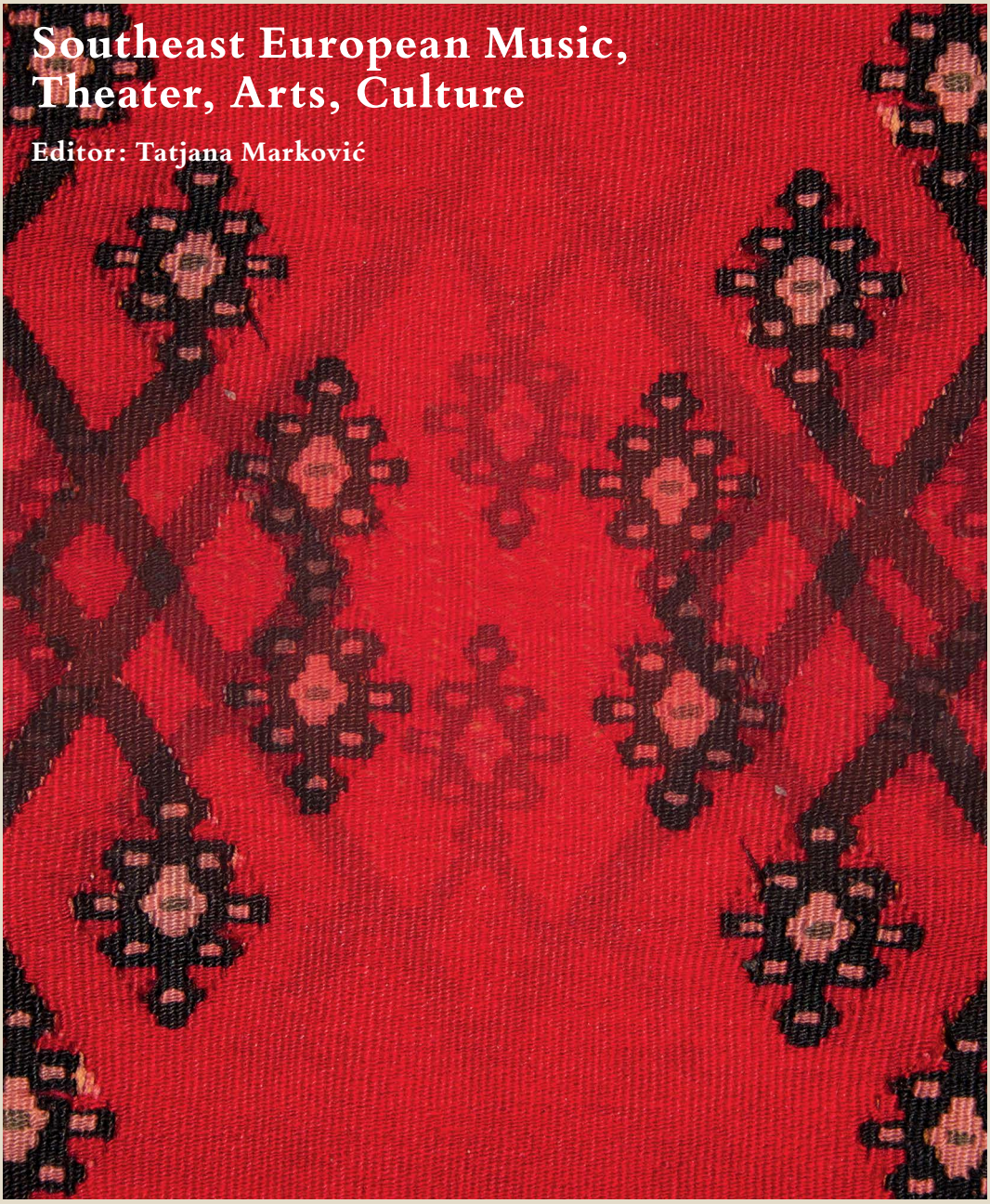
THEMA
THEATRE MUSIC ARTS
Vol. VIII/1–2, 2019
OPEN ACCESS RESEARCH JOURNAL
ISSN 2305-9672

Southeast European Music, Theater, Arts, Culture

Editor: Tatjana Marković



STVDIVM FÆSVLANVM
HOLLITZER
Don Juan Archiv Wien

TheMA:
Open Access Research Journal
for Theatre, Music, Arts

Vol. VIII/1-2, 2019

SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN MUSIC, THEATRE, ARTS, CULTURE

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HOLLITZER

TheMA-Journal
c/o HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag
Trautsongasse 6/6, A-1080 Wien
Austria
E-Mail: thema@hollitzer.at
www.thema-journal.eu

Publisher
HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag
of
HOLLITZER Baustoffwerke Graz GmbH
www.hollitzer.at

TheMA is a peer-reviewed open-access research journal dedicated to the history of performing and visual arts. It is published biannually and specializes in the critical and trans-disciplinary historical study of artistic production and reception in various artistic genres including literature, theatre, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture. While Middle, Central and Mediterranean Europe before 1900 is TheMA's principal area of focus, it welcomes contributions on other regions or periods. Responsibility for the contents of the various articles and for questions of copyright lies with the authors.
ISSN 2307-440X (print)
ISSN 2305-9672 (online)
ISBN 978-3-99012-909-8

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EDITORIAL

FRAMING THE MESOREGION: SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN CULTURAL SPACE

Tatjana Marković
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Starting with this issue, the journal *Thema – Theatre, Music, Arts* will be dedicated to Southeast European i.e. Balkan Studies as one of the focal points of the Don Juan Archiv Wien (DJA). Numerous activities of the DJA related to this topic have included conferences, workshops, guest lectures, and public lecture series, as well as academic publications and fiction published by its partner institution within the Hollitzer company, the Hollitzer Verlag.

The idea of historical regionalization, or Area Studies, was traditionally defined and criticized as being conservative; it was transformed after the Cold War and is today a thriving theoretical and interdisciplinary area. The determination of historical regions is not very precise, especially when considered essentially, for there are various criteria for definition without covering all historical, political, and cultural perspectives. In the case of the Balkans, this indeterminacy is also a result of frequent border changes, deterritorialization and reterritorialization, or migrations.

Area Studies have been significantly transformed since they first entered university curricula after World War I. Scholars from a wide variety of disciplines helped to develop their new concepts, including "historians, linguists, anthropologists, geographers, and literature and culture specialists,"[1] as well as musicologists, ethnomusicologists, and theatre scholars, as this issue of *TheMA* demonstrates. It is important to note that the term 'area' can be understood in various ways: "areas are hardly physical phenomena, existing naturally by themselves. They are intellectual constructs, with shifting borders, drawn at different times with different aims in mind. However, this does not mean that areas are absolutely arbitrary or fictitious: they are based on historical, political, linguistic, cultural and religious legacies, real or perceived, and often supported by the self-perception of those who inhabit them."[2]

1 Zoran Milutinović, "Introduction: Area Studies in motion", in *The Rebirth of Area Studies. Challenges for History, Politics and International Relations in the 21st Century*, ed. Zoran Milutinović (London et al.: I. B. Tauris, 2020), Kindle edition.

2 One can add music legacies to the quoted list. Milutinović, "Introduction".

The Balkans are included within east-central Europe, Southeast Europe and the Mediterranean. For this reason, it seems to be more appropriate to define them as non-essential and changeable mesoregions. Pluricultural Southeast Europe is here considered as a pluricultural entity with constantly changing borders marked by their long- shared histories, legacies, and cultures within empires and national states, covering a territory belonging to Europe or Asia or the Middle East. It is thus understood as a mesoregion "connected by the time that crosses the boundaries of a state, society, nation, and civilization."[3] The term 'mesoregion' in a supranational sense designates a group of several states forming a region, such as a case of the Baltic region, the Balkans, or the Middle East, in historical terms and in political terminology.[4] The mesoregion is a relative category in the framework of conceptual history, defined as a space in terms of "the premises of its social production, its ideological underpinnings, as well as the various forms of interpretation and representation that it embodies."[5]

The two names of the mesoregion – the Balkans and Southeast Europe – are often used as synonyms,[6] although there can be certain differences in their territorial definition. Both terms are politically loaded, and both have negative connotations. On the one hand, the Balkans have been seen as backward resulting in 'Balkanism' not only outside but also within the mesoregion.[7] On the other hand, Southeast Europe has also been related to the Nazis' vision of Europe with Germany as its centre.[8]

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3 Stefan Troebst, "Meso-Regionalizing Europe: History Versus Politics", in *Domains and Divisions of European History*, eds. Johann Pall Arnason and Natalie J. Doyle (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), 79.

4 Ibid.

5 Diana Mishkova, Balázs Trencsényi, eds., *European Regions and Boundaries: A Conceptual History* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books: 2017), 2.

6 This is common practice in scholarly works by numerous historians, see Diana Mishkova, "The Balkans as an Idée-Force. Scholarly Projections of the Balkan Cultural Area", *Civilizations. Revue Internationale d'anthropologie et de sciences humaines*, 60/2 (2012): 39–64; Jim Samson, *Music in the Balkans* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013); Karl Kaser, "The Visual Culture in Southeastern Europe: Elements of Decentred Theory Construction" in this issue. Kaser directly addressed this terminological issue in his paper in this issue: "By 'Southeastern Europe' I understand here the European regions of the former Ottoman Empire and its successor states – in other words, the Balkans."

7 See Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); and Diana Mishkova, *Beyond Balkanism: The Scholarly Politics of Region Making* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018).

8 Namely, Südosteuropa was included in the national socialist vision of new Europe, that is, their economic plans for Great Germany (Großdeutschland) regarded as the centre of Europe or Mitteleuropa. The Balkans were defined as Großdeutschland Südost or Ergänzungsraum Südosteuropa or the German life space (Lebensraum), as well as an economic space (Wirtschaftsraum). See Hans-Erich Volkmann, *Ökonomie und Expansion: Grundzüge der NS-Wirtschaftspolitik. Ausgewählte*

After the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of Yugoslavia, which co-established and belonged to the non-aligned countries, the geopolitical map of the continent was deeply changed and research changed accordingly. This also led to the definition of a so-called New Southeast Europe, as Andrew + Wachtel, for example, proposes a journey from the Balkans to Southeast Europe.[9]

The Balkan countries are Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and the countries of former Yugoslavia, including their imperial Ottoman and Habsburg legacies.[10] Southeast Europe usually includes Hungary and Slovakia as well. Finally, according to the European Union regional map, Southeast Europe comprises sixteen countries: in addition to Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine, there are also Austria, Moldova, and partially Italy and Ukraine. These last two countries are represented by Lombardia, Bolzano/Bozen, Trento, Veneto, Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, Emilia Romagna, Umbria, Marche, Abruzzo, Molise, and Puglia Basilicata in Italy, as well as by the Ukrainian regions of Chernevitsi (Чернівецька область), Ivano-Frankivisk (Івано-Франківська область), Zakarpatska (Закарпатська область), and Odessa Province (Одеська область).[11] Furthermore, the above-mentioned countries are classified into three areas – Adriatic-Ionian, Balkan-Mediterranean, and Danubian. Obviously, there are differing ideas about the mesoregion, from various historical, geo-political, economic, and cultural points of view.

Furthermore, the national self-representation provides yet another perspective on this question. Let me mention my experience while working on editing a recent issue of the *Studia Musicologica*: the Hungarian colleagues refused to accept classifying Hungary into Southeast Europe – for them, their country belongs to Eastern Europe. Most of the mesoregional countries object to being called the Balkans, although they take part in ever more events and research under that name, or, more precisely, the western Balkans – another political invention designed to exclude Turkey. With any of the usual names and ideas about the territory, this geopolitical and cultural space can readily be conceptualized as a mesoregion.

Schriften, ed. Bernhard Chiari (Munich: Oldenburg Verlag, 2003); Carl Freytag, *Deutschlands 'Drang nach Südosten'. Der Mitteleuropäische Wirtschaftstag und der 'Ergänzungsraum Südosteuropa' 1931–1945* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012).

9 See Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *The Balkans in World History* (Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 2008), especially the last chapter "The Twentieth Century: From the Balkans to Southeast Europe".

10 This is the definition of prominent scholars on the Advisor Board of the Balkan Studies Library, published by the Brill Academic Publishers, https://brill.com/view/serial/BSL?qt-qt_serial_details=0.

11 See <https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/atlas/programmes/2007-2013/crossborder/operational-programmesouth-east-europe-see>, (accessed April 15, 2020).

Besides Southeast Europe as a whole, the current issue of *TheMA* addresses Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Serbia, Romania, and Slovakia. The ten contributions, presented mainly in the framework of the public lecture series I organized in the years 2012–2016,[12] or on other occasions, shed light on various aspects of the music, theatre, arts and culture of Southeast Europe and the research history of the mesoregion. After the general framework provided by the insight in the formation of the Balkan Studies in Vienna in the nineteenth century (Maximilian Hartmuth) and the mesoregional specific visual cultures (Karl Kaser), reader can be acquainted with Franciscan music repertoire in Bosnia, Italy, and Slavonia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Zdravko Blažeković). It is followed by Southeast European theatre practices, such as the church baroque allegorical theatre of the eighteenth-century Serbian Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Monarchy (Jelena Todorović), the Municipal Theatre in Pressburg/Pozsony in the late nineteenth century (Jana Laslavíková), as well as the stage works organized by the Serbian soldiers and prisoners during World War I (Gordana Marković Ilić). Two contributions on Greek (Alexandros Charkiolakis) and Romanian opera (Beat Föllmi) respectively conclude this group of articles. Finally, Southeast Europe is presented also through the literature (Gertraud Marinelli-König) and cultural heritage (Naila Ceribašić) of the microregions (Yugoslavia, Croatia).

Maximilian Hartmuth discusses the research of the Balkans in the Austrian i.e. Austro-Hungarian Empire capital through the discipline of art history at the University of Vienna. As he pointed out, the interest for the Balkan art history started immediately with the foundation of the chair/department of art history at the University of Vienna in 1850 by its first professor Rudolf Eitelberger. His steps were followed by the ethnologist, naturalist, geographer, and archeologist Felix Kanitz and art historian Josef Strzygowski. While Kanitz investigated Serbia, Strzygowski's research of the Middle Eastern impact on Southeast European and Armenian art is rather famous. However, despite these early research results, Vienna did not reach the status of the Southeast European Studies centre.

Through his seven theses of the decentred (non-western) theory construction of visual culture of Southeast European, Karl Kaser is proposing a new approach to the topic aiming at more profound further research. These theses are related to the beginnings of mechanically reproducible and digital pictures in the Balkans with the roots of visual cultures in religious paintings. Due to the multireligious context of the mesoregion, there are different iconic practices in the western and

12 See *Südosteuropastudien: Theater und Musik /Southeast European Studies: Theatre and Music*, Don Juan Archiv Wien, Austria, 2012–2016, organization and moderation by Tatjana Marković: http://www.donjuanarchiv.at/veranstaltungen/vortraege-und-vorlesungsreihen/vorlesungsreihe-suedosteuropastudien.html.

eastern Christian, Muslim and Jewish communities, related to the question of depiction of human figures among others. The religious perspective was modified and secularized only with photography and resulted in the Southeast European "semi-secular" societies. This milestone also contributed to the gender perspective, for the images of women were later introduced in the Balkan patriarchal societies. Despite of acceptance of the western canon, it is necessary to consider Southeast European visual culture from the point(s) of view of their specific practices adapted to the local contexts. The first visual revolution in the mesoregion, as Kaser called it, started with the Balkan Wars and World War I, which led to Balkanism.

Zdravko Blažeković discusses the eighteenth-century Franciscan practices and activities in the province Bosniae Argentinae, the territory occupied by Bosnia, Slavonia, Srem, Dalmatia, and partially Hungary and Transylvania. Besides the repertoire, including the masses, hymns, non-liturgical music performed in monasteries, the author considers also the Franciscans as organ builders. As Blažeković's profound investigation shows, the repertoire of the Franciscan monasteries in this extended area is the result of a double cultural transfer, coming first from the south i.e., from Italy (Loreto, Rome, Ancona, Milan, Bologna, and Venice) and afterwards is more oriented to the north, the Habsburg lands, especially after the Theresian and Josephinian reforms. The languages of congregations were Italian, Croatian, Hungarian, and German.

The next group of five papers are related to the stage i.e. spoken and music theatre. The first of them is dedicated to the Serbian Orthodox Archbishopric in Karlovci in the Habsburg Monarchy. Namely, after the great migration of Serbs caused by the Ottomans conquering the Balkans, the Archbishopric was displaced from Peć, Kosovo to southern Karlovci, Hungary in 1690. In the 1730s, this significant religious centre started with theatre life in the form of school theatre marked by the transfer of the Jesuit theatre. It was led by the Ukrainian teacher Manuil Kozačinskij, who was later the rector of the Slavic Latin academy. In that way, Kozačinskij's play *Traedokomedija* (1733) established Serbian school theatre. Jelena Todorović sheds life to the political or diplomatic role of the theatre since the Orthodox Christians were a minority in the Catholic empire.

The nineteenth-century imperial and pre-national theatre practices are exemplified with the Városi Színház / Stadttheater in Pressburg. Jana Laslavíková analyzed its activities from the foundation in 1886 to the beginning of the twentieth century starting from the new building made by the well-known imperial architects Ferdinand Fellner, Jr. and Hermann Helmer, which were alike to other municipal theatres in Central Europe. The season of the theatre life lasted half a year

and included the repertoire in German and Hungarian. Until 1899 there were two directors responsible for the two parts of the season respectively. This politically loaded division was related not only to the language, but also to the repertoire and financial aspects of the institution's work. For instance, Timișoara financially supported Hungarian performances with the sum more than four time higher than the German ones. The paper also discusses the ensemble of the Municipal Theatre, including among others, actors, and musicians (singers, choir, orchestra). Like in many other theatres, the orchestra was sometimes supported by the military band and the stage works had to be adapted to their possibilities, so that Bruno Walter modified certain scores during the season 1897/98, as the author pointed out. The repertoire reflected policy of the imperial capital, as was the case with numerous Lehár's and Kálmán's operettas, for instance. Like in Vienna and other Central European cultural centres, aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and higher officials attended the performances. The imperial theatre performance history slowly led from the imperial (German, Hungarian) via Central European Slavic (Czech) to national practice (Slovak).

Rich archival documentation and other primary sources from the first decades of the twentieth century witness the complexity of Serbian (music) theatre practice during World War I. Gordana Ilić Marković presented performance history and practice before the war, followed by activities of the soldiers of the Serbian army, as well as prisoners of war. One of the most tragic periods in the new national history resulted in more than one million deaths and the country was ruined. Even the government of Serbia was in exile in Corfu during the war. The author presented theatre life at different territories: in Serbia proper that is in Belgrade, organized by the occupation forces and only partially accessible for the local inhabitants, at the front and convalescent camps exile in Corfu and Thessaloniki in Greece or Bizerte in Tunisia, as well as at the Habsburg internment camps (Mauthausen, Aschach an der Donau, Frauenkirchen, Neusiedl am See). All along the way, where Serbian soldiers were struggling or recovering, they organized and performed numerous theatre plays, sometimes including musical numbers.

The repertoire included European and popular national dramas, as well as adaptation and nationalizations (*posrbe*) of international plays. One more aspect of transformation and adaptation of the repertoire to the specific circumstances is related to the gender of performers – for understandable reasons, almost exclusively amateur actors were men, performing female roles too. The audience consisted mainly of soldiers, but also the highest-ranking officers of different armies were present. The theatre plays, often comedies, played during the breaks between the battles had a role of entertainment against the reality of war. These performances

raised great interest and enthusiasm, so that in Bizerte "a very large amphitheatre (with 5,000 seats and a gallery for 1,000 people) was built /here/ out of stone. the stage was roofed over and the actors had two changing rooms at their disposal. Work began in March 1917 and lasted until October 1918. 186 performances were held. the audience numbers for this entire period are also impressive: 800,000. the last stage performance was organized on 23 october 1918." (see fig. 3 in this article).

Two authors discuss opera in the light of national – Romanian and Greek – self-identification. Beat Fölmi considers Romanian opera in the context of the national self-representation and accordingly constructed national identity at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. After the insight into the musical culture of the Danubian Principalities, assuming the impact of two empires through Viennese as well as Ottoman music, Fölmi writes about Romanian "national opera" considering contributions of the following composers: Alexandru Flechtenmacher, Johann Andreas Wachmann, George Enescu, and Eduard Caudella. According to Romanian music historiography, Caudella's *Petru Rareş* (1889, perf. 1900) with the libretto by German Theobald Rehbaum, fulfills the idea of the "first national opera" due to the topic – the sixteenth-century history given through a Romanticized episode celebrating male heroism and presenting the female role as a victim).

Quite different perspective is offered by Emilios Riadis, a significant Greek Macedonian composer, in his unfinished opera *Galateia*. The composer abandoned this extensive project as he regarded it as "not Greek enough". An interesting analysis of the manuscript of this opera after libretto of certain Ph. Jablonski by Alexandros Charkiolakis is dedicated to the national identity as an idea of the composer he regarded as unfilled. "Riadis musically moves within contemporary European trends: a well-crafted aria at one place, a duet and an elaborated orchestration somewhere else. Throughout the available pages one cannot spot an appeal to his Greek soul in terms of the musical material, since there is a profound lack of exotic scales or augmented seconds or even the tune of a folk or folk-like melodic pattern." Recognizable impressionism and the "French style" of Riadis's music was obviously an obstacle for the composer to finish this stage work.

Gertraud Marinelli-König provided an insight into German translations of Yugoslav literature – more precisely, *belles lettres* in the Serbo-Croatian language. This article provides an extensive insight in the interest of German publishers and readers in Austria, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic, and Switzerland in the literature by numerous writers from Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. In other words, works written in Slovenian,

Macedonian, as well as the language of minorities like Albanian, Hungarian and others, were not included. Among the translated authors are the most prominent representatives of Yugoslav literature 1945–1980, like Ivo Andrić, Mehmed-Meša Selimović, Branko Ćopić, Vladimir Nazor, Vasko Popa and others, but also less known authors such as Danko Angjelinović or Zvonko Plepelić. There are translations of the poetry and fiction of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, like the poems of the Serbian writer Jovan Dučić. Interestingly enough, the libretto of the significant Yugoslav opera by the Croatian composer Jagov Gotovac with libretto by Milan Begović, *Ero s onoga svijeta* (1936) was translated and published in 1952 and 1955 (under licence from Leipzig in 1938, when Gotovac and some other Croatian composers were close to the regime in Germany). Political writings by the Yugoslav dissident Milovan Đilas attracted attention of German-speaking audience for decades. This issue is concluded by the paper dedicated to Croatian cultural heritage in an interesting context of Southeast Europe and China. Naila Ceribašić considers cultural policy of the Republic of Croatia in juxtaposition with China as "internationally commended guardians of intangible heritage" in relation to other cases from Southeast Europe.

This rich variety of contributions providing a wide panorama of the pluriculturalism of Southeast Europe in different historical periods, reveals multiplied cultural transfers in various directions. On the one hand, research on Southeast European cultures resulted in the publications about Balkan architecture, monuments, ethnology, opera, or translations of the mesoregional literature into German. The process of Europeanization in the Balkans, on the other hand, conveyed the cultural institutionalization, a theatre and music repertoire or research agenda (art history, visual cultures), and a music canon among other things. The transfer of the Western canon, generally accepted as "universal", was adopted and adapted to local needs. This process resulted in the construction of peculiar self-presentations of Southeast European individual cultures, officially registered – and sometimes contested among the Balkan countries due to their shared legacies – on the UNESCO list of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

WIEN UND DIE KUNSTHISTORISCHE ERSCHLIESSUNG SÜDOSTEUROPAS, 1850–2000

Maximilian Hartmuth
Universität Wien / Projekt ERC#758099

Abstract. *Der Binnenbalkan war zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts einer zeitgenössischen Wortmeldung zufolge noch so wenig bekannt wie das Innere Afrikas. Die Tatsache, dass die Region überhaupt ein bedeutsames künstlerisches Erbe aufzuweisen hatte, schien nicht wenige der „Entdecker" zu überraschen. Ihre Karrieren waren meist mit der Reichshauptstadt verbunden, deren Einrichtungen die kunsthistorische Erschließung Südosteuropas vor dem ersten Weltkrieg maßgeblich förderten. Ziel meines Beitrags ist, das wissenschaftliche Interesse an der Region nach 1850 zu verfolgen und dabei auch der Frage nachzugehen, warum sich Wien, trotz vielsprechenden Anfängen und räumlicher Nähe, nicht dauerhaft als Zentrum der Balkan-Kunstgeschichtsforschung etablieren konnte.*

Keywords: Kunstgeschichte, Südosteuropa, Rudolf Eitelberger, Felix Kanitz, Josef Stryzgowski

Der vorliegende Aufsatz handelt von dem Interesse, das dem kulturellen Erbe der Balkanhalbinsel seitens der in Wien betriebenen Wissenschaft entgegengebracht wurde. Diese Auseinandersetzung beginnt um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts und verläuft sich Großteils in der Zwischenkriegszeit. So möchte ich auch ein scheinbares Paradoxon zur Sprache bringen: Vor der durch den Nationalsozialismus hervorgerufenen wissenschaftlichen Zäsur war Wien führend in der historischen Kunstforschung mit Balkanbezug. Vielleicht könnte man so weit gehen, zu behaupten, dass Wien durch diese Vorarbeiten geradezu prädestiniert war, das internationale Zentrum – oder zumindest *ein* internationales Zentrum – der Balkan-Kunstgeschichte zu werden. Dem war allerdings nicht so.

Im Nationalsozialismus darf hierfür nicht die alleinige Ursache gesucht werden, denn trotz eines beachtlichen *brain drain* gen Westen hatten die Professoren der Nachkriegszeit doch im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit studiert. Tatsächlich erfuhr die Wiener Kunstgeschichte um 1940 sogar noch einen gewissen Südosteuropa-Boom. Der Balkan blieb trotzdem eine Grauzone der internationalen Kunstgeschichtsforschung, obwohl eine solche Entwicklung (bzw. Nichtentwicklung) im Wien der franzisko-josephinischen Ära keineswegs vorgezeichnet war.

Ich schicke vorweg, dass meines Erachtens der Beitrag Südosteuropas mehr Beachtung verdient als bislang im kunsthistorischen Kanon abgebildet. Allerdings glaube ich, dass diese Nichtbeachtung weniger mit einem qualifizierbaren Desinteresse an den Kunstdenkmälern des Balkans zu tun hat, als mit einer Anschauung, die diese an den Rand statt ins Zentrum kunsthistorischer Betrachtung drängt. In diesem Sinne ist der vorliegende Beitrag zumindest im Entwurf weniger eine historische Detailstudie als der Versuch einer Archäologie eines Problems in der wissenschaftlichen Praxis.[1]

„EINE FÜR JENE GEGENDEN NICHT UNBEDEUTENDE BAUTHÄTIGKEIT"

Ich darf mit einer Feststellung beginnen: Die Entwicklung der Kunstgeschichte als Universitätsfach in Wien und die Erforschung der damals noch wenig bekannten Balkanhalbinsel begannen annähernd gleichzeitig. Bereits der erste ordentliche Professor der Kunstgeschichte in Wien, Rudolf Eitelberger (1817–1885), trug maßgeblich zur wissenschaftlichen Erschließung der südosteuropäischen Randgebiete der Monarchie bei. 1852 war der gebürtige Olmützer, der sich sein kunsthistorisches Wissen im Vormärz noch privat aneignen hatte müssen, auf die neue Lehrkanzel berufen worden, die damals dem Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung unterstellt war. Der Initiator des k. k. Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie (Museum für angewandte Kunst), der ebenso als Begründer der sogenannten Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte gilt, begann kurz nach seiner Berufung mit dem Bereisen Ungarns zu Forschungszwecken.

Das Ergebnis war für viele eine Überraschung, bescheinigte Eitelberger dem mittelalterlichen Ungarn doch „eine für jene Gegenden nicht unbedeutende Bauthätigkeit, die mich um so mehr überraschte, je weniger die Nachrichten inländischer oder ausländischer Schriftsteller eine solche erwarten liessen."[2] Die vorgefundenen Bauten (Abb. 1) hätten ihn „nicht bloss von der Unrichtigkeit der herrschenden Ansichten über dieselben überzeugt, sondern auch davon, dass Ungarn bedeutendere und interessantere Kunstdenkmale besitzt, als man im Lande selbst weiss." Die gängige Behauptung, dass in Ungarn ob der Kriege und Verwüstungen durch Mongolen, „Türken" und andere nichts erhalten geblieben wäre, sei demnach falsch.[3]

1 Dieser Text wurde am 29.11.2012 im Don Juan Archiv Wien unter dem Titel „Die kunsthistorische Entdeckung des Balkans durch die Wiener Wissenschaft nach 1850" vorgetragen.

2 Rudolf Eitelberger v. Edelberg, „Bericht über einen archäologischen Ausflug nach Ungarn in den Jahren 1854 und 1855", in *Jahrbuch der Kaiserl. Königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* I (1856), II. Abtheilung, 91.

3 Ebd., 93f. Für die von Eitelberger nicht wahrgenommenen Bemühungen im Lande selbst siehe Edit Szentesi: „Die Anfänge der institutionellen Denkmalpflege in Ungarn (die 1850–1860er Jahre)", in *The*

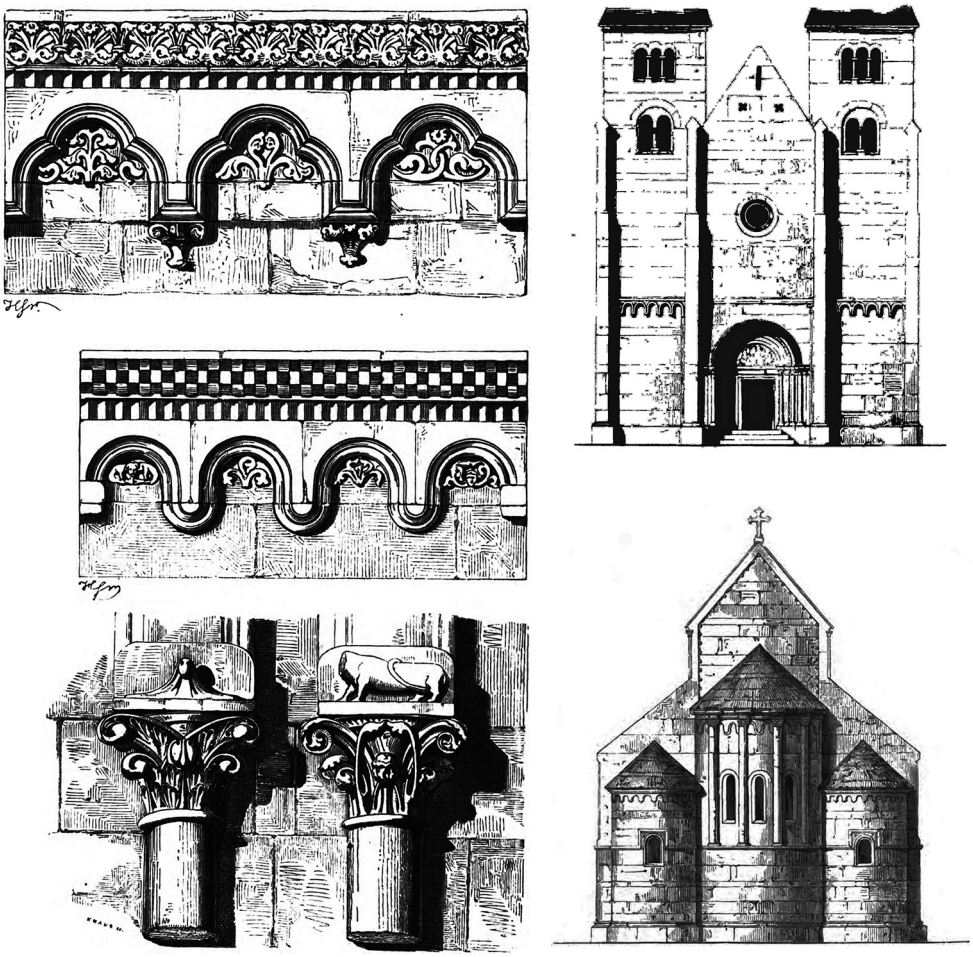


Abb. 1. Romanische Abteikirchen in Lébény und Ják, Westungarn, Ansichten und Details aus Eitelberger 1856, S. 108, 139.

Drei Jahre nach der Publikation seiner „ungarischen Streifen" im *Jahrbuch der Kaiserl. Königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* schickte ihn die „Commission", als Vorgänger des heutigen Bundesdenkmalamts, in ein anderes wenig bekanntes Kronland, nämlich nach Dalmatien. Das Ziel der zweimonatigen Sommerreise in Begleitung eines Architekten war abermals, die dortigen Baudenkmäler und ihren Erhaltungszustand zu erfassen.[4]

Nineteenth-Century Process of „Musealization" in Hungary and Europe, Hg. Ernő Marosi und Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest: Collegium Budapest, 2006), 235–248. Ich danke Robert Born für diesen Literaturhinweis.

4 Rudolf Eitelberger v. Edelberg, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Traù, Spalato und Ragusa* (Wien: K.-K. Hof- und Staatsdr., 1861).

Hier sollte man sich allerdings zunächst vor Augen führen, wie peripher und unterentwickelt das damalige Dalmatien war. Es war dies ein Land ohne Straßen und Eisenbahnen, ein Land mit wenigen Schriftkundigen, das 1797 gemeinsam mit Venedig eher zufällig infolge des Friedens von Campo Formio an Österreich gekommen war und auch die nächsten Jahrzehnte hindurch im Kernbereich der Monarchie wenig bekannt blieb. Eitelberger selbst fühlte sich trotz seines Appells an die Leser, das Land zu bereisen, bemüßigt, sie gleichzeitig zu warnen: Komfortable Quartiere oder gepflegtes Essen möge man sich hier nicht erwarten, und abseits der Küsten käme man auch mit Italienisch nur bedingt weiter.[5] Eitelbergers eigene Erkundungen beschränkten sich ebenfalls auf die Hafenstädte; das gebirgige, slawischsprachige Hinterland blieb dagegen unerforscht.

Es ist bezeichnend, dass Eitelberger in seinen Werken über Ungarn und Dalmatien den westchristlichen Kunstdenkmälern aus der ersten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends den Vorzug gab. Er suchte also gewissermaßen das Vertraute im Unvertrauten.[6]

„ÜBERRASCHEND ERGIEBIGE" STUDIEN JENSEITS DER KARPATEN

Die erwähnte *k. k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, die Eitelberger mit der Erkundung des südlichsten Kronlands beauftragt hatte, war aber auch am nahen Ausland interessiert. Fast zeitgleich, nämlich 1857, schickte sie den südsiebenbürgischen Landeskonservator Ludwig Reissenberger (1819–1895) in die Walachei, welche nach dem Krimkrieg (1853–1856) kurzzeitig unter österreichischer Militärverwaltung gestanden war, um die kuriose Klosterkirche von Curtea de Argeş (Abb. 2, 9) zu begutachten. Der Oberkommandant der donaumonarchischen Besatzungstruppen, ein Graf Coronini, hatte das eigenartige Äußere des Baudenkmals fotografisch dokumentieren lassen und die Abbilder zur *Commission* nach Wien geschickt.

Deren Interesse war damit geweckt, und so begehrte man in der Reichshauptstadt schließlich auch eine Dokumentation des Kircheninneren und eine Analyse des gesamten Bauwerks. Möglicherweise ging die Commission davon aus, dass die Kunstdenkmäler der Walachei bald in ihren Arbeitsbereich fallen würden. Der in Sibiu (Hermannstadt) als Gymnasiallehrer arbeitende Reissenberger wurde wohl

5 Ebd., 3–5.

6 Für eine ideologiekritischere Deutung im Kontext späthabsburgischer Kulturpolitik siehe Matthew Rampley, „Art History and the Politics of Empire: Rethinking the Vienna School", in *Art Bulletin* 91/4 (2009): 446–463; idem: „Dalmatia is Italian! The Politics of Art History in Austria-Hungary and South-Eastern Europe", in *Etudes Balkaniques* 4 (2008): 130–147.

Abb. 2. Klosterkirche Curtea de Argeş bei Piteşti, aus Reissenberger 1860, Tafel 4.

vor allem seiner geografischen Nähe wegen für beide Aufgaben verpflichtet. Die aus dieser Zusammenarbeit hervorgehende Monografie war so wegweisend, dass der Fürst des nun unabhängigen Rumänien für die Pariser Weltausstellung 1867 eine Übersetzung ins Französische anfertigen ließ.[7]

7 Ludwig Reissenberger, „Die bischöfliche Klosterkirche bei Kurtea de Argyisch in der Walachei", in *Jahrbuch der Kaiserl. Königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* 4 (1860):

Kurze Zeit zuvor war Josef Hlávka (1831–1908), einer der großen Bauunternehmer der Ringstraßenzeit, in die Bukowina gereist, wo er die Residenz des orthodoxen Metropoliten errichten sollte. Für Details dieses nichtkatholischen Repräsentationsbaus, der heute die Universität Czernowitz beherbergt, ließ er sich vorgeblich vom dortigen Architekturerbe inspirieren. Die Ergebnisse dieser Studienreise wurden 1866 in einer ersten Abhandlung über die „griechisch-orientalischen Kirchenbauten in der Bukowina" publiziert.[8]

Dieselben Denkmäler faszinierten zwei Jahrzehnte später auch den aus dem Waldviertel gebürtigen Carl Romstorfer (1854–1916), den Wien als Lehrer an der Staatsgewerbeschule nach Czernowitz geschickt hatte. Das k. k. Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht spendierte ihm 1887 eine Forschungsreise ins benachbarte Königreich Rumänien, um die dortigen Denkmäler mit denen in der habsburgischen Bukowina in Verbindung zu bringen.[9]

Der Begriff Bukowina war übrigens nichts anderes als ein kakanischer Neologismus, der den historischen Kern der Moldau bezeichnen sollte. Dass der Kunsthistoriker über die Grenze schauen musste, um etwas Sinnreiches über die Entwicklung dieser Kunst sagen zu können, darf deshalb nicht überraschen. Vielleicht sollte man es Romstorfer, der auch Konstantinopel und Südrussland in seine Forschungen einbezog, zugutehalten, dass er nicht etwa vom „bukowinischen", sondern vom „moldauisch-byzantinischen" Stil schrieb. In seinem Kapitel im Bukowina-Band der *Österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in Wort und Bild* bewarb Romstorfer das Studium dieser wenig bekannten Baudenkmäler schließlich als „überraschend ergiebiges".[10] Wie in Ungarn, der Walachei und später in Serbien war man also abermals überrascht, dass diese im Zuge der Neuzeit peripherisierten Gebiete einst Stätten bemerkenswerter Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der Kunst gewesen waren.

177–224; idem: *L'église du monastère èpiscopal de Kurtea d'Argis en Valachie* (Wien: C. Gerold, 1867). Für die siebenbürgischen Zusammenhänge siehe auch Robert Born, „Die Kunsthistoriographie in Siebenbürgen und die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte von 1850 bis 1945", in *Die Etablierung und Entwicklung des Faches Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland, Polen und Mitteleuropa*, Hg. Wojciech Bałus und Joanna Wolańska (Warschau: Inst. Sztuki Polskiej Akad. Nauk, 2010), 349–380.

8 Josef Hlávka, „Die griechisch-orientalischen Kirchenbauten in der Bukowina", in *Österreichische Revue* 4 (1866): 106–120.

9 Karl A. Romstorfer, „Die moldauisch-byzantinische Baukunst", in *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 61 (1896): 82–96. Siehe auch Robert Born, „The Vienna School of Art History and Bukovina", in *History of Art History in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe* 2, Hg. Jerzy Malinowski (Toruń: Tako, 2012), 127–135.

10 Karl A. Romstorfer, „Bildende Kunst", in *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bukowina* (Wien: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1899), 409–458.

BAUTEN AN DER BRUCHLINIE VON OST UND WEST

Doch kommen wir zurück zur Generation Eitelbergers und Reissenbergers und damit zum habsburgischen Neoabsolutismus der 1850er- und 1860er-Jahre. Der bei Weitem bedeutendste Beitrag zur kunsthistorischen Balkankunde dieser Zeit kam von dem aus Budapest gebürtigen Felix Kanitz (1829–1904). 1859 reiste er erstmals nach Serbien und schuf in der Folge die Grundlagen für die kunsthistorische Erschließung dieses Gebiets. Sein knappes, aber aufwändig illustriertes Erstwerk *Serbiens byzantinische Monumente* erschien 1862 und war so epochal wie bald überholt. Beschrieben und abgebildet wurden sechs Denkmäler, die zwischen dem 12. und dem 15. Jahrhundert entlang der Morava unter verschiedenen serbischen Herrschern erbaut wurden (Abb. 3, 4, 5).[11]

Sieht man sich die Lage der erwähnten Denkmäler an, wird klar, dass sich Kanitz auf dieser Forschungsreise nur innerhalb des *paşalık* von Belgrad, also dem bereits unter der Regierung eines nichtosmanischen Würdenträgers stehenden Nordteil Serbiens, in den Grenzen von 1833, bewegt hatte. Die noch *de facto* und *de iure* unter osmanischer Herrschaft stehenden Gebiete, darunter die für die serbische Kunstgeschichte wichtigen Denkmäler in der Umgebung von Städten wie Novi Pazar, Prishtina und Skopje, hatte Kanitz nicht bereist. Dadurch fehlte Kanitz das Verbindungsstück zwischen den hochmittelalterlichen Bauten am Ibar-Fluss und den spätmittelalterlichen Werken an der Morava; also das 14. Jahrhundert, in dem sich Serbien endgültig von der Adria ab- und Konstantinopel zuwandte. Da sich Kanitz kaum über diese doch eher grundlegenden Unterschiede zwischen den Gebäuden äußerte, fällt das nicht sofort auf. Er unternahm keinen Versuch, die sechs Gebäude in einen entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang zu bringen.

„SCHABLONENARTIGE SCHÖPFUNGEN", DIE „BLOS INSTINCTIV VEREHRT" WERDEN

Architektur wie Freskenmalerei werden in Kanitz' serbischem Frühwerk als Echo Konstantinopels in der Provinz dargestellt. Die Architektur befand er ob der Lage der Denkmäler an der Bruchlinie zwischen Ost- und Westkirche als für die Kunsthistoriografie höchst interessant. Zu den Wandmalereien, deren relative Ähnlichkeit er mit „sklavische[r] Unterordnung von Seite der Maler gegenüber den überkommenen traditionellen Formen" erklären will, äußert er sich allerdings wenig wertschätzend:

11 F[elix] Kanitz, *Serbiens byzantinische Monumente* (Wien: Hof- & Staatsdruckerei, 1862).

Abb. 3. Kruševac, Hofkapelle des Fürsten Lazar, 14. Jh., Seitenansicht aus Kanitz 1862, Tafel VIII.

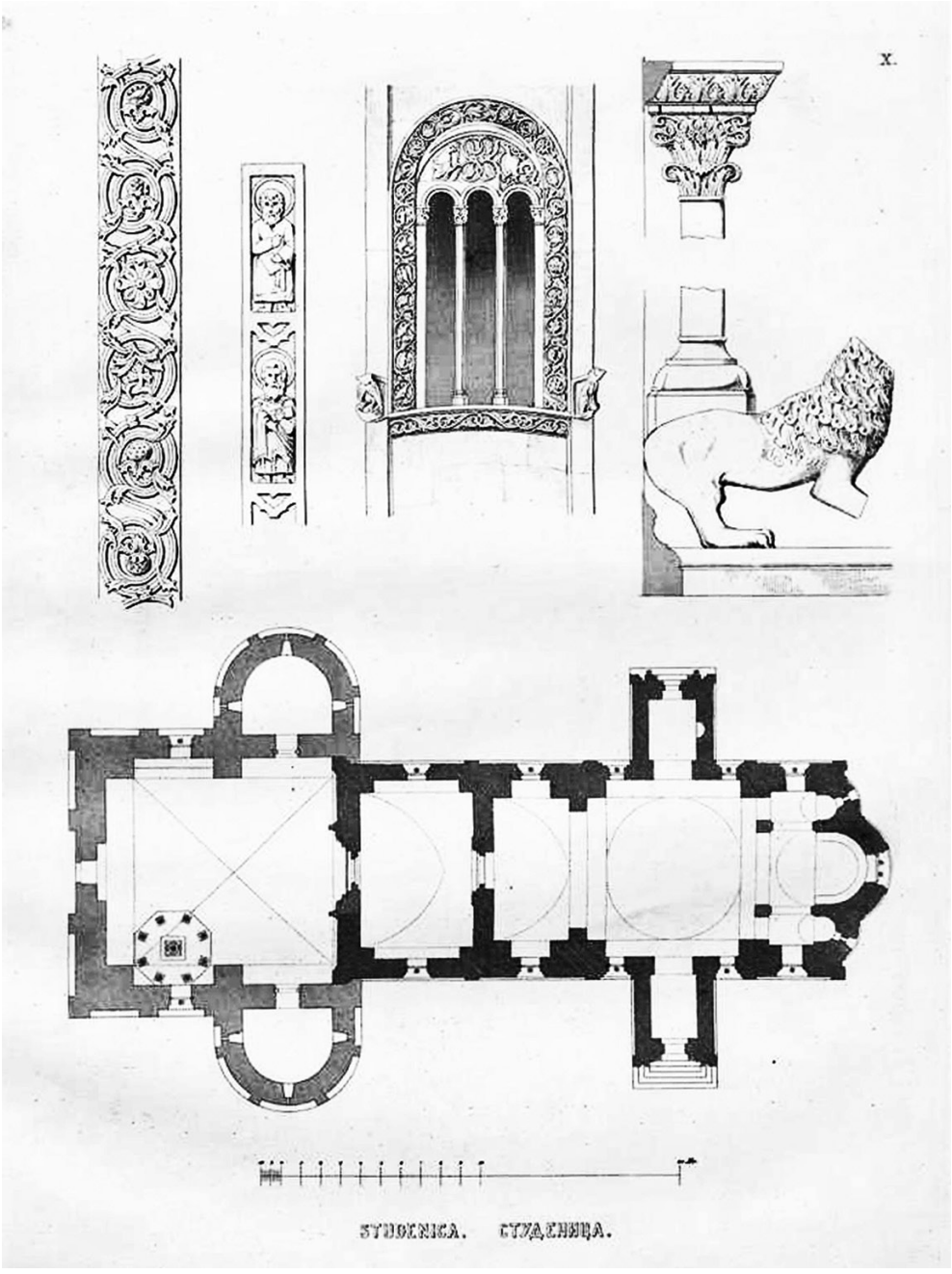


Abb. 4. Studenica-Klosterkirche bei Kraljevo, 13. Jh. Grundriss und Details aus Kanitz 1862, Tafel X.

Abb. 5. Manasija-Klosterkirche bei Jagodina, Anfang 15. Jh., Ausschnitt, Ansicht des Inneren aus Kanitz 1862, Tafel V.

> Unter solchen Verhältnissen, bei einer so engen Begrenzung des selbstthätigen geistigen Schaffens, musste die Kunst zum Kunsthandwerke herabsinken, und sie concentriert sich dann auch nur in einer bewunderswerthen, selbst von mittelmässigen Talenten geübten vollkommenen Beherrschung des Stoffes und der Technik; sie lässt uns aber auch von unserem Standpunkte aus das schematische, schablonenartige ihrer Schöpfungen nie vergessen.[12]

Kanitz bedachte auch die Auswirkung seines Werks im Land selbst. Ihm war aufgefallen, dass die Denkmäler in Serbien, wie er schreibt, „blos instinctiv verehrt" und nicht „ihrer Genesis und ihrem kunstgeschichtlichen Inhalte nach verstanden" würden. Das hätte leider Auswirkungen auf die „styl- und formlosen Neubauten", welche „weder dem Rituale des griechischen Cultus, noch der mit diesem eng verknüpften byzantinischen Bauweise entsprechen". Kanitz' „unter Opfern mancher Art unternommene[r] Versuch zur Auffüllung einer wesentlichen Lücke der Kunstgeschichte" sollte „einer wohlwollenden Aufnahme in der kunstliebenden Welt begegnen" und „wohlthätigen Einfluss üben auf die weltlichen und geistlichen Kreise, welchen die Erhaltung der ehrwürdigen Monumente und die Conception und Ausführung neu zu schaffender Kirchenbauten obliegt!"[13]

„MIT ALLERHÖCHSTER GENEHMIGUNG"

Erwähnenswert ist allenfalls noch ein adrett gestaltetes Deckblatt (Abb. 6), auf dem Kanitz kundtat, dass das Werk „Mit Allerhöchster Genehmigung Seiner Kaiserlich-Königlich-Apostolischen Maiestät FRANZ JOSEPH I." entstanden war und/oder publiziert wurde. Es wäre davon auszugehen, dass es sich hier nicht um eine „Genehmigung" im Sinne einer Erlaubnis handelte, denn einer solchen bedurfte es wohl auch im Neoabsolutismus nicht. Vielmehr sollte zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, dass es dem Kaiser „genehm" war, dass ein solches Werk erschien, und zwar im Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei; also dass der Kaiser seine Veröffentlichung begrüßte.

Auffällig ist auch, dass einer der vielen Titel des Kaisers in roten Lettern hervorgehoben wird, und zwar „Gross-Woiwod der Serbischen Woiwodschaft". Ein solches Kronland war 1849 als Kompromiss mit den Aufständischen gegründet, 1860 aber bereits wieder aufgelöst worden. Dass es sich weiterhin in der offiziellen Aufzählung der Kronen, Titel und Würden wiederfand, muss nicht überraschen, denn Franz Joseph ließ sich auch nach Solferino noch Großherzog von Toskana nennen, bis zum Ende der Monarchie selbst „König von Jerusalem"!

12 Ebd., 16–17. Im letzten Satz findet sich übrigens eine für Kanitz' Werk eher unübliche Kontrastierung „unserer" mit „ihrer" Kultur.

13 Ebd., 5–6.

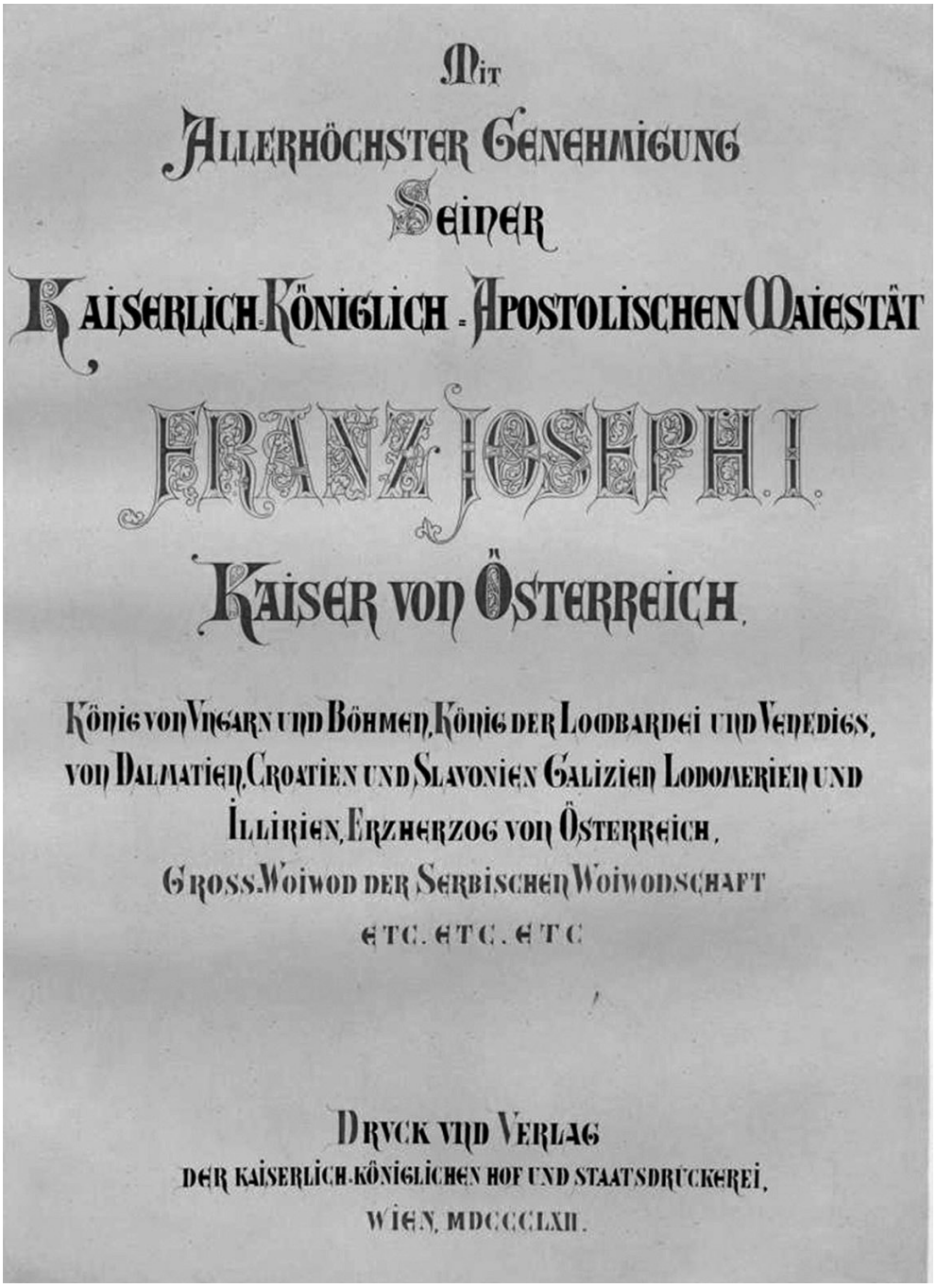


Abb. 6. Deckblatt (Bildteil) von Kanitz 1862.

Warum des Kaisers Verbindung mit den Serben hier hervorgehoben wird, bleibt unklar. Sicher gab es in den Beziehungen zwischen dem habsburgischen Zentrum und den Völkerschaften der Peripherie nach 1848 einiges zu glätten; aber da nicht deutlich erkennbar ist, von wem diese Bezugnahme ausging, lässt sich kaum Endgültiges dazu sagen. Festzuhalten wäre nur, dass es bei dieser Publikation anscheinend – ähnlich wie bei den Veröffentlichungen Reissenbergers und Eitelbergers – Unterstützung seitens des „Zentrums" gab. Im Vorwort anerkennt Kanitz auch die Ermutigung und Förderung, die er durch die Slawisten Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864) und Pavel Jozef Šafárik (1795–1861) erfuhr, um dieses „schwierige Werk" zu vollbringen.[14] Das überrascht wenig, zeigt aber, dass es für Wissensschaffung auf diesem Gebiet durchaus Förderer und Publikum gab, auch (oder vor allem) in der Reichshauptstadt.

BALKANKUNST ALS AUSDRUCK „POLITISCH-RELIGIÖSER SCHWANKUNGEN"

Kanitz führte seine Erkundungen im serbischen Siedlungsgebiet auch nach der Veröffentlichung seines Erstwerks fort. Bereits 1863 reiste er ins ungarische Syrmien, wo er in den Waldtälern der Fruška Gora am rechten Ufer der mittleren Donau eine „zweite Periode serbischer Bauthätigkeit" entdeckt zu haben glaubte. Ein vorläufiges Resümee wird in einem vier Jahre später publizierten Reisebuch gezogen, in dem er auch frohgemut anmerkt, dass seine kritischen Anmerkungen bezüglich der Kirchenneubauten und insbesondere seine Anregung, sich auf den mittelalterlichen Baustil zu besinnen, im nun zumindest *de facto* unabhängigen Serbien plötzlich ernst genommen würden: Der serbische Fürst hätte dekretiert, dass alle neuen Kirchen fortan „im byzantinischen Style" erbaut werden müssten.[15]

Zwischen 1870 und 1874 bereiste Kanitz schließlich das noch tatsächlich osmanische Bulgarien, in den späten 1880ern dann die 1878 Serbien zugesprochenen Gebiete südlich von Niš. Das Kosovo und Makedonien, zwei für die serbische Kunstgeschichte zentrale Gebiete, wurden hingegen vernachlässigt. Sie wurden mittlerweile aber auch von anderen bereist und beschrieben; für Kanitz selbst gab es nichts mehr zu „entdecken".

Ein finales Statement über die Entwicklungsstufen serbischer Kunst findet sich im 1904, also in seinem Todesjahr erschienenen ersten Band seiner Trilogie mit dem Titel *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk: von der Römerzeit bis zur Ge-*

14 Ebd., 5–6.

15 F[elix] Kanitz, *Serbien: historisch-ethnographische Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1859–1868* (Leipzig: Fries, 1868), 726–744.

genwart.[16] Der serbischen Baukunst werden drei „wirklich charakteristische Abschnitte" bescheinigt: 1. eine „byzantinische Županen-Frühperiode" (900–1180), 2. eine „westliche byzantinisch-romanische Nemanjiden-Glanzepoche" (1180–1370), die durch einen Stildualismus auffällt, und 3. eine „östliche Lazariden- und sirmische Spätzeit". Die Glanzepoche sah Kanitz „namentlich dadurch charakterisiert, dass neben streng byzantinischen Bauten auch solche mit ausgesprochen romanischen oder gotischen Elementen entstanden, welche die politisch-religiösen Schwankungen der Nemanjidenherrscher zwischen Osten und Westen, zwischen Byzanz und Rom zu vollstem Ausdruck bringen."[17] Kanitz' Periodisierung wurde ein paar Jahre später von jener des Franzosen Gabriel Millet (1867–1953) überholt.[18] Dieser schlug jedenfalls eine Dreiteilung nach rein formalen Kriterien vor, die erst in jüngster Zeit wieder hinterfragt wird.[19]

WEGE DER KUNST, UND IRRWEGE IHRER HISTORIKER

Der nach Kanitz bedeutendste Wiener Wissenschaftler, der sich mit der Kunstgeschichte des Balkans eingehend beschäftigte, war der umstrittene Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941). Da dieser in der 1930ern mit dem Nationalsozialismus sympathisierte, erinnerte man sich im Wien der Nachkriegszeit weniger gerne an ihn. Im ersten Viertel des 20. Jahrhunderts war der gebürtige Schlesier allerdings ein international bekannter „Star" der Kunstgeschichtsforschung gewesen. Als einer der Ersten hatte er es gewagt, den aus dem Humanismus hervorgegangenen westlich-mediterran dominierten Kanon der jungen Wissenschaftsdisziplin zu hinterfragen. Zuweilen als „Orientalist" abgetan, interessierte sich Strzygowski weniger für eine bestimmte Region oder Epoche als für das, was wir heute Strukturen und Netzwerke nennen würden, und zwar in einem globalen Kontext. Es sollte deshalb auch nicht überraschen, dass die, die heute wieder eine Weltkunstgeschichte, also nicht nur eine Westeuropa-Kunstgeschichte fordern, weniger Probleme damit haben, Strzygowskis Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Fachs zu würdigen – idealerweise samt gebührender Kritik. In Armenien, der Türkei oder Kroatien hat man ihn eigentlich nie vergessen, denn er war einer der wenigen westlichen Forscher, die damals bereit waren, sich ernsthaft mit dem kulturellen Erbe dieser Länder auseinanderzusetzen.

16 Felix Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk: von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, 3 (Leipzig: B. Meyer, 1914), 773–808.

17 Ebd., 775–784.

18 Gabriel Millet, *L'ancien art serbe: Les eglises* (Paris: Boccard, 1919).

19 Vgl. etwa Bratislav Pantelić, *The Architecture of Dečani and the Role of Archbishop Danilo II* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2002).

Der Balkan war aber auch nur eine von mehreren Regionen, die Strzygowski interessierten. Detaillierte Arbeiten aus dem zweiten und dritten Jahrzehnt des vorigen Jahrhunderts behielten Südosteuropa aber immerhin eine bedeutungsvolle Rolle in der allgemeinen Kunstgeschichte vor: Für Strzygowski war der Balkan nicht nur Rezipient von Einflüssen, sondern ein Mittler zwischen Regionen und Traditionen. Selbst etwas Eigenes war zu entdecken.

Die Region bereiste er erstmals als gerade Habilitierter in den späten 1880ern. Die Aufenthalte in Dalmatien, Makedonien, Athen und Konstantinopel hatten aber vorerst keine bedeutenden Veröffentlichungen zur Folge. Allerdings scheinen sich Strzygowskis heterodoxe Interessen herumgesprochen zu haben: 1899 wurde er vom Wiener Slawisten Vatroslav Jagić (1838–1923) mit der Anfrage kontaktiert, die künstlerische Ausstattung eines spätmittelalterlichen serbischen Psalters auf ihre Veröffentlichungswürdigkeit hin zu beurteilen. Jagić hatte die Balkankommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien für eine Publikation des Psalters gewonnen, war aber ratlos im Hinblick auf die etwaige kunsthistorische Bedeutung der Miniaturen.

Heute gilt der sogenannte „Münchner Psalter“ (Abb. 7), der in einem Nachfolgestaat des Reiches des serbischen Zaren Dušan (1308–1355) gegen Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts entstanden war, als ein Hauptwerk der mittelalterlichen Buchmalerei in Serbien. Strzygowski, zum damaligen Zeitpunkt noch in Graz als erster Professor für Kunstgeschichte, hatte also zu Recht auf eine Publikation gedrängt. In seiner 1906 erschienenen Edition stellte er zudem die kontroverse These auf, der eher liberal gestaltete Psalter sei nicht das Produkt einer von Byzanz erhaltenen Kunst, sondern einer syrischen Tradition, die neben der byzantinischen im Mittelalter bestehen geblieben sei.[20]

„WARMES INTERESSE FÜR NATIONALE DENKMÄLER“

Erwähnenswert ist an dieser Stelle vielleicht auch, dass sich Strzygowski, der auch als einer der Gründerväter der islamischen Kunstgeschichte gilt, sich erstaunlich wenig für die damals noch auf österreichisch-ungarischem Boden – vor allem in Bosnien und Ungarn – befindlichen Kulturgüter aus osmanischer Zeit interessierte. Eine implizite Begründung für seine diesbezügliche Leidenschaftslosigkeit findet sich in einem 1911 publizierten Artikel, der angesichts seines Titels „Orientalische Kunst in Dalmatien“ eher enttäuscht. Strzygowski bleibt im ersten

20 Josef Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters der königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München: nach einer Belgrader Kopie ergänzt und im Zusammenhange mit der syrischen Bilderredaktion des Psalters untersucht* (Wien: Hölder, 1906).

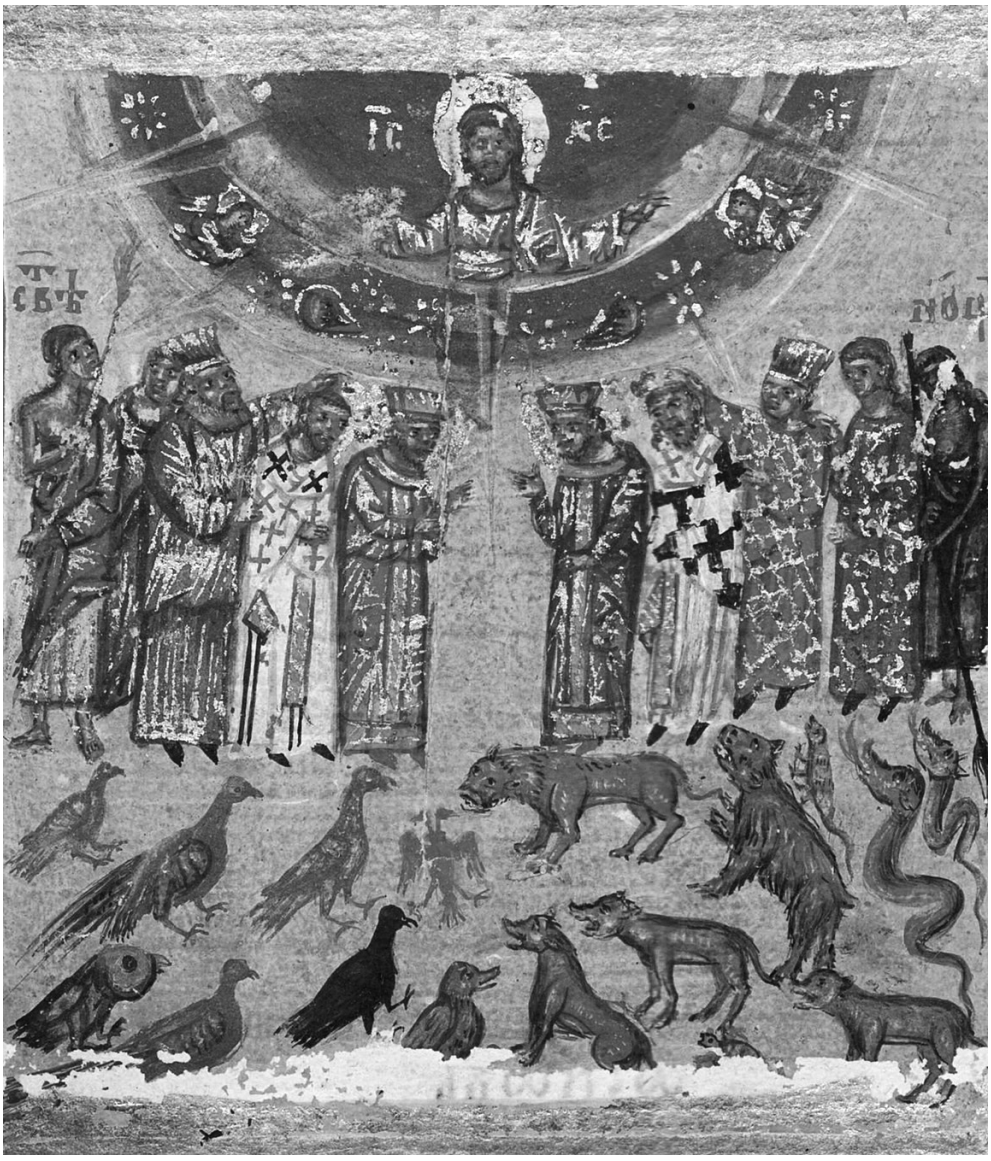


Abb. 7. Münchner bzw. Serbischer Psalter, 14 Jh., BSB-Hss Cod.slav. 4, S. 185v, verwendet als Titelblatt von Strzygowski 1906.

nachchristlichen Jahrtausend, sieht man von der abschließenden Erwähnung einer Moschee des 16. Jahrhunderts in Mostar ab. Enttäuscht war er nicht nur von ihrem Umfeld, dem „leider total europäisch überwucherten" Basarviertel der Stadt, sondern auch davon, dass sich in die „türkische Baukunst am Balkan" so stark

byzantinische Züge gemischt hätten, „daß es schwer hält, sich danach noch ein Bild der ursprünglichen Art islamischer Bauwerke zu machen."[21] Strzygowski postuliert hier eine Art islamische Kunstessenz, die man in von Muslimen errichteten Bauten suchen müsste. Das Interesse verlor sich also für ihn offenbar, sobald in etwas vermeintlich Reines etwas scheinbar Fremdes hineingemischt wurde.

Der Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs bewegte Strzygowski dann zu gleich mehreren Beiträgen mit Balkan-Bezug in der *Wiener Monatsschrift für den Orient*. Die Dringlichkeit der Erforschung des Austro-Balkans wurde nun hervorgestrichen; man müsse die orthodoxen und islamischen Völkerschaften der Region „durch Betätigung eines warmen Interesses für ihre nationalen Denkmäler" gewinnen, bevor das andere Mächte tun. Irrtümlich einen für Österreich-Ungarn günstigen Kriegsausgang antizipierend, vermittelt er eingangs Grundsätzliches über die serbische mittelalterliche Baukunst und Bauplastik und schickt die Erinnerung nach, auf diese bedeutenden Denkmäler sei bei zukünftigen Eroberungen Rücksicht zu nehmen.[22] Auch für Bulgarien, das er gerade bereist hatte, sollte man sich mehr interessieren, handle es sich dabei doch wahrscheinlich um Österreichs künftigen Nachbarn im Südosten.[23]

So wie man in Serbien den Franzosen Millet hofierte, so wurde der mittlerweile weltweit bekannte Strzygowski in Bulgarien empfangen. Ein amerikanischer Byzantinist hatte ihn zu einer gemeinsamen Studienreise eingeladen. Die „Beamten der Denkmalpflege", schreibt er, „waren überall bereitwillig zu unserer Verfügung und die Militärbehörden förderten unsere Absichten durch Beistellung eines Autos für die Tagesfahrt von Sofia nach Pirdop. So vereinigten sich weit über meine Erwartungen hinaus alle Kräfte, um mir rasch eine Übersicht über das im Lande vorhandene Denkmälermaterial zu verschaffen."[24]

„Wir müssen völlig umlernen": Südosteuropa als „Kunstvermittler ersten Ranges"

In einem 1915 erschienenen Aufsatz, der einer Grablege in Rumänien gewidmet ist, äußerte sich Strzygowski noch zur Kunstgeschichtsforschung am Balkan allge-

21 Josef Strzygowski, „Orientalische Kunst in Dalmatien", in *Dalmatien und das österreichische Küstenland: Vorträge gehalten im März 1910 anlässlich der 1. Wiener Universitätsreise*, Hg. Eduard Brückner (Wien: Deuticke, 1911), 153–168.

22 Josef Strzygowski, „Serbische Kulturbestrebungen aus der letzten Zeit vor dem Kriege", in *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 40 (1914): 243–245.

23 Josef Strzygowski, „Kulturarbeit in Bulgarien", in *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 40 (1914): 316–322.

24 Ebd., 316.

mein: Trotz bedeutender Fortschritte würde man sich noch zu sehr scheuen, den Ursprung der nationalen Kunstströmungen der „Balkanvölker" in Vorderasien, vornehmlich in Armenien und Persien, zu suchen. Die „Forschung über bildende Kunst", befand er, könne hier „klärend einwirken, wenn sie zeigt, daß nicht das Phantom Konstantinopel, in dem einst alle orientalischen und hellenistischen Ströme zusammenflossen, entscheidend ist, vielmehr in ersten Linie bestimmend für die einzelnen Balkangebiete und Mitteleuropa der direkte Zusammenhang mit dem Orient einer- und dem Abendland anderseits in Betracht kommt." Das Schwarze Meer sei „Kunstvermittler ersten Ranges" gewesen. Der Schluss: „Wir müssen vollständig umlernen".[25]

Drei Jahre später, im letzten Kriegsjahr, erschien Strzygowskis berühmtes Buch *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, in dem er schließlich die Behauptung aufstellte, der Zentralbau sei über Armenien und die Hagia Sophia über Peruštica bei Plovdiv nach Europa gekommen. Der Balkan wurde somit als „Träger" kunsthistorisch aufgewertet.[26] Kurz davor hatte Strzygowski einen frühmittelalterlichen Schatzfund in Albanien zum Anlass genommen, seine Überlegungen zum „Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser geistigen Lebens" zu Papier zu bringen. Das 1917 publizierte Buch *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung* war gewissermaßen sein Einstieg in das, was er „Nordforschung" nannte.[27]

VERGESSENE ZEUGNISSE „ALTSLAVISCHER" KUNST

Interessanterweise brachte ihn diese „Nordforschung" abermals nach Südosteuropa und vor allem ins nördliche Dalmatien, dessen eigentümliche frühmittelalterliche Kirchenbauten ihn seit seiner Studienreise 1889 angeblich nicht losgelassen hätten. Hatte er am Anfang des Weltkriegs noch für eine antirussische Allianz nichtslawischer Völker in Osteuropa und Vorderasien geworben,[28] erkannte er die Slawen nun, zumindest in ihren Ursprüngen, als „Nordvolk" an. Ähnlichkeiten zwischen der frühmittelalterlichen Bauplastik Kroatiens und Norwegens sah er als Beweis.

25 Josef Strzygowski, „Das Mausoleum König Carols von Rumänien", in *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 44 (1915): 46–48.

26 Josef Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa: Ergebnisse einer vom Kunsthistorischen Institut der Universität Wien 1913 durchgeführten Forschungsreise* (Wien: Schroll, 1918). Für eine kritische Bewertung siehe nun Christina Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

27 Josef Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung: Ziergeschichtliche Untersuchungen über den Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser geistigen Lebens. Anknüpfend an einen Schatzfund in Albanien* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1917).

28 Josef Strzygowski, *Die bildende Kunst des Ostens: Ein Überblick über die für Europa bedeutungsvollen Hauptströmungen* (Leipzig: Werner Klinkhardt, 1916), 64.

Während andere Nordvölker weiterhin ihre Bauten aus Holz errichteten, weshalb uns diese Kunstwerke leider nicht erhalten blieben, wären die Kroaten an der holzarmen Küste dazu gezwungen gewesen, mit Stein zu arbeiten. So, glaubte Strzygowski, hätte sich bei den Kroaten ein Zeugnis einer sonst verschwundenen „altslavischen Kunst" erhalten, also einer originären Volkskunst *vor* dem Einmischen Roms. Die hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Baudenkmäler der Serben und Bulgaren wären dieser Deutung zufolge hingegen schon Ausdruck einer vom Mittelmeer aus korrumpierten slawischen Kunst.[29]

Neben dem 1929 auf Deutsch erschienenen Werk über *Die altslavische Kunst* – mit dem programmatischen Untertitel *Ein Versuch ihres Nachweises* – äußerte er sich noch in zwei kürzeren Beiträgen über die dem Balkan zuzuweisende Rolle in der historischen Kunstforschung. Im ersten fordert er eine einheitliche Betrachtung des „Balkanbodens", in welcher nicht die wechselnden, sondern die „bleibenden Voraussetzungen des Balkanganzen" im Vordergrund stünden. Da der „slavische Künstler" nicht den Vorteil eines Hofhistorikers hatte, der von ihm berichtete, müsste man sich darauf besinnen, „dass die Bildende Kunst ein treueres Abbild vom tiefsten Grund der Triebkräfte des Lebens gibt als das vielfach überlegte Wort." Zumindest täte dies der „Mensch von heute", der gegen die geschriebene Quelle misstrauisch geworden ist – also Strzygowski selbst.[30]

Im jüngeren der beiden Artikel spricht er von drei „Schichten" – einer (alt) griechischen, einer byzantinischen und einer kroatischen – und will wissen, ob der Balkan an der Herausbildung einer dieser Schichten als „Erreger" maßgebend beteiligt war. Überraschend ist bei diesem 1927 erschienenen Artikel aber vor allem, dass man plötzlich nicht nur von konkurrierenden Kulturen liest, sondern auch von Oberschichten und Unterschichten, die unterschiedliche Geschmäcker hatten oder propagierten.[31] War Strzygowski vielleicht im „Roten" Wien der 1920er-Jahre bewusst geworden, dass „Kulturen" nicht die einzigen Geschichtsakteure sind, sondern dass es auch innerhalb nationalstaatlich organisierter Gesellschaften Gruppen gibt, die durch ihre sozioökonomische Stellung bedingt andere Kunstformen fördern bzw. fordern?

29 Josef Strzygowski, *Die altslavische Kunst: Ein Versuch ihres Nachweises* (Augsburg: Filser, 1929).

30 Josef Strzygowski, „Die Stellung des Balkans in der Kunstforschung", in *Strenna Buliciana (Bulićev Zbornik): Commentationes gratulatoriae Francisco Bulic ob XV vitae lustra feliciter peracta oblatae a discipulis et amicis a. d. IV non. oct. MCMXXI*, Hg. Michele Abramic und Viktor Hoffiler (Zagreb: Zaklada Tiskare Narodnih Novina, 1924).

31 Josef Strzygowski, „Der Balkan im Lichte des Forschung über bildende Kunst", in *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 49 (1927): 3–41.

„SÜDOSTARBEIT" ALS „NORDFORSCHUNG"

Strzygowski wurde jedenfalls nicht zum Marxisten. Die Titel seiner Publikationen nach seiner Emeritierung 1933 sprechen eine völlig konträre Sprache:[32] *Aufgang des Nordens: Lebenskampf eines Naturforschers um ein deutsches Weltbild* (1936), *Dürer und der nordische Schicksalshain* (1937), *Nordischer Heilbringer und Bildende Kunst* (1939) oder *Die deutsche Nordseele: Das Bekenntnis eines Kunstforschers* (1940).

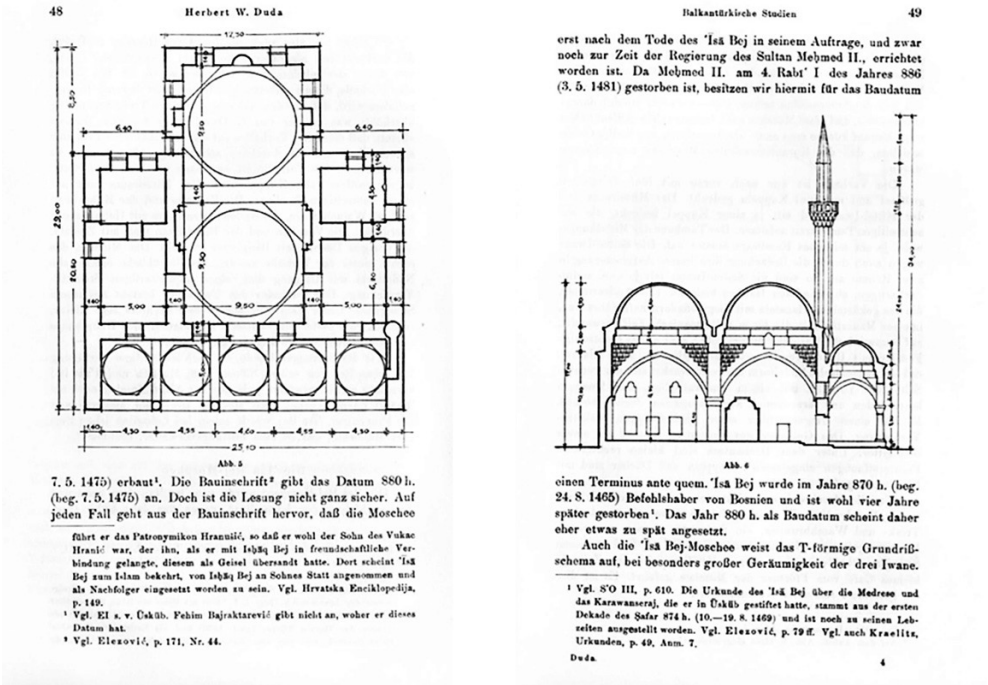
Nach dem „Anschluss" Österreichs an Hitler-Deutschland 1938 wurde die „Südostarbeit" vom Reichserziehungsminister zur zukünftigen Hauptaufgabe der Wiener Universität erklärt; in der Autarkiepolitik des Dritten Reichs war der Balkan nämlich als Absatzmarkt und natürlicher Rohstofflieferant vorgesehen. 1939 beschloss man, die Strategie eines „Vorstoß[es] der deutschen Wissenschaft" gegen die am Balkan vorherrschende französische Kunstgeschichte in Form eines Vierjahresplans umzusetzen. Neben einem Quellenbuch, einer umfassenden Bibliografie und einem regionalen Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler, einem „Balkan-Dehio" sozusagen, kündigte auch der nunmehrige Ordinarius Hans Sedlmayr (1896–1984) eigens verfasste Monografien über die „altbulgarische" Kunst und über „das mittelbyzantinische Kirchengebäude und die Kunst der Slaven" an. Derselbe hatte sich bereits anlässlich seiner Ernennung als Nachfolger auf der Lehrkanzel seines Lehrers Julius von Schlosser (1866–1938) für die Wiederaufnahme byzantinisch-osteuropäischer Studien nach der Pensionierung Strzygowskis eingesetzt. 1938 habilitierte er den Byzantinisten Otto Demus (1902–1990), der dann allerdings nach England emigrierte; 1941 setzte Sedlmayr die Anstellung in Wien des vor der sowjetischen Besatzung aus Lemberg geflohenen Wladimir Sas-Zaloziecky (1896–1959) durch, der sich ebenfalls mit der byzantinischen und osteuropäischen Kunstgeschichte beschäftigte. Die angekündigten Publikationen Sedlmayrs, der ob seiner NSDAP-Mitgliedschaft nach dem Krieg das Institut verlassen musste, erschienen nie.[33]

STÜCKWERKE

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg fehlt die systematische Auseinandersetzung mit Südosteuropa als kunstproduzierender Region, was allerdings nicht heißen soll, dass nicht gelegentlich interessante Einzelwerke erschienen wären. Exemplarisch

32 Aus dieser Zeit stammt auch der hier sonst nicht weiter behandelte Aufsatz „Balkankunst: das Ende von Byzanz und der Anfang des Neuhellenismus in Europa", in *Revue internationale des études balkaniques* 1 (1935): 10–21.

33 Hans Aurenhammer, „Hans Sedlmayr und die Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Wien 1938–1945", in *Kunstgeschichte an den Universitäten im Nationalsozialismus*, Hg. Jutta Held und Martin Papenbrock (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2004 = *Kunst und Politik: Jahrbuch der Guernica-Gesellschaft* 5), 166–168.



48 Herbert W. Duda

Abb. 5

7. 5. 1475) erbaut[1]. Die Bauinschrift[2] gibt das Datum 880 h. (beg. 7. 5. 1475) an. Doch ist die Lesung nicht ganz sicher. Auf jeden Fall geht aus der Bauinschrift hervor, daß die Moschee

führt er das Patronymikon Hranušić, so daß er wohl der Sohn des Vukac Hranić war, der ihn, als er mit Isḥāq Bej in freundschaftliche Verbindung gelangte, diesem als Geisel übersandt hatte. Dort scheint 'Isā Bej zum Islam bekehrt, von Isḥāq Bej an Sohnes Statt angenommen und als Nachfolger eingesetzt worden zu sein. Vgl. Hrvatska Enciklopedija, p. 149.

[1] Vgl. EI s. v. Üsküb. Fehim Bajraktarević gibt nicht an, woher er dieses Datum hat.

[2] Vgl. Elezović, p. 171, Nr. 44.

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erst nach dem Tode des 'Isā Bej in seinem Auftrage, und zwar noch zur Zeit der Regierung des Sultan Meḥmed II., errichtet worden ist. Da Meḥmed II. am 4. Rabī' I des Jahres 886 (3. 5. 1481) gestorben ist, besitzen wir hiermit für das Baudatum

Abb. 6

einen Terminus ante quem. 'Isā Bej wurde im Jahre 870 h. (beg. 24. 8. 1465) Befehlshaber von Bosnien und ist wohl vier Jahre später gestorben[1]. Das Jahr 880 h. als Baudatum scheint daher eher etwas zu spät angesetzt.

Auch die 'Isā Bej-Moschee weist das T-förmige Grundrißschema auf, bei besonders großer Geräumigkeit der drei Iwane.

[1] Vgl. SO III, p. 610. Die Urkunde des 'Isā Bej über die Medrese und das Karawanseraj, die er in Üsküb gestiftet hatte, stammt aus der ersten Dekade des Ṣafar 874 h. (10.—19. 8. 1469) und ist noch zu seinen Lebzeiten ausgestellt worden. Vgl. Elezović, p. 79 ff. Vgl. auch Kraelitz, Urkunden, p. 49, Anm. 7.

Duda. 4

Abb. 8. Skopje, Stiftungsbau (*İmaret*) des İsa Beg, 15. Jh., Grundriss und Schnitt in Duda 1949, S. 48f.

könnten etwa die Studien des Wiener Orientalisten Herbert Duda (1900–1975) genannt werden, der sich als von Hitler auf den Balkan geschickter Soldat den islamischen Baudenkmälern Makedoniens und Bulgariens angenommen hatte (Abb. 8). Seine Studien zu Moscheen in Skopje und Šumen sind Pionierswerk, nahmen aber nach seiner Rückkehr nach Wien ein abruptes Ende.[34]

Erwähnenswert ist auch eine Monografie über die christliche Baukunst des Balkans, die nach dem Krieg von Sas-Zaloziecky verfasst wurde. Zuerst Interimistischer Institutsleiter in Wien, wurde er schließlich zum Ordinarius in Graz ernannt.[35] Sein Buch findet sich allerdings nicht einmal in der Bibliografie des jüngst publizierten neuen Standardwerks zum Thema von Slobodan Ćurčić.[36] Gleichzeitig gab es übrigens auch in Wien einen Byzantinisten als Ordinarius, nämlich den aus dem englischen Exil zurückgekehrten Otto Demus. Dieser inter-

34 Herbert W. Duda, *Balkantürkische Studien* (Wien: Rohrer, 1949).

35 Wladimir Sas-Zaloziecky, *Die byzantinische Baukunst in den Balkanländern und ihre Differenzierung unter abendländischen und islamischen Einwirkungen* (München: Oldenbourg, 1955).

36 Slobodan Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans. From Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2010).

essierte sich jedoch eher für die Kunst Konstantinopels, Griechenlands und Italiens als für den Balkan.[37]

Ohne einzelne Leistungen (vor allem der Byzantinisten) schmälern zu wollen – man denke etwa die Monografie Helmut und Heide Buschhausens über die Marienkirche im albanischen Apollonia,[38] die in Albanien einen kleinen kunsthistorischen Skandal auslöste,[39] weil in ihr keine Albaner erwähnt werden –, darf gefragt werden, warum Wien trotz der Vorarbeiten von Pionieren wie Kanitz oder Strzygowski nie so richtig zu einem internationalen Zentrum der historischen Kunstforschung mit Balkanbezug wurde. Kanitz jedenfalls brachte keine Schüler hervor; wohl hatte er es als begüterter Fabrikantensohn nicht nötig gehabt, an der Universität zu unterrichten. Auch bei den anderen Erwähnten handelte sich es im Grunde genommen um „Einzeltäter", die ihr Südosteuropa-Interesse nicht an eine jüngere Generation weitergaben.

Bei Strzygowski war das aber anders; er ermöglichte Dutzenden fähigen Dissertanden den Abschluss. Allerdings fühlten sich viele von ihnen bemüßigt, sich nach dem „Nordwerk" seiner Spätzeit von ihrem Lehrer zu distanzieren. Ferner war es sicher ein Problem, dass seine Behauptungen selten auf konkreten Beispielen und gesicherten Informationen basierten. Das macht viele seiner Schlüsse nicht nachvollziehbar, seine Essays längerfristig nur vom wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Standpunkt aus gesehen interessant. Zu viel wurde auf der Basis von zu wenig behauptet.

Leider überschattet das auch seine beachtenswerten Bemühungen in Richtung einer Weltkunstgeschichte. Solche wurden zwar von der 1968er-Generation, die sich an Strzygowski schon nicht mehr erinnerte, wieder aufgegriffen, scheiterten aber ein zweites Mal, weshalb wir auch heute noch eine Kunstgeschichte haben, die sich in ihrem Mainstream nicht mit der Welt beschäftigt, sondern hauptsächlich mit Westeuropa.

SCHLUSS

Der Balkan konnte sich im kunsthistorischen Kanon nicht so recht etablieren. Meines Erachtens hat das einerseits mit der Tatsache zu tun, dass das Gros der durchaus wertvollen in der Region betriebenen Forschungen traditionell nur in

37 Vgl. etwa Demus' wichtiges Werk *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London: Kegan, 1947).

38 Heide und Helmut Buschhausen, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien: Byzantiner, Normannen und Serben im Kampf um die Via Egnatia* (Wien: Verl. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1976).

39 Gjergj Frashëri, „Y a-t-il une architecture albanaise au moyen-âge?", in *Lettres Albanaises* 4 (1983): 154–187.

den Landessprachen publiziert wurde (und wird), andererseits auch damit, dass die Frage des Verhältnisses zwischen Balkan und Byzanz und die diesbezüglichen Implikationen für die Kunsthistoriografie ungelöst blieb. Heute fällt das christliche Kunstschaffen am vormodernen Balkan zumeist in die Domäne der Byzanzforschung, einem mittlerweile gut etablierten Außenseiter in der institutionalisierten Kunstgeschichte.

Sieht man sich die nicht zu leugnenden Überschneidungen an, ist das nicht grundsätzlich falsch: Bulgaren, Serben und Russen erhielten das Christentum bekanntlich von Byzanz. Die Taufe dieser Gebiete machte sie zum Ziel byzantinischer Kulturprodukte. Dem russisch-jugoslawischen Historiker Dimitri Obolensky zufolge entstand dadurch eine große Teile Osteuropas einschließende Kulturregion, die er „Byzantine commonwealth" nannte.[40] Diese ist großteils mit jenem Raum ident, den Samuel Huntington in seinem Werk *Clash of Civilizations* simplistisch als orthodoxen Zivilisationsblock darstellte.[41] Heruntergespielt wurden in beiden Fällen die Konflikte, die Konstantinopel trotz seines Hochkulturmonopols in Südosteuropa auszutragen hatte. So wäre etwa zu fragen, ob man vielleicht eher von einem dialektischen Verhältnis zwischen Byzanz und dem Balkan sprechen sollte. Ist die von den mittelalterlichen Balkanherrschern geförderte Kunst tatsächlich als „byzantinisch" zu bezeichnen, oder war Byzanz eher ihr hauptsächlicher Bezugspunkt, und Assoziation bzw. Distanzierung wurde je nach Gegebenheit betrieben?

Höchstwahrscheinlich wäre es fruchtbarer, die christliche Kunst des Balkans weder als Nebenprodukt der byzantinischen noch als Ausdruck einer *sui generis* Nationalkultur zu verstehen, sondern stattdessen zu fragen, was regionale Eigenheiten und Abweichungen vom Hegemonialstil Konstantinopels in bestimmten Gegenden zu bestimmten Zeiten bedeuten. Ich denke hier etwa an romanische und gotische Dekorelemente in Serbien und islamische in der Walachei (Abb. 9), die im byzantinischen Durchschnitt doch ungewöhnliche Häufung von Porträts von Stiftern und Bischöfen in der serbischen Freskenmalerei und vielleicht auch das Revival des Bautyps Basilika im Zuge der Rebyzantinisierung des Binnenbalkans im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert.

Kanitz und Strzygowski haben sich mit diesen Fragen teilweise bereits beschäftigt; eine einfache und eindeutige Antwort finden wir allerdings bei ihnen auch nicht. Indes würde es sicher nicht schaden, den von ihnen begonnenen Diskurs weiterzudenken. Davon könnte nicht nur der Balkan, sondern die Kunst-

40 Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).

41 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

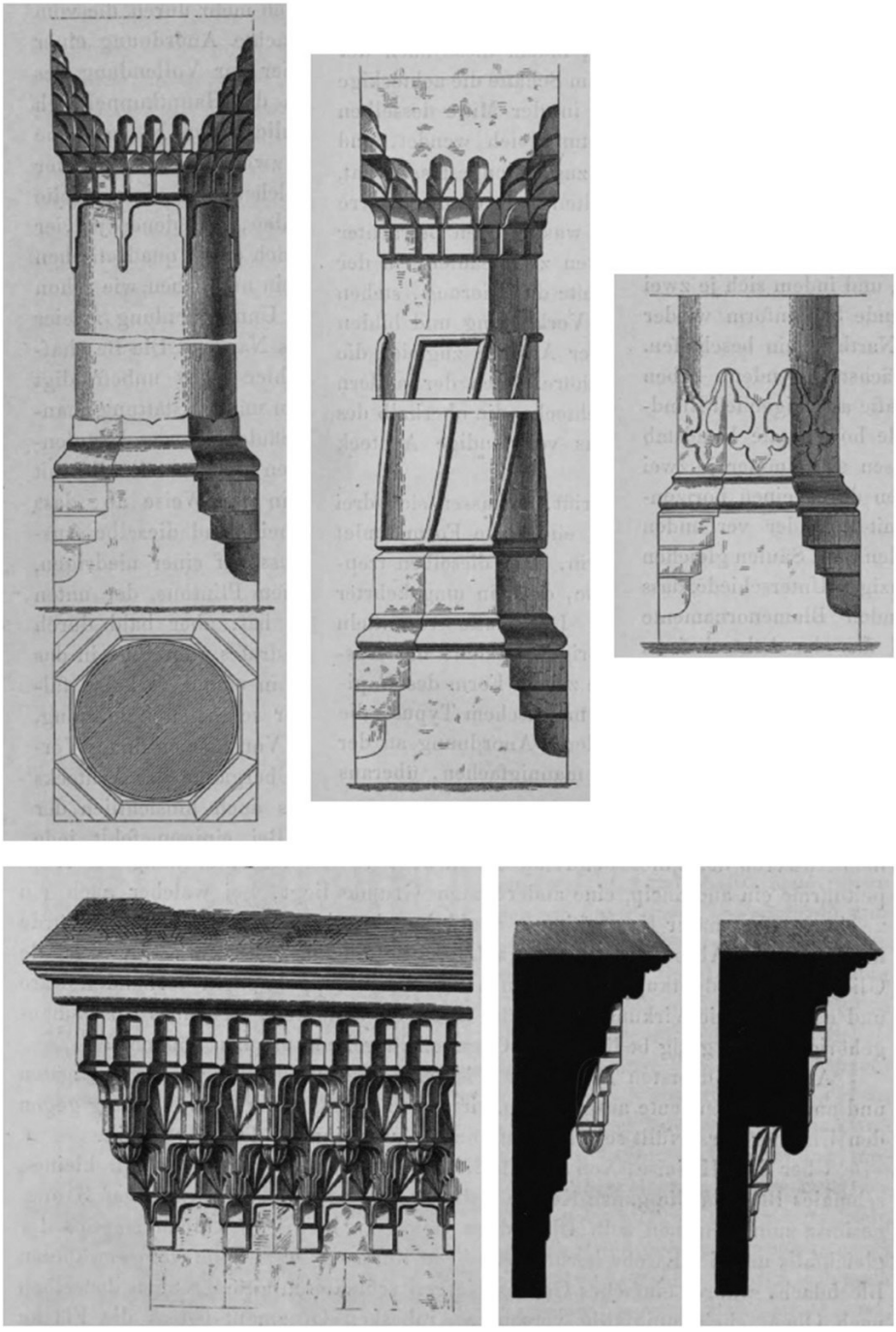

Abb. 9. Klosterkirche Curtea de Argeş, Details, aus Reissenberger 1860, S. 9f u. 23

geschichte allgemein profitieren. Die Lehre, die wir aus der Geschichte der historischen Kunstforschung mit Balkanbezug in Wien seit 1850 ziehen dürften, ist jedenfalls, dass institutionelle Rückendeckung und eine daraus erfolgende Kontinuität ausschlaggebende Faktoren für nachhaltigen Erkenntnisgewinn wären.

THE VISUAL CULTURES OF SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE: ELEMENTS OF DECENTRED THEORY CONSTRUCTION

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Abstract. *The so-called pictorial turn in human and social sciences is embedded in a rapidly changing societal environment that can be suggested incompletely by terms such as 'mediatization,' 'visualization,' and 'globalization.' The 'new media' have changed our lifeworlds within the previous two decades more than was the case in the thousands of years before.*

Theory construction in the field of visual cultures, however, is characterized by its Western bias; the history of non-Western visual cultures has been understood as deficit history at best or has simply been ignored. Therefore, a decentred theory construction, in the sense of one not based on Western visual cultures, seems to be more essential than ever. My contribution intends to address several vertices which may contribute to a historical construction relevant to present-day theory. In this regard we are still only at the beginning of the beginning. To launch my ambition as a theory constructionist, I would like to advance seven theses[1] *for discussion.*

Keywords: visual cultures, visual modernity, Ottoman Empire, religions of the book, secularization

Preoccupation with visual cultures in history and in transcultural comparison is a product of 'Western' scientific development; likewise, modern visual technologies are the result of 'Western' technological development. No wonder that previous theory construction in the field of visual cultures is characterized by its Western bias, which is caused, firstly, by the almost complete exclusion of other world regions in the international discussions of visual studies, and, secondly, by the fact that other world regions are not yet 'swamped' by the 'picture flood' and have therefore as yet no urgent need for the study of the visual. In discussions emerging since the middle of the 1990s, and intensifying since then, the history of non-Western visual cultures has been understood as deficit history at best, or has simply been ignored.

1 Six of these seven theses have already been formulated in Karl Kaser, *Andere Blicke: Religion und visuelle Kulturen auf dem Balkan und im Nahen Osten* (Vienna et al.: Böhlau Verlag, 2013), 17–20.

Explicit involvement with visual cultures can be traced to sporadic precursors in the course of the twentieth century, such as to the German art historian and cultural theorist Aby Warburg (1866–1929),[2] to the German philosopher and essayist Walter Benjamin (1892–1940),[3] to the American writer, filmmaker, and theorist on photography Susan Sontag (1933–2004),[4] or to the French sociologist, philosopher, and semiotician Roland Barthes (1915–1980).[5] The seemingly relentless rise of interest in visual studies was marked by the proclamation of the 'pictorial turn' by the Chicago-based art historian and philosopher William John Thomas Mitchell in 1994.[6]

The pictorial turn was not only caused by intrinsic scientific reasons but is embedded in a rapidly changing societal environment that can be suggested incompletely by terms such as 'mediatization,' 'visualization,' and 'globalization.' The 'new media' have changed our lifeworlds within the previous two decades more than was the case in the thousands of years before. Visual anthropology, visual sociology, and visual history – all emerging in the West – still frequently impose on the world concepts of Western modernity and postmodernity, and perceive the rest of the world only selectively or ignore it.

A decentred theory construction, in the sense of one not based on Western visual cultures, seems to be more essential than ever. Therefore, my contribution to this volume intends to address several vertices which may contribute to a historical construction relevant to present-day theory. In this regard we are still only at the beginning of the beginning. My remarks therefore have to be considered as tentative and exploratory.

Two preliminary remarks seem to be appropriate:

1) By 'Southeastern Europe' I understand here the European regions of the former Ottoman Empire and its successor states – in other words, the Balkans. For my considerations the three denominations of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, which are strongly involved with each other in this region, play a crucial role.

2 Warburg founded the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg and the Warburg Institute in Hamburg. The famous art historian Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968) was among the scholars who belonged to the Warburg circle.

3 Among Benjamin's most influential works is *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner Reproduzierbarkeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1963).

4 Sontag's bestknown works include *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).

5 Throughout his career, Barthes was interested in photography. In 1977 he began writing *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).

6 W. J. Thomas Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 11–34.

2) We need to develop both a comprehensive and a more specific notion of visual culture. The more comprehensive concept understands visual culture as acts of seeing and being seen, as culturally constructed acts that are neither inherent nor naturally given but learned and cultivated. Visual culture, therefore, involves issues related to viewing and representation as well as the conditions of production and representation of the visual. Seen in this way, the visual is not confined to pictures in the broadest sense but also includes performative processes of depiction and seeing.[7] I would like to relate the more specific notion of visual culture with the epoch in which the mechanically reproducible picture completes the original.[8] Reproduction creates the opportunity to bring pictures to the people, but not people to the pictures; this makes a crucial difference in the unfolding of visual culture. I will continually use 'visual culture' in this sense. To launch my ambition as a theory constructionist, I would like to begin by advancing the following seven theses for discussion.[9]

THESIS 1

The mechanically reproducible picture was accepted in Southeastern Europe centuries after its introduction in Western Europe, photography was accepted only a few decades later, and the digital picture only several weeks later. This thesis is a good argument for the dynamic potential of change in visual cultures in the region.

The origins of visual culture in Southeastern Europe (in the aforementioned narrower sense) must be located chronologically significantly later than in the West. The earliest manifestations of the mechanically reproducible image in the realm of Western Christianity, the printed picture, were the woodcut, the copper engraving, and the etching. The reproduction technique of the picture is even older than that of the printed text with mobile letters. The earliest known woodcuts date from the late fourteenth century – one generation before Gutenberg's printing of the Bible. Around the middle of the fifteenth century etching was introduced. Cheap leaflets and broadsides reached the public even in the countryside already by the late fifteenth century. Provoked by a wave of laic piety, the interest in prints increased significantly.[10]

7 See, e.g., W. J. Thomas Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 21, 68.

8 Nicholas Mirzoeff, "What is Visual Culture?", in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London, New York: Routledge, 1998), 6–7.

9 Six of these seven theses have already been formulated in Karl Kaser, *Andere Blicke: Religion und visuelle Kulturen auf dem Balkan und im Nahen Osten* (Vienna et al.: Böhlau Verlag, 2013), 17–20.

10 Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 31; Michael Mitterauer, *Warum Europa? Mittelalterliche Grundlagen eines Sonderwegs* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2003), 246–247, 263, 265.

Analogous developments were not possible in the Balkans because the Orthodox Church adhered to its canonized iconic painting, which excluded methods of mechanical reproduction. Only in the eighteenth century did the mechanical reproduction of icons seem to be gradually accepted. Also in Muslim art production, mechanical reproduction was barred in the age of traditional quill and calligraphy. Judaism joyfully welcomed the printing reproduction technique but limited printing to its holy texts, since pictures would not contribute to the piety of a believer.[11] These are the main reasons why the beginnings of visual culture in the Balkans can be located only half a millennium later compared to the West, and coincided with the distribution of photographic pictures and the beginnings of processes of secularization from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. The visual modernity of the West in the form of photography found the traditional pictorial traditions in the Balkans almost completely unprepared and they could not be linked to each other at the very beginning. To derive from this fact a chronic backwardness would be wrong. The temporal distances between the reception of film, television, and eventually the digital image became increasingly shorter.

THESIS 2

The Islamic, Jewish, and Christian Orthodox iconic traditions, although showing significant differences, share crucial commonalities, for instance with regard to the understanding of images. The attitude of the three confessions towards the image was basically formed by the Old Testament's Second Commandment which prohibits the production of images of God, human, or animal beings. The Eastern Church overcame the prohibition of visualization after serious contentions in the so-called iconoclastic controversy in the early Middle Ages.[12] *However, the price the defenders of iconic representation had to pay was a massive limitation of artistic expression.*[13]

The question whether all peoples and cultures deal with one and the same visual experience is not far to seek. Of course, they do not. The external world is not identical with that of our internal imagery. The outer world is not reflected identically in the inner world, but is culturally and socially translated and interpreted.

11 Michael Mitterauer, "Schreibrohr und Druckerpresse: Transferprobleme einer Kommunikationstechnologie zwischen Europa und dem islamischen Raum", http://www.dieuniversitaet-online.at/pdf/Mitterauer_Schreibrohr.pdf, accessed 31 December 2013, *passim*; Karl Kaser, *The Balkans and the Near East: Introduction to a Shared History* (Vienna, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2011), 281.

12 Lutz Lippold, *Macht des Bildes – Bild der Macht: Kunst zwischen Verehrung und Zerstörung bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Leipzig: Ed. Leipzig, 1993), 97–107.

13 Ibid., 116–119; Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004), 194–195, 332.

With regard to the denominations, the relationship between visual culture and religious practice produces 'religious seeing' and a 'holy gaze.' The analysis of religious visual culture constitutes therefore a study of pictures and of the regular seeing of pictures. These rules are adopted and may change over time. Religious seeing constitutes a complex process which is culturally and temporarily shaped and is formed differently by the various denominations. To put it simply, Christianity can be seen in its relationship to painting with a focus on the image/icon; Islam can be seen in its relationship to calligraphy, with a focus on the relationship between words and images; and Judaism can be seen in its relationship to architecture with a focus on memory, when it comes to construct a vision.[14]

In the long pre-secular period, which lasted until the nineteenth and in some parts of the Balkans until the interwar period, the pictorial culture was religiously charged. While Orthodoxy elevated the holy icon to a sacral status, Judaism remained hostile and Islam at least very sceptical to images. While Islam and Judaism exclusively accepted the holy scriptures as sources of religiosity and sacrality, Orthodoxy treaded the holy image and the holy scripture equally. The attitude of Western Christianity in this regard was different. Here, the holy images did not acquire any sacral role but only the scriptures. Images were considered as the Bible for the poor and illiterate population and as illustrations.[15] Protestantism strictly rejected the pictorial representation of God, saints, and the Holy Mary.[16] The religious devaluation of holy images in the Catholic Church and by Protestantism opened up various ways of artistic expression. In Orthodoxy, however, artistic creativity was set narrow limits. To a great extent iconic painting became canonized. The result was that the pictorial cultures of the Orthodox and the Catholic/Protestant spaces began to diverge into a conservative Eastern and a more dynamic Western direction.[17]

However, there are also important similarities between the Abrahamitic religions with regard to images. Similarities of Christian-Orthodox, Jewish, and Islamic understanding of images consisted, for instance, in:

1) the refusal of three-dimensionality. Its chief danger was considered the fact that plastic-figurative representation came too close to an earthly human being.[18]

14 Brent S. Plate, "Introduction", in *Religion, Art and Visual Culture: A Cross-Cultural Reader*, ed. Brent S. Plate (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 9–12.

15 Lippold, *Macht des Bildes*, 120–123.

16 Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London, New York: Routledge, 2004), 108–111.

17 Helmut Fischer, *Die Welt der Ikonen: Das religiöse Bild in der Ostkirche und in der Bildkunst des Westens* (Frankfurt/M.: Insel-Verlag, 2005), 29–39.

18 Eric Alliez and Michel Feher, "Reflections of a Soul", in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, ed. Michel Feher, 3 vols. (New York: Urzone, 1989), 65–69.

This is why the Ottoman Balkans were free from any figurative monumental art in the public sphere until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first public relief sculpture in Constantinople was commissioned by the Turkish government only in 1928, and created by the Italian artist Pietro Canonica in Taksim Square.[19] Albania's first monumental sculpture in the public space – the equestrian statue of Skanderbeg in downtown Tirana – was constructed only in 1968.[20]

2) the refusal of the painter's perspective in Orthodox iconic painting, Muslim calligraphy, or Jewish book painting. Since approximately 1300 AD in Western painting the eye of the painter became the central perspectival point of reference. On the contrary, in iconic painting the central perspective was the guiding principle. This meant that God's perspective on the people and not vice versa determined the painting's perspective. The question of perspective also divided Arabic-Islamic and Western geometry. Arabic geometry, which was also crucial in the Ottoman Empire, did not refer to the human view, but a geometric pattern was considered as existing autonomously. In the West, descriptive geometry with a focus on the technical image, mathematics, and the human perspective were dominant since the seventeenth century. Arabic-Islamic geometry considered the human eye as deceivable; objects were depicted without perspective. Whereas in the West descriptive geometry began to dominate, in the Islamic world depicted geometry remained the principle.[21]

THESIS 3

The Western model of unfolding visual culture cannot be applied uncritically with regard to the non-Western world; this would cause severe irritations of the cognitive act. Since the photographic camera has been introduced, the visual cultures of Southeastern Europe are no longer independent from those of the West but they are not simple imitations.

Available empirical data indicates that following the introduction of the photo camera the import of additional Western visual technologies succeeded by and large by the end of the nineteenth century. Architects, painters, sculptors, and actors from the Western hemisphere were invited to the respective countries in order to apply their know-how and to train locals in Western visual technology. Governments despatched first generations of students to Western universities and art academies to be trained and to pass their acquired knowledge on to the next generation.

19 Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic* (New York: Tauris, 2011), 162–163.

20 Friedbert Ficker, "Bildende Kunst", in *Albanien: Südosteuropa-Handbuch / Handbook on South Eastern Europe*, ed. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 711.

21 Shaw, *Ottoman Painting*, 6–8.

Visual cultures began to develop in the years before World War I the greater parts of the Ottoman Empire and in the European countries of the former Empire.[22]

We have to consider that these pioneering visual technologies did not originally emanate from the needs of the Balkan populations. On the contrary, there was even to some extent considerable opposition to the introduction of photography and film. Another factor that needs to be considered is that technology had to be accepted as it was; however, the question is how and for what purposes it was used. Was it adapted to meet local cultural needs, or did it enforce cultural reorientations in accord with Western standards of seeing? Empirical evidence indicates an amalgamation of local traditions with Western modernity in the form of cultural adaptations of Western visual technologies. This amalgam was and is not of constant intensity either in the various media nor over time fed. In Turkey, for instance, Hollywood films were adapted to the needs of the country's population until the middle of the twentieth century,[23] and Western models were borrowed in the area of studio photography.

THESIS 4

Only photography triggered the secularization of visual cultures in Southeastern Europe. The previous visual traditions were ushered in by religious modes of looking.

Our point of departure for analysing the religious glimpse is the Second Commandment of the Old Testament, from the second book of Moses (Exodus 20: 2–5):

> You shall not make for yourself a graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; you shall not bow down to them or serve them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and the fourth generation of those who hate me, but showing steadfast love to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments.[24]

Accordingly, the visual representation of God, human beings, and animals – fishes included – is interdicted. Despite the clarity of the commandment, the rejection of the image has to be seen against the historical background of predominating heathen images and objects; therefore the commandment has been interpreted differently over the course of time. Even today the Second Commandment is still

22 Kaser, *Andere Blicke*, 317.

23 Ahmet Gürata, "Hollywood in Vernacular: Translation and Cross-Cultural Reception of American Films in Turkey", in *Going to the Movies: Hollywood and Social Experience of the Cinema*, eds. Richard Maltby, Melvyn Stokes and Robert C. Allen (Exeter: eprints, 2008), 333–347.

24 Quoted from *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/587032/Ten-Commandments, accessed 3 September 2019.

meaningful in Judaism and Islam – and not only for fundamentalists. However, its range has been largely reduced to the non-presentability of Allah and Jahveh and to bodies in revealing dresses.[25]

In the course of the long pre-secular era pictorial cultures were religiously charged. Whereas Orthodox Christianity elevated the iconic image to a sacral status, Judaism remained hostile to images and Islam remained at least sceptical of images. Judaism and Islam were very close to each other with regard to the rejection of the image on the basis of the Second Commandment, whereas image-affirmative Orthodox Christianity went in the opposite direction. Whereas in Islam and Judaism only the holy scriptures had sacral meaning, in Eastern Christianity holy images and holy scriptures were on an equal footing.

Against this background the Balkan population was hardly touched by the invention of photography and the first marketable camera (in 1839) in the subsequent decades until approximately the Great War – except perhaps for the fact that more and more travellers from Western Europe arrived in Balkan cities and caused surprise with their inconvenient exposure apparatuses. To feel the urge to be photographed was very limited especially since the traditions of visual representation in Judaism, Islam, and Christianity have matured over the centuries and were well regulated. Therefore, the visual revolution was delayed for half a century or so compared to the West.[26]

However, the first photographers in the region provoked a process that should connect the Balkan population with Western modernity. Whether it was welcome or not, this conjunction was established. The traditional visual cultures had been relatively autonomous and based on religious conviction, but were henceforth no longer so. Cameras not only produced mechanically reproducible pictures but principally secular ones, because making images of icons and of quotes from the Torah or the Koran in the best calligraphic quality no longer made much sense. The photographic eye aimed at other objects. A new era had begun – the era of modern visual culture.[27]

THESIS 5

All things considered, Balkan societies are less secular than many Western societies. In such 'semi-secular' societies the modes of the religious view are more meaningful than in the more secularized West.

25 Kaser, *Andere Blicke*, 63.
26 Ibid., 131.
27 Ibid., 131–132.

Processes of secularization gained a foothold in the Balkans since roughly the middle of the nineteenth century, and therefore significantly later than in Western Europe. They were accompanied by the elite phenomenon of photography. Empirical evidence does not indicate a radical obliteration of the religious view.

Different religious traditions and modes of viewing – so my hypothesis – were possibly flattened in the course of the previous century; however, they still exist, and evidence indicates that, interestingly enough, they may intensify again in the era of globalization. This hypothesis is also based on the observation that theories of secularization according to which religion will lose relevance in the processes of modernization have not proved sustainable. Therefore, we have to disabuse ourselves of the misconception of an increasingly vanishing religious view of the world. It is now evident that traditional forms of the religious, religions, and religiosity have proved to be more persistent than was assumed – especially in non-Western cultures. Current sociology no longer starts from the incompatibility of modernity and religiosity.[28] This observation has to be included in an evaluation of the visual cultures in Southeastern Europe.

Surveys show that in various Balkan countries the figure of those, who claim of being non-believers, atheists or indifferent is decreasing and not increasing. Therefore, even if we interpret the available data cautiously, we must come to the conclusion that the processes of secularization originated in the nineteenth century were not overly sustainable. This, however, does not justify the unconditional assumption of a widespread religious view of the world, because the claim to be religious may mean various forms of life praxis. In this regard the differentiation of orthodoxy from orthopraxis, and the differentiation of just being orthodox from correct behaviour in everyday life seem to be crucial. The question is, how does religious conviction result in conduct derived from it? This question cannot be answered definitely, but basically the orthopractic component is more distinct in Judaism and Islam than in orthodox Christianity – and it is more distinct in Orthodoxy than in Catholicism.[29]

The far-reaching separation of the state from denominational institutions in the Balkans and in Turkey does not automatically result in a secular society. In the case of Turkey, for instance, this separation cannot prevent the increasing attractiveness of Islam. Also the socialist era with its enacted atheism and its policy of separation of the state from denominational institutions did not result in a sustainable secularity of the population. Nowadays, the secular state is confronted

28 Franz Höllinger, "Ursachen des Rückgangs der Religiosität in Europa", in *SWS-Rundschau* 45 (2005): 424–425.

29 Kaser, *Andere Blicke*, 294–295.

with a reinvigorated Orthodoxy and a revitalized Islam. Simultaneously, fundamentalist religious movements have become important. In Orthodox countries this is reflected in anti-Western and anti-globalization attitudes. This allows me to conclude that religious views of the world are still meaningful, although the secular aspects of visual culture have become more visible in the course of the past one or two centuries.[30]

THESIS 6

The first visual revolution triggered by the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) and continued in World War I was initiated just in a period of time that according to Maria Todorova[31] was constitutive for the formation of Balkanism with its negative stereotyping of the Balkans. It is my assumption that this was provoked less by textual narratives, as Todorova claims, but rather by the many pictures, photographs, and films about the Balkans that were circulated during the long war period from 1912 to 1918.

The Bulgarian-American historian Maria Todorova coined the term 'Balkanism' in order to describe the pejorative Western discourse about the Balkans that emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in the eyes of Todorova the term 'Balkanization' became a new invective in Europe. The term came not only to define the fragmentation of large political units but also became a synonym for the return to tribalism, backwardness, primitivism, and barbarism. The Balkan populations were stigmatized by the other Europeans since they allegedly deviated from the standard behaviour of the 'civilized' world. This civilized world was embarrassed about the barbaric cruelties allegedly committed in the Balkan Wars. The two Balkan Wars, their causes and conduct were investigated by an international committee of experts commissioned by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.[32] What makes this publication so shocking is not so much the investigated hard facts but the approximately fifty photographs depicting the dead and wounded, as well as disastrous destruction. The region could not get rid of this damaged reputation as being of a barbaric and terrible character, which was reinvigorated by the wars that took place on the territories of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.[33]

30 Ibid., 317–318.

31 Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans (*New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

32 Carnegie Endowment, ed., *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars: The International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars* (Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson & Viney, 1970).

33 Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*.

The Balkan Wars yielded images of marching soldiers, firing artillery, and countless corpses strewn across the fields that soon became part of the popular cinematic perceptions. In the course of the two Balkan Wars, twenty-nine mostly Western film-production companies at and behind the front were active and produced 109 documentary films and an unknown number of newsreels.[34] The newsreels were consumed by mass audiences in Western countries. For instance, in England the working class was already the numerically dominant film-going public. In July 1916 twenty million tickets were sold per week.[35]

Caused by the wars between 1912 and 1918, the devaluation of the Balkans has been condensed to a specific discourse that still is at work. Interestingly, Todorova focuses exclusively on textual discourses and disregards the visual ones, which is reasonable since working with visual material differs completely from the analysis of textual documents. However, this is exactly the point of interest here. As noted, the first visual revolution in the Balkans caused by the two Balkan Wars and World War I occurred at a historical moment which, according to Todorova, was decisive for the formation of the concept of Balkanism by 'the West.' My assumption is that the written narratives Todorova refers to played a minor role in the construction of the negative image of the Balkans compared to the pictures that were produced and distributed in the course of the three wars. However, this is only a hypothesis which has yet to be proved. Practically no research on the visual representation of the Balkans has been conducted.

THESIS 7

Balkan societies were and still are shaped patriarchally – a fact, however, that is hardly mirrored in pre-secular visual representation. Male-centred gender relations in Jewish and Islamic traditions of representation were hardly expressed before the nineteenth century because figurative depictions were avoided. Also in Orthodox icon painting they are hardly reflected, firstly because it was canonized, secondly because most of the saints were male, and thirdly because Marian devotion was popular. This situation changed in the era of photography.

Photographs with women in them were exposed to limitations because of the dominant moral codes in everyday life. Women from the upper strata of society, chastely clothed, might have been admitted for a family photograph; women from the lower strata might have been paid for being photographed for commercial

34 Igor Despot, *The Balkan Wars in the Eyes of the Warring Parties: Perceptions and Interpretations* (Bloomington: iUniverse, 2012), 229–231.

35 Nicholas Hiley, "The British Cinema Auditorium", in *Film and the First World War*, eds. Karel Dibbets and Bert Hogenkamp (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 161–162.

purposes. In the early twentieth century the circulation of photographs in secular Muslim and Jewish strata became common practice. However, this was not the case in the conservative middle and lower classes, where, generally, the restrictions on women's photography lasted longer.[36]

It would be revealing to learn more about women's photography and to debate the question of which fields of action were opened for women by photography. Women – this must be assumed – were objects of restriction in regard to photography. A great many of them were prevented by male family members from being photographed, and some were only allowed to be photographed with a face veil. The low representation of women in pictures is also related to the fact that photo studios were managed almost exclusively by men; women were exposed to relatively intimate male gazes. It seems that up until the 1950s women rarely worked in photo studios – and if so, they were occupied with the retouching and colouring of photographs within the framework of a family business. Obviously, there were single women photographers who went to homes in order to take pictures and so could avoid the woman customer visiting a photo studio. Generally speaking, the photographers were male and they imposed the photographic conditions.[37]

Professional photographers such as Nelly (Elli Souyioultzoglou–Seraïdari, 1899–1998), with her Turkish-Greek family background, were rare. She was the most important woman photographer in Greece and presumably in the Balkans in the interwar period. Trained as a photographer in Dresden from 1920 to 1925, she was in her aesthetic orientation quite similar to the famous German photographer and film director in the service of the Nazi regime, Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003). Nelly absorbed the Western image of Greece as the cradle of Europe, which was in strong contrast to the social reality of her time; simultaneously the emerging new Greek middle class also adopted this construction as a desirable image. In her famous Parthenon photographs (1925–1929) she produced or affirmed an image of Greece which suited the Western imagination: a Greece of the classical period that continued into the modern era.[38]

In wrapping up I want to make explicit the implication that each of these theses needs a more thorough elucidation. This is provided in my monograph *Andere Blicke: Religion und visuelle Kulturen auf dem Balkan und im Nahen Osten*.[39] However, my fundamental concern should by now be obvious. Through photography, West-

36 Kaser, *Andere Blicke*, 103–104.

37 Sarah Graham-Brown, *Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860–1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 60–65.

38 Nikos Panayotopoulos, "On Greek Photography: Eurocentrism, Cultural Colonialism, and the Construction of Mythic Classical Greece", in *Third Text* 23 (2009): 181–194.

39 Kaser: *Andere Blicke*.

ern visual modernity encountered the visual traditions of the Balkans, which responded to the Western understanding of images with reserve and rejection. The subsequent debates were not conflict-free and ended with the acceptance of Western visual technology. This adoption was not a simple copy of the Western model but an complex amalgamation of Western and Balkan traditions. The systematic study of the history of this intersection of Western modernity with local visual traditions remains a rewarding task for the future.

THE MUSIC REPERTOIRE OF THE FRANCISCAN PROVINCIA BOSNAE ARGENTINAE AND THE PROVINCIA SANCTI JOANNIS A CAPISTRANO IN SLAVONIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES[1]

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Abstract. *During the early part of the eighteenth century the Franciscan Provincia Bosnae Argentinae covered the wide geographical space of Bosnia, Slavonia, Srem, and Dalmatia, extending also to Hungary and Transylvania. After the first secession of 1735, monasteries in Dalmatia formed the new Provincia Sanctissimi Redemptoris, and following the second secession of 1757 monasteries in Slavonia, southern Hungary, Transylvania, and Vojvodina formed the Provincia S. Joannis a Capistrano.*

The most prominent music personality in the Slavonian monasteries in the first half of the eighteenth century was Filip Vlahović from Kaposvár (Philippo à Kapusuar, Philip Kapusvaracz; before 1700–1755), a multitalented artist who compiled, wrote, and exquisitely decorated anthologies of liturgical music, also composing some of the included Masses and hymns.

1 This article is based on research in the north-Croatian Franciscan libraries conducted during the early 1980s. An immense help was provided to me at that time by the late P. Paškal (Vjekoslav) Cvekan (25 May 1913–25 November 1998) and P. Vatroslav Frkin. Without their generosity, many libraries in the present-day Province of St. Cyril and Methodius would have remained closed to me. In the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s Paškal Cvekan published monographs with the histories of over two dozen monasteries, which provide not only invaluable accounts of the activities of the Franciscan Order in northern Croatia, but also the context in which we can observe the changes in musical life in the monasteries of Slavonia. However, research of the monasteries belonging to the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Provincia Sancti Joannis a Capistrano in present-day Hungary and Transylvania remains inadequate. Hopefully, this general survey of musical life in the Croatian part of the provinces could lead to a joint research with Hungarian colleagues resulting in a full account of musical life in the entire province. A general survey of the sources kept in some monasteries in Slavonia could be found in Ladislav Šaban & Zdravko Blažeković, "Izvještaj o dvogodišnjem sređivanju triju glazbenih zbirki u Osijeku i o pregledu glazbenih rukopisa i knjiga u franjevačkim samostanima u Slavoniji i Srijemu", in *Arti musices* 11/1 (June 1980): 47–95. A counterpart to the present article, discussing the Mass repertoire in the neighboring north-Croatian Franciscan province, is my "Glazbeni repertoar u kantualima Konrada Potočnika sastavljenima za sjevernohrvatsku franjevačku Provinciju Svetoga Ladislava Kralja", in *Nova nepoznata glazba: Svečani zbornik za Nikšu Gliga / New Unknown Music: Essays in Honour of Nikša Gligo*, eds. Dalibor Davidović and Nada Bezić (Zagreb: DAF, 2012), 249–276.

In 1750–1751 the general definitor of the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae, Josip Janković (ca. 1710–1757), commissioned liturgical books for all the monasteries in the province from Giuseppe Maria Cordans (1694–1766), who worked at the monastery of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice. These were large-sized volumes, all with an identical repertoire of thirteen Masses mostly dedicated to the Franciscan saints, one Requiem, and three Tantum ergo settings for vocal solo/tutti performance. The accompanying organ part with figured bass in the style of late-Baroque monody was written separately. This repertoire was performed until the liturgical reforms of Maria Theresa in 1776 and Joseph II in 1785, who introduced simple Singmessen sung in the vernacular.

Keywords: Croatia/Slavonia, Order of Friars Minor (OFM), Filip Vlahović from Kaposvár, Giuseppe Maria Cordans, Marijan Jaić, Roman-Catholic music repertoire

During the early part of the eighteenth century, the Franciscan Provincia Bosnae Argentinae covered the wide geographical space of Bosnia, Slavonia, Srem, and Dalmatia, extending also to Hungary and Transylvania. After the secession in 1735, its monasteries in Dalmatia (Karin, Knin, Visovac, Šibenik, Omiš, Makarska, Živogošće, and Zaostrog) formed the new Provincia Sanctissimi Redemptoris.[2] In 1757 monasteries in Slavonia and southwestern Hungary also separated, forming the Provincia S. Joannis a Capistrano with monasteries and residences in Bač, Cernik, Ilok, Gradiška, Našice, Osijek, Vukovar, Šarengrad, Velika, Đakovo, Slavonski Brod, and Požega in Slavonia; Buda, Dunafeldvár, Páks, Tolna, Baja, and Mohács in Hungary; Arad, Radna (Máriaradna), and Temesvár in Transylvania; and Petrovaradin, Sombor, and Zemun in Vojvodina. In the territory of Bosna and Herzegovina only three monasteries remained, in Sutjeska, Fojnica, and Kreševo; but by the 1760s the province added a number of parishes and residences throughout the country.[3] These changes in the geography of the provinces determined the gravitational forces and lines of influence among their monasteries, and therefore it is important to keep them in mind when we study the repertoire performed in their churches.

Croatians were the most numerous population in the Capistran province, but a sizable number of brethren were of German and Hungarian origin. For this reason the Consilium Regium Locumtenentiale Hungaricum in Bratislava issued a regu-

2 At the time of secession the province bore the name of St. Kaja; it was renamed the *Provincia Sanctissimi Redemptoris* in 1743. See Filip Lastrić, *Pregled starina Bosanske Provincije* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1977), 71.

3 The changing geography of the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae is demonstrated in the geographical maps included in Lastrić, *Pregled starina Bosanske Provincije*, 173–175.

lation (5 October 1769) that the office of the provincial superior had to alternate between ethnic Croatian and Hungarian/German monks.[4] Also, in the *novitiate* all three major languages used by congregations (Croatian, Hungarian, and German) were taught, and a provision was made that clerics who were not sufficiently fluent to give sermons using them might not be allowed the ordination.[5]

Although in the early eighteenth century the monasteries in the Croatian north were geographically separated from their counterparts in Dalmatia by the Ottoman-governed Bosnia, the mutual exchanges and influences between the monasteries in Slavonia and Srem with the monasteries along the Dalmatian coast were possible and allowed some flow of music repertoire. The most obvious evidence of the Italian influences impregnating the north are the Italian liturgical and musical books that have been preserved in north-Croatian Franciscan libraries. Brethren not only went to Italy for their education but also, in their Slavonian monasteries, studied music from Italian textbooks brought there by way of Dalmatia and Bosnia. The libraries of the monasteries in Slavonia keep a number of such music theory books: Giovanni d'Avella's *Regole di musica* (Rome, 1657);[6] Joannes Baptiste de Marinis's *Clavis cantus ecclesiastici seu modus intonandi et cantandi* (Rome, 1661);[7] Fabricio Tettamanzi's *Breve metodo per fondatemente e con facilità apprendere il canto fermo* (Milan, [1]1686; [2]1706; [4]1756);[8] Andrea di Modena's *Canto harmonico* (Modena, 1690);[9] Gioseppe Frezza dalle Grotte's *Il cantore ecclesiastico: Breve, facile, ed essatta notizia del canto fermo* (Padua, [1]1698; [3]1733);[10] Francesco Gasparini's *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (Venice, [2]1715; Bologna, [4]1722);[11] and Johann Joseph Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Vienna, [1]1725).[12] With the exception of the Fux treatise, all these music books are by Italian theorists, which is consistent with the education of the Franciscans in Loreto, Rome, Ancona, Milan, Bologna, and Venice. These manuals were either written by Franciscan musicians (Giovanni d'Avella, Tettamanzi,

4 In 1769 the Capistran province had 253 Croatian, 22 Hungarian, and 162 German monks, and four monks from other Slavic countries. See Emanuel Franjo Hoško, "Dvije osječke visoke škole u 18. stoljeću", in *Kačić* 10 (1978): 130–131.

5 E. F. Hoško, ibid., 147.

6 Two copies are preserved in the library of the monastery in Našice.

7 One copy is preserved in the library of the monastery in Osijek.

8 Three copies of the first edition are preserved in the library of the monastery in Slavonski Brod, one in Bač, and two in Našice; one copy of the second edition is preserved in Požega; and one copy of the fourth edition in Slavonski Brod.

9 One copy is preserved in the library of the monastery in Ilok and two in Našice.

10 A copy of the first edition is preserved in the library of the monastery in Našice and the third edition in Bač.

11 A copy of the second edition is preserved in the library of the monastery in Požega and a copy of the fourth edition in Našice.

12 A copy is kept in the library of the monastery in Bač.

Andea di Modena) or specifically recommended for use in Franciscan communities (Frezza delle Grotte). The extent to which Croatian Franciscans relied on Italian Franciscan music literature might also be indicated by the fact that the *Fundamentum cantus gregoriani seu choralis*, which Mihovil Šilobod-Bolšić (1724–1787) published in Zagreb in 1760, has not been found in any Slavonian Franciscan library.

From a secondary source we also know that in 1770 the later guardian of the Osijek monastery and the provincial superior Josip Pavišević (1734–1803) wrote a manual of Gregorian chant allegedly in the Croatian language. The work is known only by its Latin title, *Doctrina cantu figuralis seu recta et perfecta semita ad cantu figurale*, and it likely remained unpublished.

The coherence of the repertoire and music education between the south and north before the second partition of the Bosnian province in 1757 could be also identified through books kept in libraries in Slavonia which have the names of the Dalmatian monasteries where they were originally used penciled on their title pages, and manuscripts written locally in Slavonia with the orthography characteristic for the Croatian coastal regions. The specific territorial organization of the Franciscan provinces influenced the formation in the Slavonian Franciscan monasteries of two distinct musical styles during the eighteenth century: in the first part of the century the Italian style was dominant, while in the final decades, after the Theresian and Josephinian reforms, the main influences came from the north.

Students in seminaries were obliged to practice chant for one hour every day except on Sunday,[13] and Gregorian chant remained in practice even during the nineteenth century. In 1850, when Marijan Jaić published his hymnal *Napivi bogoljubnih cérkvenih pisamah* (Tunes of devotional church hymns), he included ninety-two Gregorian chants with texts in both Latin and Croatian.

THE MASS REPERTOIRE

The withdrawal of the Ottomans from Slavonia following the 1699 treaty of Sremski Karlovci re-established circumstances favorable for Franciscan activities, and they immediately started with recatholization throughout the region. Since

13 The regulation issued by Maksimilian Leisner on 10 September 1762. See E. F. Hoško, "Dvije osječke visoke škole", 147. The practice of teaching music in the Franciscan communities during the second half of the eighteenth century was probably best documented in a manuscript by the student Marko Orovčanin (†1781) containing notes taken during the music lectures delivered by P. Juraj Mirković: *Fundamenta cantus Gregoriani seu Ecclesiastici Patris Fris Marci Orovcsanin studentis in 3tium annum Theologiae descripta in Novitiatu anno Milesimo 7ptingentisimo sexagisimo (!) 5to* [=1765] *sub Rendo Patre Georgio Mirkovich actuali tunc magistro novitiorum*. The library of the Franciscan monastery in Slavonski Brod, C–R53.

organs were installed in monastic churches only during the eighteenth century, before that time brethren were likely singing unaccompanied chant, as was usual for all Franciscan communities, and their congregations probably worshipped with singing simple hymns. Archival records from the first half of the century do occasionally mention that monasteries owned an *organon*, but these instruments must have been small portatives. An instrument in Našice was first mentioned in 1710, and the new organ (II/14) was built in 1774; Bač received its organ in 1719;[14] Požega had possibly a portative before 1730 and the first organ was installed there around 1767;[15] Ilok got its organ in 1738;[16] Vukovar around 1749; Slavonski Brod had possibly a portative in the 1730s with its first organ built in 1778,[17] and finally, Osijek got its organ in 1761.[18] The chronicle of the monastery in Slavonski Brod for 1736 includes several references to the use of an organ during the liturgy, from which one can conclude that instrumental accompaniment was used during the Mass, the Office of the Terce, and vespers.[19] Of other instruments, only the inventory of the Požega monastery from 1730 mentions two trumpets and two violins, although this certainly does not mean that other churches did not have performances of figural music.[20]

The most important music personality in the Slavonian monasteries during the final decades of their administration under the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae

14 This first organ in the Bač monastery, built by an unknown builder, was replaced in 1827–29 by the one (II/16) by Simon Sangl, Ignacije Lehner, and Fridolin Wagner that is still used in the church. See Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Baču* (Virovitica: author, 1985), 131–132.

15 The first record of an instrument in Požega dates from 1730, when the Jesuits borrowed a portative from the Franciscan monastery for their celebration of St. John Nepomuk. The chronicle of the Franciscan monastery lists organists continuously from 1767 until the church fire in 1842, which confirms that an organ existed there during this period. Following the fire, a new instrument was completed in 1844. In 1907, this instrument was replaced by the organ (II/12) built by Vaclav Holub. See Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Požegi* (Požega: author, 1983), 113–115; 164–166.

16 In the church in Ilok the organ was in place already by 1738, when the positive was moved to a side of the altar. In 1833 this instrument was replaced by one (I/12) brought from Buda. See Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Iloku* (Ilok: author, 1986), 173–174.

17 During the 1730s a portative was used in the old church in Slavonski Brod. In the new church, completed in the early 1750s, the organ was first mentioned in 1767 during a Mass in which the crown prince Joseph took part. This was likely the portative from the old church mentioned earlier. The first organist is mentioned in the *Tabula* in 1771. In January 1778 the provincial superior Blaž Tadijanović blessed the organ (I/8) which was brought from the residence in Čuntić. This instrument was replaced in 1835–38 by the organ (II/24) built by Ignacije Lehner, assisted by the carpenters Fridolin Wagner and Simon Frimmel. See Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Brodu* (Slavonski Brod: author, 1984), 116–120; 166–168.

18 The instrument was built by Anton Roemer.

19 See Cvekan, *Franjevci u Brodu*, 118.

20 Ibid., 113.

was Filip Vlahović from Kaposvár (Philippo à Kapusuar, Philip Kapusvaracz, Filip Kapušvarac; before 1700–21 September or November 1755),[21] a multitalented artist who not only compiled, wrote, and exquisitely decorated anthologies of liturgical music, but was also a musician and a writer of spiritual poetry in the Croatian language. Five music anthologies have been preserved with the liturgical repertoire produced either by him or by his circle, which define the Franciscan repertoire in Slavonia in the first half of the eighteenth century. They were prepared by Vlahović for use in the monasteries in Požega (1719), Velika (1720), Vukovar (1730), and Našice (preface dated March 1737), and at least some of them were produced for his own use. In the preface to the section with hymns in his 1737 volume he apologizes to the person who will inherit it after his death, clearly indicating that he had made it for himself and intended to use it until his death. Therefore, we might consider both the Mass and the hymn repertoires included in these volumes as selections reflecting Vlahović's own musical taste and sensibilities.

The earliest known anthology written by Vlahović was the *Series missarum* with a note *Ad Usum Conventus Sancti Spiritus Posegae*, dated 15 September 1719.[22] The manuscript is attributed to Vlahović on the basis of the decorations and initials which resemble those of his other manuscripts. In the following year, he produced an anthology *Ad simplicem usum Vellicensium*.[23] Its first part, entitled *Missae contra puncto tam de vivis, quam pro defunctis, quas descripsit Fra Philippus a Capussuar in Con[ven]tu Velicensi S. Aug[ustini], anno a partu virgineo 1720 die 7 mensis Xbris* [=7 December 1720], includes five Masses and two Requiems, while the second part contains twenty-six *antiphonae & cantilenae aliae res contra puncto quis descripsit Fr. Philippus a Cappusvar, in convento Velicensis Aggustinae*. All of these Masses and hymns are for two voices, with the parts written side by side, making the layout of this book unique among the volumes owned by Vlahović.

In 1725 Matija Jakobović (d. 1753) compiled the *Liber missarum quas ex libris re[vere]ndi P[at]ris Phillippi a Capusvar Ord[inis] Min[orum] S[ancti] Patris Francisci*

21 In the library of the Našice monastery is a volume with notes that Vlahović took during his seminary studies in Opava in 1717. The autograph title page reads: "Theologia moralis sec cvrsvs theologicus traditus atque completus a MM: VV: PP: Wenceslao Daudlebsky & Roberto Wohnsidler, Ord: Min: S:P: Nostri Francisci Reform: SS: Theologiae lectoribus actualibus, descriptus autem a Venerando patre Fre Philippo Wlahowich a Kapusvar, ejusdem tunc temporis studioso. Oppaviae ad S. Barbaram V: & Martyr: gloriosissimam. Anno mdccvii." For a biography of Filip Vlahović, see Dionizije Švagelj, "Filip Kapušvarac", in *Radovi Centra JAZU, Vinkovci* V (1984): 175–220.

22 The volume is a leather-bound unpaginated book (27.5 × 20 cm), kept in the library of the monastery in Požega.

23 This volume is a well-preserved leather-bound book (25 × 19 cm), kept in the library of the monastery in Požega.

Fig. 1. *Liber missarum quas ex libris re[vere]ndi P[at]ris Phillippi à Capusvar Ord[inis] Min[orum] S[ancti] Patris Francisci Obs[ervan]tium. Anno 1725. Die 22 Junii excerpsit Matthias Jacobovich*. Title page, 21 × 16.5 cm. Library of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, R–6.

Obs[ervan]tium. Anno 1725. Die 22 Junii excerpsit Matthias Jacobovich [fig. 1].[24] The title of this volume indicates that Vlahović owned a collection of music from which Jakobović copied Masses and hymns. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the contents of this anthology are complementary to Vlahović's volumes from 1730 and 1737. Among the seventeen Masses in the volume, five are also included in Vlahović's 1737 volume, in addition to a large number of hymns shared by both volumes. This manuscript also includes the only composition attributed to Vlahović, the *Messa di Pastorella del Ss^mo^ Natale, composta del Pre Philippo di Capusvar* (no. 10), a Christmas Mass with the characteristic dotted rhythm implemented in all movements [fig. 2]. Although a thorough analysis of this repertoire has yet to be done, it is probable that some of these Masses, most of which are in the style of measured chant, originated among Italian Franciscan musicians.

The 1730 volume from Vukovar, attributed to Vlahović, includes three Masses, one Requiem, twenty hymns in Latin and twenty in the Croatian language, the repertoire again shared with the Jakobović 1725 and Vlahović 1737 volumes.[25]

Vlahović's 1737 volume from Našice, entitled *Consonans dissonantia*, is his most elaborately decorated manuscript [fig. 3].[26] The musical text on each page is framed with an expansive ornamental frame, and at the beginning of each Mass movement is inserted an initial that takes up almost a quarter of the page [fig. 4]. The volume is organized in four parts. The opening section includes sixteen Masses and twelve Latin hymns. The second part, *Saltus sine saltu … seu fundamenta,*

24 Matija Jakobović was also the author of a Croatian-Latin dictionary written in 1710. Its manuscript is preserved at the Franciscan monastery in Visovac. See Loretana Farkaš, "Stari slavonski rukopisni rječnici", in *Filologija* 58 (2012): 99–114. The *Liber missarum* is a leather-bound book with 252 pages in quarto (21 × 16.5 cm), kept in the library of the monastery in Našice, R–6. Vlahović himself participated in the production of this volume and provided its decorations, since the volume's title page is consistent with his *Theologia moralis*, containing the notes he took at the seminary in Opava (1717), which is now kept in the library of the Našice monastery.

25 The volume is a leather-bound book in quarto (30.2 × 22 cm), with 116 pages (the title page and the first three folios are missing), kept in the Vukovar monastery, XII.G.1. The manuscript is dated on p. 47 (*Coventus Valcovariensis PP. Franciscanorum 1730*) and on p. 116 (*Spectat ad Conventum Sanctorum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi Anno Millesimo septingentesimo quadragesimo 3tio. Die vero 1ma januarii* [= 1 January 1743]). See Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Vukovaru* [Franciscans in Vukovar] (Vukovar: author, 1980), 188.

26 The full title is *Consonans dissonantia in qua multiplicis vocis amicum dissidium et Deum ludendo colit et hominem saliendo commendat seu libellus cantuum sacrorum in quo viva vox pneumatica voce adjuta facilitatem harmonicam pondere regularum pressa exhibet. Compilatus per me Patrem Fratrem Philippum â Capusvar Anno Domini M:DCC:XXXVII.* The manuscript is a leather-bound book with 210 pages in folio (34.5 × 22.5 cm), kept in the library of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, R–5. For its detailed description see Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Albinim Našicama* (Našice: author, 1981), 163–170; and Trpimir Matasović, "Našički kantual Filipa Vlahovića iz Kapušara", in *Arti musices* 29/2 (1998): 223–230.

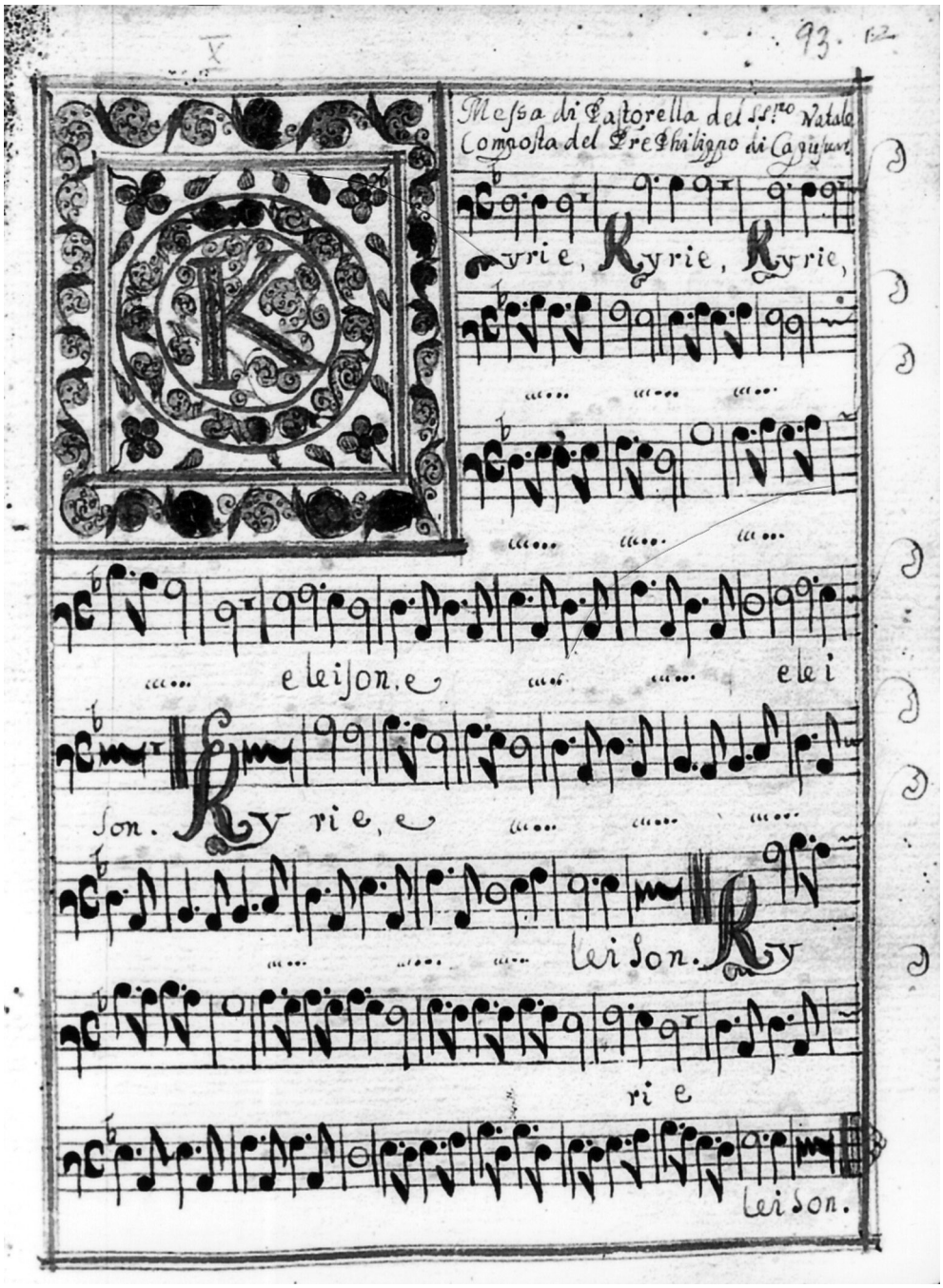


Fig. 2. Filip Vlahović, *Messa di Pastorella dell Ss^mo Natale, composta del Pre Philippo di Capusvar* (1725). Mass no. 10 in *Liber missarum quas ex libris re[vere]ndi P[at]ris Phillippi à Capusvar … excerpsit Matthias Jacobovich*, p. 93. Library of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, R–6.

Fig. 3. Filip Vlahović, *Consonans dissonantia* (1737), title page. Manuscript, 34.5 × 22.5 cm. Library of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, R–5.

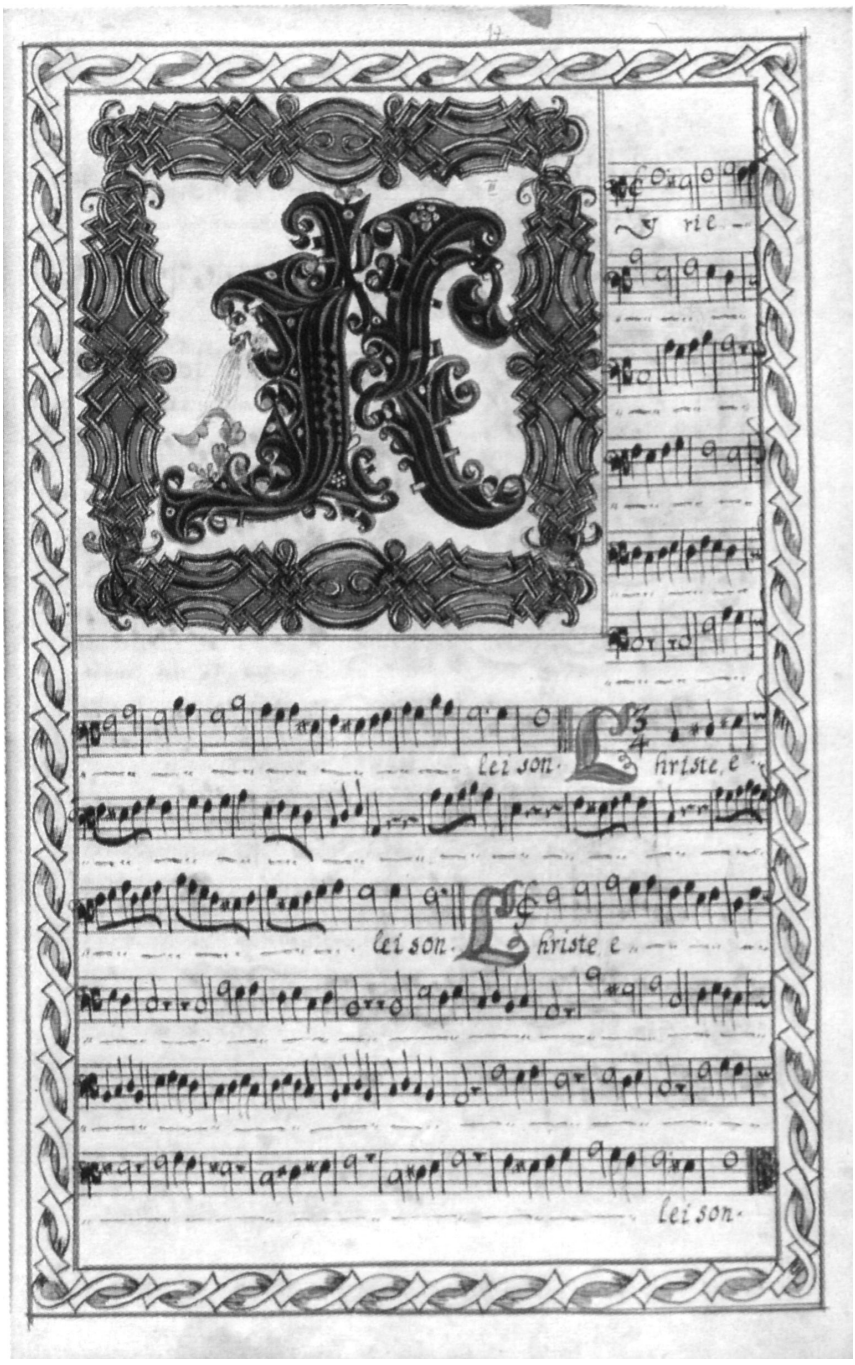


Fig. 4. Filip Vlahović, *Consonans dissonantia* (1737), Kyrie of Mass III, page. 17.

praeludia & simphoniae organisticae in ecclesia haberi solitae, was supposed to contain some basic music theory and a selection of preludes and organ compositions, but only the first page with instructions for how to read clefs and key signatures has been written out. The third part, with the title in the Croatian language, *Pochimayu razlichite duhovne piszme od Blaxene Divicze Marie* (Beginning of various spiritual songs dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary), includes twenty-nine Marian and seventeen other hymns in the Croatian language followed by Requiem movements [fig. 5]. The final part, *Apolo Sacratus, non in parnasso sed in ecclesia cytharam tangens, seu cantus cantilenarum sacratiores qui in ecclessia pro majori solatio fidelium in modulamen referri solent* includes nineteen Latin hymns, the 1722 Martirologium by Antonio de Budrio, and the Alma Redemptoris.[27]

The Masses in these volumes are for one voice without instrumental accompaniment. The *Liber memorabilium* of the Vukovar monastery provides an indication that on 16 November 1732 Vlahović sang there at the first Mass in the newly erected church "cum organo." This was certainly not a permanent organ but a portative brought there for the celebration, because the Franciscans could not have afforded to build an instrument in the church which still was not completely finished, and at this time did not even have permanently installed altars.[28] The *Liber memorabilium* mentions how the old wooden church was in such bad condition in the fall of 1732 that, since the season was very rainy, there was a real danger of the roof collapsing on the congregation. Hence, the guardian decided to bless the new church before it was completed.[29] This circumstantial evidence is a compelling indication that, in compiling his Vukovar volume of 1730, Vlahović had no reason to include the organ part, since the monastery at that time did not yet have a satisfactory church, much less an instrument.

Unlike the books from the middle of the century, where we find written annotations in the Masses marking the alternations between *solo* and *tutti*, the music here is not accompanied by any instructions and these volumes were clearly not meant to be used by a choir of clerics but rather by one soloist. All of Vlahović's volumes are small, and hardly more than one person could comfortably use at one time. In churches with an organ, the singer could easily have sung from the volume while at the same time improvising an organ accompaniment. The preserved textbooks document that Franciscan organists were learned in figured bass.

27 Two hymns from this volume – *Ignaculus amoris S.N.P. Francisci* ("Salve Deus, amor meus") and "Poslan bi anđeo Gabriel" – have been edited by Ennio Stipčević and published in the music supplement to *Sveta Cecilija* 58/1 (1988).

28 See *Liber memorabilium* of the Vukovar monastery, I, 56–60. P. Cvekan, *Franjevci u Vukovaru*, 64–66, 118.

29 Ibid.

Fig. 5. Filip Vlahović, *Consonans dissonantia* (1737), Marian hymn XXIX and the introduction to the part with hymns for other church feasts, page 145.

In most Masses of this repertoire the text is treated in a melismatic manner, occasionally even in the Gloria and Credo, movements traditionally set as a recitative. The exceptions are a few Masses – Vlahović's singular attributed piece *Messa di Pastorella* in Jakobović's volume, or Masses I, II, IV, V, and to some extent IX in the volume *Consonans dissonantia* – which are set in a more recitative manner, and where one cannot find sections with unmeasured rhythm. Masses I and IX have the tempo marked in several places, which makes them the only such works in this entire repertoire. A certain evolution can also be noticed in the notation, and it is obvious that Vlahović modernized his writing between his early volumes and the *Consonans dissonantia* of 1737, although the older style of diamond-shaped notation, which he used in earlier volumes, was still in use in Slavonia as late as 1749.[30]

It is also important to mention the missal copied by Franjo Vukovarac (Franjo from Vukovar, 1692–after 1771) entitled *Missae compositae per R.P.Fr. Franciscum de Budrio ac descriptae per Fr. Franciscum de Walchovarino Prov[inciae] Bosnae Arg[entin]ae Alumnum Ferraria dies 1722*. When Franjo produced this volume in 1722, he was a student of theology in Ferrara. The volume includes twenty-seven one-voice Masses and one two-voice Mass which the title page attributes to the Italian Franciscan composer Francesco Antonio di Budrio.[31] Vlahović copied another piece of his, a Martirologium, in his *Consonans dissonantia*, and it is the only attributed composition there, also dated to 1722. It would certainly be interesting to follow the connection between the Franciscan musicians in Slavonia and Francesco Antonio di Budrio, particularly since very few of his works have been preserved elsewhere.

Among the liturgical music books written in Našice is also included a volume dated at its end: *Finis hujus II-di Libri Nascicis in Conventu S. Antonii Paduani Anno Domini MDCCXLIX Mensis May die 7ma*. This volume is exceptionally well preserved and appears not to have been used much. Written in 1749, it was completed shortly before the monastery received the choirbook commissioned from Venice by Josip Janković which eliminated the older repertoire.

After the Dalmatian Provincia Sanctissimi Redemptoris separated from the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae in 1735, its administrators made an effort to supply the monasteries with new liturgical books which would make the music repertoire, and particularly the Masses, uniform throughout the province. Starting in 1744, new liturgical music books were commissioned from Giuseppe Maria Cord-

30 For example, in the so-called *Liber secundus* completed in Našice on 8 May 1749 (and kept in the library of the monastery in Šarengrad in the 1980s).

31 During the 1980s the volume was kept in the library of the monastery in Vukovar, XX.F.3. It is leather-bound and has 100 pages in quarto, 29 × 22 cm. The contents are cited in P. Cvekan, *Franjevci u Vukovaru*, 119–120.

ans (1694–1766),[32] a Franciscan living in the monastery of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice, who at the time had already produced many liturgical books for the Franciscan monasteries in Veneto. In 1750–51 the general definitor of the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae, Josip Janković (ca. 1710–57), also commissioned liturgical books from him for the monasteries in his province. Fourteen such choirbooks are known to be preserved, three of them with an accompanying organ part containing the figured bass [fig. 6].[33] At the beginning of each choirbook is a preface about the use of the volumes, with regulations about liturgical singing and its organ accompaniment, signed by Janković and approved with his wax seal.[34] The choirbooks were written by at least three different hands, one of them being Cordans.[35] They have a calligraphed script, usually seven staves per page. On the other hand, the organ part is not calligraphed, with not always parallel staves rather quickly lined with rastrum.

All the vocal volumes have identical contents consisting of thirteen Masses mostly dedicated to the Franciscan saints, one Requiem, and three Tantum ergo settings for one voice accompanied by the figured bass in the style of late-Ba-

32 The preserved volumes by Giuseppe Maria Cordans were produced for the monasteries in Šibenik (1744), Visovac (1745), Zaostrog (1748), Imotski (1748), Živogošće (1749), and Makarska (1754). A hymnal and antiphonary (in two volumes) were commissioned from Cordans in 1741 for the monastery in Košljun (north Adriatic) which belonged to the Dalmatian *Provincia S. Hieronymi*. See Albe Vidaković, "Tragom naših srednjovjekovnih neumatskih glazbenih rukopisa", in *Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije* 67 (1963): 364–392.

33 Eleven books produced for monasteries in Croatia have been preserved: those for Požega, Slavonski Brod, Bač, Stara Gradiška, Osijek, Vukovar (with the organ volume), Šarengrad, Ilok, Velika (with the organ volume), Cernik, and one without the title page possibly from Đakovo (with the organ volume). Three were copied for monasteries in present-day Hungary: for Baja (today in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. mus. IV.799), Buda (today in the monastery in Pest, Ferences Ms. 7a–b, with the organ volume), and one volume without a title page (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. mus. IV.803). At the Franciscan monastery in Budapest are kept two organ parts brought from Mohács (s.nr [Pécs E.I.53 and E.I.54]). – The volumes were produced with slight variations, for example, the Osijek choral volume is in large folio (50.5 × 35.5 cm) with iii + 297 pages, while the Šarengrad volume (48 × 34 cm) has 269 pages. The organ volume, containing the figured bass, is in the oblong format (22.5 × 30 cm), and the Vukovar copy has 204 pages.

34 At the beginning of each book is included the note: "Ut praesens liber Choralis, qui ad Majorem Dei Gloriam ordinatus in omni functione solemni ab omnibus exacte observetur stricte praecipimus etque mandamus, Fra Josephus Jankovich, Minis. Generalis et Diffinitor sui Ordinis, mp." The integral introductory text (from the Baja volume) is published in Róbert Árpád Murány, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Kompositionen in den franziskaner Handschriften in Ungarn* (Budapest: Püski, 1997), xiv–xv.

35 Cordans wrote his name in the vignette on the title page of the books produced for the monasteries in Osijek and Ilok (R.P. Josephmaria Cordans Venet. Ord. Min. Regul: Observ. S.P.N. Francisci scribebat in Conventu Vineae venetiarum Anno Jubilaei 1750). They are also numbered II and IV, indicating that some books from this series might be somewhere unidentified as of yet.

Fig. 6. Title page of the choral book for the monastery in Velika (1751). Such books Josip Janković commissioned from Giuseppe Maria Cordans for all Slavonian monasteries of the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae. Library of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, R–3.

roque monody [fig. 7].[36] These volumes provide a good indication of performance practice in the Slavonian Franciscan monastic communities. The vocal parts have clearly marked *solo* and *tutti* sections, indicating that the Masses were performed with an alternation between solo and choral ensemble, accompanied by the organ and sometimes the trumpet. Unlike the Vlahović volumes, which are small and obviously meant for use by only one or two monks, these volumes are large and a group of singers could easily have performed from them. With the introduction of these volumes in the middle of the eighteenth century, Masses began to be performed in Franciscan churches with an organ accompaniment. All the Masses in this volume are anonymous, and the repertoire still needs to be attributed. Besides the figured bass for the Masses included in the vocal part, the organ *libello* includes a selection of antiphons, arias, and hymns written for solo voice with organ accompaniment. This makes it apparent that the Masses were performed by a soloist alternating with a larger vocal ensemble, while the shorter compositions were sung by the organist, following the usual practice in the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

The commissioning of liturgical music books for both the Provincia Sanctissimi Redemptoris and the Provincia Bosnae Argentinae was a result of several factors. On one hand, they were standardizing the repertoire, making it uniform throughout the province, and possibly elevating its quality. On the other hand, with organs installed in more and more churches, it was now possible to have performances of more complex works. Just a year before the books were commissioned for the monasteries in Slavonia, Pope Benedict XIV Lambertini issued his encyclical *Annus qui*, which was intended to suppress the influence of theatrical music on church singing. Regarding the music situation in the Slavonian monasteries, the pope need not have been too concerned, because the available performing forces were limited, organs were installed only in the largest churches, and castrati were an unknown phenomenon. Still, the Masses in the Janković choirbooks were obviously not the only repertoire performed during the liturgy. Within a large amount of anonymous repertoire, the library of Slavonski Brod preserves the 1767 manuscript of a Mass by the Italian opera composer Antonio Maria Mazzoni

36 The Masses are: Missa S. Josephi, Missa S. Bonaventurae, Missa S. Caeciliae, Missa S. Benedicti, Missa S. Clarae, Missa S. Joannis Capistrani, Missa S. patri nostri Francisci, Missa B. Mariae Virginis Immaculatae, Missa S. Antonii, Missa S. Jacobi de Marchia, Missa S. Petri de Alcantura, Missa S. Didaci Confessoris, and Missa S. Catherina Bonania. – Ladislav Kačic attributed two of these Masses: the Missa S. Clarae to Giovanni Abondio Grotti, and the Missa S. Didaci Confessoris to Ferdinand Steiner. See Ladislav Kačić, "Repertoire und Aufführungpraxis der Kirchenmusik in den Franziskanerprovinzen Mitteleuropas im 17.–18. Jahrhundert", in *Musicological istropolitana* 1 (2002): 97.

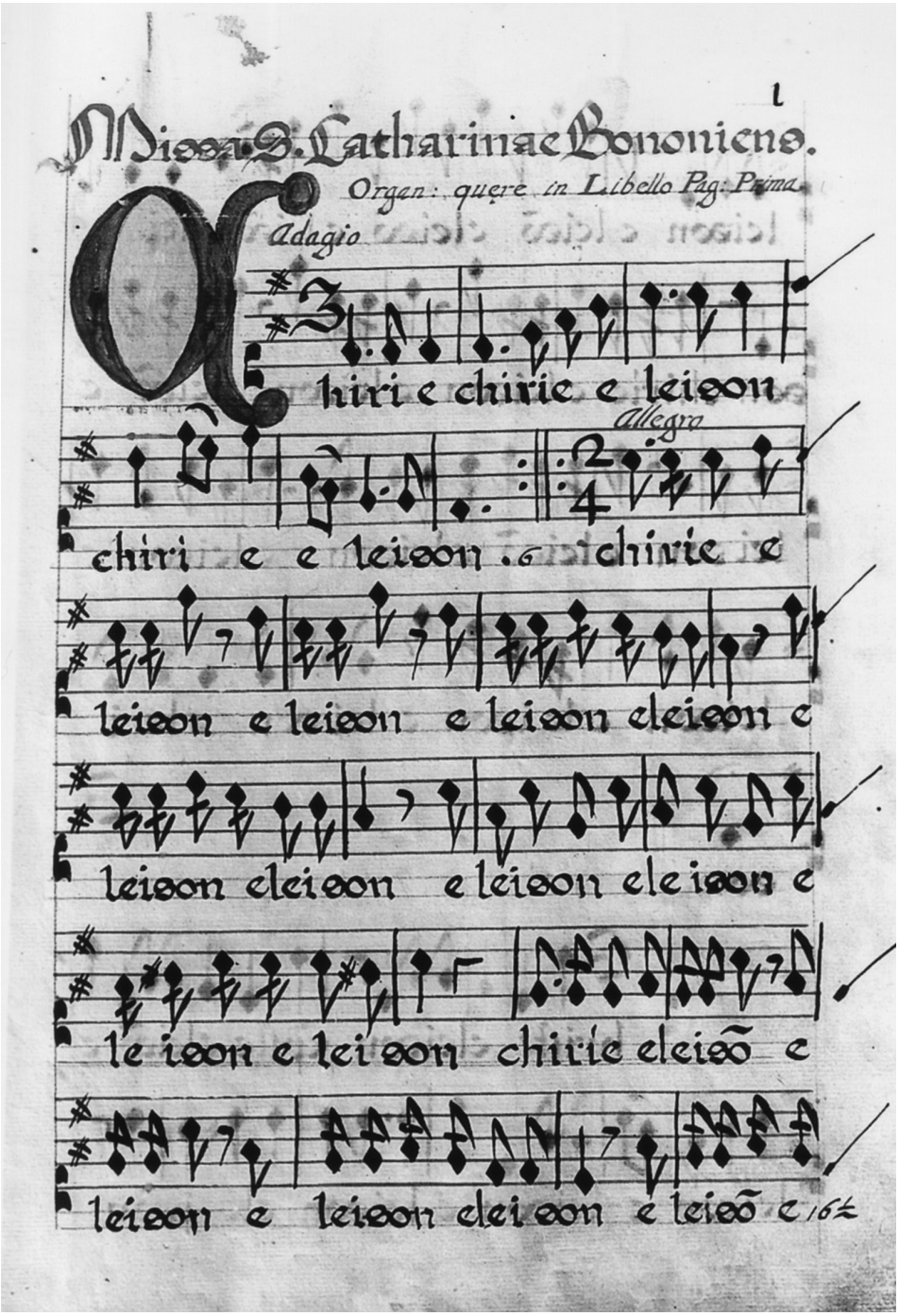


Fig. 7. *Missa S. Catharinae Boneniens*, in the choral book from Velika (1751).

(1717–1785), copied by Kuzma Vučka. This composition indicates that the Slavonian Franciscans remained interested in the newest music trends coming from Italy even after their monasteries were reorganized into the Provincia Sancti Joannis a Capistrano and geographically separated from Italy by the Bosnian and Dalmatian provinces.[37]

The repertoire from the choral books commissioned by Josip Janković as well as other Italian Masses continued to be performed until the reforms of Maria Theresa in 1776 and Joseph II in 1785, which terminated the earlier ceremonies and introduced simple *Singmessen* sung in the vernacular. The Franciscans had been eagerly promoting music in the vernacular all along, and now quickly adopted these new regulations. Ironically, in the *Liber annotationum* of the monastery in Brod, there is a note indicating that when the Crown Prince (the future Emperor Joseph II) visited the monastery in 1768, the Franciscans celebrated the Mass "as it was customary, singing from the book by the late Janković."[38] Now, the reforms of Joseph II put these same choral books out of commission.

Italian influences gradually diminished during the 1770s, and traditions approaching from the north (Hungary and Austria) brought classical instrumental music into fashion. Despite the recommended *Singmessen*, the music preserved in major monasteries indicates that from the 1770s the Masses were more and more often accompanied by an instrumental ensemble. In Slavonski Brod is preserved a large number of liturgical works for instrumental ensembles; one or two voices were accompanied by two violins, two clarinets, two horns, and one organ. The chronicle of the monastery in Osijek documents that three singers, two violinists, and an organist were sent in 1773 to play during the pontifical Mass in Đakovo.[39] Such performances became more frequent toward the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth century in Franciscan as much as in diocesan churches. If some of the pieces found in the music collections of Slavonski Brod or Osijek did not have religious texts, the score would look like a simple instrumental secular piece in classical style.

37 Library of the Franciscan monastery in Slavonski Brod, C–R.23. The original Credo in the Mass was replaced in Vučka's copy with one by Francesco da Bagnacavallo.

38 "cantus autem in choro erat ordinarius sub missa, prout etiam nos solemus, ex libro pie defuncti Jankovich cantare sine ulla musica." *Protocollum seu liber annotationum rerum notabilium conventus SS. Trinitatis*, library of the Franciscan monastery, Slavonski Brod, I, 115. See P. Cvekan, *Franjevci u Brodu*, 169. The term "sine ulla musica" should not be understood as *a cappella* singing, but rather as singing without instruments other than the organ. In the monastery library in Slavonski Brod a number of compositions are preserved with two violins, and occasionally also two trumpets.

39 See Marija Malbaša, "Glazbeni život u Osijeku", in *Osječki zbornik* IX–X (1965): 141. The organist in the Franciscan monastery at that time was Cecilijan Ockl.

In the monastery of Slavonski Brod are preserved compositions by P. Kristofor (Christophor) Kellerer (Kuttenplana, now Chodová Plana near Mariánske Lazni, Bohemia, 30 January 1742–Klagenfurt, 10 December 1790) and possibly his brother Karlo Kellerer (also born in Kuttenplana, 1748). Kristofor was a well-known theologian who taught philosophy in Buda (1769–1772) and theology in Temesvár (1777–1779) and Osijek (1779–1783).[40] After 1783 he was a military priest, serving with the troops in the Petrovaradin fortress (1787–1789). The *Necrologium conventus Vukovar* mentions that he was a composer and a good singer, but only a handful of his compositions have been identified.[41] In the monastery of Slavonski Brod have been preserved his *Ariae duae de S. Antonio vel pro aliis festis* for two voices and organ.[42] Other pieces by Kellerer include possibly the *Duetto I de F. Sanctissimo Corpore Christi*, and the *Aria de sanctissimo Sacramento,* both for bass and organ, preserved in anonymous manuscripts from around 1770,[43] the twelve vocal duos for which only the bass part is preserved, and five of his Masses.[44] Considering that Kellerer studied in Buda and later taught in Temesvár, it is likely that some of his compositions may also surface in the Hungarian monasteries.

THE HYMN REPERTOIRE

During the eighteenth century, the Franciscans in Slavonia championed simple congregational hymns with the text in the Latin or Croatian language, and they became an important tool in evangelization. Many monastic libraries in Slavonia and Srem preserved small hymnals created during the eighteenth century filled exclusively with such hymns, intended for the personal use of monks. It is significant that hymns in the German or Hungarian language are completely absent from these hymnals, and even when a German hymn was adopted into the repertoire, its text was regularly translated into Croatian. Given that in this region the Austrian

40 See E. F. Hoško, "Dvije osječke visoke škole", 167. In the monastery in Bač was preserved the first edition (1725) of Fux's *Gradus ad parnassum* with Kellerer's signature (today kept in the monastery in Slavonski Brod). Kristofor's two compositions in Slavonski Brod were copied by P. Kuzma Vučka (Wutschka), who copied a considerable amount of liturgical music during his seminary time in this monastery in 1767–1768. Later he lived in several monasteries in Slavonia, mostly in Bač, and died in 1800 as the organist of the Franciscan and parish churches in Đakovo.

41 See E. F. Hoško, "Dvije osječke visoke škole", 178.

42 The manuscript was copied by Vučka and dated 18 November 1767. Library of the monastery in Slavonski Brod, C-R49 and C-R50.

43 Library of the monastery in Slavonski Brod, C-R46 and C-R47.

44 The duos are in the library of the monastery in Slavonski Brod, C-R48, and the Masses in the monastery in Osijek.

military administration imposed the use of German in education, the Franciscans were clearly going against the grain by promoting hymns in the Croatian language.

Vlahović's volumes include large sections with hymns in Croatian and Latin. Taken together, all four volumes contain a repertoire of about sixty hymns, with the largest number in the third part of the *Consonans dissonantia*. Of the forty-six hymns included there, six are provided with a tune, a few others have a note instructing which melody should be used for the hymn, and the rest are represented with the text only. In this repertoire six hymns have been identified that are also included in the then extremely popular *Cvit razlika mirisa duhovnoga* (Venice, [1]1726; [2]1736), compiled by the Dalmatian Franciscan Toma Babić (c. 1680–1750); five are also in the second edition of the *Cithara octochorda*, and one hymn in the Vukovar volume is accompanied by a note saying that it should be sung to the tune of the hymn "Freut euch, ihr lieben Seelen."[45] Certainly these hymns were widely known even before they were printed in the *Cvit razlika* and the *Cithara octochorda*, and it should not be assumed that Vlahović copied them from either of these two sources. Still, the hymns for which he included only the lyrics, some of them probably written by Vlahović himself, should not be overlooked, since their quality places them at the apex of Franciscan poetry in Slavonia during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The choral books which Josip Janković commissioned in 1750–1751 in Venice made uniform not only the sung Masses but the entire liturgical repertoire. The hymns, antiphons, and arias in these volumes, all with Latin texts, could easily be overlooked because they were intended to be sung either by the organist or by a soloist standing next to him, and were therefore written only in the organ volume which is missing from most monasteries. This Latin repertoire apparently coexisted together with the hymns in the Croatian language which can be found in smaller volumes in all the Franciscan libraries in Slavonia, generally created *pro simplici uso* of monks. It is likely that the monks would have performed some of these more popular hymns together with the congregation, and in this way continued the tradition which we have traced already in the Vlahović volumes. Certainly, as a source of Croatian hymns the Franciscans could have also been using the *Cithara octochorda*, the hymnal of the Zagreb bishopric. Copies of its second edition (1723) have been found in the monasteries in Osijek, Ilok, Našice, Vukovar, Požega, and in a parish church in Feričanci.

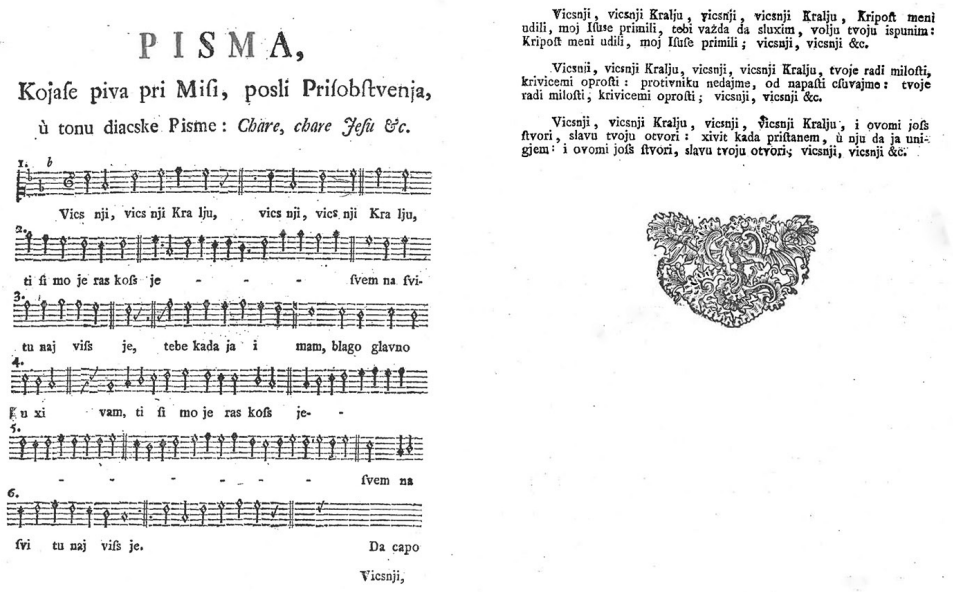
45 In the 1735 volume, Vlahović included only one hymn from the *Cithara octochorda* ("Poslan bi Angeo Gabriel"), while in the 1737 book there are five ("Poslan bi Angeo Gabriel," "Svitla zora, Diva Marija," "Zdrava Divica Bogorodica," "Zdravo o Marija, zdenac slatkosti," and "Zdrava zviezdo morska"). See Ladislav Šaban, "Glazba u slavonskim samostanima", 115.

In their attempt to better disseminate the hymns, both the Franciscans and the Jesuits also issued them in the form of printed flyers. Printed on a small sheet of inexpensive paper, these flyers are extremely rare today and only two are known to have been preserved in Croatia: *Popevka od treh chinov vere, uffanya, i lyubavi, koju iz zapovedi preszvetle czeszaricze, i kralyicze vojaki pod szvetum messum popevaju* (Song of the three mysteries of faith, reliance, and love, which is sung by soldiers during the holy Mass upon the order of the most illustrious empress and queen), printed in Vienna by Thomas Trattner in 1753, and *Pisma kojase piva pri Misi, posli prisobstvenja, ù tonu diacske pisme: Chare, chare Jesu &c.* (Song which is sung during the Mass after the veneration of the holy host, to the tune of the student song *Care, care Jesu*), issued without a date but possibly in the 1770s or 1780s [fig. 8].[46] The first hymn, obviously issued by the order of Maria Theresa to be circulated among the soldiers serving in the area of the military border, originated in the Kajkavian Jesuit missionary circle of Juraj Mulih (1694–1754). The other flyer, with a Croatian translation of the well-known Franciscan hymn *Care, care Jesu*, must have been issued by the Franciscans. Judging from the dialectal characteristics of the text, this was more likely the Slavonian Capistran circle than the north-Croatian Ladislav circle.[47] The tune of this hymn (with figured bass and the original Latin text) was already included in the 1737 volume *Consonans dissonantia* of Filip Vlahović, and also in the 1750–1751 volumes commissioned by Josip Janković. This later source is particularly important because it made this tune a standard throughout the province. Later, when the Janković volumes were put out of use, the printed leaflet reinforced this version of the tune, this time with a translation into the Croatian Ikavian dialect. The two leaflets also demonstrate how both Jesuits and Franciscans disseminated hymns in their catholicization efforts in similar ways.

Certainly, this is only a small portion of the repertoire which once circulated in practice and which congregations knew by heart. In the introduction of his 1819 *Pismenik*, describing the situation among the Croats in Vojvodina and in eastern Slavonia, Gjuro (György) Arnold (1781–1848) said that the hymn repertoire was not only deficient, but that each congregation in his diocese of Subotica sang dif-

46 *Popevka od treh chinov vere, uffanya, i lyubavi* is preserved in the library of the Franciscan monastery in Zagreb, R–A5. The sheet's dimensions are 16.9 × 10 cm. See Ladislav Šaban, "Misna popijevka carice Marije Terezije za vojnike u Hrvatskoj iz 1753. godine", in *Sv. Cecilija* 52/3 (1982): 56–58; Elizabeta Palanović, "Misna popijevka za krajiške vojnike iz 1753. godine", in *Sv. Cecilija* 66/1–2 (1986): 17–21. *Pisma kojase piva pri Misi* is preserved in the archives of the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod in Zagreb, rara collection. The sheet has dimensions 19 × 16.4 cm.

47 From 1735 to 1774 the only print shop in Slavonia was at the Franciscan monastery in Osijek. Since there is no indication that the shop owned type for setting music, this sheet was probably printed either in Hungary or in Vienna.


PISMA,

Kojaſe piva pri Miſi, posli Priſobſtvenja,

ù tonu diacske Pisme: *Chare, chare Jesu &c.*

Vics nji, vics nji Kra lju, vics nji, vics nji Kra lju,

ti ſi mo je ras koſs je - - - ſvem na ſvi-

tu naj viſs je, tebe kada ja i mam, blago glavno

u xi vam, ti ſi mo je ras koſs je- -

- - - - - - ſvem na

ſvi tu naj viſs je. Da capo

Vicsnji,

Vicsnji, vicsnji Kralju, vicsnji, vicsnji Kralju, Kripoſt meni udili, moj Iſuſe primili, tobi važda da sluxim, volju tvoju ispunim: Kripoſt meni udili, moj Iſuſe primili; vicsnji, vicsnji &c.

Vicsnji, vicsnji Kralju, vicsnji, vicsnji Kralju, tvoje radi miloſti, krivicemi oprosti: protivniku nedajme, od napasti cſuvajme: tvoje radi miloſti, krivicemi oprosti; vicsnji, vicsnji &c.

Vicsnji, vicsnji Kralju, vicsnji, vicsnji Kralju, i ovomi joſs ſtvori, slavu tvoju otvori: xivit kada priſtanem, ù nju da ja unigjem: i ovomi joſs ſtvori, slavu tvoju otvori; vicsnji, vicsnji &c.

Fig. 8. *Pisma, kojase piva pri Misi, posli prisobstvenja, ù tonu diacske pisme: Char, chare Jesu &c.* (1760s or 1770s). The sheet has dimensions 19 × 16.4 cm. Zagreb, Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod, rara collection.

ferent hymns using different books.[48] There is no reason to believe that the situation in Slavonia or among the Franciscans was any different. Croatian scholars have thus far focused their attention on the repertoire found in printed hymnals with tunes, neglecting the repertoire in manuscript sources, although because of its uniqueness, the repertoire in manuscripts is even more significant and revealing. This is the repertoire that was certainly performed, and it embodies all the characteristics of localized performance practices. One would need to make an inventory of this entire repertoire, and through a comparative analysis trace the variants and sources of these hymns, determining what was composed locally and which hymns were imported and adopted from the neighboring regions with texts translated into Croatian.

A uniform repertoire of hymns for all of Slavonia was offered for the first time in the collection *Bogoljubne pisme koje se pod svetom misom i razlicsitima svetkovinama pivati mogu; iz razlicsitih knjigah skupljene* (Religious songs which can be sung during the

48 "medju to jesam opazio, i ocsito vidio, da illiti bash nejma Pisama Cerveni za svaki, Nediljni, svecsani, illiti drugi dan godishtni podobni, illiti akoji i ima, a ono illiti takve Pisme nisu zakonito izvodjene, illiti pak po razlicsitim Knjigam tako jesu razmetnute, daji ni svaki Pivacs Cerkveni, akamoli ostali Puk jest moguch u jedno skupiti, sabrati, i imati." Gjuro Arnold, *Pismenik* (Osijek: M.A. Divald, 1819), "Pridgovor".

holy Mass and on various holidays, collected from different sources), by Marijan Jaić (1795–1858) and published in Buda in 1827.[49] Three years later, Jaić reissued the collection under the new title *Vinac bogoljubnih pisamah koje se nediljom i s prigodom razlicsitih svetkovinah pod s. misom pivati obicsaju iz razlicsiti duhovnih knjigah sastavljen i s nacsinom csiniti pod krixa* (A wreath of devotional hymns customarily sung on Sundays and other holidays during the holy Mass, compiled from religious books, and with the way of the cross in an appendix; Buda 1830). The *Vinac*, as the volume is usually known by its title on the second edition, immediately became a bestseller and was issued eleven times during Jaić's lifetime and reprinted in fourteen later editions, with several thousand copies issued in each printing.[50] Like Fortunat Pintarić (1798–1867), his counterpart from the Ladislav province, in this first printed hymnal of the Capistran province Jaić combined the prayer book and hymnal in one volume, and also included prayers and liturgical hymns from Slavonia, southern Hungary, and Banat, but – like Arnold eight years earlier – in his *Pismenik* (1819) he did not offer their tunes.

From the very beginning of his work on the hymnal, Jaić envisioned issuing a volume which would include the organ accompaniment for every hymn in the *Vinac*. He imagined that such an edition would make it easier for teachers and organists to introduce this repertoire to congregations and to school children. However, it took him twenty-three years and seven editions of the *Vinac* without the tunes before he was able to issue this accompanying volume, the *Napivi bogoljubnih cérkvenih pisamah* (Tunes of pious church songs; Buda 1850), which included the complete repertoire that an organist needs through the church year and at various religious ceremonies.[51]

49 Marijan (Stjepan) Jaić was born in Slavonski Brod on 4 July 1795. He received his first Franciscan education in Osijek, then studied philosophy in Našice and Slavonski Brod (1813–1815), and theology in Vukovar (1815/1816 and 1817–1819). He was clothed in Bač on 7 May 1812, professed his vows on 7 July 1816 in Vukovar, and was ordained on 19 September 1818 in Đakovo. After his studies he remained in the monastery in Vukovar and worked there as a teacher at the elementary school (1819–1821). After passing the exam for professor of theology in 1821, he taught theology in Vukovar (1821–1822, 1824–1828, 1830–1833), in Arad (1822–1824), and in Mohács (1828–1830). Between his two tours serving as the provincial superior of the Capistran province (1833–1836; 1845–1848), he was the guardian of the monastery and the director of the gymnasium in Osijek (1837–1845). After completing his second tour as the provincial superior, he stayed in Buda, first to complete his collection of the *Napivi*, and later was elected the guardian of the monastery (1850–1853), the dean of the theology university (1850–54), and finally the custodian of the province (1854–1857). Marijan Jaić died in the Buda monastery on 4 August 1858. – See Emanuel Franjo Hoško, *Marijan Jaić, obnovitelj među preporoditeljima*, Orijentacije 12 (Zagreb: Katehetski salezijanski centar, 1996).

50 The 18th edition, published in Buda in 1890, had an appendix compiled by the teacher and organist in Petrovaradin, Vjekoslav Grginčević, in which he added 77 pages with forty additional hymns.

51 A facsimile edition of the hymnal was edited by Miho Demović, *"Napivi" Marijana Jaića: Prvi hrvatski orguljnik (kantual)* (Zagreb: Kor prvostolne crkve zagrebačke, 1997). The original 1850 edition of the *Napivi* has viii + 114 pages, 31.7 × 24.7 cm in size. The content of the *Napivi* follows the seventh edition of the *Vinac*.

In the preface to the *Napivi* Jaić said that he "intended to complete this edition already for a long time, but was prevented by various other work and by the high expenses of printing." And indeed, without a large contribution for printing provided by the ban Josip Jelačić, he would possibly not have been able to print it even then. In the introduction he also mentioned that he wants to offer in his hymnal a repertoire that could be adopted and made uniform throughout the lands where Croatians lived.[52] Such a concept certainly appealed to Jelačić who, fresh from the revolutionary events of 1848 and the national renewal they initiated, was also interested in the cultural and political unification of the Croatian Tripartite Kingdom. While financing the printing, Jelačić – to whom the hymnal was also dedicated – received a large portion of the run, possibly several hundred copies, which he distributed to organists and teachers throughout northern Croatia and Slavonia. The distribution of Jaić's *Napivi* in Slavonia had probably an effect similar to that of the *Cithara octochorda* a century earlier in the Zagreb Diocese.

Most of the *Napivi* was completed already by 1840, since Jaić acknowledged in the preface the help of two young friars, Gèrga Dvoršak (Dvořak) and Eusebie Bauer, who "surprised him on New Year's Day of 1840 with a clean copy of the complete work." Among the music that Jaić once owned, today in the Osijek monastery are preserved the autographs of four Eucharist hymns set for one or two voices, bassoon, two clarinets, and two horns – (1) *Ko che to csudo primit?* (2) *Das größte Sakrament*, (3) *Sacris solemnis*, and (4) *Csudo prislavnoga tila, jezici zapivajte* – which make it clear that he started working on the hymnal at the same time as he conceived the *Vinac*. The vocal and instrumental parts from which musicians once performed these compositions are inserted in a jacket made of the same kind of paper, but which was mistakenly taken from a different composition by Jaić, since its title, although written in his hand and in the same ink as the music, does not correspond with the material found within.[53] It is significant that the jacket is dated 1825, two years before the first edition of the *Vinac*, which makes it certain that Jaić by that time already had music for these and possibly other hymns. This group of

52 "da i onde slavjanah bogoštovnoj želji odgovorim, a drugih Narodah pravu bogoljubnost neuvredim –; želeći s' ovim dilom, i civosviračem, – i bogoljubnom puku, koliko bi barem moguće bilo, – tako na rukuh prispiti: da došao Šlavonac u Hèrvatsku, ili Dalmaciu; ili se nalazio Hèrvath, ili Dalmatinac u Šlavonii, svaki iste cèrkvene pisme, iste njihove napive, i sve isto bogoljubno štovanje našao, i po tomu se još pokrutje u duhu vèrezakonite Istine, i ljubavi s' jedinili." *Napivi*, preface "Bogoljubni pivače."

53 The title reads: *Tantum Ergo / Nro 1º / Vocibus: Canto et Alto / Violino Primo con Secundo / Clarineto Primo con Secondo / Cornu Primo, Cornu Secundo / con Organo / P. Mariani Jaich, S*[anctissimae]. *Th*[eologiae]. *Lect*[or] *mp. 1825* (*cornu primo* and *cornu secundo* is crossed out). The library of the Osijek monastery, II/48. Two of these hymns, somewhat altered, were included in the section with Eucharist hymns of the *Napivi*: *Ko che to csudo primit?* appears as hymn XI, and *Das größte Sakrament* is in Croatian translation hymn IX.

parts may suggest the way in which Jaić was able to introduce new hymns to congregations unfamiliar with them. They could have been first performed by a soloist with instrumental ensembles. Then, when the congregation became familiar with the tune, everybody could join in singing by reading the text available in his *Vinac*.

On the title page of the *Napivi*, Jaić gives credit for "checking and putting tunes in order" to the teacher and organist from Buda, Josip Kalasancie Dèrlik. Nothing is known about Jaić's musical training, although it is possible that he received same music education from Marijan Lanosović (1742–1812), who was his tutor in the gymnasium between the end of 1807 and May 1812. In his student days Jaić played the organ in several churches,[54] and music he once owned suggests that he also used to play in chamber ensembles.[55]

The organization of the *Napivi* corresponds with the *Vinac*, following its division into thirteen sections. Each piece in the *Napivi* has a reference pointing to the page number where the text can be found in the *Vinac*. The volume opens with the antiphons Rorate, Aspergas, and Vidi aquam; the hymns before the homily are followed by the hymns for *Singmesse* and the Eucharist hymns. The second part includes hymns for particular liturgical periods through the church year: Christmas carols, hymns for Lent, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Holy Trinity. The third part includes Marian hymns, hymns dedicated to saints, and Advent hymns. Finally, the fourth part has two hymns to keep the plague away, litanies, pieces for funerals, and it closes with the Austrian anthem, and the Te Deum laudamus.

The main sources for the hymns which Jaić selected for his *Vinac* were the *Mala i svakom potribna bogoslovica (Nauk kerstjanski)* (A brief and essential book for all catechism; or Christian catechism; 1760) by Antun Kanižlić (1699–1777), which remained popular in Slavonia through the Josephinian period,[56] and the *Bogoslavne pismice za potribu bajske xupne cerkve* (Liturgical songs for use in the parish church of Baja; Kalocsa, 1806).[57] The tunes in the *Napivi* have several sources. There are

54 Hoško, *Marijan Jaić*, 28.

55 The music at the Franciscan monastery in Osijek includes the manuscripts of several chamber compositions Jaić once owned: an album of six sonatas for violin and piano by an unknown composer (Jaić dated it in 1823, no. I/15), *Contratänze* from ballets and operas for violin or flute and guitar (II/37), a *Sammlung mehrerer Stücke für Violino und Guitarre* (II/41), a *Tercett Serenade* for guitar, flute, and viola (II/42), and the *Rossini-Collection des Ouvertures* arranged for flute and guitar (II/43). It is likely that Jaić brought these compositions from Buda, where he received his licentiate in 1823.

56 Hoško, *Marijan Jaić*, 196–199.

57 According to Hoško, this hymnal might have been a new edition of the now-lost *Bogoslovne pismice na poshtenje Bogorodici Boxanskoj Marii, i svetom Antunu Padovanskomu, prikazane za duhovnu korist bogomilih gospodatra varashanah varoshi Baje, sklopljene po jednom francishkanu kapistranskomu* (Pecs, 1784), attributed to Petar Lipovčević. See ibid., 194, 199–201. See also, Veronika Reljac, "Slavonsko-podunavske pastoralne teme: Osvrt na jednu crkveno-povijesnu tetralogiju", in *Diakovensia* (2011): 251–286.

one hundred eighty traditional hymns in the volume, some originally Croatian, others translated from German or Hungarian. It is possible that congregations had forgotten the tunes of some of the hymns included in Kanižlić's *Nauk kershtjanski*, and Jaić composed replacements or adopted existing tunes. Miho Demović points out that Jaić introduced in his arrangements a new style, dominated by a major key, a lively rhythm, and a well-developed melody, with clear cadences.[58] Ninety-two more tunes are chants with texts in Croatian and Latin, and finally there are thirty-one vocal pieces (Josef Haydn, J. K. Dèrlik, Fr. Kreutz) and twenty-six organ preludes (J. S. Bach, Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck, Johann Georg Albrechtsberger) taken from the classical repertoire.

It is rarely mentioned that Jaić, aware of the multinational and multilingual composition of the population in the orbit of the Capistran province, also published a hymnal (without tunes) for the German congregations: *Sammlung katholischer Kirchengesänge* (Pest, 1856).[59] In the introduction to this volume he mentioned that in his youth he had accompanied Masses for the German congregations on the organ, and at that time collected hymns and their tunes. He obviously also intended to publish a companion volume with the harmonizations of these hymns, but he died before he was able to accomplish this.

NON-LITURGICAL MUSIC PERFORMED IN MONASTERIES

The Franciscan libraries reveal little about the music performed in monastic refectories in Slavonia before the 1770s. The preserved material is sporadic and often unreliable because some scores entered the libraries later and were not used by the Franciscans. Still, some sources do give us a sample of what they played and sang in their leisure time. The Osijek monastery has an edition of German secular songs for one, two, or three voices, *Tafel-Confect* (Augsburg: Lotter, 1733), by the Benedictine Johann Valentin Rathgeber (1682–1750). The signature of Josip Pavišević on the title page of these Anacreontic songs reliably identifies this music as having been used in the monastery.[60]

The earliest Franciscan composer in the region whose secular works have been preserved is Karlo Kellerer, possibly the brother of the aforementioned Kristofor.

58 Demović, *"Napivi" Marijana Jaića*, 35–42.

59 The hymnal was dedicated to the Prince Primate of Hungary, Cardinal János Scitowszky de Nagy-Kér (1785–1866), who approved its publication.

60 The signature on the basso part, kept in the monastery's library with shelf no. I/10, reads: "Ad Usum P.F. Josephi Pavissevich Lectoris Generalis", Pavišević passed the requirements for general lector in 1768 and taught theology in Osijek from 1768 to 1778. He was later the guardian of the Osijek monastery (1778–1780) and the provincial superior (1783–1791; 1797–1800).

He was clothed in 1768, but in 1779 he left the order before professing his vows, and nothing is known about him after that. It is possible that he studied music with Kristofor, who might have been a better trained musician. In the Slavonski Brod monastery are preserved his string quartet (divertimento) in C major, which is the earliest known chamber work composed in Slavonia, and the title page of his *Offertorium pro omni tempore*.[61] Karlo Kellerer was obviously more self-conscious than his brother Kristofor, since he did not hesitate to sign his pieces as the composer and organist.

The Osijek monastery also holds a manuscript of Vanhal's eight variations that was once owned by Cecilian Ockl, the organist there from 1773 to 1779. Since he was a life-long organist, other sources of keyboard music found in monasteries in Ilok and Slavonski Brod might also have come from him. In the early nineteenth century, music-making in monasteries obviously became more diversified and extensive. A substantial amount of preserved music includes chamber works for two, three, or four string instruments, sometimes with flute (Haydn, Mozart, Pleyel, Gyrowetz), arrangements of operas for piano solo or duet (Czerny, Gelinek, Mozart, Rossini, Drechsler, Peter Winter), and dances (Strauß, György Arnold), pieces originally written for piano (variations and sonatas by Mozart and Pleyel), and also, becoming popular around the middle of the century, the guitar. Within this repertoire belong also the chamber pieces once owned and possibly performed by Marijan Jaić, kept in the Osijek monastery.

THE FRANCISCANS, THE ORGAN BUILDERS

The picture of music in the Provincia Sancti Joannis a Capistrano would be incomplete without mentioning the Franciscan organ builders coming from within the province, especially since some of their instruments are still in use. Simon Sangl (1768?–1829) from Arad built the organ in Vukovar (which no longer exists) between October 1821 and October 1822. In 1827 he completed the organ in Baja, and made a proposal for the disposition of the new instrument in the monastery in Bač. The work on this instrument (II/16), which is still used today, commenced on 15 May 1827, but Sangl died on 20 March 1829 at the age of 61, without completing it. The organ was finished on 20 September 1829 by his assistant Ignacije Lehner and the carpenter Fridolin Wagner (1797–1856).[62]

61 The Divertimento is in the library of the Francistan monatery in Slavonski Brod, C-R60. The viola part is missing. *Ad offertorium ex F, pro omni tempore (Eja chori resonate)* for two sopranos, basso, two violins and organ is at C-R38.

62 See Paškal Cvekan, "Braća franjevci graditelji orgulja u 19. stoljeću", in *Sv. Cecilija* 43/4 (1973): 102.

The Austrian Ignacije Lehner (12 March 1783–Radna, 30 October 1843) was clothed on 22 March 1804, and professed his vows on 22 December 1805. In 1823 he was listed in the chronicle of the monastery in Našice as the organist, who also taught the seminarians to play music and sing. Apparently he was at first assisting Sangl in building the instrument in Vukovar, but he soon learned from him how to build instruments, and the chronicle of the monastery in Bač calls him in 1827–29 the "organifex." When the Franciscans in Slavonski Brod sold their old organ in 1836 to the parish church in the town, Lehner took the old instrument apart and replaced it with the new organ (I/14) which the Franciscans bought in Tabán, a suburb of Buda. He played this new instrument on 14 August 1836, even before it was completed, and again upon finishing it two years later, on 30 August 1838. Helping him during the work on this instrument, which is still being used, were the carpenters Fridolin Wagner and Simon Frimmel. Lehner interrupted his work in Slavonski Brod from 19 October 1837 to 1 April 1838 when he worked on the organ in Ilok. After completing the instrument in Slavonski Brod, he probably moved to some Capistran monastery in southern Hungary or Romania, because his name does not appear in the records of the Slavonian monasteries.[63]

63 Ibid.

THE PAST REVISITED: THE BAROQUE ALLEGORICAL THEATRE OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX ARCHBISHOPS OF SREMSKI KARLOVCI IN THE EIGHTEENTHTH CENTURY

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Abstract. *The Archbishopric of Karlovci was created in the Habsburg Empire in 1690, when Patriarch Arsenije III and his Serbian subjects fled into Austrian lands ahead of the invading Ottomans. From then on, the struggle for the recognition of a minority religion in the Catholic Empire was a constant diplomatic battle, played out with spectacle and ceremony. Considering the difficult position of the Orthodox Archbishopric within the Catholic Empire, the use of different forms of ceremonial language was highly peculiar; triumphal entries, pastoral installations, and allegorical theatre had specific forms of their own. They always existed in that liminal space between political reality and a political fiction reflecting the position of the Archbishopric as a shadow state within the Empire. Like other forms of ephemeral spectacle, theatre was also used as a means to confirm the political status and preservation of the Archbishopric's relative independence in the Empire. In what follows I shall discuss theatrical practice in the Archbishopric that began in the 1730s in the form of school theatre, which was attached to the court in Karlovci, under the direction of Manuil Kozačinskij.*

Keywords: Serbian Orthodox Archbishops of Sremski Karlovci, school theatre, Patriarch Arsenije III, Manuil Kozačinskij

THE ORIGINS OF SCHOOL THEATRE

The beginnings of school theatre in Europe can be linked to the humanist revival of education in the fifteenth century, but its full flowering occurred at the time of the Counter-Reformation.[1] As part of Jesuit educational practice, school theatre became an important tool for Catholic propaganda during the Reformation. In this Jesuit form it was commonly found in the lands of the Austrian Habsburgs.[2]

1 For more information, see Pierre Behar and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, eds., *Spectaculum Europeum: Theatre and Spectacle in Europe (1580–1750)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 100–116.

2 "The Habsburgs' revival of the dream of universal sovereignty under the Roman Emperor's rule was similar to the ancients both in conception and promise. Seen as a mission to which they had

The repertoire of the Jesuit theatre was broad but initially comprised various religious themes applicable to the rhetorical and artistic practice of their pupils; it was later enriched with a number of political, allegorical, and mythological elements.[3] These plays were also intended to persuade their audiences, and as a result of the considerable funds of the Order, they were endowed with pomp on a large scale, including fireworks and elaborate stage sets. One of the largest Jesuit strongholds was their college in Belgrade, established in the 1650s. As an important educational centre the college organized annual plays and processions, of which the most elaborate was performed in 1726: "That afternoon twenty-five pupils took part in a school play. The play was divided into three acts: the Allegory of Justice punishes Lucifer, the Allegory of Divine Grace redeems Adam, and lastly the Allegory of Goodness delegates her duties to the guardian angels".[4]

The Jesuit presence in Belgrade and other major centres of the Empire could have exerted a direct influence on the school theatre of the Serbian populace in Austria. The relationship between the Archbishopric and the Jesuit theatre was, however, far more complex.[5]

As in Belgrade, Jesuit theatre in the Empire provided the initial contact with school theatre, but its example was not taken as a primary model for the creation of a similar institution in the Archbishopric.[6] In this case the high clergy searched in a different direction, in the tradition of the Kiev Spiritual Academy (*Duhovna akademija*), the main centre of Orthodoxy in Central Europe. However, what was not adopted directly into Serbian school theatre was implanted indirectly. Both the Habsburg Jesuit and Ukrainian school theatres were founded on the same principles, which Ukrainians received from the neighboring seminaries of the Society

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been elected by God, the claim to world domination was based not on a geopolitical strength, but on virtue and above all on piety". Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Habsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New York, London: Yale University Press, 1993), 98–103.

3 For more information on Jesuit theatre in Central Europe, see Behar and Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Spectaculum Europeum*, 100–116.

4 Miroslav Vanino, "Isusovci u Beogradu", *Vrela i prinosi* 4 (1934): 28–29; Josip Lešić, "Isusovačko kazalište u Beogradu i Petrovaradinu u prvoj polovini XVIII stoljeća", *Zbornik Matice srpske za umetnost i muziku* 50 (1978): 61–110.

5 Eventually Austrian theatre did leave its mark on the further development of theatrical practice in the Archbishopric, particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century. This influence was most evident in cities with a large Austrian or German population, like Timişoara (where Austrian theatre had existed since 1753) and Bečkerek, where the cultural symbiosis was highly apparent. Although no visual evidence has been preserved, there are a number of documents recording the Austrian theatre groups performing Serbian plays and occasions when the Serbs wrote plays in German. It is important to note that these cross-influences were possible only in the theatre that was not an immediate expression of Archiepiscopal policy but closer to the popular theatre that proliferated in Europe at that time.

6 Miraš Kićović, *Školsko pozorište kod Srba u toku XVIII I na početku XIX veka* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1952).

of Jesus. As part of the same process of appropriation as that used by Ukrainian scholars for the reception of the Jesuit educational model, they accepted the most current form of school theatre founded on the aesthetics of Jesuit theoreticians like Julius Caesar Scaligeri and Jacob Pontius.[7] Throughout the seventeenth century the Spiritual Academy, particularly under the direction of the famous scholar and playwright Teofan Prokopovič, reworked the Jesuit theatrical template for its own educational and political purposes.[8] Apart from the basic model of school drama, the Ukrainians also borrowed from the Polish Jesuits a specific panegyric form that would have a large influence on Kozačinskij himself. Therefore, Kiev was the most suitable place from which, during the 1720s and 1730s, the Serbian Archbishops imported Ukrainian professors and their theatre.

With the arrival of Ukrainian professors, notably Manuil Kozačinskij – later the rector of the Latin academy (*Collegium slavono-latino carloviciense*) in Karlovci – the Archbishopric was introduced through a "safe Orthodox source" to the most fashionable form of school theatre ready to be tailored to its political needs.

TRAEDOKOMEDIJA (TRAGI-COMEDY) BY MANUIL KOZAČINSKIJ

The arrival of Manuil Kozačinskij in 1733 marked the foundations of Serbian school theatre and of ephemeral spectacles on a larger scale in Karlovci. Educated in the Spiritual Academy and a disciple of Prokopovič, Kozačinskij wrote such important works as a *Treatise on Philosophy* even before he came to Karlovci and took part in several theatre productions of the Academy.[9] Therefore, he had a very good background for the enlightening and scholarly task that lay ahead of him in Karlovci, where he would stay for six years until the death of his main patron, Archbishop Vikentije Jovanović.[10] Kozačinskij's fate there was tied to the archiepiscopal succession. After the death of Jovanović in 1738, the Latin School (*Collegium slavono-latino carloviciense*) was dissolved and Manuil Kozačinskij tried to sustain himself by working for the Serbian bishops, Visarion Pavlović in Novi Sad and Simeon Filipović in Pakrac. Disappointed with his assignments, the learned and enthusiastic scholar returned to Kiev, where he pursued a flourishing career as a professor of philosophy and later rector of the Academy, writing continuously, particularly in praise of the Russian Empress Elizaveta Petrovna.[11]

7 Mihovil Tomandl, *Srpsko pozorište u Vojvodini*, vols. 1–2 (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1932), 12.
8 Ibid., 101.
9 Vlastimir Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij i njegova "Traedokomedija"* (Novi Sad. Matica Srpska, 1980), 210–220.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., 220.

An even more significant fact is that in its structure and realization the play possessed all the elements of the contemporary panegyric plays. As I shall demonstrate, *Tragi-comedy* resembles in its structure both the creations of the Jesuit school theatre and the productions of the Ukrainian Spiritual Academy (Киевска духовна акдемия). It is also the only Serbian play from this early period preserved in its entirety. Although visual records of its stage and costume designs have not been preserved – either due to lack of means or the later destruction of documents in the great fire that burnt down the court and the entire city of Karlovci in 1788 – a sufficient number of textual sources are available to help reconstruct the visual impact this play must have had on its audience.

Tragi-comedy was most probably commissioned as early as 1733 by the archbishop Vikentije Jovanović. It formed a part of his educational and even more his political goals. His entire political program was based on history because he was convinced that examples from the past were the best way to enlighten his people. This play and its subject matter – the glorious history of the fallen Serbian medieval state and its expected resurrection under the present archbishops – was as much the creation of Kozačinskij as of his erudite patron.[12]

This close collaboration also indicates the most plausible festive occasion for the play's first performance: to honor the favorable conclusion of the archbishop's diplomatic mission in Vienna in 1736.[13] The primary function of *Tragi-comedy* was to glorify both the medieval past and the present strivings of the Serbs in the Empire. Its other foci concern the introduction of a new educational system and the importance of the Latin school in Karlovci elaborated in the concluding part of the play. Implicitly, though, all those functions had one sole aim: the glorification of the archbishop himself. This panegyric aspect of Kozačinskij's play was particularly evident in the laudatory song that represents the end and the climax of the *Tragi-comedy*:

> It is time to give thanks and to show gratitude,
> So let us sing praise to and gratify
> Vikentije Jovanović for all his magnificent efforts
> And wish him many years of prosperity.[14]

12 Tomandl, *Srpsko pozorište u Vojvodini*, 13; Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 221.

13 Erčić, ibid.

14 According to previous scholarship (Rajić/Grujić), *Tragi-comedy* was performed for the first time in 1736. Erčić proposes an earlier date of performance (1734), but Kozačinskij needed more time to research such a complex subject. He had to spend more time in the Archbishopric in order to become better acquainted with the history of the Serbs and their traditions, and to uncover all the religious-political relations that existed in Karlovci. Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 327.

HISTORICISM

The dual structure of the play, connecting the remote past of the Serbian Middle Ages with its immediate present, was no novelty. First of all, it was done in the tradition of historicism that was a familiar form of historical thinking from Cesare Baronio and Matteus Flavius onwards.[15] Baronio explained this in the introduction to his *Annales Ecclesiastici*: "Just as successive links form a single chain, so years joined to years by many cycles of years compose one and the same work, and reveal to you that the Church has been always one and the same".[16]

In much the same way, Kozačinskij wanted to present to his audience the uninterrupted glory and the historical continuum of the Serbian state. By the 1730s, the concept of defending one's present with one's own (constructed) past was not only part of the literary tradition used to glorify European courts (for example, the play *Habsburg Pietas* by Justus Lipsius, written for the coronation of Emperor Ferdinand III in 1627 and later reworked by Avancini), but also served as a basis for a large number of Jesuit plays that were usually based on the Baronian tradition.[17] One of the important authors for the Jesuit stage, Joseph Symons, regarded it as a crucial part of his plays that they were all re-enacted examples from history, ranging from the Byzantine past to Christian martyrology: *Leo Armenius* (1645), *Zeno* (1626), and *Marcella* (1648). Furthermore, the concept of defending one's present with the past was also largely used in the Ukrainian Spiritual Academy in the works of Teophan Prokopovič. This principle was most apparent in his important play *Vladimir* (1705), in which he utilized the glorious times of the onset of Christianity in Russia to illuminate the current Petrine state.[18] He propagated this model of thought through his historical plays, and even more in his famous *Rhetoric* (1711). It is therefore understandable that Kozačinskij, coming from Kiev, would easily accept the commission to write a play with historical subject matter and based on tradition, and seek a festive occasion for its performance. Not only was his (Kievan) inclination towards history well matched with the wishes of his

15 Quotations from Kozančiskij's *Tragi-comedy* are taken from Erčić's transcription of Rajić's edition of the play. During the work on this chapter Erčić's transcription was compared to its original kept in the Archive of Matica Srpska in Novi Sad (BMS, RR 396). The last sentence is not clear:
"Время захвалити и возблагодарити.
Возблагодаримо, и вси воскликнемо: Викентий Іоаннович, за толики Твоя труди
многа лъта Ти буди!"
Kozačinskij (1734?) transcribed in Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 563.

16 Pontien Polman, *L'Élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVIe siècle* (Gembloux: Paris, 1932), 465–472.

17 Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, trans. Piotr Skarga (Moscow, 1719), 3.

18 For further information see Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 340.

patron, but the concept of historicism itself had already emerged in the political and historical works of local authors of the late seventeenth century. From works like Branković's *Chronicles* (*Hronike, nema tačna pisao ih do svoje smrti*, 1711) and Orbin's *The Kingdom of Slavs* (*Kraljevstvo Slovena*, 1601) it is evident how well aware his contemporaries were of the political applications of history and how highly history had been regarded in the Archbishopric.[19]

The enhancement of tradition and the insistence on lineage were the constitutive parts of state spectacles in early modern Europe. Like the triumphal arch erected for Leopold I by Fisher von Erlach, or Dürer's "paper triumphs" for Leopold's famous predecessor Maximilian I, a real or fabricated ancestry was proudly displayed to elevate the present sovereign.[20] While Dürer incorporated in his arch an entire family tree (highly enriched by illustrious Biblical and mythological *personae*), Fisher von Erlach used the figures of medieval Habsburg sovereigns as a real and metaphoric support for his triumphal portal devoted to the current Emperor. As a literary counterpart to the rows of crowned ancestors seen in these two triumphal arches, Kozačinskij opens his play by citing the long ancestry of Serbian medieval kings in order to give virtual lineage (and subsequently political esteem) to the current succession of clerical "heads of state".

In line with these two concepts, the one of historicism and the other of the glorification of princely lineage, the *Tragi-comedy* is divided into two clearly defined parts. The medieval part of the play reveals the times of the last Serbian Emperor Dušan (1321–55), the epitome of the ideal ruler in Serbian history; then follows the (more or less accurate) course of history, with the division of the Empire among the nobility, until the fall of Serbia under the Turkish rule (1459). To create a lawful and natural continuity, Kozačinskij commences the second part with the rise of Serbia under the patriarch Arsenije III and subsequent archbishops, and continues to contemporary events and the reign of the most eminent Vikentije Jovanović.[21] In his work Kozačinskij summarizes history in order to gloss over the unfortunate Ottoman occupation, and thus enables the spectator to make an easy transition between the past and the present. Constantly juxtaposing the past with the present, Kozačinskij constructs his panegyric play as a set of examples from history that should be or are already being followed by the ecclesiastical leaders of the Serbian people in the Empire. Apart from the modernity of the concept of

19 Teofan Prokopovič, *Sočinenia* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1961), 31.

20 All three quoted works represent the first attempts at the political use of history that was implicitly influenced by such works as Skarga's edition of Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastici*. For more information on these works, see Milorad Pavić, *Istorija srpske književnosti baroknog doba: XVII I XVIII vek* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1970), 81–93.

21 Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 185–99.

historicism, Kozačinskij uses the poetics of the Jesuit panegyric plays. Like other contemporary school plays, the *Tragi-comedy* is divided into a prologue, a narrative part, a chorus, and an epilogue.[22] Furthermore, the narration, which follows the tradition of the panegyric genre even more closely and will be discussed further, is enhanced by the presence of allegorical figures (e.g., Serbia, Anger, the Liberal Arts, and Vanity) and mythological figures (Mars, Bellona, and Pallas), Biblical characters (sibyls and angels) and historical ones (the Emperor Dušan and Uroš). Allegorical characters, especially that of Serbia, convey a high political content; they represent the main communicators of the intellectual content of the play. Through Serbia's monologues we can follow the political changes that occurred in the Serbian state. At the beginning of the play, the personification of Serbia describes the auspicious rule of the medieval Emperor Dušan and presents him as the ideal Christian prince – prudent, just and pious:

> The Personification of Serbia:
> I am telling the pure and simple truth,
> And praise God for giving me such an illustrious Emperor,
> […]
> He praises and honors the worthy ones, *(prudence)*
> Banishes the unworthy from his empire.
> He brings regulations and law to his people, *(justice)*
> Appoints bishops to the empty dioceses; *(piety)*
> […]
> I do not lack anything, I thrive in plenty,
> I am full of good will, powerful and strong![23]

Through Serbia's subsequent recitations Kozačinskij gives a summary of the Serbian political scene: the decline of its glory, the fall under Ottoman occupation, and Serbia's miraculous rebirth under Arsenije III in Karlovci. The role of these mythological figures is similar to the allegories in their function, since they act as visualisations of abstract notions while alluding to the classical background of both the patron and the author of the *Tragi-comedy*. Kozačinskij gives particular importance to the figures of Mars and Pallas (Minerva). He uses them throughout the play as contrasting polarities of force and wisdom, ignorance and knowledge, war and peace, evil and good.

22 Borivoje Stojković, *Istorija srpskog pozorišta od srednjeg veka do modernog doba (drama i opera)* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1979), 28–30.

23 Ibid., 29–30; Tomandl, *Srpsko pozorište u Vojvodini*, 13; Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 250–254.

Mars:
What good have we from learning?
Do we get any peace and prosperity from it?
We can achieve much more with the sword,
We can use it to plead for the Emperor's mercy!
Anyone who can go into fierce battle
Needs neither school nor learning.

Pallas:
Has anyone ever won without wisdom?
Or triumphed without knowledge?
Was it just the force of Mars, and not the wisdom of learning
Was anyone ever truly victorious who defeated the Turks in
Montenegro, Timişoara; under Belgrade and Varadin
And in Buda itself?[24]

UKRAINIAN INFLUENCES

The majority of eighteenth-century Kievan plays, particularly those of Prokopovič, contained neither allegorical nor mythological personae, which were often considered an "unwelcome Catholic element".[25] Therefore, it is likely that Kozačinskij sought the inspiration for his allegorical personae only in models such as Guiniggi's, available through the contemporary Jesuit theatre in Austria. Nevertheless, we should look for dual influences, both Habsburg and Ukrainian ones, since the existence of the one did not preclude the other. In the Ukraine of that time there were works that could have provided Kozačinskij with the necessary allegorical background. One work in particular, although not itself a play, was well suited for this purpose: the panegyric known as *Eucharisterion or Gratitude (Eucharisterion:*

24 "Оглашенной истинъ без всяка порока,/ слава Богу, в'же имам царя аз висока/ […] Он достойних во чести потврждает,/ недостойних же паки тояжде лишает;/ правила и закони людем уставляет,/ епископом прямая опредълил места,/ […] Ничто мнъ не достает; во всем изобилна/ есм, и благонадеждна, кръпка же и силна". Kozačinskij (1734?) transcribed in Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 451–453. The names of the most significant virtues in italics are my addition, intended to clarify the verses.

25 "Что нам от учения? Полза? Или, кая proveriti / происходят во миръ от его благая? Доста нам и саблею свобод защищати,/ доста можем у Царя милости снискати./ Учения бо тамо никто не требует/ идъ же собственою кровию воюет./ (...) Кто когда без мудрости побъдител бяше,/ или без учения кто торжествоваше?/ Е ли без учения Мар'сова сила/ под Черними Горами Турка побъдила,/ Темишваром, Белиградом, и под Варадином?/ Не?! Без мудрости бяше под самим Будимом/". Kozačinskij (1734?) transcribed in Ерчић: *Мануил Козачинскиј*, Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 529–31.

Albo Vdjacnost), composed in 1632 to honor the archimandrite and founder of the Kiev/Ukrainian Spiritual Academy, Peter Mohyla.[26] Considering the fact that the Kievan Spiritual Academy was Kozačinskij's *alma mater*, we can assume that he was familiar with the poem devoted to its founder.

Eucharisterion is a proper occasional work performed by pupils of the rhetoric class at the Easter celebrations in the Kievan Academy. Apart from its primary function to celebrate the occasion, the praise of Peter Mohyla is preserved in the form of an illustrated pamphlet that assured its prolonged existence in the memory of the students and the wider audience.[27] Through several poems it encompasses the themes of the Seven Liberal Arts (Helicon), theology, and personifications of the fine arts, the nine Muses, and Apollo (Parnassus). Although *Eucharisterion,* unlike *Tragi-comedy*, is very "classical" in both form and content, it possesses some important features that made it a good model for Kozačinskij. They relate particularly to the less discussed side of *Tragi-comedy*, to the "time present", the concluding panegyric devoted to Vikentije Jovanović. Both *Eucharisterion* and *Tragi-comedy* are created for a dual festive occasion, both religious and political. While Kozačinskij stages his work on the day of St. Illayas to honor his patron's successful diplomacy, the panegyric to Peter Mohyla not only celebrates this illustrious academic and his political triumphs but also glorifies the occasion of Christ's Resurrection. More significantly, both works are intellectually highly complex and intertwine history and politics with the rhetorical tradition. Kozačinskij devotes an entire half of his play to the glorification of the past, while *Eucharisterion* only refers to some historical data; yet despite their entirely different contexts, the aim of both panegyrics is similar: to immortalize the prince of the Church and the patron of the sciences. The deeds of both are also comparable: Vikentije Jovanović, like Mohyla, is depicted as a defender of the faith and a founder of schools. On the opening pages of his praise to Mohyla the author states:

> Mohyla defended us against evil Turks, and saved Christianity
> […]
> with kindness, humanity and a good disposition towards humble people.
> […]
> the pious founder of the sacred sciences,
> the most illustrious man, who brought us to the divine teachings.[28]

26 Paulina Lewin, "Drama and Theatre at the Ukrainian Academy in the 17th and 18th Centuries", in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies: The Kiev Mohyla Academy*, ed. Omeljan Pritisak (Cambridge MA: Ukrainian Research Institute, 1984), 93–123.

27 Natalia Pylypiuk, "The First Panegyric of the Kiev Mohyla School", in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, ibid., 45–71.

28 At this point we will not investigate the illustrations printed in *Eucharisterion* since they have no direct relation to Kozačinskij's play. For further information on this matter see ibid., 46.

Through the prophecy of the Astronomer, Kozačinskij depicts Vikentije Jovanović as a liberator of souls and a liberator of the mind:

> But do not mourn, Serbia, for the loss of the last archbishop.
> His end was not the end of knowledge!
> God will send you Vikentije Jovanović who will gather all his strength
> To spread schools all over Serbia.

and in the words of Infima at the conclusion of the play: "Thus, I bow to the Metropolitan and (thank him) for teaching the pupils and spreading the glory of God!"[29]

In Ukrainian panegyric, and especially in the *Tragi-comedy,* the main protagonists are not only ordained by God, they are constantly guided by divine providence. Under this divine direction, Mohyla and Vikentije Jovanović perform the miraculous renewal of education and ensure the future flourishing of the sciences. The idea of educational rebirth represents the focal point of *Eucharisterion*. Although it is present in the entire work, it figures most prominently in the poems recited by the allegories of the Seven Liberal Arts. Each of them expresses gratitude to Mohyla and glorifies him as the Shepherd of Christ, the one to whom knowledge of God has been granted in order to spread divine knowledge. For the same purpose, Kozačinskij does not use personifications of the Liberal Arts but those that symbolize all the "sacred subjects taught in his academy".

> The first school – Analogy:
> I am the first school in the academy of Karlovci,
> And my name is Analogy!
> At the very beginning one needs to learn to speak clearly,
> So without me one can never be comfortable.
> One who strives for deeper knowledge needs to
> Comprehend the foundations of my science.
> Many thanks to you, Archbishop and Metropolitan,
> Special honor should be given to you, a flower
> For making Serbian pupils learn from their alphabet books!
>
> The fourth school – Syntax:
> […]
> I also express my gratitude to the Metropolitan
> For making a grand effort and spending large funds,
> In order to envelop Serbian youth in the fabric of knowledge!

29 For *Eucharisterion* see ibid., 50.

The fifth school – Poetry:
I am the one who has the knowledge of quick and skilful rhyming.
From ancient times I've composed panegyrics
And described the deeds of most illustrious men.
And I always perfectly form riddles and fables!
Moreover, I create verses more wisely and brilliantly
Than any reader or listener could ever imagine.
I give no small gratitude to the Metropolitan Jovanović
Who taught Serbian youth how to write poetry.
For these achievements I gratefully bow to him![30]

In both laudatory poems the general concept of renewal is described by the same attributes: as the transformation of darkness into light and the change of seasons. I would not go so far as to claim that Kozačinskij directly follows the text of *Eucharesterion*, only that he uses the same general comparisons that derive from the vast pool of the broader Baroque panegyric tradition. In Kiev, Mohyla is glorified by these verses:

After sadness, joy steps forth,
After darkness light appears,
After the dry summer there is autumn,[31]

while in the concluding hymn of the *Tragi-comedy* Vikentije Jovanović is reminded:

behold your precious time
During which you introduced knowledge into Serbia /the Archbishopric/.
You lead us all from darkness into light!
We, your pupils, are grateful to you
And all the young and old equally praise you![32]

30 "Аналогия. В карловачких училищах proveriti первая ест школа/ Аналогия. Мнъ имя!/ (...) В самом началъ требъ, ест трактировати!/ Без мене бо прочиих не удобно знати./ Аз ко вишим учениям имъю начало,/ яко и показую сие писмя мало./ Архиепископу же, и Митрополиту,/ творю благодарение. В почест особиту,/ воздаю ему благодарни цвъти,/ яко от букварцов повелъл обучати дъти – сербския./ Синтаксис: […] благодарствую Митрополиту яко свой труд и, и иждивение, троши,/ и рек, сей да обручают ся добръ сербския юноши. Поезис: Поезис! Стихотворну хитрост заключаю/ аз. Панагири славним мужем изявляю,/ древнаго въка храбрих описую дъла,/ гаданием и баснам ревную до зъла./ Обаче, тол премудро, и изрядно, тако/ всяку чтущу, слишащу, въроятно яко/ возмнит ся бити. За что Викентию хвалу/ Іоанновичу, митрополиту, воздаю немалу/ яко отроков сербских сего обучает,/ и за сие ему всяк главу приклоняет." Kozačinskij (1734?) transcribed in Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 555, 557, 559.

31 Taken from the translation of *Eucharesterion* by Pylypiuk, "The First Panegyric", 61.

32 "Се Твое, Архиепископ лъто ест предраго./ Яко Ти учения в Сербии водиши,/ им же от тми ко свъту всъх нас приводиши,/ за что ми ученици, такожде со нами, -/ благодарствуют Тебъ старци с юнотами. " Kozačinskij (1734?), transcribed in Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 559.

Not unlike Mohyla's panegyric, the *Tragi-comedy* is created as *laus Regis* – praise of the ideal ruler, in both current examples a spiritual one. In the theory of the panegyric, praise of the ideal ruler represents the very core of every laudatory work.[33]

Founded on the tradition of demonstrative oratory, the utmost aim of the panegyric genre was to ascribe to its main protagonist all the virtues and most notable deeds regardless of their veracity. But its purpose was not mere flattery. In accordance with the theory of one of the main defenders of the genre, Desiderius Erasmus, every panegyric represented an *image of virtue and not a simple praise*.[34] Seen in that light, the concluding hymn to Vikentije Jovanović uses the pattern of contemporary panegyric poetry in order simultaneously to glorify the head of the Church and to propose him as the ideal model of virtue. Henceforth, the medieval Serbian kings from the first part of the *Tragi-comedy* are not the *only* rightful models of conduct for the high clergy. Being worthy enough, Vikentije Jovanović becomes the desired exemplar himself. Moreover, both in the *Eucharisterion* and in the *Tragi-comedy,* praise is directed not only at the illustrious cleric but also at his school and its well-chosen curriculum. In this case, we can apply to Kozačinskij's play what was correctly remarked in the case of *Eucharisterion*. The *Tragi-comedy* presents an ideal educational program through its dialogue and depicts the image of *optima academia*.[35] For both Mohyla and Vikentije, their schools are simultaneously a symbol of universal knowledge and a bastion of true faith in the battle with the "heretics".

Eucharisterion
The teaching of pious rhetoric reaps a rich harvest of virtues,
Dialectics assist the faithful in their disputes with the Unitary Church
And geometry helps to attain the true knowledge of God.

Tragi-comedy:
The sixth school – Rhetoric:
And I always give kind and noble advice.
I am teaching tropes and metaphors
And in order to be able to give an oration
I instruct them how to enlighten their mind to perfection.[36]

33 For the concept of panegyric and its relation to *Eucharisterion* see Pylypiuk, "The First Panegyric", ibid., 53–71; for panegyric in general see James Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Los Angeles, London: Berkley University Press, 1975), 14–57.

34 Garrison, ibid., 40.

35 Pylypiuk, "The First Panegyric", 65–66.

36 "она всегда подает совъти благия./ Метафорей и тропо сия научает,/ учащихся до зъла разум просвъщает,/ како би гдъ прилично что изглаголати;/ учит же како требъ слово составляти". Kozačinskij (1734?), transcribed in Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 559.

Although it is difficult to establish any direct influence of *Eucharisterion* on Kozačinskij's play, we can still acknowledge their conceptual closeness. Whether desiring to make a "Serbian version" of this prominent Kievan poem, or simply looking up to the work of his predecessor, Kozačinskij used the same mechanisms to glorify Vikentije Jovanović and his patronage of education.

THE AFTERMATH

Unlike other ephemeral works of art, this panegyric play had a much wider scope, far beyond the commemoration of Vikentije Jovanović's successful diplomacy. Long after its initial performance the *Tragi-comedy* had a profound influence on the political program of the subsequent Archbishop, Arsenije IV Jovanović, and even more importantly, on its visual embodiment.

In 1741, seven years after the first performance of Kozačinskij's play and the year of the coronation of a new Habsburg Empress Maria Theresia, Archbishop Arsenije IV Jovanović made an important commission. In order to present his political program to the new Empress and plead for the re-confirmation of Serbian privileges, Arsenije IV ordered a heraldic handbook, the *Stemmatographia*, from the painter Hristofor Žefarović and poet the Pavle Nandović the Younger. This album of coats-of-arms was modelled on an already successful work by the Croatian artist Pavle (Ritter) Vitezović – *Stemmatographia: sive armorum illycorum delineatio desripto e restituto* (1701) – but with a few important additions that were the legacy of Kozačinskij. The original album by Vitezović consisted of the coats-of-arms of all the territories that actually were or desired to be under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church.

The changed political scene in the Empire, however, set a different tone in the political message of Arsenije IV Jovanović. Since the book had to serve as a political statement, a series of portraits and two panegyric poems were added (one to the patron and the other to the engraver) in order to present the Serbian people as a significant element in the Holy Roman Empire. Through the mechanism of historicism, the book advanced the idea that the Archbishopric represented the legal and rightful continuation of the medieval Serbian Empire. Thus, the leitmotif of Kozačinskij's panegyric play emerged once again as a leading concept in contemporary politics. However, the parallels between Kozačinskij's play and Arsenije's heraldic album are not confined to the level of ideas; there is a clear connection between the author of the poems, Pavle Nenadović the Younger, and the *Tragi-comedy*.

On the frontispiece of his panegyric to Žefarović, Nenadović proudly points out that he was Kozačinskij's pupil: "To the righteous Hristofor Žefarović, the

painter of Serbia and Illyria, the descendent of Bulgaria and admirer of the Illyrian Empire, for his book of Heraldic bearings, Pavle Nenadović, a student at Kozačinskij's school in Karlovci, herewith writes a poem".[37] The need of Pavle Nenadović the Younger to emphasize the importance of his teacher is not simply a matter of etiquette. It indicates that the diligent pupil was influenced by his master's key concepts, took them over and incorporated them into his own work.

The legacy of Kozačinskij is not confined to the commemoration on the frontispiece and the words of the panegyric. It also found its visual embodiment in the structure of the pictorial program of *Stemmatographia* and more specifically in the gallery of portraits of Serbian rulers from the Middle Ages to the 1750s. I do not intend to suggest that *Stemmatographia* should be seen as a direct reworking of Kozačinskij's stage sets used for *Tragi-comedy*, although there have been attempts by certain scholars to make direct connections between the two works. The surviving evidence is not plausible enough for such conjecture.

On the other hand, considering the role of Pavle Nenadović the Younger in this project and his obvious knowledge of the play, Kozačinskij's *Tragi-comedy* could have engendered some pictorial patterns present in *Stemmatographia*. It begins with the portrait gallery of the Serbian medieval rulers from Stefan Nemanja (the founder of the state and the dynasty, 1113–1199) to the last Serbian sovereign in the fourteenth century, Stefan Uroš V (1336–1371), whom Kozačinskij takes as one of his main protagonists. The book displays the same concern with lineage that we encountered in the opening of the play, in Dušan Nemanjić's monologue. Moreover, this line of portraits represents the same retrospective concept. In the play royal ancestors are intentionally used to underpin contemporary politics in the Archbishopric, and the characters in *Stemmatographia* are "modernized" for the same purpose. Although these portraits depict medieval rulers, they are all in modern dress (as worn by European sovereigns) and placed against a typical background for contemporary portraiture – a combination of drapery and columns.[38]

The idea of "adopted lineage", already discussed in the *Tragi-comedy*, is also emphasised here. In his play Kozačinskij made a direct connection between the fallen Serbian kingdom and the one re-created in the guise of the Archbishopric of Karlovci.

37 "Благо-почтенному Господину Христофору Жефаровичу Иллирико рассианскому общему зографу ревнителю отчества болгарского, любителю царства Иллирическаго. За книгу ейже имя знамени или оружий Иллирически' изображение Павель Ненадовичь школь иногда Карловачки' Козачински' ученикь от усердия сие восписуеть". Žefarović-Messmer (1741), primary source.

38 Dinko Davidov, ed., *Izobraženij oružij iliričeskih. Stematografija*, rezali u bakru Hristofor Žefarović i Toma Mesmer (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1961), 257–926.

In *Stemmatographia* this relationship is depicted through the position of the portrait of the current archbishop and patron of the book, Arsenije IV Jovanović, placed at the end of the gallery of medieval portraits. In setting and pose, the portrait of the archbishop relates to the images of former Serbian rulers, while also adhering to the template of the European state portrait. All these portraits have the same patterned floor in the foreground, with elaborate draperies hung around antique columns in the background. The positioning of the figures is also quite similar: both Arsenije IV Jovanović and the medieval kings are depicted in a formal rhetorical pose, a cliché in European state portraiture known to the Archbishops through the prints of Habsburg state portraits.

While the Serbian kings display either their scepters or the martyr's cross, Arsenije IV holds the staff of his holy office in the same way. By pictorially equating the portrait of Arsenije IV Jovanović with those of the medieval kings, Žefarović demonstrates on behalf of his patron the idea of indisputable succession from the past Empire to the present Archbishopric. As in the *Tragi-comedy*, the major aim of this portrait gallery is to bring the heroic past of the Middle Ages closer to the present, and to reflect its postulates in the church politics of the Archbishopric.

★ ★ ★

Linked in its form and content to the Kievan Academy and the Jesuit theatre, the first Serbian play was created within the framework of an ephemeral spectacle drawing upon the vast sources of the Habsburg imperial ephemera, but also surpassing these boundaries and influencing other important artistic works in the Archbishopric. Although Avancini, a Jesuit playwright at the Austrian court, said that "the written play is fleshless bones, which are just a pale shadow of delights compared to the witnessed play", [39] the bones of Kozačinskij's play still evoke interest and delight, and therefore they need to be continuously re-examined.

39 For more information on Avancini, see William S. J. McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre* (St. Louis MO: Institute of Jesuit Studies, 1983), 32.

THE HIGH PROVINCE ON THE WESTERN BORDER OF HUNGARY: IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE MUNICIPAL THEATRE IN PRESSBURG IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

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Abstract. *The newly built Városi Színház / Das Stadttheater (Municipal Theatre) in Pressburg, designed by the architects Ferdinand Fellner, Jr. and Hermann Helmer, was opened in the autumn of 1886. The building was a significant milestone in the theatrical history of Pressburg in several respects. It offered new technical possibilities for carrying out performances, provided a solid background for the performers, and impressed the spectators by being very comfortable. In the Hungarian government's view, it was to become a symbol of the modernizing efforts of the town in terms of the proclaimed centralization and Magyarization of the country.*

It functioned in a typically provincial style of half-year theatrical seasons, divided into a German and a Hungarian part, and placed in the hands of newly arriving directors. The cultural history of this former coronation town helped in gaining subscribers because going to the theatre was part of the cultural life of the Pressburg bourgeoisie, and discussions about the theatre were at the centre of the attention of the town representatives. On the other hand, the audience demanded the standard that prevailed in the Viennese theatres, which they knew very well from their regular visits. Since the revenues came mainly from ticket sales, the directors tried to gain the favour of the regular theatre-goers. Whenever the German part of the season had a larger number of months, theatre operations were stable and achieved a high standard; but whenever the number of Hungarian performances increased, the town had to increase its subvention because attendance was consistently low.

This paper analyses various ideological aspects of the daily theatre operations, including the contractual terms stipulated by the town (along with the technical requirements), the performed repertoire (significantly influenced by the theatres in Vienna), and the composition of

1 This study was part of the research of VEGA Grant No. 2/0040/18: *Musical Theatre in Bratislava from the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century to the First Half of the Twentieth Century (Personalities, Institutions, Repertoire, Reflections)* conducted at the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. It was written as a part of the APVV-15-0764 research project *Slovak Theatre and Contemporary European Theatre Culture: Continuity and Discontinuity* carried out at the Institute of Theatre and Film Research of the Art Research Centre of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

the audience. It deliberately focuses on the period before 1900 because this was a key phase in the development of the theatre and its operations which influenced even the later years of its existence.

Keywords: Municipal Theatre in Pressburg, nineteenth century, daily theatre operations, funding the theatre, theatre ensemble, repertoire, audience

Theatre buildings representing the role and significance of the theatre in a given era form an inseparable part of the history of European culture. The boom they experienced from the second half of the eighteenth century established conditions for the continuous cultivation of the dramatic arts and contributed to building a tradition. Two theatre buildings, both called Városi Színház/Das Stadttheater (Municipal Theatre), played a major role in the history of Pressburg (now Bratislava). The first was erected in 1776 and the second in 1886. Their emergence and development was determined by the socio-cultural situation. The first theatre was formed by the enlightened aristocracy, whereas the second one was shaped by the ideals of the educated bourgeoisie. The first theatre existed until 1884, when it was demolished and construction of a new Municipal Theatre was started in its place according to the plans of the architects Ferdinand Fellner, Jr. (1847–1916) and Hermann Gottfried Helmer (1849–1919). Discussions about the need for a new theatre had been going on for many years, as some of the representatives of the town favoured an extensive renovation of the old building instead of building a new one. A key step was the decision of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior Affairs which, after inspecting the theatre building, declared it technically unsound and instructed the town to build a new one.[2]

The invitation of the Viennese architects Fellner Jr. and Helmer reflects the long-standing and close connection of Pressburg with the artistic environment of Vienna, and, on the other hand, also an effort to integrate the "town on the western border of Hungary" into the wider cultural area of the Monarchy.[3] The architects designed the new theatre according to state-of-the-art safety standards in a historical Neo-Renaissance style with an elaborate Neo-Baroque interior and a seating capacity of approximately 1,170. The location of the new theatre in roughly the same place where the old municipal theatre had stood pointed to the continuity of the theatrical

2 Zur Geschichte des Pressburger Theater-Baues 1879–1887. Zusammengestellt von Oberingenieur Anton Sendlein. Municipal Archive of Bratislava (hereinafter referred to as MAB), City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Theatre, box 2940, inv. nos. 15879, p. 35.

3 Jozef Tancer, "Obraz nie je odraz: Reprezentácie mesta ako výskumný problém", in *Medzi provinciou* a *metropolou: Obraz Bratislavy* v 19. a 20. *storočí*, ed. Gabriela Dudeková (Bratislava: Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2012), 39.

tradition. At the same time, this theatre was situated away from the historical centre of the town and, consequently, a new cultural hub was created. The building was to be the home of the Hungarian muse, which was clearly suggested by the Hungarian name Municipal Theatre visible on the façade. Another sign of the new socio-political situation, characterized in the late nineteenth century by strong centralizing and Magyarization tendencies, was the programme of the opening performance compiled exclusively from Hungarian works, and closing with the Hungarian composer Ferenc Erkel's opera *Bánk bán*.[4] Because of the mixed German-speaking and Hungarian bourgeoisie, the representatives of the town decided to divide the season into two parts, a German and a Hungarian one, with their respective directors.

This decision reflects the fact that the town, as the owner of the previous theatre building, had experience in running a theatre, and although the rhetoric of the dailies in Budapest talked about the new building as a significant national tool in the process of strengthening Hungarian theatre,[5] the reality was different. The Hungarian Government did not contribute to the construction of the building and clearly declared to the representatives of the town that it was not planning to fund the operations of the theatre.[6] During the ceremonial opening of the theatre, Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza (1830–1902) called on the people of Pressburg to be patriotic, and this was to be manifested in the form of generous moral and material support for Hungarian theatre.[7]

The new building represented a significant milestone in the theatrical history of Pressburg in several respects. It offered new technical possibilities for carrying out the performances, provided a solid background for the performers, and impressed the spectators by being very comfortable. It was to become the symbol of the modernizing efforts of the town. However, we must not forget the fact that it was a theatre operating in a province and could not be compared with theatres that were receiving high subventions. In Pressburg, the directors had to rely on the favour of the regular theatre-goers who found scope for self-presentation, entertainment, and amusement in the theatre. The rich cultural history of this former coronation town helped in gaining subscribers because going to the theatre was part of the cultural life of the Pressburg bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the audience demanded the standard that prevailed in the Vienna theatres, which they knew very well from their regular visits. Ensuring daily operations was a precon-

4 Katalin Kim-Szacsvai, "Die Erkel-Werkstatt: Die Anfänge einer Arbeitsteilung in der Komposition", in *Studia Musicologica*, 52/ 4 (2012): 28.

5 "Eröffnung des Presßburger Theaters", *Pester Lloyd*, 23 September 1886, 3.

6 MAB, City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Theatre, box 2d 6/2, inv. nos. 15861, minutes from the meeting of the theatre committee from 25 August 1885 and 7 November 1885.

7 "Töredékek tegnapról", *Pozsonyvidéki lapok*, 24 September 1886, 3.

dition for the successful career of each lessee. What its main determinants were, what contractual terms the town offered to newly arriving directors at a time of growing Hungarianization, and what role the repertoire-based operations played are among the areas this study examines. It deliberately focuses on the period before 1900 because this was a key phase in the development of the theatre and its operations, and also influenced the later years of its existence.

THE MANNER OF LEASING THE MUNICIPAL THEATRE AND FUNDING ITS DAILY OPERATIONS

Ever since its completion, the Municipal Theatre in Pressburg was owned by the town and leased to theatre directors and their companies. The season lasted seven months, usually from early October to late April, or to Palm Sunday. In the summer months an open-air Arena was available to the directors on the Petržalka side of the Danube, in which Max Reinhardt also worked in his youth in 1893.[8] In 1899 the town built a new, covered Arena in roughly the same place as the old one. Since the half-year season in the Municipal Theatre was divided into a German and a Hungarian part, the town was aware of the problem of finding good lessees. This is why, even before launching the theatre operations in the autumn of 1886, Pressburg entered into an agreement with the town of Timișoara about alternating the directors and their ensembles providing German and Hungarian performances in the theatres of these two towns. Like the Municipal Theatre in Pressburg, the Franz Joseph I Theatre in Timișoara was also designed by the Viennese architects Fellner Jr. and Helmer, and the composition of the German- and Hungarian-speaking bourgeoisie was also similar. The daily *Preßburger Zeitung* reported that Timișoara decided to support Hungarian performances with 7,200 guldens and German performances with 1,600 guldens, which were to cover travel expenses. This highlighted Timișoara's interest in promoting Hungarian theatre in the town.[9] The agreement lasted for thirteen years (1886–1899) and resulted in securing a half-year lease of the theatre for both directors.[10]

Since German-speaking representatives of the town prevailed at the time of building the theatre in Pressburg, they decided to assign the more favourable autumn and winter months to performances in German. The rest of the season remained for Hungarian performances. This division was in effect until 1899, when

8 Miloš Mistrík, "Reinhardts Sommerspielzeit 1893 in Preßburg," in *Max Reinhardt a Bratislava / Preßburg,* ed. Miloš Mistrík (Bratislava: VEDA, Vienna: Theatermuseum, 2019), 98–125.

9 "Vom ungarischen Theater", *Preßburger Zeitung*, 11 April 1886, 3.

10 Maria Pechtol, *Thalia in Temeswar: Die Geschichte des Temeswarer deutschen Theaters im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Bucharest: Kriterion Verlag, 1972), 190.

the town leased the Municipal Theatre to a single director with two companies – a German and a Hungarian one. Pressburg returned to the original two-director model again in 1902, albeit under different conditions. The Hungarian performances were staged in the more favourable winter months and their number also gradually increased. Despite all the changes, the German and Hungarian performances in the Municipal Theatre continued to alternate until the arrival of Czech artists in 1919 and the launching of the operations of the *Slovenské národné divadlo* (Slovak National Theatre) in March 1920.

The selection of the lessees of the Municipal Theatre was influenced to a large extent by the personal recommendations of the directors under consideration. This definitely applied in the case of directors of the Hungarian performances, who were recommended by the Hungarian government that supervised the activities of theatres in the provinces through the Ministry of the Interior and its offices.[11] For the German performances, the town officially issued an appeal for tenders. However, since the Hungarian government intervened in the selection through the pro-Hungarian elite associations in Pressburg, the town tried to find a suitable candidate in advance and enter into an agreement with him about the terms of the lease. One of the most important conditions was his financial stability, which he had to demonstrate by paying a deposit before the beginning of the lease. From 1886–1899 this deposit amounted to 5,000 guldens.[12] After 1900, the deposit was increased to 10,000 guldens, or 20,000 krone.

The selected candidate was first interviewed by the theatre committee, whose proposal had subsequently to be approved by the representatives of the town. A three-year lease agreement of the theatre could be signed only afterwards. The agreement of 1886 and 1889 and news items in the local press reporting the course of the tender procedure reveal that, at the beginning of the operations of the theatre in the new building, the director of the German part of the season was responsible for the German as well as the Hungarian performances, whose number was set at sixty evenings.[13] The Hungarian performances took place with the participation of the Hungarian ensemble led by the director himself, but the main responsibility for the whole season lay with the director of the German season. A change occurred in 1890 (in 1889 the 1886 agreement had been renewed for another three years, but the director violated the rules and the town terminated

11 György Székely, ed., "Országos Vidéki Színészeti Felügyelőség", in *Magyar színházművészeti lexikon,* ed. György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), http://mek.niif.hu/02100/02139/html/sz18/76.html, accessed 20 September 2019.

12 MAB, City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Municipal Archive of Bratislava, box 2836, inv. nos. 15800, document 24 and box 2839, inv. nos. 15803, document 32.

13 Idem.

the agreement after a year) when a decision was taken that the Hungarian performances would not be overseen by the director of the German season but would be managed separately by the Hungarian director.[14] This decision paved the way for a change in the theatre operations because, by shifting the competencies, the role of the director of the German season diminished, and in 1899 the pro-Hungarian circles managed to achieve the assignment of the theatre exclusively to the Hungarian director with a bilingual ensemble.

The lease of the theatre building was free, but the director paid for the lighting and heating of the building. In 1889, heating fees were as follows: from November to March, the fee was around five to nine guldens for evening performances and two to four guldens for afternoon performances. In October and April, 2.50 guldens had to be paid for an evening performance and 1.50 guldens for an afternoon one. A one-time two-hour heating of the stage outside the performances cost two guldens.[15] The issue of lowering these fees was repeatedly raised by the theatre directors when applying for subventions from the town; sometimes they were granted and sometimes not.

The funding of the theatre by the town was connected to its support for Hungarian theatre and increased in proportion to the gradually growing number of Hungarian performances. The financial ledgers reveal that in 1892, i.e. two years after the change in the directors' competencies, the fees for the maintenance of the theatre building and the subvention to the director of the Hungarian performances almost doubled because it became evident that the Hungarian theatre could not survive in Pressburg without the help of the town. In 1891 the town provided 5,543.50 guldens for running the building, while in 1892 it gave 9,811.91 guldens. By 1895 the total amount for the maintenance of the theatre building and the subvention for the Hungarian director was 11,599.86 guldens instead of the originally planned 11,300 guldens, which the town funded from its own budget. The following year, this item was divided into an amount for the maintenance of the theatre building and a subvention for the Hungarian director, an amount for water and an amount for deliveries, and was roughly the same total sum (only the schedule budget is available from 1896 and it records 10,818 guldens). In 1898 the amount for the maintenance of the theatre building was divided among several items: building maintenance (5,295.20 guldens), fire protection (3,029.84 guldens), and lighting (2,943.07 guldens), to which were added an item for water (69.40 guldens) and for deliveries (15.60 guldens). The total amount (11,353.11 guldens) corresponded to the amount from the previous year

14 "Zur Theaterfrage", *Preßburger Zeitung*, 9 January 1890, 2–3.

15 MAB, City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Municipal Archive of Bratislava, box 2839, inv. nos. 15803, document 32.

(the difference was in the subvention for the Hungarian director).[16] From 1899, when the town built a new summer Arena, expenses for the summer operations of the Arena were added to the expenses of the town to run the Municipal Theatre. The total amount for the maintenance of the Municipal Theatre and the Arena paid by the town represented 40,000 kronen (i.e., 20,000 guldens) in 1900.[17] It was increased in 1906 when the town planned to support both theatres with an amount of 50,000 kronen.[18] From 1912, finances dropped by 10,000 kronen. The reason is unknown, but we may assume that it had to do with the achieved stabilization of the Hungarian theatre in the town, since at that time the Hungarian director leased the theatre for eight months and attendance at the performances was higher than in the previous years.

Repairs in the theatre were taken care of by the town. In the first years of the theatre operations, the director had to arrange for the cleaning the building. If he neglected this duty, the town was entitled to have it cleaned it at the director's expense.[19] From 1908, a separate item was listed in the accounting books as payment for guarding and cleaning the theatre, which documents the above fact that the town took over several expenses connected with running the building at a time when the number of Hungarian performances was increasing.[20]

During the German part of the season, the town presumed that the director would make a decent profit from the tickets and would be able to earn a sufficient income for himself. Ticket prices were the same for both the German and the Hungarian parts of the season. From 1886 to 1899 they were as follows: for a ground-floor or first-floor box: 5 guldens; a second-floor box: 4 guldens; a place in the three front rows on the ground floor: 1.20 guldens; a place on the next three rows on the ground floor: 1 gulden; for other rows: 0.80 guldens; and for standing room on the ground floor: 0.50 guldens. For the second-floor balcony, first row: 0.80 guldens; second-floor balcony, second row: 0.70 guldens; second-floor balcony, other rows: 0.60 guldens. For an armchair on the third floor in the first row: 0.50 guldens; an armchair on the third floor in the second row: 0.40 guldens; an

16 *Pozsony szabad. királyi város zárszámadása és vagyonleltára / Schluss-Rechnung und Vermögens-Inventar der königlichen Freistadt Preßburg* (Pozsony: Nyomatott Angermayer Károly nyomdaintézetében, 1892, 1895, 1896, 1898), 25.

17 Ibid., 27.

18 *Pozsony szabad. királyi város költségelőirányzata / Präliminare der königlichen Freistadt Preßburg* (Pozsony: Angermayer Károly kőnyvnyomda-intézetéből, 1906), 25.

19 MAB, City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Municipal Archive of Bratislava, box 2836, inv. nos. 15800, document 24 and box 2839, inv. nos. 15803, document 32.

20 *Pozsony szabad. királyi város zárszámadása és vagyonleltára / Schluss-Rechnung und Vermögens-Inventar der königlichen Freistadt Preßburg.* Pozsony: Nyomatott Angermayer Károly nyomdaintézetében 1902, 1908, 27.

armchair on the third floor in the other rows: 0.30 guldens; and for standing room on the third floor: 0.25 guldens. An Armchair in the fourth-floor gallery cost 0.25 guldens, and standing room on the fourth floor 0.20 guldens.[21] The number of performances in a subscription cycle was announced before the season began. The director was not allowed to increase the ticket prices or raise the number of performances per season that he wanted to play outside the subscription (such as premieres and rare guest performances) or to make any changes in the middle of the season without the town's permission; otherwise, he would have been fined.

Under the agreement, performances took place daily, which is confirmed by the regular reviews published in the daily newspapers. If the director wanted to organize a second performance on the same day (for example, a Sunday afternoon performance), he had to submit an explicit request for it. It was forbidden to have performances in the theatre on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday.[22] Although 24 December is not mentioned in the 1886 and 1889 draft agreement, the theatre was closed on that day according to the dailies. Also, the agreement required the director to provide the theatre premises for the concert of the Church Music Association of Saint Martin's Cathedral in Pressburg (hereinafter referred to as CMA; in German the Kirchenmusikverein bei der Dom-, Kollegiats- und Stadtpfarrkirche zu St. Martin; in Hungarian the Szent Márton Pozsonyi Egyházi Zeneegylet).

The director had to organize three fund-raising performances each season, to support the Catholic municipal hospital, the Lutheran hospital, and the municipal fund for the poor.[23] These fund-raising performances usually took place at the end of the season, with the participation of well-known guests from Vienna, who guaranteed high attendance despite a higher ticket price. The repertoire was selected by the organizing committee, with a preference for classical plays and tragedies. Thanks to the almost yearly guest performance of Bernhard Baumeister at the fund-raising performances supporting the Lutheran hospital, Spanish classics were staged regularly in Pressburg in the late nineteenth century.[24]

The safety measures of the Municipal Theatre in Pressburg, drawn up according to the new requirements and issued after the fire at the Ringtheatre in Vienna,

21 MAB, City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Municipal Archive of Bratislava, box 2836, inv. nos. 15800, document 24 and box 2839, inv. nos. 15803, document 32.

22 Idem.

23 Ingrid Kušniráková, "Sociálna a zdravotnícka starostlivosť v Uhorsku v prvej polovici 19. Storočia", in *Historický* časopis, 64/3 (2016): 406.

24 Beatriz Gómez-Pablos, "El teatro de Calderón de la Barca y sus traducciones," in *Actas del XXI Encuentro de profesores de Español en Eslovaquia* (Bratislava: Ministerio de Educación y Formación Profesional, 2018), 22.

contain information about the staff responsible for the technical operations of the theatre.[25] The director was required to employ a lighting inspector and assistants who had to operate the gas and oil lamps in the Municipal Theatre (the new theatre had gas lighting) and the electric lighter of the large chandelier in the auditorium. If the director rented the Arena for the summer, the lighting technicians were at his disposal.[26] He also had to employ a theatre technician / theatre master and several labourers. This staff was responsible for all the devices and stage machinery in the theatre, the theatrical property and their placement on the stage, the inventory of the building, order in the theatre, and compliance with safety measures.[27] The list of employees taking care of the daily operations of the theatre also included painters, carpenters, upholsterers, dressers, hairdressers, and property masters. The names of the members of the technical staff keep repeating in the German almanac, which suggests that, contrary to the ensemble members who came and went, the members of the technical staff were local inhabitants. This ensured the continuity of the functioning of the theatre building.

The director was also responsible for arranging for a physician, a prompter, a cashier, an assistant to the orchestra, and a theatrical assistant. The porter stayed in official lodgings on the premises of the theatre, excluded from the lease of the theatre building. The roles of the secretary, librarian, and stage manager were often performed by choir members. Ignaz Werbezirk, the father of Pressburg-born actress Gisela Werbezirk (1875–1956), was a secretary for many years while also singing in the choir. Cashier Franz Skalak, who worked in the theatre for forty-six years (from 1861 to 1907, i.e., even in the era of the old Municipal Theatre), was an almost iconic figure in the theatrical history of Pressburg. He was the only employee for whom a benefit performance was organized twice a year (one in the German and one in the Hungarian part of the season) as a reward for his loyalty to all the directors, as the *Preßburger Zeitung* reported.[28]

Ensuring the smooth functioning of the building was one of the operational aspects a provincial theatre director had to guarantee. Otherwise, the artistic part of the operations, which rested on three pillars – the art ensemble, the repertoire and the audience – would be jeopardized.

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25 MAB, City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Municipal Archive of Bratislava, box 2836, inv. nos. 15800, document 37; *Utasitás a Pozsony vár. színházban kővetendő óvrendszabályok végrehajtása iránt*.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.; MAB, City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Theatre, box. Theatre 1, inv. nos. 15870, scenery design sketches.

28 "Franz Skalak", *Preßburger Zeitung*, 24 September 1907, 2.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE ART ENSEMBLE AND THE THEATRE ORCHESTRA

According to the agreement, the director had to submit the list of the members of the art ensemble to the theatre committee for approval before the season started. If any member did not meet the requirements, the committee could request his replacement.[29] One of the pitfalls in setting up the art ensemble of the Municipal Theatre in Pressburg was the fact that the actors and singers had to travel to Pressburg from Timișoara, and vice versa, in winter. The very fact that they were engaged only for half a year was a reason enough for the frequent fluctuations of the performers. In the case of the German-speaking ensemble, the director relied on the proximity of Vienna, which was very attractive for young artists because, if they performed well in Pressburg, there was a chance of getting an offer from a theatre in Vienna. In 1886–1899, two directors of the German part of the season worked in Pressburg: Max Kmentt and Emanuel Raul (1843–1916). Kmentt rented the Municipal Theatre as well as the Arena, which meant a year-round engagement for the members. Raul had been the director of the theatre in Karlovy Vary for many years, and this represented a good background for his ensemble. Nevertheless, neither of the two could escape the outflow of high-quality artists after the end of the seasons since, according to director Raul, travelling to Timișoara and the growing influence of the pro-Hungarian circles in Pressburg on the operations of the theatre made it difficult to engage members in the German-speaking ensemble in the long run.[30]

As for the Hungarian ensembles, the situation was even more complicated than with the German-speaking ensembles. Theatres in the provinces suffered due to an insufficient number of high-quality artists, since most of them were trying to gain a foothold in Budapest. At the same time, artists were sensitive to manifestations of the audience's favour and, in the case of the Hungarian performances in the Municipal Theatre in Pressburg, they often had to face an empty auditorium since their attendance was consistently low. In 1890–1899 the Hungarian director Ignácz Krecsányi worked in Pressburg, having been previously active in towns with a mixed population in terms of language. He perceived his whole artistic activity as a cultural mission in favour of building the Hungarian state.[31] However,

29 MAB, City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Municipal Archive of Bratislava, box 2836, inv. nos. 15800, document 24 and box 2839, inv. nos. 15803, document 32.

30 MAB, Johann Nepomuk Batka Fond, correspondence, Emanuel Raul, inv. no. 5, box 26, letter of 24 September 1896.

31 "Ignácz Krecsányi", in *Színművészeti lexikon. A színjátszás* és *drámairodalom enciklopédiája*, vol.3, ed. Aladár Schöpflin (Budapest: Az Országos Színészegyesület és Nyugdíjintézet, 1931), 54–55.

he could not have succeeded in Pressburg without the support of Timișoara, where he had worked for twenty-three years.[32]

The number of the members of the ensemble was between twenty-five and thirty; the choir consisted of about sixteen people. At the time of Raul's directorship in 1890–1899, when operas were regularly performed, the ensemble had forty members. It is important to note, however, that directors in Pressburg could not afford a strict division of the ensemble. Although theatre critics talked about the actors' ensemble and the singers' ensemble and about a separate choir, the practice was such that the actors had to be able to take over minor roles in operettas, sometimes even in operas, while the singers also acted in comedies and farces. The choir took part in operas, operettas, and even dramas. The Pressburg theatre did not have its own ballet ensemble; ballets were performed only with guest soloists from Vienna or Budapest. To execute the dance items in the dramatic and musical-dramatic repertoire, the director engaged a small group of female solo dancers led by a ballet mistress, who danced in the performances along with the upcoming dancers.

Until 1906, the theatre orchestra consisted of local musicians who were also members of the CMA. In 1897 the members formed a new music association, the *Preßburger Musiker-Verein*, which organized independent concerts in addition to the theatre performances.[33] In 1906 a Municipal Orchestra was set up on the initiative of the CMA officials, which the director engaged as a theatre orchestra. Within the theatre, it was conducted by the *Kapellmeister*/conductor arriving with the art company. According to the agreement, the orchestra had to have at least thirty members, but this was often the maximum number and presented a problem especially in the case of opera performances. The situation was solved by modifying the scores by the conductor, just as Bruno Walter did in the 1897/1898 season.[34] Sometimes the military band helped out in the theatre.[35]

Setting up a good art ensemble was a condition for a balanced repertoire, in terms of forms and genres, to be offered by the director in the Municipal Theatre. Analysis of the daily programme plans reveals the preferences of the regular theatre-goers and the strong influence of the theatrical environment of Vienna on the repertoire performed in Pressburg during the German and partly even the Hungarian part of the season.

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32 Adrienne Darvay Nagy, *Állandóban változékonyan* (Marosvásárhely: Mentor Kiadó, 2003), 33.

33 J. B. [Johann Batka], "Zum morgigen Orchesterkonzerte des Preßburger Musiker-Vereines", *Preßburger Zeitung*, 3 December 1898, 1.

34 Bruno Walter, *Téma s variacemi* (Prague: SHV, 1965), 120.

35 Gustav Mauthner, "Samson und Dalila", *Westungarischer Grenzbote*, 14 January 1902, 4–5; Jana Lengová, "Pressburg im letzten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts: das Musikmilieu der Jugendjahre Franz Schmidts", in *Franz Schmidt und Preßburg,* ed. Carmen Ottner (Vienna: Verlag Doblinger, 1999), 21.

THE REPERTOIRE OF THE MUNICIPAL THEATRE AT THE TURN OF THE NINETEENTH AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The lease agreement of the theatre contained a general outline of the repertoire and determined the performance of plays, comedies, folk plays, farces, and operettas based on the level of the artistic preferences of the town and the demands of the audience.[36] The selection of specific works was up to the director, who had to present a list to the theatre committee for approval before the season started. One long-standing member of the committee was the municipal archivist, significant organizer of the cultural life of Pressburg, and music critic of the *Preßburger Zeitung* Johann Batka (1845–1917). As an advocate of the classical musical tradition, he insisted on including opera performances in the daily programme plans of the German part of the season. At the time of constructing the Municipal Theatre, Italian and French operas prevailed in the repertoire, including *Un ballo in maschera*, *La traviata*, *Il trovatore*, *Rigoletto, Aida* (G. Verdi), *Faust* (Ch. Gounod), *Carmen* (G. Bizet), *La Juive* (F. Halévy), *Les Huguenots,* and *L'Africaine* (G. Meyerbeer). The Pressburg audience welcomed each staging of an opera by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (*The Magic Flute*, *Don Giovanni*) or Ludwig van Beethoven (*Fidelio*) as representatives of the classical musical tradition. In the summer of 1892, an International Exhibition of Music and Theatre took place in Vienna, where the works of Italian *veristas* were performed with great success. Shortly afterwards, they were premiered in Pressburg and the audience could hear the operas *Pagliacci* (R. Leoncavallo) and *Mala vita* (U. Giordano). The exhibition in Vienna also brought the premiere of the *Bartered Bride* (B. Smetana) in German to Pressburg. German romantic operas, such as *Das Nachtlager in Granada* (C. Kreutzer), *Hans Heiling* (H. Marschner), *Marta* (F. von Flotow), *Zar und Zimmermann*, *Undine*, *Der Waffenschmied* (A. Lortzing), and *Das goldene Kreuz* (I. Brüll) were also staged frequently in the Municipal Theatre. Richard Wagner's works (*Lohengrin*, *The Flying Dutchman*, *Tannhäuser*) also made their way into the repertoire but their performance depended on securing high-quality solo members for the art ensemble or guest soloists from the Hofoper in Vienna. Prominent opera soloists guest-performing in Pressburg in the late nineteenth century included Theodor Reichmann, Anna Baier, Ida Liebhardt-Baier, Caroline Tellheim, Antonie Schläger, Minna Walter, Rosa Papier, and Louise von Ehrenstein.

After 1900, staging operas became the duty of the Hungarian directors who, however, had been facing financial problems for several years. A change occurred only in 1911 when Hungarian audiences began to prevail in the theatre. This made it possible to perform operas regularly under the aegis of the Hungarian director

36 MAB, City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Municipal Archive of Bratislava, box 2836, inv. nos. 15800, document 24 and box 2839, inv. nos. 15803, document 32.

Károly Polgár (1864–1933). Under his directorship, Puccini's operas *La bohème*, *Tosca*, and *Madame Butterfly* appeared on the stage of the Municipal Theatre repeatedly.

The reports in the dailies reveal that, besides operas, the most visited performances were operettas, especially the Viennese ones. For the bourgeoisie of Pressburg, these works embodied their connection to the Austro-Hungarian urban environment, their openness to novel literary and musical contents, and their political and social criticism.[37] The most frequently played authors included Johann Strauss, Jr. (*Die Fledermaus*, *Der Zigeunerbaron*, *Eine Nacht in Venedig*, *Der Karneval in Rom*, and *Simplicius*), Karl Millöcker (*Der Bettelstudent*, *Der Vice-Admiral*, *Der arme Jonathan*, and *Gasparone*) and Franz von Suppé (*Boccaccio*, *Donna Juanita*, *Flotte Bursche*, *Die schöne Galathée*, *Fatinitza*, and *Das Modell)*. Jacques Offenbach's operettas (*The Tales of Hoffmann*, *La belle Hélène*, and *Orpheus in the Underworld*) were added to the works of Viennese authors. The most popular guest performers in operettas included Alexander Girardi, Therese Biedermann, Gusti Zimmermann, Wilhelm Knaack, and Josefine (Pepi) Glöckner.

In the new century, the works of the "Silver Age" of the Viennesse operetta became popular in Pressburg and continued to be staged even after the birth of the Slovak National Theatre as the "legacy of the Monarchy."[38] The most frequently played authors included Franz Lehár (*Der Rastelbinder*, *Die lustige Witwe*, *Wiener Frauen*, *Der Graf von Luxemburg*, *Die Zigeunerliebe*, *Die Juxheirat*, *Das Fürstenkind*, and *Eva*), Emmerich Kálmán (*Tatárjárás*, *Der Zigeunerprimas*, *Die Csárdásfürstin*, and *Die Faschinsfee*) and Edmund Eysler (*Bruder Straubinger*, *Künstlerblut*, *Der lachende Ehemann*, *Der Frauenfresser*, and *Die Schützenliesl*).

Farces and comedies figured in the largest number in the programme plans. At the time when the Municipal Theatre was built, the era of Viennese farces had ended in Vienna but the works of Johann Nestroy (*Der böse Geist Lumpacivagabundus*, *Einen Jux will er sich machen*, *Das Mädel aus der Vorstadt*, and *Talizman*) and Ferdinand Raimund (*Der verwunschene Schloss*, *Der Bauer als Millionär*, and *Der Verschwender*) continued to be popular entertainment pieces in the Pressburg theatre even at the end of the nineteenth century. Besides these, the most frequently played works at the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries were *Im weißen Rößl*, *Als ich wieder kam*, *Auf der Sonnenseite*, *Die strengen Herren*, and *Zwei Wappen* (O. Blumenthal,

37 Moritz Csáky, "Der soziale und kulturelle Kontext der Wiener Operette", in *Johann Strauß: Zwischen Kunstanspruch und Volksvergnügen,* eds. Ludwig Finscher, Albrecht Riethmüller (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 39.

38 Vladimír Zvara, "Auf der Suche nach dem Sinn der Oper: Die untote Kunstgattung in der Stadt Bratislava", in *Musiktheater in Raum und Zeit: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Theaterpraxis in Mitteleuropa in 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Vladimír Zvara (Bratislava: Assoziation Corpus in Zusammenarbeit mit NM Code, 2015), 223.

G. Kadelburg), and *Gold'ne Eva*, *Comtesse Guckerl*, and *Renaissance* (F. v. Schönthan, F. v. Koppel-Ellfeldt). Besides German and Austrian composers, the French dramatists Alexandre Bisson (*Le Contrôleur des wagons-lits*, *Monsieur le directeur*, *La famille Pont-Biquet*, and *Les surprises du divorce*) and Edouard Pailleron (*Les Cabotons* and *La souris*) were very popular.

Operettas, comedies, and farces were performed in German as well as in Hungarian. During the Hungarian part of the season, Hungarian folk plays with songs and dances, drawing on themes from the Hungarian rural environment and being counterparts of the Viennese farces, were also performed.[39] The most frequently staged ones were *A csók*, *Az utolsó szerelem*, and *Széchy Mária* (Lajos Dóczy); *A piros bugyelláris* and *Sárga csikó* (Ferenc Csepreghy); *A falu rossza* (Ede Tóth); *Kózsa Jutka* and *A vereshajú* (Sándor Lukácsy); *A czigány* (Ede Szigligeti); *A dezentor* (Viktor Rákosi); and *Felhő Klári* (László Rátkay). Compared with the comedies of German and Austrian authors, these works got a weaker response from the Pressburg audience. The people of Pressburg were familiar with them but they were not their preferred form of entertainment.

The critics praised the classics, but their attendance was not always high even in the German part of the season. The Pressburg audience knew the works of William Shakespeare (*Richard III*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*); Friedrich Schiller (*Die Jungfrau von Orléans*, *Die Räuber*, *Maria Stuart*, and *Kabale und Liebe*); Johann Wolfgang Goethe (*Faust*, *Götz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand*, and *Egmont*); and Franz Grillparzer (*Medea*, *Sapho*, *Die Ahnfrau*, *Die Jüdin von Toledo*, and *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*). The performances took place as part of the so-called classical evenings and almost exclusively with the participation of guests from the Hofburgtheater in Vienna, such as Bernhard Baumeister, Marie Pospischil, Friedrich Mitterwurzel, Ernst Hartmann, and Adolf Sonnenthal.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the folk plays of Ludwig Anzengruber (*Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld*, *Der Meineidbauer*, *Das vierte Gebot*, and *Brave Leut vom Grund*) regularly figured in the repertoire. Another popular author of works with social criticism was Adolf L'Arronge (*Hasemanns Töchter*, *Doktor Klaus*, and *Mein Leopold*).

Under the influence of the Hofburgtheater, conversational plays, with a number of unique character roles and rich dialogues, were fully adopted in Pressburg, just as in some other provincial towns of the Monarchy.[40] They were perceived as a "school of acting" and their staging was less costly than that of the narrative

39 Peter Por, "Die rustikale Variante: das ungarische Volksspiel im 19. Jahrhundert", in *Das* österreichische *Volkstheater im europäischen Zusammenhang 1830–1880*, ed. Jean-Marie Valentin (Bern et al.: Peter Lang, 1988), 177.

40 Elisabeth Grossegger, "Mýtus Burgtheater: Príběh, který dokázal vytvořit identitu", in *Divadelní revue*, 24/2 (2013): 170.

historical plays and dramas. The most frequently played authors were Victorien Sardou (*Madame Sans Gene*, *Cyprienne*, *Andrea, Georgette*, *Nos Intimes!* and *Papillone*); Eugene Scribe (*Le Verre d'eau ou Les effets et les causes*); Émile Augier (*Le Gendre de M. Poirier*) ; and Alexander Dumas *fils* (*L'Étrangère*, *Denise*, and *Francillon*).

Other new genres included scenes from life and, lastly, modern drama. Their main representatives in Pressburg were Hermann Sudermann (*Heimat*, *Es lebe das Leben*, *Das Glück im Winkel*, and *Der gute Ruf*); Gerhard Hauptmann (*Furman Henschel*, *Die Versunkene Glocke*, *Der Biberpelz*, and *Die Weber*); Henrik Ibsen (*Gengangere*, *Nora*, *Samfundets Støtter*, and *Hedda Gabler*); José Echegaray (*El gran Galeoto, De mala raza, Lo sublime en lo vulgar, Mariana, Mancha que limpia*) and José Echegaray (*El gran Galeoto, De mala raza, Lo sublime en lo vulgar, Mariana, Mancha que limpia*) Arthur Schnitzler (*Liebelei* and *Abschiedssouper*). The Pressburg audience did not reject modern dramatic works but, according to the reports in the dailies, it preferred the traditional repertoire. The directorship of Paul Blasel (especially from 1906 to 1919) from Vienna was an exception; he staged a sophisticated dramatic repertoire and attendance at the performances was still very high. This was connected with the low number of German performances in the period in question, so the audience made use of every opportunity to see a performance in German.

It follows from the above that the daily programme plan of the Municipal Theatre of Pressburg was similar to the repertoires of the theatres of other provincial towns at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At the beginning of the season, earlier and newer dramas also figured in the repertoire because musical-dramatic novelties required longer preparations and coherence even from new members of the art ensemble. The daily programme plan was compiled in such a way that the classical dramatic repertoire and operas were played on weekdays, when the wealthier strata of society went to the theatre, whereas comedies, farces, and operettas were on the programme at the weekends when the theatre was filled with audiences even from the less wealthy strata.

Scenic designs were an indispensable part of the performances. As archive documents and contemporaneous literature reveals, the town purchased typified designs from the atelier of Brioschi and Burghart when the Municipal Theatre began its operations.[41] Each director could use them during their lease of the theatre. As for refreshing the depository and adding new items to it, the directors' agreement required them to have one complete set of new decorations made in each season, including backdrops, arches, walls, coulisses, wreaths, doors and windows, paint-

41 Zur Geschichte des Pressburger Theater-Baues 1879 – 1887. Zusammengestellt von Oberingenieur Anton Sendlein. MAB, City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Theatre, box 2940, inv. nos. 15879, p. 55. Otto von Fabricius, *Das neue Theater* (Preßburg: Druckerei des Westungarischer Grenzbote, 1886), 20.

ed on new, durable canvas and reinforced. After the end of the season, the director had to leave these decorations to the town. Also, he had to have two of the town's decorations repainted each season and he was required to announce in advance which decorations he was planning to restore.[42]

The most significant scenic designers working in Pressburg in the late nineteenth century were Otto Wintersteiner (1839–1894) and his son Gustav Wintersteiner (1876–1950), who took over his father's post after his father's death. Gustav Wintersteiner's works have been preserved in the form of three albums,[43] and they share features with the scenic designs of the painters Carl and Anton Brioschi, Hermann Burghart, and Johann Kautský.[44] In his youth, Gustav Wintersteiner came to know the works of scenic designers in Vienna under the directorship of Raul, who ordered from Brioschi designs for the Pressburg premiere of the opera *Heimchen am Herd* in 1896 and decorations made in the Viennese style for the premiere of the opera *The Evangelist* in 1897.[45]

The art ensemble, the repertoire, and the audience were mutually connected, and they determined and complemented each other. If a director managed to set up a good ensemble which provided an interesting repertoire, he secured the favour of the audience.

THE AUDIENCE

A well-established system of season tickets enabled the theatre to strengthen its base of regular audience who considered daily attendance at theatre performances a part of their social life. The holders of the season tickets included members of the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, higher officials; members of the urban intelligentsia consisting of factory owners, school directors, and professors, bankers, lawyers, physicians and officers; and members of the local musicians' and singers' associations.[46] The theatre directors were aware of the fact that, despite the constant growth of the population, the composition of the regular audience had not changed. Therefore, they counted on the owners of the season tickets and adjusted the daily repertoire to their preferences.

42 MAB, City Bratislava, Municipal Establishments, Municipal Archive of Bratislava, box 2836, inv. nos. 15800, document 24 and box 2839, inv. nos. 15803, document 32.

43 Bratislava City Gallery, Gustav Wintersteiner, Album I. (A 2518–A 2561), Album II. (A 2617–A 2636), Album III. (A 2562–A 2583).

44 Rudi Risatti, "Kein Tag gehe dahin, ohne daß er etwas erdacht habe: Einblicke in die Wiener Bühnenkunst bis 1869", in *Geschichte der Oper in Wien,* vol. 1: *Von den Anfängen bis 1869,* eds. Otto Biba, Herbert Seifert (Vienna: Molden Verlag, 2019), 336.

45 MAB, Theatre Posters Collection 1796–1936 (1941).

46 Jiří Kopecký and Lenka Křupková, *Provincial Theater and Its Opera: German Opera Scene in Olomouc, 1770–1920* (Olomouc: Palacký University, 2015), 313–315.

In the nineteenth century, when the theatre became a conveyer of national ideas, a specific situation developed in Pressburg. The above-mentioned efforts of the Hungarian government to transform the Municipal Theatre into a vehicle for the dissemination of Hungarian language and culture met with opposition from the regular theatre-goers. The fact that the audience was made up of German-speaking Pressburgers largely predetermined theatre attendance. They regarded Hungarian cultural traditions as their own and declared their loyalty to the Hungarian government in public.[47] More important for the people of Pressburg, however, was their relationship to their town, and they expressed their sectionalism through their wide-ranging participation in the social and cultural development of the town. To maintain their social status, they used Hungarian in public but preferred German in the theatre. They attended Hungarian performances primarily when an exceptional guest performed or when Hungarian holidays were celebrated. Although the supporters of the Hungarian theatre tried to create an impression of a double (German and Hungarian) audience, the reality was different. The same audience attended (and, consequently, supported) the German as well as the Hungarian performances, as can be seen from the critics' statements about a *single* theatre audience.[48]

After 1900, concert attendance increased in the town due to the growing number of Hungarian performances in the Municipal Theatre. The German-speaking audience did not welcome the exchange of the seasons and preferred concerts to Hungarian theatre. The above-mentioned support of Hungarian director Polgár from 1911 was a result of the long-standing efforts of the pro-Hungarian circles in the town. Erkel's opera, this time *Hunyady* László, was staged as the opening performance of his first season, which was also a ceremonial performance on the 25th anniversary of the erection of the Municipal Theatre (an Erkel opera was played also when the theatre was opened), and this symbolically confirmed the tireless efforts of the Hungarian theatre to gain a foothold in this German-speaking environment.[49]

CONCLUSION

The continuity of the theatrical life of Pressburg, reflected in the construction of a new theatre building in 1886, contributed significantly to the strengthening of the central position of the theatre as a cultural and social institution in the late nineteenth century. The theatre took centre stage in the town, and regular attendance

47 Elena Mannová, "Sebaprezentácia nemeckých stredných vrstiev v Bratislave v 19. storočí", in *Slovenský národopis*, 43/2 (1995): 170.

48 Julius Derra, "Die verflossene deutsche Theatersaison", *Preßburger Zeitung*, 1 February 1895, 3.

49 "Theater: Eröffnungs- und Festvorstellung des ungarischen Ensembles", *Preßburger Zeitung*, 10 October 1911, 13.

was part of the life of the Pressburg bourgeoisie. The background of the daily operations of the theatre revealed that it was a dynamic system and could not avoid conflicts, controversies, and failures. To get a realistic picture of the Municipal Theatre, even the internal (and heterogeneous) power struggles with the political and economic operators had to be pointed out.

An overview of the technical and artistic aspects of its operations reveals that the Pressburg theatre functioned in a way similar to other municipal theatres in Central Europe at the time. The contractual terms regulating the composition of the art ensemble and the repertoire to be performed reflected the attitude of the town, which demanded high-quality performances comparable to the programmes of the major theatres because a long-standing cultural identity had been encoded into the collective subconscious of the representatives of the town. A detailed analysis of the first years of the functioning of the theatre reveals some characteristics which assumed a specifically local character in contact with the changing socio-political situation.

One of these was the composition of the daily programme plan, in which the Viennese entertainment repertoire prevailed. The local ensemble managed to capitalize on the inspirations brought by guests from Vienna during the German part of the season. The Viennese dialect, present in the entertainment repertoire of the Vienna theatres, sounded familiar in Pressburg thanks to their proximity and frequent contacts. The audience could decode the cultural codes in the famous allusions thanks to their common history. Performing a Viennese repertoire in the Pressburg theatre led to the development of the concept of the cultural memory of the town on the one hand and strengthened the cultural connection of Pressburg with Vienna on the other.

Thanks to the cultural transmission and circulation of the repertoire and the frequent migrations of the performers all over Central Europe, the municipal theatres became interconnected, and thereby the theatre in Pressburg became part of a large complex. The fact that the works that prevailed in the programme of the Municipal Theatre in the late nineteenth century are almost completely unknown for today's theatre-goers should not be overlooked. The character of the Pressburg theatre, which may appear strange at first sight, becomes more familiar by gaining information about its daily operations, and the words about the High Province used by theatre scholar Ladislav Lajcha to label the theatre in Pressburg acquire their true meaning.

WORLD WAR I'S BOARDS THAT MEANT LIFE: THE THEATRE OF SERBIAN SOLDIERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR

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Abstract. *The First World War was the first modern war which mobilized both military and civilians of all participating countries from different continents. Theatre was not only a form of entertainment, purposing to take the audience's minds away from fighting and death. It became an integral part of the war, a part of the war propaganda as well. Using examples from a Serbian wartime theatre this paper looked, in the context of the history of theatre of the First World War, at the functions of theatre. The primary focus is on the protagonists of this theatre of emotions, on actors and ensembles, its repertoire, as well as on the effect the theatre had. Writing about Serbian theatre in the First World War it was important at first to draw a distinction between four categories: soldier front theatre, exile theatre of refugees, convalescent camp theatre, and POW and internment camp theatre. After the occupation in 1915 the Serbian theatre life took place outside of Serbia – in places where Serbs lived in exile, such as Greece (Corfu, Thessaloniki) and Corsica, where they was situated in the convalescent camps in North Africa or captured in prisoner-of-war and internment camps of the Habsburg Monarchy. The paper also presents the everyday and cultural life in Serbia during the occupation, which was consequently determined by the War Press Office in Vienna. For the analysis were primarily used the ego documents of the contemporary witnesses, the newspaper reports as well as the documents from the Austrian and Serbian archive collections.*

Keywords: Serbian theatre, World War I, Prisoner of War theatre, Front theatre, theatre and propaganda

World War I began with a declaration of war by Austria-Hungary against the Kingdom of Serbia on 28 July 1914, where the first front of this war was opened.[1] Serbia's civilian populations, who were inhabitants of the Habsburg Monarchy,[2]

1 After bombing Belgrade for several days, beginning with the night of 28–29 July 1914, imperial and royal troops crossed the rivers Sava and Drina on 12 August and perpetrated a massacre against the civilians in just twelve days in northwest Serbia. See Anton Holzer, *Das Lächeln der Henker: Der unbekannte Krieg gegen die Zivilbevölkerung 1914–1918* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2008). Additional thousands of civilians and soldiers were deported to the internment or prisoner-of-war camps of the Monarchy.

2 According to the 1910 census, 1.9 million Serbs lived in the Monarchy. As an ethnic minority they constituted 23.8% of the entire population in actual Hungary, 25.6% in Croatia-Slavonia, 32.4% in the Mil-

were heavily affected. Continuous battles in Serbia's residential areas left no possibilities for a theatre life and no desire for one. At the beginning of December 1914, shortly after Serbia was liberated and the last imperial and royal soldier left Serbia, a typhoid fever epidemic spread and the struggle for survival began once again. In the fall of 1915 Serbia was occupied during a campaign involving an Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian, and German offensive. King Petar Karađorđević (1844–1921; r. 1903–18), the government, and the army went into exile on Corfu, along with innumerable Serbian refugees.[3]

When we talk about Serbian theatre during World War I, we are talking about a theatre which came into being either on the front or in the prisoner-of-war and internment camps in Germany, Bulgaria, and the Habsburg Monarchy, in the convalescent camps in North Africa or amongst the refugees in exile. In the occupied Kingdom of Serbia proper, the repertoire included guest performances for soldiers of the occupying army or the so-called *Zivilveranstaltungen* (*civilian events*), e.g. in the K.u.k. Kino und Theater (Imperial and Royal Cinema and Theatre) in Belgrade, which were only partially open to the Serbian audience. However, theatre life in Belgrade and other cities in the state during the occupation from 1915 to 1918 was anything but not organized and performed by the artists of Kingdom of Serbia.

Serbian theatrical life during Word War I was maintained in places where Serbs lived in exile, such as Greece (Corfu, Thessaloniki) or in Tunisia (Bizerte). As noted, Serbian theatre performances also took place in the prisoner-of-war and internment camps of the Habsburg Monarchy, such as Mauthausen, Aschach an der Donau, Boldogasszony (Frauenkirchen), and Nézsider (Neusiedl am See).

On the front, in exile, and in captivity, the theatre was of great importance. In an existential crisis, when it seemed uncertain if or when one would ever return to Serbia, these were indeed "the boards that meant life". Theatre meant an escape from death, a relief from the dark and dangerous everyday life in the time of war.

This article focuses primarily on the organization of performances, the repertoire, protagonists, actors, and ensembles, as well as on reception.

A distinction is to be drawn between four categories of Serbian theatre in World War I: soldier theatre at the front, the exile theatre of refugees, convalescent camp theatre, and prisoner-of-war and internment camp theatre. The soldier theatre at

itary Frontier, 17% in Dalmatia and 43.5% in Bosnia; Dimitrije Đorđević, "Die Serben", in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 3: *Die Völker des Reiches*, eds. A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 734–774. Hostage-taking and internment began even before the war, in the July Crisis, as a retaliation for the assassination in Sarajevo; see Vladimir Ćorović, *Patnje Srba Bosne i Hercegovine za vreme Svetskog rata 1914–1918* (Sarajevo: I. D. Đurđević, 1920).

3 For more about World War I in Serbia see Andrej Mitrović, *Serbia's Great War, 1914–1918* (London: Hurst & Co., 2007).

the front, as well as theatres in convalescent camps for Serbian soldiers and theatre groups in exile, were initiated and supported by the Serbian government. The theatres in prisoner-of-war camps were initiated and organized by the prisoners themselves and were later partially supported financially by humanitarian organizations. They were subject to censorship controlled by the camp commanders. What all these theatres had in common is that they were all active outside the Kingdom of Serbia.

The theatre groups were dilettante or semi-professional, but they were mainly conducted by professional actors and producers, since the general mobilization included all social classes. Artists who were not called up in 1914 due to their age were imprisoned as civilian internees. Some of them moved from occupied Serbia at the end of 1915 with the army and the government into the countries of the allies. They worked closely with amateurs and with professional and civilian musicians. There were plenty of soldiers or prisoners of war and refugees who had never seen a theatre performance before, and some of them even became members of ensembles. The audience was by no means just an observer. Shouting, cheering, and heckling was nothing unusual; it reflected their given state of mind, or it was a reaction and reference to the current political events. Only some front theatres, for example the Serbian front theatre "Toša Jovanović" in Thessaloniki, had exclusively professional actors and producers at work. Quite often it happened that the amateur actors would keep the names of their stage roles forever. Memoirs and notes tell us that they were addressed by these names after the war ended as well, regardless of whether they were named after a female or a male character. Their civilian names simply disappeared, which was to their liking, as proved by the memoirs. Due to the circumstances, it was common practice for men to play female roles:

> The theatre in prisoner-of-war and internment camps of the World War could directly resort to the 'male diva,' fiercely honored by the male audience, even if under dramatically altered circumstances. They were 'emasculated male societies,' whose members perceived themselves as robbed of both their 'soldierly masculinity' and the exercise of their (heterosexual) sexuality.[4]

This was not new for the professional actors from Serbia, who had gained their experience during the pre-war period in traveling theatre groups which relied on

4 "Auf die vom Männerpublikum stürmisch verehrte 'männliche Diva' konnte sich das Theater in den Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierungslagern des Weltkrieges direkt berufen, wenn auch unter dramatisch veränderten Bedingungen. Es waren 'entmannte Männergesellschaften,' deren Mitglieder sich sowohl ihrer 'soldatischen Männlichkeit' als auch der Ausübung ihrer (heterosexuellen) Sexualität beraubt sahen"; Christoph Jahr: "Theater- und Geschlechtsrollen im Engländerlager 'Ruhleben' 1914–1918", in *Mein Kamerad – die Diva: Theater an der Front und in Gefangenenlagern des Ersten Weltkrieges*, eds. Julia Köhne, Brigitta Lange and Anke Vetter (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 2014), 93.

Fig. 1. Petar Terzić in the theatre play with music *Đido* (The Fearless Man) by Janko Veselinović, prisoner-of-war camp Boldogasszony. Source: Archive of Serbian Museum of Theatre Arts (Arhiv Muzeja pozorišne umetnosti Srbije), Belgrade

improvisation, nor for Serbian peasants who were used to men playing female roles in their customs (processions, annual fair comedies, etc.)

The identification with a role and happy memories of theatre performances in these difficult times had such an effect that even former prisoners of war, when coming across the subject of theatre, had only positive thoughts, as confirmed by the inscription of Petar Terzić on a photo dated 2 February 1918 which shows him in his theatrical costume, with the following dedication written in rhyme to his friend. They were both captives in camp Boldogasszony/Frauenkirchen in Burgenland:

> In these difficult times that test us, instead of concerning myself with nothing but survival, I've battled with my own self and ultimately decided to remove my moustache. This I have only done to show all my friends that I, Terzić Pera, for the benefit of the society and the play *Đido* (The Fearless Man), am prepared to sacrifice my moustache as well. And now I stand before you in this costume as a true, even though not particularly pretty, woman. I wish to you with all my heart, my Toskić, that this photograph forever remains a memory of yours.[5]

SERBIAN THEATRE BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR I

The first professional theatre group, under the name of the *Leteće diletantsko pozorište* (Travelling Amateur Theatre), began its work amongst the Serbs in 1838 in the free royal city of Novi Sad (Újvidék) in South Hungary. This theatre group also gave performances in other cities of the Habsburg Monarchy from 1840, which resulted in the founding of more theatre groups. The fact that all the Serbian actors of this generation acquired their skills in traveling theatre groups, which often entailed improvisation in terms of staging, costume, and props, proved beneficial when it came to the organization of theatre performances in the war. Thanks to the commitment and guest performances of this group, mid-nineteenth-century professional theatres were established in Novi Sad, Agram (Zagreb), and Belgrade. This is how in 1842 the professional theatre in Belgrade, *Teatar na Đumruku* (Đumruk Theatre), came into being. At the end of the nineteenth century, the repertoire was dominated by German theatre, which served as a model, as did the Comédie-Française (French comedy) and Parisian boulevard theatre. Naturalism, symbolism, and expressionism played an important part in the early twentieth

5 "Petar Terzić, 2. II 1918. U danima ovim borbe iskušenja mesto za svoj život da se samo brinem, mislijo sam dugo; borijo se sobom i najzad reših da brkove skinem. To učinih samo da pokažem svima neka prijatelji i drugovi vide da za dobro društva a u korist *Đide* Terzić Pera eto i brkove skide. I sad u kostimu ja stojim pred vami ka neka prava – ne baš lepa žena. Iz sveg srca želim da ti Toskiću ova slika bude trajna uspomena". Archive of Serbian Museum of Theatre Arts (Arhiv Muzeja pozorišne umetnosti Srbije), Belgrade.

century. But the form favored up to this time, *komad s pevanjem* (the theatre play with music), did not completely disappear from the stage. The intertwining of Romanticism and Realism gave it a new poetic note. This is for example evident in *Koštana* (1900) by Bora Stanković, which remains a very popular theatre play in Serbia up to the present day.

This was the basis upon which Serbian theatre life during World War I developed itself. The men were at the front,[6] and the female population prevailed in the occupied Kingdom of Serbia. What followed is that men at the front and in the camps played female parts as well, while women, in Belgrade for example, took over the conductorship of choral societies, or continued it, as did Sofija Predić for example. During the occupation, however, the choral societies continued only with church services in Serbian Orthodox churches. Serbian schools were closed, and the teachers dismissed. The occupiers opened new schools whose teachers came from the Habsburg Monarchy. This also affected music schools. After their unsuccessful plea for the reopening of music schools during Serbia's occupation, the dismissed teachers who had decided to stay in the country organized private lessons. These were only female professors, amongst others Miroslava (Frieda) Binički, the wife of the composer[7] and conductor of the *Orkestar kraljeve garde* (King's Guard Orchestra), Stanislav Binički, who composed the well known *Marš na Drinu* (March on the Drina), popular among soldiers. He was located at the front, as were many other musicians and composers from Serbia. After the occupation of Serbia in 1915, many musicians and composers were also deported to the camps of the Habsburg Monarchy, with a few exceptions: for example, the composer Josif Marinković, who remained in occupied Serbia due to his advanced age. When he returned from imprisonment to Belgrade in 1916, he found his house devastated by the Austro-Hungarian soldiers who lived there; some of the manuscripts of his compositions had been burned, his bust was slashed, and many of his personal belongings had been carried off. In order to survive, he had to sell all that was left, including his piano.[8]

Already in 1914 the number of military bands which went to war with their respective units increased. They originated to some extent from the two preceding Balkan wars in 1912 and 1913. Numerous musicians died during the battles of 1914 and 1915, so that it took time before the bands could begin reorganizing in 1916 after the Army's retreat to the island of Corfu. Given the endless battles which

6 Even though, unlike in many other countries at the time, there were female soldiers and non-commissioned officers in the army of the Kingdom of Serbia, these were individual cases and one cannot speak of a large number of women in the armed forces.

7 Composer of the first performed Serbian opera *Na uranku* (At Dawn), among other works.

8 Vlastimir Peričić, *Josif Marinković. Život i dela* (Belgrade: SANU, 1967), 58.

took place on the soil of the Kingdom of Serbia from August until December 1914, affecting not only soldiers but the entire civilian population, along with the typhoid fever epidemic which broke out at the end of 1914 and claimed many lives in – by this time – liberated Serbia, theatre life did not matter.

One of the most important Serbian cultural centers, with a rich theatre life before the war was, as stated, Novi Sad. There were also other Serbian theatre groups and actors from Serbia who worked in Sarajevo (Bosnia and Hercegovina) or in Zagreb (Croatia). Some of these actresses and actors, along with other Serbs who were citizens of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, were arrested even before the war broke out, following the assassination in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914, and some were taken hostage and later on deported to internment camps in Hungary and Austria. We find proof of this in the memoirs of the well-known Serbian scientist Milutin Milanković,[9] who was arrested in his birthplace Dalj in Croatia.

> In August 1914, as the 2nd Hungarian hussar regiment left the barracks of Neusiedl (Nézsider), in order to fight on the battlefields of Galicia, these barracks became the prisoner camp for Serbian citizens who were found at the beginning of the war in the Hungarian half of the Monarchy and for other Serbian civilians who were taken prisoner during the war. […] The ground floor had stables in which the imprisoned peasants were placed, and the "coat carriers", as they were called by the military, were placed on the first floor. They were divided into various categories – the highest was the one of the so-called intellectuals. I came into this group and was brought into an elongated room with twelve straw mattresses […]. The thirteenth mattress was given to me. My new companions in the room were: three actors from Zagreb Theatre, four lawyers of Zagreb University, a typographer, a merchant assistant, a waiter, and a formerly convicted murderer, who wasn't there for his rank, but as a servant. Amongst these actors was also the famous actor of the Zagreb Theatre, Bora Rašković, whom I have known since childhood. There I also met my acquaintance from Belgrade, Aleksandar Binički, the brother of the conductor of the [Serbian] King's guard (Stanislav). Soon I made friends with the rest of the group as well and therefore found myself in pleasant company. […] The Austro-Hungarian army invaded Serbia, and new prisoners filled our camp.

9 A Professor at Belgrade University, Milutin Milanković had studied in Vienna and completed his Ph.D. at the *Technische Universität Wien (*The Vienna University of Technology). When the war broke out, Milanković was in his birthplace Dalj in Croatia. He was immediately arrested, brought to the prison in Osijek, later placed under house arrest, and subsequently brought to the prison in Karlovac, from where he was deported to the internment camp Nézsider (Neusiedl am See). He was released as early as 24 December 1914 on account of the intervention of his former Vienna colleagues and placed under house arrest in Budapest, where he was also allowed to do research work, until the war ended.

These were peasants from Mačva and from the surroundings of Šabac. Washed out by wartime events and exhausted from transport, they looked like ghosts. They were thrown into the ground floor, in the horse stables. Weary, they lay down on the leftovers of decayed straw. […] An unknown disease with no name and no cure broke out among them. They began to go down like flies – at first one or two a day and then more and more as time passed. Their stories killed all hope in us. […] Day after day, our guards told us about new victories of the Austrian army. […] We wanted to know at all costs as much as possible about the events on the front. But collecting any news of it and the reading of papers was strictly forbidden and harshly punished. Nonetheless, we found a solution – one of the prisoners worked at the train station during the day. In exchange for some serious money which I gave him, he would get the Vienna newspaper *Neue Freie Presse* from a railway man and brought it to me always early in the morning. I would then retreat to our room and read the paper near the fire. Meanwhile my friends kept guard in front of the room. If in danger I could throw the newspaper into the fire. This way I read the papers every morning, memorized every place where the Austrian army made its progress, burned the paper and gathered friends afterwards to inform them. They held their breaths while they listened. We didn't possess any military maps in order to follow the army's movement. But Bora Rašković, the actor, met this need. He comes from Šabac and as a young actor he was in all of these regions of Serbia, where the war operations were happening. He was our live military map, so to speak. He knew even the smallest village of the region, the smallest river or brooklet. But his map had no proper scale. In those days he passed through this entire region on foot, walking beside a car which carried the entire inventory of the theatre troupe. Consequently, these distances seemed a lot bigger to him than they really were. When I mentioned the names of the places Tekeriš and Osečina in my report, he grabbed his head and began screaming. And so it went on day after day. […] And one day when I told my comrade that the Austrians had reached Kolubara, Ljig, and Suvobor, our Bora jumped from his seat and roared with his theatrical voice: "This is the end! Serbia is doomed!"[10]

10 "Kada, avgusta 1914, taj puk [puk broj dva mađarskih husara, Nojsidel] odjaha na bojna polja Galicije, a njegova kasarna ostade prazna, pretvoriše je u zatočenički logor državljana Srbije koji se pri početku rata zatekoše u ugarskoj polovini monarhije i onih neboraca Srbije koji u toku rata padoše u ropstvo. […] U prizemlju zgrade nalazile su se konjušnice u koje su, kad stigoh onamo, bili smešteni zarobljenici seljaci, dok su na gornjem spratu smeštene kaputlije, civili, kako su ih nazivale vojne vlasti. I tu je bilo rastavljanja u razne kategorije. Najviša od njih bili su takozvani intelektualci. Onamo uvrstiše i mene i odvedoše me na gornji sprat u prostranu duguljastu sobu. U njoj je po patosu bilo raspoređeno dvanaest slamnjača, ležišta zarobljenika, […]. Donesoše i trinaestu za mene. U toj sobi zatekoh svoje novo društvo: tri glumca zagrebačkog Kazališta, četiri pravnika zagrebačkog sveučilišta, jednog farmaceuta, jednog tipografa, jednog trgovačkog po-

As it is the case with other diary entries or memoirs, one comes across the names of famous artists here as well. Bora Rašković was one of the well-known actors of the pre-war period, the doyen of the Zagreb theatre *Kraljevsko zemaljsko hrvatsko kazalište* (Royal National Croatian Theatre). Rašković was born in 1870 in Šabac, in Serbia, where he also attended high school. From 1887 to 1894 he traveled through Southern Slavic cities as a member of several companies of actors. From 1894 until the end of his life, he was a member of this Zagreb Theatre, where he played forty different roles already in his first theatrical season. He was so popular before World War I that he even had picture postcards made.[11] After the assassination in Sarajevo, the arresting of Serbs living in Zagreb began. Rašković was detained and spent a year in the prisoner-of-war camp Nézsider (Neusiedl

moćnika, jednog kelnera I jednog bivšeg robijaša koji je uvršćen u to društvo ne po svome rangu, već kao poslužitelj. Među glumcima nalazio se prvak zagrebačke drame Bora Rašković, kojeg sam, kao što sam pričao, znao već iz detinjstva, i Aleksandar Binički, brat kapelnika muzike kraljeve garde, moj poznanik iz Beograda. Ubrzo se sprijateljih i sa ostalim članovima toga kruga. […] Tako se nađoh u prijatnom društvu. […] Austrougarska vojska prodrla je ponovo u Srbiju, a novi zarobljenici počeše pristizati u naš logor. To su bili srpski seljaci iz Mačve i okoline Šapca. Izmučeni ratnim događajima, iscrpeni mukama transporta u zabravljenim furgonima, izgledali su kao aveti. Strpaše ih u prizemlje kasarne gde su se pre toga nalazile konjske štale. Legoše umorni na zaostalu zagašenu trulu slamu […] Među njima pojavi se neka nepoznata bolest kojoj niko nije znao ni imena ni leka. Počeše umirati kao mušice, spočetka po jedan dva dnevno, a kasnije sve više I više. Njihova pričanja ubiše u nama svaku nadu […]. I naši stražari pričahu nam iz dana u dan o novim pobedama austriske vojske. […] Htedosmo, pošto-poto, da doznamo šta se to zbiva na bojnom polju. Prikupljanje vesti o tome i čitanje novina bilo je zabranjeno I najstrože kažnjavano. Ipak nađosmo načina da do njih dođemo. Jedan od zarobljenika bio je preko dana zaposlen na železničkoj stanici. Onde bi mu jedan skretničar, za dobre pare koje sam mu davao, nabavljao bečki list "Neue freie Presse", a on ga izjutra krišom doturio meni. Tada bih se povukao u naše sopče, seo onde pored peći u kojoj bih pripalio laku vatru. Moje društvo šećkalo bi se za to vreme na doksatu I čuvalo stražu da bi mi u slučaju opasnosti dalo ugovoreni signal da novine bacim u vatru. Tako sam svaki dan pročitao novine, zapamtio svako mestance do kojeg je austriska vojska doprla, spalio novine I onda dozvao svoje društvo na izveštaj. Slušalo bi me bez predaha. Nismo imali generalštabskih karata pomoću kojih bismo kretanje austriske vojske mogli pratiti korak po korak. No Bora Rašković, nadoknadio nam je taj nedostatak. On je kao mlad glumac, a rodom iz Šapčanin, prekrstario ceo kraj Srbije u kojem se odigravahu bojne operacije, znao svako, pa i najmanje mestance, svaku rečicu i potočić. Bio je, dakle, živa generalštabska karta. No ta njegova karta nije imala pravog I tačnog merila. On je taj kraj prokrstario peške, koračajući uz volujska kola natovarena celokupnim inventarom njegove pozorišne družine. Tako su mu sva prevaljena otstojanja izgledala znatno veća no što behu ustvari. Nije čudo što mu je nadiranje austriske vojske izgledalo munjevito. Kada u svome izveštaju spomenuh Tekeriš i Osečina, uhvati se za glavu i zajauka: 'Uh, uh!' Tako je išlo iz dana u dan […]. A kada svojim dnevnim izveštajem saopštih svojoj družini da su Austrijanci stigli do Kolubare, Ljiga I Suvobora, naš Bora otskoči sa sedišta i zagrme svojim tragičarskim glasom: 'Svršeno je! Srbija je propala'". Milutin Milanković, *Uspomene, doživljaji i saznanja iz godina od 1909. do 1944* (Belgrade: SANU, 1952), 77–82.

11 Slavko Batušić, "Trojica umjetnika Šapčana na hrvatskoj pozornici: Mihajlo Miša Dimitrijević, Borivoj Rašković, Ljubiša Jovanović", in *Teatron*, nos. 72/73/74 (1990): 115–126.

am See). He was then released from the camp, but remained confined.[12] With his arrival in Zagreb afterwards, he began performing in theatre again – for the first time on 5 October 1915 in the play *Hasanaginica* by Milutin Ogrizović.[13]

Aleksandar Aca Binički, an opera singer and stage and movie actor born in Belgrade, who studied acting and singing in Munich, was the brother of the composer Stanislav Binički. Aleksandar Binički also did not stay in the camp until the end of war. He was released to Zagreb under the same conditions as Rašković, or Milanković to Budapest. During the war he performed in the same Zagreb theatre as Rašković, directed the second Croatian film *Matija Gubec* in 1917, and acted in 1918 in the movie *Mokra pustolovina* (Wet Adventure) by Arnošt Grund.

FROM SUMMER 1914 UNTIL AUTUMN 1915

The *Srpsko narodno pozorište* in Belgrade (Serbian National Theatre) was closed in July 1914 and, like all other theatres in Serbia, was not reopened until January 1919.

Since Serbia was a war zone from the first day of the war it is impossible to speak about cultural life at that time. In these first months of the war (from August until the beginning of December) there was no boundary in Serbia between the front and the hinterland, and women, children, and elderly men found themselves amidst the war events. After the first months had passed, certain Serbian cities had lost most of their populations. The city of Šabac in northwest Serbia – a town of culture with a flourishing theatre and music life – can serve as an example here: before the war the town counted about 17,000 citizens, and by December 1914 only a couple hundred were left. When John Reed came to Šabac, he wrote about more than two hundred souls who were living in misery. The rest had been killed in the brutal street fights, sent to internment camps in Hungary, or had taken refuge with the army.

> Shabatz had been a rich and important town, metropolis of the wealthiest department in Serbia, Machva, and the centre of a great fruit, wine, wool, and silk trade. It contained twenty-five hundred houses. Some had been destroyed

12 Confined civilians were allowed to move within the limits of a determined time and place; they lived in private accommodations and were obliged to report regularly to a supervisor.

13 A Croatian author, one of the editors of the occupation paper *Belgrader Nachrichten/Beogradske novine* during the war and also enlisted in the service of theatre life in Serbia by the occupiers. For more about this newspaper and Ogrizović, see Gordana Ilić Marković, "Okupacioni list *Beogradske novine/Belgrader Nachrichten*, 1915–1918", in *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dana*, Međunarodni slavistički centar, 1/44 (Belgrade: Filološki fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, 2014), 143–156. During his time in the camp he developed a heart disease from which he did not recover until near the end of his life. He died in 1925.

> by the guns; twice as many more were wantonly burned, and all of them had been broken into and looted. One walked along miles and miles of streets – every house was gutted. The invaders had taken linen, pictures, children's playthings, furniture – and what was too heavy or cumbersome to move they had wrecked with axes. They had stabled their horses in the bedrooms of fine houses. In private libraries all the books lay scattered in filth on the floor, carefully ripped from their covers. Not simply a few houses had been so treated – every house. It was a terrible thing to see. […] We saw the gutted Hôtel d'Europe, and the blackened and mutilated church where three thousand men, women, and children were penned up together without food or water for four days, and then divided into two groups – one sent back to Austria as prisoners of war, the other driven ahead of the army square where once the great market of all north-west Serbia had been held, and the peasants had gathered in their bright dress from hundreds of kilometers of rich mountain valleys and fertile plains. It was market-day. A few miserable women in rags stood mournfully by their baskets of sickly vegetables. And on the steps of the gutted Prefecture sat a young man whose eyes had been stabbed out by Hungarian bayonets. He was tall and broad-shouldered, with ruddy cheeks – dressed in the dazzling homespun linen of the peasant's summer costume, and in his hat, he wore yellow dandelions. He played a melancholy tune upon a horse-headed Serbian fiddle and sang.[14]

A need for art emerges also, or rather precisely in such situations. Serbia was liberated at the beginning of December 1914. Immediately afterwards the typhoid fever epidemic broke out, which made the country completely preoccupied with caring for the sick, so the theatre was yet again put aside. Female painters, singers, and actresses, who were still alive and in town, took up jobs as nurses in hospitals. In addition to this, even during the brief time span of the first occupation period (thirteen days at the end of November 1914), one finds numerous educated and notable people, and thus also creative artists, among the first internees of 1914.

SERBIA UNDER OCCUPATION 1915–1918

In autumn 1915 Serbia was conquered in a German-Austro-Hungarian-Bulgarian offensive, occupied and divided into Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian administrative areas. A great part of Serbia, including the capital Belgrade, fell under Austro-Hungarian administrative governance. Before the war had started, Belgrade had about 100,000 citizens. In June 1916, some 17,600 men and 30,330 women lived

14 John Reed, *The War in Eastern Europe* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 81–86.

there,[15] many of whom were foreigners: along with the military and administrative staff and their families, teachers and artists came to Belgrade as well.

Changes came into effect immediately: the Cyrillic script was forbidden, the school system and printing were adjusted to the Latin script, and the Croatian and Serbian languages were renamed Serbo-Croatian. The Cyrillic script vanished from the entire townscape. Books in Cyrillic were removed from all bookstores and it was no longer allowed to use schoolbooks written in Cyrillic script. New Croatian books were introduced. This was a tremendous change for the inhabitants of Serbia, since the Cyrillic script was the only one in use up until then, and only those who had mastered a western foreign language, and with it the Latin script, were able to get hold of the written word as well. This was, above all, perceived as an attack on the cultural heritage. Meanwhile, in the prisoner-of-war camps such as Boldogasszony/Frauenkirchen, Mauthausen, and Aschach an der Donau, libraries with Serbian books were organized for the prisoners. As stated in a report, these Serbian Cyrillic books arrived in the camp Aschach an der Donau from Zagreb, Novi Sad, and Mostar, the towns where all Serbian institutions were destroyed and the Cyrillic script was forbidden.

Everyday life in Serbia was organized by the occupiers, and consequently, cultural life was determined by the War Press Office (*Kriegspressequartier*)[16] in Vienna. All Serbian teachers were dismissed and replaced with teachers, at first only officers, from the Habsburg Monarchy: from Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, the Duchy of Carniola, the Duchy of Styria, and the Duchy of Carinthia. The same fate befell actors, musicians, and other artists. Theatre performances and concerts were organized in Serbia during the occupation, but without the participation of Serbian artists or any involvement of the Serbian language. The *Belgrader Nachrichten/Beogradske novine* (Belgrade Newspaper), the German and "Ser-

15 Tamara Scheer, "O Švabama i komitačijama: društvena struktura i život u okupiranom Beogradu 1915–1918", in *Vojnoistorijski glasnik* 2 (2009):30–54.

16 A draft for the establishment of a press office in the case of a war was prepared in 1909: *Mobilisierungsinstruktion für das k.u.k. Heer* (Mobilization Instructions for the Imperial and Royal Army), Kriegsarchiv (War Archives), Armeeoberkommando, Kriegspressequartier, Fascicle 8, 53. See Ilse Stiassny-Baumgartner, *Roda Rodas Tätigkeit im Kriegspressequartier* (Ph.D. diss., Vienna University, 1982), 7. Its work began on the first day of the war, 28 July 1914. Initially, the *Kriegspressequartier* coordinated only print media, engaging numerous journalists and notable writers (Alexander Roda Roda, Stefan Zweig, Reiner Maria Rilke, etc.). During the war, it kept expanding its scope of responsibility. The newspapers remained the central propaganda medium until the end of the war, to which photography, film, painting, music, and theatre were added. It also exercised censorship. The *Kriegspressequartier* was directly subordinated to the Field Army Command. It employed journalists, painters, composers, musicians, filmmakers, and photographers. See Gordana Ilić Marković, *Roda Roda: Srpski dnevnik izveštača iz Prvog svetskog rata. Ratni presbiro Austrougarske monarhije* (Novi Sad: Prometej, Beograd: RTS, 2017), 13–56.

bo-Croatian" editions of the new daily newspaper of the occupying power,[17] provides a sufficient amount of information about the theatre and concert program in the capital. It is announced that "in the future, the Imperial and Royal Cinema and Theatre will have two events for civilians, on Tuesdays and Fridays".[18] Two months later it reported on the commencement of work on a new movie theatre for civilians in the Belgrade park of Kalemegdan, where two shows would be organized on workdays and three on Sundays.[19] The German and Austro-Hungarian soldiers held a fund-raising event for the needy citizens of Belgrade.[20] A varieté performance of Martin Schenk's *Zum Totlachen* (To Die Laughing) performed by the Etablissement Gartenbau Theater from Vienna was announced in the Belgrade theatre "Orfeum".[21] Hildegard Sugár from the Viennese Apollotheater made a guest appearance with the play *Deutsch-ungarische Stimmungskanone* (The Great German-Hungarian Joker).[22] Jure Tkalčić, a Croatian cellist, performed a concert in Belgrade.[23] Concert performances by the Croatian violinist Zlatko Baloković were announced on various days at the beginning of 1917, as was the Viennese opera singer, Vilma de Thierry, "who will sing Croatian, Hungarian and German songs with piano accompaniment by Margit Rosenberg". In February 1917 the Raimund Theater from Vienna held several events in Belgrade, [24] and again in May and June.[25] In June, a guest performance of the *K.u.k. Hof-Operntheater* (Imperial and Royal Opera Theatre) in Belgrade was announced,[26] and the Vienna *K.u.K. Hofburgtheater* (Vienna Court Theatre) in July.[27] A Hungarian Military Theatre gave a performance in Belgrade;[28] the Croatian opera singer Maja de Strozzi made an appearance in Belgrade,[29] and the Hungarian

17 After the Kingdom of Serbia was occupied in 1915, the Serbian language and the Cyrillic script were banned, along with all Serbian newspapers. The language was renamed Serbo-Croatian and Latin replaced the Cyrillic script. Instead of the Serbian press the occupiers introduced the official *Belgrade Newspaper* in three languages: *Belgrader Nachrichten* in German, *Beogradske novine* in Serbo-Croatian, and from 1 June 1916 *Belgradi hírek* in Hungarian. The first numbers of German and Serbo-Croatian editions, which were of importance for propaganda, appeared on 15 December 1915; the last ones were printed on 27 October 1918. These newspapers were under the censorship of the Austro-Hungarian War Press Office, and they mirrored the policy of Austria-Hungary.

18 *Beogradske novine*, 10 February 1916, 4.

19 *Beogradske novine*, 28 April 1916, 2.

20 *Beogradske novine*, 2 March 1916, 4.

21 *Belgrader Nachrichten*, 14 April 1917, 2.

22 *Belgrader Nachrichten*, 1 April 1917, 4.

23 *Beogradske novine*, 8 November 1916, 2.

24 *Beogradske novine*, 17 and 18 February 1917, 1–2.

25 *Beogradske novine*, 19 May, 4 and 5 June 1917, 1–2.

26 *Beogradske novine*, 1 June 1917, 2.

27 *Beogradske novine*, 7 July 1917, 3.

28 *Beogradske novine*, 19 September 1917, 3.

29 *Beogradske novine*, 5 October 1917, 3.

singer Steffi Högyesi in Smederevo.[30] A German-Hungarian Cultural Association performed on several occasions in Serbia.[31] In December 1917 the Vienna Volksoper presented its performances. Theatre plays by the Croatian writer and one of the editors of the *Beogradske novine* (Belgrade Newspaper), Milan Ogrizović, were occasionally performed in Belgrade.[32] In this newspaper Milan Ogrizović also wrote about theatrical and literary life in Serbia at this time. His theatre reviews, essays, and stories were also printed in this newspaper, in German or Croatian in *Belgrader Nachrichten*, in *Beogradske novine*, and in the Montenegrin occupation newspaper[33] *Cetinje Zeitung* and *Cetinjske novine* (Cetinje Newspaper).[34] The symphonic poem *Soča/Isonzo*, composed by the Croatian Major Ludwig (Lujo) Šafranek, who was stationed in Belgrade, was first performed in March 1918 in occupied Belgrade and once again in Vienna on 21 April in the big hall of the Vienna Musikverein (Music Society) by the Wiener Philharmoniker (Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra).[35] The sheet music of this symphony was published in Belgrade by the *K.u.k. Gouvernement Druckerei* (Imperial and Royal Government Printing Office). The theatre program of occupied Belgrade also offered a theatre performance by Italian prisoners of war. It is noted in the report that the hall was full and that many officers sat in the audience, but so did civilians.[36] On very rare occasions, and none before the war had ended, theatre plays by Serbian authors were performed, like the play *Koštana* by Borisav Stanković.[37] Only seldom did theatre groups and orchestras give guest performances in other cities of Serbia.

30 *Beogradske novine*, 11 October 1917, 2.

31 *Beogradske novine*, 29 Novmber 1917, 3.

32 Among them were *Hasanaginica* (Hasan-Aga Wife) and *Proljetno jutro* (A Spring Morning).

33 After the Kingdom of Montenegro was occupied in January1916, the Serbian language and the Cyrillic script were banned, together with all Montenegrin newspapers in the Serbian language. The name of the language was renamed Croatian or Montenegrin, and Latin replaced Cyrillic script. Instead of a Montenegrin press the occupiers introduced the official newspaper in two languages: *Cetinje Zeitung* and *Cetinjske novine*.

34 Milan Ogrizović, "O Bori Stankoviću", *Beogradske novine*, 25 November 1917, 1–3; idem: "Kroatische Literatur und Kunst während des Krieges", *Cetinje Zeitung*, 15 April 1917, 1–2; idem: "Unsere kleine Ljerka", *Belgrader Nachrichten*, 8 April 1917, 1–4, Osterbeilage.

35 Stefan Schmidl, "Interpretierte Welt: Aspekte einer Musikgeschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs", in *Musicological Annual* 43/1 (2013): 74.

36 *Beogradske novine*, 12 March 1918, 2.

37 Borisav Stanković returned to Belgrade in 1916 after his release from the internment camp in Derventa (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and became an employee at the *Beogradske novine*. He described this time in his posthumously published work *Pod okupaciom* (Beograd: Štamparija Davidovića, 1929). His theatre play with music *Koštana* had its premiere on 22 April 1900 in the *Narodno pozorište* (National Theatre) in Belgrade and achieved great popularity. It was also performed in the Serbian front theatres and in Serbian theatre groups in the prisoner-of-war camps during World War I, for example in Nézsider, *Beogradske novine*, 30 March 1918, 2.

As the cinemas and theatres began to work, movies were dispatched from Vienna and actors and musicians from the Monarchy. The repertoire offered guest performances for the occupation soldiers, which were not primarily meant for the Serbian population (and performances for officers differed from those for simple soldiers and officials), and also so-called civilian events in the Imperial and Royal Cinema and Theatre.[38] The occupation newspaper *Belgrader Nachrichten / Beogradske novine,* gives sufficient information about the theatre and concert program in the capital.

THE SOLDIERS' THEATRE AT THE FRONT

Those actors who had survived the first year of war on the front in the Serbian army, and had succeeded in not being taken as prisoners of war, came in the winter of 1915/16 over the Albanian and Montenegrin mountains to Corfu, in a three-month march with the army, civilians, the King and the Serbian government. Corfu became a three-year seat of the Serbian government, and from this place military operations and support for refugee civilians were put into effect.

Ironically enough, one must notice that a shortage of experts was evident neither in the Serbian army nor in the prisoner-of-war and internment camps. The mobilization in 1914 included all social classes, namely from the I to the III draft. Already in the first months of 1916 on the island of Corfu, a film and a theatre group, an orchestra, and a printing office (for newspapers and books) were established. When the first theatre was founded on the island there were enough actors, but it was not easy to obtain their release from duty at the front, since the army was in need of every man. One actor, Dušan Životić, recalls how the officer Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis was in charge of taking care of the theatre group and constantly pleaded that the artists be exempted from front duty. As Apis issued Životić a permit to stay in the theatre on Corfu instead of marching to the front in Thessaloniki, he told him: "There are not enough men for the battle. Were it not so, you artists should have been relieved of military duty on the front. We will need you in the time of peace. Be greeted, boy!"[39] and gave him the signed paper.

Soon enough Thessaloniki became one of the most important Serbian cultural centers of the time, but also a place where wounded soldiers were brought to recover and those who were seriously injured (the blind, invalids who had lost legs and arms, etc.) found a permanent shelter for the duration of the war. There were convalescent camps in North Africa, in Tunisia and the French colony Algeria,

38 Before the occupation this cinema was called *Koloseum*.

39 Dušan Životić, *Moje uspomene*, ed. Siniša Janić (Belgrade: Muzej pozorišne umetnosti Srbije and Pozorišni muzej Vojvodine, 1992), 47.

such as Bizerte and Lazuaz. There were Serbian refugees in Ajaccio, Corsica, but these were not under the command and organization of the Serbian army.

When Serbian soldiers were relocated from Corfu to Chalkidiki (on the Thessaloniki front) after a short recovery break, the organization of smaller events began. The first Serbian soldier theatre group was founded here in spring 1916. The front theatre of the 21st Vardar Division developed itself from this group and was named the Yugoslav Division by the end of the war. The infrequent lulls in the trench warfare were mostly used to organize solo performances by professional actors in which poems were recited and excerpts or songs from plays were declaimed or sung.

Actors could be found amongst the soldiers who were shipped from Corfu to the mainland at Thessaloniki. The famous Belgrade actor, satirist, and painter Branislav Brana Cvetković was one of them. Cvetković obtained a degree in fine arts in Munich, but at the same time he also attended acting classes. After his return to Belgrade he performed in various theatre groups, and in 1900 he founded the satirical theatre "Orfeum", which soon became known as a temple of humor, and Brana Cvetković was its "king". Stanislav Vinaver, the Serbian writer, has recorded how Belgrade honored Cvetković and how people from all over Serbia trekked in order to see him on stage. *Artilleria Rusticana*, a parody of the Italian opera *Cavalleria Rusticana*, was performed almost five hundred times just in the span of a few years before the war. It was sharply critical of society, as were all the other plays by Brana Cvetković, in which he addressed current political events. He acted, accompanied by the famous orchestra Cicvarići from Šabac, directed, prepared the scenography, and wrote all the texts. He was mobilized when the war broke out, and when he arrived in Corfu with the army it was certain that no other person in this situation was more suited to take on a job of organizing the theatre to provide entertainment for the exhausted and demoralized soldiers. Humor was the thing that mattered most in his artistic work. Cicvarići was well known and well liked. He kept the position of commanding officer of the theatre group until the war ended and managed the theatre in Thessaloniki on his own.

The stage of the Vardar Division theatre group, set in the open air, was made up of simple ammunition boxes. Historical costumes were sewn from sacks, which were colored and then painted with traditional costume motifs. When it came to props, a knight's armor was made from oil canisters and tin cans, swords were carved out of wooden boards, etc. "All the four regiments of the Vardar Division had professional actors".[40] The theatre director was Sima Stanojević Šućur, who also acted. Other ensemble members included Antonije Pelagić, the former thea-

40 Dragoslav Antonijević, "Theatrical Life on the Salonika Front", in *5th Greek-Serbian Symposium: Serbia and Greece During World War I* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1991), 70.

tre director of the traveling theatre *Sloga* (Unity), Nikola Dinić, Radovan Raja Bojanić, Rudolf Srboljub Het, Miloš Zotović, Aca Rašković, Đura Marinković, Antonije Gavrilović, Dušan Zarić, and Pera Mišić, commander of the regiment Milan Pribićević.

Well-known Serbian theatre plays were staged – *Đido* (The Fearless Man) and *Haiduk Stanko* by Janko Veselinović, *Koštana by Bora Stanković*, *Devoja*čka *kletva* (The Girl's Curse) by Ljubomir Popović, *Zulumćar* (The Oppressor) by Svetozar Ćorović, *Voivode Brana* by Sima Bunić, *Običan čovek* (A Common Man), and *Danak u krvi* (Blood tax) by Branisalav Nušić. The subject matter of these plays (Romantic village life, love affairs, heroic stories) was without doubt a crucial factor in the process of their selection. Furthermore, the advantage of these well-known plays was that the experienced actors already knew them by heart and were thus able to write them down for their younger colleagues and amateurs. This was necessary due to the initial lack of scripts. Those taken along from occupied Serbia had been used as fuel to keep warm during the three-month march or were simply left behind in the mountains as a cumbersome burden. The situation did not improve until the Serbian printing houses in exile began functioning in Bizerte in North Africa, and in Corfu and Thessaloniki in Greece. Some new plays programmatically proclaiming South Slavic unity emerged towards the end of the war, such as *Hej, Sloveni!* (Hey, Slavs!).

This was the first encounter with the theatre for some soldiers who came from the villages of Serbia. In order to make the contents of some of the more complex plays more comprehensible to them, they were explained before the performance began.[41] Painters were responsible for the stage scenery, and engineers were in charge of the stage construction, since it became possible in late 1917 to build an amphiteatre, as on the location of *Donji Požar*. This amphiteatre could accommodate 600 audience members, with the expansion capacity for another 200 places.

The IX Regiment of the first army also had a theatre group stationed in the village of Budimirci (in the south of Macedonia[42] on the border with Greece). It was active from 20 October 1917 until 27 August 1918 and gave a total of 191 performances. This theatre group was founded by a grammar-school teacher, Radivoje Karadžić, who became a dramaturg after the war. An experienced actor from the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad, Lazar Lazarević, was the theatre director. The rest of the group consisted of only one more actor who was an amateur.

41 Dragoslav Antonijević, "Komadi s pevanjem na Solunskom frontu", in *Srpska muzička scena: Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa*, eds. Ana Matović et al. (Belgrade: Muzikološki institut, SANU, 1993), 110.

42 In 1913, after the Balkan wars, Vardar Macedonia became part of the Kingdom of Serbia along with Kosovo and Metohija and Sandžak (so-called Old Serbia).

This theatre was housed in a wooden building; it had a relatively big stage and an auditorium with 400 seats. What is interesting about this building is that it was located incredibly close to the enemy camp and only 1500 meters from the trenches of the Serbian soldiers. Two orchestras played in this theatre: the orchestras of the Danube and the Morava divisions. Rodolphe Archibald Reiss, a Swiss professor who survived the hardest battles with the Serbian army since 1914, wrote an article about the theatre group for the *Gazette de Lausanne*:

> *From the Serbian front line 24 April 1917.* […] Thus, there we were, standing before the long building, built out of pine logs just like in the Wild West *in America*. Today, the 100th performance of the IX Regiment's theatre will take place. […] Many officers and soldiers are in the audience. Everybody is fully equipped and wearing gas masks in small bags hung around their necks. These are the soldiers who are part of the reserve, but some of them also came directly from the front and undertook a long march in order to be here in the theatre and will then return immediately to their trenches after the performance ends. […] The orchestra begins with a pastiche of Serbian traditional folk songs; what follows, on the occasion of the 100th performance, is a speech by the commander about the history of this theatre. He rightly points out the moral role of the theatre in which the exiled peasants – Serbian soldiers – find, at least for a few hours, the fiction of their distant country. Then music again, and after that the first play: *Prince Ivo of Semberia*, a historical patriotic play by Nušić[43] […]. Everybody is acting really well, one sees that they've made a great effort. The soldiers playing female parts do it so well that it doesn't have a comic effect, as it is often the case with amateur theatre. I inquired after the civilian professions of the soldiers who stood on stage – they were farmers, butchers, shoemakers. It is a tragic play. Secretly I observed the faces of these men, how evidently touched, excited, and upset the scenes of Serbia's history made them feel, a history which is unfortunately repeating itself today. Loud applause. The actors step before the curtains several times. The officers are going outside to have a smoke. Music is playing. At the same time the sound of cannons is coming from the nearby front. What follows is a comedy about village life. The faces of the soldiers become radiant. The scenes carry them off into their white villages, richly surrounded by greenery, on a sunny Sunday. For this one moment, they forget the exile and death that is constantly lurking. It is noon. The performance ends. Slowly and in silence, the soldiers

43 Branislav Nušić, the most important Serbian comediographer, arrived in Corfu following the occupation of Serbia in late 1915 after a three-month march with the army and many refugees, and went from there to France. He dedicated his book *Devetstopetnaesta: Tragedija jednog naroda* (Vienna: Edition Slave, 1921), to his only son, who was killed in action in 1915.

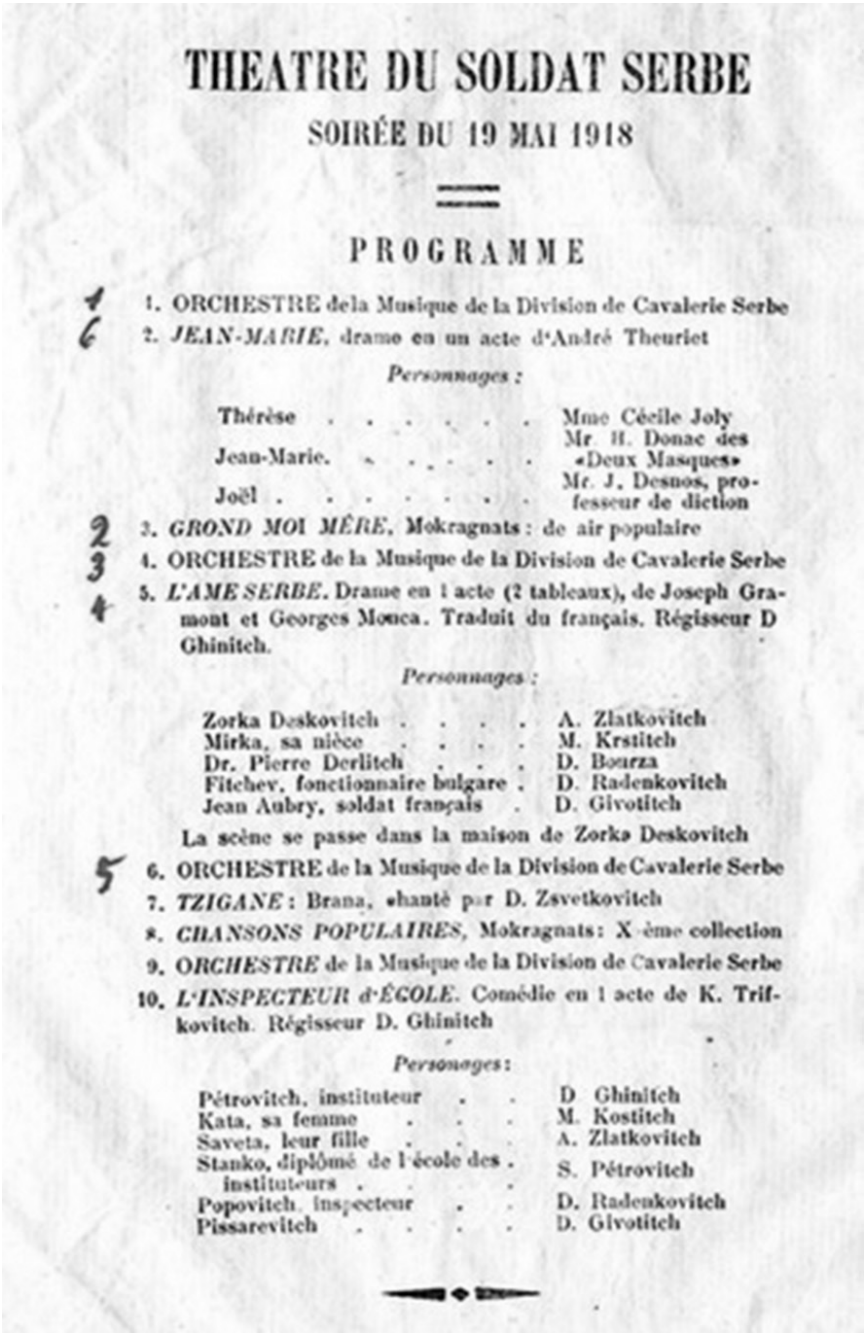
leave the theatre which is located barely 1000 meters from enemy positions […]. Four soldiers are introduced to me. They've shown themselves good in the battle against the Bulgarians. As an honor and a reward for their fighting, they got leave to go to the theatre today.[44]

CONVALESCENT CAMPS IN NORTH AFRICA: BIZERTE AND LAZUAZ

A considerable number of wounded soldiers, and those weakened by the three-month march, were shipped off to Bizerte (Tunisia). The camp was located near the desert. This was a completely unfamiliar region for the Serbs, and they had difficulties in becoming acclimatized. But they were struggling above all with their disabilities. Often this led to alcoholism, depression, and even suicide. The commanders of the camp found a solution in entertainment programs: music evenings or workshops. A printing office was established, and soldiers who had been blinded were retrained for their new jobs there.[45] At that time the actor Dušan

44 "Evo nas pred dugom zgradom, sagrađenom od sirovih jelovih debala, kao na divljem zapadu u Americi, to je pozorište IX srpskog puka, koje danas daje svoju stotu predstavu. […] Pozorište je puno oficira i vojnika u plavim rovovskim, šinjelima, svi sa maskama protiv zagušljivih gasova gotovim u torbicama oko vrata. To su vojnici iz rezerve, kao i vojnici iz drugih pukova, vojnici koji često marširaju po nekoliko teških časova da bi mogli doći na predstavu – i koji se vraćaju iste noći u svoje zemunice i rovove. […] Tu je i muzika koju daje divizija. Kao uvod svira potpuri srpskih pesama. Zavesa se diže, i pred dekorom šume koju su izgradili vojnici, jedan potporučnik iz puka drži, povodom stote predstave, predavanje o istoriji ovog pozorišta. S pravom ističe moralnu ulogu pozorišta u kome izgnani seljaci – srpski vojnici – nalaze bar za nekoliko časova fikcije svoje daleke zemlje. Još jednom muzika svira i počinje prvi komad, *Knez Ivo od Semberije*. To je patriotski komad Nušića […]. Svi se glumci staraju da odigraju svoje uloge što bolje. Igraju vrlo dobro, i sa mnogo osećanja. Ženske uloge igraju glumci vrlo prikladno, tako da to prerušavanje u žene nije ni u koliko smešno, kao što to tako često biva po amaterskim pozorištima. Hteo sam da saznam profesije glumaca u građanstvu: seljaci, kasapski momci, obućari. Tema komada je žalosna: gledao sam krišom, muška lica gledalaca i na svima je bilo ispisano uzbuđenje koje kod njih izaziva ovo predstavljanje starih i prošlih vremena, koja se nažalost ponavljaju i danas. Zavesa pada. Burno pljeskanje nagrađuje glumce, od kojih se izazivaju glavni po nekoliko puta. Odmor je, i vojnici i oficiri izlaze na čist vazduh da popuše koju cigaretu. Muzika unutra svira još jedan komad, praćen topovima čija zrna preleću preko pozorišta. Po drugi put se diže zavesa: jedna vesela scena iz života seoske mladeži srpske. Sva lica gledalaca su se razvedrila. Svi vole lepe nedelje po svojim belim selima, okruženim bogatim zelenilom. I na momente, zaboravljaju i izgnanstvo i smrt koja ih vreba stalno. […] Ponoć je, predstava je svršena, pozorište se lagano prazni; vojnici u tišini napuštaju ovo mesto koje je jedva jedan kilometar daleko od neprijateljskih rovova, […]. Komandant puka mi predstavlja četiri vojnika, u rovovskom odelu, koji su prošlog jutra bili u izviđačkoj patroli u bugarskim rovovima. Komandant je vojnike pozvao na večerašnju predstavu da ih time odlikuje i nagradi". Jelica Reljić, "Pozorište na frontu", in *Teatron: Časopis za pozorišnu istoriju i teatrologiju* 26/114 (2001): 61–63.

45 See Nedeljko Gizdavić, *Srpska Afrikijada: Naši u Africi* (Belgrade: Budućnost, 1922).



THEATRE DU SOLDAT SERBE

SOIRÉE DU 19 MAI 1918

PROGRAMME

1. ORCHESTRE de la Musique de la Division de Cavalerie Serbe
2. *JEAN-MARIE*, drame en un acte d'André Theuriet

Personnages :

Thérèse	Mme Cécile Joly
Jean-Marie	Mr. H. Donac des «Deux Masques»
Joël	Mr. J. Desnos, professeur de diction

3. *GROND MOI MÈRE*, Mokragnats : de air populaire
4. ORCHESTRE de la Musique de la Division de Cavalerie Serbe
5. *L'AME SERBE*. Drame en 1 acte (2 tableaux), de Joseph Gramont et Georges Monca. Traduit du français. Régisseur D Ghinitch.

Personnages :

Zorka Deskovitch	A. Zlatkovitch
Mirka, sa nièce	M. Krstitch
Dr. Pierre Derlitch	D. Bourza
Fitchev, fonctionnaire bulgare	D. Radenkovitch
Jean Aubry, soldat français	D. Givotitch

La scène se passe dans la maison de Zorka Deskovitch

6. ORCHESTRE de la Musique de la Division de Cavalerie Serbe
7. *TZIGANE* : Brana, chanté par D. Zsvetkovitch
8. *CHANSONS POPULAIRES*, Mokragnats : X ème collection
9. *ORCHESTRE* de la Musique de la Division de Cavalerie Serbe
10. *L'INSPECTEUR d'ÉCOLE*. Comédie en 1 acte de K. Trifkovitch. Régisseur D. Ghinitch

Personnages :

Pétrovitch, instituteur	D Ghinitch
Kata, sa femme	M. Kostitch
Saveta, leur fille	A. Zlatkovitch
Stanko, diplômé de l'école des instituteurs	S. Pétrovitch
Popovitch, inspecteur	D. Radenkovitch
Pissarevitch	D. Givotitch

Fig. 2. Serbian soldier's theatre, Bizerte, the program for 19 May 1918, from Dimitrije Ginić, *Dnevnik predstava Srp. Voj. Log. Pozorišta u Nadoru*, manuscript. Source: Narodna biblioteka Srbije (National Library of Serbia), Belgrade, P274, 32.

Životić came to Bizerte, and so did the actor and director Dimitrije Ginić. They organized the theatre life, created settings from the remains of tents, sewed costumes from old uniforms, and gathered around them all the available singers and instrumentalists. They wrote down texts as they remembered them and rehearsed with the young soldiers. The barracks meant for the shows could hold an audience of 300. The first performance by the group was given already in November 1916. The director got the assignment to prepare it in four weeks. He put together an evening consisting of songs, poems, and a comedy of village life, *Devojačka kletva* (The Girl's Curse) by Ljubinko Petrović, which he wrote down as he recalled it. Many of the soldiers were seriously injured and depression was widespread, but according to the memories of the actor Životić, as the first sentences came from the stage one could hear "a very loud happy hearty laughter and there was genuine contempt on the faces of these men".[46] The audience was a part of the play. Comments and shouts could be heard, and – first and foremost – they all sang along. The pent-up emotions of the years that had passed burst out.

But not all wounds could be healed by the theatre, and the state in which these men found themselves is shown in a record announcing the cancellation of the comedy *A falu rossza* (A Village Carouser) by Ede Tóth, translated and nationalized as *Seoska lola* by Stevan Deskašev, which was scheduled for 25 July 1918, because one member of the ensemble, Milorad Nušić, had committed suicide. Suicides were not uncommon. Three days later, on 28 July, the play *Patrie* (Fatherland) by Victorien Sardou was presented.

Over time, a group of actors gathered in Bizerte who had been transferred there from other camp infirmaries in Africa. Soon enough, the barracks became too small, and so a "summer stage" was set up, an amphiteatre under mount Nador, three kilometers from Bizerte. The headquarters of the Serbian convalescent camps in North Africa were based in Lazuaz. From late 1915 until the end of 1918 around 60,000 Serbs were housed there. The biggest Serbian exile theatre was situated there as well. It was founded in late 1916 by the actor and director Dimitrije Ginić, Belgrade university professor Veselin Čajkanović, and the former editor of the newspaper *Politika*, Jovan Tanović. A very large amphiteatre (with 5,000 seats and a gallery for 1,000 people) was built here out of stone. The stage was roofed over and the actors had two changing rooms at their disposal. Work began in March 1917 and lasted until October 1918. 186 performances were held. The audience numbers for this entire period are also impressive: 800,000. The last stage performance was organized on 23 October 1918.[47]

46 Životić, *Moje uspomene*, 51.

47 Ibid., 31, 169.

Fig. 3. Theatre at Bizerte. Source: Archive of Serbian Museum of Theatre Arts, Belgrade

For the time being, the previously mentioned Ginić, Dušan Životić, and Dušan Radenković worked as professional actors. Shortly afterwards, all the actors who were in other North African infirmaries (Algerian and Tunisian) joined them: Aleksandar Zlatković, Dušan Cvetković, Kosta Jovanešković and others. The rest of the troupe was made up of students and pupils of the seminary. The dramatic art of Miroslav Krsić Stiha, Momir Nikolić, Sava Petrović, and Nikola Spasić stood out in particular. Since there were only a couple of women, they also played these parts. The repertoire was composed of historical and humoristic folk plays: *Boj na Kosovu* (Battle of Kosovo) by Jovan Subotić, *Hajduk Veljko* (Haiduk Veljko) and *Đido* (The Fearless Man) by Janko Veselinović, *Knez Ivo od Semberije* (Prince Ivo of Semberia), *Jazavac pred sudom* (Badger in Court) by Petar Kočić, *Devojačka kletva* (The Girl's Curse) by Ljubinko Petrović, *Ivkova slava* (Ivko's Feast) by Stevan Sremac, and the comedies of Branislav Nušić. In addition, a few French plays (e.g. by Molière) were translated and performed. A play by the French authors Joseph de Gramont and George Monca, *L'âme serbe/Srpska duša* (The Serbian Soul), about events in one Serbian village under the Bulgarian occupation, was performed in French and Serbian, depending on the roles in the play.[48]

48 Životić, *Moje uspomene*.

One of the plays, which was written during the war[49] and addressed the topic of war was *Hej, Sloveni! Dramska epizoda iz srpsko-austrijskog rata* (Hey, Slavs! An episode from the Serbo-Austrian war) by Risto Odavić. This play was staged in the soldier's theatre on the front and in the convalescent camp theatre in North Africa. It portrayed the unified battle of Southern Slavs. The story takes place on 2 December 1914, the day of Serbia's liberation.

Much of this valuable information about the repertoire, the course of the performances, the numbers of people in the audiences, and sometimes even about the events that preceded or followed, was taken from the notes of a short but very informative diary[50] about the plays acted on the stage in Tunisia. It is often noted that actors were ready to perform after having rehearsed only two, three, or four times. Admission was free of charge for the soldiers and amounted to one franc for officers. Both on the front and in the prisoner-of-war camps, the preparation of costumes and props and the procurement of original texts represented the biggest problems, even though this theatre was situated on the territory of the allies and not on the front, and was not under the command of a prisoner-of-war camp. Uniforms, tent materials, and donated civilian clothes were used. When necessary, things would be dyed or tailored. The actors, teachers, and actors amongst them took care of the texts. They would be put down in writing as they were remembered and reproduced in the Serbian printing office founded in Bizerte. Oil cans, canisters, and tins were a material source for the props.[51]

Who was in the audience? Mainly soldiers, some officers, but also guests from Bizerte, French soldiers, and among them – as most welcome and frequently seen guests – the commander and admiral of the French army, Émile Guépratte, then the envoy of the French government in Tunisia, the Tunisians themselves, and the English and French nurses. There are numerous memories of General Guépratte: "After the performance, the general approached the actors and greeted them with a typical soldier's salute in Serbian".[52]

This French general was very popular among the Serbs because he opposed the decision of the French army to place the wounded Serbs in Central Africa, in the desert, so they were taken to the coast of North Africa. For this reason he often heard his own army say "Ah, Guépratte and his Serbs!" Another anecdote[53] referring to the theatre is associated with this general. During an interval of a play, he

49 Already published at the beginning of 1915.

50 Unpublished journal of performances of the Serbian Military Camp Theatre in Nador, Tunisia. Narodna biblioteka Srbije, Belgrade, Manuscript collection.

51 Ginić, *Moj život*, 37–43.

52 *Pomoz, Bog, junaci!* (God Help You, Heroes!)

53 Životić, *Moje uspomene*.

Fig. 4. The performance of the theatre play *Knez Ivo od Semberije* (Prince Ivo of Semberia) by Branislav Nušić in Lazuaz 1917. In the middle of the audience: General Guépratte. Source: Archive of Serbian Museum of Theatre Arts, Belgrade

Fig. 5. Jovan Subotić, *Boj na Kosovu* (Battle of Kosovo), Lazuaz, 1917. Source: Archive of Serbian Museum of Theatre Arts, Belgrade

Fig. 6. Aleksandar Saša Zlatković in his female part Angélique in the comedy play *George Dandin ou le Mari confondu* by Molière. Source: Archive of Serbian Museum of Theatre Arts, Belgrade

went backstage and expressed his special interest in an "actress" whose hand he kissed multiple times with the remark that he hoped to see her after the performance. The lady was actually the famous Belgrade actor Zlatković, who obviously had a good costume and played his female part so convincingly that he had the appeal of an attractive woman.

At the end of the show, whilst bowing to the audience, Zlatković took off his wig and looked in the direction of Admiral Guépratte. This story can be found in various diaries as a popular anecdote.[54] Even if it was freely adapted (Guépratte

54 Ibid., 39.

was called "a Serbian mother"), it is one of many nice stories about the memories of the theatre during the war.

The orchestra of the Cavalry Division conducted by Dragutin Pokorni was also in Bizerte. This orchestra was active from 1916 until the end of the war. They held concerts in the camp infirmaries and French garrisons in North Africa and France, and they were also responsible for the music schools organized there.[55] The King's Guard Orchestra however, conducted by Stanislav Binički, was active in Thessaloniki. Both orchestras accompanied theatre performances and went on tours in France and England.

THEATRES THAT WERE NOT UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE SERBIAN ARMY REFUGEES IN AJACCIO, CORSICA

There were many refugees in Corsica, transported there on the ships of the allies during the war. The English mission stationed in Ajaccio financed the Serbian theatre, which was established in 1916 and managed by the actors Vladeta Dragutinović, Miloje Dostanić, Josif Srdanović, and others. Performances were given in the *Théâtre Saint Gabriel* located on the Cours Napoléon. The play *Đido* was staged under the auspices of the prefect of Corsica and English and French ladies. It is known as the first Serbian theatre play to be performed in Western Europe (although before the war there were performances of Serbian plays in Prague and Sofia). The earnings from ticket sales went to French soldiers and the wounded.

IN THE PRISONER-OF-WAR AND INTERNMENT CAMPS

In the course of World War I millions of soldiers from all the countries involved were taken prisoner. Many civilians from occupied countries were interned, and from countries in which there was no boundary between the front and the hinterlands, as in the first year of the war in Serbia. One particular characteristic of the Serbs was the internment of their own citizens, in this case the Serbian people of the Habsburg Monarchy, as a consequence of holding the entire nation, in a generalized manner, responsible for the fact that a Bosnian Serb had assassinated the heir to the Habsburg throne. After the war broke out, Serbs from the Kingdom of Serbia were also interned.

Many never returned from captivity. They died in the camps from diseases, malnutrition, lack of hygiene, cold, or exhausting work. Portrayal of the life in these camps is found primarily in diaries and letters, a few rare memoirs, military

55 See Predrag Pejčić, *Srpska vojska u Bizerti* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2008), 122–139.

reports, photos, and newspapers. Handwritten newspapers by Serbian inmates from some prisoner-of-war camps have been preserved.

Serbs found themselves in the following prisoner-of-war camps[56] (for soldiers and officers): Boldogasszony/Frauenkirchen (Hungary, today Burgenland in Austria),[57] Nagymegyer/Veľký Meder (Hungary, today Slovakia), Heinrichsgrün/Jindřichovice[58] (Bohemia: Czech Republic), Braunau/Broumov: Martínkovice/Märzdorf (Bohemia: Czech Republic),[59] Braunau am Inn (Upper Austria), Grödig bei Salzburg, Aschach an der Donau (Upper Austria), Mauthausen (Upper Austria),[60] Neckenmarkt (Burgenland), Forchtenstein (Burgenland) and in the prisoner-of-war work camps in Brünn am Gebirge (Vienna, Lower Austria) and Czinkota (Hungary). Apart from the prisoner-of-war camps for soldiers and officers, there were a large number of internment camps for civilians on the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy, including Tahlerhof bei Graz (Styria, Austria), Nézsider/Neusiedl am See (Burgenland, Austria), and Arad (Banat, Romania). The relocation of captive groups, as well as their utilization as agricultural workers, as labor in factories and on the front, makes creating a definitive list of the places where Serbian people were located quite impossible.[61]

Reports in the Austro-Hungarian press about everyday life in the camps, which also included theatre, schools, and libraries, served the purposes of propaganda. In reality, theatres, schools, and libraries existed in only a few camps. Performances took place only for Christmas or Easter for the most part. Classes for interned children were not held on a regular basis, and most libraries were not organized until the last months of the war, and then, if at all, only in some camps.

> They wanted to show off: how they introduced schools into the camps, theatres and libraries, and founded whatever in order to present themselves as a civilized cultural nation to the whole of Europe. That is an incredible cynicism. Schools? I tremble with rage when I think about the barracks that they call a school. In the middle there is a brick furnace which is never fired up, and our children are freezing while not

56 Only several camps within the imperial and royal Monarchy are listed.

57 This prisoner-of-war camp was built in 1914 and held some 15,000 prisoners at that time (mainly Serbs, then Italians and Russians). Stone crosses and a memorial for the deceased from Serbia stand scattered on an enclosed meadow.

58 Built in 1915 near Heinrichsgrün. Prisoners were made to work in the railroad and mining operations in the surrounding area (Rothau and Chodau). Many died of hunger, exhaustion, and epidemics (typhus and tuberculosis).

59 With up to 40.000 imprisoned Serbs and Russians.

60 The Ministry of War in Vienna documented in the winter 1914/15 about 12.000 victims of a typhus epidemic in the camp Mauthausen which mostly had Serbs in it. Jochen Oltmer, *Kriegsgefangene im Europa des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), 19.

61 Gordana Ilić Marković, *Der Große Krieg. Der Erste Weltkrieg in der serbischen Literatur und Presse* (Vienna: Promedia Verlag, 2014), 217–227.

having enough food to eat, hungry in their poor clothes. […] It is the same with the theatre. You shiver and watch. Can a hungry man watch anything with enjoyment?[62]

Nevertheless, judged by many individual testimonies, the offer was still gladly taken, so that at least for a little while one could forget about the harsh everyday life, and about death. Theatre groups were formed in Aschach an der Donau, Mauthausen, Nészider am See (Neusiedl, an allen Stellen im Text), Boldogasszony (Frauenkirchen), Jindřichovice (Heinrichsgrün), and Veľký Meder (Nadymedyer). The biggest Serbian prisoners' theatre was active in Boldogasszony/Frauenkirchen. First they founded a choir there, led by the Serbian composer Ljubomir Bošnjaković. Later on, an orchestra was organized. As time went by, this camp became filled with important creative artists and distinguished intellectuals from Serbia, like for instance the writers Sima Pandurović and Trifun Đukić; and actors such as Milorad Mile Milutinović were interned there. The theatre was located in a barracks where 69 plays were staged from November 1916 until shortly before the end of 1918.

Afterwards, the activity of the camp theatre was financially supported by the mission Y.M.C.A. (The Young Men's Christian Association).[63] This organization was active in Grödig, Aschach an der Donau, Mauthausen, and Boldogasszony. In addition to the aid, which at first focused on supplying food and clothes, they extended their scope of activities to the cultural field: they provided the camp prisoners with musical instruments and helped equip the theatre shows. The biggest charity events always took place at Christmas. Jean Schoop reported to the central office of the Young Men's Christian Association[64] on his activities during the Christmas celebrations:

62 "A oni su hteli da paradiraju: kako su po lagerima uveli škole, osnovali pozorišta, čitaonice, i šta ti ja znam, da se pred Evropom predstavili kao kulturni. A to je nečuven cinizam, koji se ne da izreći. Škole? Dršćem od gnjeva kad pomislim na onu daščaru, koju su oni nazvali školom. Na sredini cigljana peć, koja se nikada ne da zagrejati, i naša deca mrznu i to još bez dovoljno hrane, gladna, u žalosnom odelu. […] Pozorište isto tako. Dršćeš i gledaš. I zar može gladan čovek da gleda i uživa u čemu?" Milan Nikolić-Rasinski, *Nežiderska epopeja, ili Krvavi listovi iz života Srba u lageru* (Novi Sad: Knjižarnica Sv. F. Ognjanovića, 1919), 79.

63 The idea of a worldwide movement with international administration belonged to the then secretary of the YMCA (established in Geneva in 1852), Henry Dunant, who later also founded the international committee of the Red Cross and was awarded the first Nobel Peace Prize. The first YMCA world conference was held on 20 August 1855 with ninety-nine delegates from nine countries. They wrote a declaration, the so-called Paris Basis: "The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Savior, according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be his disciples in their faith and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of his Kingdom amongst young men". Its Central International Committee was also a result of this conference. At first it had no seat, until it was organized and structured with a seat in Geneva in 1878. The Central International Committee eventually became known as the World Alliance of the YMCA.

64 World Alliance of YMCA Archives, Geneva.

> For the Christmas gift-giving we received a box of bonbons and twenty boxes of candy and peppermints. The school-children made around 1,200 small packages out of these, which we then distributed among twenty-eight barracks for the sick and two barracks for the disabled on Christmas Eve, i.e., 6 January. This brought great joy everywhere, especially in the bigger hospital barracks, where our boys sang a Serbian Christmas carol conducted by their teacher. In all places we wished the sick a blessed Christmas, to which they responded with "zivo"[65] as an expression of their gratitude. Lastly, the boys also received their presents; we gave each a small package of sweets, a roll of peppermints and a small bag of cocoa. On Christmas day a big gala performance took place in the newly opened theatre, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The first rows were filled by officers and invited guests, followed by the audience, closely packed all the way to the exit. And each and every one held their breath while listening carefully to the beautiful performances of the male choir and the orchestra. A fine enactment from the life of the Serbian people was saved for the end; the costumes for which we've provided the material were made exclusively in the camp and they looked good. The actors were loudly applauded, and one could see that all of those present were very pleased. On Boxing Day there was another performance for those who weren't able to attend it yesterday. The prisoners were thus able, in accordance with the circumstances, to celebrate Christmas in a very nice and happy manner, for which they feel truly grateful to us. Prisoner aid, Jean Schoop. Secretary.[66]

That without this help, the founding of the orchestra for instance would not have been possible is also shown in the contents of a letter which fell victim to the censors.[67]

> Miroslav D., Mauthausen, 16/29 August 1915
> to: Jovan D. A. Šabac, Šanin šor [written in rhyme].
> I ask my brothers in arms to help me gather the means, as much as they can spare, to buy a violin, so that I can play and sing free of charge – old songs, new songs, all sorts of things. The music, here, with the Schwabos, is a remedy for all of us. I thank you all.[68]

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65 Živio! (May you live long!).

66 Herbert Brettl, *Das Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierungslager Boldogasszony/Frauenkirchen* (Halbturn: Herbert Brettl, 2014), 103.

67 Written contact of the prisoners was under surveillance and barely any letters that contained anything more than the mere information about the location and the health condition of the inmate reached their recipient.

68 "Molim ratne drugove da me sad pomognu; Da sredstvima vašim, – koliko koji mognu – dobrovoljnim prilogom, novaca da prikupim; razbibrigu violinu dobru da vam kupim: sviraću vam, i pevati, bez nagrade kakve; Pesme, pesme, nove, lepe, pa i svakojake; Svirka, pesma, lek je nama; Ovde sad kod Švabe – Hvala svakom drugu koji kakav prilog dade". Vladislav Pandurović, *Srpska pisma iz svetskog rata 1914–1918* (Osijek: Srpska štamparija, 1923), 56.

Fig. 7. Milutin Milutinović in the play *Riđokosa* (The Redhead) by Stevan Deskašev, based on *A vöröshaju* by Sándor Lukácsy, Boldogasszony. Source: Archive of Serbian Museum of Theatre Arts, Belgrade

The repertoire of the prisoner-of-war and internment camp theatres differed, naturally, from the repertoire of the soldier's or convalescent camp theatre which was under the command of the Serbian army and active on the territory of the

allies. The theatres in prisoner-of-war camps were subject to the censorship of the camp commanders. Accordingly, in camp Frauenkirchen the following plays were performed: *Sherlock Holmes* by Arthur Conan Doyle and William Gillette, *Elga* by Gerhard Hauptmann, *Don César de Bazan* by Jules Massenet, *A vöröshaju* (The Redhead) by Sándor Lukácsy with music by Erkel Elek – translated and nationalized as *Riđokosa* by Stevan Deskašev and composed by Davorin Jenko – but also Serbian theatre plays with music, like the Romantic comedy *Đido* (The Fearless Man) by Janko Veselinović or the tragedy *Knez Ivo od Semberije* (Prince Ivo of Semberia) by Branislav Nušić.[69]

The program in Aschach an der Donau even included Shakespeare's *Othello*. Various accounts of the activities of the theatre group can be found in the handwritten newspaper PULS,[70] which was produced in the camp. On 16 February 1916 it was reported that the establishment of a Serbian camp theatre had been requested at the initiative of the editor of this newspaper, to be based on the model of the Mauthausen camp theatre or those in Germany. The theatre was approved, and the issue from 5 May 1916 read as follows:

> Hard work is being put into the erecting of the stage. Art students are drawing up the theatre program: a Serbian girl is symbolically represented in a pretty national costume. Pensive, she is looking into the distance, in the direction of Belgrade, which is shown at dusk (because it is indeed so today, or perhaps for another reason?). Everything was in the national colors of Serbia. Some of those who participated told us what was performed: *Medved'* (The Bear) by *Anton Pavlovitch Chekhov*, *Le Médecin malgré lui* (The Doctor in Spite of Himself) by Molière, Šopenhauer (Schopenhauer) by Branislav Nušić, *Golgota* (Golgotha) by Milivoje Predić, *Naši sinovi* (Our Sons) by Vojislav Jovanović Marambo, *Vlast' t'my* (The Power of Darkness) by Leo Tolstoy (rearranged), *Die Räuber* (The Robbers) by Friedrich Schiller (rearranged), *Diletanti* (Dilettantes) by Stjepan Miletić, *Hamlet u neprilici* (Hamlet in Trouble) by an anonymous writer, etc.[71]

69 All these plays had been performed in Serbian theatres before the War, and the texts in the Serbian language were well known to the professional actors who were in prisoner-of-war camps.

70 Narodna biblioteka Srbije, Belgrade. Manuscript collection.

71 "Pozornica se podiže u veliko. Dekoracije počinju da se sprovode. Kadet, đak narednik g. Nikola Džanga, student slikarstva, radi pozorišnu zavesu. Ona ima lep motiv za malanje: simbolično predstavljena srpska devojka u lepoj narodnoj nošnji, koja drži gusle i gleda zamišljeno, tiho i mirno put Beograda, koji nedaleko leži u sumraku (što za danas ima svog naročitog značenja). Kulise takođe biće uskoro dekorisane. Suflernici i ceo spoljni izgled, g. Džanga mala bojama, koje označavaju šare i kompozicije srpskih nacionalnih boja, umetnički tumačenih. – O programu, koji će gledati posle završenja ovog podizanja pozornice, jedan nam je član dao sledeće informacije: Igraće se ovi komadi: *Medved* od Čehova; *Silom lekar* od Molijera; *Šopenhauer* od B. Nušića; *Golgota* od M. Predića; *Naši sinovi* od Voj. Jovanovića; *Carstvo mraka* od L. Tolstoja (u preradi); *Razbojnici*

Fig. 8. Serbian theatre in the prisoner-of-war camp Aschach an der Donau – *Othello*, in Adolf Golker. Source: Johann Eggerstorfer and Sabine Birngruber, *Bilder einer vergessenen Stadt: Das k.u.k. Kriegsgefangenenlager Aschach / Hartkirchen 1915–1918* (Aschach and Hartkirchen: Marktgemeinde Aschach und Gemeinde Hartkirchen, 2015), 57.

A report after the event emphasized that even the camp commander, Zimmermann, was present, as well as other officers. "The program was interesting. The soldier Mihajlo Kovačević played Sgambati's *Serenata*, *Aires gitanos* by Pablo de Sarasate, Ludwig van Beethoven's Romanze in G major, *Lyriske stykker* (Lyric Pieces) by Grieg, and *Ständchen* (Evening Serenade) by Franz Schubert. […] The room was decorated with the Serbian tricolor, made of paper". The Serbian play *Artilleria Rusticana* was announced for the following occasion.[72]

The occupation newspaper in Belgrade also reported on the theatre of the Serbian prisoners:

od Šilera (u preradi); *Diletanti* od St. Miletića; *Hamlet u neprilici* od anonimnog pisca – i, tako dalje".

72 "Kadet g. Mihajlo Kovačević svirao je od Sgambattia Serenade, od P. de Sarasate-a *Zigeuenerweisen*, od Beethowen-a Romance G-dur, od Griega *Lirische Stüke* i od Schuberta *Ständhen*. […] Svuda su bile lente srpske trobojke načinjene od papira". In *PULS*, 9. May 1916, 2, handwritten Serbian newspaper in the prisoner-of-war camp Aschach an der Donau (Narodna biblioteka Srbije, Belgrade, Manuscript collection). The following page of this number reported on the return of the Serbian prisoners from Italy where they had been set to work on the Isonzo front. The translation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* into Serbian also ends in this number, in the feuilleton section, which was for the occasion of Shakespeare's anniversary in 1916.

Fig. 9. Members of the Serbian theatre and orchestra in the prisoner-of-war camp Aschach an der Donau. Archive of Serbian Museum of Theatre Arts, Belgrade

A group of interned Belgrade citizens writes to us from the camp Aschach an der Donau: in the camp in Aschach an der Donau, the interned Belgrade citizens established a theatre in which they found a pleasant form of entertainment. The famous actors Spasić and Bekić are acting and, as comedians, are looking after the amusement of our Belgraders with their humor and their artistic efforts. Zloković, Milošević, Stojanović, etc. are also taking part and are all praiseworthy. This week (at the end of November, according to the date on the postcard) they are preparing a performance to aid the poor in Belgrade. The proceeds will be sent to Belgrade through the imperial and royal camp commanders.[73]

From 1914 until 1918 a theatre under the name of the *Srpsko narodno pozorište* (Serbian National Theatre) was active in the Nézsider (Neusiedl am See) internment

73 "Jedna grupa interniranih Beogradjana piše nam iz logora u Aschachu na Dunavu: U logoru u Aschachu na Dunavu internirani Beograđani osnovali su pozorište, u kome nalaze prijatne zabave. Igraju poznati naši glumci g. g. Spasić, Belkić, koji kao komičari razgaljuju naše Beograđane svojim humorom i umjetničkom igrom, zatim g. Zlatković, Milošević, Stojanović itd., svi zaslužni pohvale. Ove nedjelje (t.j. prema datumu karte, krajem novembra) priredjuje se predstava u korist Beogradske sirotinje, prihod će preko c. i kr. zapovjedništva logora biti poslat beogradskoj opštini", in *Beogradske novine*, 7 December 1916, 3.

camp. Many Serbian actors, singers, and musicians from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Vojvodina and the Kingdom of Serbia were interned here, among them Aleksandar Binički, Blagoje Biro, and Vukosava Spasić. The director was Mihajlo Spasić. They staged theatre performances and held poetry and music evenings. The well-liked play *The Fearless Man* was performed here as well. Unlike in the prisoner-of-war camps of the Monarchy, mainly professional actors and singers performed here, due to their large numbers in this internment camp. Not until the end of the war did the imprisoned students and other camp inmates also take part in theatrical plays. Very rarely were prisoners released into the confinement in their villages. Vukosava Spasić died in June 1918 in the camp. "I remember the deceased Vukosava, most of all for her leading part in the play *Golgotha*, in which she demonstrated both her talent and tactfulness, and we all wished to see her in this part anew, and so did she. Her death also pains me very much because she carried the leading parts on her shoulders".[74] Her husband, Mihajlo Spasić, who had fallen seriously ill, was released home shortly after. In the Belgrade occupation newspaper *Beogradske novine* he wrote an obituary for his wife in which the last attempts of the Austro-Hungarian propaganda are notable:

I am informing all comrades and friends that my spouse, Vukosava M. Spasić, the actress, has died on 16 June 1918, in Nézsider and was laid to rest with the sincere sympathies of the entire camp. I thank the commando doctor, who put great effort into curing my dear departed, and even took care of the choir and all those who laid wreaths on the grave. Belgrade, July 1918. The mourning husband, Mihailo D. Spasić, director of the *Srpsko narodno pozorište* (Serbian National Theatre).[75]

In the last year of the war it also happened that a theatre group in one camp gave a guest performance in another. Thus, in October 1918 the Serbian theatre from camp Boldogasszony/Frauenkirchen gave a guest performance with the play *Ženske suze* (Tears of Women) and a concert in the nearby internment camp Nézsider (Neusiedl am See). This was the last theatre event in Nézsider.[76]

74 "Sećam se pok. Vukosave – Vuke Spasićke, poglavito iz glavne role u 'Golgoti', gde je pokazala dosta i smisla i takta, bili smo svi osobito zadovoljni, želeći da je uvek u toj roli i ponova vidimo. I u toliko mi teže pada njena smrt, jer je ona glavne uloge repertoara nosila na svojim plaćima". Nikolić-Rasinski, *Nežiderska epopeja*, 82.

75 "Izvještavam drugove i prijatelje, da je moja supruga, Vukosava M. Spasić, glumica, preminula 16. juna 1918, u Nužideru i tamo ukopana, uz veliko saučešće cijelog lagera. Blagodaram gospodinu liječniku zapovjedniku, koji se zauzimao oko liječenja drage mi pokojnice, pjevačkom društvu i svima, koji položiše vijence na grob pokojnice. Beograd, jula 1918. Ožalošćen suprug Mihailo D. Spasić, direktor srpskog Narod. Pozorišta", in *Beogradske novine*, 25 July 1918, 3.

76 Dušan Krivokapić, *Sećanja iz Nežiderskog lagera* (Mataruška Banja: Dušan Krivokapić, 1976), 46.

REPERTOIRE

Popular folk plays were frequently staged; theatre plays with music, in which spoken dialogues alternated with instrumental music and songs, had been very popular in the nineteenth century. Stories were told of village life and significant historical events, and music from the homeland was played and sung. The audience joined in. Plays with music were very popular both with the soldiers on the front and with the wounded in the convalescent camps and prisoners in prisoner-of-war camps. They awakened feelings of nostalgia and memories of times of happiness. Their subjects were close to every man. Nothing more was necessary. "It's about a magical world of music and acting and the peculiar stage power which brilliantly transforms the usual into the unusual, proving the ontological remark that the theatre is an interpreter of dreams".[77]

The following historical plays are among those most frequently staged in the Serbian Theatre during the First World War: *Boj na Kosovu* (The Battle of Kosovo), *Knez Ivo od Semberije* (Prince Ivo of Semberia), *Hajduk Veljko* (Haiduk Veljko), and the following humorous stories of people's everyday lives: *Đido* (The Fearless Man), *Riđokosa* (The Redhead), *Devojačka kletva* (The Girl's Curse), and *Ivkova slava* (Ivko's Feast). "A special place was assigned to the jokes and sketches written by Brana Cvetković, the most popular among them being: *Artilleria Rusticana*, also *Rista rezervista* (Rista, the Reservist), *Lepa Jelena* (Helen, the Fair), *Stan za samca* (A Flat for a Single Man), and many others".[78] The musical play *Đido* (The Fearless Man) was considered one of the most frequently performed musical pieces of the Serbian National Theatre of Novi Sad, a play with which they went on tours before the war and which filled auditoriums throughout Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. It was written by Janko Veselinović, an author from Šabac, whose novel *Hajduk Stanko* (Haiduk Stanko) was also adapted into a well-received stage play. It was often performed in the soldier's theatres at the front, albeit not in prisoner-of-war camps. *Đido* (The Fearless Man) was composed by the Slovenian composer Davorin Jenko who lived and worked in Pančevo and Belgrade. The premiere took place in Belgrad in 1892. The songs from this folk play could be heard in all the Serbian coffee houses and were familiar to audiences. The play *Đido* took the audience to a village in Mačva (Northern Serbia), recounting a story of a romantic love in the moonlight. The poetry of the Serbian peasants spoke through these songs, the idealization of life in the country, in the villages

77 "Dakle, reč je o jednom magičnom svetu muzike i glume i čudne moći koja briljantno transformiše obično i neobično, potvrđujući ontološku opasku da je pozorište tumač snova". Antonijević, "Komadi s pevanjem na Solunskom frontu", 112.

78 Antonijević, "Theatrical life on the Salonika front", 70.

of Mačva in particular, a region from which many prisoners came. This play was often seen on stage in the interwar period and under the occupation of Serbia in World War II. Only after the war did it cease to be as popular as before; it was premiered anew only in 1968.

Comedies and plays with singing were the most popular in all these theatres. Serbian historical plays were seldom performed in prisoner-of-war and internment camps. The repertoire of all the Serbian war theatres did not include only plays written by Serbian authors. Examining the wide spectrum of repertoires, it can be said that in general the programs of pre-war Serbian theatre were reflected. And when the circumstances did not allow for a play, there were poetry evenings or concerts, or, simply and spontaneously, occasions for singing, dancing, and storytelling. The daily grind was relieved thanks to the commitment of many professional artists and amateurs. "On a certain road, I can no longer where exactly it was, I encountered the gusle player Perunović. A truly unbelievable image, an ancient Greek drama: he sat next to a dead Serbian soldier and, while playing the gusle, sang epic heroic songs. He gave the soldiers and refugees the courage to persevere on this heavy road".[79] As Dr. Isabelle E. Hatton, a doctor who accompanied the Serbian soldiers on the front in 1915, noted: "As soon as a Serb lands on his feet, he sings and dances. It is in his nature, a part of his life […] and whenever it was possible, the whole regiment joined in this *kolo*".[80]

★ ★ ★

World War I interrupted the creative work of many Serbian artists or steered it into a different art style. For some it served as a stimulus that helped them create their best work, while others wrote texts that had almost nothing in common with their usual works, as is evident from the aforementioned example. It was not a rare occurrence that they had only begun to write, paint, make music, take photographs, or to assert themselves as actors. Serbia lost a third of its inhabitants in the war, including countless authors, painters, actors, and scientists. They fell in battle, or died of hunger, from exhaustion, epidemics, or during attacks, whether in occupied Serbia, or as refugees, or in internment camps, or they committed suicide, like the author Milutin Uskoković. For those who survived, the Great War was the original event that shaped their minds and defined their lives and creative work to the end of their existence. One thing is clear: those who stayed with the

79 Jasen Krstanović, *Kroz Albaniju 1915–1916* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1968, first edition 1919), 92.

80 Kosta Todorivić, Milutin Velimirović, eds., *Golgota i vaskrs Srbije 1916–1918* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1971), 303ff. "Kolo" is the term for the Serbian traditional round dance.

army or were in exile during the war continued their activities after the war to a great extent. Amongst those who were in prisoner-of-war or internment camps, especially writers, it is very rare to find someone who returned to his former work after the war.[81]

The actors who came from internment or prisoner-of-war camps continued their acting careers. Some who had their first experience with theatre during the war realized their profession in theatre after the war. There are very few notes about negative memories of the theatre in war. And if there are any such, they are only thoughts about the hard feelings and melancholy that were evoked. The coming together of different cultures and the theatre experience gained in war gave wings to the theatre of the interwar period and influenced it positively throughout.

The theatre archives of the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad and Belgrade were destroyed during the occupation time, which is why in the first years after the war the plays mentioned, performed both before and after the war, increased in the number of their performances due to being learned. Most of the Serbian actors, opera singers, composers, and instrumentalists (almost without exception former German and Austrian students) did not survive the war. The Serbs of the Habsburg Monarchy shared the same fate. Serbian inhabitants in the newly founded Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes had to cope with a great shortage of educated people in all fields. Not only did they die in war, but they were also the first to be systematically interned, and if they survived at all, they were not always able to process the horrors of the internment camp mentally. What also stands out is that hardly any biographies mention the length of the time spent in prisoner-of-war camps. This makes the research that much more difficult, but also raises the question of why these dates are missing, even in the most detailed biographies of these artists. Brana Cvetković re-opened his satirical theatre *Orfeum* in Belgrade after the war and worked in his recognizable style as a sharp social critic who simultaneously entertained and criticized Serbia by means of laughter. In 1929 he retired from public life and continued writing in his Belgrade apartment, increasingly children's literature, and he is remembered to this day as one of the best children's authors in Serbia – the famous Uncle Brana. Branislav Nušić, the other comediographer who defined the theatre life of the pre-war period, returned from exile severely marked by a private fate. His only son died in 1915, and his nephew committed suicide in 1918 in the convalescent camp in Bizerte in Tunisia. Ten more years had to pass, before he could write his first comedies after the war.

Profoundly influenced by the war events, numerous authors in Serbia wrote plays about this period of time during World War I and shortly afterwards. Their

81 Ilić Marković, *Der Große Krieg*, 9–46.

greatest concern was not to produce dramatic works of art. Branislav Nušić summed this up in a newspaper interview on the occasion of the Belgrade premiere (on 26 October 1929) of his piece *Velika nedelja* (The Great Sunday), written in 1917 in exile in France: "The play developed under the very personal influence of our great tragedy. […] It wasn't my intention to write a play but to place a big historical document on stage. […] I did not expect the audience to applaud nor the praise of critics".[82]

In contrast, in the war theatre, the applause and the praise of the audience were the driving force which pushed the artists forward, and vice versa, the artists provided a short-lived illusion of normality. The soldiers at the front line as well as the prisoners and convalescents in the camps liked national comedies, but serious historical and life drama too. They enjoyed watching and recognizing their national customs, their national legends, dance and music, and hearing their own language. In the case of Serbian theatre in World War I there was no borderline between the artist and the audience; they were all simply soldiers on the front or in the convalescent camps or prisoners in the camps.

82 "Pisana je, dakle, pod najdubljim uticajem naše velike tragedije […] nisam imao nameru da pišem pozorišni komad, nego sam hteo da iznesem na scenu jedan historijski dokument. […] Ja od ovog komada niti očekujem aplauze od publike, niti pohvale od kritike".

FROM *MIORIȚA* TO *OEDIPUS*: ROMANIAN NATIONAL OPERA IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

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Abstract. *Operas in Romanian language, on Romanian topics and written by Romanian composers emerge slowly in the second half of nineteenth century; the first works appear in the year of the 1848 revolution, other works follow later after the reunification of the two Danubian principalities into a Romanian national state in 1859. But their number remains limited. The most important Romanian composer, George Enescu, did not choose any topic from Romanian history or folklore for his opera works. Nevertheless, the Romanian opera of the Nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflects the struggle for the construction of national identity. This identity under construction had to assert itself both in Romania, among the urban elites and the king (born in Germany), and in the European cultural centres, such as Paris, Berlin or Vienna. This contribution presents the opera Petru Rareș by Eduard Caudella (composed in 1889) in comparison with Enescu's Œdipe (composed in 1919–1931). Petru Rareș, based on a historical episode from the beginning of the sixteenth century, describes the nation building mainly in terms of a "pre-modern narration" (dreams, premonitory signs, religion and faith), but the decisive element of legitimation of power is a letter, a written document which belongs to the modern administration of governance.*

***Key words**: identity, nation building, Romanian music, Eduard Caudella, George Enescu*

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Romanian operas of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are not widely known by the general public. They are rarely staged outside of Romania, and no commercial recordings are available. The only opera written by a Romanian composer which is continuously staged to this day is George Enescu's Œdipe; but this work, composed between 1919 and 1931, deals with the Oedipus theme from Greek mythology, which moved Eduard Caudella, Enescu's teacher, to comment: "What a pity that it isn't about a Romanian subject".[1]

1 Nicolae Hodoarabă, *George Enescu: Contribuțiuni la cunoașterea vieții sale* (Iași: Institutul de Arte Grafice Viața Românească, 1928), 20; English in Noel Malcolm, *George Enescu: His Life and Music* (London: Toccata Press, 1990), 32.

The title of this paper shows two notions which are characteristic, and at the same time misleading, for understanding Romanian opera: *Mioriţa* and *Oedipus*. *Mioriţa* (The Little Lamb) is the title of a very old popular ballad, going back probably to the thirteenth century. The best-known version is a poem arranged in 1850 by the Romanian writer Vasile Alecsandri (1832–1890). Three shepherds, representing the three regions of Romanian settlement (Moldavia, Transylvania, and Wallachia), are grazing their sheep. When two of them decide to kill the third shepherd, the beloved lamb Mioriţa alerts his master. But instead of saving himself, the shepherd waits quietly for the others to come and kill him, telling Mioriţa that he will be married to a celestial princess. Alecsandri's wonderful, deliberately archaic verses turn the popular poetry into a romantic myth about the transformation of death into eternal life, of human wickedness into God's goodness, of suffering into fulfilment. The mythological categories refer first to the typical Romanian decor: the mountainous Carpathian region, the shepherds, and the diversity of the local resident population. But the story of Mioriţa also exposes a number of topics which are considered by Romanians as national characteristics: crossing the border between life and death, death as a symbolic wedding, transcending one's own existence, and the reinterpretation of defeat as victory.

For the Romanian philosopher Lucian Blaga (1895–1961), Mioriţa symbolizes the Romanian nation. In the second part of his depth-psychological *Trilogia culturii* (Trilogy of Culture) entitled *Spaţiul mioritic* (The Mioritic Space, 1936), Blaga established a link between the geographical framework of the Romanian landscape and the "ethnic spirit": "you can hear a particular space in the melody of a song, because this space is present in any form within the psychic underground of the melody".[2] For Blaga, the central element of Romanian landscape is the *plai*, a high open land with a gentle undulation of mountains and valleys. Blaga recognizes the same topography in Romanian poetry (the meter of the *Mioriţa* ballad) as well as in Romanian popular music, especially in such dance forms as the *Doina* or *Hora lunga*. For Blaga, all becomes one: the ethnic spirit (or soul), the geographical landscape, religion, mythology, literature, and music. This is nothing other than a depth-psychological revival of Herder's romantic concept of the Nation.

But unfortunately there is no Romanian opera with Mioriţa as its main subject[3] – perhaps because of the difficulty in transforming the ballad motif into dramatic form, but perhaps also because this topic did not correspond to the expectations of urban elites during the patriotic period of reunification of the two Danubian Principalities in the late nineteenth century.

2 Lucian Blaga, *Trilogia culturii* (Bucharest: Editura Humanitas, 1944), 65.

3 But there exists an oratorio (*balada-oratoriu*) by Sigismund Toduţă (1908–1991) entitled *Mioriţa* from 1978.

Oedipus, on the other hand, is the most important opera by a Romanian composer: Enescu's Œdipe was premiered in 1936 at the Paris Opéra. But what is particularly Romanian about it? The mythological subject is Greek, the libretto written by Edmond Fleg is French,[4] and the music sounds like a mixture of German and French styles, somewhere between post-Wagnerian, Debussy, and Arthur Honegger. But could not we see in this, following Blaga, a typically Romanian work: the Mioritic category in the habits of Ancient Greece? Anyway, Enescu's opera differs from other twentieth-century versions of Oedipus: the primary focus is not on not the tragic hero blinding himself; Enescu's opera ends with a long fourth act which shows the blind Oedipus at Colchis, where he finished by accepting his tragic destiny as well as his approaching death.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF ROMANIAN IDENTITY

The term "national opera" in the title of this paper might be problematic. Speaking about national opera assumes that we could define a national character and that this national character would be manifest within a particular work. First of all, the national character is a construction, sometimes useful and constructive, but more often destructive, especially when the construction of identity is based on the exclusion and discrimination of the Other. Sigmund Freud describes this self-construction by excluding the Other in his late essay *Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion* (Moses and Monotheism).[5] This paper will show that the Romanian national opera (in terms of Romanian self-perception) is a product of the process of national identity construction, and that, as such, this process has contributed to shaping this construction. The theoretical basic concept is the "construction of the nation" as Benedict Andersen defined it: as an "imagined community"[6] – in opposition to the Romantic concept of the nation that we found in Herder, where music is presented as a subtle expression of the ethnic spirit (or Soul).

Far from these modern definitions, Romanian historiography continues to this day to define every composer's contribution to the "typical national idiom". According to Romanian scholars like Pascal Bentoiu and Vioral Cosma, this "na-

4 The Romanian version by Constantin Silvestri was premièred in 1958 at the Bucharest Opera.

5 Sigmund Freud, "Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion", in *Sigmund Freud, Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 16 (London: Imago Publishing, 1950), 101–246. The two first parts were published in the review *Imago* 23/1, 23/4 (1937), the third part in 1939 in the Allert de Langein publishing house at Amsterdam. English translation: Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, trans. Katherine Jones (London and New York, Hogarth Press and A. A. Knopf), 1939.

6 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Vero, 1983; new revised edition 1991).

tional idiom" can be shown in two ways: through the use of national subjects, on the one hand, and of ethnic musical material on the other. Subsequently, they managed to identify national topics in all musical forms based on literary texts: in songs, symphonic poems, oratorios and, of course, in operas. They consider as "particularly national" all music based on texts written by the national Romanian poets of the nineteenth century such as Vasile Alecsandri and Mihai Eminescu (1850–1889).

It is, however, much more difficult to identify typically Romanian elements within the musical material: the question of "folkloristic elements" gets a reliable musicologist into trouble. Certainly, we can try to identify specific "ethnic" scales, rhythmic patterns, and melodic formulas or gestures, but it is hard to attribute these characteristics to specific ethnic groups. Moreover the works of the so-called "popular culture" are often a construction of urban elites and correspond more to the expectations of the recipients than they are "inherent" qualities of the musical material – as we can also see in the construction of "oriental music" in French late-nineteenth-century opera music, where the fascinating and at the same time repellent Orient was musically constructed by western phantasms.

Let us start with some considerations about the construction of Romanian identity. As Sigmund Freud showed, the construction of the "Self" (one's proper identity) comes along with the rejection of the Other. The construction of musical identity is no exception to this rule, as we shall see below in the case of Romania in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The construction of Romanian identity takes place in interdependency with the Other. This different Other is first of all the omnipresent Ottoman heritage, which is problematic in a twofold way: on the one hand because it is common to all people formerly under Ottoman rule and therefore cannot serve as specifically "national" or Romanian; and also because this cultural reference, in spite of an age-long presence, was always rejected as "strange" or "external". Also the genuine and constructive element within the Romanian identity construction is problematic. Their self-designation as a people – "român" – refers to "Roman".[7] But the reference to the Roman heritage is tricky, first of all because the "foundation date" of the Romanian identity was a defeat: the Getae and Dacians were defeated by the troops of the Emperor Trajan in 106 AD. To fix the beginning of the Romanian "ethnogenesis" at the Roman conquest would mean accepting that "foreigners" had destroyed the indigenous culture and replaced it with their own. The central point of the Roman/Roma-

7 In medieval sources, the Romanian-speaking people was called "vlahi", or similar, which means "Wallachians". This designation comes from the root "welsch": Latin-speaking people. The inhabitants of the southern Danubian Principality were also called Wallachians until the creation of the modern Romanian state in 1859.

nian identity is an ideological one: the rejection of Others. The "Others" are first of all the "barbarians" coming from the East. In the light of continuous barbarian invasions, the Romanian people had been the guardians and preservers of Roman (and thus of European) culture and civilization. Hence, the Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940) emphasized pathetically that Romania would be "a Latin rock in the midst of a Slavic ocean"; and the politician Gheorghe I. Brătianu (1898–1953) designated the Romanian people as "an enigma and miracle of History",[8] a nearly eschatological dictum: the battle against the Turks as a defence of the Promised Land.

At the centre of this "Roman" identity is yet another defence; this identity was less a rapprochement with Rome than a rejection of Byzantium. While the Romanians embraced Orthodox Christianity early, they nevertheless remained very sceptical toward the hub of Orthodoxy, Byzantium, due to their humiliations during the Phanariot period (the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries). The Phanariots (form the *Fanariot* quarter in Constantinople) were Greek princes who had been put on the throne of the Danubian Principalities by the Sublime Porte and who exploited the economy of the country. Based on the Byzantine model, they reintroduced ceremonies, liturgy, language, costumes, and music as they were before the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 – "Byzance après Byzance", according to Iorga's dictum. The rejection of the second Rome (Byzantium), and of course also the third (Moscow), was only partially a rapprochement to the "first Rome", since the Italian Rome is not only a cultural reference (the classical Rome of Antiquity) but also a religious one – and as a matter of course, Rome as the capital of Catholicism was unacceptable for Orthodox Romania. It is perhaps not surprising that the "Roman" identity, in nineteenth-century Romania, follows the model of France, which had an anticlerical orientation following the 1789 Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.

The last point in rejecting the "Other" is the ethnic heterogeneity of Romania. While the two Danubian Principalities Moldavia and Wallachia (since 1859 a Union, the later Romania) were mainly composed of "Romanians", the territories inside the Carpathian Arc, such as the Banat, Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Dobrudja, are ethnically mixed: with Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Turks, and other minorities. It is an irony of history that the realization of "Greater Romania" at the end of World War I permitted "all Romanian people" to live together within the borders of their homeland, but this new country became henceforth a multi-ethnic state with a variety of cultural references.

8 Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *Une énigme et un miracle historique: le people roumain* (Bucharest: Institut d'histoire générale de l'Université de Iassy, 1937).

THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL ROMANIAN MUSIC CULTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The creation of a "national Romanian music" was tardy, beginning only in the middle of the nineteenth century once the Phanariot epoch ended and the two Romanian Principalities became a Russian protectorate. Thenceforth the Principalities were for the first time, to a larger extent, exposed to western culture. From the 1830s onwards, military bands were founded, modelled on Austrian examples and playing marches, opera potpourris, and standard western dances. As it happens, their conductors were mainly Germans, respectively Austrians or Czechs.[9] While in the eighteenth century it was mainly itinerant companies from Italy and France who performed music, now the contact with Viennese culture became closer due to the proximity of the Austrian monarchy. Little by little a bourgeois culture emerged, but both of the two courts (in Bucharest and Iassy) preferred Turkish march music for a long time. In the regions where German culture prevailed (as in parts of Transylvania or in the Banat), western music was spreading rapidly. Even at the Boyars' courts, it became fashionable that women and girls should play the piano or harp.

One example to illustrate the cultural exchange between the Viennese centre and the Danubian Principalities is the extensive concert tour of Johann Strauss the Younger in 1847/48 through the Banat and Transylvania down to Bucharest. In the Wallachian capital, Strauss played at the residences of boyars and in a few public concert halls.[10] During this tour, which he called "a trip to the Orient",[11] Strauss composed a series of waltzes for piano, *Klänge aus der Walachei* op. 50 (Sounds from Wallachia), published in Vienna. Thus, one of the first attempts to describe the Romanian homeland musically was precisely the work of a foreigner – but the music does not sound in any way "Romanian", neither for us nor for the Romanian people.

It was not by chance that the first "genuinely Romanian"[12] composition appeared in 1848, in the political environment of the March Revolution. Starting in the Habsburg Monarchy (and also in Transylvania), the revolution soon spilled

9 The job title of the conductor is still *capelmaistru* in Romanian, from the German *Kapellmeister*.

10 The Bucharest National Theatre (Teatrul Național) was then still under construction. The building, in neoclassical style, was a work of the Viennese architect Anton Hefft.

11 Franz Metz, *O călătorie spre Orient: Johann Strauss și concertele sale în Banat, Transilvania și Țara Românească* (Bucharest: Editura ADZ, 2003), 48.

12 This term was used in a review of Alexandru Flechtenmacher's Overture *Moldova* in the journal *Albina Românească* of 1847: "Muzica făcută de Alexandru Flechtenmacher [...] este încîntătoare și adevărat românească" (The music by Alexandru Flechtenmacher is charming and genuinely Romanian).

over into the two Danubian Principalities. In Iassy the insurrection ended without bloodshed, but in Bucharest the insurgents held the government for nearly three months, until Russian and Turkish troops restored the old order by violence. During these dramatic months, several national symbols were created, among them the "blue–yellow–red" flag (modelled after the German revolutionary colours "black–red–gold") and the patriotic poem by Andrei Mureşanu, the present-day National Hymn: *Deşteaptă-te Române* (Wake Up, Romanian).

It is in this context of political awakening that the emergence of the first Romanian compositions with a genuine Romanian musical language must be analysed. Johann Andreas Wachmann (1807–1863) founded an ensemble with local musicians who performed sixty-seven operettas and vaudevilles over the years, including some of his own compositions. Wachmann's career is a good example of the dependence of Romanian musicians on foreign music, especially from the Austrian monarchy. Their musical language does not differ principally from music written in Vienna, Berlin, or Leipzig; it is Central European bourgeois music close to German Romanticism.

Another eminent artist from the same generation is Carol (or Charles) Mikuli (1821–1897) who was a pupil of Chopin in Paris from 1844 to 1848. Mikuli transcribed Romanian folkloristic melodies and published them between 1852 and 1867 in four booklets under the title *Quarante-huit airs nationaux roumains* (Forty-eight Romanian national melodies). Through his romantic harmonization *à la Chopin* he reproduced the specific sound pattern of the musical tradition of the Romanian *lăutari*.[13] This is not surprising, since Mikuli was a sympathizer with the March Revolution of 1848: the rural "fiddler", the *lăutar*, was for him a typical representative of Romanian national values.

These examples show to what degree the arts, and also music, were an important part of the construction of national ideas in the mid-nineteenth century, and how vague the outlines of this "Romanian-ness" were, particularly at the moment when "Romania" as a political reality did not yet exist. The typically Romanian was thus simple, rural, and folkloristic – but this identification was proposed by the urban elites in Bucharest and Iassy. The concept of "typically Romanian" music in these early times was realized concretely by using orientalizing stylistic elements borrowed either from Byzantine Church music (and therefore recalling the odious Phanariot epoch) or from the *lăutari* repertoire of Gipsy bands that were not considered authentically Romanian.

13 For a musical example see Zeno Vancea: *Creația muzicală românească*, vol. 1: sec. XIX–XX (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor din Republica Socialistă România, 1968), 74–75.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the cultural and musical level rose rapidly. After the Crimean War (1853–1856) and the Treaty of Paris, in 1859 the two Danubian Principalities elected the same ruler, Alexandru Ion Cuza, who unified the two Principalities into an administrative unity called "Romania". After the overthrow of Cuza in 1866, a foreign prince, Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, was declared ruler of Romania. In 1878 Karl proclaimed Romania a sovereign nation, independent of the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, and in 1881 he was proclaimed King Carol I of Romania.

The modernization of the country, begun under Cuza and continued under king Carol, included also the creation of universities and conservatories. At Iassy, the State Conservatory opened its doors in 1860 under the direction of Francisc Serafim Caudella, and at Bucharest four years later under Alexandru Flechtenmacher; the curriculum and the training models followed French examples. The first permanent symphony orchestra was founded in 1868, and the first string quartet in 1880.

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the time of national independence, musicians went abroad to study, mainly in Paris but also in Vienna or in Germany. However, when they returned, Romania offered them the opportunity of a challenging job in their home country. In the euphoric mood of national unity and independence, a great many "national" compositions were created. But the music remained within the frame of the classical-romantic style, from Haydn to Schubert and Brahms, with some "exotic" elements added.

Local audiences, however, preferred foreign productions, and not only in terms of music. The identification of Romanian identity with its Latin roots led to increasing interest in the French model. Although the king was German, the administration, the military organization, the school system, and the jurisdiction were French; Bucharest changed from a chaotic oriental town into a "petit Paris". The *jeunesse dorée*, back from their studies in France, preferred to speak French (and were mockingly called *bonjouristes*). The bourgeoisie enjoyed vaudevilles and foreign comedies. The composer Gavriil Musicesu (1847–1903), who arranged numerous traditional Romanian melodies, deplored this situation: "We observe such indifference, or better such contempt of all that is national, that we are sad and first of all bitter. There is nothing better in music than the fiddler [i.e., the *lăutari*] who played the old songs of his forefathers".[14]

Against this background it seems obvious that George Enescu should be immediately and unanimously acclaimed as a national composer. Both his *Poème rou-*

14 "Un asemenea indiferentism sau mai bine-zis dispreț ce se pratică față de tot ce-i național ne-a lăsat urme triste şi rele în toate. Nu a lăsat nici în muzică urme bune, căci pînă şi trubadurii (lăutarii de prin sate – *n.a.*) nu mai cîntă cu acea dragoste şi foc cîntecele moştenite de la strămunii lor". Ibid., 103.

main, op. 1, premiered in 1897 almost simultaneously in Paris and in Bucharest, and the two *Rhapsodies roumaines*, op. 11 (written in 1901), construct the nascent National State of Romania. All three of these compositions, bearing the explicit denomination "Romanian", appeal first to a foreign auditory. They introduce the Parisian public to a "typical Romania" in the manner of exoticism: with rurality, archaic dances, violin virtuosity, gipsy folklore – and all within a perfectly shaped European Art Music.

In Romania, the *Poème* and the *Rhapsodies* were acclaimed enthusiastically, establishing the fame of Enescu as a national composer. Here, in the face of an urban auditory (composed by the aristocracy and bourgeoisie) and in the presence of the king and the court, the focus was different: not exoticism but authenticity was paramount. The urban elites, modelled on western (French) culture and society, were constructing on the basis of rural values an "authentic" Romania that had never before existed and was also not the country they were about to create.

ROMANIAN "NATIONAL OPERA" IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

We will now analyse the construction of Romanian identity by means of selected examples from the Romanian opera history. We are particularly interested in the topics Romanian composers used for their operas and in the stylistic means they employed for constructing "Romania" musically.

Alexandru Flechtenmacher

Alexandru Flechtenmacher (1822–1898), an ardent partisan of the ideas of unification and a companion of the national poet Vasile Alecsandri and the politician Mihai Kogălniceanu, composed a few songs for piano in "folkloristic style" and imitated traditional folk dances (like the round dance *Hora*). In 1846 he wrote the overture *Moldova*, where he arranged motives and melodies from the urban folklore of his Moldavian homeland in a rhapsodic manner.[15] However, the music rarely extends the frame of western art music, such as the use of augmented fourths in a minor key to produce an augmented second. This orientalizing element remains singular and does not concern in any respect the harmonic or formal dimensions. His operetta *Baba Hârca* (Baba the Witch), based on a libretto by Matei Millo, tells a wedding story in a rural milieu. Premiered in December 1848 in Iassy, the work was immediately acclaimed as a political statement, as an "authentic Romanian

15 Musical examples in ibid., 57.

work" which depicts the milieu of simple people. One newspaper critic wrote: "The music of this operetta is simple and really beautiful. The composer was simply trying to draw inspiration from the joys and sufferings of the Romanian people".[16]

Johann Andreas Wachmann

The aforementioned Johann Andreas Wachmann also wrote a couple of interesting operas. We know very little about his life. Descended from an Austrian family, he was born in Budapest and studied probably in Vienna. At the end of the 1820s he arrived with an itinerant company in Bucharest, where he settled down. His nearly fifty stage works (a great number with librettos by Caragiale), include the "national" opera *Mihai Bravul în ajunul bătăliei de la Călugăreni* (Michael the Brave on the eve of the battle of Călugăreni). The libretto is based on a theatre play by Ion Heliade Rădulescu. The story is about the most important battle in Romanian history, when the Moldavian prince Mihai Viteazul (called Michael the Brave) defeated a larger Ottoman army under Sinan Pasha in 1595. In Romanian history, Prince Mihai is considered the precursor of unification because under his reign the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (and even part of Transylvania) were briefly ruled by one sovereign. It is significant that Wachmann's opera was written in the revolutionary year 1848, at the moment when claims emerged for freedom of the press and abolition of the privileges of the nobility. The chorus plays an important role in the opera, representing the "revolutionary" voice of the Romanians against their oppressors – who in the historical context of the late sixteenth century were the Ottomans, but in the political environment of the March Revolution were the aristocratic Romanian or Phanariot upper-class.

Wachmann and other musicians of his generation were not really "national composers", not only because they were mainly foreigners, but also because their mission was to elevate the musical activities of the two principalities to a European level. They were rather "cultural bridge builders" than constructors of national identity.

Eduard Caudella

The biography of Eduard Caudella (1841–1924) is exemplary for the generation of Romanian musicians during the last decades of the nineteenth century.[17] His fa-

16 "Muzica de la această operetă este simplă şi foarte frumoasă. Autorul ei nu a căutat să se inspire decît din suferinţele şi bucuriile poporului român". Anonymous (attributed to Nicolae Filimon), in *Ţăranul Român* 2 (1861).

17 About Caudella and his opera see: Vancea, *Creaţia muzicală românească*, vol. 1, 94–106; Viorel Cosma, "Caudella, Eduard", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, vol. 4 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000, 2nd edition), cols. 451–452.

ther, Franz Serfim, was a musician who moved from Vienna to the Moldavian capital. Eduard Caudella began his musical training as a twelve-year-old in Berlin and arrived in 1857 in Paris, where he studied with Jean-Delphin Alard and Lambert Massart. One year later he was back in Berlin, where he studied with Carl Böhm, and finally he settled in Frankfurt am Main with Henri Vieuxtemps. Appointed "court violinist" by prince Cuza in 1861, Caudella consecrated himself henceforth to composition and the musical training of the youth in Iassy. Furthermore, he was chief conductor of the National Opera between 1861 and 1875 and, from 1893 on, director of the State Conservatory in Iassy. He staged a great many Italian operas by Verdi, Donizetti, Rossini, and Bellini, and also works by Romanian composers like Wachmann and Flechtenmacher.

Between 1872 and 1907, Caudella wrote a series of operas, operettas, and vaudevilles, mainly on subjects from Romanian history. He preferred Romanian topics in his symphonic and chamber music as well. His music remains within the borders of the classical-romantic style, with some "exotic" elements borrowed mainly from the Hungarian *verbunkos*. The augmented second is already present, but now between the sixth and augmented seventh degrees of the minor scale. There are non-influences from then-modern movements (Gustav Mahler, Richard Strauss, or Claude Debussy).

The titles of Caudella's operas and *singspiels* show the predominance of Romanian topics: *Harță Răzesul* (The Yeoman Harță, 1872), *Olteanca* (The Oltenian Women, 1880), *Fata răzeşului* (The Daughter of the Yeoman, 1881), *Beizadea Epaminoda* (The Bey Epaminoda, 1883), *Dorman sau Romanii şi Dacii* (Dorman or the Romans and Dacians, 1896), und *Traian şi Dochia* (Trajan and Dochia, 1907). His opera *Petru Rareş*, written in 1889 and premiered in 1900, is of particular interest. We return later to this important work.

George Enescu

As we noted at the beginning, Enescu did not write any "Romanian" operas. His "Romanian" symphonic or chamber works are either early compositions, written at a time when the young composer presented himself to the Parisian public as the "Moldavian Orpheus":[18] the *Poème roumain* and the two *Romanian Rhapsodies*, or they are later works with a nostalgic and retrograde note which remembers an irretrievably lost time, as in the third Orchestra Suite "Villageoise" ("from the village") or the Violin Sonata *Impressions d'Enfance* (Impressions of Childhood), both from the late 1930s.

18 This is still an actual denomination for Enescu in Romania: the International Music Festival of Bacau is called "Enescu – Orfeul Moldav".

For the stage, Enescu intended only once to set a Romanian topic to music: namely, in 1929, the well-known legend *Meşterul Manole* (Master Manole) based on a theatre play by Carmen Silva, better known as Elisabeth zu Wied, Queen of Romania.[19] In this popular legend, Master Manole is asked to build for the Black Prince the most beautiful monastery in the world. But the walls crumble again and again. Manole learns in a dream that he should immure the first female person coming to the construction site in order to fix the walls. The next day, his own wife approaches. Manole prays to God to send rain and storm, but she continues on her way. Finally, Manole builds the wall around her and the monastery is accomplished. The theme of this legend can be found in numerous variants over the Balkans (Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, Bulgaria), but in the end it is the Biblical story of Jephthah and his daughter (Judges, chap. 11).

While Enescu failed to write a Manole opera, other Romanian composers did. Alfonso Castaldi (1874–1942), who was born in Italy and became later a Romanian citizen, wrote in 1913 a *Meştre Manole* in two acts. His music was strongly influenced by French composers, especially Debussy. Castaldi was also the author of further patriotic pieces such as the hymn *La arme* (Take Up Arms), written for the entry of Romania into World War I. In the 1980s, Sigismund Toduță (1908–1991) composed another version of Master Manole in form of an opera-oratorio on a text by Lucian Blaga. Toduță received most of his training at the Academia Santa Cecilia in Rome, so his music is strongly influenced by western church music; he used baroque forms and models as in the works of Johann Sebastian Bach. Finally, between 2008 and 2013, the Romanian electronic bass player and composer Josef Kappl (b. 1950) wrote a rock opera *Meșterul Manole*, initially a project of the rock band *Transylvania Phoenix* from the 1970s, but he never staged it because of communist censorship. According to a short video on You Tube,[20] it was apparently a conventional musical for mass audiences with some "exotic oriental inclusions". Welcome back to the 19th century!

Enescu's unique opera, Œdipe, is based on a subject from classical Antiquity. Classical Greek topics were not unusual in the 1920s, for example Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex* or Othmar Schoeck's *Penthesilea*, both premiered in 1927. However, Enescu's opera is a complex philosophical music drama which is, in spite of its moderate tonal language, a real modern opera. Dominating the entire action, as if the opera were a kind of interior monologue of the protagonist, Oedipus is a real subject of modernity in the Heideggerian sense of "thrown-ness" (*Geworfensein*) into existence. But this masterpiece of twentieth-century opera is certainly not a

19 See Malcolm, *George Enescu*, 189.

20 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s-HnJtv_-bQ, accessed 7 October 2019.

Romanian opera or even a Romanian "national opera", although it was written by the most Romanian of all Romanian composers.

The opera Petru Rareş by Eduard Caudella

Does this mean there is no Romanian opera at all? It should first be noted that only a few works could be considered as "Romanian": operas which present topics from Romanian history or the daily lives of Romanian people to a domestic (and at most also foreign) audience in order to describe Romanian "authenticity" and to construct a national identity.

In the following, we will discuss one opera work that is characteristic of late nineteenth-century Romania and the discourses in Romanian society in the years between the unification of the two Danubian Principalities and World War I: *Petru Rareş* was, as mentioned above, written by Eduard Caudella in 1889, but premiered only eleven years later at the Bucharest National Opera.

The musical and dramaturgical model for *Petru Rareş* is clearly the French Grand Opéra, such as the works of Meyerbeer. But Caudella deals very freely with the French model and does not respect the requirements of the Paris opera conventions. In contrast to the Grand Opéra, *Petru Rareş* has only three acts (and not five like the French one) and the obligatory ballet is in the last act. On the other hand, the topic is typical for Grand Opéra: a historical theme with intrigue and political insurrection. Several elements – like, for example, the scene with the fiddler or the call to arms by the insurgents – are directly modelled on Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*, although the musical skills of Caudella cannot get close to the Parisian model.

Petru Rareş is set at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the northern part of the two Romanian principalities, in Moldavia, where the ruling sovereign, Prince Ştefaniţa, has made a deal with his enemies, the Ottomans and Poles. In the first scene, the fisherman Petru Rareş confides to his sister Ileana that he had seen himself in a dream as the ruler of the country. The noblewoman Tudora, whose husband was forced by Ştefaniţa to go in exile, appears together with her follower Marin. Both hope to dispossess the usurper Ştefaniţa and restore to the throne the legitimate but unknown son of the former Prince Ştefan the Great. Tudora and Marin know that a document written by the deceased prince must exist, but it was hidden in a castle by Ştefaniţa.

In the next scene, Prince Ştefaniţa and his suite appear, returning from hunting in the forest. Petru Rareş is accused of being a poacher and is to be killed on Ştefaniţa's orders. Ileana begs Ştefaniţa to pardon his brother. Ştefaniţa frees Petru, but demands in return that Ileana follow him as his mistress. She accepts to save her brother and leaves the scene together with Ştefaniţa and the noblemen. Petru

Rareş swears to take revenge and joins the insurgents under the leadership of Tudora.

In the second act, Tudora and Marin make an unsuccessful attempt to liberate Ileana from the castle where she is held captive. Meanwhile, in a forest, Petru Rareş is ready to conduct the insurrection again the despot and assembles his soldiers. In the last act, Prince Ştefaniţa appears in the castle of Nikita where Ileana is imprisoned. She is supposed to give the names of the insurgents. These have crept with artifice into the castle. Petru Rareş kills Nikita and liberates his own sister. Tudora arrives with the document which reveals that the unknown son of the former prince Ştefan the Great is none other than Petru Rareş. As a proof, he has a tattooed cross on his arm, just as described in the letter. The present boyars render homage to the new sovereign, while the usurper Ştefaniţa commits suicide.

It is characteristic for Caudella's opera that there is no sentimental love story at the centre of the plot, but a historical episode including a number of freely invented scenes. The main theme of the opera is the succession of the Moldavian sovereign Ştefan II, also called the Great. He remains to this day one of the most important figures of identification in the collective memory of Romanians because he fought with determination against exterior enemies, primarily Ottomans (the Pope granted him the title "Athleta Christi"), and he pursued the unification of the two Romanian principalities – albeit without success.

After his death in 1504, his son Bogdan III followed him on the throne. After the death of Bogdan, his eleven-year-old son Ştefaniţă Muşat, or Ştefan IV the Younger, became the next Moldavian sovereign in 1517. Prince Ştefaniţa made a deal with the Poles and devastated Wallachia in 1526. He was an extraordinary intelligent and gifted young man who intended to unify the two Romanian principalities. He was allegedly poisoned by his wife and died on 12 January 1527 in Khotyn (today in Ukraine).

The opera figure Ştefaniţa has less to do with the historical Ştefan IV. The operatic Ştefaniţa is described as a completely negative character who betrayed the Romanian country, made deals with their enemies (Ottomans, Poles, Cossacks), and was a usurper. Even the age of Ştefaniţa does not play any role in the opera (in reality he was only twenty-two years old when he died); his vocal range is baritone and not bass, as it should be for a villain (this role is held by the bass Nikita, an invented character).

The title role of the opera has also a historical background. Petru Rareş was an illegitimate son of Prince Ştefan the Great and was born between 1483 and 1487. We know almost nothing about the time before he acceded to the throne. According to the contemporary chronicler Ion Negulce, Petru Rareş was said to

be a fishmonger in the district of Galați near the Black Sea. He came to the throne in 1527 after the death of Ştefanița.

What is historically correct is ultimately only the fact that Ştefanița succeded Ştefan the Great as sovereign of Moldavia and that he died very young in obscure circumstances, and also that an illegitimate son of Ştefan the Great appeared suddenly from nowhere and ascended to the Moldavian throne. The opera puts this episode in 1529, while the historical prince Ştefanița died, as we have seen, two years earlier.

This very flimsy frame accorded the librettist Theobald Rehbaum[21] and the composer Caudella a great freedom to arrange the motives of the acting characters and the details of the plot according to their own intentions or the expectations of the public. Except for Petru Rareş and Ştefanița, all the characters are freely invented: Ileana the sister of Petru, the noblewoman Tudora, her follower Marin, and Nikita the henchman of the sovereign. Another very important element of the opera is also invented: the hidden document which reveals the identity of the legitimate pretender to the throne. Finally, the whole story of how the fishmonger Petru Rareş becomes the new sovereign, and the ignominious end of the usurper Ştefanița, are also freely invented elements.

Thus, the opera does not really reflect a historical episode of sixteenth-century Romanian history, but rather the historical context of the time of its creation: the situation of the modern National State in the last decades of the nineteenthth century. What are the dominating discourses in this opera? Two competing models are presented which we could designate as "mythos" and "logos".

First of all, there is a dream in which Petru Rareş sees himself as the new ruler of the country. This is a pre-modern form of communication; it is the realm of myth. Petru Rareş' dream is not presented as a modern dream in a Freudian or Jungian sense. It is not the secret or subconscious desires of the individual that become manifest. In his dream we hear a mythic voice: Petru Rareş is designated as the legitimate sovereign of Moldavia by God or a benevolent Destiny. It is characteristic that this dream is not reported directly by the dreamer himself, but by his sister Ileana who overhears her sleeping brother. In this way, the dream steps outside of the mythic mist into the sphere of clearly understandable discourse. Mythos becomes logos.

But this mythic legitimacy in the form of a dream has no concrete consequences. Nobody would crown the fisherman Petru Rareş only for the sake of a dream.

21 The libretto is based on a novel by Nicolae Gane (1838–1916), a Moldavian politician and writer. Theobald Rehbaum (1835–1918), a German violinist and composer, wrote the libretto in German; his text was afterwards translated into Romanian.

Even Ileana, the only one who heard its contents and reformulated them in comprehensible words, is rather frightened by the dream because she fears being separated from her brother if he becomes a ruler.

The mythic, pre-modern model appears at another moment of the opera. The usurper Ştefaniţa meets an old woman who foretells his dethronement and the ascension of the legitimate son of Ştefan the Great. Although Ştefaniţa's henchman Nikita mocks his master's credulousness, the prophecy of the old woman will finally be fulfilled.

The second model of legitimate succession is a document which the dying sovereign Ştefan had written and hidden in a secure place. It contains the proof that Petru Rareş is the legitimate successor to the Moldavian throne. This document will be discovered at the end of the opera. It confirms the true identity of Petru Rareş as the legitimate successor – and immediately all the boyars accept him as the new ruler. This is definitely a modern form of communication: it is the realm of the written word, of records, of administration. Legitimacy is an affair of documents and seals. But also in this modern model, elements of the opposite, mythic model can be found. First, the document is hidden behind an icon, a reference that finally only God can guarantee legitimacy, even those of written and modern documents. Second, the sign which proves the legitimacy of the pretender to the throne is a cross tattooed on his arm, another reference to the religious sphere even for an "administrative act".

These two models of legitimacy are not presented as antagonistic, but rather complement each other. The mythos does not contradict the logos; both speak with one voice. However, it seems that in the opera the documentary proof is ultimately the real one which attests to the truth: the dream would finally remain ineffective without the written testament.

However, this interpretation misconstrues a central point of the opera: at the moment when the document of Ştefan the Great is revealed, Petru Rareş has clarified the situation by force. The tyrant's castle is in his hands, and for the usurper Ştefaniţa the game is over. Thereby, another model of historical effect becomes crucial: the heroic element.

Let us analyse this central motif in terms of the acting characters and then raise the question of its function for the Romanian society of the 1880s. The two protagonists of the opera are doubtlessly Petru Rareş and his sister Ileana. It is striking that Petru, after he has dominated the action of the entire first act, disappears from the scene (and from the plot) and reappears only at the end of the second act when, after having another dream, he goes into action with determination and fights against tyranny at the head of the insurgents. Even in the third

act he is absent for a long time. Petru and the insurgents finally triumph, but more by ruse than by force – and not before Tudora comes and shows the document which proves the legitimacy of Rareş. The boyars acclaim him as their new ruler for a written document and not for his heroism or military force. His adversary Ştefaniţa kills himself; and finally, the main motive of Petru Rareş for fighting is a sentimental one: he wants to save his sister.

The heroism of the protagonist is very ambiguous. He is shown several times as a dreamer. Even if these dreams reveal themselves as a vision of the truth, they are nevertheless not attributes of heroic actions. Rareş achieves his goal by ruse and not by military force. His only real determined action is the killing of the villain Nikita when he is brutalizing Ileana. But Petru Rareş kills an unarmed man taken by surprise – not really a heroic action.

The ambiguity of this "dreaming heroism" is the subject of scenes 10 and 11 of the second act when the dreaming Petru sees himself as the new ruler of Moldavia:

> *Petru Rareş (speaks in his dream):*
> People bow before my face, because I am your new ruler ...
> *(He wakes up)*
> Where am I? Was it only a dream? Without any importance? My sovereignty over the people is only a dream? I was the ruler, I went into the battle, I was in front of all. Crazy to imagine such things! Is it allowed to have such vain dreams? I am crazy to have such vain dreams!
> I will defend my country with great courage. I will trust my star with strong faith. Alert, with endurance and power, that is what I want to be every time. I want fortune to favour me.
> My courage should have the opportunity to be proud of me!
> My country should have the opportunity to be proud of me!

Ileana is a different character. At the beginning of the opera, when the despot Ştefaniţa gives her the choice of whether her brother will be killed or not, depending on whether she will be his mistress, Ileana agrees to sacrifice herself. The shame of giving her body to the tyrant is here assimilated to death: "One of us two will die", Petru Rareş says. The fact that Ileana is ready for this shameful symbolic death is indeed heroic, because it has a concrete result: to save another life, that of her brother. And again at the end, when Ştefaniţa and Nikita menace her with torture and death if she does not reveal the names of the insurgents, Ileana is ready to die heroically.

These two heroic models – Petru's and Ileana's – are not contradictory but complementary. Together, the two models correspond to the "mioritic" principle

of Romanian heroism: Rareş sees his victory in dreams, just as the Moldavian shepherd in the ballad dreams of the mystical wedding. Ileana represents the principle of offering herself as the shepherd does in the ballad.

Let us finally place these results in the historical context of the construction of an identity for Romanian society within the new national state. When the opera was composed in 1889, the question of the legitimacy of the ruler was a highly actual one. As we have seen, Prince Cuza was elected sovereign of both Wallachia and Moldavia at the same time, whereby the two principalities were in fact unified. In 1866, Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen became sovereign of Romania. But the country was still a vassal of the Sublime Porte. In 1878, Romania seceded unilaterally and Karl declared himself King of Romania. In contrast to other peoples of Central and Southeast Europe, like for example Greece, Romania obtained its independence not by heroic fighting against oppressors, but by diplomatic skills. This lack of historical heroism is reflected in the opera: in the legend of Mioriţa, the heroic attitude is transformed and transcended.

Concurrently the opera shows also the transition of a mythic people into a modern national state based on administration: power and authority are ultimately legitimized not by a divine destiny revealed in dreams but by a written document.

The omnipresent allusions to the legend of Mioriţa, where three shepherds are mentioned, refer to the absent third: Transylvania, that part of present-day Romania which was Hugarian in 1889 (and also in 1900 when the opera was premiered). This territory, however, came to the Romanian state neither by ruse nor by an administrative act, but by the force of arms during World War I.

EMILIOS RIADIS' *GALATEIA*: AN UNFINISHED WORK

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Abstract. *Riadis, a composer whom could be largely placed within the scope of the national concept, has been notorious for reworking and reshaping his works or even leaving them unfinished. His 1912–1913 attempts to write an opera on a libretto by Ch. J. Jablonski were never realised in full, although a substantial amount of music has been found in his archival remains. However, a statement that appears in one of the pages draws the attention of the researcher. There, Riadis states: "Emilios Eleftheriadis, Macedonian, A. / Sept. 1912 Paris, with the hope to do something better and Greek later". Based on the above comment, I will try and discuss the concept of "Greek" as Riadis seems to address it. Furthermore, I will attempt to see fragments of the opera and why these might not "fit" in the Greek concept that he seems to be having in mind.*

Kewords: Emilios Riadis, opera, Greece, mythology, national, Macedonia

Emilios Riadis, a composer who can be viewed largely within the framework of the national concept, was notorious for reworking and reshaping his works, or even leaving them unfinished. His attempts in 1912–1913 to write an opera based on a libretto by Ch. J. Jablonski were never realized in full, although a substantial amount of music was found in his archival remains. A statement that appears on one of the pages is particularly striking, where Riadis writes: "Emilios Eleftheriadis, Macedonian, September 1912, Paris, with the hope of making something better and more Greek very soon." In what follows, I will explore the concept of "Greek" as Riadis seems to invoke it and will attempt to examine fragments of the opera to see why they might not "fit" into the Greek concept that he seems to have in mind.

Emilios Riadis is rightly numbered among those recognized as integral members of a movement to promote and project national sentiment in their compositions, sometimes spiced up with a touch of cosmopolitan flavor and a wider perspective for musical matters. This national school was established by Manolis Kalomiris during the first decade of the twentieth century and was supported by

composers such as Petros Petridis, Giannis Konstantinidis, and others.[1] Riadis belongs to this category of composers about whom many say that they admire their language, both musical and verbal, yet they remain largely in the shadows, mostly unperformed, left alone with the admiration and nothing more. In such cases, the composer is deeply appreciated by colleagues and music connoisseurs but more as a public figure than as an artist, retaining an eclectic connection with his contemporary surroundings but in reality remaining undiscovered either in his own time or later. Riadis wrote music that he continuously revised, and his compositional output includes songs, chamber and orchestral music, incidental music and other things.[2] Researchers claim that he wrote about 200 songs, with a vast majority of them still remaining either unpublished or lost.[3]

Emilios Riadis (the pen name of Emilios Khu) was born in Thessaloniki, at that time still Ottoman and vastly cosmopolitan, in 1880 as the son of the Austrian pharmacist Heinrich Khu and Anastasia Grigoriadou-Nini.[4] He started learning music in his home town with Dimitrios Lalas (1848–1911) and continued his studies at the Königliches Conservatorium für Musik (currently the Hochschule für Musik und Theater München / Music Academy of Munich) as a student of Felix Mottl (1856–1911). In 1910 he moved to Paris, where he lived, worked, and continued his studies with Maurice Ravel (1875–1937), among others. He was acquainted with French music circles and was truly influenced by the cosmopolitan musical flavours of Paris. He returned to Thessaloniki in 1915, where he was appointed a piano professor at the Κρατικό Ωδείο Θεσσαλονίκης (State Conservatoire of Thessaloniki), of which he became vice-director in 1918. He remained in this position till his death in 1935 after a series of strokes. Riadis was also a noteworthy poet who published his poems under the pseudonym Emilios H. Eleftheriadis.[5] His poetic talent went along with his musical capabilities, and he frequently used his own poems when he was composing songs. A part of the admiration for the composer's output may well derive also from the admiration for his poetic work, which was highly acclaimed during his lifetime.

1 There are many references to this Greek national school. One source in English is Jim Samson, *Music in the Balkans* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 302–325.

2 Manolis Kalomiris, "Ο Αιμίλιος Ριάδης και η Ελληνική μελωδία" (Emlios Riadis and Greek melody), in *Nea Hestia* 41 (1947): 594–596.

3 George Leotsakos, "Riadis [Eleftheriadis; Khu], Emilios", in *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root (2001), https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023340.

4 Kaiti Romanou, Έντεχνη ελληνική μουσική στους νεώτερους χρόνους (Greek Art Music in Recent Years) (Athens: Koultoura Editions, 2006), 189–191.

5 According to various sources, his first poetic compilation was published in Thessaloniki under the title *Σκιαί και Όνειρα* (Shadows and Dreams) in 1907; but copies are difficult to find.

As mentioned above, a part of his artistic character was the continuous revisiting and reshaping of his previous works, an occupation that took a heavy toll on his work and its rhythm of completion. He was yet another composer who became notorious for his perfectionism, for continually going back over his works, recomposing certain passages and changing small details or even larger chunks of music. This meant that the material in each piece accumulated several different versions, even layers, even for published scores. Therefore, his archive contains a plethora of reworked and unfinalized scores and, as happens in cases like these, many abandoned works.

His national sentiment was emphasized and presented through pieces such as *Μακεδονικές Σκιές* (Macedonian Shadows), *5 Μακεδονικά Τραγούδια* (5 Macedonian Songs), *9 Μικρά Ρωμέικα Τραγούδια* (9 Little Romeika Songs), and *Ελληνικά Τραγούδια* (Greek songs), but also through his harmonizations of sacred works for mixed choir or for children's and men's choir. Thessaloniki, his birthplace, played an extremely important role in his compositional output; on several occasions his home town was the focus of his musical world; he treated the city both as a landmark and as an icon.[6]

A large part of Riadis's music and archival material has been gathered by the wife of his brother, Eliza Riadis, who in 1978 decided to entrust it for preservation and further development to Ismini Tzermia-Sakellaropoulou,[7] who in 2000 wisely decided to donate the part of Riadis' archive in her possession to the Μουσική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος "Λίλιαν Βουδούρη" του Συλλόγου Οι Φίλοι της Μουσικής (Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri' of the Friends of Music Society). Another part of the archive came through Belgium and was entrusted to Aliki Goulara, the wife of the notary attorney of the Riadis family. According to Maria Dimitriadou-Karagiannidou, the latter part of the archival material in the possession of Aliki Goulara was donated in 1988 to the library of the Κρατικό Ωδείο Θεσσαλονίκης (State Conservatoire of Thessaloniki) and has been kept there ever since. A few years ago, the part of his archival papers donated to the Μουσική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος "Λίλιαν Βουδούρη" (Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri") it was digitized to be made freely available on the web, in an effort to make his music accessible both to musicologists and performers. This material has been made available through the Digital Collections section of the Μουσική Βιβλιοθήκη "Λίλιαν Βουδούρη» του Συλλόγου Οι Φίλοι της Μουσικής" (Music Library "Lilian Voudouri" of the Friends of Music Society). Thanks to a fortunate decision, the

6 Alexandros Charkiolakis, "Emilios Riadis' *Jasmins and Minarets*: The landscape of a multicultural city", paper presented at the 14th International RIdIM Conference on Music Iconography – Visual Intersections: negotiating East and West, Istanbul, Turkey, 5–7 June 2013.

7 Ismini Tzermia-Sakellaropoulou, "Ό, τι θυμάμαι από τη μαθητεία μου κοντά στον Αιμίλιο Ριάδη" (What I remember from my apprenticeship with Emilios Riadis), in *Thessaloniki* 4 (1994): 361–369.

two major parts of the Riadis archival material were brought together on this platform, after the inclusion of the material that is still held at the Music Library of the *Κρατικό Ωδείο Θεσσαλονίκης* (State Conservatoire of Thessaloniki).[8]

Galateia is one of three operas that Riadis started working on but never managed to finish. The others are *La route verte* and *Un chant sur la rivière*. The archival material for *Galateia* occupies 291 double-sided pages of manuscript paper and pages of libretto attempts. The text exists in three autograph versions with many corrections one upon the other. On page 27 of the libretto manuscript one reads that both the text and the music were written by the composer and that the libretto is based on a text by a P. Ch. Jablonski.[9] A similar title and information appear also on page 59, on the last and less evasive version of the libretto in a clearer handwriting.[10] The third version of the libretto seems to be the most processed of all, with significantly fewer corrections. Unfortunately, it has been impossible to find more information about P. Ch. Jablonski, the author of the poetic book that Riadis mentions as his departure point for the libretto.

The main idea of the opera is inspired by the myth of Galatea and Pygmalion of Cyprus. The original myth refers to King Pygmalion of Cyprus, who falls in love with a sculpture that he saw.[11] Nevertheless, the operatic text refers initially to Ovid's version in *Metamorphoses*, in which Pygmalion is a sculptor who crafts a statue with which he falls in love.[12] Eventually, in answer to Pygmalion's prayers, the goddess Venus brings the statue to life and unites the couple in marriage. The outcome of this wedding is a child named Paphus, the name of one of the main cities in Cyprus. This is the point where the story ends in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. However, other writers in later years decide to retell the story with many alternative extensions and various endings. In one that is widely spread, and which Riadis uses for his libretto needs, Galatea falls in love with Rennos, the brother of Pygmalion. Rennos, although deeply enchanted with Galatea, resists his feelings and actually punishes Galatea with death. At the end of the story Pygmalion is seen devastated, holding the hand of the dead Galatea. Since Riadis never realized a final version of this work, we are not sure what other kinds of alterations of the story may exist. In any case, the basic outline is the one mentioned.

8 The Emilios Riadis Digitized Archive, https://digital.mmb.org.gr/digma/handle/123456789/15354

9 Eimilios Riadis, Manuscript of the libretto of the opera *Galateia*, 29, https://digital.mmb.org.gr/digma/bitstream/123456789/33833/1/document0a.pdf, 53.

10 Ibid., 117.

11 Emmi Patsi-Garin, *Επίτομο λεξικό Ελληνικής Μυθολογίας* (Companion to Greek Mythology) (Athens: Chari Patsi Publications, 1969), 656.

12 For the Ovidian text see: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=urn:cts:latinLit:phi0959.phi006.perseus-eng2:10.243-10.297.

The myth of Pygmalion and Galatea appears for the first time in Philostephanus' history of Cyprus. Then it was retold in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and since then has never seemed to be out of fashion. The basic Pygmalion story has been widely transmitted and represented in the arts through the centuries. There are several musical elaborations of references to the myth, among them Jean-Philippe Rameau's 1748 opera *Pigmalion*, Franz von Suppe's operetta *Die Schone Galathee*, and Gaetano Donizetti's first opera *Il Pigmalione*.

The myth of Galatea and Pygmalion was very much present in France, especially during the eighteenth century, as J. L. Carr argued in an article published in 1960 in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* entitled "Pygmalion and the Philosophes: The animated statue in 18th century France."[13] The author discusses the impact of the myth on French art of all kinds at that time and also since then. Riadis was very much a part of French contemporary culture, especially during the years 1910 to 1915 when he lived in Paris. He began working on *Galateia* in June 1912, as is indicated on the first page of the score. We would expect an intellectual like Riadis to have a broad understanding of cultural perspectives, so the choice of a topic such as the myth of Pygmalion and Galateia would not seem inconceivable as a topic of interest to the composer. Incidentally, the same myth gained some fame in Riadis' contemporary scene of Greek literary production. For instance, Spyridon Vasiliadis (1845–74) wrote a drama called *Galateia* in 1870 and published it in 1873,[14] one that breaks with the Ovidian tradition and places Rennos, Pygmalion's brother, in an equal position within the action of the myth. There is no evidence that Riadis knew about Vasiliadis' drama, although the two works seem to follow parallel routes in terms of storytelling. Another issue that could not be resolved, one that might have given us some indication about the inspiration behind this unfinished opera, is the fact that there also seems to be no connection between Vasiliadis and Jablonski.

Going back to the archival material and moving on to the musical text that is available we come across several interesting things. The prelude and first act exist in a spartito form with some indications of orchestration here and there and quite a few corrections. It is obvious that this is a work in progress that needs to be finalized and then orchestrated, something that never happened for act one, at least in the papers that we have available. One of the interesting indications though comes in the end of this batch, where Riadis makes the following note: "Emilios Eleftheriadis, Macedonian, September 1912, Paris, with the hope of making something

13 Joseph L. Carr, "Pygmalion and the Philosophes: The Animated Statue in 18th-Century France", in *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23/3–4 (1960): 239–255.

14 Spyridon Vasiliadis, Γαλάτεια, vol. 8: *Theatrical Library* (Constantinople: Typografeio I. Pallamari, 1882).

better and more Greek very soon."[15] This is written at the end of act one and is the only thing written in Greek throughout the whole score. Riadis comprehends his work as something that is not a part of his Greek identity, or at least not as much as he would like it to be. Judging by the available manuscripts and the orchestrated part of the work, Riadis musically moves within contemporary European trends: a well-crafted aria at one place, a duet and an elaborated orchestration somewhere else. Throughout the available pages one cannot spot an appeal to his Greek soul in terms of the musical material, since there is a profound lack of exotic scales or augmented seconds or even the tune of a folk or folk-like melodic pattern. Instead, Riadis refers mostly to his well-established European (or even French) soul in order to draw inspiration. Is this the reason why he never finished working on this opera? Was he feeling guilty for not being consistently Greek? Did he place this work in a wider group of works that are not within the national realm in which he fervently believes? Such (mainly rhetorical) questions arise when the researcher comes across the musical text of the composer. Obviously, one cannot exclude the usual Riadis practice, the tendency to leave incomplete works behind in order to work on something different, or to continue revising previous work and never being satisfied with the outcome. Probably we will never know, since the composer did justify such decisions in other texts, letters, or diaries. Unfortunately, we can only guess. However, it remains very interesting to see how he perceives this project. The indication "Macedonian" added next to his name seems to function as an indicator that over-stresses his origins. It seems like an effort to establish an even stronger identity with reference to a specific *topos* (Macedonia) apart from the obvious referral to the nation.

The archival material that the researcher has available draws a comprehensive compositional timeline. The available manuscripts are organized in four different folders,[16] each of which includes several pages of both libretto and compositional attempts. The first folder contains the libretto, with three manuscripts in total. One is a libretto that includes two acts, whilst the other two contain manuscripts that refer to a libretto with three acts. The last attempt at the text seems the most complete of all, and one can presume that this was the finalized libretto text. The assumption that the work was meant to have three acts can be drawn from this. The second folder contains Riadis' attempts to complete the spartito draft of the Prelude and first act of the opera, an attempt that seems to bear fruit since we are left with a manuscript that is at least legible. The third batch of archival content

15 Emilios Riadis, Manuscript of the first act of the opera *Galateia*, 144, https://digital.mmb.org.gr/digma/bitstream/123456789/33833/2/document0b.pdf, 99.

16 Emilios Riadis, available material for *Galateia* appears here: https://digital.mmb.org.gr/digma/handle/123456789/33833.

refers mainly to the spartito of the second act, containing also just a few draft ideas for the third act. This is again in Riadis' sloppy handwriting style, with more things missing in the process but at least giving a fair shape to where the work was heading during this second act. The fourth and final folder contains a full orchestration of the second act and some opening lines of the third act Prelude that was encountered also in a spartito form in the previous batch of pages.

According to a note that appears on page 205, the last page of the second act, it was concluded on the 21st of November 1912.[17] This means that it took Riadis about three months to complete the second act in a spartito form, and six months in total since the project started materializing. These calendar indicators that we come across throughout the manuscript at hand seem extremely systematic and suggest a work that is progressing at a rather good compositional pace. In the first pages of the manuscript Riadis writes that he began composing *Galateia* in June 1912, finished the draft of the first act in September of the same year, and concluded the draft of the second act on 21 November, again in the same year. Furthermore, on the first page of this part of the archival material, a note that seems to have been added at a later stage announces that "I commenced the instrumentation of the 2nd act on Wednesday [2nd of January] 1913."[18] This note goes hand in hand with the last batch of the archival material, where we see for the first time that a whole act including both scenes is orchestrated in an efficient and comprehensive way. The composer presents a full orchestration, and from a quick comparison of the orchestration with the spartito, it appears that he has been rather punctual by not omitting or deviating from the compositional ideas that were included in the spartito. The orchestra is a large romantic ensemble according to the trends of the era. Furthermore, Riadis goes so far as to include an orchestrated glimpse of the third and final act according to the finalized libretto text of the work.[19] Although this is a part that we have not seen in spartito form, it seems that Riadis was going full steam in the creative process towards the completion of act three directly into a full score form instead of his usual tactic of orchestrating from the autograph spartito. Nevertheless, this seems to have been only a gleam in his compositional trends and outputs. The third act was never completed, not even in a spartito form. If this were available, one would have been able to reorganize the material that has been preserved and at least have a complete work in a spartito form. Unfortunately, this was not the case.

17 Emilios Riadis, Manuscript of the second act in spartito form of the opera *Galateia*, p. 205, https://digital.mmb.org.gr/digma/bitstream/123456789/33833/3/document0c.pdf (p. 108 of the pdf file).

18 Ibid., p. 148 (p. 5 of the pdf file).

19 Emilios Riadis, Manuscript of the second act in orchestrated form of the opera *Galateia*, p. 154, https://digital.mmb.org.gr/digma/bitstream/123456789/33833/4/document0d.pdf, 158.

Another awkward decision in the compositional process of *Galateia* is that, for unknown reasons, Riadis decided to start orchestrating from act two onwards. Therefore, the first act remains unprepared in that sense. No one can guess why the composer went down this road when he started working on the orchestration; but this practice reveals a behavioural characteristic of the composer.

The last handwritten page of the archival material[20] contains various notes that have to do with those magical inspirational moments when a composer just needs a piece of paper to mark down an idea. This blank page is evidently being treated as a scrapbook for all those flashing moments and thematic material that could have been potentially used either as ideas for act three or as orchestration decisions for act one. Moreover, these creativity glimpses might have been used later as material for the inevitably recurring revisions. Fervent creativity is largely visible and traceable if one actually sees the manuscript, which reveals how Riadis used it in order to write both upside and downside.

Not much can be said about the music itself, apart from remarks that one can make from looking at the scribbled and smudged manuscripts, especially the orchestrated second act. There, one can see that Riadis had the capacity to complete and deliver fine tunes and melodic structures that made a great deal of sense. The voice treatment is careful and accurate, developing a musical language that is at the same pace with his contemporaries in Europe, and orchestration practices that reveal a composer with imagination and craftsmanship. Since there has never been a reconstruction or even a recording of any part of the work, one can only examine the digitized manuscripts that exist and make one's own decision about the compositional quality of Riadis' music. In any case, his operatic efforts never came to fruition, along with quite a few of his attempts to compose complete works.

His identity was always a strong, integral part of his creative self. His straightforward *Hellenicity*, if one can excuse the bombastic term, was something that needed constant reassurance. *Galateia* derives from the mythological world of ancient Greece, but in the eyes of Riadis it is not "Greek" enough. This seems to be the meaning of the note that he adds at the end of act one, when he is apologizing and hoping to make something more "Greek" in the future. It seems that for him, "Greek" is what it contains the *apoechos*, the subconscious sound of his homeland. Therefore, *Galateia* is not "Greek enough"; but if one wanted to add a profane note, one could say that *Galateia* might have been considered "European enough" or "French enough." Although there might have been hundreds of reasons why Riadis would not complete a piece, one could argue in the most arbitrary way that *Galateia* was never completed because it was not "Greek enough," and that

20 Ibid., n.n., 170.

this would have been an important reason for the composer to abandon it in due course, even if he was apparently drawn into fervent and punctual (by his own measures and terms) composition of the work. We will never know, of course, where this would have taken us. The only certain conclusion would have been that Greek (and European in that sense) musical output would have benefited if we had available more – complete – works by a composer with the talent of Emilios Riadis.

THE DYNAMICS OF GERMAN TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS BY CONTEMPORARY AUTHORS FROM TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA

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Abstract. *The subject of this paper is the book market in the four German speaking countries (FRG, Occ. Germany, Switzerland and Austria) during the period of Tito's Yugoslavia (1945–1980) based on the bibliography Serbo-Croatian writers in German translation (1776–1993) by Reinhard Lauer (1995). In chronological order the titles of books by contemporary writers translated from Serbo-Croatian into German are listed whereby the focus is directed to publishers. The label "Serbo-Croatian" as the name of the language spoken and written by several ethnic communities in former Yugoslavia as the source language from which the books were translated into the target language German has become a contested label ever since. The national affiliation of the respective author of a book overruled the aspect of adherence to a common language. The disentanglement of this literary cosmos has been at stake ever since the collapse of Yugoslavia; the label "Serbo-Croatian writer" has become obsolete.*

Keywords*:* Serbo-Croatian writers in German translation 1945–1980; book market in the four German speaking countries (FRG, Occ. Germany, Switzerland and Austria); list of titles; focus on publishers.

INTRODUCTION

Literary texts in translation are most visible as books published in the countries where the target language is spoken. This was the case in four countries during the Tito era: publishing houses in the German Democratic Republic (DDR), the Federal Republic of Germany (BRD), Switzerland (CH), and Austria (A) would include translations whose source language was then called Serbo-Croatian.

In order to assess the scope, nature, and dynamics of literary transfer from Yugoslavia to the German-speaking countries up until 1980 I suggest focusing on publishers. This will allow us to gain an impression of what was published in the four countries concerned and which publishers were involved in this business. A list of the books published in chronological order will show us the products. We will focus not on translators[1] or plots but on the book market.

1 Names of meritorious translators and editors are only partially included.

THE LAUER-BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SERBO-CROATIAN WRITERS IN TRANSLATION

My contribution consists of an evaluation of the period of Tito-Yugoslavia as represented in the two-volume work edited by Reinhard Lauer, *Serbo-Croatian Writers in German Translation: Biographical Material (1776–1993)*; Part I: *Chronological Catalogue*; part II: *Indexes*.[2]

Apart from books, literary translations can be published in literary magazines, journals, periodicals, or even newspapers. Last but not least, anthologies comprising literary texts with a certain thematic focus are sometimes targeted towards internationalism, and thus also provide a space where translations from our source language Serbo-Croatian can be found. The bibliography in question located translations in all these media.

First of all, I will explain how the material is organized by Lauer: The title *Serbo-Croatian Writers* indicates that Slovenian, Albanian, and Macedonian writers are not included.

This painstakingly compiled bibliography consists of several indexes:

1) An index of authors with index of works;
2) An index of the German titles;
3) An index of original titles;
4) An index of translators' names;
5) An index of the newspapers and journals in which translations of Serbo-Croatian authors were published;
6) An index of publishing houses and printers;
7) An index of bibliographical sources; and finally
8) An index of locations of books in libraries.

Furthermore, it should be noted that we are given not only the translated and original titles of the translated books and works, and the names of translators and editors, but also in the case of anthologies with the titles of the works collected in the respective monographs, journals, magazines or newspapers. Following this method the part covering the period 1945–1980 comprises 380 pages in the bibliography. In an introductory analysis Reinhard Lauer provides an evaluation of the reception of translations of Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian writers in the German-speaking countries for the long period 1776–1993.

2 Reinhard Lauer, *Serbokroatische Autoren in deutscher Übersetzung: Bibliographische Materialien (1776–1993)*, vol. 1: *Chronologischer Katalog* (1069 pages); vol. 2: *Register* (366 pages) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995 = Opera Slavica, NF 27).

METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

In order to extrapolate the dynamics of literary transfer using the data collected in the bibliography in question, a few methodological remarks are in order.

1) Books by earlier authors that were reissued during the Tito era are not taken into consideration.[3]
2) Scholarly editions are not included in the following list.[4]
3) Children's books in translation are not included in the following list (with one exception).
4) Typewritten translations of theatre plays (*Bühnenmanuskripte*) quoted by Lauer are not considered.
5) Since the book markets in the German-speaking countries were divided, with West Germany, Switzerland, and Austria on the one hand and the GDR on the other, this division will be taken into consideration.
6) The years of publication of the original titles and the dates of birth and death of the authors are not given in the bibliography, but were collected and added in this paper.
7) The bibliography proceeds chronologically and does not dwell on ethnic identities. As targeted towards the field of literary history, all we can expect and get is a survey of translations of single literary works of authors written in Serbo-Croatian, and we are told where and how frequently they were published. Today it is outdated to label these writers simply as Serbo-Croatian, and the ethnic affiliations of the authors in question have been supplied where possible.
8) The following list of published translations of literature year by year is presented *grosso modo* in chronological order. However, in order to show the success of a writer on the German book market, the translated titles will be listed under the year when his first book came out in translation. Small script will be used for references to later editions of single books or other works in translation by the respective author. That is why the years in the list are given in parentheses. In order to give an idea of the ranking of translated writers and books, the most successful ones will adhere to a chronological order.

3 For the titles of these books see Lauer, 579, 583, 586, 590, 593, 594, 600, 611, 613, 618, 620, 632, 683, 716, 891, 896.

4 For the titles of these editions see Lauer, 590, 600, 614, 666, 823, 846, 856, 874.

FINAL REMARKS

There existed a Yugoslav citizenship and also a Yugoslav identity. But what about a Yugoslav literature? Why is it so difficult to answer this question?

The various historical regions finally merging into a common state together with Serbia following the collapse of the two empires, namely Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire after World War I, with terrible losses as a legacy of this *Gehenna*, found a common identity only slowly when the unification could be negotiated on the political level. The consensus reached on a common language called Serbo-Croatian or Croatian-Serbian was probably barely acceptable if applied to a common literature. Probably it should be regarded as a "new frontier" when during the interwar period Gerhard Gesemann,[5] a professor of Slavic Studies, literary studies, and ethnology at the German University in Prague, called his handbook on the subject: *Die serbo-kroatische Literatur* (1930).[6]

The fact that in 1977 the German title given to the translation of a history of literature written by the distinguished Croatian literary historian Antun Barac (1894–1955) was *Die Geschichte der jugoslawischen Literaturen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (History of Yugoslav Literatures from the Beginning to the Present), thereby differing from the original programmatic title which was *Jugoslavenska književnost*[7] (Yugoslav Literature), may be regarded as a symptom that the politics of unification were doomed to fail. The concept of a supranational literature, regarded as a progressive project in 1954 when the book came out, was abandoned and rejected, a development which went along with the failure of the system of worker's councils developed in Tito's Yugoslavia which was expected to implement a new model of economic participation and ownership of public capital as a "third way" between the Soviet communist and capitalistic economic systems.[8]

5 Gesemann spent World War I in Belgrade teaching German language and civilization at a high school. After the war he joined the Serbian army as an orderly on their retreat through Albania. In 1935 he wrote a book about this experience entitled *Die Flucht: Aus einem serbischen Tagebuch 1915 und 1916* (Munich: Verlag Albert Langen and Georg Müller, 1935). Klaas-Hinrich Ehlers; "Gerhard Gesemann (1888–1948) Slawist", in *Prager Professoren 1938–1948. Zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik*, eds. Monika Glettler and Alena Miškova (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2001), 351–377.

6 Gerhard Gesemann, *Die serbo-kroatische Literatur* (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion m.b.H., 1930 = Reihe Literaturen der slavischen Völker Wildpark).

7 Antun Barac, *Jugoslavenska književnost* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1954).

8 See Goran Musić, "Yugoslavia: Worker's Self-Management as State Paradigm", in *Ours to Master and to Own: Workers' Control From the Commune to the Present*, eds. Immanuel Ness and Dario Azzellini (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2009), 172–191; for a German translation of the paper by Monika Mokre, see Goran Musić, "Jugoslawien: Arbeiterselbstverwaltung als staatliches Prinzip", in *Die endlich entdeckte politische Form. Fabrikrate und Selbstverwaltung von der Russischen Revolution bis heute*, eds. Dario Azellini and Immanuel Ness (Cologne etc.: ISP, 2012), 216–238.

Seen from outside, the publishers and translators applied the label 'Yugoslav' to contemporary writers and the literature produced in a country by the name of Yugoslavia. From this perspective there existed a 'Yugoslav' literature. The disentanglement of this literary cosmos has been at stake ever since the collapse of the country and the political decision to suspend negotiations concerning a common language and the loss of a unifying culture in the spirit of socialist ideals and modernization.[9]

9 Per Jakobson, "Who's Whose? The Balkan Literary Context", in *Studi Slavistici* 5 (2008): 267–279; Svjetlan Lacko Vidulić, "Jugoslawische Literatur: Kurzer Abriss zur langen Geschichte eines produktiven Phantoms", in *Traumata der Transition: Erfahrung und Reflexion des jugoslawischen Zerfalls*, eds. Boris Previšić and Svjetlan Lacko Vidulić (Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 2015), 161–182.

APPENDIX: TRANSLATED BOOKS BY CONTEMPORARY WRITERS, 1946–1980

1946

[A / Occ. Germany / CH]: The newly-founded Drei Eulen-Verlag in Düsseldorf publishes *Kaja, die Kleinmagd* (*Kajin put*, 1934), a familiar and successful Serbian novel from the interwar period by Milka Žicina (1902–1984), with social-realistic subject matter. A second edition of a collection of short stories by the Croatian writer Danko Angjelinović (1891–1963) is brought out by Alster Verlag Curt Brauns in Wedel.

1947

[A / Occ. Germany / CH]: The obscure Austrian publisher Zeitschriften- und Bücherverlag Heute (in Dornbirn) releases a three-volume anthology entitled *Das Land der Serben erzählt*. The Graz publishing house Kristall adds to its list a collection of stories, *Die Mutter aus Drvar* (*Majka Drvarčanka*, 1945), by the Serbian writer Branko Ćopić (1915–1984), with a second edition following in 1957.[10] In 1960 Volk und Welt will publish a collection of stories, *Die ungewöhnlichen Abenteuer des Nikola Bursac* (*Doživljai Nikoline Bursaca*, 1957), which go through a number of editions (e.g., 1971); it is also published in Vienna in 1961. In 1964 the Aufbau-Verlag will publish a translation of Ćopić's novel *Prolom* (1952) entitled *Freunde, Fremde und Verräter*. In 1968 Aufbau-Verlag will issue his novel *Sei nicht traurig, eherner Wachtposten* (*Ne tuguj bronzana stražo,* 1958), with a second edition in 1970.

1948

[A / Occ. Germany / CH]: The only book translated from Serbo-Croatian this year is a collection of poems by the Serbian modernist Jovan Dučić (1871–1943): *Die blauen Legenden* (*Plave legende*, 1930), published by the Viennese publisher Siebenberg.

10 For the fate of the publisher as a victim, see Josef Martin Presterl, "Ein Grazer Spanienkämpfer, Schriftsteller und Verleger als Oper Titoistischer Säuberungen", in *Clio*, 10 April 2008, http://www.kpoe-steiermark.at/josef-martin-presterl.phtml; accessed 3 September 2019.

1949

[A / FRG / CH]: In the year of the Croatian writer Vladimir Nazor's death (1876–1949) the Verlag Paul Zsolnay in Vienna publishes his principal work, the novel *Der Hirte Loda: Abenteuer eines Fauns auf der Insel Brač* (*Pastir Loda*, 1938).

1950

[SFRY]: Two political analyses by Milovan Djilas (1911–1995) appear from the Belgrade publisher Jugoslovenska knjiga in German translation: *Lenin über die Beziehungen zwischen sozialistischen Staaten* (*Lenjin o odnosima među socijalističkim državama*), and *Auf neuen Wegen des Sozialismus*, an address to Belgrade students.[11] Milovan Djilas was one of four senior members of Tito's government until his expulsion from the Yugoslav Communist Party in 1954 and eventual imprisonment on political charges, with exile to follow.

1951

[A / FRG / CH]: The Verlag Leykam in Graz releases a translated book *Die Hochzeit des Imbra Futač* (*Ženitba Imbre Futača*, 1951) by the Croatian writer Slavko Kolar (1891–1963). In 1964 the book will be reprinted by the Buchgemeinde Alpenland in Klagenfurt. Suhrkamp puts on its list of newcomers in 1966 *Narrenhaus* (*Luda kuća*, 1958) by the same author.

1952

[GDR]: The only independent work this year is released by Verlag Adam und Sohn in Dresden, namely the libretto *Ero, der Schelm: Ein Schelm ist vom Himmel gefallen* (*Ero s onoga svijeta*, 1936) after a folktale retold by the distinguished Croatian playwright Milovan Begović (1876–1948) and set to music by Jakov Gotovac.[12] This was accomplished under license from Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, who had published the book in 1938. In 1955 Universal-Edition, Vienna, republished this work. The piece will be performed a number of times.

11 See Lauer, 561.

12 Ibid., 568.

1953

[A / FRG / CH]: The Büchergilde Gutenberg in Zürich is the first to publish a translation of the best-known literary work by a Yugoslav writer, *Die Brücke über die Drina: Eine Wischegrader Chronik* (*Na Drini ćuprija: Višegradska hronika*, 1945), by Ivo Andrić (1892–1975) *The Bridge on the Drina* is highly successful and is published in the following years by Europa-Verlag in Stuttgart, by Aufbau-Verlag in Berlin-East, by the Frankfurt Suhrkamp-Verlag, in Munich by C. Hanser-Verlag (five printings), by the Büchergilde Gutenberg in Frankfurt am Main, the Berlin Buchklub, the Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft (Berlin-Darmstadt-Vienna), and the Geneva Editio-Service. The Ullstein Verlag in Berlin issues a translation of a Tito biography by the Serbian politician and historian Vladimir Dedijer (1914–1990): *Tito* (*Josip Broz Tito*, 1952), based on an English translation.[13] Another book by Dedijer is released by Europa-Verlag in 1970: *Stalins verlorene Schlacht: Erinnerungen 1948 bis 1953* (*Izgubljena bitka Josifa Visarionoviča Staljina*, 1969).
[SFRY]: The Belgrade publishing house Jugoslavija brings out a timely work by Đilas on the death of Stalin: *Der Anfang vom Ende und vom Anfang, oder: Zu den Ereignissen in der Sphäre der Sowjets nach Stalins Tod* (*Početak kraja i početka, ili o događajima u 'sovjetskoj' sferi poslije Staljinove smrti*, 1953).

1954

[A / FRG / CH]: *The Bridge on the Drina* is released by Europa-Verlag Stuttgart.

1955

[A / FRG / CH]: Kohlhammer-Verlag, Stuttgart, releases *Jugoslawien, kleines Land zwischen den Welten* by the Serbian art historian Oto Bihalji-Merin (1904–1993), which will be reprinted ten years later.

1956

[A / FRG / CH]: Verlag Der Karlsruher Bote publishes a thin volume of poems, *Der erleuchtete Weg* (*Osvijetleni put*, 1953), containing translations of poems by the important Croatian poet Dobriša Cesarić (1902–1980).

13 Ibid., 574.

1957

[A / FRG / CH]: Suhrkamp publishes a novella by Andrić, *Der verdammte Hof* (*Prokleta avlija*, 1954): by 1966 the book went through five editions. Aufbau, Berlin-Weimar, releases this book in 1975. A political analysis is released this year by Kindler in Munich and will go through three editions (1958, 1963) and become famous: *Die neue Klasse: Eine Analyse des kommunistischen Systems* (*Nova klasa i anatomija jednog morala*, 1957), by Milovan Djilas. This year the Hamburg Agentur des Rauhen Hauses begins publishing short stories by older authors in the series 'Die stille Stunde,' which includes *Die Brücke über die Žepa* (*Most na Žepi*, 1925) by Ivo Andrić.
[GDR]: Volk und Welt, Berlin, issues a translation of the first novel by the Serbian novelist Dobrica Čosić (*1921): *Die Sonne ist fern* (*Daleko je sunce*, 1951). In 1958 another work by this writer will be resleased by the same publisher: *Der Herd wird verlöschen* (Koreni, 1954). Aufbau-Verlag publishes the Montenegrin author Ćamil Sijarić (1913–1989): *Die Frauen des Hadschi* (*Bihorci*, 1955). Another title by this author is brought out in 1966: *Im Schatten des Urahnenbaums* (*Kuću kućom čine lastavice*, 1962). *The Bridge on the Drina* is added to the list of Aufbau-Verlag as well.

1958

[A / FRG / CH]: Kiepenheuer & Witsch (Köln, Berlin) brings out another work by Djilas: *Land ohne Recht* (*Zemlja bez prave*, 1958).
[GDR]: Aufbau-Verlag publishes another significant work by Andrić, *Das Fräulein* (*Gospođica*, 1945). There will be eleven editions of this novel by 1983. The same publisher issues partisan songs edited and translated by Ina Jun-Broda: *Du schwarze Erde: Lieder jugoslawischer Partisanen* (*Zemljo crna: Pjesme jugoslavenskih partizana*). With Oskar Davičko (1909–1989), a Jewish Serbian surrealist writer, and his novel *Die Libelle* (*Pesma*, 1952) the Aufbau-Verlag adds another Yugoslav writer to its list. In 1965 Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, publishes *Gedichte*; and the Verlag Neues Leben in Berlin will also take up this author in 1976, placing him in the series 'Poesiealbum.' Rütten und Loening, in Berlin-East, releases a well-known work by the Bosnian author Humo Hamza (1895–1970): *Trunkener Sommer* (*Grozdanin kikot*, 1927). It is also released by Suhrkamp in 1961 and in 1962 and republished in 1966 by Aufbau-Verlag, which at that time was merged with the publishing house Rütten und Loening.

1959

[A / FRG / CH]: Hohwacht-Verlag, Bad Godesberg, publishes a book on the assassination of King Alexander I, the ruler of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in Marseille on 9 October 1934: *Der Königsmord von Marseille: Das Verbrechen und die Hintergründe*. The author is an ambivalent figure, the spy and eyewitness Vladeta Milićević (1898–1969/70).
[SFRY]: In Zagreb the Lykos-Verlag issues an anthology of new Croatian and Serbian poetry: *Ewiges Flimmern*.

1960

[A / FRG / CH]: Verlag Steingrüben, Stuttgart, publishes a collection of novellas by Andrić, which is reprinted twice (1961, 1962): *Die Geliebte des Veli Pascha* (*Mara milosnica*, 1926). Under the same title, Ex Libris in Zurich will bring out a collection of eleven novellas. The first novel of the Montenegrin author Miodrag Bulatović (1930–1991) enters the German book market via C. Hanser: *Der rote Hahn fliegt himmelwärts* (*Crveno peteo leti prema nebu*, 1959).[14] This book will be republished in 1978 by Heyne in Munich. Kümmerley und Frey in Bern issued a collection of prose under the title: *Jugoslawien: Teppich Europas* (Yugoslavia: Carpet of Europe).
[GDR]: The Dietz-Verlag in Berlin releases *Tal der Kindheit* (*Dolina djetinstva*, 1955, 1956), the only book by the Croatian writer Josip Barković (1918–2011) translated into German during the period in question.

1961

[A / FRG / CH]: Ivo Andrić receives the Nobel Prize for Literature. As a result of this event the publishing houses reintroduce previously translated novels by Andrić to the market. C. Hanser in Munich comes out with *Wesire und Konsuln* (*Travničkа hronika*, 1945). The book is released this year and in subsequent years in three editions by C. Hanser-Verlag, in three editions by Aufbau-Verlag, in two editions by dtv, and also by the Deutscher Bücherbund Stuttgart, the Büchergilde Gutenberg, and the Zurich Coron-Verlag. [15]A new Djilas is available in German at Verlag Roven (Olten, Munich): *Anatomie einer Moral: Eine Analyse in Streitschriften* (*Anatomija jednog morala*, 1959). This year Suhrkamp publishes a book by the emi-

14 Bulatović would become one of the most frequently translated Yugoslavian authors. His reputation appears to have been damaged in later life due to his involvement in various nationalistic controversies.

15 Before the German translation the novel had already been published in Russian and Czech.

nent Croatian writer Miroslav Krleža (1893–1981): *Die Rückkehr des Filip Latinovicz* (*Povratak Filipa Latinovicza*, 1932). This work will subsequently be published by Berlin Volk & Welt, the Büchergilde Gutenberg, Verlag Langewiesche, Fischer-Taschenbuchverlag, Aufbau-Verlag, and in the Berlin Buchklub. And there is another significant poet published in German this year: Vasko Popa (1922–1991), whose poems (*Gedichte*) appear in a volume by Langewiesche-Brandt (Ebenhausen bei München). Popa, born in the Province of Vojvodina with a Romanian background, will become one of the most frequently translated Serbo-Croatian poets of the time. The Verlag Steingrüben in Stuttgart publishes a collection of stories entitled *Hände* (*Ruke*, 1953) by the Croatian author Ranko Marinković (1913–2001); this work is subsequently republished by the Residenz-Verlag in Salzburg in 1989 and again in 2008 in a new translation by the Austrian Wieser-Verlag, Klagenfurt. In 1973 Volk und Welt in Berlin-East publishes *Karneval* (*Karneval*, 1964), a collection of stories by the same author. The relatively unknown publisher Hyperion, in Freiburg im Breisgau, introduces a new Serbian author, Grozdana Olujić (*1934), with *Ein Ausflug in den Himmel* (*Izlet u nebo*, 1957). Hoffmann und Campe in Hamburg decide to launch this writer in 1966 with *Liebe ist wie ein frischer Apfel* (*Glasam za ljubav*, 1962)*;* in 1969 the book is published by Rowohlt as a rororo-Taschenbuch. The Eremiten-Presse, Stierstadt im Taunes, issues a volume of young Yugoslav poetry: *Junge jugoslawische Lyrik*.

[GDR]: The Aufbau-Verlag publishes *Travnička hronika*, the Nobel prize-winning novel by Andrić, under a title different from that used by Western publishers: *Audienz beim Wesir.* Also in stock is Andrić's *Die Männer von Veletovo* (*Veletovci i priča o kmetu Simanu*, 1955) (2nd ed. 1968.)

[SFRY]: A booklet called *Ohrid* by Miodrag Pavlović (*1928) and Cvetan Grozdanov (*1936) is brought out in German translation by Publističko-izdavački zavod Jugoslavija in Belgrade .

1962

[A / FRG / CH]: The German-language book market is "flooded" with sixteen new or reprinted titles by Ivo Andrić. Ten editions of *Na Drini ćuprija* are available simultaneously. – C. Hanser, for example, offers a complete collection of stories: *Sämtliche Erzählungen*. A small monograph about Andrić by Marko S. Marković entitled *Tausendundeine Nacht des Ivo Andrić* (*Hiljadu i jedna noć Ive Indrića*) is the contribution of Otto Sagner in Munich to the Nobel prize-winner's publicity. Works by Bulatović are again translated: his collection of stories *Die Liebenden* (*Djavoli dolaze*, 1956) by dtv in Munich, and *Wolf und Glocke* (*Vuk i zvono*, 1958) again by

C. Hanser. S. Fischer (Frankfurt am Main) publishes *Gespräche mit Stalin* (*Susreti sa Staljinom*, 1962) by Miroslav Djilas. Kindler (Munich) releases a novel by the Serbian writer Mladen Oljača (1926–1994), *Das Vermächtnis* (*Molitva za moju braću*, 1957), and a second edition follows in 1966. Rowohlt (Stuttgart) publishes a play by Jovan Hristić (1933–2002), a Serbian poet and playwright: *Reine Hände* (*Čiste Ruke*, 1960); it was premiered in Graz.[16] In 1965 the Bühnenverlag Fritz Molden (Vienna) releases his drama in two parts: *Savonarola und seine Freunde* (*Svonarola i njegovi prijateli*, 1965). The Verlag Stiasny in Graz-Wien publishes: *Kinder Gottes* (*Djeca božja*, 1946), by the Croatian writer Petar Šegedin (1909–1998), and *Ohne mich* (*Na rubu pameti*, 1938) by Miroslav Krleža. This book will be reissued by Rowohlt in 1966 and by Volk und Welt in Berlin in 1967 under license from Stiasny. A collection of tales by contemporary prose writers entitled *Jugoslawische Erzähler der Gegenwart* is issued by Philipp Reclam, jun., in Stuttgart, with a second edition in 1966.
[GDR]: The Aufbau-Verlag keeps *Travnička hronika* in print. Volk und Welt issues *Zeit der Besinnung* (Raspust, 1954), the translation of a work by Aleksandar Vučo (1897–1985), a Serbian surrealist.
[SFRY]: Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, releases a translation of the poem *Jama* (1944) by the Croatian Jewish writer Ivan Goran Kovačić (1913–1943) entitled: *Das Massengrab*.

1963

[A / FRG / CH]: All works by Ivo Andrić appear in new editions. C. Hanser issues a new work by Miodrag Bulatović, *Der Schwarze* (*Crni*, iz: *Đavoli dolaze*, 1955).[17] Stiasny publishes Miroslav Krleža's *Bankett in Blitwien* (*Banket u Plitvi*, 1939–1956) and the play *Die Glembays* (*Glembajevi*, 1932), which Volk und Welt (Berlin-East) reissues in 1972, Universal-Edition (Vienna) in 1973, and Thomas Sessler (Vienna) in 1974. In 1970 Volk und Welt obtains license from Stiasny for *Banket u Plitvi*, as does Athenäum (Königstein im Taunus) in 1984. The Insel-Bücherei (Frankfurt am Main) also publishes two volumes by Krleža: *Der Großmeister aller Schurken* and *In extremis* (*Veliki meštar sviju hulja*, 1917, 1934; *In extremis*, 1955) – The small firm E. Hunna (Vienna-Munich) launches a collection of Serbian satires titled *Genosse Sokrates*, edited by Milo Dor (1923–2005), an important Austrian writer of Serbian origin. The Kurt Desch-Verlag (Vienne-Munich-Basel) comes out with the novel *Panduren* (*Seobe*, 1929) by the eminent Serbian writer Miloš Crnjanski (1893–1977).

16 The source is a catalogue card made accessible by the Steiermärkische Landesbibliothek: http://webapp.uibk.ac.at/alo_cat/card.jsp?id=12593152; accessed 9 October 2019.

17 See Živojin Boškov, ed., *Leksikon pisaca Jugoslavije*, vol. 1 (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1972), 383–385.

[GDR]: Philipp Reclam in Leipzig publishes a volume of Andrić's novellas: *Der Elefant des Wesirs* (*Priča o vezirom slonu*, 1947), with a second edition following in 1969.
[SFRY]: Jugoslavija (Belgrade) publishes in German translation *Jugoslawien ein langer Sommer* by the Serbian Czech-born author (born Hajek) Jara Ribnikar (1912–2007). More of her books in translation will be published by C. Hanser: in 1964 *Die Kupferne* (*Bakaruša*, 1961); and in 1969 *Ich und Du, Geschichte von der Liebe* (*Ja, ti, mi*, 1967). That same year the Berlin Verlag Neues Leben issues *Duell an der Drina* (*Pobeda i poraz*, 1963). In 1971 Volk und Welt publishes her novel *Die Berufung: Das Leben des Pianisten Jan Nepomuk* (*Jan Nepomucki*, 1969), and in 1982 her authobiography: *Leben und Legende* (*Život i priča*, 1979).

1964

[A / FRG / CH]: More new editions of Andrić come out this year, for example a third volume of his collected stories by C. Hanser (Munich). This year also sees the publication of two anthologies: *Jugoslawien erzählt* by Fischer (Frankfurt am Main), and *Jugoslawische Lyrik der Gegenwart,* with Sigbert Mohn in Gütersloh. The Verlag Claasen in Hamburg bets on the Serbian writer Erih Koš (1923–2010) with *Die Spatzen von Van Pe* (*Vrapci Van Pea*, 1962). In 1965 will follow his novel *Wal-Rummel* (*Čudnovata povest o Kitu Velikom takođe Veliki Mak*, 1956); in 1967 *Montenegro, Montenegro* (*Il tifo*, 1958); and in 1970 *Eis* (*Sneg i led*, 1961). A volume of stories by Vladen Desnica (1905–1967), a Croatian lawyer and writer, finds a publisher in Zurich with Fretz & Wasmuth: *Die Geschichte vom Mönch mit dem grünen Bart* (*Fratar sa zelenom bradom*, 1959). The Verlag Horst Erdmann is a small publisher in Hochalb/Schwarzwald where Milo Dor could place a book with radio plays written by Yugoslav contemporary writers, *Der Flug des Ikaros: Jugoslawische Autoren von heute*. Suhrkamp issues the first German edition of *Beisetzung in Theresienburg* (*Sprovod u Teresienburgu*, 1945) by Miroslav Krleža, and this work will be reissued by the Insel-Verlag (Leipzig) in 1977. Stiasny publishes *Europäisches Alphabet: Aus den kulturgeschichtlichen Essays* (*Alfabetar evropskih ličnosti*) by the same author, a collection of essays chosen by himself for translation.[18] Stiasny also publishes more translations of Krleža: *Der kroatische Gott Mars* (*Hrvatski bog Mars*, 1922); *Die Glembays* as a stage manuscript; the play *In Agonie* (*U agonji*, 1931), and the comedy *Leda: Komödie einer Karnevalsnacht in vier Akten* (*Leda*, 1930). *Bankett in Blitwien* is also republished. The Viennese (Communist) Globus-Verlag issues *Das geschenkte Leben* (*Krv nije sve*, 1961) by Aleksandar Vojnović (1922–1999).

18 See Lauer, 703f.

[GDR]: This last translation is also published by Verlag der Nationen in Berlin. In 1970 *Minen und Wölfe* (*Prognanin*, 1967) will follow. The author is considered a Yugoslav national hero who describes in his works the suffering of the partisans interned in Austrian concentration camps.

1965

[A / FRG / CH]: The Schweizerische Ost-Institut in Bern puts out a political book *Moskauer Sommer 1964* (*Ljeto Moskovsko*, 1965) by the dissident Mihailo Mihailov (1934–2010). C. Hanser in Munich publishes Bulatović's *Der Held auf dem Rücken des Esels* (*Heroj na magarcu*, 1964). This book was highly successful; it went through four editions and was also published by the Büchergilde Gutenberg (1967), dtv (1967), the Deutscher Bücherbund (1969), and by Heyne in Munich (1980). Milo Dor publishes the anthology *Ein Orden für Argil: Jugoslawien in Erzählungen seiner besten zeitgenössischen Autoren* in the series "Geistige Begegnungen des Instituts für Auslandsbeziehungen." A self-published book by the Croatian-born Swiss bookbinder and writer Josef Veselić (1888–1976) is made available in Zurich: *Südslawische Novellen und anderes*.
[GDR]: The Verlag Neues Leben publishes the novel *Die tanzende Sonne* (*Divota prašine*, 1954) by the Croatian writer Vjekoslav Kaleb (1905–1996); the work is released in Vienna the same year by the Buch-Gemeinde. The publishing-house Insel (Leipzig) offers its readers a collection of stories by Ivo Andrić entitled *Der Weg des Alija Djerzelez und andere Erzählungen* (*Put Alije Đerzeleza* [*i druge priče*]). A drama titled *Harlekin und Mädchen* (*Pijesak i pjena*, 1958) by the Croatian literary historian and writer Jure Kaštelan (1919–1990), finds a publisher in the Wassilius Verlagsgesellschaft in Berlin.
[SFRY]: A German translation of a pamphlet on the Yugoslavian economic model by Croatian historian Dušan Bilandžić (*1924) entitled *Die gesellschaftliche Verwaltung* (*Društveno upravljanje*) is published in Belgrade.

1966

[A / FRG / CH]: Three books by Miodrag Bulatović are republished along with a new release by C. Hanser: *Godot ist gekommen: Variationen über ein sehr altes Thema* (*Godot je došao*, 1965). Suhrkamp issues *Staatsexamen: Aphorismen* (*Piši kao što ćutiš*, 1965; second edition 1967) by the Serbian author Brana Crnčević (1933–2011). Piper (Munich) publishes *Die Exekution und andere Erzählungen* (*Gubavac i druge priče*, Serbo-Croatian 1989, English 1964) by Milovan Djilas; in 1968 dtv and the Darm-

stadt Moderner Buch-Club will publish this book as well. The Verlag Steingrüben (Stuttgart) issues the novel *Das Schlüsselloch* (*Bela žena*, 1955) by the Serbian author Branko V. Radičić (1925–2001). C. Hanser (Munich) publishes a story by the Croatian author Antun Šoljan (1932–1993): *Der kurze Ausflug* (*Kratki izlet*, 1965). The Scherz-Verlag (Bern-Munich-Vienna) issues a novel by the Bosnian author Derviš Sušić (1925–1990): *Danilo und die Weltgeschichte* (*Ja, Danilo*, 1960) which is also translated into other foreign languages this year. With *Tausendundein Tod* (*Hiljadu i jedna smrt*, 1933) Stiasny in Graz publishes a collection of nine texts by Miroslav Krleža as a new release. A slim volume of poems (*Gedichte*) by the Croatian poet Drago Ulama (1936–2011) is brought out by the Verlag Sigbert Mohn in Gütersloh.
[GDR]: The Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung in Leipzig publishes an anthology of Yugoslav narrative writers: *Jugoslawische Erzähler von Lazarević bis Andrić*, edited by Manfred Jähnichen (second edition in 1976).

[1967]

[A / FRG / CH]: Five works by Ivo Andrić are reprinted. Dtv (Munich) releases a volume of stories by Ivo Andrić called *Die Frau auf dem Stein* (*Žena na kamenu*), as does the Verlag Paulus (Recklinghausen) under the title *Jelena: Erzählungen* (*Jenena, žena koje nema*). The novel *Für Tote Eintritt verboten* (*Mrtvacima ulaz zabranjen*, 1960) by the Croatian author Nenad Brixy (1924–1984) is included in the 'Kronenkrimi' series published by Eulenspiegel (Berlin). This piece of light fiction is released under the pseudonym Timothy Tatcher, and there is also an Aufbau edition. In 1969 it will be relaunched by Eulenspiegel and also printed by Tipograf in Rijeka; and in 1972 Eulenspiegel will also publish Brixy's *Hollywood gegen mich* (*Hollywood protiv mene*, 1964). Works by Bulatović are republished by Rowohlt, dtv, and the Büchergilde Gutenberg. Rowohlt issues a translation of a new work by Bulatović, *Die Geschichte vom Glück und Unglück* (*Priča o sreći i nesreći*, [1998]). Suhrkamp's list includes *Kommentare zu 'Ithaka'* (*Itaka i komentari*, 1959)[19] by Miloš Crnjanski, and also the novel *Meine Schwester Elida* (*Moja sestra Elida*, 1965) by the writer Mirko Kovač (1938–2013). In an obituary this Montenegrin author who spent his life in Belgrade and Rovinj is described as a postmodernist.[20] The Verlag E. Hoffmann (Heidenheim) publishes a writer for young people, Vladimir Carin (*1913), who will find success on the German book market; *Ferien in Lipizza* is his most successful book,

19 This work was reprinted again in 2011.
20 D. Vlatković and M. M. Vulin, "Mirko Kovač", in *Leksikon pisaca Jugoslavije*, vol. 2, ed. Živojin Boškov (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1987), 329–331.

with a new edition in 1971 and other works to follow. Stiasny issues *Politisches Alphabet* (*Politički alfabetar*) by Miroslav Krleža, a collection of clippings from various essays.[21] Stiasny also brings out *Der Berg der Klagen* (*Lelejska gora*, 1957) by Mihailo Lalić (1914–1992), a Montenegrin-Serbian author. In 1972 his work *Die Hochzeit* (*Svadba*, 1950) is published by the Deutscher Militärverlag in Berlin.
[GDR]: Volk und Welt adds new editions of Andrić and Krleža to its list.
[SFRY]: Tipograf (Rijeka) launches a new series for vacationers, the "Ferien-Bibliothek," with Milan Begović's *Zwei weiße Brote* (*Dva bijela hljeba*).

[1968]

[A / FRG / CH]: The Coron-Verlag in Zurich publishes works by authors who have won the Nobel Prize in a series of eighty-three volumes; Andrić's *Travnička hronika* appears as the fifty-sixth volume in this series. C. Hanser publishes a new novel by Miodrag Bulatović, *Der Krieg war besser* (*Rat je bio bolji*, 1968), which the Fischer Bücherei in Hamburg will also publish in 1970. Suhrkamp releases the first collection of stories by the Serbian prose writer Bora Ćosić (*1932), *Wie unsere Klaviere repariert wurden* (*Priče o zanatima*, 1966), translated by Peter Urban. A small volume with poems by the Serbian writer Miodrag Pavlović (1928–2014) appears in 1968 in Stuttgart by an unnamed publisher, while Suhrkamp publishes an extensive collection (*Gedichte*) that same year. Insel-Verlag (Frankfurt am Main) is the first publisher to bring out a translation of a work by Danilo Kiš (1935–1989): *Garten, Asche* (*Bašta, pepeo*, 1965). A new collection of stories by Miroslav Krleža is released by R. Piper & Co. (Munich): *Requiem für Habsburg* (*Rekviem za Habsburg.*)[22] Universal Edition (Vienna) publishes, *Das Gesicht. Ein Traburles mit mehreren Unbekannten* (*Lice*) in two parts, by Aleksandar Obrenović (1928–2005), a Serbian author and film script writer. The Verlag Fritz Molden in Vienna takes a chance with Milovan Djilas's study, *Njegoš oder Dichter zwischen Kirche und Staat* (*Njegoš*, 1966).
[SFRY]: Tipograf (Rijeka) issues Yugoslav love stories in the series "Ferien-Bibliothek": *Fünf jugoslawische Liebesgeschichten*.

21 See Lauer, 749.

22 The title of this collection was actually drawn from a story that Božena Begović had translated into German already in 1948. This information is given in the book in question. This title does not appear in Tomislav Brlek, "Krleža, Miroslav", in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* for 2013: http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=6990; accessed 9 October 2019.

1969

[A / FRG / CH]: The Verlag der Autoren in Frankfurt am Main comes out with a text on Che Guevara by the Serbian playwright and children's book author Dušan Radović (1922–1984): *Che: Tragödie, die andauert* (*Če, tragedija koja traje*, 1969). C. Hanser adds a volume of verse to its publishing program: *Nebenhimmel* (*Sporedno nebo*, 1968), by Vasko Popa. The Europa-Verlag (Frankfurt am Main and Zurich), comes out with *Tito: Der Weg des Josip Broz* (*Životnom stazom Josipa Broza*, 1968) by Vilko Vinterhalter (1809–1970), and an English translation will follow in 1972. Suhrkamp publishes the book *Mensch und Geschichte* (*Čovjek i historija*, 1966) by the Marxist philosophy professor Predrag Vranicki (1922–2002). A special edition of the Dortmund cultural journal *Hier* includes a volume of poems from Montenegro: *Widerstand als Zuflucht: Lyrik aus Montenegro*. The Verlag Fritz Molden (Vienna) comes up with a new book by Milovan Djilas: *Die unvollendete Gesellschaft: Jenseits der neuen Klasse* (*Nesavršeno društvo i dalje o 'Nove klase,'* English 1957). In 1971 the Büchergilde Gutenberg disseminates this work, as does Rowohlt, and also Ullstein in 1980.
[GDR]: Works by Ivo Andrić are reissued by the Aufbau-Verlag and by Philipp Reclam (Leipzig). Volk und Welt releases a collection of prose, *Moderne jugoslawische Prosa*. The Aufbau-Verlag publishes *Der Derwisch und der Tod* (*Derviš i smrt*, 1966) by the Bosnian-Serbian author Meša Selimović (1910–1982). This novel is republished in 1972 by Otto Müller (Salzburg) and in 1974, 1975, and 1980 by Volk und Welt.
[SFRY]: An anthology of new Croatian poetry (*Anthologie neuerer kroatischer Lyrik*) is published in German translation by the literary journal *Most* in Zagreb.

1970

[A / FRG / CH]: Books by Andrić and Krleža are also reprinted in this year. The catalogue for the exhibition of the MEDIALA group of Yugoslav artists in the "Junge Generation" gallery in Vienna includes poetry by Vasko Popa.
[GDR]: As already mentioned, the Verlag der Nationen comes out with a novel by Aleksandar Vojnović.

1971

[A / FRG / CH]: A work by the Serbian playwright Velimir Lukić (1936–1997), *Die Affaire der unschuldigen Annabella* (*Afera nedužne Anabele*, 1969), is published by Ahn & Simrock in Munich. The Universal-Edition in Vienna releases the play

Galizien: Stück in drei Akten (Galicija, 1922) by Miroslav Krleža. Fritz Molden in Vienna adds to his list of newcomers a historical novel by Milovan Djilas, *Verlorene Schlacht* (*Izgublene bitke* [1994]). (The Rowohlt-Taschenbuchverlag [Reinbek bei Hamburg] will also publish this book in 1974.)
[GDR]: A work by Berislav Kosier (1930–2002), a dissident Serbian writer, is published by Aufbau-Verlag entitled *Baum und Adlerkralle* (*Drvo i orlova kandža*, 1958).[23] Volk und Welt publishes a translation of Krleža's *Glembajevi*.
[SFRY]: Oslobođenje (Sarajevo) brings out an edition of Andrić's *Die Brücke über die Žepa* (*Most na Žepi*, 1925) in German translation.

1972

[A / FRG / CH]: Djilas's *The Bridge on the Drina* is privileged to be chosen as one of the "most beautiful novels of the 20th century" in Geneva's Edition-Service-Reihe "Die schönsten Romane des 20. Jahrhunderts." An anthology of young poets from Yugoslavia entitled *Himbeeren sind Himbeeren sage ich*, published and translated by Peter Urban, is released in Regensburg (Regensburger Hefte). Suhrkamp issues an essay by the Jewish Croatian economist Branko Horvat (1936–1997), *Die jugoslawische Gesellschaft* (*Ogled o Jugoslavenskom društvu*, 1969). Reihe Fischer (Frankfurt am Main) releases *Als die Kürbisse blühten* (*Kad su cvetale tikve*, 1968), a novel by the Serbian author Dragoslav Mihailović (*1930) that was controversial at the time. C. Hanser publishes a translation of a work by a member of the Belgrade Circle of intellectuals (Praxis Gruppe), the later dissident Miladin Životić (1930–1997): *Proletarischer Humanismus: Studien über Mensch, Wert und Freiheit* (*Čovek i vrednost*, 1969). The Drei-Eichen-Verlag in Munich adds to its list of newcomers a how-to-do work that was apparently highly successful: Petar J. Stanković, *Medicina divina: Die Heilkunst im Lichte der weißen Magie, der Philosophie, und göttlichen Schöpfung* (*Božanstvena medicina: veština lečenja u svetlosti magije, filosofije i božanskog stvaranja*, 1941).
[GDR]: Manfred Jähnichen publishes with Philipp Reclam jun. (Leipzig) an anthology of stories from Yugoslavia: *Petres Lied: Jugoslawische Erzählungen*.
[SFRY]: Liber in Zagreb brings out a multilingual edition of Miroslav Krleža's *Balladen des Peter Kerempuch* (*Balade Petrice Kerempuha. Prepjevi na češki, francuski, madžarski, njemački, ruski*).

23 The digitalized inventory of the Aufbau archive even makes it possible to follow the appraisal process in this GDR publishing house prior to printing works. Before this work was accepted for printing, it was evaluated by Udo Birckholz, Manfred Jähnichen, Astrid Philippsen. See Das Bundesarchiv, http://startext.net-build.de:8080/barch/MidosaSEARCH/dr1_druck/index.htm?kid=f67c910a-b47d-45b7-9441-5f3ee7b9b3aa; accessed 11 October 2013.

1973

[A / FRG / CH]: Books by Ivo Andrić are republished by the Munich publishing houses König and Goldmann. The Viennese publisher Fritz Molden releases a new collection of essays by Milovan Djilas, *Der Wolf in der Falle* (*Kamen i ljubičice*, 1971/1972). Rowohlt will publish a paperback edition of this book in 1976. The Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft (Munich) honors Miroslav Krleža with an anthology for his eightieth birthday: *Miroslav Krleža zum 80. Geburtstag*.

1974

[A / FRG / CH]: Djilas's *The Bridge on the Drina* is [re]published by three publishing houses along with more of Krleža.
[GDR]: Volk und Welt releases a volume by Krleža, *Essays*.

1975

[A / FRG / CH]: More Andrić reprints. C. Bertelsmann (Munich) publishes the new novel by Miodrag Bulatović, *Die Daumenlosen* (*Ljudi sa četiri prsta*, 1973). *Verleugnet Hegel nicht* is the title of parts I & II of a trilogy (*Neko je oklevetao Hegela*; *U Andima Hegelovo telo*, 1971) by the Serbian writer and translator Radomir Smiljanić (*1934) published by the Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt in Stuttgart. Part III, *Hegels Flucht nach Helgoland* (*Begstvo na Helgoland*), will be released in 1977, and a further edition in 1979. The Thomas Sessler-Verlag (Vienna) publishes a stage play, *Die Marathonläufer laufen die Ehrenrunde* (*Maratonci trče počasni krug*, 1973); the author is the Serbian playwright, director, and diplomat Dušan Kovačević (*1948). The Europa-Verlag in Vienna releases an important book by the Austrian-born Karlo Štajner (1902–1992): *7000 Tage in Sibiren* (*7000 dana u Sibiru*, 1971).
[GDR]. A newcomer to the Aufbau-Verlag is Isak Samokovlija (1889–1955), a Bosnian-Sephardic writer and physician, with a collection of short stories: *Die rote Dahlie* (*Davokova priča o živoj istini*, 1951), which is reprinted in 1977.

1976

[A / FRG / CH]: Three works by Andrić are republished. The autobiography of Ivan Generalić (1914–1992), the prominent representative of naïf painting, finds a publisher in the Verlag Langewiesche; it will be re-launched in 1977 under license from the List-Verlag (Munich). The formerly popular Viennese publishing house Jugend und Volk releases a verse anthology edited by Ina Jun Broda: *Beschwingter*

Stein: Gedichte zeitgenössischer Dichter aus Jugoslawien. Fritz Molden in Vienna publishes Milovan Djilas's memoirs, *Der junge Revolutionär: Memoiren 1929–1941* (*Uspomene revolucionara*), translated from the English version, *Memoir of a Revolutionary* (1973).
[GDR]: A newcomer to Volk und Welt is the historical novel *Kaiser Diokletian* (*Dioklecijan*, 1973). An edition of this book is also published by the Buchclub Berlin, with a second edition following in 1977, a third in 1981, and a fourth in 1985. This is the first book in German translation (with more to follow) by Ivan Ivanji (*1929), a Serbian journalist, writer, translator, and diplomat with a Jewish background.

1977

[A / FRG / CH]: More Krleža-reprints. – *Die Geschichte der jugoslawischen Literaturen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* is issued by Otto Harrassowitz (Wiesbaden) as a translation of *Jugoslovenska književnost* (1954) by Antun Barac (1894–1955). The Sessler-Verlag in Vienna comes out with a new translation of a play by Krleža: *Die Wolfsschlucht* (*Vučjak*, 1923).
[GDR]: The Aufbau-Verlag reissues Krleža and publishes *Die Festung* (*Tvrđava*, 1970), a novel by Meša Selimović.

1978

[A / FRG / CH]: Two works by Ivo Andrić and one by Miodrag Bulatović are reprinted. Edition Neue Wege releases *Jedem das Seine oder auch nicht,* a book of poems by the Croatian poet Zvonko Plepelić (*1945), a bilingual writer.[24] Part II of *Jedem das Seine oder auch nicht* appears with the Oberbaumverlag (Berlin) along with another book of poetry by Plepelić, *Du kommen um sieben*, with two graphics by Christoph Meckel. Both works will be hailed as newcomers in 1980. The Edition Molden adds to its list the second volume of Djilas's memoirs, *Der Krieg der Partisanen: Memoiren 1941–1945* (*Revolucionarni rat*, 1977). Another representative of naïf painting finds attention as the Verlag Langewiesche publishes a book by Nebojša Tomašević on Jože Tisnikar (1928–1998).
[GDR]: Volk und Welt adds to its list *Szenen aus der Jugend eines Starreporters* (*Provincijalac*, 1976), by Momo Kapor (1937–2009), a well-known Serbian writer, painter, and actor.

24 See Lauer, 891. This edition includes mostly poems written in German.

1979

[A / FRG / CH]: C. Hanser in Munich comes out with a verse collection by Vasko Popa, *Wolfserde* (*Vučja so*, 1975), translated by Milo Dor.
[GDR]: The Aufbau-Verlag publishes a new book by Andrić: *Omer-Pascha Latas: Der Marschall des Sultans* (*Omerpaša Latas*, 1977), republished by C. Hanser in 1980. Volk und Welt releases an anthology of prose edited by Barbara Antkowiak: *Erkundungen: 28 jugoslawische Erzählungen*.

1980

[A / FRG / CH]: Two books by Ivo Andrić, one by Miodrag Bulatović, and two works by Milovan Djilas are republished. A volume of poems by Vasko Popa is published by Heyne in Munich: *Nebenhimmel* (*Sporedno nebo*, 1968), translated by Karl Dedecius. Fritz Molden in Vienna launches a second edition of Djilas's *Tito. Eine kritische Biographie* (*Druženje s Titom*, 1980).[25]
[GDR]: Aufbau publishes a third edition of *Derviš i smrt*, by Meša Selimović.

25 Lauer's bibliography provides no information about the first edition (905), which could have been released the same year.


VASKO POPA
GEDICHTE
Oskar Davičo
Gedichte
edition suhrkamp
SV
Jugoslawien
Bibalji-Merin
Liebe ist wie ein frischer Apfel
TITO
Karlo Štajner
7000 Tage in Sibirien
Europaverlag
KAJA
die Kleinmagd
Miodrag Bulatović
Wolf und Glocke
Roman
DJILAS
DIE NEUE KLASSE
EINE ANALYSE DES KOMMUNISTISCHEN SYSTEMS
Gedichte
IVO ANDRIĆ
Miroslav Krleža
Beisetzung in Theresienburg
Bibliothek Suhrkamp
MOMO KAPOR
Timothy Tatcher
Hollywood gegen mich
Duell an der Drina
ERICH KOSCH
Rummel
die schlacht bei bistritza lesna
königlich ungarische honved-novelle
drei honveds
baracke 5b
miroslav krleža
der kroatische gott mar
honved jambrek
der tod des franjo kadaver
kroatische rhapsodie
DIE BRÜCKE ÜBER DIE DRINA
IVO ANDRIĆ
Vorausexemplar
Mladen Oljača
Das Vermächtnis
Roman
verlegt bei KINDLER
Die Spatzen von Van Pe
Erich Kosch
Claassen
Roman
Moderne jugoslawische Prosa
Bora Ćosić
Wie unsere Klaviere repariert wurden
Satiren
edition suhrkamp
SV
DIE HOCHZEIT
DU KOMMEN UM SIEBEN
UNIVERSAL
PETRES LIED
Jugoslawische Erzählungen
RECLAM
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IVAN IVANJI
KAISER DIOKLETIAN
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LIST
Vladimir Carin
Ferien in Lipizza
Jovan Dučić
Die blauen Legenden
MILOS CRNJANSKI
Panduren
ROMAN

RIGHTS, RESOURCES, AFFECT, AND MUSIC: COMPARING THE PROGRAMS OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN CROATIA, SOUTHEAST EUROPE, CHINA, AND ELSEWHERE

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Abstract. *The article aims to elucidate how and why the program of intangible cultural heritage is so exuberant in Croatia and elsewhere, and to describe the characteristics of its implementation on the ground. In political terms, the most interesting aspect relates to the interplay between cultural diversity and social (ethnic, class, gender, and regional) border-making. Selected case studies relate to ethnic and gender differentiations and rights in the field of music. In the economic domain, the foremost significance of the program is to brand chosen elements of traditional culture as tourism resources, both in literal terms and in terms of aspirations to gain a distinguished place in the international cultural supermarket. Particularly important is also the relationship between heritage and intellectual property rights. Although currently neglected in the relevant literature, one should bear in mind that affective attachments represent an equally important motive of involvement. Croatian manners are contextualized by comparison with a few other states that are parties to the 2003 Convention, ranging from the region of Southeast Europe to China.*

Keywords: intangible cultural heritage, music, rights, ownership, intellectual property, resources, affect, Croatia, Southeast Europe, China

I am sitting on an improvised bench in a yard overgrown with grass. It is early spring of 2008, in eastern Croatia. The process of post-war "peaceful reintegration," as it was officially called, has just started, the house by the yard is half-demolished, and its owner was for the previous six years expelled from her home. She warns me to be careful where I walk because the property is not yet cleared of landmines. But despite such a rough reality, she smiles while talking about the beauties of the village and its heritage then, in the memorized past, before the war, as well as now. Using the metaphor of a twig in the name of their local music and dance group, which becomes rooted and grows into a strong tree and intertwines with other twigs into a circle of communality, she talks enthusiastically about the revival of the village and explains in detail the peculiarities of their music, dance,

and costumes in comparison to even the closest neighboring villages. She also explains how during the years of exile their music and dance group acted as their virtual birthplace, testifying to the vitality of their community and tradition, their native repertoire and the lyrics of the songs.[1]

The other side of the same story involves the staged performances of the music and dance group in question, arranged in concordance with Croatian standards for how to present folklore in public. Multiple lines of outside intervention can be detected in them. Yet they nevertheless embody memory, the past that makes these people today. That is, they are heritage, the intangible heritage of this community, and although one might be suspicious regarding their fidelity to standardized presentation, there is no doubt that the performances provide an affective support, safety, and comfort, and that they serve as a resource to cope with the disruption of the local world, that they facilitate the identification of community, a sense of identity and continuity.[2] Thus this example brings us to UNESCO's definition of intangible cultural heritage as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills [...] that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage".[3] Communities constantly recreate their heritage, and it "provides them with a sense of identity and continuity".[4] Although the literature on intangible heritage, including this paper, focuses on the politics, the economy, and/or the poetics of actors involved in heritage production, one should bear in mind that affective attachments, such as the one sketched above, appear as an equally important motive of involvement. Due to the primacy of representational issues, constructivist explanations, and the accompanying research methodologies, affectivity currently appears to be a large *terra incognita* despite the so-called 'affective turn' in the humanities and social sciences. Likewise, in this paper affectivity is only lightly touched upon in the above ethnographic snapshot, although marked at the same time as important.

In the continuation, I try to elucidate other – political and economic – reasons to explain how and why the program of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is so exuberant in Croatia and elsewhere, and to describe the characteristics of its implementation on the ground. In political terms, the most interesting aspect relates

1 This article was originally written in January 2015 and minimally updated for publication in October 2019.

2 For more on postwar articulations of traditional music in Croatia, including this example, see Naila Ceribašić, "Revivalist Articulations of Traditional Music in War and Postwar Croatia", in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, eds. Caroline Bithell and Juniper Hill (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 339.

3 UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Paris: UNESCO, 2003, art. 2/1; http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf, accessed 15 January 2015.

4 Ibid.

to the interplay between cultural diversity and social (ethnic, class, gender, and regional) border-making. Selected case studies relate to ethnic and gender differentiations and rights in the field of music. In the economic domain, the foremost significance of the program is to brand chosen elements of traditional culture as tourism resources, both in literal terms and in terms of aspirations to gain a distinguished place in the international cultural supermarket. Particularly important is also the relationship between heritage and intellectual property rights. Croatian manners are contextualized by comparison with a few other states that are parties to the 2003 Convention, ranging from the region of Southeast Europe to China.

CROATIA AND CHINA AS INTERNATIONALLY COMMENDED GUARDIANS OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE: COMPARING THE MAIN COMPONENTS FROM A BIRD'S-EYE VIEWPOINT

In order to strengthen the "measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage,"[5] UNESCO established the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, the List of Intangible Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, and the Register of Best Safeguarding Practices,[6] which are up to now the most visible outcomes of the Convention. In terms of the number of inscriptions, China and Croatia are among the most successful state parties. Up to January 2015, China had 38 elements included in the lists and the register (30 on the representative, 7 on the urgent list, and 1 in the register), and Croatia 14 (13 on the representative and 1 on the urgent list), thus occupying respectively the first and fourth positions in the world (the second was Japan with 22 elements, and the third was the Republic of Korea with 17, while Croatia shared fourth position together with Spain). Therefore it makes sense to compare Croatia and China, for they are both among the most commended guardians of intangible heritage around the world.[7] My insights are very unbalanced, profound regarding Croatia[8] and very superficial regarding China, limited in the latter case to UN-

5 Ibid., art. 2/3.

6 Since 2016, the Register is called the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices.

7 This part of the article is based on a previous one published in Chinese: Naila Ceribašić, "非物质文化遗产项目在中国和克罗地亚的发展状况" [The Situation of Intangible Cultural Heritage Projects in China and Croatia], in *Musicology in China* 1/24–26 (2013): 75.

8 Various aspects of the Croatian program on safeguarding ICH are discussed in Naila Ceribašić, "New Wave of Promoting National Heritage: UNESCO's 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage' and its Implementation", in *6th International Symposium* "*Music in Society*", ed. Jasmina Talam (Sarajevo: Muzička akademija u Sarajevu, Muzikološko društvo Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine, 2009), 124–137. There I also refer to some general literature on the topic in English, and to some case studies.

ESCO's publications,[9] Internet research, scanty literature dealing with the topic, and informal conversations with colleagues during a brief stay in Shanghai in the summer of 2012 and 2013. I propose to examine and compare how both countries accommodate the main components of safeguarding heritage under UNESCO, namely by commenting on the safeguarding framework, the work of the state institutions responsible for the implementation of the program, and the consequences of enlisting a broader society, in particular regarding the expediency of heritage in tourism, the types of heritage elements and communities involved, and the agency of communities in defining their heritage.

In both countries UNESCO's program was approved very early: China ratified the Convention in December 2004, and Croatia in July 2005 (as respectively the sixth and seventeenth countries to approve the Convention among, up to May 2014, 161 member states). Also, both of them embraced the program with great enthusiasm. Croatian *enthusiasm* can be explained in the context of a small country (with only 4.3 million people, five times smaller than the municipality of Shanghai), and one established only thirty years ago (through the war that split former Yugoslavia apart), which today aspires to be internationally recognized as "the new tourism star of the European Union," "the Mediterranean as it once was," or "a small country for a great holiday," to use a few Croatian tourist slogans from the last decade or so. On the other side, the reasons for the enthusiastic Croatian acceptance and success with UNESCO's program have been recognized in the similarities between the national safeguarding measures and those prescribed by UNESCO. Namely, many of them – "the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage"[10] – have for a long time been firmly incorporated into the phenomena included in the framework of Croatian traditional culture. Besides academic, research, archive and museum institutions, the implementation of these measures (beginning in the 1930s, late 1940s or 1950s, depending on which specific measure) has included associations of traditional culture bearers (with organized folklore groups as surely the most prominent organizational form), contemporary spaces for the preservation, promotion, and transmission of traditional culture (most significantly, folklore festivals, ethnographic exhibitions and educational program, and, to a lesser extent, media coverage of traditional culture as an expression of belonging and identity), along with the intermediaries who connect

9 Inside UNESCO's web portal, especially helpful is a part dedicated to "Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices", accessed 25 October 2019, https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists.

10 UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, art. 2/3.

those two domains (experts providing professional assistance, and national and local government institutions providing organizational and financial support). Influenced by the turn towards performative, communication, and contextual aspects in critical ethnology, folklore studies, and ethnomusicology that started in the 1970s, the Croatian public practice of folklore has since the 1980s been partly evolving precisely along the footholds of the 2003 Convention, in particular regarding the agency of heritage bearers and the understanding of traditions as constantly changing, depending on a community's intentions, as well as vice versa. On the third side, Croatian acceptance and success with UNESCO's program can be interpreted on a more personal level. Namely, Božo Biškupić, Croatian minister of culture from 1995–2000 and 2004–2010, is an aficionado of traditional culture, professionally and personally related to some respected ethnologists; and it was precisely he who in 2008 insisted that Croatia should nominate to UNESCO not only one or two elements, as is usual, but many more. Thus, sixteen elements were nominated, out of which seven were approved in the first round in 2009, and four in 2010 and 2011. In the following years the number of submissions for countries with already a substantial number of inscriptions was limited to only one during the two-year period.[11] Besides, it was surely important that in the period 2008–2012 Croatia had a seat in the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (henceforth, IGC), which is charged with deciding about inscriptions, as well as in its Subsidiary Body (2011–2012), which provides advisory services to the IGC.

As for China, explanations of its *enthusiasm* regarding UNESCO's program revolve mostly around its accelerated economic growth: firstly in terms of positioning the heritage and its safeguarding as a counterbalance to tremendous economic growth, which swiftly transforms present ways of life, endangers the environment, turns former rural areas into urban conglomerates, causes migrations, and – last but not least – jeopardizes the survival of traditional arts and practices; and secondly in terms of recognizing the intangible heritage itself as a promising economic resource, in particular in economically backward regions, which are at the same time regions with still a quite vigorous life of traditional arts and practices. As emphasized by Anne McLaren in her study on folk epics, but basing her argument on the statements of high Chinese officials,

> the state's goal is not just to 'preserve' ICH [...] but also to 'revitalise' (*zhenxing*) it, because *preservation without revitalisation will not lead to longevity* [...] 'Revitalisation' involves integrating the ICH item into the regional economy, or providing an

11 Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: "Eighth Session: Decisions", item 10.

> economic incentive to practitioners to continue the practice or performance. Valued examples of ICH can become features of the local tourist industry and be celebrated in local schools.[12]

A framework for how to manage heritage tourism efficiently at a local level is provided by ecomuseums, which in China are constantly increasing in number, especially in remote areas inhabited by ethnic minorities, and are becoming ever more popular among the increasingly affluent urban consumer class,[13] and thematic parks, such as the International Intangible Cultural Heritage Park in Chengdu, which since 2007 hosts the International Festival of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. As was stated on its website in 2012, this Park "dynamically integrates the protection and succession of the intangible cultural heritage (ICH) industries with the creation of distinctive cultural industries [...], opening itself to the world as a cultural tourist attraction and leisure consumption resort".[14] Or, to use a third example, according to Zhou Heping,

> [g]uangdong liangcha (literally, "cool tea") is now being mass produced using the traditional formula and technology, increasing the total output value from 300 million yuan to more than 30 billion yuan. After the technique for producing Fujian's Wuyiyan tea was entered in the national catalog [*sic*!] of intangible cultural heritage, sales volume increased more than 10-fold.[15]

This example led the author to conclude that "the appropriate use of the cultural content of intangible cultural heritage has had great significance for the effort to promote artistic innovations" and to "develop a group of influential brand names in the culture industry".[16]

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12 Anne McLaren, "Revitalisation of the Folk Epics of the Lower Yangzi Delta: An Example of China's Intangible Cultural Heritage", in *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 5 (2010): 33. Emphasis in original.

13 On China's concept of ecomuseums see Pan Shouyong: "Museum and the Protection of Cultural Intangible Heritage", in *Museum International* 60/1–2 (2008): 12–19; on Lihu ecomuseum in Guangxi see Peter Davis, "New Museologies and the Ecomuseum", in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, eds. Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 397–414. As for material on the Internet, there is an interesting description of the "Tang'an Dong Ethnic Eco-Museum": http://www.chinatourguide.com/guizhou/Tangan_Dong_Ethnic_Ecomuseum.html, accessed 25 October 2019.

14 This website is no longer available (as of October 2019).

15 Heping Zhou, "Preservation of China's Intangible Cultural Heritage", in *Qiushi Journal* 2/3 (2010), English edition; http://english.qstheory.cn/culture/201109/t20110924_112523.htm, accessed 25 October 2019.

16 Ibidem.

This is in sharp contrast to how things develop in Croatia. "Protection through production," or "productivity-based protection," as this aspect is called in China, exists in Croatia only rhetorically, as a potential for an unknown future,[17] while in reality there is no sign of any systematic, organized, state-supported endeavor to tie protection with production. It is completely left to individual initiatives and local communities to find their own ways to capitalize on their inclusion in UNESCO's lists, not to mention the far less prestigious national list.

The intangible heritage program in Croatia is seen as a continuation of long-lasting safeguarding measures, which are *viable* thanks to direct financial support from state, county, and local governments. After the inclusion of a number of Croatian elements on UNESCO's lists, such funds have become a bit more plentiful than in previous times, and have been distributed somewhat differently, but basically the framework of the whole system has remained the same, and the amount of money invested in safeguarding heritage is very small both in relative and in absolute terms. For instance, the amount allocated in 2012 from the state budget to 47 projects to safeguard intangible heritage was 536,000 HRK (which converts to approximately the same amount of RMB), which is utterly negligible compared with Chinese standards (and also, by the way, quite negligible in comparison to the 7,840,000 HRK for 242 projects of standard Western music and performing arts). According to the available data, in the five-year period 2005–2009 a total of 659 million RMB were allocated from China's central budget, compared with about 1.66 million HRK from Croatia's central budget in the four-year period 2009–2012.[18] The difference is obviously huge, despite the range of incomparable differences between Croatia and China. The system is possible in Croatia because it is very much based on amateur volunteer work by numerous bearers and inheritors of intangible heritage.

17 One example is a statement by minister Božo Biškupić who, in reference to the "lobbying exhibition" of Croatian lace-making in UNESCO's palace in Paris in 2007, claimed that it was "tek priprema terena za svjetsku afirmaciju hrvatske prebogate baštine koja će u turizmu budućnosti imati presudnu ulogu" (just preparing the ground for world affirmation of the extremely rich Croatian heritage that will play a decisive role in the tourism of the future). See Denis Derk, "Svjetska baština: Biškupić bi picigin upisao kao kulturno blago UNESCO-a", in *Večernji list*, 2 August 2007.

18 Sources for Croatia: Ministarstvo kulture – Kulturna baština – Financiranje programa – Odobreni programi u 2009–2012 (http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=26, accessed 25 October 2019); and Ministarstvo kulture – Kulturne djelatnosti – Glazba i glazbeno-scenske umjetnosti – Financiranje programa – Arhiva – Glazbene i glazbeno-scenske umjetnosti 2009–2012 (http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=2557, accessed 25 October 2019. As for China, see Anon., "Protection and Promotion of China's Intangible Cultural Heritage", posted 2 June 2, 2010, http://www.china.org.cn/china/2010-06/02/content_20171387_2.htm, accessed 25 October 2019.

Concerning the *management issues*, China adheres closely to the idea of "right principles for a scientific, comprehensive and systematic way to rescue and protect existing intangible cultural heritage".[19] As emphasized by China's Ministry of Culture, the central principle is "[g]overnment leadership, social participation, clarification of duty and responsibilities, combination of forces as well as long-term planning. Implementation by steps, integrating priorities with emphasis on effectiveness and efficiency".[20] China's systematic approach can be recognized in various aspects of managing intangible heritage: from how the national inventory has been created, how it is organized on the national, provincial, autonomous regional, municipal and county levels, and how certain elements have been coordinated with the parallel program of identifying representative bearers of intangible heritage (also called transmitters or inheritors); to various legislative and regulative acts setting up cultural ecological protection pilot zones, to the establishment of the National Intangible Heritage Protection Centre that connects scholarship with governmental administration, and to the establishment of an International Training Centre for the Protection of ICH in the Asia-Pacific Region; to the introduction of intangible heritage studies into university curricula, extensive publishing, and numerous expert and scholarly meetings; and to the foundation of Cultural Heritage Day, intangible heritage museums and heritage transmission centers, and ambitious travelling exhibitions and festival program, etc.[21]

19 Ibidem.

20 Cited in Dawson Munjeri, "Following the Length and Breadth of the Roots: Some Dimensions of Intangible Heritage", in *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 146.

21 See Zhou, "Preservation of China's Intangible Cultural Heritage"; "Protection and Promotion of China's Intangible Cultural Heritage". At China.org.cn one can also find reports on specific activities; for example, regarding the Cultural Heritage Day see "A Day to Honor China's Heritage", posted 8 June 2012, http://www.china.org.cn/travel/2012-06/08/content_25597425.htm, accessed 25 October 2019. See also "Poorly-run Intangible Heritage to Exit", posted 9 September 2011, http://www.china.org.cn/china/2011-09/09/content_23383598.htm, accessed 25 October 2019. The largest amount of information is provided by Chinaculture.org, a part of which is dedicated to intangible cultural heritage: http://en.chinaculture.org/ich.html, accessed 25 October 2019. See also Bai Shi's report "Keeping Cultural Genes Alive: A Two-Day Forum Discusses How to Better Preserve China's Rich Living Heritage", published on the website of the Institute for Cultural Industries of Peking University, posted 16 February 2012 (no longer available in October 2019). In addition, a valuable resource is *China Heritage Quarterly* (former *China Heritage Newsletter*) of the China Heritage Project, The Australian National University. See for example: "Intangible Cultural Heritage", *China Heritage Quarterly* 2 (2005), http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/editorial.php?issue=002, accessed 25 October 2019; "China's Intangible Cultural Heritage", and "A Tale of Two Lists: An Examination of the New Lists of Intangible Cultural Properties", in *China Heritage Quarterly* 7 (2006), http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/editorial.php?issue=007 and http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=007_twolists.inc&issue=007, accessed 25 October 2019.

Again, this is very different from the Croatian case. Let me mention just two intentional, mutually connected differences, neglecting the various social, historical, cultural, political and habitual and other deep-rooted factors that could, and quite surely do play a role when comparing Croatia and China. One concerns the issue of the *agency of grassroots communities* that inherit and practice intangible heritage, and the other the division of labor among such communities, experts, and state administrators. Some Croatian experts involved in the national Committee for ICH, myself among them, have been reluctant to lead the process of selecting the 'most representative' or the 'most valuable' heritage elements. The most positive aspect of UNESCO's program we have recognized is the agency given to grassroots communities. In our understanding, precisely such grassroots communities are 'communities' that are identified in the 2003 Convention (art. 2/1 cited above) as central actors regarding heritage. The agency, authority, and power lies, as we have argued, with the common people, and not, as was customary since the nineteenth century, with experts and state administrators. Consequently, we have understood the safeguarding approaches as being in principle bottom-up and not customarily top-down approaches. This basic attitude is reflected in various aspects of how intangible heritage is managed today in Croatia. For instance, the initiative for inscription on the national list, including a draft proposal as a mandatory part of the initiative, can in principle – and overwhelmingly also in practice – come only from communities of bearers, in fact usually from the non-governmental organizations that represent them. All such proposals that demonstrate community identification with the element, no matter its scholarly and/or official taxonomies, are in principle endorsed by the Committee. Then, if the proposal has some weak points (lack of clarity, inconsistencies, unaddressed mandatory components, etc.), as is quite often the case, the Committee engages an expert well-versed in the ICH domain in question to help improve it while respecting the understandings and intentions of the community concerned. The final description, which is an integral part of the inscription document, is therefore typically a result of collaboration between a community and its representative(s), from one side, and the national Committee and commissioned experts from the other.

Probably the most obvious difference between China and Croatia relates to the *identity of communities*, as well as the representation of their identities in the nomination files of the heritage elements included in UNESCO's lists. As many as half of China's elements inscribed until the end of 2014 belong to ethnic minorities, which was clearly emphasized in the nomination files and sometimes even included in the titles of elements in question, while for Croatia only one element among those inscribed before 2015 was described as being practiced by

both ethnic minorities and majority ("Two-part singing and playing in the Istrian scale"). In another case minority Serbs were mentioned only parenthetically and only through their religious affiliation to Orthodoxy ("Ojkanje singing"),[22] while in a third case it was stated that "the same or similar custom" exists among other ethnic communities in the broader region ("Spring procession of Ljelje/Kraljice (queens) from Gorjani").[23]

However, as for regional and local affiliations, Croatian elements are mostly defined as being very local, relating to a single locality, area, or region. Only one element is defined nationally by its title ("Lacemaking in Croatia") but is explained as actually a compound of the traditions of three towns from different parts of Croatia. In contrast, a link between minority, majority, provincial, and all-Chinese is quite frequent in descriptions of China's heritage elements.[24] Thus, I would agree with scholars in Chinese heritage studies, such as Anne McLaren, who infers that "the underlying goal of the new focus on heritage is to preserve the distinctiveness of each ethnic group in China, [but] under the aegis of the Chinese state," confirming China as "a unified multi-ethnic country".[25] After all, according to Li Changchun, member of the Politburo Standing Committee of the Communist Party of China, "the protection of intangible cultural heritage and

22 Regarding the identification of communities (section 1c in the Nomination file), it is stated that "the majority of the population in the above-mentioned regions are Croats of Roman Catholic faith, even though there are some villages where the population is mixed and where Croats are in the majority, or villages populated exclusively by the Orthodox population. Irrespective of the national or confessional background of the inhabitants, Ojkanje singing is a joint tradition of the people inhabiting these regions". In the description of the element (section 2), it is said that "belonging to various faiths that were once present, and some of which are still present, in these regions (polytheism, Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Islam) has not prevented the transmission of Ojkanje singing, because the music is not determined by ethnicity or religious identity, but is a unique characteristic, in this case, of the Dinaric area". The file is accessible at UNESCO, "Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage".

23 "The same or a similar custom is also known in other villages of northeast Croatia and among Croat emigrants (in Serbia and Hungary); it is also preserved by Serbs in Croatia and Serbia and other Slavic and non-Slavic peoples in Europe" (section 2 – description of the element – in the Nomination file). Regarding the contribution to ensuring visibility and awareness and to encouraging dialogue (section 3), it is stated: "Since the tradition of kraljice processions is familiar to Croats and Serbs in Croatia and abroad, in Serbia and Hungary, and other Siavic [*sic*] and non-Slavic European nations also have similar customs, it can be expected that the inscription of kraljice from Gorjani on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage would have a positive effect on the awareness of other inheritors of related traditions". The file is accessible at UNESCO, "Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage".

24 For instance, as stated in the summary of the Nomination file, "Chinese paper-cut" is "a key part of Chinese social life in all ethnic groups". The file is accessible at UNESCO, "Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage".

25 McLaren, "Revitalisation of the Folk Epics of the Lower Yangzi Delta", 33.

maintaining continuity of the national culture constitute an essential cultural base for enhancing cohesion of the nation, boosting national unity, invigorating the national spirit and safeguarding national unification".[26] The safeguarding of national unification is surely a goal of the Croatian state too, but the mechanism for achieving or confirming it is completely different: minorities are up to now out of scope, and local determinations markedly predominate over national ones. Besides, local communities are given some level of agency in defining their heritage, the notion of heritage is merged with local specificities, and their outsiders are mostly seen as, at best, respectful aficionados, perhaps even participants in some kinds of happenings from time to time, but not as tourist consumers.

So, obviously, at least on a discursive level and regarding the main state-supported actions, there are *more differences than similarities* in how China and Croatia process the idea of intangible heritage and its safeguarding. The notion of community and its agency, as well as the viability of heritage and its management, are understood and put into practice very differently. Croatian enthusiasm is guided by the continuity of safeguarding combined with international prestige, while China is first of all engaged with the continuity of recreating and the expediency of heritage. Yet despite substantial differences, both countries are internationally recognized as having a rich heritage and acknowledged safeguarding. I do not see how to explain this disparity except in a positive way, as an argument in favor of UNESCO's ability to accommodate diverse notions of heritage, thus promoting cultural diversity, the agency of communities and/or societies, the processual nature of heritage, and intercultural dialogue, i.e., the main ideas of the program on the whole.

DISPUTES OVER OWNERSHIP: THE COMPARTMENTALIZATION OF MULTILOCAL AND MULTI-ETHNIC HERITAGE

Informed by UNESCO's program, heritage is a concept that in the past few years has submerged the notions of folk or traditional culture, folklore and tradition, supplementing them with *added value* (as regards participants in heritage production and the mechanisms of acquiring value), *stability* (in terms of tradition's objectification and connoting the materiality of tangible heritage), *protectability* (e.g., in terms of intellectual property), and *usability* (especially in tourism or other domains where local communities have been accommodated for global exchanges). There is an ongoing puzzle of how to solve the issue of the continuity of changes

26 Cited in "China's Intangible Cultural Heritage", in *China Heritage Quarterly* 7 (2006), http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/editorial.php?issue=007, accessed 25 October 2019.

in traditions, the relationship between preservation, protection, enhancement and revitalization, between common good and intellectual property, and, above all, the issue of who owns a tradition, who is included and excluded, and who has the right to define the features of a tradition and set its borders. Disputes over ownership proliferate both on Croatian national and on international level.

Within state borders, there is often tension between the *local* communities which *are* and which are *not* recognized as bearers of a certain heritage element, usually expressed in terms of an argument about 'authentic' versus 'non-authentic' preservation of the element in question – on the basis of outside, expert evaluation, or on the ground of the understandings of just one or more powerful parts of the community in question, or just some powerful individuals within the community (such as the mayor of the town, a head of tourist organization, or a leader of cultural association). This occurs because the idea of community – and its agency – is at the very center of the whole program and Convention, while being at the same time open to myriad interpretations which are very vague regarding who makes a community and who is eligible to define the features of a certain heritage element and set its borders. There is a growing number of studies that document such disputes, in particular in the discipline of folklore studies, for instance Marcus Tauschek's study on the "Carnival of Binche" (Belgium) and Dorothy Noyes' study on the celebration of Corpus Christi ("Patum") in Berga (Catalonia, Spain).[27]

Within and among neighboring countries in Southeast Europe, the most common disputes revolve around ethnicity in terms of the suppression or exclusion of certain groups, especially minorities. The causes have been recognized mostly in, so to say, the strong yet intangible heritage of local nationalisms rather than in the Convention's profile. For instance, Ardian Ahmedaja welcomed the 2005 proclamation of "Albanian folk iso-polyphony" as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, but argued that it would better correspond with reality to attribute this tradition not only to Albanians in Albania but also to Greeks and Aromanians in Albania and Greece, and Albanians in Greece and Macedonia, who share a similar tradition.[28] Similarly, in her examination of the 2002 Macedonian application of *teškoto* dance for the UNESCO's Masterpieces program, Carol Silverman

27 Marcus Tauschek, "'Plus oultre': Welterbe und kein Ende? Zum Beispiel Binche", in *Prädikat "heritage": Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen*, eds. Dorothee Hemme, Marcus Tauschek and Regina Bendix (Berlin et al.: LIT Verlag, 2007), 197–223; Dorothy Noyes, "The Judgment of Solomon: Global Protections for Tradition and the Problem of Community Ownership", in *Cultural Analysis* 5 (2006): 27–56.

28 Ardian Ahmedaja, "Nation versus Region: Albanians in Ethnomusicology, Ethnomusicologies in Albania", paper presented at the *International Symposium in European Ethnomusicology – National Ethnomusicologies: The European Perspective,* Cardiff, UK, 27–29 April 2007.

explored "how Roma were erased from a ritual in which they were the central musicians," recognizing the reasons in "Balkan nation-building projects," "ethnic identity projects," and deployment of "ethnonationalist symbols for strategic aims".[29]

I have found such explanations incomplete. First, as for *teškoto*, though it was indeed represented in the application as an "eternal monument" of Macedonian culture that Macedonians on a whole identify with, in terms of its practitioners it was limited to the professional ensemble Tanec. It is therefore more precise to say that practicing community and human agency in general were actually "erased" from the application, and not only the Roma. And second, instead of dissecting only the nationalisms of local governments, one should rather look at the whole picture, from the local to the national and international levels. Namely, the recognition of an element on an international scale, and a consecutive rise of respect towards it, seems inevitably to feed further development in the direction of its separate and pure uniqueness. As an explanation for such a global distribution of the phenomena, I would cite Regina Bendix's thesis that "the paradox inheres in using the governmental funding apparatus devised by hegemonic majority culture programs to promote minority voices" (and, of course, this is exactly what the program of safeguarding intangible heritage is basically about). The paradox is due to the understanding that the "funding apparatus will always generate mechanisms of judgment (worthy or not worthy of funding) that discriminate on the basis of taste and ideology, thus again reinstating judgmental criteria over folk materials".[30] For instance, as Nino Tsitsishvilli argues, the recognition of "Georgian polyphonic singing" as a masterpiece of humanity gave wings to the protectors of its authentic features, but also marginalized several other important traditions of ethnic exchanges in Georgia, such as *duduki*, the *zurna*, and the *mugham*. Within this discussion, the point is to notice that the IGC and UNESCO are not outside of these processes; quite the contrary, they are at the very center of them. In the example of Georgia, UNESCO has been used "to assist the government in its assimilation politics regarding ethnic minorities"; and by itself it "seems to be promoting dialogue between cultures and cultural diversity between different states but not between different communities

29 Carol Silverman, "Romani Music, Balkan States, and the Dilemmas of Heritage", paper presented at the joint annual meeting of the American Folklore Society and Association Cenadienne d'ethnologie et de folklore / Folklore Studies Association of Canada, Quebec, Canada, 17–20 October 2007. See abstract at https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.afsnet.org/resource/resmgr/Docs/AFS_2007_AM_Program_Book_1.4.pdf, 214, accessed 25 October 2019. The paper was later published as a journal article: Carol Silverman, "Macedonia, UNESCO, and Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Challenging Fate of Teškoto", in *Journal of Folklore Research* 52/2–3 (2015): 233–251.

30 Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 259.

within one state".[31] A number of other inscriptions narrate comparable stories of the effects of international recognition, which can all be summarized as disciplining or essentializing traditions in one way or another.

But one should not blame the IGC and UNESCO for essentializing. The act of recognition presupposes a definition (of a recognizable element), and definitions can hardly escape (at least some) essentializing, even more so when the general subject is such a complex phenomenon as tradition or heritage. UNESCO is clear in claiming that communities should play a decisive role in defining their own heritage. However, as much as traditions are relative and relational, the same is the case with communities, for better or worse. Like traditions, they are not objective realities out there. And it is not only communities who create their traditions; they are also created through the employment of these traditions, i.e. through performances which are vague representations of vague traditions. They are symbolic, temporary, contextual, fluid; they are imagined, like traditions. Thus, for instance, when Ahmedaja speaks of the 'reality' of the multipart singing tradition that is shared by Albanians, Greeks, and Aromanians in Albania, Greece, and Macedonia, whose reality is he actually talking about? Do all these people recognize themselves as one community (with and because of a shared tradition), or do we – the scholars who know the 'reality' – imagine them as a community because of the 'reality' of their shared tradition? It seems that agency is, after all, again in the hands of scholars, regardless of our fine analyses and good intentions, namely the intention to follow and respect the concepts of the people we work with. So, since things are so complex with communities and traditions, it seems quite understandable that the IGC and UNESCO should respect the already established, conventional boundaries between communities that have been set up (or at least recognized) by both national governments and ethnographic disciplines.

As for China, to refer again to this distant and in a way incomparable case in order to uncover the very basic components of the program, I emphasized above its promotion of minority heritage (even if only for the purpose of confirming China as "a unified multi-ethnic country") and the development of minority ecomuseums and similar projects, congruently with the importance given to the economic expediency of heritage in general. Yet this Chinese agenda, as in the above examples, has provoked negative reactions from neighboring nations. For example, Mongolians opposed the recognition of *khoomei*, the art of Mongolian overtone singing, as a Chinese element inscribed on the Representative List in 2009, and

31 Adriana Helbig, with contributions from Nino Tsitsishvili and Erica Haskell, "Managing Musical Diversity within Frameworks of Western Development Aid: Views from Ukraine, Georgia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina", in *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 40 (2008): 52.

there was a similar reaction to the nomination of the "Farmers' dance of China's Korean ethnic group" in the Republic of Korea. One could imagine that Tibetans, if they were not a nation without a state, would protest against the inscription of "Tibetan opera" under the Chinese umbrella, etc. The way the IGC and UNESCO nowadays solve such disputes is very simple: the top agency is given to each state party, and at the same time, state parties are requested not to comment on situations beyond their state borders. This means that Mongolia may not interfere in how things are done in China, but it may nominate *its* khoomei singing, as it actually did – and thus the Mongolian "Mongolian traditional art of Khöömei" was added to the Representative List in 2010, one year after the inscription of the Chinese "Mongolian art of singing, Khoomei".[32] But regardless of such conciliatory solutions, the fact remains that the program, despite its good intentions, has provoked a number of disputes. Also, despite a general intention to help create 'united nations,' for instance through the encouragement of multinational applications,[33] the existing framework works in favor of clear-cut national categories, or at least it is much better equipped to work with compartmentalized categories and distinct uniqueness. The tools to accommodate a complex heritage of exchanges and mutuality, disjunctures and intersections, have yet to be invented.

DISPUTES AROUND RIGHTS: HERITAGE PATHWAYS TOWARDS GENDER EQUALITY

The gender aspect of the ICH program has up to now not incited much scholarly attention, excluding a couple of expert meetings organized by UNESCO itself. As summarized in the final report of one of these meetings, one often encoun-

32 Since then, the IGC, which is the main executive organ of the Convention, repeatedly in its decisions reminds States Parties to "avoid characterizing the practices and actions within other States" for this "might inadvertently diminish mutual respect among communities or impede intercultural dialogue" (IGC: "Eighth Session: Decisions", item 6.a/17; see also IGC, "Seventh Session: Decisions", item 11/12; IGC, "Eighth Session: Decisions", item 8/11). This actually means a rule of non-interference in matters relating to other states. At the subsequent, Ninth Session, the IGC requested States Parties "to avoid unnecessary reference in the titles of elements to specific countries or adjectives of nationality that may inadvertently provoke sentiments contrary to the Convention's principle of international cooperation", meaning the sentiments in other states (IGC: "Ninth Session: Decisions", item 10/12). That is, each state party is completely sovereign yet encouraged to promote harmonious international cooperation.

33 They are considered by the IGC on a priority basis in relation to national files, however excluding the files from States that have no elements inscribed, which are at the top of the priorities; see UNESCO, "Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage", in *Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Paris: UNESCO, 2012 and 2014), item I.10/34.

ters "contradictions between the reality of traditional cultures and the notion of gender equality," and/or the ambiguity of whether heritage program are basically empowering for women or rather confine them within traditional, usually basically patriarchal social arrangements.[34] UNESCO is fully devoted to human rights, including gender equality, while at the same time it is equally devoted to cultural rights, in particular precisely through the program of ICH. A possible additional argument against the priority of human rights and gender equality over cultural rights would be in the relativity of the notion of 'equality,' namely in the understanding that inequality in terms of power to dominate and humiliate is based on European- and American-oriented views and theories, and that it is not proper to apply them to other gender systems, which are by themselves "crucial cultural elements [...] in need of safeguarding".[35] The argument is that interpretations within the communities of what gender and gender balances are also need to be taken into account, respected, and supported.

I have elsewhere analyzed the gender structure of the Croatian national list of ICH and the international Representative List.[36] The majority of elements are in both cases described in a gender-silent way, i.e., without indicating whether an element is shared by men and women (and then whether on an equal or a different footing) or is gender-specific. This is strange in itself, for if the community is so central in the program, then one would expect to find at least a bit of reference to gender as an important factor in defining and reflecting community, and one of the key dimensions of social identity. Besides reading this gender-silence as additional evidence of the more declaratory than actual importance of community, some scholars have asked whether this attitude indicates a preference for men's heritage. For instance, Valentine Moghadam and Manilee Bagheritari noticed that the photographs included in UNESCO's brochures "largely depict men," while it is not clear if "the photographs mirror the reality of such practices" or if "these were the choices of the photographers".[37] My analysis also did not provide definite answers.

34 See UNESCO, *Final Report: Expert Meeting* "*Gender and Intangible Heritage*" (Paris: UNESCO, 2003), 1.

35 Ibid., 11.

36 Naila Ceribašić, "UNESCO's Program of Intangible Cultural Heritage, Women, and the Issue of Gender Equality", in *A Feminist Critique of Knowledge Production*, eds. Silvana Carotenuto, Renata Jambrešić Kirin and Sandra Prlenda (Napoli: L'Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", 2014), 53–69. This paper also includes a detailed analysis of "Bistritsa Babi" within and beyond an essentialising template of their representation in the Representative List.

37 Valentine Moghadam and Manilee Bagheritari, "Cultures, Conventions, and the Human Rights of Women: Examining the Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, and the Declaration on Cultural Diversity", in *Museum International* 59/4 (2007): 15.

Among the elements that do contain any references to gender – around a quarter of all the elements included on the Representative List up to 2009, and around one-half in the period from 2010 to 2012 – the largest group is of those that are, as explicitly stated, shared by men and women (c. 43 elements), followed by explicitly male elements (c. 25) and explicitly female (17). Regarding the last group, both in the Representative List and the Croatian national list women appear predominantly as bearers of handicrafts and clothing, singing and dancing, and some specific rites and festivities, that is, as bearers in relation to the tradition of the 'three Ks': traditions connected with feeding, dressing, and raising children, and implanting traditional family values and religious beliefs. Women from the Estonian islands Kihnu and Manija provide a good example of such a female position.[38]

Thus, what is supported is basically a very patriarchal social arrangement, with only some traces which indicate, or which could be seen as indicating, women's power and/or resistance to the expected roles. Such an example is provided by "Palestinian Hikaye," "a narrative expression practised by women" which is "usually narrated at home during winter evenings, at spontaneous and convivial events attended by small groups of women and children". It deals "with current concerns of Middle Eastern Arab society and family issues," "offers a critique of society from the women's perspective and draws a portrait of the social structure that directly pertains to the lives of women". Many *hikaye* "describe women torn between duty and desire".[39] As for the Croatian list, a reference to women's power is, among just a few other elements, embedded in the above-mentioned spring procession of *kraljice* (queens). Members of the community understand their *kraljice* as a reminiscence of the times of the Ottoman invasion, when men were defeated or absent from the village, and therefore women took up sabres to defend their homes. It is, however, interesting that the notion of brave female defenders is not included in the nomination file. Besides being historically ungrounded, this happened probably in order not to jeopardize the inscription by mentioning "expressions that might inadvertently diminish mutual respect among communities or

38 They are "the principal custodians of the cultural traditions embodied in numerous songs, games, dances, wedding ceremonies and handicrafts. Singing is an integral part of collective handicraft activities and of religious celebrations. Particularly noteworthy among the musical repertory of the islanders is an oral tradition of pre-Christian origin, known as runic or Kalevala-meter songs. The most visible emblem of Kihnu culture remains the woolen handicrafts worn by the women of the community. Working in their homes using traditional looms and local wool, the women weave and knit mittens, stockings, skirts and blouses, which often feature bright colors, vivid stripes and intricate embroidery. Many of the symbolic forms and colors adorning these striking garments are rooted in ancient legends". The file is accessible at UNESCO: "Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage". The name of the element is "Kihnu cultural space".

39 The file is accessible at UNESCO, "Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage".

impede intercultural dialogue"[40] – that is, in this case, by mentioning the Ottoman invasion.

The IGC has obviously recognized a tension between values emanating from its inscriptions and the principles of gender equality. Even more, the problem was recognized by the UNESCO's Internal Oversight Service, which in 2013 completed its evaluation of the Convention and proposed a number of recommendations to the IGC.[41] As a result, at its Eighth Session the IGC (re)emphasised "the importance of gender and generational roles and responsibilities in the practice, safeguarding and transmission of intangible cultural heritage;"[42] it commended states parties "for increasingly addressing the gender aspects of intangible cultural heritage;"[43] and requested the Secretariat to "revise all relevant documents and forms [...] to include gender-specific guidance and questions".[44] During the Session, an appreciation of gender equality was especially accentuated regarding the nomination of "Classical horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna". In their attempt to convince the Committee to inscribe the element on the Representative List regardless of an unfavorable recommendation by the evaluation body, Austrian delegates emphasized that the Spanish Riding School is of utmost importance for the people and a vivid part of their culture, which they corroborated by a recent success, namely the admission of female students to the school.[45] This persuasion, however, did not bear fruit at that session (the revised file was inscribed in 2015).

Among the elements that the IGC decided to inscribe at the same session, women are most prominent in the "Practices and knowledge linked to the Imzad of the Tuareg communities of Algeria, Mali and Niger". The governments of these three countries anticipated that the inscription would contribute to enhancement of the status of women, including raising their living standards and economic promotion through the development of craftsmanship and tourism.[46] Along the same line,

40 IGC; "Eighth Session: Decisions", item 6.a/17.

41 UNESCO Internal Oversight Service, "Evaluation of UNESCO's Standard-Setting Work of the Culture Sector: 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage", part 2.4.

42 IGC, "Eighth Session: Decisions", item 6.a/11.

43 IGC, "Eighth Session: Decisions", item 8/7.

44 IGC, "Eighth Session: Decisions", item 5.c.1/11.a.

45 In the nomination file, it is stated that "in September 2008 the Spanish Riding School put an end to an endless gender discussion and admitted the first two female riders. Since then these two young women have been joined by four more and now make up the majority of the eleven group. With this decision the principle of equality was enforced". The file is accessible at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/download.php?versionID=20578, accessed 25 October 2019.

46 See sections 1/v, 2/iii and 3.b/ii in the nomination file. The file is accessible at UNESCO, "Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage". The craftsmanship is mentioned because women build the instrument.

the importance of women for the practice and transmission of *imzad* was given a prominent place in the Committee's decision,[47] as well as in the speech of thanks by the representatives of three countries after the proclamation. However, the whole nomination file, as well as the accompanying video and photographs, reveal some additional emphases and possible readings. For instance, it appears that although the musical instrument (*imzad*) is built and played exclusively by women, the songs are composed, recited, or sung mostly by men. It also appears that a revival project initiated in Mali in 2009 leaned on the expertise of a male musician who identified a dozen women to be organized into workshops and trained them. Among other functions and meanings, according to the writers of the nomination file, the instrument "glorifies the qualities of honesty and bravery of men who are seen as heroes," and "the music establishes the traditional status and role of women as earth mothers".[48] Thus it seems as if the new top-down demand to highlight the importance of gender dynamics and women's contributions has resulted in certain exaggerations concerning the actuality of women's practices and the anticipated future benefits for them.

Besides such an (over)emphasized centrality of women, the new gender awareness finds its reflection in the emphasis given to harmonious sharing between men and women in terms of their equal agency over an element and participation in its performance. This appears in the phrases "regardless of gender" or "both women and men" and similar wording, and is present in summarized descriptions of several elements proclaimed in 2013. Such assertions are mostly but not always justified by data provided in the nomination files. So, for instance, the "Performance of the Armenian epic of 'Daredevils of Sassoun' of 'David of Sassoun'" (proclaimed in the previous, 2012 cycle) allegedly "has no gender, age or professional limitations".[49] The same wording appears in the short description and the nomination file, with no additional information, but the accompanying video and available literature do not support such a statement. Rather, as in the case of *imzad*, it appears as if the general politics of gender equality and gender inclusiveness prevailed over the reality on the ground.

Another imaginable variant of sharing between men and women – one that would manifest itself through paying equal attention and respect to the different roles or activities of men and women, without giving preference to either of them – did not appear in the period that I examined (up to the end of 2014). Namely, despite a new trajectory of gender awareness, it is always so that elements are ei-

47 IGC, "Eighth Session: Decisions", item 8.2/R.1–R.2.

48 See section 1/iv, as well as sections 1/i–ii, 3.a and 4.c in the nomination file. The file is accessible at UNESCO, "Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage".

49 The file is accessible at UNESCO, "Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage".

ther completely undiscriminating, inclusive of both men and women on an equal ground, or that one gender runs the show, while the other is non-existent, invisible, on the very margin, or at best plays an auxiliary role. In other words, there are no elements where one gender would do things which are generally considered as valuable, while the other gender would simultaneously do other things which – informed by a new gender awareness – would be understood and interpreted as equally valuable, depending on the perspective.[50] This is not to mention differences within gender groups that would spread beyond a customary age and marital differentiations, which are also non-existent.[51] An awareness of various perspectives and complex identity positions stands as a challenge for the future. But there is no doubt that already at present, equipped with the navigation kit delivered from the cruise ship of UNESCO at large, the program of ICH on a global scale has started to sail away from the land of exclusively cultural belonging and patriarchal dominance towards a promised land of human rights, gender equality, and economic benefits, hopefully for the well-being of the people involved.

A SOUGHT-AFTER EFFECT: HERITAGE AS INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY, AND ITS REVERSE

The beginning of the ICH program has been generally recognized in the 1973 Bolivian initiative regarding the legal protection of folklore on an international scale. Instigated by the enormous commercial success of Simon and Garfunkel's version of "El Condor Pasa," an indigenous folksong from the Andes, the Bolivian minister of culture complained to UNESCO that all existing instruments

> are aimed at the protection of tangible objects, and not forms of expression such as music and dance, which are at present undergoing the most intensive clandestine commercialization and export, in a process of commercially oriented transculturation destructive of the traditional cultures.[52]

50 Outside of the ICH program, there are, of course, numerous such examples. For instance, in the realm of Croatian traditional culture, the participation of women in the carnival on the island of Lastovo has been documented and promoted by Iva Niemčić in her book and several articles. See, e.g., Iva Niemčić, "Tragom nevidljive plesačice", in *Narodna umjetnost* 39/2 (2002): 77–92. Women are obligatory participants in the custom, including their performance of a ritual chain dance, yet they have been invisible in scholarly and other sources due to a preference for the 'more traditional' male procession.

51 It is perhaps needless to say that the heterosexual matrix is also not challenged at all, neither in the programmatic documents nor in the nomination files.

52 Cited in Valdimar Tr. Hafstein, *The Making of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Tradition and Authenticity, Community and Humanity* (PhD diss., University of California, 2004), 9–10.

According to Valdimar Hafstein, Bolivia suggested to UNESCO to develop legislation that would declare all rights in cultural expressions of collective or anonymous origin to be the property of the respective states, to establish a committee which would adjudicate possible disputes between states concerning such property, and to create a convention which would regulate the aspects of folklore preservation, promotion and diffusion, as well as to establish an international register of folkloristic cultural property.[53] Three decades later the two latter suggestions came into being through the 2003 Convention and its lists, while the two former are still under negotiation within the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) – more specifically, from 2001 within its Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore.[54]

However, a kind of protection has been achieved to a degree through the recognition and promotion of traditional knowledge and expression in ethical terms. The 2003 Convention is at the forefront of such endeavors. Since in the ideal of equity the ethical and legal aspects should not be separated, the possibility of their conjunction in some undefined future could be among the reasons why some of the most developed countries did not join the Convention. There is, as some stories in the lobbies go, perhaps a caution that ethical safeguarding can lead towards legal protection and jeopardize their industry. On the other side, among those who joined the Convention, the discourse on safeguarding in ethical terms sometimes alludes to legal protection.

This is very much the case in Croatia, in particular on the grassroots level. When speaking with people who, thanks to national and international inscriptions, are today officially recognized – or, as is actually more often the case, once more confirmed – as bearers of heritage in Croatia, the conversation typically turns to the effects of inscription. Some mention the introduction of new, governmentally supported activities related to the transmission of knowledge (e.g., in the form of workshops), promotion (e.g., a newly established festival dedicated to the element concerned), research and documentation (including, although less often, some bottom-up projects), and perhaps also some other types of activities. Also, some elaborate on how the cultural capital gained through inscription can be integrated into sustainable development programs and into economic growth in general (and tourism in particular), which is often accompanied by a critique of governmental bodies incapable of taking a lead. Yet, most of all, inscriptions are seen in the light

53 Ibid., 11.

54 See, e.g., Wend Wendland, "Intangible Heritage and Intellectual Property: Challenges and Future Prospects", in *Museum International* 56/1–2 (2004): 97–107.

of intellectual property rights. 'Now everybody knows this is our tradition' represents a typical standpoint, frequently with the addition of 'from now on, nobody else will (or should) be allowed to perform it.' Of course, the reality does not and cannot confirm this standpoint, but the fact remains that the sought-after effects of inscriptions pertain primarily to intellectual property rights.

The best-known such example pertains to a long-lasting attempt by the natives of the city of Korčula to keep the exclusive rights to perform their combat sword dance called *moreška*. In particular, they tried to forbid Lado, a Croatian professional folklore ensemble, from including *moreška* in their repertoire. They defended their exclusive rights with arguments of authenticity and vitality of the tradition, as well as its importance for the cultural identity of the community. Lado, as they emphasized in 1996, cannot perform *moreška* properly, since one cannot "oteti dušu [Korčulanima], a bez duše se Moreška ne može batit" ('take away the soul [of Korčula's people], and without a soul one cannot stomp *moreška*').[55] They adduced genes and mother's milk to support their arguments, and after Lado, despite their vocal disapproval, had nevertheless included *moreška* in its program in 2002, they claimed it had profaned their sanctity, and accused the group of plagiarism and culture-cide.[56] A new wave of public outcry came together with the inscription of "Korčula's *moreška*, combat sword dance" in the Croatian register of intangible heritage in 2007. Confirmed by this act as bearers of *moreška*, the only bearers who are mentioned in the document, it was not surprising that Korčula's performers perceived the inscription as the ultimate, effective means to put into force their rights and defend *moreška* from Lado's intrusion. The Croatian minister of culture added to this perception by claiming that "[t]ko god drugi pleše morešku, to ne može biti autentična moreška koju plešu Korčulani" ('whoever else is dancing *moreška*, it cannot be the authentic *moreška* which Korčula's people dance'), and that the registration file "ne brani nikome da pleše morešku, ali rješenje govori da je jedina originalna moreška ona s Korčula" ('does not prevent anyone from dancing *moreška*, but states that the only original *moreška* is the one from Korčula').[57]

This logic, however, failed again to materialize because, according to the copyright law, *moreška* belongs to "folk creations in authentic form" and is therefore accessible to all. But it is indicative that the program of intangible heritage additionally inspired Korčula's performers, as well as many other grassroots bearers of tradition, to argue for shifting the barrier of ownership from exclusively individual rights to the level of the collective rights of the group or community concerned.

55 Anon. [Korčulani i moreškanti], "Istina o 'slučaju Moreška' ili zašto ne želimo dati Morešku", in *Novi list*, 9 July 1996, 25. Author's translation.

56 Željan Petković, "Od moreške nam učinili krnovala", in *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 23 November 2002.

57 Božo Biškupić in Derk, "Svjetska baština". Author's translation.

This is happening in the context of a more and more rigorous implementation of the copyright law. Its most disputable point in relation to traditional music refers to the provision that every public performance of whatever work (either authorial or traditional, i.e., either copyrighted or non-copyrightable) requires the payment of remuneration to the agency that is responsible for the implementation of the law.[58] In Croatia this is the Collecting Society of the Croatian Composers' Society, i.e. ZAMP, according to its acronym in Croatian. In line with this provision, each bearer of tradition, say, each traditional musician, has to pay remuneration to ZAMP for each performance he/she gives in public. And public, according to the copyright law, means all that happens outside a narrow circle of persons closely tied by family or other personal relations.[59] One consequence of such a definition and implementation of 'public' is that 'authentic folklore', i.e. folklore which according to the law belongs to public domain, is actually non-existent; it cannot exist in performance, among actual people and situations. The manner of copying, borrowing, appropriating, mixing, and such, which is typical for folkloric processes, is in legislative discourse and practice simply erased. All sorts of borrowings are permissible only in the domain of composition and the corresponding copyright regime, but not in the course of performance and the corresponding non-authorial attitudes.

In such a context, where individual authorship is unquestionable and the flow is no longer free, the attitude of Korčula's and other grassroots communities is even more understandable. Bearers of local traditions more and more complain about the injustice, as they say – the injustice of being obliged to pay for practicing their own tradition. Even more so because they perform without any remuneration – their activities are exclusively amateur, undertaken in their free time. Simultaneously, they are more and more vocal in questioning how ethical and equitable is the related field of authorial elaborations of folklore. According to the letter of the law, elaborations that are *original* intellectual creations are protected as independent authorial works.[60] However, there is no mechanism to evaluate the level of originality and novelty of an arrangement (i.e., a musical 'elaboration'), or the degree of its divergence from authentic folklore. An individual can approach ZAMP with the simplest harmonization, or even a plain transcription of a folksong, and protect it as his/her own work. Generally speaking, bearers of traditions previously did not care about such things because there existed a free flow of folkloric variation, with borrowings between authorial and non-authorial do-

58 Hrvatski sabor, "Zakon o autorskom pravu i srodnim pravima", in *Narodne novine* 167 (22 October 2003), art. 8.

59 Hrvatski sabor, "Zakon o autorskom pravu", art. 3/3.

60 Ibid., art. 6.

mains. But this is no longer the case. Tvrtko Zebec has described one such disputable example.[61] It relates to an authorial song that relies heavily on the music and poetry of one area, and one village in particular, although the author did not use any specific traditional song or lyrics. Accordingly, he protected it as his original authorial work. However, a folklore group from the area in question included the song in its repertoire, and the question was raised whether the group should pay royalties to the author for its performance. Should they, since the song is indeed his authorial work? Or shouldn't they, since the song is strongly based on musical and textual features taken from that particular area. The song is actually floating somewhere in between the communal and the individual, but according to the law it is exclusively individual.

Apparently, there is a need to recognize an intermediate group or collective sphere of intellectual property rights in between individual rights, on the one hand, and the national or international public domain on the other.[62] However, almost everything is disputable here: what needs to be protected, how can one not stifle the dynamics of traditions and their free flow, and how can one not be selective; equally disputable is who *actually* makes a community, who can/should represent it, and who will guard the guardians. The existing proposals mostly refer to indigenous traditions and communities. Presumably, they are isolated, homogenous, bounded, defined. Presumably, also, states could protect them, speak on their behalf, and represent them. Ethnographic literature has, however, quite clearly demonstrated that one hardly ever encounters such traditions and communities, and probably even less can one come across such states. In other words, any attempt towards the protection of folklore – and ICH in the vocabulary of the 2003 Convention – seems inevitably to result in the previously discussed compartmentalized, selective cluster of 'authentic' products of national heritage produced jointly by scholarly analysis and governmental management.

Indeed, when put into practice, it appears that product-oriented conceptions, after all, dominate over the practices of actual communities, which are, in principle, the subject of safeguarding. The event that marked Croatian accession to the EU on 30 June 2013 can serve as an illustration. It included a number of Croatian ICH elements; actually it was based on them, demonstrating, as was emphasized in the booklet, "the wealth of Croatia's cultural heritage and many years of dedicated

61 Tvrtko Zebec, "Izazovi primijenjene folkloristike i etnologije", in *Narodna umjetnost* 39/2 (2002): 93–110.

62 Other proposals suggest the broadening of the public domain, open sources, recognition of the culture of borrowing, the cumulative and collaborative character of any creative work, and similar. See, e.g., Valdimar Hafstein, "The Politics of Origins: Collective Creation Revisited", in *Journal of American Folklore* 117/465 (2004): 300–315. But such proposals seem to be hardly feasible.

work of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, its departments and experts from the fields of ethnology and cultural anthropology". The program of the celebration, as the booklet continues, "present[ed] the cultural heritage that Croatia shares with humanity and [took] us on a journey from ancient customs to modern expression which coexist in time and which Croatia will bring to the European Union".[63] This is a narrative that one could expect and may accept, but the problem is that, with a few exceptions, only Lado was on the stage, not the internationally recognized 'bearers' of these celebrated heritage elements. One can understand that the producers of such an important event did not want to take a risk with amateurs, people who are not accustomed to demanding productions, as I was told by some of the organizers, and thus they relied on professionals. Also, allegedly, the organization was faced with financial restrictions, and so it was cheaper to select a Zagreb-based ensemble than to invite participants from elsewhere. Nevertheless, it was an undeniable act of top-down appropriation. Otherwise, if amateurs were indeed not capable of meeting expectations, how then could they – instead of a professional ensemble – be included in the international, representative list of humanity? In other words, if they can be replaced by the state folklore ensemble, which operates "sa zadaćom i ciljem istraživanja, prikupljanja, umjetničke obrade i scenskog prikazivanja najljepših primjera bogate hrvatske glazbene i plesne tradicije" ('for the purpose and goal of researching, gathering, artistically arranging, and presenting the most beautiful examples of Croatian rich music and dance tradition'),[64] then apparently the communities concerned are not this or that local community but the entire national community.

63 Vlada Republike Hrvatske / Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Središnja proslava hrvatskog pristupanja Europskoj uniji / Main Celebration of Croatia's Accession to the European Union* (Zagreb, 2013). Program booklet, ed. Dina Puhovski. See also an extensive report at: https://vlada.gov.hr/proslava-pristupanja-hrvatske-u-europsku-uniju/1155, accessed 25 October 2019.

64 Lado – Ansambl narodnih plesova i pjesama Hrvatske, "O nama". http://www.lado.hr/o-nama/, accessed October 25, 2019. Author's translation.

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TheMA Theatre Music Arts

Vol. VIII/1–2, 2019

OPEN ACCESS RESEARCH JOURNAL

ISSN 2307-440X

TheMA is a peer-reviewed open-access research journal dedicated to the history of performing and visual arts. It is published biannually and specializes in the critical and trans-disciplinary historical study of artistic production and reception in various artistic genres including literature, theatre, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture.

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ISBN 978-3-99012-909-8

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