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# Contribution of Czech Musicians to the Serbian Music in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century\*

## Prispevek čeških glasbenikov srbski glasbi 19. stoletja

**Ključne besede:** glasbena migracija, češka glasba, srbska glasba, romantika

**Key words:** music migration, Czech music, Serbian music, Romanticism

### IZVLEČEK

Glavni cilj sestavka, ki se posveča prispevku čeških glasbenikov srbski glasbi 19. stoletja, je v osvetlitvi tistih dejstev, ki morejo prispevati k boljšemu razumevanju migracij kot pomembnega kulturnega fenomena. Posebna pozornost se posveča vrsti glasbenikov, ki so biografsko in po svojih delih pomembni.

### ABSTRACT

The main goal of this paper, devoted to the contribution of Czech Musicians to the Serbian Music in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century is to point out the facts which will contribute to the better understanding of the migration as an important cultural phenomenon. Particular attention will be paid to several musicians whose biographies and achievements are notable.

In the history of music of European nations, the phenomenon of music migration is deeply connected with the history of Czech music and its protagonists. Moreover, the Czech music history represents one of the best examples for the theoretical research into migrations. Various and fertile premises and conclusions about the political, ideological and sociological causes of the musical migrations, as well as about their formal and aesthetical consequences, can be reached by observing the movements of Czech musicians across the map of Europe (and even of the world!), particularly in the 18<sup>th</sup> and in the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

John Clapham, the author of the entry about the Bohemian and Moravian Art Music in the *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* even gives a periodization where the 18<sup>th</sup> century is defined as the "Period of migrations".<sup>1</sup> It is well known that the huge

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<sup>1</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [edited by Stanley Sadie], Vol. 5, London, Washington DC, Hong Kong, 1980, 120.

wave of migrations of Czech musicians in the 18<sup>th</sup> century started when the Austrian imperial court had been moved from Prague to Vienna; being one of the greatest musical capitals in the whole Europe only a century earlier, the 18<sup>th</sup> century Prague declined to the level of a provincial city. On the other hand, the production of musicians, composers and performers did not fall – quite contrary! The local music market became too small and saturated by the overproduction of excellent, well-trained musicians who could not find an appropriate and well-paid job in their homeland. Thus, being highly respected for their natural musical gifts, professional skills and artistic achievements, Czechs started one of the best known and most famous music migrations in the history of modern Europe. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Bohemia got the deserved nickname “The Conservatory of Europe” and its former students took the leading positions in the contemporary music life of late Baroque and of Preclassicism. Today most of them (let us mention only several of the most prominent Czech “music emigrants”!) – members of the families Stamitz<sup>2</sup> and Benda<sup>3</sup>, František (Franz) Xaver Richter (1709–1789), Jan Ladislav Dussek (Václav Jan Dusík/Dussek/Dushek, 1760–1812), Leopold Anotonín Koželuh (1747–1818) and Franz Krommer (František Kramář/Kromer/, 1759–1831) [who both followed W. A. Mozart at the position of the court composer in Vienna], as well as Josef Mysliveček (1737–1781, known in Italy as “Il divino Boemo” and as “Venatorini”) and Antonín Reicha (1770–1836) – one of the Paris Conservatoire’s most respected professors<sup>4</sup> – take the distinguished places in the historical surveys of the European music.

Unlike their famous compatriots, the majority of the Czech musicians who moved from Bohemia, Slovakia and Moravia to the “Serbian” towns in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and whose contribution to the development of Serbian music cannot be underestimated will remain always unknown in broader international frames. Our goal in this paper is not to present all of these numerous, diligent musicians by their names and by the facts about their activities. Our goal is to point out the facts, which will contribute to the better understanding of the problems of migration as an important cultural phenomenon in the processes of the transformation of cultural and musical context. However, attention will be paid to several musicians whose biographies and achievements are notable.

It should be emphasized that the migrations, as a phenomena which deeply marked the Serbian national history, determined profoundly the physiognomy of a newer, modern Serbian culture, together with art and music as its parts. During the medieval period, the culture of the Serbian Kingdom belonged entirely to the unique Byzantine world. When Serbs, after the Kosovo battle (1389) lost their state at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a certain portion of Serbian population immediately abandoned the homeland occupied by Turks and moved to the western and northern neighbouring countries. Among several waves of migrations, the most important for the later

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<sup>2</sup> *Stamic, Staimiz, Staniz, Steinmetz*: Jan Václav Antonín (1717–1757); Karel Filip/Carl Philipp (baptized in 1745–1801); Antonin Tadeáš Jan Nepomucký/Anton Thadäus Nepomuk (1750–1796).

<sup>3</sup> František/Franz (1709–1786); Jiří Antonin/Georg/ (1722–1795); Friedrich Ludwig (1752–1792).

<sup>4</sup> Amongst his students were Franz Liszt, Hector Berlioz, Charles Gounod, Louise Farrenc – the first woman to be appointed professor of piano at the Paris Conservatoire – and César-Auguste Franck.

modifications of Serbian cultural physiognomy were “The Great Migration” in 1690, and the second, in 1740, both led by patriarchs.<sup>5</sup> Those Serbs who left Turkish lands at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century became the residents of Austria and (from the viewpoint of cultural rights!) found themselves in an almost equal political position like other Slavic national minorities of the Empire.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a slow, long-term process of incorporation of Serbian culture into the cultural context of Central and Western Europe.<sup>6</sup> However, the majority of Serbs remained under the Turkish occupation in their former lands south of the Danube. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as the Turkish empire declined, Serbian people managed to build their own state (1830 – autonomy, 1878 – an independent state). The result of this historical migration is obvious: Serbs lived and developed their art both in Oriental and Western cultural systems, i.e. in two different, even opposite civilizations. It was only after World War One, when the new state – Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia) – was founded, that the Serbian people gathered again within a single country.

The process of westernization and of “modernization” of the Serbian newer art and music that began in the 18<sup>th</sup> century became much faster and stronger during the epochs of Classicism and Romanticism, particularly in the multinational and multicultural south-eastern parts of the Austrian empire, inhabited mainly by Serbs. Consequently, those Czech musicians who moved to “Serbian” towns did not need a

<sup>5</sup> See the proceedings from the scientific conference “The Great Migration of Serbs in 1690”, held in Belgrade (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts), in Novi Sad (Matica srpska) and in Sremski Karlovci in 1990, in: *Sentandrejski zbornik*, 3, SANU, Sentandrejski odbor, [editor Dejan Medaković], Beograd, 1997. The special attention should be paid to the texts written by Jovanka Kalić (“Les frontières Européennes de l’histoire Serbe”), Gordana Tomović (“Serbs in the Diaspora on the Geographic Maps of XVI to XVIII Centuries”), Vladimir Stojančević (“Die Grosse Auswanderung 1690 im Historischen Gedächtnis in der Tradition der Bevölkerung Altserbiens”), Nada Milošević-Đorđević (“Migrations and the Serbian Cultural-historical legends”), Dinko Davidov (“Zographs – Traveling Companions of Migrations”), Božidar Kovaček (“Великое Переселение и Арсений III в Трагикомедий Эммануила Козачинского”), Danica Petrović (“Les manuscrits cyrilliques à l’usage pour chanter les chants religieux à l’époque des migrations environ 1690–1737”) and Katarina Tomašević (“The Importance of the Great Migrations for the Development of Music in Serbian Theatrical Forms in XVIII Century”).

<sup>6</sup> Further research into the process of giving Serbian culture a European character in the 18th century was greatly contributed to and motivated by historians of visual arts Dejan Medaković (see e.g. *Putevi srpskog baroka*, 1971) and Dinko Davidov (e.g. *Srpska grafika XVIII veka*, 1978) and Milorad Pavić, famous Serbian writer and historian of literature (*Istorija srpske književnosti baroknog doba /XVII i XVIII vek/*, 1970). See also the survey articles by these authors in: *Istorija srpskog naroda*, IV, 2, Beograd, 1986. Stana Djurić-Klajn was among the first Serbian musicologists who explored the Serbian music-history of the 18th century (Tragom muzike u XVIII veku in: *Srpska muzika kroz vekove*, SANU, Galerija SANU, br. 22, Beograd 1973, 251–275; „Tragom srpske muzike u XVIII veku“ in collection of her texts *Akordi prošlosti*, Beograd, 1981, 7–22). The main contributions to the history of church music of the 18th century are given by Danica Petrović (Srpsko narodno pojanje i njegovi zapisivači in: *Srpska muzika kroz vekove*, op. cit., 251–275; Počeci višeglasja u srpskoj muzici, *Muzikološki zbornik*, XVII/2, Ljubljana 1981, 111–122; Srpska muzika i rusko-srpske kulturne veze u XVIII veku in: *Jugoslovenske zemlje i Rusija u XVIII veku* (proceedings from the conference), SANU, knj. 32, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, knj. 8, Beograd, 1986, 303–319; Baroque and Serbian Chant in the 18th Centuries in: *Zapadnoevropski barok i vizantijski svet*, (proceedings from the conference), SANU, Naučni skupovi, LIX, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, knj. 18, SANU, Beograd, 1991, 95–102. The contribution to the history of music in Serbian theatrical forms of the 18th century gave Katarina Tomašević (Pevana poezija u srpskom pozorištu Dositajeveg doba, *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku*, Novi Sad, 8/9, Novi Sad, 1991, 17–23; Muzička delatnost jezuita u Beogradu i Petrovaradinu tokom XVII i XVIII veka, *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku*, 18/19, Novi Sad, 1996, 60–78; Značaj Velike seobe za razvoj muzike u srpskim pozorišnim oblicima XVIII veka in: *Sentandrejski zbornik*, op. cit., 191–199; Muzička scena baroknog doba, *Mokranjac*, 2, Negotin, septembar 2000, 2–14; *Muzika i pozorišni život Srba u XVIII veku*, M.A. thesis, manuscript, 1991. N.B. Two chapters of the book *Srpska muzika od naseljavanja slovenskih plemena na Balkansko poluostrvo do kraja XVIII veka* by “Roksanda Pejović and collaborators” (Beograd, Univerzitet umetnosti, 1998), are based on several chapters of K. Tomašević’s M.A. thesis.

“visa” or the “green card” (work permit) to settle down and to start working in the new region: like their compatriots, other Czechs, Slovenians, Croats and Serbs, they were the residents of the same multinational country – Austria-Hungary.<sup>7</sup> The establishment of the modern Serbian musical life in that area – in Novi Sad, as well as in smaller Vojvodina towns (Vršac, Kikinda, Subotica, Sombor, Pančevo, Zemun) – was strongly supported by the help of numerous Czech musicians who had moved to these “Austro-Serbian” towns and found their new homeland among Serbian people.

The first bigger wave of Czech music migration started in the 1850s, while the last took place in the 1880s. As time passed, Czech musicians moved further to the south, to Belgrade, Smederevo, Šabac, Požarevac, Niš, Leskovac, Negotin, Mostar (Bosnia), Cetinje (Montenegro), Senj (Croatia) etc. and acquired distinguished positions in the musical life of these regions.

Who were they? Why did they decide to move and how did they contribute to the development of the Serbian music in the 19<sup>th</sup> century? In spite of the fact that several Serbian musicologists (Stana Đurić-Klajn<sup>8</sup>, Roksanda Pejović<sup>9</sup>, Milica Gajić<sup>10</sup>) explored the activity of Czech musicians among Serbs, we cannot still give the precise answers to the questions above. We still do not know their exact number (according to the knowledge of Milica Gajić – approximately 250!), nor do we know much about their former biographies. Some research sources are either incomplete or contain wrong information. One of the difficulties for the research is also the fact that Czech musi-

<sup>7</sup> On Czech people settling in Banat at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of planned Austrian colonization of deserted southern regions, cf. the article written by Vaclav Štepanek, Počeci češkog naseljavanja južnog Banata, *Sveske. Književnost, umetnost, kultura*, god. XIII, br. 62–63, Pančevo, mart 2002, 191–197.

<sup>8</sup> See: Stana Đurić-Klajn, *Istorijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Srbiji*, Beograd, Pro musica, 1971, 69–75; “Muzički život u Beogradu pre otvaranje Narodnog pozorišta”, “Muzičko školovanje u Srbiji do 1914. godine. Pokušaji i ostvarenja u XIX veku”, “Orkestri u Srbiji do osnivanja Filharmonije”, “Muzička esejistika i publicistika u Srba” in: *Akordi prošlosti*, op. cit., 36–43, 97–117, 128–154, 189–209.

<sup>9</sup> Roksanda Pejović, Češka muzika i muzičari u Beogradu između dva rata, *Zvuk*, Sarajevo, 1976, 4, 35–46; Češki hudebnici v Srbiju 19. stoleće, *Hudebni veda*, 1982, 4, 297–311; Srpska pisana reč u napisima čeških muzičara, *Gudalo*, 11, Kikinda, 1986, 37–46; *Srpsko muzičko izvođaštvo romantičarskog doba*, Beograd, Univerzitet umetnosti, 1991; Češki muzičari u srpskom muzičkom životu (1844–1918), I, *Novi Zvuk*, 8, Beograd, 1996, 51–58; Češki muzičari u srpskom muzičkom životu (1844–1918), II, *Novi Zvuk*, 9, Beograd, 1997, 65–74. N. B. Roksanda Pejović wrote the last two mentioned articles with the help of musicologist Milica Gajić.

<sup>10</sup> Milica Gajić is the only musicologist in Serbia who is almost completely devoted to the research of Czech legacy in Serbian music. Thanks to the scholarship of the Czech music fund in 1989 she stayed in Prague where through studying the sources in several libraries and archives, she complemented former and acquired completely new data on interactive relations of Serbian and Czech music. Working on her own project titled *Biographical Dictionary of Czech Musicians in Serbia* she listed as many as 250 Czech authors, some of whom are mentioned for the first time in Serbian music historiography. Here we quote the majority of her published articles: Praške godine Josipa Slavenskog 1920/1923, *Medjimurje*, 1985, 7, 109–115; Muzika u Srbiji u građanskom društvu, *Kulturni život u gradovima Srbije*, Kragujevac, 1991, II, 76–77; Napisi o srpskom muzičkom folkloru u češkoj muzičkoj periodici Mokranjčevog doba, *Novi Zvuk*, Beograd, 1993, 1, 139–146; Doprinos čeških muzičara srpskoj muzičkoj sceni do Prvog svetskog rata (sa posebnim osvrtom na kapelnike SNP u Novom Sadu) in: *Srpska muzička scena* (proceedings from the conference), Muzikološki institut SANU, Beograd, 1995, 114–128; Kontakti Miloja Milojevića sa češkim muzičarima, *Novi Zvuk*, Beograd, 1996, 7, 63–78; Opera *Crnogorci* Karela Bendla – poimanje i transpozicija elemenata našeg muzičkog folkloru in: *Folklor. Muzika. Delo* (zbornik radova), Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, Beograd, 1997, 473–490; Vek Opere u Novom Sadu. Anton Tuna–Osvald, dirigent prve operke predstave u Srpskom narodnom pozorištu u Novom Sadu, *Pro musica*, 1998, 160, 13–14; Crnice iz muzičkog života Bele Crkve – Delatnost Martina Novačeka 1856/1875, *Mokranjac*, 2002, 4, 66–68; Nepoznato delo Ludvika Kube, kompozicija *Z luhu slovanskyh i pisne černohorske* – kontekst nastanka, *Novi Zvuk*, 23, Beograd, 2004, 71–83. As an associate on the project *Serbian Biography Dictionary* (Matica srpska, Novi Sad), M. Gajić has published, edited and prepared a great number of entries about Czech musicians (until 1945).

cians moved frequently and for different reasons tended to change their names.<sup>11</sup> However, according to the present state of the research, we can draw quite an objective picture of Czech musicians' various activities in the posts of bandmasters, choir and orchestra conductors, composers, performers and teachers.

It is more than certain that the majority of Czech musicians came to Serbian towns searching for jobs and expecting better careers than in the homeland, but these were certainly not the only reasons for their migration. The majority of them were well-educated musicians, who had studied in Prague, at the Conservatory (Brunetti, Blažek, Josif Svoboda, Tollinger)<sup>12</sup> or at the Organ School (Hlavač, Cee, Šistek, Blažek, Vaclav Vedral studied with Dvořák and Knittel!)<sup>13</sup>. A few of them studied in Vienna (Dragutin Pokorný)<sup>14</sup>, in Leipzig (Šram)<sup>15</sup> and in Budapest (pianist Franja / František Gaal studied with F. Liszt and Erkel!)<sup>16</sup>...What else made them migrate, take the part and work with great enthusiasm on establishing the fundamental institutions of the young Serbian musical culture? Perhaps they were not first-class musicians whose talent could be compared to that of their famous contemporaries and compatriots Smetana or Dvořák, but their knowledge about music has doubtless outgrown the level of the existing music life in Serbian towns, performing capacities of ensembles and the cultural needs of the milieu.

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a certain expansion of musical life in "Serbian" towns in Austria-Hungary and in the Principality of Serbia. Many military orchestras which took important part in all cultural events of smaller towns in Vojvodina were founded at that time and the need for educated musicians increased steadily.<sup>17</sup> At the same time as in Bohemia<sup>18</sup> or in Slovenia, numerous choral societies started their fruitful cultural activities in "Serbian" towns in the southern part of the Austria-Hungarian Empire and in the Principality of Serbia.<sup>19</sup>

It is unnecessary to point out what a particularly important role these choral societies played in the cultural and political history of Slavic nations that shared their life as minorities in the Empire and that almost simultaneously initiated their national

<sup>11</sup> Milica Gajić's study is expected to solve numerous issues as well as to give a significant contribution to the history of both Serbian and Czech music.

<sup>12</sup> Federico/Fridrich/Brunetti (1837–1917), Dragutin Blažek (1847–1922), Josef Svoboda (1865–1898), Robert Tollinger (1859–1911). At the Prague Conservatory studied also Emanuel Viktor Nejedlý (1854–1885), Antonije Dorđević-Voves (1872–1913) and Ladislav Nikolaevič Štirský (who studied at the Opera school, too).

<sup>13</sup> Vojtěch Hlavač (1849–1911, Petrograd), Josef Cee (1841–1897), Vojtěch Šistek (1864–1925), Dragutin Blažek (1847–1922), Václav Vedral (1879–1953).

<sup>14</sup> Dragutin / František Pokorný (1868–1956).

<sup>15</sup> Stefan Schramm (1853–after 1898).

<sup>16</sup> František Gaal (1860–1906).

<sup>17</sup> See e.g.: Stana Djurić-Klajn, "Orkestri u Srbiji do osnivanja Filharmonije", op. cit.

<sup>18</sup> In Smetana's age in Bohemia there was a rise of numerous choral societies. The first of them was the Prague choral society *Hlahol*, whose choir was conducted by Smetana himself in 1845–46. The great number of choral societies in Bohemia is confirmed by the fact that as many as 87 choirs participated in the national festival in 1862.

<sup>19</sup> On Serbian choral societies cf. e.g. Roksanda Pejović, *Pevačka društva I, II*, op.cit.; *Srpska muzika 19. veka (Izvođaštvo. Članci i kritike. Muzička pedagogija)*, op. cit. The history of Serbian choral music was specially researched by Tatjana Marković, cf. the bibliography of her articles in the book by Roksanda Pejović, *Pisana reč o muzici u Srbiji. Knjige i članci (1945–2003)*, Beograd, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2003, 273–275. The review of the role of choral societies in the cultural context was contributed by Tatjana Marković in her book *Transfiguracije srpskog muzičkog romantizma – Muzika u kontekstu studija kulture*, Univerzitet umetnosti, Beograd, 2005.

struggle for cultural freedom and formal independence. It is also well-known that the year of 1848 was crucial for all the “small European nations“, whereas the migration of the Czech musicians into the southern regions of the Empire during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was specially motivated by the period of Bach’s absolutism (1851–1860), which coincided with forced germanization and abolition of political freedom.

The greatest number of Serbian choral societies were founded in Vojvodina, south-eastern part of Austria. Like elsewhere, the main aim of the cultural activities of choral societies was to contribute to the battle on the political and ideological fields. One of the strongest musical “weapons” were energetic, march-like choir songs (called “budnice” = “wake-up songs” in Serbian), composed mostly to the lyrics of the famous national poets of Romanticism. Having arrived to “Serbian” towns, Czech composers had already had the complete idea of the musical features of these songs. Actually, when they joined the stage of Serbian music battle for autonomy, they just had to follow the model of patriotic choral pieces widely sung in their homeland. Working as conductors and composers with Serbian choirs, Czechs had to accept the fact that the majority of singers had no formal music education. This was one of the reasonable answers to the question why the texture of their choral pieces had been so simplified and not more polyphonically elaborated.

As the activities of choral societies usually directly reflected the actual political and ideological events in Austria-Hungary, the state authorities and censors did not lose them from the sight and were ready to act energetically if necessary. One can easily draw a general parallel between the situation in Czech and in Serbian choral music of the time. Let us recall, for example, familiar moments from Smetana’s biography: the composer took part in street fights in Prague in 1848 and at the same time composed *March of the National Guards* and *March of the Students’ Legion*. When the uprising was suppressed he had to flee from Prague, which coincided with his composing of *Solemn Overture*, as well as the first song based on Czech lyrics – Kolar’s *Song of Freedom* (one of the first Czech mass songs!).

Another Czech composer and revolutionary, Josef Cee<sup>20</sup>, whose name cannot be found in international encyclopaedias and lexicons, became hugely popular among Serbs after composing a song in the honour of Svetozar Miletić, a famous fighter for Serbian national rights.<sup>21</sup> Josif Cee’s song *The Eagle Shrieks (Orao klikće)* was first sung under the window of the house where Miletić stayed on the night of his arrest and then taken to prison. The song subsequently entered the repertoire of most choirs and was also performed at the foundation ceremony of the *United Serbian Youth*, held in Novi Sad in 1870.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Josef Cee (1841–1897) finished the Organ School in Prague and was briefly the band-master in Bohemia. In 1869 he moved to “Serbian” towns, where he worked as a choir conductor (Pančevo and Zemun) and a music teacher in Kragujevac.

<sup>21</sup> Svetozar Miletić (1826–1901) was a lawyer and journalist who led and represented Serbs in Vojvodina, fighting for rights and freedom of Serbian national minority in Austria-Hungary. He was also a fighter for liberal reforms and the founder of Serbian national liberal party in Hungary. He got his Ph.D. in law in Vienna in 1854. As a student he joined the Pan-Slavic youth in Vienna and participated in the ‘national’ movement of 1848–49. He was arrested on numerous occasions (once even because of alleged treason) and severely fined.

<sup>22</sup> Roksanda Pejović, *Češki muzičari u srpskom muzičkom životu (1844–1918)*, I, op. cit., 65.

One should bear in mind that, at the same time, the Pan-Slavic movement with its idea of the unification of all Slavic nations became stronger all around the Slavic world. The strongest was perhaps in Bohemia (in Prague, where the first Pan-Slavic Congress was held in 1848!) and it was widely spread among Serbs in Austria-Hungary whose additional goal was the unification with the Serbian people living south of the Danube. Czech Pan-Slavism spread so widely that for a period of time young people of Slavic origin were forbidden to study in Prague for fear of spreading political infection.<sup>23</sup> According to Dragutin Gostuški, the idea of Pan-Slavism was one of the elements moving and enabling the integration of Czech musicians into the cultural and ideological milieu of Serbian population in Austria-Hungary. It is also worth mentioning that “by arriving in Serbia Czechs experienced a certain feeling of liberation (...) Their response to the brotherly hospitality and welcome was their great eagerness to learn the language and customs of the new environment and not only to accept its national and patriotic platform but also to streamline it themselves”<sup>24</sup>

Thus although the motives of Czech musicians to move to “Serbian” regions were mainly of economic nature, the significance of the political aspects of migrations should not be overlooked. Still we point out that the arrival of Czech musicians cannot be treated as “political migration”, as was the obvious case with, for example, the Russian musicians’ migrating after the October revolution.<sup>25</sup>

Czech musicians were so warmly welcomed in Serbian towns that after a certain period everybody referred to them as “our Czechs”. Having been the pioneers in almost all fields of musical life, Czech musicians were also among the first composers who wrote down Serbian folk tunes and made harmonization in a romantic manner. By their overall activity during the several decades in “Serbian” towns, they “moved the horizon of the expectation”<sup>26</sup> of the music audience a few steps further.

As conductors of several choirs (choral societies) and composers of numerous choral pieces, Vaclav Horejšek (Václav Horejšek, 1839–1874), Guido Havlas (Quido Havlasa, 1839–1909), Robert Tollinger (1859–1911) and Dragutin Blažek (1847–1922) e.g., raised the level of choral singing in Vojvodina’s towns and, together with Serbian leading musicians Kornelije Stanković (1831–1865), Josif Marinković (1851–1931) and Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914), laid the foundations for the Serbian rich and fertile choral music tradition.

As mentioned above, orchestral music in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Serbia could not be imagined without the help of Czechs as orchestra members. Moreover, it became traditional that the bandmasters of military orchestras were almost exclusively Czech musicians. One of the first bandmasters who came to the principality of Serbia in 1862 was,

<sup>23</sup> Dragutin Gostuški, *Stisak bratske ruke*, Muzički talas, 2–3, Beograd, CLIO, 1995, 22.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> On the same session (topic V: Musical Migrations, session “Musical migrations in Eastern Europe”, chair prof. dr. Aikaterini (Katy) Romanou (University of Athens), of the *17th Congress of the International Musicological Society* (held in Leuven, Belgium, 2002), dr Melita Milin delivered a report on Russian musical emigration. Amended version of the text of her lecture was published as a study: *The Russian Musical Emigration in Yugoslavia after 1917*, *Muzikologija*, 3, Belgrade, 2003, 65–79.

<sup>26</sup> The term is, obviously, “borrowed” from the H. Robert Jaus’s *theory of aesthetic reception*. See: Robert Jaus, *Estetika recepcije. Izbor studija*, Beograd, Nolit, 1978.

however, an Italian, Federico Brunetti, who used to work as a music teacher in Prague and was the nephew of the renowned Czech violin player and composer Jan Vaclav Kalivoda (Jan Křtitel Václav Kalliwoda, 1801–1866).<sup>27</sup>

The names of Dragutin Čížek (1831–1913)<sup>28</sup> and Dragutin Pokorni (Pokorný, 1868–1956) are closely connected both with the history of the Belgrade military orchestra and of Belgrade National Theatre, founded in 1868. In Čížek's biography in the National Theatre there is an outstanding concert where his orchestra composition *Farewell to Austria* (modelled on *Abschiedssymphonie* by Jozef Haydn) was performed. The composition brought allusions both to the relations between Serbia and Austria and (just as in Haydn's piece!) difficult working conditions of musicians in Belgrade. Despite incurring wrath of the National Theatre's management, Čížek's non-musical "message" was warmly welcomed and supported by "progressive", militant political organization of *United Youth of Serbia*, whose activities were soon (in 1871) completely prohibited by the authorities.<sup>29</sup>

In Belgrade, a great contribution to the development of the stage music was given by Dragutin Pokorni, also well known as the conductor at the first performance of Beethoven's *Pastoral* symphony in Belgrade (May the 25<sup>th</sup> 1899, National Theatre, Belgrade). Pokorni won praise for excellent performance as well as for the "gigantic efforts" he invested in working with the theatre orchestra; some critics of Pokorni's time even compared the Belgrade music stage to the Viennese one.<sup>30</sup>

In Novi Sad, where the Serbian National Theatre was established in 1861, Adolf Peter Lifka (1828–1895), Alojzije (Alois Milčinský, 1847–1903), Hugo Doubek (1852–1897) and Antonjin Tuna Osvald (Antonín Osvald, 1846–1936), all Czechs, followed one another at the posts of theatre bandmasters from 1861 until 1914. Osvald was the most prominent in the group: he conducted the first performance of the Carl Maria Weber's opera *Der Freischütz* (1900) and the premiere of the first Serbian national opera – Isidor Bajić's *Duke Ivo of Semberija* (*Knez Ivo od Semberije*, 1911).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> As stated in Stana Đurić-Klajn's article ("Orkestri u Srbiji do osnivanja Filharmonije", op. cit., 132), in the early 1860s, when "Josif Šlezinger (Josif Schlesinger, 1794–1870, the founder and bandmaster of *Knjažesko-srpska banda*, the first orchestra in Serbia) could no longer perform the duties of conductor and leader of the military orchestra, Prince Mihailo decided to seek help from Bohemia (...) Then from Prague arrived an Italian Federico Brunetti [later called Friedrich], who at the time was a teacher at [Prague] Military Music School (...)". For further details on Brunetti and his treatment of Schlesinger's music heritage see in: *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>28</sup> Čížek became the bandmaster of Belgrade military orchestra in 1868 and retired in 1899. He was the author of a great number of occasional music-pieces (e.g. marches), as well as potpourris and phantasies based on Serbian folk tunes. His main contribution to the history of Belgrade military orchestra was the introduction of string instruments, which enabled the performance of important pieces of symphonic literature. *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 141–142.

<sup>30</sup> Dragutin Pokorný, working originally as the bandmaster of Belgrade military orchestra, began his career in the National Theatre as Davorin Jenko's assistant. Davorin Jenko (1835–1914) was a famous Slovenian composer and conductor who spent his mature years in Serbia and largely contributed to the development of Serbian musical culture. (Only during his engagement in the National Theatre, Jenko staged about 90 premieres of Singspiels, operettas and extracts from operas!). Cf. Dragotin Cvetko, *Davorin Jenko i njegovo doba*, Beograd, SAN, 1952; Cf. also Stana Đurić-Klajn, "Orkestri...", op. cit., 145. Later on, from 1897 to 1904, and from 1904–1910, Pokorný was posted as the bandmaster of the National Theatre orchestra in Belgrade and prepared and conducted the performances of numerous operettas, Mascagni's opera *Cavalleria Rusticana*, Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci* and Smetana's *Bartered Bride*... (Cf. Roksanda Pejović, *Češki muzičari u srpskom muzičkom životu...*, II, op. cit., 69).

<sup>31</sup> See the article written by Milica Gajić, *Doprinos čeških muzičara srpskoj muzičkoj sceni...*, op. cit.

Both in Belgrade and in Novi Sad, Czech bandmasters in theatres had difficult tasks of preparing the entire “music production” of the numerous *Singspiels* and operettas, which were the most popular and dominated the repertoire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Serbia. We can conclude that all of these “our, Serbian” Czechs were a kind of universal music artist of their time: they composed original incidental (stage) music, made the arrangements of the existed music composed by other authors, gave music and singing lessons to the gifted actors who represented the first amateur generation of Serbian theatre singers, lead the rehearsals of theatre-choirs and orchestras and, finally, conducted the entire performances.

The majority of all those well educated Czech musicians were good at playing some instrument and performed time after time as soloists or in chamber ensembles. Among them the most distinguished were cellist Robert Tollinger and two excellent pianists: Vojtech Hlavač (Vojtěch Hlaváč, 1849–1911) and Franja Gal (František Gaal, 1860–1906).

Hlavač’s biography is of particular interest for the subject of this article. Having been strongly attracted by the ideas of Pan-Slavism, at the age of sixteen he moved from Prague to Vojvodina and spent six years (1865–1871) successfully working on raising the level of musical life in Orahovica and Vršac (Banat). Hlavač himself contributed a lot to the atmosphere of the political and ideological struggle for national freedom: with the greatest ideological motivation he composed a militant choir song (“budnica”) *We shall not surrender (Ne dajmo se)* that was accepted later as the anthem of the political organization *United Serbian Youth* (whose work was, as mentioned before, forbidden by both Austrian and Serbian authorities in 1871). When Hlavač declined the invitation to serve in the Austrian army, he fled to Russia and became very famous as a conductor, organ player and as a pianist. Outside Russia, he was renowned in Italy and Germany as a pianist.

One of the curiosities from Hlavač’s biography is that Maxim Gorky, famous Russian writer, was the great admirer of Hlavač’s conductor’s style and concepts, mostly because of Hlavač’s great enthusiasm in promoting the music written by the Slavic authors.<sup>32</sup> The importance of Hlavač’s contribution to the history of Serbian music and its reception in wider, international frames is also evident from the fact that he was among the first internationally renowned authors who were attracted by the beauty of Serbian folk songs. Even when he left Banat, he continued to compose music inspired by the Serbian folk tunes (e.g. *Serbian Rhapsody* for orchestra) and even succeeded to publish in Russia a collection of the adapted Serbian folk and urban songs (*Peasants Songs, Сельские хоры*). Inspired, on the other side, by the Serbian national history, in Petersburg in 1889 Hlavač composed and performed two choral pieces (*Farewell* and *Anthem*) for the festive celebration of the 500 anniversary of the Kosovo battle.

The Kosovo battle, the same historical event which, as time was passing, took on mythical dimensions in the “collective consciousness“ of the Serbian people, was in

<sup>32</sup> Reviewing in 1896. the concert when Hlavač performed the compositions by Glynka and by Chaikovsky (*Overture “1812”*), Gorky wrote about Hlavač’s “magic wand”, about “exquisite artistic sensibility felt in each stroke of his.” See: А.М. Горький, Фельетоны, *Советская музыка*, 4, 1949, 29. Quoted from: Stana Đurić-Klajn, *Istorijski razvoj ...*, op. cit., p. 71, ref. 156.

the epoch of Romanticism the great inspiration and ideological weapon in the arms of all fighters for national freedom.<sup>33</sup> It also inspired another Czech composer, Robert Tollinger, to write *the first cantata in the history of Serbian music*. Unique in its kind, cantata *Kosovka*, composed for four soloist (two tenors and two basses), male choir and piano in four hands, shows how a skilful composer in limited performing conditions and with modest means can achieve worthy musical results.

In Serbian musicological literature it is widely confirmed that Tollinger was one of the most gifted Czech musicians who worked among Serbs in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After studying at the Conservatory in Prague, he worked for a while in Zagreb National Theatre and in 1886. had moved to Kikinda, where he led all music activities of the choral society *Gusle*. Tollinger was a pioneer of Serbian musical life wherever he worked: first in Kikinda, later in the south – in Šabac and in Cetinje (Montenegro). Well educated, a gifted conductor, admirer of Richard Wagner, an excellent cello player, Tollinger was one of the rare Czech musicians interested both in instrumental and in vocal field. He is the author of the cycle of nice piano pieces close to the style of Tchaikovsky and of Mendelssohn.<sup>34</sup> Inspired by the lyrics of famous Serbian poets of his time, he also contributed to the development of Serbian Lied. Tollinger was the first composer and music writer in Serbian music history who started both the edition of pedagogical music-publications (*Rosebuds/Pupoljci*, the collection of 30 songs accompanied with the piano) and launched in Kikinda the first musical journal printed in Serbian language – *Gudalo*. Each of ten issues of the journal, published in 1886–87 included news and articles about current local and international music events.

Like most of the Czechs, Robert Tollinger felt at home among Serbs wherever he lived and worked and shared their enthusiasm in raising the level of the local music life. However, neither Tollinger, nor Hlavač, nor any other Czech musician could match the popularity of the first Serbian educated musicians – pianists Kornelije Stanković and Jovan Paču (1847–1902) or the opera singer Žarko Savić (1861–1930).<sup>35</sup>

Czech musicians were the pioneers in the field of chamber music performances, too. Together with Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac – the most prominent Serbian musician and composer of the epoch of Romanticism – the members of the first “Serbian String Quartet” (founded in 1889) were Czechs Stevan Šram (1853 –?) and Josif Svoboda (Josef Svoboda, 1856–1898). Czech musicians also made the first steps in foundation of music education in Serbia and in Vojvodina. As mentioned above, most of them who led the activities of choral societies taught at the same time at high schools and gave private lessons of music. Karl Reš and Dragutin Blažek were those who introduced the representatives of the next generation of leading Serbian composers – Josif Marinković (1851–1931), Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac and Petar Konjović (1883–1970) – into the world of music.

When Stevan Mokranjac succeeded to start the first official governmental music school in Belgrade in 1899, among several employed teachers were Czechs Jovan

<sup>33</sup> “Kosovo issue” has a long, complicated and painful role in the history of Balkan peoples and it has not been solved entirely in the contemporary Serbian, European and world politics either.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Stana Đurić-Klajn, *Istorijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Srbiji*, op. cit., 72–74.

<sup>35</sup> R. Pejović, *Češki muzičari u srpskom muzičkom životu...*, II, op. cit., 67.

Ružička (1876–1945), former concertmaster of the Budapest Opera and Víceslav Rendl (Vítězslav Rendla, 1868–1933), an excellent cello player who used to give concerts in his homeland, in Paris and in America. Working as pedagogues and promoting music through all of their other various music activities, Czech musicians educated generations of future Serbian musicians and music lovers. Without their most generous help, the small number of Serbian musicians of that time could not achieve such results.

In spite of the fact that the creative achievements of Czech composers in Serbia were modest in comparison to the works of their most prominent European colleagues, there is no doubt that their contribution to the history of the Serbian secular music – particularly in the field of choral, orchestral and piano music – was of the greatest importance in the period during which the first generation of Serbian “modern” composers studied abroad (mostly in Prague!) and prepared themselves to take up the leading position in the Serbian musical life of the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The migration of Czech musicians to Serbian towns in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century did not only give the strong impulses to Serbian music to outgrow its amateur frames and to reach a professional level. The fact that the Serbian music culture of the 20<sup>th</sup> century belongs entirely to the world and to the context of European music should be considered as the most important contribution and achievement of the diligent Czech musicians.

#### POVZETEK

Med fenomeni, ki so globoko zaznamovali srbsko nacionalno zgodovino, so bile migracije tiste, ki so določile fiziognomijo srbske kulture, umetnosti in glasbe. Pred prvo svetovno vojno, ko je nastala nova država – Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev (kasneje Jugoslavija), so Srbi živeli in razvijali svojo umetnost v dveh nasprotujočih si civilizacijah in kulturah, vzhodni in zahodni. Proces evropeizacije novejšje srbske umetnosti in glasbe, ki se je začel v 18. stoletju v Avstriji, se je pospešeno okrepil v obdobju klasicizma in romantike, še posebej v multinacionalnem in multikulturnem jugozahodnem delu avstrijskega cesarstva, kjer je bil sicer v večini srbski živelj. Oblikovanje sodobnega srbskega glasbenega življenja na tem področju – v Novem Sadu, kot tudi številnih manjših mestih (Vršac, Kikinda, Subotica, Pančevo) – je močno podpirala pomoč mnogih čeških glasbenikov, ki so v iskanju zaposlitve zapustili domovino in našli delo med Srbi. Prvi val čeških priseljencev se je začel v petdesetih

letih, medtem ko je do zadnjega prišlo v osemdesetih letih 19. stoletja. Ščasoma so se le ti pomikali vse bolj proti jugu in zasedali ugledna mesta v glasbenem življenju srbskih mest: Beograd, Niš, Leskovac itd. Češki prišleki (npr. V. Hlavač, A. Lifka, R. Tollinger) so bili večinoma dobro izšolani glasbeniki, ki so z velikim entuziazmom polagali temelje glasbenih ustanov, tako da v srbski glasbeni zgodovini zavzemajo pomembno mesto kot zborovski, orkestralni in gledališki dirigenti ter kot izvajalci in glasbeni pedagogi. Bili so prvi zapisovalci srbskih ljudskih melodij, katere so v romantični maniri tudi harmonizirali. Čeprav so bili ustvarjalni dometi čeških skladateljev v Srbiji skromni v primerjavi z dosežki njihovih bolj znamenitih evropskih kolegov, ne more biti nobenega dvoma, da je bil njihov prispevek srbski posvetni glasbi – zlasti na področju zborovske, orkestralne in klavirske glasbe – pomemben, to je v času, ko so prvi srbski »moderni«  
skladatelji študirali v tujini in se pripravljali, da prevzamejo vodilna mesta srbskega glasbenega življenja in zgodovine 20. stoletja.