

Article received on 28<sup>th</sup> Jun 2014

Article accepted on 30<sup>th</sup> Jun 2014

UDC: 78.07(=162.3)(497.11)"1800/1900"

78.071.1:929 Мокрањац Стојановић С.(082)

***Milica Gajić\****

University of Arts in Belgrade

Faculty of Music

Faculty Library

## **CZECH MUSIC AND MUSICIANS AS MOKRANJAC'S COMPANIONS ON HIS PATH TOWARDS THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF SERBIAN MUSIC**

**Abstract:** The great anniversary – 100 years since the death of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac – is an opportunity to survey his overall activity from a different angle, which has so far been sidelined in our historiography: his contacts and cooperation, but also discords with some of the many Czech musicians who played various roles in Serbian music during the 1800s and early 1900s. For the sake of clarity, they are presented here in the context of those institutions where Mokranjac was personally most involved and made important achievements along various developmental lines of our music history: in the domains of interpretation, teaching, and compositional creativity. Also, the paper mentions only those who helped Mokranjac as his driving force, loyal, or like-minded associates in the realization of his diverse musical and creative intentions.

**Key words:** Stevan Mokranjac, Czech musicians in Serbia, Belgrade Choral Society, Serbian Music School, Belgrade String Quartet, First Belgrade Gymnasium

For a long time, there were no conditions for the development of cultural, including musical, life in Serbia, because our people carried the burden of long struggles and servitude on their own shoulders. Likewise, there was no economy to speak of that could support a spiritual superstructure until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when nationalist movements abruptly arose and a bourgeois class became rapidly established. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century music was present in Serbia in various ways, but its development still hinged on many ravages of war, long-

---

\* Author contact information: milgaj2002@yahoo.com

standing oppression in the country and frequent migrations of the population. Plenty of Czech musicians decided on to pursue their professional lives in Serbia, and in such times they still managed to bring outstanding progress to our musical life in general. It cannot be disputed that the Czech musicians who worked in Serbia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century improved and, in many ways, professionalized our music life overall. Besides, they fused their knowledge and diligence with numerous aspects of the development of Serbian art music, a fact which Stevan Mokranjac was able to recognize, sometimes even choosing some of them for his closest associates. Although many foreign musicians, among them Czechs too, came to the Principality of Serbia looking for a livelihood rather than, as was the general opinion, prompted by some pan-Slavic ideas and a desire to enlighten the Serbian people, only those who had graduated from the Prague Conservatory could realize significant achievements and influence the development of musical art in our midst.

Stevan Mokranjac, who occupies a significant place in the history of music in Serbia, inevitably met them, and often cooperated with some of them throughout his life, in those aspects where his overall activity and work built a firm and reliable foundation for Serbian music: first and most of all, in teaching – by establishing and skilfully managing the Serbian Music School, and by his work at the First Belgrade Gymnasium; then in the domain of performing, where, apart from choral singing, he broadened the horizons of domestic audience by the activities of his chamber ensemble, the first string quartet assembled in Serbia.

Stating the relevant facts and historical evidence on the cooperation and mutual influences between Mokranjac and certain Czech musicians will, I believe, successfully illuminate the complementary relationship between their activities, because some of these events were even groundbreaking in the history of Serbian music.

### **Belgrade String Quartet<sup>1</sup>**

With a few of his colleagues, Stevan Mokranjac founded the first string quartet in Serbia, whose activities were pioneering in the cultivation of chamber music in our midst. Chamber music-making was extremely important for Serbian music, despite the fact that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century it still thrived almost exclusively on vocal compositions. Following the pattern of ‘developed Europe’, the first chamber ensembles were nevertheless soon established in our country

---

<sup>1</sup> Besides playing in the string quartet, Mokranjac also wrote some works for chamber string ensembles: in August 1875 he wrote songs for string quartet: *Sve se kunem*; *Ti momo, ti devojko*; and *Sunce jarko ne sijaš jednako*. Also, he arranged the piece entitled *Slovensko potpuri* [*Slavonic Potpourri*] by Ferdinand Langer for string quintet.

too. The first among them was *Srpski gudački kvartet* [*Serbian String Quartet*], whose active members, among others, were certain Czech musicians who led their professional lives in Serbia at the time. Since the very beginning and the first concert, the Belgrade String Quartet was highly important for Serbian music. They managed to put an end to the practice of omnipresent amateurism in instrumental performance, increasing the professionalism, and to push Serbian music at the time somewhat closer to the European trends in the domain. The founding of a string quartet was very significant for Serbian music. Concert activities in Belgrade during the late 1880s were increased precisely due to the establishing of the string quartet, whose founding members were Ferdinand Melcher, Stevan Šram, Josef Svoboda and Stevan Mokranjac.

The founding charter of this quartet has been preserved in the Music School archives, and I quote it in its entirety due to its historic significance:

Danas 26. septembra 1889. g. osniva se gudački kvartet, koji ima zadatak, da izvođenjem klasične i slovenske muzike, priređuje koncerte, te da širi muzikalni ukus u prestolničke publike, i time da popune prazninu, koja se odavna oseća.

Svaki član obavezuje se i daje poštenu reč, da će svim silama nastojati da toj uzvišenoj celji koristi, da od svoje strane ne požali truda, da uredno na probe dolazi i da svoju partiju savesno študira, kako bi kvartet stajao na visini, na kojoj stoje podobna udruženja po drugim srećnijim varošima.

Udruženje će postizati svoju celj:

1. Redovnim i prilježnim upražnjavanjem rada iz te struke (Kammermusik)
2. Priređivanjem koncerata, da bi uzvišeni muzikalni ukus zahvatio korena u naše publike
3. Osnivanjem biblioteke muzikalne, koja će sadržavati dela kamerna
4. Potpomaganjem Srba i srpskih građana, koji bi se odvažili, da svojom stvaralačkom moći, porade na komponovanju muzikalnih dela iz te struke
5. Moralnim zastupanjem i odbranom uzajamnom protivu svakoga napada, ako bi ovaj, ne da Bože, bio upravljen protivu celji udruženja

Potpisati se u svemu ovome složili i međusobno zaverili, da savesno i pošteno vrše gornji zadatak.<sup>2</sup>

[Today, on September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1889, a string quartet is founded, with the task to hold concerts of classical and Slavonic music and to propagate good taste in music among the audiences of the capital, thus filling a long-standing void.

---

<sup>2</sup> J. Zorko: "Osnivači gudačkog kvarteta i kamermuzičkih koncerata u Srbiji" ["Founders of the String Quartet and Chamber Music Concerts in Serbia"], *Muzički glasnik*, 1922, 3, 3–4; Kosta P. Manojlović, *Spomenica Stevana St. Mokranjca* [*In Honour of Stevan St. Mokranjac*], Belgrade, Državna štamparija, 1923, 51–59.

Each member obliges and solemnly pledges to give his best to achieve this sublime goal, to make every effort to attend the rehearsals regularly, and to study his part thoroughly, in order to make the quartet reach a high level, comparable to similar societies in other more prosperous cities.

The society will accomplish its goal:

- 1) By exercising regular and diligent work in that the relevant domain (*Kammermusik*)
- 2) By giving concerts so that a sublime musical taste may take root among our audience
- 3) By establishing a music library, which will contain chamber works
- 4) By supporting Serbs and Serbian citizens endeavouring to employ their compositional skills to write musical works in this domain
- 5) By ethically representing and defending each other from any attack that, God forbid, might be directed against the society's goal

The undersigned have agreed on all of this and vowed to perform the tasks described above in a conscientious and honest manner.]

The Quartet rehearsed and held concerts mostly at the *Građanska kasina* Social Club, and the first public performance took place on 12 November 1889. However, more precise data as to why the ensemble ceased to exist are not available – perhaps “teške prilike u kojima su se nalazili naši muzičari i razne trzavice u otadžbini” [“hardship that befell our musicians and constant frictions in the homeland”],<sup>3</sup> but it is assumed that they were active for four full concert seasons. They performed as “četiri muzičara ozbiljna i svesna svojih visokih zadataka” [“four serious musicians, aware of their serious tasks”].<sup>4</sup>

By name, the members of this chamber ensemble were: Ferdinand Melcher, particularly renowned as a teacher of stringed instruments who gave private lessons, and played the first violin; Stevan St. Mokranjac, who played the second violin; Stevan Šram, who played the viola, but otherwise he was a reliable Mokranjac's protector who, among other things, exercised his influence at the Ministry of Education to extend and finance Mokranjac's music studies; and Josef Svoboda, a Czech who played the violoncello.

The Quartet planned to organize a cycle of six concerts every year, that is, every season. The ensemble mostly performed classical repertoire and works by Slavonic authors, sometimes with guests. Other soloists performed and made music with them at concert evenings, such as the pianist Sidonija Ilić, the singer Ana Šram, and the composer Stanislav Binički.<sup>5</sup> The quartet's repertoire ori-

---

<sup>3</sup> J. Zorko, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> The periodicals of the time contain many reports on the ensemble's activities in coopera-

entation displayed their desire to meet professional criteria in their choice of music works, and presumably in the quality of their performance as well. They played compositions by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Dvořák, Svendsen, Volkmann and Svoboda – *Klavirski kvartet na narodne melodije* [*Piano Quartet on Folk Tunes*]<sup>6</sup>.

In addition to string quartets, they also performed piano trios, violin sonatas, etc. The members of this ensemble, whose performance capabilities were apparently not negligible, commemorated the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of W. A. Mozart's death in 1891 with a concert dedicated to his compositions.<sup>7</sup> They performed at concert evenings organized by other artistic and cultural societies, e.g. *Lumír*,<sup>8</sup> alongside other soloists and ensembles.

It was a regular practice of Czech immigrants to report frequently and meticulously about the activities of Czech societies in countries where they lived and Czech periodicals back home regularly published such items as a gesture of

---

tion with other musicians. Here are some of them, as they may be important as sources of information on Mokranjac's life and work: "Koncert E. Maška uz sudelovanje kvarteta" ["E. Mašek's concert with the participation of the quartet"], *Male novine*, 14 September 1890, 2; "Sa Beogradskim društvom za gimnastiku i borenje uz prijateljsko sudelovanje..." ["With Belgrade Gymnastics and Martial Arts Society, with friendly participation..."], *Narodni dnevnik*, 17 October 1890, 2 and *Srpske novine*, 17 October 1890; "Na koncertu Beogradskog pevačkog društva" ["At the concert of Belgrade Choral Society"], *Srpske novine*, 10 March 1891.

<sup>6</sup> Relevant information about the ensemble can also be found in the following sources: Sonja Marinković, "Život i rad Stevana Mokranjca u svetlu aktuelnih muzikoloških istraživanja" ["Life and Work of Stevan Mokranjac in Light of Current Musicological Research"], in: Ivana Perković Radak and Tijana Popović Mladenović (eds.), *Mokranjcu na dar: prošeta – čudnih čuda kažu – 150 godina 1856, 2006*, Belgrade, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, and Negotin, Dom kulture "Stevan Mokranjac", 2006, 21; Roksanda Pejović, *Srpska muzika 19. veka (Izvođaštvo, Članci i kritike, Muzička pedagogija)* [*Serbian Music in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Performance, Articles and Reviews, Music Pedagogy)*], Belgrade, FMU, 2001; Roksanda Pejović, *Koncertni život u Beogradu 1919–1941* [*Concert Life in Belgrade 1919–1941*], Belgrade, FMU, 2004.

<sup>7</sup> Anonymous, "Šesti koncert Beogradskog gudačkog kvarteta – 100. godišnjica smrti Mocarta" ["The sixth concert of the Belgrade String Quartet – the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Mozart's death"], *Odjek*, 5 April 1891, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Made of several departments, including a choir, *Lumír* was a Czech entertainment society whose primary task was cultural work and keeping contact with their homeland. It was established in 1888 in Belgrade, at the *Bajloni* Public House near the railway station, and occupied those premises until 1914. After the First World War, the society was restored on a broader basis and under the name *Československá obec* (*The Czechoslovakian Community*). Contemporary daily press frequently carried announcements of their performances, with focus on their achievements and cooperation with other artists, including the Belgrade String Quartet and Mokranjac. Cf. *Srpska nezavisnost*, 30 May 1891, 3; *Velika Srbija*, 15 March 1892, 2.

support. Here I will present – for the first time in our country, as far as I know – some of these reports which are of interest for our subject, primarily regarding the activities of one of the quartet members, Mr Svoboda. In the same year when the *Lumír* society was founded, one could read the following news item as well: “Beograd u Srbiji. Ovdašnje češko zabavno društvo *Lumír* priređuje dana 6. jula na dan uspomene na spaljivanje Jana Husa, veliku večernju proslavu u prostori-jama društva *Kod Hajduk Veljka*. Program čine numere deklamovanja, muzike i pozorišne. Prolog za proslavu napisao je Jos. Zd. Raušar... Gospodin Jos. Svoboda, učitelj muzike sastavio je za ovu proslavu za violončelu sopstvenu smešu od čeških narodnih pesama pod nazivom *Uspomena na domovinu*. Biće odigran i peti čin tragedije *Jan Hus* Matije Bana... Sav prihod biće namenjen uspešnom popravljajući spomenika Janu Husu” [“Belgrade, Serbia. On 6 July, in memory of the burning of Jan Hus, the local Czech Entertainment Society *Lumír* will organize a great evening celebration at the *Kod Hajduk Veljka* Society. The evening will feature declamatory numbers, music, and theatre. The prologue was written by Jos. Zd. Raušar... Mr Jos. Svoboda, a music teacher, has written for this occasion a medley of Czech folk melodies for violoncello, entitled *Memo-ries of the Homeland*. The fifth act of Matija Ban's tragedy *Jan Hus* will be performed... The entire revenue will be allotted for successful restoration of the Jan Hus monument”].<sup>9</sup> Also this: “Beograd u Srbiji. Ovdašnje češko zabavno društvo *Lumír* priredilo je proslavu povodom otvaranja svoje nove zgrade na Slaviji koncert uz sudelovanje g. D. Jankovića i J. Milankovića... Da poja-snimo, predsednik našeg društva je Fr. Nekvasil, arhitekta, a J. Svoboda profesor muzike, horovođa i danas društvo broji 70 članova” [“Belgrade, Serbia. The local Czech Entertainment Society *Lumír* organized a celebration to mark the opening of their new building on Slavija Square, as well as a concert featuring Mr D. Janković and Mr J. Milanković ... To clarify, the president of our society is F. Nekvasil, an architect, and J. Svoboda, a music teacher, is the choirmaster, while the society presently counts 70 members”].<sup>10</sup>

### Serbian Music School<sup>11</sup>

It is well known that Stevan Mokranjac founded *Srpska muzička škola* [*Serbian Music School*] as the first regular music school in Serbia at the time and

---

<sup>9</sup> *Dalibor*, 1888, 29, 229 (Czech texts translated into Serbian by Milica Gajić).

<sup>10</sup> *Dalibor*, 1888, 47–48, 372.

<sup>11</sup> Stana Đurić Klajn, “Muzičko školovanje u Srbiji do 1914. godine” [“Music Education in Serbia before 1914”], in: Branka Radović (ed.), *Muzička škola “Mokranjac”: prvih 100 godina – 1899–1999* [*Mokranjac Music School: The First 100 years – 1899–1999*], Belgrade, Muzička škola “Mokranjac”, 1999, 5–23.

thus completed his work by creating the first Serbian institution of music education. In 1916, its name was changed to *Beogradska muzička škola* [Belgrade Music School], in 1919 to *Muzička škola u Beogradu* [The Music School in Belgrade], and finally in 1944 to *Muzička škola Mokranjac* [Mokranjac Music School]. “Srpska muzička škola postala je u jedno doba, kada je kulturni nivo našega društva počeo da se diže i dobija sve određeniji i zreliji izraz. Kada je interes inteligencije postao širi i na sve se kulturne faktore počela obraćati pažnja koju oni i zaslužuju... u našoj sredini ona (je) postala potreba jedna, jedan deo kulturnih težnji i kulturnih ideala... Iz početka skromna, svakim je danom, bez mnogo pompe i reklame, kao savestan radnik koji se uzda u svoje mišice, napredovala i danas može sa zadovoljstvom da posmatra plodove svoga intenzivnog i savesnog rada.” [“The Serbian Music School was founded at a time when the cultural level of our society began to rise and acquire more definite and mature shape. When interests of the intellectuals broadened and when all the cultural factors received their due attention... it became a necessity in our midst, a part of our cultural aspirations and cultural ideals... Modest at first, it progressed day after day, without much pomp and publicity, like a diligent worker relying on his muscles, and today it can contentedly enjoy the fruits of its vigorous and conscientious work.”]<sup>12</sup>

It was the music education provided by the Serbian Music School that first gave Serbia genuine musical enlightenment, knowledge of the artistic achievements of the developed world, and genuine contact with foreign art music. As music teachers, the Czechs worked not only in this school but also in many general secondary schools. However, their work was not necessarily greeted with wholehearted enthusiasm.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> St. Mokranjac, “Izveštaj o radu u Srpskoj muzičkoj školi za školsku 1907/08 i predlog za budući rad” [“Report on the activities of the Serbian Music School in the academic year of 1907/08 and a proposal regarding future activities”], *Prosvetni glasnik*, 30/1909, 69–75; “Izveštaj o radu *Srpske muzičke škole* od prvih dana do školske 1911/1912” [“Report on the activities report of the *Serbian Music School* from its founding to the academic year of 1911/1912”]. Arhiv grada Beograda [Belgrade City Archives].

<sup>13</sup> Not everyone appreciated such kind of their involvement in Serbian music education: “Doneli su nam germanizovanu početnu muzičku nastavu koja je morala delovati kao strano telo, kao nešto potpuno neprihvatljivo za naš muzički mentalitet. Prisustvo čeških muzičara nije dalo odgovarajuće plodove zato što su u Kneževinu Srbiju dolazili i nedovoljno obrazovani muzikanti” [“They brought us Germanized elementary music education, which must have felt like a foreign body, like something completely unacceptable to our musical mentality. The presence of Czech musicians did not yield appropriate results also because it was insufficiently educated bandsmen who came to the Principality of Serbia”]. Zorislava Vasiljević, “Milovuk i Mokranjac, muzički prosvetitelji” [“Milovuk and Mokranjac, Musical Enlighteners”], in: *Mokranjac*, Negotin, 2001, 3, 16.

Founded under the patronage of *Beogradsko pevačko društvo* [Belgrade Choral Society], the School opened at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, on 21 September 1899, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Upon its foundation, the school board was appointed and rules about studying and funding were defined. At first, only four teachers were employed, including the Czech Jovan Ružička, who taught the violin. In the academic year of 1900/01 the school bought a violoncello, and Vićeslav Rendla (Vítězslav Rendla) was hired as the first teacher of this instrument.

By establishing the Serbian Music School in Belgrade, music education in Serbia for the first time received a professionally stable basis and its steady development could begin. By his activities as the headmaster, Stevan Mokranjac seems to have succeeded in bringing a European spirit to it, because the school was not only significant as the sole institution for educating future professional musicians, but also as an active organizer of concerts in Belgrade. The fact is that Stevan Mokranjac and his associates ascribed the successes of their students primarily to the School in general. And their teaching methods relied on foreign, mostly West European experiences, because the curricula and syllabi were modelled after the leading European conservatories of the time.<sup>14</sup>

The first class of 20 students were taught by the initial team of teachers, several of whom were Czechs. Jovan Ružička (1876–1945) taught the violin. At present, all we know about him is that he was Josef Hellmesberger's student and former concertmaster of the Budapest Opera. They were very soon joined by Vićeslav Rendla (1868–1933), who was a violoncellist, music teacher, and conductor. He was invited to teach the violoncello, double bass and flute at the School, and occupied those positions until his death. In addition, he also conducted the School orchestra. He was a Czech musician who acquired a basic training in music knowledge from his father and came to Belgrade as early as 1890 as an orchestral and chamber musician. From 1899 he was a member of *Beogradski vojni orkestar* [Belgrade Military Band], the bandmaster of the 6<sup>th</sup> regiment, as well as a violoncellist in the theatre orchestra and Mertl's salon orchestra. He was a typical Czech musician, highly skilled, who had acquired valuable experience working in Paris and the United States, before coming to Belgrade. Until his death, he also worked as a flute teacher in the School, as well as the conductor of the student orchestra, and leader of the chamber ensembles. He composed a large number of marches, overtures and other light-genre works, using motives from Serbian folk music.

Emil Sachs (1884–1968) was hired as the third violin teacher in the School. This Czech musician, who took up his duties after working in theatre orches-

---

<sup>14</sup> S. Marinković, *op. cit.*, 22–23.

tras in Novi Sad and Belgrade, would later be known to us as Milan Saks, an excellent symphonic and operatic conductor, as well as the director of the opera houses in Zagreb and Brno. One should add that, in our country, this capable musician was the concertmaster of the theatre orchestra in Belgrade from 1907 to 1910, as well as a teacher in the music school in Novi Sad from 1910 to 1911. After that, he first became the concertmaster and accompanist at the opera house in Zagreb, and later the conductor and director of the same institution.

### **First Belgrade Gymnasium**

From 1887 to 1900, Stevan Mokranjac worked as a music teacher in *Prva beogradska gimnazija* [*The First Belgrade Gymnasium*]. After completing his education in Leipzig in 1887, he returned to Belgrade and was soon appointed conductor, choirmaster, and teacher at the Belgrade Choral Society, which he continued to lead until his death. Besides, he also found his humble Serbian job at the time, because in the August of the same year he was hired as a music teacher at the First Belgrade Gymnasium. There, Mokranjac also acted as a pioneer of music education, musical culture, and music creativity, using West European standards of music teaching adapted to the conditions in our country. In his time, the school was called *Gimnazija Aleksandra I* [*Alexander the First Gymnasium*], and Mokranjac, as a former pupil, became a music teacher. Singing lessons, which he gave, were divided into theoretical and practical parts. At that time, music teachers were obliged to teach the pupils how to play the violin, which led to the hiring of Josef Svoboda (1856–1898), mentioned previously in the section on the String Quartet. He was an instrumentalist, teacher, and composer of Czech origin. He studied double bass at the Prague Conservatory from 1870 to 1876. Beside the aforementioned educational work, in 1894 he established his own private music school, where he mostly taught the violin to young children. Among his pupils was even King Aleksandar Obrenović. In addition, he participated in many other kinds of music activities. *Kamerni orkestar Akademskog muzičkog društva* [*Chamber Orchestra of the Academic Music Society*], made of professionals and amateurs, had a short concert activity in Belgrade, during the 1890s, and their successes should be credited to their conductor, Josef Svoboda. He received the Order of Saint Sava in 1883. Furthermore, he composed works in the Serbian national style, for orchestra, piano trio, and piano, mostly based on Serbian folk melodies: two collections, *Srpske narodne i omiljene pesme i igre* [*Serbian Folk and Popular Songs and Dances*] for piano and *Srbijanka* (printed in Prague)<sup>15</sup> for piano four hands; a *Diverti-*

---

<sup>15</sup> Czech periodicals at the time carried reports on this work being printed by the renowned

mento for piano trio, and a number of songs. He wrote and published two textbooks: *Teorija muzike* [*Music Theory*]<sup>16</sup> and *Škola za violinu* [*School of Violin Playing*].<sup>17</sup> Josef Svoboda taught music in the First Belgrade Gymnasium until 1886. Then Stevan Mokranjac joined this institution, upon returning from his studies in 1887, as a ‘third class teacher’, and remained there until 1899, when he was promoted to ‘senior teacher’ and transferred to the Orthodox Seminary. His post in the Gymnasium was taken by Toša Andrejević.

Several reports read that Mokranjac taught solfeggio “po učeničkim grupama iz sviju razreda” [“to groups of pupils of all classes”],<sup>18</sup> but further descriptions of the curriculum show that he taught music theory only to groups of first-grade students, whereas in more senior grades he only led rehearsals of individual voice parts and prepared performances of choral songs. As almost no other educational institution in Serbia, the Gymnasium had two music teachers – Mokranjac was in charge of solfeggio from 1887, and Svoboda of the violin. Josef Svoboda taught the violin to a group of more talented pupils, and, with Mokranjac, he also founded the Gymnasium Orchestra. They also made the curriculum together.<sup>19</sup>

Apart from working together as gymnasium teachers and members of the first string quartet, they were also Freemasons. Together with Svoboda, Mokranjac joined Freemasonry in 1890 and became a member of the lodge “Brother” in Belgrade. Most probably, they were introduced to the organization by Sreten Stojković, a high-positioned Freemason who was the headmaster of the Gymnasium where they both taught, but also one of the directors of the Belgrade Choral Society and, later, a chief administrator at the Ministry of Education.<sup>20</sup> Regardless of that, in 1894, Stevan Mokranjac resigned from all of his

---

music publisher Urbanek; cf. *Dalibor*, 1889, 38, 303. According to currently available information, this composition was published twice in our country: (1) *Srbijanka (Kolo)*, J. Svoboda, Beograd, (S. a.): Složio Jos. Svoboda; (2) *Srbijanka. Splet srp. narod. igara*. Beograd, Jovan Frajt (S. a.), Narodno izdanje, 122.

<sup>16</sup> This work had as many as three different editions, which is an undisputable indicator of its great usefulness: (1) *Teorija muzike*. Napisao J. Svoboda, Beograd. Izdanje knjižare D. M. Đurića, 1895; (2) *Teorija muzike*. Napisao J. Svoboda, Beograd, 1908; (3) *Teorija muzike za učenike građanskih škola*. Napisao J. Svoboda. Beograd /1914/.

<sup>17</sup> *Škola za violinu*. Za svoje učenike sastavio J. Svoboda, Beograd. Štamparija i litografija Petra Đurčića (S. a.).

<sup>18</sup> Zorislava Vasiljević, “Stevan Mokranjac u Prvoj beogradskoj gimnaziji” [“Stevan Mokranjac at the First Secondary School of Belgrade”], in: *Rat za srpsku muzičku pismenost [War for Serbian Musical Literacy]*, Belgrade, Prosveta, 2000, 180–183.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Cf. K. Manojlović, *Spomenica Stevana St. Mokranjca, op. cit.* and re-edition: K. Manojlović, *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac*, Negotin, 1988, 75–76; Z. Nenezić, *Masoni u*

positions. The conflict arose because Mokranjac spent more time on a journey to Vienna then allowed.<sup>21</sup> In spite of this conflict, Stojković always cherished friendly feelings towards Mokranjac and only had the kindest words for him, before and after the incident.

### The First Belgrade Choral Society

From 1887 to his death, Stevan Mokranjac was the choirmaster of *Beogradsko pevačko društvo* [Belgrade Choral Society]. A chronological survey of this choir's activities yields numerous contacts of the ensemble and Stevan Mokranjac with Czech music and Czech musicians. On this occasion we will highlight only the details pertinent to the present subject of Stevan Mokranjac's contacts with some of the Czech musicians who participated in, and contributed to, the activities of this important choral society.

In 1877 Ferdinand Melcher accepted the choirmaster position, but he was replaced later in the same year by Stevan Šram.<sup>22</sup> Both of them later joined Mokranjac in the string quartet. In 1880, Stevan Šram, as the choirmaster at the time, formed a permanent mixed choir (with 11 female singers), and upon his requests new compositions were obtained, including works by Antonín Dvořák. In 1883, the Society celebrated its 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary with concerts including pieces by Czech authors.<sup>23</sup> In 1890, Mokranjac conducted a concert at the National The-

---

*Jugoslaviji* [Freemasons in Yugoslavia], Belgrade, Narodna knjiga, 1984, 387.

<sup>21</sup> On 10 February 1894, Mokranjac asked the Ministry of Education for a ten day leave so that he could travel to Vienna and hear the pianist Arthur Rubinstein. However, since Mokranjac was four days late on his return to Belgrade, Sreten Stojković, the headmaster of the First Belgrade Gymnasium at the time, officially asked him for an explanation upon return to Belgrade. Instead of providing one, Mokranjac submitted his resignation directly to the Minister of Education. His tardiness was also taken amiss at the Belgrade Choral Society. His resignations were accepted and he was relieved of his duties at both institutions. However, after a few months without salary, Mokranjac was reinstated “za učitelja veštine u *I beogradsku gimnaziju i horovođu pevačkog društva*” [“as a teacher in the First Belgrade Gymnasium and the choirmaster of the choral society”] (according to the documents from the Archives of Serbia MPs 9 – 12 – 1894).

<sup>22</sup> Danica Petrović, “Osnivanje i prvih šest decenija” [“The Founding and the First Six Decades”], in: Danica Petrović, Bogdan Đaković, and Tatjana Marković (eds.), *Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo: 150 godina* [The First Belgrade Choral Society: 150 Years], Belgrade, SANU, Muzikološki institut SANU, Galerija SANU, 2004, 17–78.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 49. Works by Horejšek and Havlasa were performed. Václav Horejšek (1839–1874) was a Czech choirmaster and composer. He studied at the Prague Organ School from 1856 to 1858, and from 1873 he was a music teacher and choirmaster of *Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo* [Serbian Church Choral Society] in Pančevo and Zemun. He mostly composed occasional works, Orthodox Christian works, male choir songs (eight of which were printed in

atre, and the participants included Ana Šram, singer and Stevan Šram's wife, and Josef Svoboda. They also performed at a concert of the Belgrade String Quartet. In 1892, at a party organized by the Czech Society *Lumír*,<sup>24</sup> they sang "češku marseillezu *Bivali Čehove*" ["the Czech Marseillaise *Bývalí Čechové*"].<sup>25</sup> "Horovođa Mokranjac je 1896. uz pomoć Branislava Nušića u Staroj Srbiji sakupio i pribeležio oko 200 tamošnjih narodnih pesama... Tokom odsustvovanja Mokranjca je zamenjivao dirigent Josif Svoboda" ["In 1896, choirmaster Mokranjac, with Branislav Nušić's help, collected and wrote down about 200 folk songs from Old Serbia... During his absence, Mokranjac was substituted by the choirmaster Josef Svoboda"]. Stevan Mokranjac advocated compulsory elementary music education for the members of his Belgrade Society. That endeavour won the support of the Society's administration, and finally in 1899 a music school was established, with the staff that included him and some Czech musicians too. On 24 June 1901 they held a major concert on the Belgrade Fortress with the military band conducted by the bandmaster Josif Brodil, for the benefit of the Music School.<sup>26</sup>

Following the practice of other European countries, their great jubilee celebration, engaging as many as 23 choirs from Serbia and what was then Austria-Hungary, included the Historical Concert, conceived to present, for the first time, the development of Serbian choral music. Thus, on 25 May 1903, on the Society's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Stevan Mokranjac and his companions held their *Istorijski koncert srpske pesme* [*Historical Concert of Serbian Songs*], which included compositions by Czech authors: *Tuga* [*Sorrow*] by Václav Horejšek and *Padajte braćo* by Quido Havlasa, in the section "*Znamenitiji Sloveni koji su*

---

Prague under the title *Gusle*), as well as a medley of folk songs for a male choir and orchestra. Quido Havlasa (1839–1909) was a choirmaster and composer of Czech origin. Upon graduating from the Prague Organ School, he was the choirmaster of Serbian Church Choral Societies in Vršac (1870–1874) and in Senj (1874–1876). After that he returned to his homeland. He wrote a large number of occasional and salon compositions inspired by our folklore, choral settings of poems by Serbian poets, and Orthodox sacred works. His patriotic song *Padajte braćo* [*Perish, Brothers*] on the verses by Đura Jakšić became very popular. He also published an instrumental piece, *Davorije sa Kosova* [*Patriotic Songs from Kosovo*]. He wrote a range of textbooks on playing the piano and singing. Cf. Milica Gajić, "Vršac – crtica iz muzičkog života" ["Vršac – Sketches from Its Musical Life"], *Mokranjac*, 2010, 57–65.

<sup>24</sup> Czech Society *Lumír*, see footnote 9.

<sup>25</sup> Danica Petrović, *op. cit.*, 53.

<sup>26</sup> As recorded in the press on an earlier occasion: (Beogradsko pevačko društvo, Mokranjac i vojna muzika, kapelnik Brodil) [(Belgrade Choral Society, Mokranjac and military band, the bandmaster Brodil)], *Odjek*, 26 July 1891, 4; *Male novine*, 31 July 1891, 2–3.

radili na srpskoj muzici” [“Notable Slavs Who Contributed to Serbian Music”].<sup>27</sup> As one of the documents preserved from this celebration, an invitation to this important cultural event in our midst is presented (Appendix 1). Choirs from all around the country took part, by performing Mokranjac’s *Tenth Choral Garland*. The choral society from Šabac, conducted by Robert Tolinger,<sup>28</sup> won the first prize and the famous composer congratulated them in person. On the occasion, Mokranjac praised Tolinger in the highest terms: “Ti si, pobratime, za Deseću rukovet učinio više nego ja. Istina, ja sam je komponovao, ali ti si je stvorio i tek sam je sad osetio onakvu kakvu sam je zamišljao” [“You, my brother, did for the *Tenth Garland* more than I did. True, I composed it, but you created it and only now have I felt it the way I imagined it”].<sup>29</sup>

Czech music was also performed ever more often at concerts and the opera house. Thus, one of the traditional Holy Saturday concerts of sacred music at the National Theatre featured, among other works, Antonín Dvořák’s *Stabat Mater*.<sup>30</sup> Judging by the placard for this concert, the seventh item on the programme was only an excerpt from the work, or more precisely, two movements, which were also printed in an unusual translation into Old Slavonic language (Appendix 2). In 1909 Hinko Maržinec was hired as the second conductor.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 68. Cf. “Svečani koncert proslave 50 godina BPD. Istorija srpske pesme u pesmi” [“Gala concert on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Belgrade Choral Society. A sung history of Serbian song”], *Male novine*, 24 May 1903, 3; *Beogradske novine*, 31 May 1903, 3.

<sup>28</sup> Biography of Robert Tolinger, an important Czech musician, can be found in: Milica Gajić, “Crtice iz muzičkog života Šapca” [“Sketches from the Musical Life of Šabac”], *Mokranjac*, 2012, 14, 80–88.

<sup>29</sup> Milica Gajić, *op. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> Danica Petrović, *op. cit.*, 70.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 73. Danica Petrović describes him as follows: “Po rođenju Čeh. Diplomirao je na Konzervatorijumu u Pragu 1891. Radio je kao horovoda, kapelnik, nastavnik muzike, dirigent opere u Osijeku, a potom u Sremskoj Mitrovici, Šapcu, Skoplju i Novom Sadu” [“Czech by birth. Graduated from Prague Conservatory in 1891. Worked as a choirmaster, bandmaster, music teacher, opera conductor in Osijek and later in Sremska Mitrovica, Šabac, Skopje, and Novi Sad”]. *Ibid.*, 155, footnote 155. I would also add the following details from his biography: (Osijek, 12 June 1873 – ?). Before entering military service, he worked as a theatre bandmaster and music teacher in Šabac, 1911–1913. During the First World War, he was a fourth-class junior bandmaster in the divisional area of Vardar, from 18 August 1913, to be promoted to first-class in 1918. From 30 September 1913 he served with the 20<sup>th</sup> infantry regiment band as bandmaster, and from 18 June 1919 to 2 June 1920, he worked as the officer in charge of military bands, as well as the singing teacher at the Military Academy. From 2 June 1920 to 1 September 1921 he worked as a bandmaster in Potisje, and from 1 September 1921 to 24 March 1924, having resigned, he was headmaster of Stanković Music School. From 24 March 1924 to 30 June 1928 he once more worked as a bandmaster in Po-

Enriching the musical life of Belgrade, they held a major concert with an orchestra complemented with the members of the Serbian Music School Orchestra, performing *The Spectre's Bride*, a cantata for soloists, choir, and orchestra by Antonín Dvořák (Op. 69). Surviving testimonies about the performance are controversial – the Society members claimed it was a failure, while some of the press articles were more forgiving.<sup>32</sup>

Besides Mokranjac as the honorary choirmaster and chairman of the *Odbor za procenu novih horskih kompozicija* [Committee for the Appraisal of New Choral Works], another member of this body was also Vítězslav Rendl.<sup>33</sup> It is also interesting that “Miloje Milojević, po želji Mokranjca, primljen za dirigenta. Nije pokazao revnost u radu pred turneju društva u Trst – Sušak – Zagreb, pa je angažovan Hinko Maržinec. Posle turneje i nemilih rasprava Milojević je podneo ostavku” [“Miloje Milojević, in accordance with Mokranjac's wish, was hired as a conductor. He failed to show assiduousness before the Society's tour of Trieste, Sušak, and Zagreb, and thus Hinko Maržinec was employed. After the tour and acrimonious disputes, Milojević resigned”].<sup>34</sup>

---

tisje, and from 30 June 1928 to 17 May 1929 in the Drina region, where he stayed until retirement. He was decorated with the Order of Saint Sava of the Fifth Class in 1920 and the Order of the Yugoslav Crown of the Fifth Class in 1938. Cf. Gordana Krajačić, *Vojna muzika i muzičari 1831–1945* [Military Bands and Musicians 1831–1945], Belgrade, Novinsko-izdavački centar Vojska, 2003, 116.

<sup>32</sup> “Gospodica Sofija Predičeva pevala je svoju partiju sa razumevanjem i sa onoliko glasa koliko ga ima i koliko on kod nas može biti obrađen. Gospodin Mijat Mijatović ima onu dobru stranu pravog pevača da stvar uzima ozbiljno i da lepo i razgovetno izgovara tekst. Hor je bio dobar, samo je pevao bez dosta nijansa – sve u forte. Hor i orkestar su se držali u glavnom zajedno i ako ne baš vrlo čvrsto, što se da objasniti malim brojem proba i retkih pevanja naših horova sa orkestrom. Gospodinu Stevanu Mokranjcu koji je upravljao koncertom može se čestitati na uspehu sa njegovim odličnim horom” [“Miss Sofija Predić sang her part with a good understanding of the music, with as much voice as she could muster and with as much training as one can get in our country. Mr Mijat Mijatović has that good trait of a true singer: to take matters seriously and pronounce the text nicely and articulately. The choir was good, though they sang without much nuance – everything was *forte*. The choir and the orchestra were together most of the time, though not constantly, which can be explained by the small number of rehearsals and the inexperience of our choirs in singing with orchestras. We can congratulate Mr Stevan Mokranjac, the conductor of the concert, for this success with his excellent choir”]. Dušan Skovran, “Koncertni život pre pola veka u Beogradu” [“Concert Life in Belgrade Half a Century Ago”], *Pro musica*, 1965, 4, 5.

<sup>33</sup> Danica Petrović, op. cit., 75.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

### Similarities and Differences, Influences and Inducements

A number of Czech musicians have dealt with our folk music in most diverse ways. In this domain, they sometimes even came very close to the oeuvre of Stevan Mokranjac. A popular activity at the time was compiling collections of folk songs – mostly not artistic in character, because they had other purposes and goals; – which were most often produced by foreign musicians, mainly Czechs. This genre was most exploited by foreigners, for the most part Czechs. A particular and individual imprint on this genre was left by Ludvík Kuba (1863–1956), who was among the first to study, archive, and publish it, and even compose after his own written records. This Czech, who was a folklorist, musicologist and painter, collected 2,673 songs on his numerous field trips and published important theoretical works in that domain. Many composers, for their own needs, borrowed folk songs from his Collections, and even Mokranjac, as it seems, took some of Kuba's choral songs from his records. Mokranjac's *Ninth Choral Garland* contains arrangements which, in an almost identical form, can be found in Kuba's collection of arrangements of 70 Montenegrin folk songs for piano and choir.<sup>35</sup> This collection was printed in Prague in 1890, after Kuba had finished his work as a melographer, but also three years before Mokranjac's travel to Cetinje in 1893, and six years before Mokranjac's *Ninth Garland (Songs from Montenegro)* was written and published.<sup>36</sup> One cannot help noticing the similarity with Kuba's work and the arrangements in this collection.<sup>37</sup>

Deveta rukovet. U njoj su objedinjene četiri pesme iz Crne Gore – raspevana *Poljem se njija*, a ostale su asketski lapidarne u kratkoći svojih napeva i skučenosti melodijskog obima, što je karakteristično za muzički folklor ovog kraja. Intenzivne su u svojoj kondenzovanoj ekspresivnosti i nametale su jednostavnu obradu, ali i nesvakidašnja harmonska rešenja... *U Ivana gospodara* – čiji melodijski obim ne premaša tercu – Mokranjac je preuzeo harmonizaciju koju je istoj pesmi dao češki melograf Ludvik Kuba u svojoj zbirci crnogorskih pesama.

---

<sup>35</sup> Ludvík Kuba, *Album černohorské*, Praha, 1890.

<sup>36</sup> It is less known that Kuba composed his own Montenegrin garland, from the written records made on the same occasion. Cf. Milica Gajić, "Nepoznato delo Ludvika Kube: 'Z luhů slovenských' i 'Písňě černohorské': kontekst nastanka" ["An Unknown Work by Ludvík Kuba: 'Z luhů slovenských' and 'Písňě černohorské': The Context of Its Emergence"], *Novi zvuk*, 2004, 23, 71–83.

<sup>37</sup> More in: Sonja Marinković, "Mokranjčev odnos prema zapisima folklornih napeva iz Devete rukoveti" ["Mokranjac's Attitude towards Written Records of Folk Melodies in the Ninth Garland"], in: Dragoslav Dević et al. (eds.), *Simpozijum Mokranjčevi dani 1994–1996*, Negotin, 1997, 55–68.

[The Ninth Garland. It includes four songs from Montenegro – the melodious *Poljem se njija*, while the others are austere, with their short tunes and narrow melodic ranges, which is typical of this area's folk music. They are intense in their condensed expressivity, calling for simple arrangements, but also unusual harmonic solutions... In *U Ivana gospodara* – whose melodic range does not exceed a third – Mokranjac appropriated the harmonization of the same song made by Czech melographer Ludvík Kuba in his collection of Montenegrin songs.]<sup>38</sup>

The chain of arrangements and revisions of other people's compositions relevant to Stevan Mokranjac's oeuvre was, in a way, initiated by Slavoljub Lžičar personally,<sup>39</sup> who first rewrote works by Alois Kalauz, while Lžičar's *Primorski napjevi* [*Coastal Melodies*] were rearranged, or, rather, recomposed by Stevan Mokranjac, dissatisfied with Lžičar's efforts. *Coastal Melodies* (1893) occupy a special position among Mokranjac's works: they are woven from lyric folk melodies of Croatian coastline,<sup>40</sup> and represent a brilliant, remarkably 'polyphoned' transcription of Slavoljub Lžičar's simple composition for male choir. By writing the arrangement for a large mixed choir,<sup>41</sup> Mokranjac – at first under the pen name "Ljubisav Istinski", in order to emphasize the seriousness of his work compared to Lžičar's – produced a score that, by its freshness, original sound, and technique, stands shoulder to shoulder with the best of his Garlands. On the other hand, the pun with Mokranjac's pen name was not very successful and speaks rather of his insufficient command of the Czech language. Namely, in Czech, "Lžičar" does not mean a liar or anything fake (as opposed to something true, "Istinski"). Instead, this family name comes from the word 'lžica'

---

<sup>38</sup> Vlastimir Peričić, *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac – Sabrana dela* [*Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac – Collected Works*], Belgrade and Knjaževac, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva and Muzičko izdavačko preduzeće "Nota", Vol. 2, XX–XXII.

<sup>39</sup> Slavoljub Lžičar (Eduard František Lžičar, 1832–1901) was a composer and music teacher of Czech origin. After receiving his education in Prague and Vienna, he worked as an organist, organizer, and music educator in various Croatian towns. He was a singing teacher in Pančevo until 1865, then in Sremska Mitrovica, then, from 1869, in Subotica, and finally in Petrinja. Among other works, he wrote *Album srpskih pesama za klavir* [*Album of Serbian Songs for the Piano*] (1882) in the Biedermeier style, the music for a Singpiel *Tri bračne zapovesti* [*Three Marital Commandments*], and arrangements of various Serbian folk songs. He wrote about Topalović's rearrangement of Kornelije Stanković's *Liturgy* for a male choir. He published two collections for a male choirs: *Bački napevi* [*Songs from Bačka*] (Prague, 1871) and *Milovan* (Prague, 1863).

<sup>40</sup> Petar Konjović, "Stevan St. Mokranjac", in: *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac – Sabrana dela* [*Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac – Collected Works*], Belgrade and Knjaževac, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva and Muzičko izdavačko preduzeće "Nota", 1999, Vol. 10, 100–101.

<sup>41</sup> There is also a version of this Mokranjac work for a children's or female choir.

– spoon – and so the last name of the composer of the first *Coastal Melodies* could be translated as “Spoonmaker”, rather than “Liar”. Thus, in spite of many justified professional objections to Lžičar’s composition, Mokranjac’s penname was perhaps linguistically inadequate at the time when his composition was written and performed.

*Coastal Melodies* became the *Garland from the Croatian Parts* – after the eponymous composition for male choir by Slavoljub Lžičar (Eduard František Lžičař, 1832–1901), a Czech musician who also worked in Croatian and Serbian parts from 1860. At one time, these two works and their authors’ disagreements were the subject of an important study, from which I quote the most relevant parts, valid to this day: “I kad danas konfrontiramo Lžičareve i Mokranjčeve *Primorske napjeve*, upravo je tekstura i forma djela u cjelini onaj element po kojem je Mokranjčevo djelo preraslo svoj uzor. Jer, ako načas ispustimo iz vida niz Lžičarevih doista diletantskih harmonizacionih postupaka, ostaje ipak činjenica, da njegove jednostavne harmonije, svedene uglavnom na glavne harmonijske funkcije, upravo u toj svojoj jednostavnosti bolje odgovaraju karakteru i latentnoj harmonijskoj osnovi odabranih narodnih pjesama, nego što je to slučaj s daleko bogatijom, suptilnijom Mokranjčevom harmonizacijom, koja je u svojoj osnovi bliža zapadnoevropskoj umjetničkoj muzici ranog romantizma... U rukama Lžičara narodni su napjevi ostali mozaički slijepljeni u salonski površni potpuri, karišik, ostali su jednostavno niz dopadljivih pjesmica; u rukama Mokranjca taj je isti niz napjeva prerastao u cjeloviti organizam, u sabito, punokrvo i logički isklesano jedinstvo, u novo djelo koje uzbuđuje neposrednošću i svježinom svoga govora, bogatstvom nijansi, produbljenom dramaturgijom i psihološki uvjetovanom gradacijom. Tako je iz Lžičareva materijala Mokranjac saznao umjetničko djelo koje živi i danas, dok je model ostao osuđen na brz zaborav zajedno s nestankom jedne generacije sentimentalnih građanskih gospođica i trećerazrednih diletantskih pjevačkih društava.” [“And today, when we confront Lžičar’s *Coastal Melodies* with Mokranjac’s, it is by its overall texture and form that Mokranjac’s work surpasses its model. Because even if we briefly put aside Lžičar’s many truly dilettante harmonic solutions, the fact remains that his simple harmonies, reduced mostly to tonal degrees, are by their simplicity actually better suited to the character and latent harmonic basis of the selected folk songs, much more so than Mokranjac’s far richer and more delicate harmonization, which is essentially closer to West European music of the early Romanticism... In Lžičar’s hands, the folk melodies were left pasted together into a mosaic, a superficial salon potpourri, a mere medley; they simply remained a series of sweet ditties. In Mokranjac’s hands, the same series of melodies grew into a solid organism, into a dense, full-blooded and logically chiselled entity, into a new work that excites by the directness and

freshness of its discourse, the richness of its nuances, its profound dramaturgy, and psychologically guided gradation. Thus using Lžičar's material, Mokranjac built a work of art which lives on today, while the model was condemned to quick oblivion, along with the disappearance of a generation of sentimental bourgeois demoiselles and third-grade dilettante choral societies".<sup>42</sup>

Mokranjac's *Coastal Melodies* were premiered on 16/28 October 1893 at a concert of the Belgrade Choral Society.

In 1900, after a surgery in Vienna in, Stevan Mokranjac underwent several medical and recovery treatments in Karlsbad – which is the German name for the Czech spa of Karlovy Vary – where he had travelled regularly since 1897. In 1898 he went there with Uroš Predić,<sup>43</sup> as well as in 1909. At that time they attended spa concerts, described by Mokranjac personally in written documents that have been preserved. In one letter, he wrote thus about one of those concerts: "Program je bio interesantan i vrlo lep. Za mene je bilo novih stvari od Glazunova Poème lyrique i od Dvoržaka Aus der neuen Welt<sup>44</sup> simfonija. Ja sam slušao, kao što muzičari obično slušaju, sekcirao sam deo po deo i ocenjivao... Ja ne ću da ti pišem referat o ovom koncertu, jer bi to bilo po sve nezanimljivo, ali češ mi dozvoliti, da Ti kažem šta je bilo najbolje na ovom koncertu – to je bio Finale. Taj finale bio je pun duše i prepun ljubavi..." ["The programme was interesting and very nice. Some things I heard for the first time: Glazunov's *Poème lyrique* and Dvořák's symphony *Aus der neuen Welt*.<sup>44</sup> I listened as musicians usually do, dissecting part by part and evaluating... I won't write to you a full report on the concert, because that would be completely uninteresting, but you'll allow me to say what was the most beautiful thing at this concert – it was the Finale. That Finale was so soulful and full of love..."]<sup>45</sup>

In one report, Stevan Mokranjac is mentioned as the reviewer of *Crkvene pesme u notnom sistemu* [*Notated Church Songs*] by Živko S. Braković, cantor and priest, and Vojtěch Šístek, transcriber,<sup>46</sup> but apart from this note, I have not been able to find the review in question.

---

<sup>42</sup> Koraljka Kos, "Primorski napjevi Stevana Mokranjca" ["Coastal Melodies by Stevan Mokranjac"]. in: Mihailo Vukdragović (ed.), *Zbornik radova o Stevanu Mokranjcu* [*Collection of Papers on Stevan Mokranjac*], Belgrade, SANU, 1971, 93–94.

<sup>43</sup> This renowned Serbian painter was a paternal uncle of Mokranjac's wife Mica.

<sup>44</sup> Dvořák's Symphony 'From the New World'.

<sup>45</sup> Tatjana Marković, "Život i delo Stevana St. Mokranjca u svetlu njegove prepiske" ["Life and Work of Stevan St. Mokranjac from the Perspective of his Correspondence"], *Sabrana dela* [*Collected Works*], Vol. 10, op. cit., 227.

<sup>46</sup> Anonymous, "Iz glavnog prosvetnog saveta" ["From the Head Council on Education"], *Nastavnik*, 1894, 124, 12.

Let us also mention a testimony, most likely oral, by Václav Vedral, long-standing teacher at Stanković Music School in Belgrade. At some point in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, he took Mokranjac's *Liturgy* from Serbia and showed it to Antonín Dvořák, who went over it and, so the story goes, more than once exclaimed enthusiastically: "This matches up to Bach himself!"<sup>47</sup>

I will also add the following speculation: "Mokranjac se mogao i sresti sa Janačekom u Rusiji 1896. kada je gostovao u Njižnjem Novgorodu, sa horom *Beogradskog pevačkog društva*, a Janaček doputovao privatno, sa svojim bratom u isto mesto, da poseti Sverusku ekonomsku i umetničku izložbu" ["Mokranjac may have met Janáček in Russia in 1896, when he toured Nizhny Novgorod with the Belgrade Choral Society, and Janáček was there on a private visit with his brother, to see the All-Russian Exhibition of Economy and the Arts"].<sup>48</sup>

Finally, one should note that some of Mokranjac's *Garlands*, thanks to Czech conductor Alois Buchta,<sup>49</sup> were also performed in Vienna. For instance, the *Slavonic Choral Society* alongside the *Zora [Dawn]* society, conducted by Buchta, their long-standing Czech choirmaster, performed one of the *Garlands* from the cycle *From My Country*, most likely in late 1892 and early 1893 – at a concert of the *Zora* Society and Medo Pucić's (1821–1882) anniversary.<sup>50</sup> In 1894, also conducted by Buchta, the *Zora* Society performed the *Sixth Garland*.<sup>51</sup>

Translated by Goran Kapetanović

---

<sup>47</sup> Mirka Pavlović, "Stevan Mokranjac i savremena kritika" ["Stevan Mokranjac and Contemporary Critique"], in: Stevan St. Mokranjac 1856–1981, special edition, *Pro musica*, 44.

<sup>48</sup> Nadežda Mosusova, "Mesto Stevana Mokranjca među nacionalnim školama evropske muzike" ["The Place of Stevan Mokranjac among the National Schools of European Music"], in: *Zbornik radova o Stevanu Mokranjcu*, op. cit., 133, footnote 66.

<sup>49</sup> Alois Buchta (1841–1898) was a Czech violinist and choirmaster. From 1852 he lived in Vienna, working at the Court Opera, and played in a string quartet with three other members of the house. For our purposes, it is important to note that he was also the choirmaster of the *Slawisch Gesangverein [Slavonic Choral Society]* in Vienna and that he conducted the Orthodox Church choir in this city.

<sup>50</sup> Mirka Pavlović, "Dva pisma Petra Krstića Stevanu Mokranjcu" ["Two Letters from Petar Krstić to Stevan Mokranjac"], *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku*, Novi Sad, 1989, 4–5, 300; *Branik*, 1893, 1, 4, 9, 3.

<sup>51</sup> *Branik*, 1894, 162, 4.

Appendix 1

Под највишом заштитом Њезовог Величанства Краља Александра I.

## Београдско Певачко Друштво

прославља 25. 26. и 27. маја 1903. год.

педесетогодишњицу свога рада



Част је Управи Друштва замолити Вас да изволите 25. маја у 9 часова присуствовати литурђији и благодаренју у Саборној Цркви а после тога полагању темеља Уметничког Дома; у вече историјском концерту Беогр. Пев. Друштва.

26. маја свечаној поворци, која ће бити после службе Ђоже и у вече уметничкоме концерту свију присутних друштава, а после овога банкету.

27. маја помежу умрлим члановима а после овога пољском ручку у Кијебу, одакле ће се у 5 час. иос. иодне ићи у Моичидер.

Улазнице за концерат могу се добити од 24. маја у Друштвеном стану Краљ Милана улица бр. 45 и у вече на каси. За учеснивање на банкету плаћа се од особе 10 дин.

Пријавити се треба до 23. з. з. Ђури Поповићу, књиг Сов. Бродар. Друштва, Мати Јанковићу б. ч. Нар. Банке, члановима Управе и у Друштвеном стану.

10. маја 1903. године у Београду.

Управа.

Господину Ивану Јанковићу, одговорној осигурању В. В. Краља

Appendix 2

СРПСКО КРАЉЕВСКО



НАРОДНО ПОЗОРИШТЕ

ПРЕДСТАВА 66.

ВАНРЕДНА 3.

У Београду, у уторник, 23. марта 1904.

# ДУХОВНИ КОНЦЕРТ

БЕОГРАДСНОГ ПЕВАЧНОГ ДРУШТВА

Уз пријатељско суделовање госпође М. Цемовићне, г. Ц. Манојловића, а под управом г. Ст. Мокрањца.

## I.

- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 1. Мокрањцац. | Тебе одјејучагосја, мешовити хор.   |
| 2. Малешкин.  | Помишљају ден страшни, мешовити хор.  |
| 3. Л. Луци.   | Песма деви Марији, пева госпођа Цемовићка, а прати је на клавиру г. Манојловић. |
| 4. Чајковски. | Оче наш, мешовити хор.  |
| 5. Григорјев. | Концерт — Приклони Господи, мешовити хор.                                       |

## II.

- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 6. Мокрањцац. | из А-тиста: а. Повељеноје; б. Радујеја невесто; в. Возбраној.   |
| 7. Дворжак.   | из Stabat Mater: а. О! ужаснаго видјенија, бас соло са хором и оркестром; б. Уви мене сјете мира мешовити хор са оркестром. |
| 8. Давидов.   | Исповјенсја тебе Господи, концерт за мешовити хор.  |

Оркестар Народног Позоришта повећан је ученицима Српске Музичке Школе.

Између првог и другог дела одмор траје 15 минута.

Недеља, 23. марта: Дневна представа: Сеоски дола, позоришна игра у три чина, с певачем, од Тота, превода Стевчи Дескише. Музика од Д. Јевка. — Вечерња представа: Три мускетара, драма у пет чинова (двадесет савка), са епилогом, написао Александар Дима Отац и Август Мазе, превео Др. г. А. Стевановић.

Понедељак, 29. марта: Дневна представа: Млетачки трговац, комедија у пет чинова, од Шекспира, превео Јован Петровић. — Вечерња представа: Распикућа, чаробна позоришна игра у три чина, с певачем, написао Ф. Рајмунд превео с немачког М. В. Стојановић. Музика од Крајцера.

Уторник, 30. марта: Дневна представа: Звонар Павлове Цркве, драма у четири чина, с предигром, написао Бушарди, превео Спиро Д. Которанин. — Вечерња представа: Вештица, драма у пет чинова, написао Викторјен Сарду, превод с француског.

### ЦЕНЕ МЕСТА :

Ложа у партеру и првој галерији 20 динара; ложа у другој галерији 8 динара. — У партеру: етоња 3 динара, паркет 2 динара, партер 1.50 динара. — У првој галерији: балкон 3 динара, седиште I реда 1.50 динара, седиште II реда 1.20 динара. — У другој галерији: балкон 3 динара, сва остала места по 1.20 динара. — У трећој галерији: први ред од (1—57) 0.60 динара; други ред 0.50 динара.

ПОЧЕТАК 7 8<sup>1/2</sup>, ЧАСОВА ТАЧНО.