF
THE ITALIAN MAJOLICA POTTERY
A LA TURCHESCA KNOWN AS ‘CANDIANA’

FEDERICA A. BROILO (MARDIN)

Abstract: *‘Candiana’ is the conventional name used among the scholars to indicate a majolica from the northeast Italian region of Veneto. Produced between the end of the sixteenth and the first decades of the eighteenth centuries, it is considered atypical of the various Italian productions from that period: the only example of majolica reminiscent of the Ottoman Iznik production. The only place in Veneto where kiln masters of ‘Candiana ware’ have actually been found is the town of Bassano del Grappa at the foothills of the Venetian Prealps, north of Padua – although we know that pieces of ‘Candiana’ had to have been manufactured in Padua and probably also in Venice. A large number of these pieces were dedicated to nuns, something quite unexpected considering their orientalisised decoration. There are still many unsettled questions related to ‘Candiana ware’. In this contribution we will try to give the present state of scholarship on that subject and address some of the questions about the location of the kilns and the different extant typologies. To understand more about this little known majolica, we will also examine a phenomenon outside Veneto but similar to that of ‘Candiana ware’: ‘Haban ware’, tin-glazed ceramics painted with various coloured oxides, which were produced in Habsburg Hungary after the sixteenth century. It is certainly not impossible that Trentino and the Alto Adige region had a role in the transmission of forms and decorations in Central and South Europe. The city of Bolzano was a very active commercial centre since the early medieval period, with annual fairs that functioned as mediators of goods between Venice and the German lands. Venice mainly brought silk and glass to these fairs, but it is likely that pottery also entered the market – for example ceramics produced in Bassano, which is conveniently located midway between Padua and Trento.*

There is a peculiar type of majolica (tin-glazed pottery) from the northeast Italian region of Veneto, which remains an unsettled question among scholars. Produced between the end of the sixteenth and the first decades of the eighteenth centuries, it is considered atypical of the various Italian productions: the only example of majolica with an orientalisising decorative vocabulary using the so-called *saz* leaves, carnations, roses, tulips, and hyacinths painted in four colours (Ill. 1).

For the past fifty years, most scholars have agreed that it must be considered an interpretation of the décor of Ottoman tiles produced at Iznik (Ill. 2).



Ill. 1. Dish. Padua (?), Veneto. Majolica painted with central *saz* leaf. 1600–1650. Image courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Ill. 2. Dish. Iznik. Fritware, with polychrome underglaze painting of flowers and *saz* leaves. 1575 (circa). Image courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The very first publication entirely dedicated to this Veneto-produced majolica was a concise pamphlet written in Greek in 1924.¹ It endowed this group of objects with a name, ‘Candiana ware’, which was due to an older misreading of the writing ‘Chandiana’ on the reverse side of a fruit stand from the Sèvres Museum.² ‘Chandiana’ was then wrongly identified with the production place of the piece: first with the island of Crete, known in Italian as Candia, and eventually with the village of Candiana near Padua. It was later pointed out that the inscription actually reads ‘S. Chandiana’ and must refer to the name of a nun – the ‘s’ standing for *suora* – whose first name was Chandiana.³

The presumed existence of a manufacture at Candiana was subsequently contested by a series of scholars.⁴ This response has not completely arrested further speculations about its existence in more recent times, however. In 2009 one scholar pointed out that the Abbey of San Michele at Candiana actually possessed a kiln that is clearly identifiable on a plan of the complex dating to 1783.⁵ Yet the fact that a large amount of majolica was indeed in the possession of this abbey proves only the popularity of this type of pottery among the fathers of the abbey, not that the orientalisising ‘Candiana ware’ was produced there as well. Besides the first (and mistaken) reading of the writing on the mentioned object as referring to a place, the only other link that these wares have with

1 Ch. A. Nomikos: *Tà keramourgèmata tes Kandianas*. Alexandria: Grammata, 1924.

2 Charles Drury Edward Fortnum: A descriptive catalogue of the majolica, Hispano-Moresco, Persian, Damascus, and Rhodian wares in the South Kensington Museum: with historical notes, marks, & monograms. London: G.E. Eyre & Wm. Spottiswoode, 1873, p. 616.

3 Edouard Garnier: *Manufacture nationale de Sèvres: Catalogue du Musée céramique*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897, p. 99, ill. 295.

4 Andrea Moschetti: “Delle maioliche dette ‘Candiane’”, in: *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* 24 (1931) 7, pp. 1–58; Bernard Rackham: “Paduan Majolica of the so-called ‘Candiana’ type”, in: *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 68 (1936) 396, pp. 112–114; Adolfo Callegari: “Sulle maioliche dette *candiane*”, in: *Faenza* 22 (1934), pp. 74–87; Gaerano Ballardini: “‘Candiana’ ma non tutto ‘Candiana’”, in: *Faenza*, 28 (1940), p. 39; Giuliana Erincani: “Le maioliche alla ‘turchesca’. La ceramica tenera”, in: *La ceramica nel Veneto. La terraferma dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, ed. Giuliana Erincani, Paola Marini. Milano: Mondadori, 1990, pp. 233–243; Michelangelo Munarini: “Le ceramiche del Seicento e del Settecento dei musei civici di Padova”, in: *Le ceramiche del ‘600 e del ‘700 dei Musei Civici di Padova*. Venezia: Marsilio, 1995, p. 52.

5 Paolo Benozzi: “La collezione inedita di ceramiche ‘candiane’ provenienti da Candiana del Barone Ernesto da Rubin De Cervin Albrizzi”, in: *Quaderni di Storia Candianese* 5 (2009), pp. 36–75. In a plan of the abbey of San Michele dated 1611 and belonging to the *Constitutio circa statum Reagularium* of 1664, there is represented a small circle that has been identified by Paolo Benozzi as the kiln for the production of the pottery for the abbey. While this identification is a little bit unclear, it is undeniable that in the plan dating 1783 there was a kiln represented as a tall but slender little house on the same spot as the one in the plan from 1611. In a document from 1879 stating the assets belonging to the Abbey of San Michele, the existence of a small kiln, or *picciola fornace*, is mentioned again. There was indeed a kiln in the abbey; however, if this kiln had ever been used to produce majolica *a la Turchesca*, that is far from being proved. Benozzi: “La collezione inedita di ceramiche ‘candiane’”, pp. 49–50.

Candiana is an enigmatic letter supposedly dating to 1604. It was published in 1889 by one scholar infamous for forging the historical documentation used in his work.⁶ This letter addresses the “miserable conditions of the manufactures of Candiana” (*lo stato misero in cui sono pervenute le fabbriche di Candiana*). The original of this letter has never surfaced. The timing and the content of its publication may suggest that it was forged so as to support the newly formed theory, based on the object in the Sèvres Museum, that the provenience of these objects is Candiana. The fact that all of the surely datable ‘Candiana’ objects were produced only after the letter’s supposed date of 1604, too, makes it unlikely that the manufacture already suffered a period of decline already then, and not later.⁷

Moreover, the material from the Abbey of San Michele is not homogeneous, as some examples will illustrate. Among its forty pieces that entered the Albrizzi Collection, there is a large bowled dish with a quadripartite décor with roses. (Ill. 3, Ill. 4) An identical dish is to be found in the collection of the Musei Civici of Padua: it has a reddish ceramic fabric and the back is painted with spirals and elaborated *roncigli*.⁸ (Ill. 5) Another piece from the Albrizzi Collection worth mentioning is one large dish – again, identical objects can be found in other collections, namely the Musei Civici of Padua and the Museum of Toledo in Spain – with a peculiar décor distinguished by alternating roses and *saz* leaves around the rim. Such dishes seem to be characterised by a pinkish-yellowish ceramic fabric, which is quite different from the reddish paste of the former example. A third example is a fruit stand, or *alzata*, with a similar but not identical décor. Its kind can also be found in both the Albrizzi Collection and the Musei Civici of Padua. Its ceramic fabric looks orange; the back is decorated with similarly elaborated *roncigli*, which, to the best of my knowledge, appear only here and on the Albrizzi dish.⁹

6 G. M. Urbani De Gheltof: *Notizie storiche ed artistiche sulla ceramica italiana*, Roma: Stabilimento tipografico G. Civelli, 1889, pp. 24, 144.

7 Nowadays, the biggest collection of Candiana wares belongs to Baron Ernesto Rubin de Cervin Albrizzi. The collection includes almost forty pieces, mostly dishes that have been summarily identified as Candiana because of their oriental(ised) decor of *saz* leaves and flowers. Undoubtedly, some of the pieces truly do belong to the family of Candiana wares; some others, however, such as the two tankards, are completely different and look like they belong to a nineteenth-century production very reminiscent of the Cantagalli manufacture from Naples, even though they are unmarked. Benozzi: “La collezione inedita di ceramiche ‘candiane’”, p. 38, Ill. 2. Unfortunately, it is not known when the two tankards entered the collection and if they were part of the original assets from the Abbey of San Michele bought by the Albrizzi family in 1783 or if they were a later acquisition from the auction market. Either way, their identification with the Candiana majolica as stated in Benozzi’s article is definitely incorrect. Sadly, on 29 March 2013 Baron Ernesto Rubin de Cervin Albrizzi passed away, and the fate of the collection, once kept in the Castle of Enn near Bolzano, is currently undisclosed. As a result, further research on the subject is momentarily suspended.

8 Munarini: “Le ceramiche del Seicento e del Settecento dei musei civici di Padova”, p. 179, ill. 269.

9 Ibidem, p. 181, ill. 272.



Ill. 3. Large dish. Veneto. Majolica painted with the “three roses” pattern. 1600–1630 (circa). Albrizzi Collection, Trento. Image courtesy of Arch. Sergio Longhin.



Ill. 4. Dish. Iznik. Made of polychrome glazed pottery with three roses in a small pot. 1601–1625 (circa). Image courtesy of the British Museum, London.



Ill. 5. Large dish. Reverse. Veneto. Majolica painted with spirals and *roncigli*. 1600–1630 (circa). Albrizzi Collection, Trento. Image courtesy of Arch. Sergio Longhin.

Their three different typologies and three different ceramic fabrics make it highly unlikely that they were all produced in the same place. Other similar observations could easily be made about the décor or the oxides and glazes used to cover the ceramic fabric. Unless new archival documentation or archaeological findings come to light in the future,¹⁰ it is therefore safe to assume that Candiana never produced ‘Candiana’ majolica, and especially not the one originally belonging to the Abbey of San Michele.

10 A number of ceramic fragments and possible kiln wasters have been found around Candiana during occasional excavations, but they mostly belong to the family of the Paduan majolica *graffita*. Cf. Benozzi, “La collezione inedita di ceramiche ‘candiane’”, p. 56, ill. 13a, ill. 13b, ill. 13c.

A certain inclination among scholars to ‘candianize’ unrelated ceramic material because of some features that were incorrectly considered to be typical of ‘Candiana ware’ – such as the name of a nun painted or etched on the front or the reverse of the fabric or the decoration of the back with basket pattern, spirals, *roncigli* and crosses – was already noted more than seventy years ago.¹¹ It was subsequently suggested that the only pieces which should be considered as ‘Candiana ware’ were those decorated *a la Turchesca*, featuring *saz* leaves and flowers (mostly roses, carnations, tulips, hyacinths, and honeysuckles) painted in blue, green, yellow, and orange with manganese-brownish outlines. There are some exceptions to the rule, first and foremost the so-called ‘three flowers group’ which is considered part of this family, too.¹² However, among the ‘Candiana’ majolica decorated with Iznik-inspired patterns, it is still possible to identify different styles and techniques. It follows that that there must have been more than just one production centre.

The only place in Veneto where kiln wasters of ‘Candiana ware’ have actually been found is the town of Bassano del Grappa at the foothills of the Venetian Prealps, north of Padua.¹³ In 1992 an archaeological survey in Via Campo Marzio revealed two kilns and a large number of kiln wasters belonging to the Manardi manufactory, which started producing pottery in Bassano in 1645. It is known that in 1669 the Manardi family hired a painter from Padua, a certain Giò Batta Salmazzo, to paint *piati a la Turchesca*.¹⁴ This would support the idea that Padua, or even Venice itself, figured as early production centres of ‘Candiana pottery’. Their style was then replicated in the second half of the seventeenth and the first decades of the eighteenth centuries in Bassano del Grappa.¹⁵

It may also be worthwhile to look at a phenomenon similar to that of the ‘Candiana ware’ outside Veneto: the ceramic art known as ‘Haban ware’ in Habsburg Hungary after the sixteenth century, where tin-glazed ceramics painted with various coloured oxides were produced.¹⁶ The decoration is predominantly floral and is applied in blue, green, purple, brown, or black on a white background, less often on a blue-, green- and yellow-tinted glaze. Habanite décor has been mostly linked with the influence of Italian Renaissance culture in Swiss Winterthur and

11 Ballardini: “‘Candiana’ ma non tutto ‘Candiana’”, pp. 41–42.

12 Ibidem, p. 46; Munarini: “Le ceramiche del Seicento e del Settecento dei musei civici di Padova”, p. 57.

13 Cf. Nadir Stringa: *La famiglia Manardi e la ceramica a Bassano nel ‘600 e ‘700*. Bassano: G.B. Verci Editore, 1987, pp. 61–66; Erincani: “Le maioliche alla ‘turchesca’. La ceramica tenera”, p. 233.

14 Stringa: *La famiglia Manardi e la ceramica a Bassano nel ‘600 e ‘700*, p. 72.

15 Michelangelo Munarini: “Le ceramiche del Seicento e del Settecento dei musei civici di Padova”, p. 57.

16 László Réti: *Haban myth 1593–1738: Treasures from the Hungarian private collections*. Museum of Applied Arts: Budapest, 2007.

Tyrol, but it also bears a strong resemblance to the ‘Candiana’ production – mainly because of the shapes (jugs with globular bodies, *crespine* or *tazze* with radial ribs on the rim and large bowled dishes) and because of some aspects of the floral décor, which indirectly remind one of the Italian *piati a la Turchesca*. The first thing that stands out is the palette of colours employed in both ‘Candiana’ and Haban wares, where the motifs were traced with thin blackish manganese lines. In neither production were the artisans able to match the brilliant red typical of the Ottoman prototypes from Iznik, painting the flowers instead with yellow or burnt-orange colour. Narrow blue double bands round the rim or around the *tondino* also characterised the dishes and the jugs of both Candiana and Haban wares. The floral decoration generally looks quite different, however; the characteristic *saz* leaf is not part of the decor of the Haban products. On the other hand, some Habanite examples from the mid-seventeenth century present a white fish-scale pattern on blue ground. This motif, the only one that seems to be genuinely derived from an Ottoman model, never appears in ‘Candiana’ ware.¹⁷ However, the ‘three-flowers’ composition and the abundance of tulips and carnations as well as the ‘vase and flower’ pattern¹⁸ suggest at least a similar but indirect source of inspiration, particularly for the Haban examples. (Ill. 6) If we can determine with some degree of certainty that the inspiration for the ‘Candiana’ ceramics had its source in the dishes and other objects from Iznik, which came to Veneto after the battle of Lepanto in 1571 as booty, the Haban ceramics with the floral decor in blue, yellow, green, and purple look much more like a variation on the latter than imitations of an original Ottoman piece. That said, the Habanite decoration looks more precise and the green under glaze is never washed out, as in most of the ‘Candiana’ examples, which shows much more finesse in the realization. Several scholars have tried to find a link between the Haban and the Italian majolica, but none of the hypotheses formulated until now have been widely accepted.¹⁹

A potentially fruitful starting point for further considerations is a tiled panel from the Buonconsiglio Castle in Trento.²⁰ (Ill. 7) This panel consists of nine

17 Ibidem, p. 32–33, ill. 16, ill. 17, ill. 18, ill. 19.

18 Ibidem, p. 30, Fig. 12; Munarini: “Le ceramiche del Seicento e del Settecento dei musei civici di Padova”, p. 180, ill. 271; Erincani: “Le maioliche alla ‘turchesca’. La ceramica tenera”, p. 235.

19 Cf. Paolo Marsilli: “Da Faenza in Moravia: ceramiche e ceramisti fra storia dell’arte e storia della riforma popolare”, Frantisek Kalešny: “La céramique des Habans-anabaptistes en Moravie et en Slovaquie aux 16e et 18e siècle et ses rapports à la céramique italienne” in: *Atti del Convegno Internazionali della Ceramica*, XVIII, “Influenze e rapporti della ceramica italiana con i Paesi dell’Europa centrale”. Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 1985, pp. 7–26, and pp. 27–40.

20 Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti: “Per un catalogo delle ceramiche: considerazioni generali”, in: *Un museo nel Casello del Buonconsiglio. Acquisizioni, contributi e restauri*, ed. Laura del Prà. Trento, 1995, pp. 365–391.



Ill. 6. Dish. Hungary. Majolica painted with floral decoration. 1707. Image courtesy of the V&A, London.

squared tiles of the 'Candiana' type, decorated with both flora. The tiles, which originally formed part of the tiled floor of the Stanze della Giunta Albertina in the aforementioned castle, are likely to have been produced in Bassano in 1688. Four of these tin-glazed tiles are decorated with various birds rendered in the typical burnt-orange and blue mode. The central tile has a spotted animal in the centre, possibly a wild rabbit.²¹ Then there is a tile with a rose, one with a carnation, a

21 Katia Brugnolo and Giuliana Erincani: *La ceramica a Bassano e Nove dal XIII al XXI secolo*. Nove: Bassano del Grappa, 1984, p.10, ill. 8.



Ill. 7. Tiled panel. Polychrome glazed tiles with flowers and animals. Palazzo del Buonconsiglio, Trento. Image courtesy of Arch. Sergio Longhin.

pomegranate, and a last one with the very same pointed bi-colored flower (possibly a tulip) that appears in large bowl dishes from the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. Interestingly, they are attributed to the Manardi factory at Bassano del Grappa.²²

22 This beautifully decorated dish is also characterised on its upper rim by a scroll containing the initials "G:D:/B:". I have already suggested that the reading 'Bassano Del Grappa' would confirm the provenience of the dish. Scrolls or cameos with initials and dates are also found in many Haban pieces. Bernard Rackham: *Catalogue of the glaiser collection of pottery and porcelain in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1935, p. 288, ill. 2212; Julia Poole: *Italian maiolica and incised slipware in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge

Other flowers sprouting from each corner of the tiles and double-colored leaves in green and orange fill the white background together with little insects such as bees or flies. The latter usually do not appear on ‘Candiana’ wares, but they are characteristic of other types of tin-glazed pottery manufactured in Bassano.

The general impression of the composition is also not far from what was produced in Hungary by the Anabaptists at the very same time. It is certainly not impossible that Trentino and the Alto Adige (South Tyrol) region have had a role in the transmission of forms and decorations in Central and South Europe. The city of Bolzano for example was a very active commercial centre since the early medieval period, its annual fairs functioning as mediators of goods between Venice and the German lands.²³ Venice mainly brought silk and glass to these fairs, but it is likely that pottery also entered the market – for instance that produced in Bassano, which is conveniently located midway between Padua and Trento. Just across the Alps were the southern German lands that expelled the Anabaptists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many of whom moved on to relatively freer West Hungary. There they became known as Habans, and so did the pottery associated with them. Whether they brought this art along from their old homeland, where it may have been introduced as a spillover from nearby Italy, remains a speculation. But regardless of whether the décor and shapes of Candiana and Haban majolica are directly related or not, both productions are indeed very interesting parallel phenomena that demand further investigations. Such research is unfortunately complicated by the fact that most of the pieces belong to private collections or are scattered in museums throughout Europe.

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University Press, 1995, pp. 424–426, ill. 459 and color pl. 49; Julia Poole: *Fitzwilliam Museum handbooks, Italian maiolica*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 108–109, ill. 49.

23 Antonino Rusconi: “A proposito della diffusione dei ‘bianchi’ faentini in Alto Adige”, in: *Faenza* 30 (1942), p. 94.

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APPROPRIATING THE PAST,
NEGOTIATING HISTORY:
KOTZEBUE'S *BELA'S FLUCHT* (1813) IN
IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKSCINSKI'S ADAPTATION (1841)

ANA MITIĆ (VIENNA)

Abstract: *This paper investigates the negotiation of history in Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski's translation of August von Kotzebue's play *Bela's Flucht* (1813). The original play, written for the opening of the new German theatre in Pest, deals with the exile of the medieval Hungarian King Béla IV (b.1206, r.1235–1270) one year after the Mongol invasion. In 1841 Kukuljević adjusted the historical context of the play and introduced a different perspective on this historical episode, creating a new set of references pointing to the national past. Kukuljević pursued this subject further in his dramatic and historiographical works, related increasingly to his own historical research. By negotiating history within a "dramatic [...] frame" Kukuljević is also framing the collective memory.*

The cultural presence of theatre productions in vernacular languages of the Habsburg monarchy increased during the first half of the nineteenth century, reflecting the changing socio-political circumstances of this multicultural entity. The reception of German-speaking popular theatre induced the production of dramatic works in vernacular languages and encouraged the process of cultural appropriation. In the course of the period of the national revival, the re-creation of the (national) past became an important issue and it too was negotiated on the stage.

In 1811 the popular German playwright August von Kotzebue (1761–1819) was commissioned to write a dramatic trilogy with a Hungarian subject for the opening of the new German theatre in Pest.¹ It included the play *Bela's Flucht* ('Bela's flight') as well as two smaller pieces as a prelude and a postlude: *Ungerns erster Wohlthäter* ('Hungary's first benefactor') and *Die Ruinen von Athen* ('The ruins of Athens'), both with music by Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827). The second part of the festival trilogy, *Bela's Flucht* was not staged in the course of the opening ceremony.² *Die*

1 Axel Schröter: *August von Kotzebue: Erfolgsautor zwischen Aufklärung, Klassik und Frühromantik*. Weimar: Weimarer Verlagsgesellschaft, 2011, p. 92.

2 One of the cited reasons for the withdrawal is that the audience could have associated the exile of the King Bela IV with the fate of the Habsburg Emperor Francis II (1768–1835, r. 1792–1806) who was forced to flee the country in the course of the Napoleonic wars. *Ibidem*, p. 92.

Erhebung von Pest zur königlichen Freistadt ('The raising of Pest to a royal free city'), a play by an anonymous author, was staged instead, and the new, capacious German theatre at Gizella-Platz opened in a grand manner on 9 February 1812.³

Bela's Flucht deals with an important episode in the life of the Hungarian King Béla IV (b. 1206, r. 1235–1270) by employing one of the significant moments in the national history: the Mongol invasion. Béla, a member of the Árpád dynasty, was forced into exile after his army was defeated by the Mongols at the battle of Mohi (1241). He allegedly fled to Dalmatia and was able to retrieve the throne only after the Mongol troops withdrew.

Within this frame Kotzebue constructs a plot of patriotic ground, with the protagonist Colomann conflicted between his sense of duty and his personal need for revenge. Unlike Bela, Colomann is an invented character. A member of the Hungarian nobility, he has nevertheless distanced himself from the court, blaming the King for the death of his son. However, when the Mongol troops seize the land and the danger to his homeland becomes acute, Colomann acts like a patriot and saves the King and his family, whom he had first held captive.

Colomann's self-imposed exile is illustrated by geographical distance as well as the wilderness of his surroundings: He dwells in Dalmatia, spending his time hunting in the forest. In contrast to the nobleman Colomann, the Slavic population of Dalmatia is represented by the "bandits of Almissa", Budimir and Branislav. Referencing the town Almissa/Omiš and its rather negative reputation in the Middle Ages for maritime piracy, and alluding to Count Malduco (Kačić) suggest a more detailed knowledge of the local conditions. This points to the representation of Dalmatia by historiographical works of the period.

RE-INSCRIBING THE UNKNOWN LAND: REPRESENTATIONS OF DALMATIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Bela's Flucht is set in Dalmatia in the year 1242, during the period of Béla's exile. By then Dalmatia was part of the medieval Kingdom of Croatia which had been in personal union with the Kingdom of Hungary since 1102. By the end of the eighteenth century, the region was about to reshape its territorial and cultural identity due to changing geopolitical circumstances.

After almost five centuries under Venetian rule, Dalmatia was incorporated into the Habsburg monarchy in 1797. The following year the German publicist

3 Hedvig Belitzka-Scholz (ed.): *Deutsches Theater in Pest und Ofen 1770–1850. Normativer Titelkatalog und Dokumentation*, vol. 1. Budapest: Argumentum, 1995, pp. 15–16.

and archaeologist Karl August Böttiger (1760–1835) announced in the journal *Der neue Teutsche Merkur* a call for “Entdeckungsreisen” (‘expeditions’) to this newly acquired territory, as it still appeared to be a “terra incognita”.⁴ Once Dalmatia became part of the Habsburg monarchy, interest in its inhabitants increased – not least for utilitarian reasons.⁵ The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the publication of several works dealing with Dalmatian history, demography and geography. The episode of Béla’s exile, an essential reference in the historical narrative, can also be found in the travel literature. The nobleman Vince Batthyány refers to it in his travelogue *Ueber das ungarische Küstenland* (‘On Hungarian Littoral’) as “bedenkliche Periode unseres Vaterlandes” (‘the ominous period for our homeland’).⁶ Many historiographical works of the period give a detailed account of Béla’s exile and its geographical context.⁷ In referring to such toponyms as Zagrab/Zagreb, Stuhlweißenburg/Székesfehérvár or the river Sajó, Kotzebue re-created the context of the “ominous” episode in Hungarian history with geographical precision.

Bela’s Flucht eventually became very popular with Hungarian audiences as the libretto for the first Hungarian-language Singspiel, composed by József Ruzitska (1775–1823).⁸

RESURRECTING THE ‘HEROIC PAST’: ADJUSTING THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF *BELA’S FLUCHT*

The Croatian translation of *Bela’s Flucht* by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816–1889) was published in 1841.⁹ Kukuljević, who became a well known writer, historian

4 Mirna Zeman: “Reisende und Nachahmer: Ostadria-Repräsentationen in deutschsprachigen Texten des späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts; Eine imagologische Studie”, in: *Dalmatien als europäischer Kulturraum*, ed. Wilfried Potthof. Split: Philosophische Fakultät in Split, Abteilung für Geschichte, 2010, p. 621.

5 Ibidem.

6 Vince Batthyány: *Ueber das ungarische Küstenland: In Briefen vom Herrn Grafen Vinzenz Batthyány*. Pesth: K. A. Hartleben, 1805, p. 19.

7 Cf. for instance: Ludwig Albrecht Gebhardi: *Geschichte der Königreiche Dalmatien, Kroatien, Szlavonien, Servien, Raszien, Bosnien, Rama, und des Freystaats Ragusa*. Pest: Joseph Leyrer, 1805 – Johann Christian von Engel: *Staatskunde und Geschichte von Dalmatien, Croatien und Slawonien nebst einigen ungedruckten Denkmälern Ungrischer Geschichte*. Halle: Johann Jakob Gebauer, 1798.

8 Ferenc Kerényi: “Angaben und Gesichtspunkte zur August Kotzebue-Rezeption auf den ungarischen Bühnen”, in: *Rezeption der deutschen Literatur in Ungarn 1800–1850*, vol. 1, ed. László Tarnói. Budapest 1987, (= *Budapester Beiträge zur Germanistik* 17), p. 145.

9 [Kotzebue, August von]: *Izbor igrokazah ilirskoga kazališta*. Vol. 3: *Stjepko Šubić ili Bela IV. u Horvatskoj*. Drama u 2 čina, polag nemačkoga s promjenami od Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskoga. – *Ljubomorna žena*. Vesela igra u 2 čina polag nemačkoga od Kocebua. Zagreb: Ljudevit Gaj, pp. 1–20.

and politician, was then twenty-four years old and already an author with his ‘heroic play’ *Juran i Sofija ili Turci kod Siska* (‘Juran and Sofija or the Turks by Sisak’). This first work of his is significant, being one of the few plays of the time in the Croatian language, and one of the even fewer dramatic works in a vernacular language to be staged. That performance was in 1839, and the following year his retitled adaptation of *Bela’s Flucht: Stjepko Šubić ili Bela IV. u Horvatskoj* (‘Stjepko Šubić or Bela IV in Croatia’) was staged as well.

Considering that Kotzebue’s plays dominated the repertoire, and the number of translations of his works into Croatian and Serbian, Kukuljević’s choice of the work appears almost self-evident. However, the subject introduced by Kotzebue in *Bela’s Flucht* seems to have been of genuine interest to Kukuljević, and he continued to pursue it in his dramatic and historiographical works.

Kukuljević adapted the play using strategies of ‘domestication’, as the title already illustrates. The fictitious Hungarian nobleman Colomann is replaced by an historical personality who was a contemporary of Béla IV – Stjepko Šubić.¹⁰ The clan of Šubić belongs to the oldest nobility of medieval Croatia and one branch of it later became the Zrinski family. Thus Kukuljević modified the plot towards even more ‘historical credibility’, appropriating the representation of the past and creating a symbolic frame of reference for the ongoing nationalisation of culture. Stjepko’s ethnic identity is clearly defined, with both ‘Illyrian’ and ‘Croatian’ as terms of (self-)denomination and address. By using them instead of the term ‘Hungarian’, Kukuljević introduced a set of references for the local context.

Compared to the majority of Kotzebue-adaptations of the period, *Stjepko Šubić* does not represent a localisation in a strict sense, as the overall geographical context remains almost unchanged. However, Kukuljević defines the setting far more precisely than the original did: his version of the play takes place in the town of Grobnik at the Croatian seaside in year 1242. The exact spatial contextualisation of the plot is a significant reference to the ‘heroic past’: Grobnik marks the site of a battle between Croats and Mongols, which allegedly took place in 1242.

The historical character of the battle of Grobnik is disputed, yet the agents of the Illyrian movement frequently exploited the symbolic potential of this event, “prikazujući zamišljeni identitet kao vlastiti” (‘presenting the imagined identity as their own’).¹¹ Dimitrija Demeter (1811–1872), Petar Preradović (1818–1872)

10 Stjepko Šubić probably died in the early 1260’s, cf.: Damir Karbić: “Šubići Bribirski do gubitka nasljedne banske časti (1322)”, in: *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 22 (2004), pp. 1–26.

11 Ivana Žužul: Pamćenje, sjećanje i zaborav: figure oblikovanja nacionalne kulture”, in: *Pamćenje, sjećanje, zaborav u hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu*, ed. Boris Senker et al. Zagreb, Spilt: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2011 (= Dani hvarškoga kazališta), p. 54.

and other prominent writers of the Illyrian movement reinforced the idea of a 'memorable' victory by making recurring references to it in their works. It is during the Illyrian period that the battle of Grobnik was established as *lieu de mémoire*. It was a great concern of the Illyrian movement to establish a link to the 'glorious' past and produce a sense of continuity. Hence, by referring to the Middle Ages as a long-lost period of 'national' unity, Kukuljević applies the strategy of appropriating the past for the present.

PLACING "HISTORICAL TRUTH" INTO A "DRAMATIC [...] FRAME"

In his speech at the Croatian Diet in 1843 Kukuljević pleaded for the implementation of Croatian as the official language (instead of Latin and in opposition to Hungarian). The speech was given in the Croatian language, which provided an important impetus for the agents of Illyrian and other revival movements in the region.

He published another play with a Mongol subject in 1844: *Poraz Mongolah* ('The defeat of the Mongols'). Here Kukuljević composed a more elaborated version of the plot introduced in *Bela's Flucht/Stjepko Šubić* with evident contemporary relevance. He addressed the problem of national discord and the resulting lack of (political) power,¹² along with other issues such as the dispute over language. What is more significant about this work is the author's claim of historical authenticity. In his preface Kukuljević stated that his aim was to place the "historical truth" into a "dramatic [...] frame".¹³ Furthermore, he attached transcriptions of historical documents "za one, koji bi u naše vrēme rado dokazali, da Tatari nikada preko Drave bili nisu, i da u Hērvtaskoj, osobito okolo Grobnika, Rēke i ostrva Kērka (Velje) od strane Hērvatah s tatarskimi mnogobrojnim četami nikada boj bijen nije".¹⁴

After the revolutionary events of 1848/1849 Kukuljević focused mainly on historical research. In 1863, four years before the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, he published the "historical-critical dispute" *Borba Hrvatah s Monogoli i Tatari* ('The battle of Croats against Mongols and Tatars') – again with commented

12 Robert Basalja and Katarina Ivon: "Imagološki aspekti Kukuljevićevih drama", in: *Zbornik o Ivanu Kukuljeviću Sakcinskom*, ed. Tihomil Maštrović. Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji sveučilišta, 2011, p. 309.

13 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski: *Poraz Mongolah*. Junačko-istorička igra u IV čina, in: *Različita djela Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskoga*. Knjiga treća: Igrokazi. Zagreb: Ljudevit Gaj, 1844, s.p.

14 'those, who in our time would be glad to prove, that Tatars never crossed [the river] Drava and that they never were in Croatia, [and] especially [that] around Grobnik, Rijeka and the isle of Krk (Velja) no battle between the Croats and numerous Tatar troops ever took place'. Ibidem, appendix.

documentation. However, by then Kukuljević had shifted the venue of the main battle away from Grobnik towards the sea, basing his assumptions, “due to the lack of records”, on the “oral tradition”.¹⁵

Kukuljević’s “historical-critical dispute” is greatly concerned with the asymmetry of power and the “misfortune” of the subordinate role of the Slavic peoples. To him the Slavs are being unjustly ignored by their “more fortunate neighbours”.¹⁶ This repeated stressing of the sense of injustice, apart from national sentiments, seems to have motivated Kukuljević to ‘re-examine’ and appropriate history. Moreover, by placing it in a “dramatic [...] frame”,¹⁷ Kukuljević was also framing a collective memory along with others proponents of the Illyrian movement.

As a historian – and an aristocrat – Kukuljević took deep interest in the feudal history and genealogies of Croatian nobility,¹⁸ and in the play *Stjepko Šubić* he referred to several noble families of the Medieval Croatia. But Kukuljević was also looking beyond the frame of feudal history, to a collective, ‘national’ history as a point of identification.¹⁹ Moreover, the constitution of the national identity implies the existence of the Other, in this case the Mongols. The contrast between Croats and Mongols is intensified by the confessional difference.

For Kukuljević theatre appears to have been a suitable medium for disseminating issues related to his historical research. The notion of theatre as an educational establishment and an authority – especially in the context of language – was absorbed by Croatian and Serbian intellectuals of the time. In accordance to this view, as well as to the previously stated intention of the author, Kukuljević’s ‘heroic plays’ could be regarded as “history lessons”²⁰ to a certain extent, which were even more effective for having been given from the stage.

STAGING OF *STJEPKO ŠUBIĆ*

In 1840 Kukuljević’s play *Juran i Sofija* (‘Juran and Sofija’) opened the premier season of the theatre company Domorodno teatralno društvo (‘The Native Theatre Society’) at the theatre in Zagreb. It was the first Croatian/Serbian vernacular

15 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski: *Borba Hrvatah s Mongoli i Tatar: Povjestno kritična razprava od Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskoga (sa dodatkom izvornih listina)*. Zagreb: A. Jakić, 1863, p. 50.

16 Ibidem, s.p.

17 Kukuljević Sakcinski: *Poraz Mongolah*, s.p.

18 Ivan Pederin: “Kukuljević kao povijesnik”, in: *Zbornik o Ivanu Kukuljeviću Sakcinskom*, ed. Tihomil Maštrovčić. Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji sveučilišta, 2011, pp. 25–53.

19 Aleida Assmann: *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*. München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1999, p. 77.

20 Ibidem, p. 79.

company to be engaged by a professional theatre, and so the event had considerable resonance for the 'Illyrian' public. German-speaking theatre had already become well established by then, while performances in the Croatian/Serbian language were sporadic and irregular.

Following the invitation of the Ilirska čitaonica ('Illyrian reading room') in 1840, the Novi Sad-based company *Leteće diletantsko pozorište* ('The Flying Amateur Theatre') came to Zagreb to perform in the 'Illyrian language'. The company entered a contract with the Illyrian reading room as well as the German theatre. Consequently it was renamed *Domorodno teatralno društvo*. In the course of their engagement (1840–1841) the ensemble employed several new Croatian members.

Heinrich Börnstein (1805–1892), the intendant of the city theatre, recollected in his memoirs that the repertoire of the company consisted mostly of "national-patriotische[n] Dramen aus der kroatischen Geschichte" ('national-patriotic dramas from the Croatian history').²¹ Indeed, among the works of Kukuljević, Demeter and Jovan Sterija Popović there were several plays referring to Croatian as well as to Serbian history. However the repertoire was by no means dominated by vernacular 'heroic plays'; it included many comedies and melodramas by foreign and domestic authors (especially by the Serbian Jovan Sterija Popović). Among translated plays there were adaptations of Shakespeare, Calderón, Körner, Schikaneder and – mostly – Kotzebue.²²

There are seven documented performances of *Stjepko Šubić* in 1840 and 1841 by *Domorodno teatralno društvo*.²³ Demeter was a prominent poet and dramatist, and in one of his reviews in the Illyrian magazine *Danica ilirska* he noted that both Kukuljević plays (and some others) had achieved "great success".²⁴ This statement is followed by a detailed account of a particular actor's performances. Further stagings include productions by amateur travelling companies, for instance in 1841,²⁵ 1847²⁶ and 1861.²⁷ After the establishment of the Croatian national theatre in 1860, the play was included in the official repertoire.

21 Heinrich Börnstein: *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre in der Alten und Neuen Welt: Memoiren eines Unbedeutenden*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigand, 1881, p. 273.

22 Branko Hećimović (ed.): *Repertoar hrvatskih kazališta 1840–1860–1980*. Zagreb: Globus, 1990.

23 Ibidem, p. 21.

24 *Danica ilirska*, 10 October, 1840, p. 164.

25 *Danica ilirska*, 8 May, 1841, p. 74.

26 Hećimović: *Repertoar hrvatskih kazališta 1840–1860–1980*, p. 25

27 *Srpski dnevnik*, 16 February 1861, s.p.

CONCLUSION

Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski's translation of Kotzebue's *Bela's Flucht* constitutes an adaptation on different levels. By partially domesticating the original, Kukuljević established a new semantic context that resulted in a shift of meaning. Furthermore, he appropriated the historical frame of the play in the context of his own historical research and in regard to the ongoing construction of Illyrian/Croatian identity. Regarding his historiographical perspective and the strategy of the dramatisation of history, Kukuljević's 'heroic plays' could be seen as a framing of the collective memory as well as 'history lessons' in the process of shaping the national identity.

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PERFORMING NATION ON THE MOVE: TRAVELS
OF THE SRPSKO AKADEMSKO PJEVAČKO DRUŠTVO
BALKAN (SERBIAN ACADEMIC CHORAL SOCIETY
'BALKAN') FROM ZAGREB, 1904–1914*

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Abstract: *In this paper I will examine the early activities of the Srpsko akademsko pjevačko društvo Balkan (Serbian Academic Choral Society 'Balkan'), from its foundation in 1904 to the outbreak of World War I, in the light of issues of nation and 'homeland'. As a Serbian music society active in the Croatian capital, the Choral Society Balkan was in the midst of contested issues of national identities and territories, shaped by the virulent political stage in which interests of the Dual Monarchy, Hungarian kingdom, Croatian administration, and Serbian community collided. I will show how the activities of the Choral Society reflected the new policy adopted by the leading Serbian party in Croatia, the Srpska samostalna stranka (Serbian Independent Party), including their modernist, political understanding of a nation. From the aspects of mobility and space representations, I will argue that the Choral Society Balkan's tours were particularly important, given their extent and intensity, in producing the sense of shared 'homeland' and national collective in the Serbian community in Croatia under Austria-Hungary. I will discuss the experience of travel from the vantage point of the Choral Society's members, as well as the representations of their travels, the reports and travelogues published in contemporary journals. With this discussion I will attempt to approach the issues of nation and 'homeland' as performative assemblages dependant on creating communities of shared affective ecologies.*

With this paper I wish to engage in what could be termed a 'praxeological turn' in nationality studies.¹ Understanding nation not as an ideology, or as a set of ideas which people accept on the level of understanding, but as an assemblage of affective practices which shape humans bodies and everyday experiences, I will point to mobility as a key to understanding how this assemblage operates. Although seemingly intangible, mobility is one of the central human activities

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1 Cf. Kristin Surak: "Nation-work: A praxeology of making and maintaining nations", in: *European Journal of Sociology* 53 (2012) 2, pp. 171–204.

and its particularities often shape the given society, determining its dynamics and hybridism. In investigating the link between mobility and nationalism, I specifically want to bring forward two issues: affectivity and territoriality. The experience of mobility, paired with novel encounters and responses to landscapes, is regularly accompanied with the state of the heightened affect. This increased intensity gives mobility pronounced social significance as the locus of the inscription of the meaning compared to activities we could label as sedentary. As a perpetual line of encounters, mobility opens crevices, moments in which we are susceptible to inscribing meaning to social practices. In this sense, mobility is important in building the nation as the “imagined community”,² as it implies encounters with people one recognizes as its fellow nationals, building affective links between them. Mobility is also always territorial, not only in the sense that it happens in space, but also in the sense that it reflects the spatial order of power and is paired by one’s interpretation of the space. Issues of territory and ‘homeland’ are among the core issues of a nation, the defining items in its symbolic arsenal and the basis on which a nation formulates its demand of sovereignty. Mobility singles out as a crucial mechanism in embodying the idea of a nation and of representing a certain space as a nation’s ‘homeland’. It is also the realm through which the spaces are contested, and rival mobilities and nations are superimposed over the same territories. Ultimately, thinking about nations through the lens of mobilities leads us to a concept of a nation which is also more dynamic, hybrid, and more dependent on arbitrary events, recurring rituals and affective practices.

The case study for my paper is the activity of the Serbian Academic Choral Society *Balkan*, from its foundation in 1904 to the outbreak of World War I.³ The Choral Society *Balkan* is exceptional concerning the range of its mobility – the frequency and scope of its touring – as well by its position in midst of actual contested

2 Cf. Benedict Anderson: *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London, New York: Verso, 1991.

3 According to the initial report, the official name of the society was Akademsko pjevačko-tamburaški klub *Balkan* (Academic Choral and Tambura Club ‘Balkan’; cf. *Novi Srbobran*, 14 October 1904). However, this name was disused in favour of Srpska akademska pjevačko-tamburaška družina *Balkan*, Srpsko akademsko pjevačko društvo *Balkan* (most common), or simply *Balkan*. The historical information about the the Choral Society *Balkan* is given according to archival sources collected in a folder Dokumenta Pjevačkog društva *Balkan* 1904–1914 (Archive of the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, collection Legacy of Svetolik Pašćan–Kojanov, SPK 129). Additionally to the contemporary journals *Novi Srbobran* and *Srbobran*, the data about the Choral Society are given according to Čedomir Višnjić: *Srbobran 1901–1914. Srpsko kolo 1903–1914*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik and Zagreb: Srpsko kulturno društvo “Prosvjeta”, 2013. *Srbobran* and *Novi Srbobran* ran a double-date system policy, displaying both the dates in the Gregorian and in the Julian calendar, used by the Serbian Orthodox Church; for sake of brevity, I cite only the primary date according to the Gregorian calendar.

mobilities, as a Serbian music society with its seat in the capital of a Croatian polity in Austria-Hungary. In analysing how the ideas of a nation and ‘homeland’ were embodied through mobilities produced by the Choral Society *Balkan* I will refer to three aspects of mobility, defined by Tim Cresswell: “mobility as a brute fact”, “representations of mobility” and mobility as practiced, experienced, embodied.⁴ I will investigate mobilities produced by the Society *Balkan* from two different vantage points: the experience of the very members of the choirs, as their “brute” and “embodied” mobility, and the “representations of mobility” in reports and travelogues on the Society’s tours. I will examine how the ideas of nation and ‘homeland’ are being superimposed and produced in this tridimensional dialectical process.

THE CHORAL SOCIETY AND THE SERBIAN INDEPENDENT PARTY: THE ROLE OF THE INTELLECTUAL ELITE IN FORGING THE NATION

Founded in Zagreb in 1904 as the Akademsko pjevačko-tamburaški klub *Balkan* (Academic Choral and Tambura Club ‘Balkan’), the society was from its inception embroiled in a volatile political stage. Following Croatian–Hungarian Settlement signed in 1868, only a year after Austro-Hungarian Compromise which established the Dual Monarchy, the position of the Serbian nation in the newly formed Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia was highly contested, not least because of the dissolution of the Military Frontier which started in 1869 and ended in 1882. At the beginning of the twentieth century, two main Serbian political parties had radically different points concerning the new institutional framework: while the Radikalna stranka (Radical Party), led by Jaša Tomić, refused to accept the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia and required the territories which had formed the part of the Military Frontier to be recognised as Serbian, the Srpska samostalna stranka (Serbian Independent Party), led by Bogdan Medaković and Svetozar Pribičević, not only saw the opportunity to secure rights for the Serbian community through Croatian institutions, but was also inclined to mollify the differences between the two nations.⁵ The politics of the latter party was fully embedded in the Croatian-Serbian Coalition, signed in 1905, two years after the

4 Tim Cresswell: *On the move: Mobility in the modern Western world*. New York, London: Routledge, 2006, pp. 3–4. These “relational moments”, as Cresswell calls them, correspond to Henri Lefebvre’s tridimensional spatial dialectics of “spatial practice” (“perceived space”), “representations of space” (“conceived space”) and “lived space” (“representational space”); cf. Henri Lefebvre: *The production of space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

5 Ranka Gašić: “Novi kurs’ u Srpskoj samostalnoj stranci 1903–1914. Promena paradigme nacionalne politike”, in: *Serbo-Croat relations in the 20th century. History and perspectives*, ed. Darko Gavrilović. Salzburg: Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation, Novi Sad: Centar za istoriju, demokratiju i pomirenje, Grafo marketing, 2008, pp. 14–16.

protest against Hungarisation policies of Károly Khuen-Héderváry and the ban of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. The coalition, which dominated the Croatian parliament after 1906, reflected the contradictions and contestation between Serbian and Croatian nations, which were being imposed over the same space. For example, the coalition agreement elided the term “Croatian nation” throughout, but referred instead to “our people of the Croatian and Serbian name”.⁶ However, the enthusiasm for creating a common political nation dwindled in the course and aftermath of the Velezdajnički proces (High treason process) in 1909, where fifty-three members of the Serbian Independent Party were indicted for charges of conspiring with the Kingdom of Serbia in agitating for the decomposition of Austria-Hungary and establishing a new South Slav state.⁷

In a decade preceding World War I the Serbian Independent Party acted as the main political representative of the Serbian nation in Croatia. Its political attitudes were mostly shaped by Svetozar Pribićević and his colleagues who studied in Prague where their understanding of nation and the aims of political action were influenced by the modernist views of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk.⁸ Pribićević and his generation of Serbian politicians active in Croatia strongly clung to the concept of the nation as their main political instrument and framework of political action, and they were also very critical both of political concepts that excluded national perspective as dominant (such as emerging social democracy), and of their compatriots who, in their opinion were not doing enough for the national cause. However, unlike the previous generation of Serbian politicians, they did not perceive nation as a phenomenon existing per se and based exclusively on ethnicity and ancestral religion. Recognising the language as the main denominator of the nation, they also solicited for establishing national schools and free usage of national symbols, and they requested wider rights for the Serbian Orthodox Church. They believed in the importance of a national elite who would engage in active agitation, imparting ideas about the national culture from the top to bottom, proactively shaping the national identity, fostering and nurturing the “national conscience”. Their main hope lay in the new generation of educated elite that would adopt a realistic course of national action, practising their ideas in everyday life.⁹

6 Jure Krišto: “Croatian political turmoils in the dusk of Austro-Hungarian monarchy”, in: *Review of Croatian History* 1 (2005) 1, p. 78.

7 Gašić: “‘Novi kurs’ u Srpskoj samostalnoj stranci”, pp. 19–21.

8 Ranka Gašić: “Moderno u shvatanjima Srpske samostalne stranke 1903–1914. godine”, in: *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara* 3, Pečuj, 12.–14. maja 2000, eds. Hans-Georg Fleck and Igor Graovac. Zagreb: Friedrich Naumann, 2001, p. 172.

9 Ibidem.

From its foundation, the Choral Society *Balkan* was linked to the ideology of the Serbian Independent Party.¹⁰ Its activities were minutely followed and approved of as “požrtvovana agitacija akademičara i drugova naših Balkanaca” (‘devoted agitation of academicians and our friends from the *Balkan*’)¹¹ in the pages of the Party’s journal, *Srbobran* (*Novi Srbobran* until 1906), which was its primary rostrum and whose chief editor at the time was Pribičević.¹² As a relatively small and mainly student organisation – even the posts that would have been normally held by professional musician were held by students – the Society *Balkan* embodied the idea of the new generation of intellectuals involved in national agitation. The choir membership was exclusively male and it was relatively small, usually performing with twenty to thirty members, both on tours and in Zagreb. The first line of rhetoric of the Society was in accordance with the Croatian-Serbian coalition agreement. Thus, although the Choral Society *Balkan* was unequivocally a Serbian music society, unlike the choral ensembles established in the nineteenth century, it did not carry any explicit national designation in its name. The verses of the the Choral Society’s hymn, written by Stevan Bešević, published in 1905 and later set to music by Josif Marinković, shared the same rhetoric: although the poet endeavoured to portray the future unification of Serbian lands, he did so in a highly metaphorical fashion, rendering his verses seemingly innocuous (“Kad zatutnje opet doline Balkana [...] Nek slobode pesma jekne sa svih strana”).¹³

The Choral Society *Balkan*’s repertoire politics were similarly oriented towards creating an image of a shared culture and creativity with the congenial south Slav “tribes”; as noticed by their contemporaries, when performing in small communities, the Society *Balkan* gave a dominantly Serbian repertoire, while when

10 They even encountered animosity by rival Serbian political movements in Austria-Hungary: the Radical party organised a boycott of their concert in Veliki Bečkerek on December 18, 1907, and the journal *Zastava* published an adverse report stating that their concert in Belgrade in August 1911 was a fiasco.

11 *Novi Srbobran*, 31 October 1905.

12 The first and only time the Choral Society *Balkan* got a scathing review in *Srbobran* was on the occasion of its inaugural concert, December 7, 1904, when the reporter expressed his strong disapproval with the favourable treatment given to Josip Šilović, university rector and purportedly an advocate of Hungarianisation (*Novi Srbobran*, 9 December 1904). Petar Muždeka, the Society’s choirmaster, later described this as “a first stroke for the young society” (cf. Petar Muždeka, “Podaci o istoriji Srpskog akademskog pevačkog društva ‘Balkan’”, Archive of Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, SPK 129). For more information about the journal, its editorial policy, and its relation to the Serbian independent party cf. Ranka Gašić: *‘Novi kurs’ Srba u Hrvatskoj. Srbobran 1903–1914*. Zagreb: Srpsko kulturno društvo “Prosvjeta”, 2001.

13 ‘When the valleys of the Balkans thunder again [...] Let the song of the freedom resound from all sides’ *Novi Srbobran*, 30 November 1905.

appearing in larger cultural centres they tended to include pieces by Croatian and Slovenian composers as well.¹⁴ Importantly, when performing in Belgrade in 1910 at the competition organised to commemorate the jubilee of the Pevačko društvo *Stanković* (Choral Society ‘Stankovic’), they sang a composition by young Croatian composer (Stanislav?) Stražnicki, *Noć na Uni* (‘Night on the river Una’).¹⁵ The Choral Society *Balkan* also cooperated with other Croatian societies in Zagreb, such as Akademsko pevačko društvo *Mladost* (Academic Choral Society ‘Mladost’), and Hrvatsko pevačko društvo *Kolo* (Croatian Choral Society ‘Kolo’, in whose hall they gave several concerts, including the inaugural one), and they also participated in the National holiday celebration in 1911.

The activities of the Society *Balkan* reflected the realistic course of national action preferred by the Serbian independent party, which supported making small everyday efforts in building the “national conscience” and homogenising the nation around shared cultural heritage through educational and cultural institutions. The Choral Society *Balkan*’s main line of action was travelling, visiting as many Serbian communities as possible, both in Austria-Hungary and abroad, and transgressing the class boundaries in order to superimpose the national identity. As emphasised, “to znači da je *Balkan* jedno čisto demokratsko društvo koje će tek onda odgovarati svojoj plemenitoj zadaći, ako bude što češće zalazio u niže slojeve srpskog naroda i među njima širilo srpsku nacionalnu svijest i naobrazbu”.¹⁶ Serving the practical purposes, the Society *Balkan* collected funds for the Srpsko akademsko potporno društvo (Serbian Academic Supportive Society) in Zagreb, which helped young Serbian students in their exigencies, and also supported local initiatives, collecting funds to erect a monument to Serbian Romantic poet Jovan Jovanović Zmaj while on their tour in 1906, for the Srpsko prosvjetno i kulturno društvo *Prosvjeta* (Serbian Educational and Cultural Society ‘Prosvjeta’) on their tour in Bosnia, and for the Society *Srpska zora* (‘Serbian dawn’) in Dalmatia.¹⁷

14 Cf. *Novi Srbobran*, 30 May 1906.

15 In order to understand how unusual this was, let it suffice to say that in a competition organised in Sombor in 1914, where the *Balkan* also participated, the rules were explicit that the composition a society chooses to perform had to be an “original Serbian song”. Srđan Atanasovski: “Savez srpskih pevačkih društava”, in: *Mokranjac* 9 (2007) 9, pp. 42–44.

16 ‘it means that the *Balkan* is a purely democratic society which will answer its noble task only by delving into the lower layers of the Serbian people and among them spreading Serbian national conscience and education’, *Srbobran*, 12 September 1907.

17 For the activities of the Society *Srpska zora* cf. Saša Nedeljković: “Srpska društva u Dubrovniku na početku 20. veka”, in: *Zbornik Matice srpske za društvene nauke* 58 (2007) 122, pp. 166–170.

EXPERIENCING THE SERBIAN ‘HOMELAND’:
BALKAN CHORAL SOCIETY ON THE TOUR

During the long nineteenth century networking was crucial in the culture of Serbian choral societies in the Habsburg Monarchy. Choral societies, which were themselves often at least officially linked to the Serbian Orthodox Church, depended on mutual exchange of music materials, but also visited each other, especially for the occasions of various celebrations, feast days and jubilees.¹⁸ However, even by the standards of Serbian choral societies, the travel routs of the Society *Balkan* are close to astonishing. From the very onset of its activities, the Society visited other choral societies, participated in competitions and jubilee celebrations, and finally, organised extensive tours which covered broad areas of the Austria-Hungary, as well as the Kingdom of Serbia and Principality of Montenegro. In its first year, the Choral Society *Balkan* already participated in the celebration of the Srpsko pjevačko društvo *Jedinstvo* (Serbian Choral Society ‘Jedinstvo’) in Banjaluka, and in 1906 they conducted an extensive tour visiting Novi Sad, Belgrade, and cities in Banat. Twice they visited Lika, part of the former Military Frontier in Croatia which was pronouncedly underdeveloped, as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose status was disputed under Austro-Hungarian occupation, reaching even to cities in Dalmatia and Montenegro. The Society repeatedly visited Serbian communities in southern Hungary, and in the year preceding Balkan War I toured throughout the Kingdom of Serbia, including towns in the southern part of the Kingdom which were won from Ottomans in 1878. The number of the members that travelled was usually between twenty and thirty, which was also a standard number for performances in Zagreb, but it could range from as few as eleven, as in the first tour in Lika, up to forty, as for the competition in Sombor in 1914. The exigencies of these tours were diverse; in most of the tours conducted in Austria-Hungary they travelled by rail. Travels in Lika demanded carriage, as well as extensive travel in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia would also require carriage, whereas the arrival in Belgrade was regularly by boat from the river port in Pančevo.¹⁹ As advertised

18 Cf. Tatjana Marković: *Transfiguracije srpskog romantizma: muzika u kontekstu studija kulture*. Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu, 2005, pp.134–135.

19 Extensive railway building in Bosnia started with the Austro-Hungarian occupation, but, for example, the route from Brčko to Bijeljina required a carriage. Hungary had the sixth most extensive railway network in Europe at the time, although many lines were scattered and disconnected. Serbia started important engineering projects after 1903, which might have added to the perception of the Society *Balkan* members in 1911 that the area was being rapidly industrialised. Ivan T. Berend: *History derailed: Central and Eastern Europe in the long nineteenth century*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003, p. 152, and S. H. Beaver: “Railways in the Balkan Peninsula”, in: *The Geographical Journal* 97 (1941) 5, pp. 282, 286.

in *Novi Srbobran*, the first trip to Karlovac in 1905 was carried out by train, and the public from Zagreb and fellow students were invited to apply to travel jointly with the choir members on a discounted group ticket; that initiative met a great interest, with a large number of academic youth expressing a wish to travel with the Society *Balkan*.²⁰

The group of the Choral Society *Balkan* members on the tour were the locus of intense affective practice which invested in their activities the meanings of the national enterprise. Through their tours they were twofold territorialised, as a part of specific national community, and as a group connected to a certain area as their ‘homeland’. The important aspect of the Society’s tours was always the sense of community with the local population, with whom they supposedly shared common national belonging and cultural values. This sense of communion was the main vehicle for the transmission of affects²¹ and it was regularly bodily expressed. As a reporter described, they were greeted with “Raskriljenih ruku – kao brat rođenog brata, koga je mlijeko iste Srpkinje majke othranilo, a sila prilika iz bratskog zagrljaja do tog časa otrgla – tako su primili Lapčani ‘Balkance’”.²² During their stay in a particular place they were most often accommodated in the private houses of their hosts, with whom they had joint meals, picnics, and spent days in revelry with music and celebrations, especially after the official concert performance was over. Particularly important for the sense of community were welcome and goodbye greetings, which were usually performed in larger groups with the local citizens. For example, in Mostar in 1907 they were reportedly greeted by one thousand people on the railway station cheering as their train was arriving, and when leaving Belgrade in the previous year “na Dunavskoj stanici izašao je svijet, a osobito mnogo kolega i kolegica da svoje goste isprate, već je lađa plovila u velikoj daljini, a s jedne i s druge strane lepršale maramice i čula se pjesma ‘jel vam žao što se rastajemo’”.²³ Music was often important in creating this sensual community, both as a part of revelry and in the encounters, and reports such as following are especially common from the tours in Lika:

Putem sretamo seljake i seljanke. Idu s rada umorni i znojni. Misliš: tima sigurno ne pada pjesma ni na pamet, ali na naše veliko čudo oni se osvrću

20 *Novi Srbobran*, 31 October 1905.

21 For this concept cf. Teresa Brennan: *The transmission of affect*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2004.

22 ‘open arms – as brother [would greet] his own brother, who was nurtured by the milk of the same Serbian mother, and was until then wrested away by the circumstances’. *Srbobran*, 30 August 1907.

23 ‘the crowd came to the Danube Station, in particular a lot of colleagues to say goodbye to their guests, and the ship had already sailed a great distance when from the both sides the handkerchiefs were waved and one could hear the song “do you feel sorry that we part?”’, *Novi Srbobran*, 9 June 1906.

na nas i vele, ‘eto to su ti, što su došli da pjevaju’. Pa onda kao na kakav pozdrav počinju i oni pjesmu – običnu sa širokim i rastegnutim tonovima, koji su puni duše i srca. U tom času osjetismo, da se naša mlada srca stopiše u jedno, ogromno i veliko narodno srce, osjetismo, da smo i mi kao i naša kao njihova pjesma nikli na jednom istom parčetu zemlje, koju smo krvlju, suzama i znojem oblili. I odjednom kao da nestade sve razlike između tih naših crnih, uskih i utegnutih salonskih haljina i te njihove grube i široke bijele rubine.²⁴

As one can note, music was not only part of the Society’s performances; it provided the soundtrack and shaped the whole experience of the landscape, inscribing meaning in the perceived space. The experience of music was paired with the experience of the space, the “representations of space”, as conceived in music embedded in “perceived space”. Patriotic songs were not only performed on the formal stage, they were sung on various occasions, often accompanying the physical experience of the “brute mobility”, becoming the lens through which the travellers interpreted the territories that surrounded them:

U ponedjeljak krenulo je društvo ‘Balkan’ iz Pančeva i već oko 3 i po poslije podne vidjelo se na pristaništu u Beogradu mnoštvo svijeta, koje je goste željno očekivalo. Otpočеше pozdravi a ‘Balkan’ zagrmi ‘Oj Srbijo mila mati’, tek što su glasovi pjesme zamukli, udari muzika Kraljeve Garde lijepu pesmu dočeka. [...] S muzikom krenula je povorka, u kojoj je bilo najmanje trideset studentica u grad, gdje su gosti razmešteni u hotelu kod ‘Srpskog Kralja’.²⁵

24 ‘On the road we have met peasants and peasant women. They return from work tired and sweaty. You’re thinking they would certainly not think about song, but to our great wonder they look back at us and say, “that’s them, they’ve come to sing”. And then, as a kind of greeting, they too begin the song – an ordinary one with wide and stretched tones that are full of heart and soul. At this point we felt that our young hearts blended into one huge and big national heart; we felt that we, like our song and like their song have sprung up from the same piece of land, which we have trenched with blood, tears and sweat. And suddenly it is as if all the differences disappeared between those black, slender and tight salon dresses of ours and their rough and wide white clothing’. *Srbobran*, 25 August 1910.

25 ‘On Monday the Society *Balkan* embarked from Pančevo and already at about half past three in the afternoon one could see a large crowd on the pier in Belgrade eagerly awaiting the guests. Then the compliments started and *Balkan* howled “Oj Srbijo mila mati” [‘Serbia, dear mother’, a patriotic choir composition by Vojtěch Šístek], and just as the voices of the song had silenced, the music of the [military band] *Kraljeva Garda* started a beautiful welcoming song. [...] Simultaneously with the music the procession, in which there were at least thirty students, started into the city, where the guests were stationed at the hotel *Srpski kralj*’. *Novi Srbobran*, 2 June 1906.

The border was virtually non-existent between the formal repertory, performed on the stage, and the music produced as the soundtrack, the landscape glossing. Importantly, the repertory of the Society often encompassed patriotic songs which bespoke the metaphorical images of future unification of the Serbian ‘homeland’ (such as in the abovementioned hymn of the Society) or the omnipresent motif of ‘resurrection’, placing them in the specific landscapes or invoking spatial representation, both in verses and in music. Characteristic examples of such choir works include two pieces by Josif Marinković, one of the most celebrated Serbian composers of the time: *Narodni zbor* (‘National gathering’, 1876–1901) and *Junački poklič* (‘Hero’s cry’, 1907). As advertised in *Srbobran* in 1907, on the eve of the Society’s tour through Bosnia and Dalmatia, *Junački poklič*, written on Jovan Jovanović Zmaj’s verses, was a “new Serbian composition” for a men’s choir by Marinković, who had sent the manuscript to the Choral Society *Balkan* with a wish that the Society perform the song during their tour in Bosnia, which was particularly politically charged.²⁶ The composer unequivocally engages in spatial metaphors, using a march-like tempo and highly accentuated phrases; the culmination of this image is achieved with *forte ben marcato* unison in choir, used to accompany the verse “Junak do junaka gazi polje ravno” (‘Hero by hero treads the plain field’, cf. ex. 1).²⁷ Incessantly performing such repertory on their tours, the singer-travellers’ experience of the space was, thus, never solely “brute” and unmediated, but imbued with the national imagery and sense of community. The affective economies of the singer-travellers transformed the “perceived space” into the practiced, experienced space of ‘homeland’, the virtual space which was more vivid and “lived” than the real space.

26 The status of occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina was under constant dispute, and only a year later it was annexed by the Monarchy, setting off the troublesome Annexation crisis. Importantly, the Society had to wait until the last moment to be allowed to hold concerts and some of the patriotic songs on the repertoire were censored. Concerning Marinković’s composition *Junački poklič*, this information (*Srbobran*, 6 April 1907) might change the belief that it was performed for the first time in Belgrade by the Akademsko pevačko društvo *Obilić* (Academic Choral Society ‘Obilić’) in 1910, and that it was written shortly before that performance. Cf. Vlastimir Peričić: “Redaktorski komentari”, in: Josif Marinković, *Horovi*, ed. Vlastimir Peričić, Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2003, p. 484.

27 Cf. Vlastimir Peričić: *Josif Marinković: Život i dela*. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1967, p. 93. The verse carries specific, albeit tacit geographical association, as in folk epics “ravno” was a constant epithet connected with the Kosovo plain. For the depiction of movement in Marinković’s *Narodni zbor* cf. Srđan Atanasovski: “Savez srpskih pevačkih društava u Somboru”.

f a tempo, ben marcato

Ју - нак до ју - на - ка га - зи по - ље рав - но, мај - ка, де - ца

Ју - нак до ју - на - ка га - зи по - ље рав - но, мај - ка,

Ју - нак до ју - на - ка га - зи по - ље рав - но, мај - ка,

Ју - нак до ју - на - ка га - зи по - ље рав - но, мај - ка,

Ex. 1. Josif Marinković: *Junački poklič*, b. 24–28, in: Josif Marinković: *Horovi*, ed. Vlastimir Peričić. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2003, p. 24.

THE SPACE OF THE NATION AND REPRESENTATIONS OF MOBILITY: TRAVELOGUES AND REPORTS IN *SRBOBRAN*

One would say that while the experience of the lived space of ‘homeland’ was immediate in the case of choir members, the readership of the journal *Srbobran* could only get the mediated literal picture, a news report, at best information. However, we have already seen how the brute experience of the travellers was mediated by cultural products, their performances and social encounters. The act of reading travelogues and reports of their tours was also a social, affective, and, I would argue, *spatial* event. The difference between these two is not so much of a kind but of intensity: the reader lacks the bodily exposure to mobility which could generate an elevated affective state, but his experience of the text also produces affects, moves his body and shifts his understanding. It is also an embodied practice, as a reader peruses his body in site of memory in order to understand what has been written. In other words, the text exerts agency on its own, shaping the affective ecology of the reader. Finally, recognising text as a spatial event is equal to recognising it a social event: reader and writer share “a moment of text-based spatial interaction, a geographical event” and the social prerequisites of this encounter are at the same time unavoidably spatial.²⁸

28 Sheila Hones: “Text as it happens: Literary geography”, in: *Geography Compass* 2 (2008) 5, p. 1301. Cf. Angharad Saunders: “The spatial event of writing: John Galsworthy and the creation of *Fraternity*”, in: *Cultural Geographies* 20 (2013) 3, p. 286.

We can argue that these texts were not only a “representation of mobility”, they were conditioned by mobility, presenting reports and depictions of travels. They stand as an unstable, pronouncedly open text compared to pieces of canonical literature. What we have at hand is a series of reports and miniature travelogues, often published in sequels, appearing in the journal *Srbobran*. The interaction between the two genres of report and travelogue is important as it emphasizes the immediacy of the event of travelling: the news-like report supposedly written by a journalist usually gives the instant information and is afterwards followed by a travelogue written by one of the travellers, who usually stays anonymous.²⁹ This strategy pairs the sense of veracity, immediacy, even propinquity to the event itself, with the “aura of exceptionality” contained in the discourse of the traveller, as the one who has experienced the space through the purportedly immediate experience.³⁰ The texts are explicit in imparting the message that the reader actually belongs to the same community as the protagonists, which is delineated by the national and ethnic criterion, as “vrijedni Srbi” (‘diligent Serbs’)³¹ or “rodoljubivi Srbi” (‘patriotic Serbs’)³² who meet each other with “bratska susretljivost” (‘brotherly kindness’).³³ This community is then portrayed as superior to their fellow citizens and other nations, inasmuch as their “beauty and strength” is “unusually striking”, and “neobično upada u oči ljepota i snaga tog svijeta, rijetko je naći nešto kržljivo i slabo, nego sve kao divovi, ženske još ljepotom daleko prevazilaze muške”.³⁴ Special care is given to portraying this community as a community of shared affective experiences, especially when linked to the musical experience. In a fragment from a travelogue to Lika in 1907, one author spoke about the “suze koje su se caklile na očima vrljih Plaščana, kad je poznati Risto svojim krasnim glasom zapjevao *Avaj Bosno sirotice kleta*” (‘tears that glistened in the eyes of the virtuous people from Plaški, when the famous Risto with his beautiful voice sang the song ‘Alas, Bosnia, cursed orphan’), construing their reaction as “an expression of Serbian feelings” found in abundance.³⁵

29 Publishing such travelogues of choir society tours was not uncommon. Exceptionally, two travelogues of the Beogradsko pevačko društvo (Belgrade Choral Society) were published in Belgrade as separate books. Cf. Spira Kalik: *Iz Beograda u Solun i Skoplje s Beogradskim pevačkim društvom: putničke beleške*. Beograd: P. K. Tanasković, 1894; Milivoje L. Komarčić: *Na Adriju – sa Beogradskim pevačkim društvom kroz Bosnu, Hercegovinu, Crnu Goru i Dalmatinsko primorje: putničke beleške*. Beograd: S. Horovic, 1911.

30 Cf. Dean Duda: *Kultura putovanja. Uvod u književnu iterologiju*. Zagreb: Ljevak, 2012, pp. 133–135.

31 *Novi Srbobran*, 24 July 1905.

32 *Novi Srbobran*, 29 November 1904.

33 *Novi Srbobran*, 31 October 1905.

34 ‘it is rare to find something stunted and weak; they are nothing but giants, and women are even far beyond with their beauty than men’, from a trip to Kikinda, *Novi Srbobran*, 9 June 1906.

35 *Srbobran*, 10 September 1907.

Travelogues are also paradigmatic as they are written to provoke affects in their readers through their literary qualities, descriptions of mobility and landscape depictions. The descriptions are detailed, including weather conditions, descriptions of train on the move, but they are also immediately paired with the national and patriotic feelings, such as in an image where “muko stenjanje lokomotive i klopot željezničkih kila gubi sve u zvucima pjesme srpske”.³⁶ I will specifically point out two vivid travelogue images, one from the trip to Belgrade in 1908, and the second from the trip to Lika in 1910. They both refer to direct interaction with the landscape, which is in the first example emphasised by the mobility of the gazer, and in the second through his vivid poetic imagination. Landscape (Belgrade and the Plitvice Lakes) is unequivocally construed as national/Serbian and invokes an emotional response in the protagonists. Moreover, the poetic image of the landscape in both cases results in physical motion which aims to unite disassociated ‘Serbian lands’: in the first example it is the real action of the protagonists, who in their patriotic fervour cross the border notwithstanding administrative obstacles, and in the second it is the phantasmal portrait of a dormant hero who will break through the mountains and resurrect Serbian statehood (which was a common topos in contemporary patriotic literature):

Plovismo plavkastim Dunavom. Vjetar popirkuje, a sa vedrog neba rasplinuše se sunčane zrake po njegovoj površini. U sjeni njegovoj pojavi se najednom malo nepotpuna slika Beograda. Grudi bukne, srce poigrava, osjećaji buje. Teško ga je mimoići. ‘Prijateljska’ policija austro-ugarska nastoji obuzdati i ugušiti te ‘veleizdajničke’ osjećaje. Nije nam u Pančevu nikako htjela dati certifikata za prelaz, ali ipak nije uspjela. Približismo se beogradskom pristaništu austrijskih lađa kad se u isti mah, čisto spontano zaori – ‘Oj, Srbijo, mila mati!’ Lađa stade, a ‘Balkanci’ se za čas nadoše na tlu mile majke. Jednaki osjećaji ne traže legitimacije.³⁷

Jezera! O, jezera, Vi pitome gorske oči, što ste ispresjecane s tom svilenom i mekom mrežom bjelih slapova, što poput najlepših čipaka obrubljuju vaše obale. Zaronio sam pogledom u vaše azurne dubine i evo slušam, dušom

36 ‘the heavy groaning of the locomotives and the clatter of railroad weights is lost in the sounds of Serbian song [performed by the choir while on the train]’. *Srbobran*, 22 January 1908.

37 ‘We sailed the bluish Danube. Wind breezes, and from the bright sky the sun’s rays dissipated onto its surface. Suddenly in its shadow appeared a somewhat broken image of Belgrade. Chests bursting, hearts thumping, feelings teeming. It is difficult to bypass. “Friendly” Austro-Hungarian police are trying to restrain and suppress these “high-treason” feelings. They did not want to give us the pass certificates at any costs, but they didn’t succeed. We came close to the Belgrade quay for Austrian ships when, at the same time, [the song] bluntly and spontaneously burst out – “Oh, Serbia, dear mother!” The ship stopped, and the members of the ‘Balkan’ were at the same time on the soil of the dear mother. Congenial feelings do not ask for certificates’. *Srbobran*, 12 February 1908.

slušam pjesme, jezerkinja vila. A bila je to pjesma o začaranom junaku, što tu već vjekovima u velebnom kršu počiva i sniva o – vaskrsenju. I zaista, kad će se stresti taj krš, kad će se taj junak probuditi i kad će se ta elegična balada preliti u veličanstvenu himnu, Himnu Vaskrsenja?!³⁸

Besides creating highly poetic images, both out of reality and imagination, the authors of the travelogues were particularly interested to document the places they had visited as Serbian, or as belonging to the Serbian nation, based on facts they could provide. This was highly important as most of the places that the Society *Balkan* visited, especially in Austria-Hungary, were contested and several national communities vied for supremacy. For example, when reporting from Pančevo, the author noted that Serbs are not only “well off”, but that they had seen that in the city “practically everything is in Serbian hands”.³⁹ Often the Society members with their visit themselves map the place as Serbian, supported by the locals: on the road when visiting Bijeljina in 1907 they were given a Serbian flag with which they entered the city, coming to the building of the Serbian school similarly greeted with flags.⁴⁰ This network of reports and travelogues thus connected with the readership as a part of the same national community, stirring the sense of pride; it spoke of the journey as a matter of documented facts, mapping the routes of the Society’s travel through lands perceived as Serbian and describing the kindred local communities, but it also spoke with poetic and affectively charged rhetoric. This text was strongly spatially situated, producing through its connection with the readership the image of Serbian ‘homeland’ on the brink of its ‘resurrection’.⁴¹

In the preceding pages I have attempted to show how nationalism works not as an ideology, a set of ideas which can be accepted or rejected, but as an embodied practice which permeates one’s affective ecology through the fissures of encounters, set in motion through incessant mobility, whether “brute” or “represented”. Notions of nationalism and ‘homeland’ appear not as givens but

38 ‘Lakes! Oh, lakes, you tame mountain eyes, who are intersected with the silky soft net of white cascades, which as the most beautiful lace circumvent your coasts. I plunged with my gaze into your azure depths and now I listen, with my soul I listen to the songs of lake fairies. And it was a song about an enchanted hero, who has for centuries rested in the ravishing karst and dreamt of resurrection. Indeed, when will this rubble come off, when will the hero wake up and when will this elegiac ballad pour into a magnificent hymn, Hymn of the Resurrection?!’, *Srbobran*, 26 August 1910.

39 *Novi Srbobran*, 30 May 1906.

40 *Srbobran*, 19 June 1907.

41 For storytelling as spatial practice cf. Michel de Certeau: *The practice of everyday life*, trans. Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, pp. 115–130.

as constantly fluid assemblages through which we interpret the lived reality. Implicitly, what I also want to argue against is the idea of nationalism as a monolithic and mass movement. Construing nationalism as constantly shifting, dependent on one's bodily encounters also means decentring social agency and recognising the importance of each and every affective practice. Nationalism as an assemblage has been put in motion through the intensities of encounters and not through the sheer number of participants; its strength lies in performativity rather than in cognizance, in agency 'on the move', through which the communities of affective ecologies are engendered.

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APPENDIX:

LIST OF PERFORMANCES AND OTHER ACTIVITIES OF
THE CHORAL SOCIETY 'BALKAN' FROM ZAGREB, 1904–1914

1904

- Founded on October 13 (president Milan G. Đuričić, head choirmaster Dušan A. Đermanović – soon after replaced by Petar Muždeka, head of the Tambura Section – Fedor von Božanić Injski)
- Zagreb, December 7

1905

- Petrinja, February 4
- Glina and Karlovac, no date
- Zagreb, June 1
- Karlovac, November 4
- Zagreb, November 30
- Vinkovci, December 15

1906

- May–June tour (24 members): Novi Sad, Pančevo, Beograd (concert with the Akademsko pevačko društvo *Obilić* [Academic Choral Society 'Obilić']), Vršac, Velika Kikinda

1907

- Ogulin, February 10
- Zagreb, March 9: performance at the manifestation of the Srpsko akademsko potporno društvo
- March tour: Belovar, Šid, Irig, Sremska Mitrovica
- May–June tour: Brčko, Bijeljina, Tuzla, Dobož, Derventa, Sarajevo, Mostar, Kotor, Cetinje, Dubrovnik, Lipik, Pakrac
- August tour (11 members): Plaški, Plitvička jezera (The Lake Plitvice), Korenica, Udbina, Donji Lapac, Gospić

SRĐAN ATANASOVSKI

- Zagreb, December 3: performance at the manifestation of the Srpska akademska omladina in Zagreb (Serbian Academic Youth in Zagreb)
- December tour: Osijek, Sombor, Stari Bečej, Veliki Bečkerek, Bela Crkva, Vršac

1908

- Prague, June 4: participated on a concert dedicated to Croatian and Serbian émigrés
- new elected president Vladimir Kostić

1908–1909

- pause in activities
- in 1909 Uroš Jov. Trbojević elected president.

1910

- new head choirmaster Branko Bijelić
- Zagreb, March: participated on the Party of the Srpska akademska omladina in Zagreb, organised by the Srpsko akademsko potporno društvo
- Belgrade, June 27: participated at the celebration of Pevačko društvo *Stanković* (30 members); at the competition organised on that occasion won second prize
- August tour: Plaški, Plitvička jezera, Korenica, Udbina, Gračac, Gospić
- new elected president Nikola Ćurčić

1911

- Trieste, April
- Zagreb, July 4
- August tour: Beograd, Valjevo, Arandjelovac, Kragujevac, Jagodina, Vrnjačka banja, Kruševac, Niš, Leskovac, Vranje, Pirot, Šabac
- new elected president Branko Manojlović

1912

- Ogulin, February
- Zagreb, May

1913

- new elected president Vidoje Muhaldžić

1914

- Zagreb, February: participated on a manifestation of the Srpska akademska omladina
- Zagreb, March: participated in a jubilee celebration of the Srpsko akademsko literarno društvo *Njeguš*
- Sombor, June: participated on manifestation and competition Prva slava Srba pevača (The First Celebrations of Serbian Choral Societies), which was at the same time the Choral Society *Balkan's* celebration of tenth anniversary; won the first prize for men's choir at the competition

A LITTLE-KNOWN EARLY WORK IN
OTTOMAN-ISLAMIC ‘ART HISTORIOGRAPHY’:
THE BOSNIAN SHEIKH KEMURA’S
WRITINGS (1908–1913) ON THE
‘PUBLIC BUILDINGS’ OF SARAJEVO

MAXIMILIAN HARTMUTH (VIENNA)

Abstract: *The late twentieth-century trend of looking into ‘historiography’ has not gone unnoticed among historians of Islamic art. In recent years, they have demonstrated great interest in the foundations of their field of research in the late nineteenth century and in the protagonists involved and their motives. In this context, notice has not been taken of one work produced around the same time in an area that was a buffer zone between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires: Bosnia-Herzegovina, which until its eventual annexation by Austria-Hungary in 1908 was de iure part of the sultan’s domain but de facto ruled by Vienna. There, a Muslim scholar began to publish in the same year a series of well-researched articles on the principal Islamic monuments of his hometown, Sarajevo. While the nature of this work as ‘art history’ is arguable – its author was not interested in a grand narrative to the extent some of his contemporaries were – its authorship by a local Muslim in a distant (post-)Ottoman province, employing a remarkably scientific methodology, warrants at least a note on this work, even more so as its language, presently called Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, has rendered it not only inaccessible but also invisible to most scholars of Ottoman and Islamic art.*

The late twentieth-century trend of looking into ‘historiography’ has not gone unnoticed among historians of Islamic art. In recent years, they have demonstrated great interest in the foundations of their field of research in the late nineteenth century and in the protagonists involved and their motives.¹ In the Ottoman case, some emphasis has been placed on the cosmopolitan group that prepared the

1 Next to a scattering of articles, mention must be made of two edited volumes: *Discovering Islamic art: Scholars, collectors and collections, 1850–1950*, ed. Stephen Vernoit. London: IB Tauris, 2000, and *History and ideology: Architectural heritage of the ‘Lands of Rum’*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007 [= *Muqarnas*, XXIV]. For a review of the latter volume by this author, cf. the *Newsletter of the European Architectural History Network*, (2008), pp. 36–39. More recent additions have been the volume *Islamic art and the museum: Approaches to art and archaeology of the Muslim world in the twenty-first century*, eds. Benoît Junod, Georges Khalil, Stefan Weber, and Gerhard Wolf. London: Saqi Books, 2012, and a special issue on “Islamic art historiography” of the *Journal of Art Historiography*, 6 (2012), eds. Moya Carey and Margaret S. Graves.

monumental album *L'architecture ottomane* for the Vienna World Fair of 1873. The principal aim of that publication project was to supply the evidence for the claim that there existed an independent Ottoman artistic tradition and that, like its western counterpart, its design indeed followed certain rules.² The first generation of writers of Muslim background, such as the historian Celal Esad (Arseven) and the architect Kemaleddin, has also received some attention. In general, the focus has been on discourses of/at 'the centre', in which the actors were either westerners, who sought to study the artistic heritage of countries colonised or visited in accordance with the methodologies and sensibilities developed for the assessment of art in the West, or Muslim intellectuals in Islamic metropolises such as Istanbul.

Notice has not been taken of one work produced around the same time in an area that was a buffer zone between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires: Bosnia-Herzegovina, which until its eventual annexation by Austria-Hungary in 1908 was *de iure* part of the sultan's domain but *de facto* ruled by Vienna. There, a Muslim scholar began to publish in the same year a series of well-researched articles on the principal Islamic monuments of his hometown, Sarajevo. While the nature of this work as 'art history' is arguable – its author was not interested in a grand narrative to the extent the aforementioned writers were – its authorship by a local Muslim in a distant (post-)Ottoman province, employing a remarkably scientific methodology, warrants at least a note on this work, even more so as its language, presently called Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, has rendered it not only inaccessible but also invisible to most scholars of Ottoman and Islamic art.

Sarajevske džamije i druge javne zgrade turske dobe (The mosques of Sarajevo and other public buildings of the Turkish era) was the title of a series of articles that began to be published in 1908. In 1913, just before the outbreak of World War I, all the articles that had appeared until then were collected in a 382-page monograph. Their author was a Muslim native of Sarajevo named Šejh Sejfuddin Fehmi bin Ali Kemura (1863–1917). Born to a saddler, he worked in that profession and as a bread-seller until after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, when he began to develop an interest in Islamic learning. After briefly holding the position of sheikh at a local dervish convent of the Nakşibendi order, between 1905 and 1914 he served as the librarian of the pious foundation (*vakf*) connected to the so-called Careva džamija (Turkish: Hünkar Camii, or Emperor's

2 Cf. Ahmet Ersoy, "On the sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance': Architectural revival and its discourse during the Abdülaziz Era (1861–1876)", unpublished dissertation, Harvard University, 2000; Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at nineteenth-century world's fairs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, pp. 43–44 and 155–156.



Ill. 1. Portrait of Kemura, from *Sarajevske džamije*, p. VIII.

Mosque) in Sarajevo. At the same time he served as a teacher of religion at Sarajevo's Technical School and the Franz Joseph Gymnasium.³

It was, undoubtedly, during his time as a librarian that he began to develop a keen interest in historical sources. In collaboration with the Habsburg institutions that had been instituted to promote scholarship in the occupied territory, first and foremost the Landesmuseum with its journal,⁴ he published several collections of Ottoman-period sources on certain topics. Especially his acquaintance in 1908 with the Osijek-born Ćiro Truhelka (1865–1942), who was soon thereafter appointed the director of the museum, led to a series of interesting collaborations: Truhelka seemingly helped Kemura publish his materials, illustrate them, and improve his style of writing.⁵ In turn, Kemura supplied Truhelka with Ottoman-period documents in languages inaccessible to those who had been ordered to study the new territory's history and culture and help strengthen Austria-Hungary's grip on Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁶ This conflation of the interests of the various groups involved resulted in a number of interested projects in the cultural sphere that have remained very little known outside Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁷

Kemura declares in the preface to the volume presenting his collected articles that the project, which turned out to be more wearisome than he had expected, had been driven by his curiosity about the past, which had developed in tandem with his

3 The principal source for Kemura's life is a self-composed biography ("Moj životopis") prefacing the collection of his articles: Kemura Šejh Sejfuddin Fehmi bin Ali: *Sarajevske džamije i druge javne zgrade turske dobe*. Sarajevo: n. p., 1913, pp. VII–IX. A more recent, useful biographical summary is provided by Samija Sarić: "Šejh Sejfudin Fehmi ef. Kemura, 1863–1917", in: *Anali Gazi Husrevbegove biblioteke u Sarajevu*, XXI–XXII (2003), pp. 135–142. Additional information is found in Mehmed Mujezinović: "Merhum Šejh Sejfudin-Fehmi Efendija Kemura kao epigrafičar: uz 40-godišnjicu njegove smrti (1863–1917)", in: *Glasnik Vrhovnog islamskog starješinstva*, 3–5 (1958), pp. 158–167, and older texts referenced by Sarić and Mujezinović.

4 Cf. Maximilian Hartmuth: "The Habsburg *Landesmuseum* in Sarajevo in its ideological and architectural contexts: A reinterpretation", in: *Centropa*, XII/2 (2012), pp. 194–205.

5 Cf. Sarić: "Šejh Sejfudin", p. 137 and the remarks in Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije*, pp. I–II. For his published memoirs, cf. Ćiro Truhelka, *Uspomene jednog pionira*. Zagreb: Hrvatski izdavački bibliografski zavod, 1942. Kemura is not mentioned in these memoirs.

6 In addition to the series itself, cf. Ćiro Truhelka: "Gazi Husrefbeg, njegov život i njegovo doba", in: *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, XXIV/1 (1912), pp. 91–233, esp. acknowledgements on p. 49 and 50 (footnotes).

7 Kemura did not publish anything prior to 1908, when it started with a translation of the Bosnia-related sections in the Ottoman travelogue by Evliya Çelebi, and thereafter only in government-supporting media. Cf. the bibliography in Sarić: "Šejh Sejfudin", pp. 140–141. For the cultural-political background, cf. Maximilian Hartmuth: "Insufficiently oriental? An early episode in the study and preservation of the Ottoman architectural heritage in the Balkans", in: *Monuments, patrons, contexts: Papers on Ottoman Europe presented to Machiel Kiel*, eds. Maximilian Hartmuth and Ayse Dilsiz. Leiden: Netherlands Institute for the Near East, 2010, pp. 171–84.

interest in his faith and its history. Similarly, he apparently anticipated the audience of his writings to be *islamski narod* ('the Muslim people') willing to be instructed about the history of *naša domovina* ('our homeland'). The perceived significance of the project is also highlighted by his pointing to a saying attributed to the prophet Muhammad, according to which only three things remain when a man dies: a pious son, a charitable foundation, and knowledge that has been made accessible by him and from which the people can derive benefit.⁸

Sarajevske džamije, when published in 1913, included detailed information on fifty-five buildings in Sarajevo.⁹ They are treated one after another, with no general introduction or analysis that tries to gather and interpret the wealth of data collected by the author. The individual entries contain descriptions of the buildings and local traditions and historical sources about them. The latter are usually presented in Arabic printed letters and translations into the local language. The vast majority of these sources were drawn from two categories: epigraphy (typically inscriptions on buildings) and endowment deeds, copies of which Kemura had discovered in the court records stored in the Emperor's Mosque foundation's library. The sources are usually reproduced in full, without much selection or editing. This has made *Sarajevske džamije* a useful sourcebook for students of Sarajevo's history in general.

The preface also reveals that the 1913 publication was only meant as the first volume – a term for which Kemura uses the Turcism *džilt* (Turkish: *cilt*) – of what was apparently conceived as a series of books.¹⁰ A glance at the buildings covered in it shows that Sarajevo's most remarkable sacral buildings – the Emperor's Mosque and the mosque of Gazi Hüsrev Beg – are actually missing. This is surprising in light of the fact that Kemura had begun the series (if still under a different title, namely *Javne muslimanske gragjevine u Sarajevu* ['Muslim public buildings in Sarajevo']) with a lengthy article, published in the Landesmuseum's journal, devoted to the Emperor's Mosque – the Ottoman building he probably knew best.¹¹ Irrespective of the helpful

8 Kemura: *Sarajevske džamije*, p. I.

9 While this is the number mentioned by the author in his preface, the number of individual structures is actually higher, totalling 76 (20 mosques, 33 oratories, 7 mausoleums, 5 elementary schools, 3 bridges, 3 dervish convents, 2 fountains, 2 cemeteries, 1 college). Though the number of mosques seems high, it includes only two of Sarajevo's monumental domed mosques. The vast majority of the 76 individual structures do not count among the city's best known. The very large number of oratories (*mescids*) included – a building type outside the domain of monumental architecture – seems to illustrate that Kemura was more interested in the historical import of these institutions than in their buildings' design.

10 Kemura: *Sarajevske džamije*, p. II.

11 Sejfudin Fehmija ef. Kemura, "Javne muslimanske gragjevine u Sarajevu: I. Careva džamija", in: *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, XX/4 (1908), pp. 475–512. Interestingly, this article was also published at the same time in Ottoman Turkish as Kemurazade Seyfeddin Fehmi bin Ali, *Saray Bosna'da ebniye-yi hayriyenin musavver tarihi*. Sarajevo: İslam Matbaası, 1908.

information supplied in the series of articles, *Sarajevske džamije* thus fails to provide an overview of the Bosnian capital's Islamic monuments; major buildings were left to be treated in a separate volume that never saw publication.

In comparison to works written by the author's contemporaries in Istanbul, it must also be stressed that Kemura seems to have been more interested in studying these buildings and institutions because they offered a privileged insight into the urban history of Sarajevo than because he thought they should be compared with Ottoman and Islamic buildings elsewhere and that they should be integrated into a grand narrative of an artistic tradition. This is not to say that Kemura's work is one in urban history as we know it. His focus was on buildings and the community-serving institutions housed in them as the backbone of Sarajevo's historical development, which he does not attempt to reconstruct in a linear fashion, however. To be sure, Kemura does describe the buildings, their spaces and elements, building materials, etc.; yet he does so without stylistic criticism. The illustrations, which may have been drawn by Truhelka or someone else within the orbit of the Austro-Hungarian administration, partly make up for that, and perhaps Kemura thought that there was no point in describing in greater detail what can already be seen in these drawings. More likely, he lacked the vocabulary to systematically compare them; or he simply saw no point in doing so. Be that as it may, *Sarajevske džamije* is a curious work that deserves not to be forgotten in the context of current debates on historiography.

LVI. Ferhad begova džamija u Ferhadiji ulici.

U Ferhadiji ulici na južnoj strani ima jedna džamija, koja se u zvaničnim spisima naziva i piše Ferhad begova džamija a narod je zove Ferhadijom kao i njenu okolnu mahalalu.

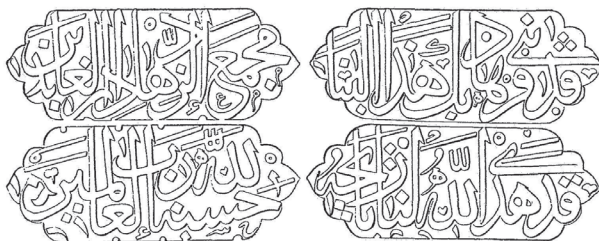
Džamija je od klesanog kamena sazidana pokrita kubetom, koje je olovom pokriveno, sa kamenitom münarom. U džamiji imade kao i u ostalim minber od izrezanog kamena vrlo krasno i fino napravljen; ima i čurs, koji i ako je drven, ipak je lijepo napravljen a musandara joj je na kamenitim oblim stupcima. Džamija je dosta široka i duga a dobro i vidna zbog mnogih pendžera.



Slika 110. Ferhad-begova džamija u Ferhadiji ulici.

Vrata su joj na svod a ispred vrata su sofe, pokrite sa tri pomalešna kubeta. Oni su takogjer na kamenim oblim stupcima.

Ovu je džamiju načinio nekakav Ferhad beg i to 970. (=1562. g.), što nam tvrdi natpis, koji se nalazi i danas isklesan na kamenoj ploči, što je više vrata uzidana a glasi:



Slika 111. Natpis više vrata Ferhad-begove džamije u Sarajevu.

Ill. 2 Presentation of the Ferhad-begova džamija (Mosque of Ferhad Beg) in Sarajevo, 1562/3, in *Sarajevske džamije*, p. 324.

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