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A ‘QUIET AFRICAN EPISODE’ FOR THE SERBIAN ARMY IN THE GREAT WAR: THE BAND OF THE CAVALRY DIVISION AND DRAGUTIN F. POKORNI IN NORTH AFRICA (1916–1918)

Abstract: In the context of this year’s centenary of World War I, the focus of this text is the music activities of the Serbian army in North Africa (1916–1918), where they recuperated from their retreat across the mountains of Albania. This paper is a result of an extensive archival research of the National Library of Serbia’s collections and periodicals published during the Great War in North Africa. The daily news bulletin *Napred/En avant* published during the war in Africa deserves special attention, along with the personal archives of conductor and Serbian army captain Dragutin F. Pokorni (1868–1956). The paper sheds light on the work of a Serbian military orchestra, officially called the Band of the Cavalry Division (BCD, in Serbian: *Muzika Konjičke divizije*) and their leader Pokorni, hitherto little known in Serbian musicology. More importantly, the paper critiques official Serbian historiography and its primary concern with glorifying the ‘heroism’ and sacrifice of Serbian soldiers, whilst keeping silent on the ‘quiet African episodes’ in the activities of the Serbian army from January 1916 to December 1918. This paper also highlights key points in the fruitful encounter between Serbian military musicians and the multi-layered cultures of the Maghreb and examines the importance of the BCD’s promotion of Serbian culture overseas as a type of cultural diplomacy. By placing the activities of this Serbian military orchestra in the broader context of Serbian cultural diplomacy in the Great War, this paper offers an answer to the current debates in the humanities regarding new approaches to, and interpretations of, this year’s global anniversary, mentioned above.

Key words: The Great War, military music, Serbian army, Bizerte, Africa, Franco-Serbian friendship, cultural diplomacy

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Music in Discourses about the Serbian Army in the Great War

To mark the centennial of the beginning of World War I, a major European project has been launched, *Europeana Collections 1914–1918*, meant to result, among other things, in the creation of a digital database entitled “The Great War”, hosted by the National Library of Serbia (NLS). Apart from holding an impressive quantity of digitized material, this database will be highly functional, user-friendly, and organized so as to meet the needs of diverse target groups.¹ Researchers keen on archival work will find the project useful in many ways, as it will open up new possibilities and extend the range of currently existing discourses on World War I. Nevertheless, accessibility does not necessarily lead to novel topics or interpretations. A survey of major written sources, media analyses, and events organized to commemorate the Great War suggests that the anniversary has been primarily used as an opportunity for polemics and discussions on the political background of the Sarajevo Assassination and the context of the beginning of the war, both of which are in fact revisions of ‘old topics’.² Topics such as ‘musical activities during the Great War’ aroused occasional scholarly interest in the 1990s, but only with the intention of enhancing biographic and poetic discourses on prominent composers of high-art music.³

¹ The “Great War Database” (www.velikirat.nb.rs) of the National Library of Serbia stems from the *Europeana collections 1914-1918* project with partner projects *European Film Gateway 1914*, <http://project.efg1914.eu/> and *Europeana 1914–1918*, <http://www.europeana1914-1918.eu/en>. The purpose of these projects is to allow every user to make individual contributions with documents from their own personal archives.

² Regarding the historical discourse around the participation of Serbia in the Great War, two articles from the Belgrade daily *Politika*, “Causes of World War One” and “New Disputes over the July Crisis”, are especially interesting. See also the endeavours of historian Dubravka Stojanović in refuting erroneous interpretations of those events, which originated much before this centenary year. These could be heard in the B92 radio show *Pešćanik* from 2006. Cf. also her recent text “Gavrilo Princip nije bio terorista” [“Gavrilo Princip Was Not a Terrorist”], *Blic*, 10 June 2013 and her interview published in the Montenegrin daily *Pobjeda* on 13 January 2014.

My opinion is that new historical insights into this matter can be drawn only from newly discovered or newly interpreted documents. For example, one such document that demands our attention is the letter from Oskar Potiorek, then governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to the Austro-Hungarian Minister Leon Bilinski, which clearly shows that the Great War was planned even before the Sarajevo Assassination (cf. *Politika*, 18 January 2014). In that regard, from a plethora of recent literature, I should highlight *The Origins of the First World War: Controversies and Consensus* by Annika Mombauer, lecturer at the Department of Modern European History at the Open University (London, Routledge, 2013).

³ Excellent examples of addressing the activities of composers in World War I in musicological studies are found in Daniel Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music*,

These and numerous other scholars have referred to the activities of composers during the war, always limiting their interest to those who excelled in high-art music, neglecting popular-music practices, which, after all, play a key role at times of conflict. More importantly, these authors as a rule ignore the methodology of researching wartime music. Military music does not even figure in current musicological discourse. Rather, it is an exception among both military historians and musicologists who address topics of this kind.⁴

There is no doubt, however, that 'military music' has always been considered marginal within the wider musicological discourse, so that discussing the role of Serbian military bands in the context of World War I confronts one with having to devise strategies for justifying this subject matter. Considering the abundance of periodicals and other material consulted for the purpose of this paper, I have decided to write about music from a historical vantage point⁵ and seek arguments for including this topic into Serbian musicology in a novel approach to documents.

The first step in initiating the reader into the subject matter of this paper is to indicate the key points of the present historical discourse on the Great War.⁶ The question is why 'the quiet African episode' in the activities of the Serbian army during WWI has not (logically?) become a popular issue in Serbian historiography. The reason may lie in the fact that for decades, official Serbian historiography has glorified the heroic cult of the suffering and sacrifice of Serbian soldiers. This is a common place in the war narratives of the nations that participated in the war and their views of their national history. As far as Serbia is concerned, this seems justified, considering the incredible human loss Serbia sustained during the Great War.

However, one should not neglect the fact that Andrej Mitrović, a prominent Serbian historian, has thoroughly examined Serbian wartime cultural activities,

Literature, and Other Arts, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2000 and Glenn Watkins, *Proof through the Night: Music and the Great War*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, University of California Press, 2003.

⁴ Cf. the contribution of musicologist and music critic Gordana Krajačić: *Vojna muzika i muzičari [Military Music and Musicians] 1831–1945*, Beograd, Vojska Srbije, 2003. Her study is based on archival materials and on the whole, it is of good quality.

⁵ At this point, one must refer to this great text by historian Celia Applegate on how historians approach music: "Introduction: Music Among the Historians", *German History*, 30/3, 329–349.

⁶ Regarding the subject matter of the Great War, the following publications are certainly worth consulting: Andrej Mitrović, *Srbija u Prvom svetskom ratu [Serbia in World War One]*, Belgrade, Stubovi kulture, 2004; Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije [The History of Yugoslavia]*, 1918–1988, Vol. 1, Belgrade, Nolit, 1988.

discussing, for instance, the work of the Ministry of Education after the retreat to the island of Corfu, and the process of enrolling Serbian students and professors in schools in France, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, and neutral Switzerland.⁷ Although he does not mention numerous musicians scattered across Europe, such as Vladimir Đorđević (1869–1938)⁸ known to have been in France, Kosta Manojlović (1890–1949), who was in Oxford, and many others, he provides a glimpse of the importance that Serbia attached to culture and education during the war.

Historians have found themselves facing a complicated geographical and geopolitical map of the world established already during the first months of the war, and their task was to examine the activities of the Serbian side as well as other pro-Yugoslav groups in a large number of newly formed hubs. The wartime capital became the city of Niš after the onslaught of Austro-Hungarian troops and the Serbian Army's retreat to the south. Afterwards, in 1916, the centre of Serbian political life became the island of Corfu, where the government (including the Ministry of Education) set up its temporary seat; another important centre was in the area of the Salonika front, where the Supreme Command and Prince Regent were headquartered.⁹ The wartime geographical distribution of the Serbs was very complex and one should note that "the political life, at its most relevant and diversified, took place in the countries that hosted most of the civilian refugees, namely, Western European countries, and most of all France and Switzerland".¹⁰ London was important because it was the seat of the Yugoslav Committee, but "neutral Switzerland was more interesting" as Mitrović remarks, since it was the "meeting place of immigrants of most diverse convictions". The famous song "Tamo daleko" ["There, Far Away"] emerged during the Serbian retreat to Corfu, whereas the song "Kreće se lađa francuska" ["The French Boat is Sailing"], also popular today, was allegedly sung for the first time in the port of Thessaloniki.¹¹ Yet, the presence of musicians in these cen-

⁷ Cf. Andrej Mitrović, "Đaci, studenti i profesori" ["The Pupils, Students, and Teachers"], *op. cit.*, 241–255.

⁸ Cf. Milica Gajić, "Dokumentacija o delatnosti Vladimira Đorđevića (1916–1918) u Francuskoj za vreme Prvog svetskog rata, sačuvana u njegovom Legatu u biblioteci Fakultetu muzičke umetnosti u Beogradu ["Documents Concerning the Activities of Vladimir Đorđević (1916–1918) in France during World War One, Preserved in his Bequest to the Faculty of Music in Belgrade"], *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku*, 24/25, 1999, 107–115.

⁹ Cf. Andrej Mitrović, "Sukobi i obračuni" ["Conflicts and Showdowns"], *op. cit.*, 256.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 256.

¹¹ The authorship of these songs is still debated, but addressing this issue would exceed the scope of this paper.

tres and details of the emergence of these popular (and many other, now forgotten) songs still await musicological research.

So far, only Stanislav Binički (1872–1942) has secured a place in Serbian musicological discourse about the Great War. He was the conductor of the Orchestra of the Royal Guard and composer of the famous *March on the Drina*, which became a kind of chorus in the (constructed) Serbian memory of the Great War. Presumably, Binički and the Royal Guard Orchestra have been studied primarily on account of their stay in Thessaloniki when the Prince Regent was also there and for the sake of “enhancing the biographies of prominent composers”. Binički composed the first Serbian opera ever performed and not only participated in the war, but also conducted an orchestral body very important for Serbian music, the Orchestra of the Royal Guard, located at the important wartime hub of Thessaloniki, close to the front that was decisive for the successful termination of the war.¹² Nonetheless, the complexity and achievements of the Orchestra, with Binički at its helm, have yet to receive a proper musicological treatment.

The subject of this paper is the quiet two-year period when Serbian troops were recuperating in Tunisia; many of the soldiers remained buried there, but many also recovered and were sent to the Salonika Front, and many of them preserved vivid memories of their African sojourn.

The most important source for studying the activities of the Band of the Cavalry Division (BCD) in Africa is the personal archives of Dragutin F. Pokorni, kept as a separate collection at the National Library of Serbia,¹³ as well as the daily bulletin *Napred/En avant* published during the entire stay of the Serbian troops in Africa. However, only some of the original concert programme notes survive to this day, so in order to make a detailed overview of the BCD's concert activities, it was necessary to make comparisons with a whole range of other sources and conjectures about possible missing elements.¹⁴ For

¹² It is only on the margins of the scholarship devoted to the biography and poetics of Binički that one can learn anything about his work with the Orchestra of the Royal Guard in Thessaloniki during the war. Regarding existing scholarship, see Stana Đurić Klajn, “Marš na Drinu” [“The March on the Drina”], in: *Akordi prošlosti* [Chords of the Past], Belgrade, Nolit, 1981.

¹³ NLS, Arhiva Dragutina Pokornog [The Dragutin Pokorni Archives], henceforward ADP, R-291.

¹⁴ This is further complicated by the discrepancy between the Julian calendar, still used in Serbia at the time and therefore also by the BCD, including their Bizerte concert programmes, which they often produced themselves, and the Gregorian calendar, used by France and other European countries and their colonies. In his notes, Pokorni frequently provides dates according to both calendars, which crucially facilitates a precise dating of

the purposes of this work, I have used soldiers' testimonies published during the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁵ Unfortunately, none of these memoir collections contain any explicit recollections of musician-soldiers.

In surveying the literature relevant to this paper, one should by no means overlook the important study *Srpska vojska u Bizerti (1916–1918)* [*The Serbian Army at Bizerte (1916–1918)*] by Colonel Predrag Pejčić, based on extensive archival materials and literature,¹⁶ as well as the monograph *Vojna muzika i muzičari 1831–1945* [*Military Music and Musicians 1831–1945*] by musicologist Gordana Krajačić, which refers to the most important archival materials from the Archives of the Institute of Military History in Belgrade.¹⁷

The Band of the Cavalry Division: From Serbia, via Albania, to North Africa

The Band of the Cavalry Division included both former members of this unit as well as cadets of the Military Music School, whose headmaster was first-class bandmaster Dragutin F. Pokorni.¹⁸ In the context of this paper, it is rele-

these concerts. At any rate, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1919, but there are still ongoing debates regarding the matter.

¹⁵ Nikola Damjanović, Aleksandar Petrović, and Aleksandar Deroko (eds.), *Golgota i vaskrs Srbije, 1916–1918* [*The Golgotha and Resurrection of Serbia, 1916–1918*], Belgrade, BIGZ and Udruženje nosilaca albanske spomenice 1915–1916, 1971; Silvija Đurić and Vidosav Stevanović (eds.), *Golgota i vaskrs Srbije, 1915–1918* [*The Golgotha and Resurrection of Serbia, 1915–1918*], Belgrade, BIGZ and Partizanska knjiga, 1986 (revised edition: Čakovec, Zrinski and Belgrade, Београд, 1989).

¹⁶ Predrag Pejčić, *Srpska vojska u Bizerti (1916–1918)* [*The Serbian Army at Bizerte (1916–1918)*], Belgrade, Zavod za udžbenike, 2003.

¹⁷ Gordana Krajačić, op. cit.

¹⁸ Pokorni studied French horn at the Vienna Conservatory; served in the military at the Viennese military band, and before coming to Belgrade worked as an accompanist and horn player at Karlstheater. During two periods, 1897–1904 and 1906–1910, he occupied the position of conductor at the National Theatre and Žarko Savić's Opera in the Boulevard. He was not only headmaster of the Military Music School in Grejač, but also continued with this activity in Africa, as well as after the war, when he founded the Military Music School in Vršac in 1919 and bandmaster courses in 1929. He also founded the Central Musical Archives of the Serbian Army and Navy. Importantly, for a long time (1920–1937), he was in charge of all military ensembles and at the same time conducted the Orchestra of the Royal Guard (for details on the biography of this artist, see Gordana Krajačić, op. cit., 120, 69–71). In her research of orchestral music-making at this time, Musicologist Roksanda Pejović, a renowned expert on Serbian music from this period, on examining orchestral performances, singles out concerts of the theatric orchestra conducted by Pokorni in 1899, with the Serbian premiere of Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony. At the end of July 1903, a month after the May Coup, with Binički, Mokranjac, Čížek, and the Belgrade Choir Society, Pokorni conducted

vant that the Serbian Supreme Command established its Military Music School in February 1915 (or spring 1914),¹⁹ somewhere between Niš (the wartime capital) and Žitkovac.²⁰ It was the best-organized music school affiliated with the Serbian military up to that point. There were ten musicians on its teaching staff. Along with Pokorni, who visited the school only occasionally and was involved only with major issues, the headmaster's duties were mainly discharged by his deputy, violoncellist Vićeslav (Vaclav) Rendla (1868–1933),²¹ and violin-

the Belgrade Military Orchestra in a concert held at the National Theatre to celebrate the birthday of the new King, Peter I. (Cf. Stana Đurić Klajn, *Orkestri u Srbiji do osnivanja Filharmonije* [Orchestras in Serbia before the Foundation of the Philharmonic], Belgrade, Beogradska filharmonija, 1977, 25; *Srpske novine*, 28 June 1903, 145). For details about Pokorni's achievements as conductor of the theatric orchestra see: Roksanda Pejović, *Srpsko muzičko izvođaštvo romantičarskog doba* [The Art of Performing Music in Serbia in the Romantic Period], Belgrade, Univerzitet umetnosti, 1991, 316, 320, 322, 325, 333; Stana Đurić Klajn, *ibid.*, 23–27. In addition to orchestral performance, Pokorni also directed the First Belgrade Choral Society, the Stanković Choral Society, and the Serbian-Jewish Choral Society.

¹⁹ Cf. Gordana Krajačić, *op. cit.*, 93. Pejčić mentions that the school was established in February 1915 (Predrag Pejčić, *op. cit.*, 86).

²⁰ Although military legislation mentions military schools in the Principality of Serbia, it was only in 1905, at the urging of the leadership of the Serbian military musical service headed by Binički, that a school was established within the 7th Infantry Regiment, in which “cadets would acquire a wider musical knowledge necessary for an orchestra musician (cf. Gordana Krajačić, *op. cit.*, 92–93). The headmaster was Vićeslav Rendla who taught the string instruments and was at the same time on the teaching staff of the Serbian School of Music in Belgrade (today Mokranjac Music School). Unfortunately, the school was closed two years later.

²¹ Vićeslav Rendla was born in 1869 in Transylvania into a musical family of Czech descent. He was a violoncellist, music teacher, and conductor. For a short while, he led an instrumental ensemble in Paris and toured the United States (cf. Gordana Krajačić, *op. cit.*, 121). He lived in Belgrade as a member of the Belgrade Military Orchestra and from 1903 as bandleader of the Sixth Infantry Regiment, violoncello, flute, and double-bass teacher, and conductor at the Serbian Music School. Roksanda Pejović states that with the orchestra of the Sixth Infantry Regiment he performed at “Smutekovac” (“Vajfertovac”) in 1912, which was at the time advertised as one of the most beautiful and healthiest beer gardens in Belgrade (cf. Roksanda Pejović, *op. cit.*, 321–322). The same author concludes that “the ambitions of Vićeslav Rendla, conductor at the Serbian Music School, to perform a classical repertoire with his students, were unique in the Belgrade of old (*ibid.*, 331). He also worked at Stanković Music School and the Military Music School. During the Great War, he was appointed first-class bandmaster of the Drina Division, but was relocated in Tunisia with the BCD. In 1916, as a violoncellist, he went on a tour of Paris with the Orchestra of the Royal Guard conducted by Binički (cf. Gordana Krajačić, *op. cit.*, 121). For more details on this artist, see: *ibid.*, 73–74.

ist Venceslav Nigl (1857).²² All three musicians were prominent members of the BCD and music teachers during the North African episode.²³ They were all highly educated musicians of Czech origin, involved in manifold ways with a number of military musical institutions in the Kingdom of Serbia and later the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.²⁴

Pokorni reorganized the BCD, with whom he took part in the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). In the first year of the Great War, he successfully organized charity concerts. According to a document from his archives dated 11 August 1914, Pokorni invited Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević to two charity concerts to raise funds for the families of officers killed in combat. The concerts, performed by Pokorni and the BCD, were held in Vrnjačka Banja, featuring works by the following composers: the first concert: Otto Nikolai, Isidor Bajić, Giuseppe Verdi, Camille Saint-Saëns, Antonin Dvořák, Georges Bizet, Pyotr Illich Tchaikovsky; the second concert: John Philip Sousa, Davorin Jenko, Franz Lehár, Giacomo Puccini, Sidney Jones, Charles Gounod, Angelo Mascheroni, and Robert Planquette.²⁵ In October of the same year, according to military documents, the BCD was moved to Kragujevac, along with the rest of the Šumadija Division. However, towards the end of 1915, the BCD was forced to retreat to Albania, joined by the cadets of the Military Music School.

A total of 95 students attended this school, assembled mostly from military music units, with only a handful of civilians. We know for a fact that they joined Serbian troops in their retreat across Albania, with many of them dying

²² Vićeslav Nigl was born in the Moravian town of Hodonice. He graduated from the High Schools of Music in Prague and Vienna, although his papers were destroyed during the war. Before becoming bandmaster of the Second Infantry Regiment, he performed the same duty in the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. He took part in the Serbian-Turkish war 1912-1913, the Serbian-Bulgarian war (in Kriva Palanka), and the fighting on the Salonika Front (cf. Gordana Krajačić, *op. cit.*, 118). Krajačić also states that he was a violinist. In the Great War, he was first appointed first-class bandmaster of the Moravian Division in 1916 but was already in Tunisia at that time with the BCD and Pokorni as bandmaster. After the war, from 1920 to 1935, he led the choir “Jedinstvo” in Banja Luka.

²³ Since these were Czech musicians, we should not be surprised to find various versions of their names: Vićeslav, Vjenceslav, and Većeslav for Nigl, and Vićeslav, Venceslav, Vjenceslav, and Vencel for Rendla.

²⁴ Roksanda Pejović notes an intensification in orchestra performances in Belgrade following Pokorni’s and Binički’s respective entries into the city’s musical life, in 1897 and 1899 (cf. Roksanda Pejović, *op. cit.*, 321). Krajačić singles out Pokorni as the most outstanding figure in the development of military music and stresses that “for almost half a century he transmitted his enormous knowledge to military music and musicians” (cf. Gordana Krajačić, *op. cit.*, 70).

²⁵ NLS, ADP, R-291, IV/1.

on that punishing journey.²⁶ Presumably, some of these soldier-musicians deserted during the retreat, or simply remained in Serbia.²⁷ However, Krajačić states that only 18 of these cadets, who were between 15 and 17 years of age, survived the gruelling retreat, joining thereafter the BCD.²⁸ The surviving musicians were transferred from Vlorë to Tunisia by an Italian ship, the *Re di Velorio*. They landed in January 1916 and remained there in Africa's northernmost city, the Tunisian port of Bizerte, until 1918. A year later, in his diary, Dragutin Pokorni left detailed notes about this important moment in the retreat and arrival in Bizerte.

The first elements of the troops, during the first days, when it still wasn't clear where the base for the admission, recuperation, and reorganization of our combat units would be set up, landed, at the beginning of January 1916, on the hospitable shores of French North African colonies, in Bizerte. These contingents, blown to the shores of Africa by the wicked storm of fate (who could have imagined that!), consisted of wrecks of men, tortured souls in wasted bodies, closer to corpses than to living beings. Many of them carried death in their bodies. Among these first units landed in Bizerte in the first days of January 1916 was also the Band of the Cavalry Division, led by their conductor Dragutin F. Pokorni. Like their brothers, they, too, partook of all the bitterness of retreat. The BCD left Niš towards the end of October 1915, just before the Bulgarians entered the wartime capital of Serbia, and following orders, retreated through Kosovo to Prizren. When Prizren, the last stop of our hopes, also had to be evacuated, the route was charted for the BCD: the crags and ravines of Albania ... after two months of starvation across impassable wilderness ... where man was erstwhile the rarest of visitors, it reached Vlorë, already seized by Italian forces, who turned it into a base for their operations in the Balkans. ... And then, one day in January, a huge Italian steamer, the "Re di Velorio", disembarked the Band of the Cavalry Division in Bizerte, along with reserve troops from Niš. We say "Band", even though the men commanded by bandmaster Pokorni, mostly without their instruments and scores, in ragged clothes, with exhausted bodies and tortured souls, were, like all the others, unfortunate shipwreck survivors whose wasted bodies, first

²⁶ Cf. Josip Maglić's story about the tragic retreat of three young musicians across Albania, the Urkić brothers from Golubac, cadets of the Military School of Music, who perished on the way: "Tragičan put braće Urkić" ["The Tragic Journey of the Urkić Brothers"], in: Nikola Damjanović, Aleksandar Petrović, and Aleksandar Deroko (eds.), op. cit., 123–125.

²⁷ The number of soldier-musicians can be deduced by comparing different sources. Predrag Pejić states that 90% of the musicians were ill and as such sent to Tunisian hospitals (cf. op. cit., 86), whereas Josip Maglić claims that after the liberation, 30 former cadets returned to Serbia ("Dugi put malih vojnika" ["The Little Soldiers' Long Journey"], in: Golgota i vaskrs Srbije, op. cit., 100–103). For more details on the retreat through Albania and negotiations between the French and Italians about transporting the Serbian soldiers, see Andrej Mitrović, op. cit., 217–230.

²⁸ Cf. Gordana Krajačić, op. cit., 93.

of all, had to be rekindled with the spirit of life, before the sacred flame of art, which seemed extinguished in them, could light up again...²⁹

The report of the commander of Serbian troops in Bizerte states that all soldiers were sworn in on 24 February 1916 and that on that occasion, the BCD comprised 65 men, of whom three were bandmasters (senior non-commissioned officers) and four instructors (junior non-commissioned officers).³⁰ Since all other bands of the Serbian army had only a half of that number, we may conclude that the BCD and the Orchestra of the Royal Guard had the largest number of musicians, which distinguished them from those other units.

However, the sheer number of musicians was no guarantee of their readiness for concert performances. On his arrival in Bizerte, Pokorni was confronted not only with the exhaustion of his musicians, but also with a lack of instruments and scores. The complicated process of assigning individual duties to musicians and bandmasters, that is, with forming this type of military formations and dealing with their specific problems of organization was entrusted to Binički, the above-mentioned conductor of the Orchestra of the Royal Guard and person in charge of all military music ensembles. With his deft leadership skills and well-informed about the number of soldier-musicians, their readiness (i.e. health) and access to instruments, Binički managed to persuade the Command to reduce the number of ensembles from the existing 17 to a smaller number of more functional and higher-quality ensembles, in accordance with the realities of war.³¹ In November 1916, owing to his efforts, certain instruments were procured for military music ensembles.³²

With the soldiers recuperated and the scores supplied, the BCD was assembled and began giving charity concerts to raise money for the construction of a Serbian cemetery in North Africa. However, this was only the beginning of their dynamic music activities and establishing friendships in the countries of the Maghreb.

²⁹ NLS, ADP, R-291, I/2, 2-5.

³⁰ Predrag Pejčić, *op. cit.*, 26.

³¹ For more on this correspondence, see Gordana Krajačić, *op. cit.*, 50–53ff.

³² As Binički states in his letter of 8 November 1916, the procurements included “three trunks of instruments for each of the seven ensembles” (*ibid.*, 60). In the same month, the Serbian Minister of War informed the Supreme Command that each military ensemble had already received “eight small flutes (piccolos) – which, together with drummers, should gradually replace the *značari* (trumpeters) in marches” (*ibid.*).

The Band of the Cavalry Division: From Bizerte to Concert Tours of the Maghreb

There is no doubt that throughout its long history, Bizerte was an important geo-strategic spot and a crossroads of many cultures, which left a deep mark on its population, architecture, and culture.³³ During the period relevant for this paper, Bizerte was under French rule. Veselin Čajkanović, later a university professor but at that time a Serbian soldier and correspondent for the daily *Napred*, wrote about the position of the city during the period in question:

Bizerte is a large military hub and an important station for the fleet. Its great military importance can be felt especially now, at a time of war. Besides, it is a major commercial centre for exports from Tunisia and for supplying ships en route from Gibraltar to Port Said. Before the war, Bizerte had a population of about 30,000, 12–13 thousand Europeans, the same number of Arabs and Jews, and a 5–6 thousand-strong garrison. Now, the population is much larger. One can see all kinds of allied uniforms in Bizerte, hear almost all languages, pay or get change in currencies from all five continents.³⁴

Čajkanović also makes a vivid urban sketch of Bizerte:

There is one theatre in Bizerte, three bookshops, six printing shops, and as of this August a seventh one, the Serbian Invalids' Press... *L'Echo de Bizerte* and *Napred* (*En avant*) are currently published. There is a beautiful and always packed Catholic church, a modest Protestant house of worship, and an 'evangelical hall' where one can hear fine Catholic sermons. Catholic nuns run their own school, "The Sion", in a splendid edifice... Closer to the pier there is the 'Officers' Hall.' Other buildings worth mentioning are a nice French school ..., the Grand Hotel offering full European comfort; a covered market always well supplied with grains and fish. The most handsome private houses were built by an engineer who also designed and runs the harbour; they are all called 'Maison Ersan' after the said engineer. ... Overall, Bizerte is a fine and pleasant place, with the best climate in all of Tunisia. The streets are clean, paved with asphalt or gravel, and almost all of them are lined with trees. The entire European quarter is full of squares and gardens, with nice trees, and clusters of lush African flowers. One of the most attractive places is the beach ... Along the shore there is a long alley of young palms. In the Arabic quarter there is no greenery, it is all stone and produces a beautiful, almost enchanting impression, particularly during full moon.³⁵

³³ Bizerte was founded by the Phoenicians around 1000 BC, then ruled by the Roman Empire, the Arabs, Charles V during the Crusades, the Ottoman Empire, and, following the Berlin Congress, or, more precisely, after 1881, the French. After a period of fighting the Tunisian independence movement, the French left Tunisia for good in 1963.

³⁴ Veselin Čajkanović, "Bizerte", in: *Golgota i vaskrs Srbije: zbornik sećanja (1916–1918)*, op. cit., 129–131.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

Soon after the soldiers had recuperated, already in the first week of May 1916, much before the arrival of the instruments mentioned by Binički,³⁶ Serbian musicians began giving charity concerts in Bizerte. Although written sources mention 19 June 1916 as the date of their first appearance, archival evidence suggests that they probably first played as a 70-strong string orchestra. In this regard, we may assume that they borrowed instruments from the orchestra of the local theatre “Garibaldi”, or used some other resources in Bizerte or nearby cities, such as Sousse, Sfax, or Tunis, where they performed in May and June 1916.³⁷

The advertisement section of *Napred* informs us that the entertainment establishments in Bizerte largely adapted to the needs of the newly arrived Serbian troops. Nevertheless, according to accounts given by the soldiers themselves, they saw the Tunisian city of Bizerte as an exotic place that enabled them to experience an entirely different life from the one they had led in their own country.

Pokorni’s permanent concern for the improvement of the repertoire and the quality of performance becomes obvious if we examine his personal archives at the National Library of Serbia, comprising his valuable correspondence during, as well as after the war, as well as the “Current Affairs” column in the daily *Napred*. A comparison between these two sources reveals that the BCD often performed new repertoires, with an imposing definitive list of works when compared to other orchestras from the Kingdom of Serbia and that period in general.³⁸ Pokorni assembled their programmes masterfully, paying special attention to the occasion and the type of audience.

The BCD regularly performed at Serbian religious and secular feasts, as well as those of the allied and Maghreb countries.³⁹ During their two-year stay in North Africa, they performed in the following cities: Bizerte, Sousse, Sfax, and Tunis (Tunisia); Constantine, El Bouni, Algiers, Oran, Amfreville, Boufarik, and Blida (Algeria); and Oujda (Morocco).⁴⁰ Before venturing to these

³⁶ Cf. explanations in footnotes 30 and 31, as well as the portion of this paper on Binički.

³⁷ Cf. concerts on 6 and 7 May and 4 June in Table 1.

³⁸ On orchestral performance, see: Stana Đurić-Klajn, *Orkestri u Srbiji do osnivanja Filharmonije*, op. cit.; Roksanda Pejović, op. cit., 287–330.

³⁹ For example, they played on St. Sava’s Day, Christmas Eve and Christmas, both Orthodox and Catholic, and St. John’s; to mark the victory of Serbian forces on Kajmakčalan; King Peter’s birthday (St. Peter’s Day); Admiral Guépratte’s birthday and retirement, etc. See Table 1.

⁴⁰ In ADP I have found Pokorni’s detailed descriptions of their journey through Algeria, through Amfreville, Boufarik, and Blida to Oran. Pokorni reports on the state of the population and culture, as well as economic and architectural characteristics of North African towns. See NLS, ADP, R-291, I.

cities, they had established a firm base in Bizerte, with their successful concerts, which became an indispensable part of the city's cultural life.

The musicians of the Serbian armed forces performed at a number of civilian and military venues in Bizerte: the Garibaldi Theatre, the hotels "Grand" and "Europe", Officers' Hall etc. Thanks to Bizerte's warm climate, they often gave open-air concerts, in the morning, before the afternoon heat, or in the evening after eight o'clock, on Europe Square, the terrace of the Officers' Hall, the theatre garden, or at the harbour, to welcome important diplomatic missions or figures.⁴¹

The BCD also participated in many military inspections and parades held in Bizerte, the most important of which were associated with St. Peter's Day, 12 July (O.S. 29 July), i.e. the King's birthday. They also played at the celebration of the French national holiday, Bastille Day, on 14 July (O.S. 27 July). For example, for the 1917 Bastille Day, they played the national anthems of France, England, Tunisia (the Bey's anthem), Italy, the United States, Japan, Greece, and Serbia.⁴² There was also the practice of celebrating holidays in hospitals with Serbian soldiers, so the BCD played on St. Sava's Day in Sidi Abdallah and during Christmas holidays in the hospital in Sidi Fathallah.⁴³ In addition, they performed on various occasions in all Tunisian hospitals. Besides symphonic concerts and military parades, the BCD also performed with the Serbian military camp theatre.⁴⁴

From their very first orchestral performance in Africa, these Serbian musicians first travelled to the cities and towns of Tunisia: Sfax, Sousse, and Tunis. Judging from the surviving photographs at the National Library of Serbia, the Orchestra of the Royal Guard performed in Bizerte on 26 August 1916. In the second half of September (or the first half of October, N.S.) of that same year, a tour of Algeria was organized. The tour was ordered and funded by Karlo Mihel,⁴⁵ commander of Reserve Corps and Schools for Non-Commissioned Officers. It was a long journey by train: more than seventeen hours on the 420 kilometres (260 miles) long route between Algiers to Oran, with stops at various places of different sizes, with diverse population and architecture: Amfreville,

⁴¹ Cf. Table 1 at the end of this paper.

⁴² Napred, 533, II, 1917, 3.

⁴³ For more details, see: Napred, I 265, 1916; Napred, I, 1916, 267; Napred, "Sveti Sava u Sidi-Abdalahu" ["St. Sava in Sidi Abdallah"], II, 283, 3; "Hronika: Petrovdanska svečanost" ["Current Affairs: The Celebration of St. Peter's Day"], Napred, II, 421, 2.

⁴⁴ Napred, June 30, 1917, 3.

⁴⁵ The details of the tour were reported by the daily Napred in 29 instalments until the end of 1916.

Boufarik, Blida, and finally several days in Oran with a series of concerts at the hall of the Municipal Theatre and the Letan promenade.

According to Pokorni's detailed travel notes, as well as reviews from the Algerian press, the BCD earned a particularly favourable reception in the Algerian cities of Oran and Algiers.⁴⁶ It might be surmised that there was an added personal enchantment on Pokorni's part with Algerian scenery, with which he not only became familiar during his stay, but also came to know by reading about it extensively. There is also evidence suggesting that he acquired numerous friends among the social elites of North African countries.⁴⁷ This is how Pokorni described the BCD's arrival and stay in Oran, where they gave four concerts, a town where "the Spanish element prevails", which, he concluded, "competes with Algiers"⁴⁸ in economic terms:

The Band of the Cavalry Division arrived in Oran around 10 AM; there was a multitude of people gathered at the station and we were welcomed by the fanfares of the 6th Territorial Battalion under Major Mr. Delaforge. The Zouaves greeted us with our *Serbian Anthem*, to which everyone listened with a religious attention, and we responded with *La Marseillaise* and then proceeded immediately, guided by the Zouave music, to the barracks of Château-Naf ... All along the route, from the windows and on the streets, a huge number of people cheered our military music with delight, as it played Serbian and French marches in alternation with the Zouaves. All of Oran was out in the streets to greet its guests and by noon, the tickets for the concert at the theatre were sold out. It was hardly advertised at all, but Oran was informed by Algerian papers ... there wasn't a single chair left for our refugees, who so badly wanted to hear a Serbian orchestra. The programme was the same as on the first night in Algiers and success was greater than anywhere else.⁴⁹

During their stay in Oran, the BCD and its leader Pokorni received a delegation from Sidi bel Abbès headed by president José Vilumbrales, a well-known missionary who pleaded with the Serbian orchestra to perform in his town

⁴⁶ For instance, Pokorni's notes contains his translations of reviews from *Le petit Oranais* and *L'Echo d'Oran*, which he prepared for publishing in a series of articles about the BCD tour in the daily *Napred*. Pokorni also compiled a sort of collection of concert reviews: NLS, ADP, R-291, V.

⁴⁷ I have found in ADP, among other things, letters from Admiral Guépratte from after the war, numerous letters from Charles de Galland, the mayor of Algiers, a postcard from Camille Saint-Saëns, numerous telegrams asking or permitting the BCD to perform in a number of places, letters congratulating the BCD on their successful concerts, and finally, birthday cards sent to Pokorni even after the war, etc. Cf. Admiral Guépratte's letter to Pokorni dated 18 March 1920: NIS, ADP, R-291, II/31.

⁴⁸ NLS, ADP, R-291, I/1, 4.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 5–6.

under any conditions, enchanted by their rendering of *Le Rouet d'Omphale* by C. Saint-Saëns.⁵⁰ I mention this piece of information as one of a series of events that led to new engagements of the BCD during their two-year stay in North Africa.

On their return from Oran, the BCD again performed in Algiers and then set off to Constantine for several concerts and to El Bouni for another three, two at the municipal theatre and one on the promenade.⁵¹

There are numerous reviews of BCD concerts and an exhaustive survey and analysis of them would exceed the scope of this paper. These reviews appeared in the following papers: *La Dépêche Tunisienne* in Tunisia, *La Dépêche d'Alger*, *L'Echo d'Alger*, *Le Petit Oranais*, *L'Echo de Bizerte*; *Le Républicain*, and *La Depeche Constantine* in Constantine; *La Tribune Bonaise*, etc. Here are a few excerpts from the Algerian press referring to the concert tour of 1916:

Under the confident baton of Mr. Pokorni and beginning with the overture *Mignon*, each piece was performed harmoniously and artistically, with a modern conception and high precision of rendering even the most difficult compositions. After each number, the musicians were greeted with loud cheers, and after the *Rouet d'Omphale* by Saint-Saëns, the rapture came to a head. The orchestra played the whole piece encore and the president Mr. Galland [Charles de Galland, 1851–1923], albeit a musician himself, stated that he had never heard such perfection in performance and that he would convey his impressions to his personal friend, the composer Saint-Saëns, that same evening.⁵²

The most widely circulated Algerian paper *La Dépêche d'Alger* reported that “the BCD is an orchestra in the true sense of the word, not just a collection of musicians randomly assembled around a score; a true orchestra, uniform and complete, where the individualities of diverse instruments played by superb artists harmonize and fuse into a whole. Flexible and nuanced interpretation, developing the composer’s idea with precision and clarity. This is what we had

⁵⁰ Ibid., 7. Cf. also a later letter.

⁵¹ NLS, ADP, R-291, “U Konstantini i Boni” [“In Constantine and El Bouni”], I/4.

⁵² Napred, I, 251, 3. Cf. Table 1 programme for the Algiers concert, 1916. Incidentally, the person in question is Charles de Galland, Mayor of Algiers (1910–1919), a prominent figure in the history of the country, present both in the sphere of politics and that of culture, especially music. From the 1880s on he was prominent as a talented amateur violinist and organized “salon” concerts. From 1908 on, Galland cooperated with the newspaper *La Dépêche Tunnisiene* and the Society of Fine Arts (*Société des Beaux arts*). He is also important as the founder of the Society for Popular Concerts (*Société des concert populaires*). In music scholarship, he is often mentioned on account of his friendship with C. Saint-Saëns, who not only sent him a number of his pieces whilst still composing them, but also dedicated to Galland his *Elegy* Op. 160 for violin and piano (1920).

an opportunity to hear from the BCD of Bizerte last night at the municipal theatre.⁵³

Algerian reviews also point out the following:

We particularly enjoyed Grieg's *Norwegian Dances*. In these, as well as Saint-Saëns's *Le Rouet d'Omphale*, the strings demonstrated a matchless confidence. ... We would especially like to emphasize Massenet's *Scènes pittoresques*, where the violoncellos excelled. ... As a military band, this Serbian orchestra, skilfully conducted by Mr. Pokorni, commands discipline and precision. Their extraordinary understanding of musical works, the opulence of sound, and finesse of performance put it on a par with the best symphonic ensembles of European capital cities. As a matter of fact, ... the first violins and a majority of the soloists hold degrees from major conservatoires.⁵⁴

Encouraged by the success of this tour, the BCD's bandmasters decided to undertake another tour in 1917. That year, they expanded their repertoire with a series of new works, while guest appearances extended from Algiers to the Moroccan city of Oujda where they gave a series of concerts intertwined with cinema shows.

Besides concert tours, a prominent place in their concert activities belongs to the symphonic concert held on 14 October 1917, featuring demanding pieces by Slavic composers such as Dvořák's *Fifth Symphony*, Glinka's *Kamarinskaya*, Rachmaninoff's *Prelude*, etc. The vocal soloist Pelle Desforges attracted special attention, singing in Serbian "Three Heroes" by Stevan Mokranjac and "At the Window" by Pokorni himself.⁵⁵

In view of the repertoire, the dynamics of BCD concerts depended on collaboration with local musicians, some of whom probably also came from the families of numerous French and British diplomats, which thereby facilitated cultural cooperation with the local communities. The original concert programme notes mention the names of two harpists, Miss Salle, a guest from Algiers at a concert in Oran, and Mrs. Marini, allegedly a student or graduate of the Milan Conservatoire, who played one of the best-known and extremely demanding pieces for this instrument, *Fantaisie* by the famous English composer Elias Parish Alvars (1808–1849), in two concerts with the BCD: on 6 May 1916 at the Municipal Theatre in Sfax and on 7 May at the Municipal Theatre in Tunis. On 12 May, at the Algiers Municipal Theatre, Professor M. Reginald D'Arcy from École des Beaux-Arts, performed Grieg's Piano Concerto in A minor, accompanied by the BCD, with Pokorni as conductor.⁵⁶

⁵³ Ibid., 252, 3. Cf. Table 1, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ Ibid., 253, 3.

⁵⁵ Cf. Table 1, detailed programme from this concert.

⁵⁶ Ibid., IV/13.

Apart from local soloists and those from the families of diplomats stationed in the Maghreb, there were a number of talented musicians within the BCD itself.⁵⁷ It is certain that Vítěslav Rendla distinguished himself as the composer of “Admiral Guépratte’s March” written on the occasion of Admiral *Émile* Guépratte’s birthday and retirement. He also wrote a series of other pieces performed by the BCD. According to available sources, in addition to Pokorni, Nigl, and Rendla, both first-class bandmasters, also led the BCD, as did Nikola Stefanović in his rank of fourth-class bandmaster.⁵⁸ It can be conjectured that Pokorni made ample use of Rendla’s various skills, as did Binički in the Belgrade Military Orchestra, occasionally vacating the position of conductor for him. The African press testifies that violinist Ladislav Novotni was an outstanding soloist who in 1916 performed Wieniavski’s *Second Violin Concerto in D Minor*, but I have not discovered any more data about this artist. The reviews also inform us that Rendla, Emil Dont, and N. Stefanović played the first three violins⁵⁹ and their performance was lauded by an Oran critic.⁶⁰ In addition, according to the reviews, the violoncellist J. Jovanović likewise distinguished himself within the BCD.⁶¹

Although we cannot give a precise judgement of the quality of the BCD’s performances, there is no doubt that their repertoire was interesting and included a large number of compositions, mostly from the Romantic period, and that it was well adapted to the occasions of their performances. Since they were touring French colonies, it is no surprise that a great deal of their repertoire consisted of French composers: Georges Bizet, Camille Saint-Saëns, Charles Gounod, Jules Massenet, Gustave Charpentier, Ambroise Thomas, Léo Delibes, and Adolphe Adam. Next on the list are Italian operatic works by composers who are still the most popular in that genre: Giuseppe Verdi and Giacomo Puccini,

⁵⁷ Pejčić specifies that in Bizerte, Pokorni closely collaborated with composers Venceslav Rendla and “мајор Пелисије Пол” [Latin script: “major Pelisije Pol”]. Unfortunately, “Пол” does not appear in Gordana Krajačić’s biographies of military musicians, or in military encyclopaedias, nor have I found his name in Pokorni’s notes.

⁵⁸ NLS, ADP, R-291, I/3, 17.

⁵⁹ Emil Dont was at the beginning of the war appointed fourth-class bandmaster of the Vardar Division, under Jovan Urban as leader, or first-class bandmaster. Nikola Stefanović held the same position in the Šumadija Division. Presumably, they were transferred to the BCD as a result of Binički’s reorganization of military music bands.

⁶⁰ The review from *L’Echo d’Oran* was published in *Napred*, I, 1916, 264, 3. Cf. Table 1, the Oran concert programme.

⁶¹ The military documents mention only a sergeant Živan Jovanović, so we may only speculate that translating his name into French, the Algerian critic transcribed Jovanović’s first initial, “Ž” to “J”.

as well as fantasias or excerpts from veristic operas by Ruggiero Leoncavallo and Pietro Mascagni; then, there were also Slavic, primarily Serbian composers. It is interesting that the BCD performed pieces by contemporary Italian composer Francesco Santoliquido (1883–1971), who, having studied in Rome (at the Santa Cecilia Lyceum), found himself in the Tunisian town of Hammamet during the war.⁶²

For us, it is especially relevant that the Band of the Cavalry Division presented to North African audiences for the first time numerous works by composers who were also members of the ensemble: Pokorni's *Serbian Songs; From the East, a Serbian Medley; Potpourri of Serbian and Russian Songs and Dances*; and "At the Window/*Sous la fenêtre*", a song from his *Popular Songs* collection; Rendla's *Recollections from Tunisia*, a waltz and *The Admiral's March/March of Admiral Guépratte*; and Nigl's *General Moinier's March*.⁶³ From these titles, we can infer that some of the compositions, such as *The Admiral's March* and *General Moinier's March* were written and premiered in Bizerte to honour the vice-admiral of the French Fleet, *Émile Guépratte*, a great friend of the Serbian army and regular at concerts of the BCD, as well as general Moinier, commander of the French North African Forces. Most of these works remain unknown, awaiting musicological research, and the same applies to the biographies of many military musicians that my research has unearthed.

The BCD performed pieces by a large number of Serbian and "Slavic" composers of both artistic and military music. In that regard, especially popular were pieces by Jovan Urban⁶⁴ and Jozef Brodil,⁶⁵ while other Serbian and Slavic composers whose works they performed included Antonin Dvořák, P. I. Tchaikovsky, Davorin Jenko, Isidor Bajić, Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, Bedřich Smetana, etc. Pejčić also mentions that according to an article in *Ratni dnevnik [The War Diary]*, Binički's *March of the King's Guard* was popular in the repertoire of the BCD and all other ensembles of the Serbian Army.⁶⁶

The concerts were basically for charity purposes, not only for the construction of a Serbian cemetery in North Africa, but also for a number of foundations supporting the families of those killed in combat or impoverished children, revealing a network of friendly connections with representatives of French, British, Algerian, and Tunisian diplomacy. The BCD often performed in order to

⁶² ADP (R-291) also contains Pokorni's correspondence with this artist.

⁶³ Cf. Table 1, list of concerts and detailed programmes.

⁶⁴ Who was in Corfu and Thessaloniki during the Great War.

⁶⁵ Jozef Brodil (1854–1913) was at one point the bandmaster of the military band in Novi Sad, active towards the end of the 19th century.

⁶⁶ Predrag Pejčić, op. cit., 139.

raise funds for the reparation and procurement of instruments and scores, without which their African activities could not proceed.

Conclusion: The Achievements of the BCD in Africa and Pursuing Cultural Diplomacy?

From their regular concerts given in Bizerte, the activities of the BCD evolved into concert tours across the Maghreb, assuming the form of “cultural diplomacy”. My research of the archives and periodical publications suggests that the evolution of the BCD’s activities from strictly humanitarian purposes to spreading Serbian (Yugoslav?) culture and at the same time establishing ties with the political and military elites of the Maghreb countries was not a result of any endeavours on the part of the Serbian Army Supreme Command. The BCD acted spontaneously, guided by their patriotism and circumstances in North Africa, where they were sheltered by the Allies.

It is frequently overlooked that in 1916 Prime Minister Nikola Pašić made the decision that all high school and university students be dismissed from military service and sent abroad for schooling and other “publicity missions”: a decision that the historian Branko Petranović⁶⁷ characterized as “a far-sighted gesture”. Moreover, right from the outbreak of war, scientists and scholars promptly put themselves at the disposal of the state. Pašić expected scholars such as Jovan Cvijić, Aleksandar Belić, Stanoje Stanojević, Bogdan and Pavle Popović, Niko Županić, Jovan Žujović, etc. to promote the Yugoslav idea, including the projected borders of the new state. And promote it they did, talking to their colleagues and politicians in various European capitals; their mission led them to Rome, Paris, St. Petersburg, London, Washington, Bucharest.⁶⁸ Finally, Petranović makes a very good point when he states that of the 70 professors of the University of Belgrade, 60 went into exile with the Serbian Army and government. Therefore, during the Great War, much intellectual energy was expended to promote the Yugoslav idea.

The BCD’s charity concerts, connecting with members of completely unknown nations, and highly diverse North African cities: all of this occurred quite spontaneously. The Supreme Command, consumed by fighting on multiple fronts, was able only to support the ideas of Pokorni, Dragutin Milutinović, and the BCD in Africa. It seems that the intricate context of the arrival of the Serbian troops for recuperation in this exotic land, a French colony with a peculiar, multi-layered culture, as well as the awareness of the tempestuous events

⁶⁷ Branko Petranović, *op. cit.*, 9–10.

⁶⁸ Cf. *ibid.* and the introductory part of this text concerning the centres during the Great War.

of a war that had sucked in the entire world, compelled the Serbian troops to use their sojourn in Africa for humanitarian purposes.

Perusing the documents and comparing the scant biographical data that there is on the members of this military orchestra suggest that the BCD's achievements and professional development hinged on the endeavours of a handful of people. Most of the credit for the dynamics of their wartime musical activities in North Africa goes to Dragutin Pokorni, whose life was marked by his continual efforts for the sake of the professionalization of military music in Serbia. In this short two-year period, Pokorni and his colleagues, especially Vítěslav Rendla, managed to transform these exhausted young soldier-musicians into a well-rehearsed ensemble, which performed not only symphonic pieces varying in character, length, and difficulty, but also to appear as soloists and adjust to the needs of their military amateur theatre. We cannot claim with certainty that their performances were top-level, since we do not have recordings but only the misgivings of our musicologists regarding Serbian orchestral music of the time. Nonetheless, the press reviews found in a large number of newspapers and magazines from the Maghreb countries were unequivocally positive. Although written by critics of different professions, their knowledge of music was far above the then level of musical literacy of the emerging middle class in the Kingdom of Serbia. In addition, Pokorni's diligence, perseverance, and ambition to keep improving the orchestra and widen its activities are noticeable from the very beginning of his work at the Military School and BCD, before, during, and after the war. After the war, on the occasion of a personal jubilee of Pokorni on 23 January 1927, Dragutin Milutinović, a former General of the Reserve Corps and Schools for Non-commissioned Officers, wrote to Pokorni:

I don't think that anyone, save for those of us who were there in Bizerte, realize what you achieved by giving concerts in North Africa in 1916 and 1917. The entire success, as well as material reward, ought to be ascribed solely to you and your whole-hearted and selfless organizational work. At any rate, our neat Serbian cemetery in Bizerte, which probably even now stands as an adornment to the city of Bizerte, is your deed and that of your musicians, whom you trained and disciplined so artistically and masterfully, thus winning the sympathies of the entire North Africa for the Serbs ... Now I say this publicly that you, as bandmaster of these artists ... did a great deal for the Serbs among the French and indigenous population; many is a brick of yours built into this edifice that bears the name of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ NLS, ADP, R-291, II/39.

The BCD and their conductor Pokorni and other bandmasters found themselves right at the midpoint between culture and politics. On the one hand, as members of the military establishment, they were promoting the military and political goals of their country. In that sense, their mission was political and arguments for this can be found in the concert reviews and correspondence between Pokorni and many important figures, which regularly promoted Pokorni and the BCD as members of a heroic (and allied) nation. On the other hand, their 'peacetime' two-year mission in North Africa displaced them from their Serbian setting, where they were but one of many military ensembles, hardly a match for the growing civilian orchestras and lacking their opportunities. In North Africa, the BCD managed not only to make the most of their potentials, but also upgraded them in this encouraging environment. Albeit a military formation, the BCD may thus be considered an agent of 'cultural diplomacy' in the Great War.

Table 1: BCD concert activities, 1916–1918⁷⁰

Date, title, venue of concert	Repertoire	purpose of concert and other remarks
6 May 1916 ⁷¹ Municipal Theatre, Sfax Grand Symphonic Concert	A. Thomas, <i>Mignon</i> Overture; R. Leoncavallo, <i>I Pagliacci</i> fantasy; H. Wieniawski, D-minor Violin Concerto; ^{*72} J. Urban, <i>La Serbie de l'Orient</i> ; L. Delibes, <i>Coppélia</i> fantasy; E. P. Alvars, <i>Fantaisie for Harp</i> ,** G. Bizet, <i>Carmen</i> fantasy	Charity, for French and Serbian Red Cross Serbian Military String Orchestra, conducted by D. Pokorni *soloist: Ladislav Novotni ** soloist: Mme Marini, Premier Prix du Conservatoire de Milan

⁷⁰ Sources: programme notes surviving in ADP, reports or announcements of concerts in the section "Hronika" ["Current Affairs"] of the daily Napred. Even though many of the original programme notes are unavailable and data collected from newspaper and magazines were used instead, I decided to include all of them. It seemed more important to have a broader view of the repertoire and concert venues, than reliable dates.

<p>7 May 1916⁷³ City Casino, Sousse (Tunisia) Grand Symphonic Concert</p>	<p>R. Leoncavallo, <i>I Pagliacci</i> fantasy; Wieniawski, D-minor Violin Concerto;* J. Urban, <i>La Serbie de l'Orient. Morceaux choisis</i>; L. Delibes, <i>Coppélia</i> fantasy; E. P. Alvars, <i>Fantaisie for Harp</i>; C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Dance macabre</i>; G. Puccini, Fantasy from <i>Tosca</i>, Puccini; G. Rossini, <i>Guillaume Tell</i> Overture</p>	<p>Charity, for French and Serbian Red Cross Serbian String Orchestra *soloist: Ladislav Novotny</p>
<p>4 June 1916⁷⁴ Rossini Theater Grand Symphonic Concert</p>	<p>A. Thomas, <i>Raymond</i> Overture; M. I. Glinka, <i>Kamarinskaya, danse russe</i>; G. Verdi, Prélude et Fantaisie, <i>La Traviatta</i>; G. Puccini, <i>Madame Butterfly</i> fantasy; P. I. Tchaikovsky, <i>Chant sans parole</i>; A. Saffroni-Middleton, <i>Down South</i>; V. Rendla, <i>Serbian Songs</i>; P. de Sarasate, <i>Hungarian (Gypsy) Airs</i>;* C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Samson et Dalila</i> Fantasy; M. Moskowski, <i>Spanish Dances</i> and <i>Bolero</i>; A. Gomey, <i>Il Guarany</i> and Grand Overture</p>	<p>For French, Italian, and Serbian Red Cross *solo violin: Mr. Paulette</p>
<p>19 June 1916⁷⁵ Hall of Casina Theatre and town plaza, same evening</p>		<p>Charity concert for the construction of Serbian cemetery</p>
<p>July 1916⁷⁶ concerts at Garibaldi Theatre, Officers' Hall, and Garden of Grand Hotel Bizerte</p>		
<p>13 September 1916. Officers' Hall terrace, Bizerte</p>	<p>B. Smetana, <i>Bartered Bride</i> (excerpts); G. Verdi, <i>Traviatta</i> (excerpts); V. Rendla, <i>Recollections from Tunisia</i>, a waltz; D. Pokorni, <i>From the East, A Serbian Potpourri</i> marches of Russian soldiers and Italian <i>bersaglieri</i>; G. Verdi, <i>Il Trovatore</i> medley; <i>Parisian Waltz</i></p>	<p>Celebration of Serbian victory on Kajmakčalan</p>
<p>Algerian tour, end of September 1916 (beginning of October N.S.)</p>		

(18 September) 3 October 1916 ⁷⁷ Municipal Theatre, Algiers Symphonic Concert	A. Thomas, 'Mignon' Overture; E. Grieg, <i>Norwegian Dances</i> Nos. 1 and 2; C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Le Rouet d'Omphale</i> , symphonic poem, Op. 31; G. Puccini, <i>Tosca</i> fantasy; J. Massenet, <i>Scènes pittoresques</i> : March, Air from ballet, and Bohemian Feast; A. Ponchielli, "Dance of the Hours" from <i>La Gioconda</i> ; M. I. Glinka, <i>Kamarinskaya</i> ; ⁷⁸ A. C. Gomes, <i>Il Guarany</i> ; French and Serbian national anthems	
(19 September) 4 October 1916 ⁷⁹ Republic Square, Algiers	C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Dance macabre</i> ; French and Serbian national anthems; marches	Second concert
25 September 1916 ⁸⁰ Municipal Theatre, Oran	A. Thomas, <i>Mignon</i> Overture; E. Grieg, <i>Norwegian Dances</i> Nos. 1 and 2; C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Le Rouet d'Omphale</i> , symphonic poem, Op. 31; G. Puccini, <i>Tosca</i> fantasy; J. Massenet, <i>Scènes pittoresques</i> : March, Air from ballet, and Bohemian Feast; A. Ponchielli, "Dance of the Hours" from <i>La Gioconda</i> ; M. I. Glinka, <i>Kamarinskaya</i> ; ⁸¹ A. C. Gomes, <i>Il Guarany</i> ; French and Serbian national anthems.	First concert
26 September 1916 ⁸² Letan promenade, Oran	C. Saint-Saëns, <i>English March</i> , <i>The Queen of Sheba</i> , <i>Samson et Dalila</i> fantasy; J. Urban, <i>Recollections from Tunisia and Serbian Songs</i> ; ⁸³ R. Planquette, <i>Blue Shadow</i> , <i>Trouvère</i> , <i>Marche Lorraine</i> , <i>Sambre-et-Meuse</i> , etc.	Second concert
27 September 1916 ⁸⁴ Municipal Theatre, Oran	A. Adam, <i>Si j'étais roi</i> Overture; L. Delibes, <i>Coppélia</i> Fantasy (excerpts); C. Saint-Saëns, 'Dance macabre, symphonic poem'; G. Puccini, Grand Fantasy from <i>Madame Butterfly</i> ; G. Charpentier, <i>Impressions d'Italie</i> ; G. Bizet, selections from <i>Carmen</i> ; J. Urban, <i>Serbian Songs</i> ; ⁸⁵ G. Rossini, <i>Guillaume Tell</i> Overture	Third concert
28 September 1916 (20 October 1916)		Fourth concert
1 October 1916 Republic Square, Algiers		A reprise concert on return from Oran

15 October 1916 (N.S.) ⁸⁶ Municipal Theatre, Constantine	A. Adam, <i>Si j'étais roi</i> ; L. Delibes, <i>Cop-pélia</i> fantasy (excerpts); C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Dance macabre</i> , symphonic poem; G. Puccini, Grand Fantasy from <i>Madame Butterfly</i> ; G. Charpentier, <i>Impressions d'Italie</i> ; G. Bizet, selections from <i>Carmen</i> ; J. Urban, <i>Serbian Songs</i> ; G. Rossini, <i>Guillaume Tell</i> Overture	First concert
16 October 1916	Reprise of the previous	Second concert – reprise
17 October 1916 ⁸⁷ Garibaldi Theatre, Bizerte	P. Mascagni, <i>Cavalleria rusticana</i> Overture; P. I. Tchaikovsky, <i>Sleeping Beauty</i> (excerpts); J. Massenet, <i>Phaedra</i> Overture	Tunisian Red Cross raising funds for patients in hospitals in Sidi Abdallah and Feriville ⁸⁸
Dec 1916 Bizerte ⁸⁹	Parade March; J. Offenbach, <i>The Tales of Hoffmann</i> , operetta (excerpts); V. Rendl, <i>Admiral Guépratte's March</i> (première), with fanfare ⁹⁰	
22 February 1917, Politeama Rosini Theatre, Algiers	A. Dvořák, <i>Carneval</i> Overture; D. Pokorni, <i>Serbian Songs</i> (Pelle Desforges, soloist), Jenko and Bajić; G. Charpentier, <i>Impressions d'Italie</i> , “Napoli”; Tchaikovsky, <i>Dumka</i> trio; A. Dvořák, <i>Slavonic Dance</i> No. 4; P. I. Tchaikovsky, Symphony No. 5, Op. 64, in E minor	
28 February 1917 ⁹¹ Garibaldi Theatre, Bizerte	A. Dvořák, <i>Carneval</i> Overture; D. Pokorni, <i>Serbian Songs</i> (Pelle Desforges), Davorin Jenko and Isidor Bajić; G. Charpentier, <i>Impressions d'Italie</i> , “Napoli”; P. I. Tchaikovsky, <i>Dumka</i> trio; A. Dvořák, <i>Slavonic Dance</i> No. 4; P. I. Tchaikovsky, Symphony No. 5, Op. 64 in E minor	For Serbian Red Cross Mixed programme (chamber and orchestral) Soloists: Miss Fouquet, piano; Ladislav Novotni, violin; and J. Jovanović, violoncello
3 October 1917 ⁹² Republic Square, Algiers	<i>General Terzić's March</i> ; ⁹³ A. Adam, <i>Si j'étais roi</i> , Overture; É. Waldteufel, <i>Fleurs et Baisirs</i> ; G. Verdi, <i>Traviatta</i> fantasy; J. Urban, <i>Serbian Songs</i> ; P. I. Tchaikovsky, <i>Eugene Onegin</i> fantasy; Wesley, <i>Parisian Waltz</i> ; J. P. Sousa, <i>American March</i>	

12 March 1917 ⁹⁴ Municipal Theatre, Algiers Grand symphonic concert	J. Massenet, <i>Phaedra</i> Overture; E. Grieg, Piano Concerto, Op. 16;* G. Charpentier, <i>Impressions d' Italie</i> , "Napoli" (No. 5); C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Dance macabre</i> ; A. Dvořák, <i>Slavonic Dances</i> Nos. 1–3; P. I. Tchaikovsky, Symphony No. 5, Op. 64 in E minor	First symphonic concert BCD with 70 members *piano solo M. Reginald D'Arcy, Professor of Piano (aux Beaux Arts)
14 March 1917 Municipal Opera, Algiers		Second concert Soloists: Susanne Cesbron, Miss Rocca, Miss Servais, vi- olin (first violin of Municipal Opera)
14 and 15 March 1917 Blida, Algeria		Two concerts
31 March 1917 Setif Symphonic concert Municipal Theatre Orleans Square		Three concerts
24 March 1917 Oujda ⁹⁵ Gonzales cinema	<i>Mignon</i> Overture; G. Bizet, <i>Carmen</i> fantasy; <i>Coppélia</i> (ex- cerpts); A. Dvořák, <i>Slavonic Dances</i> Nos. 4 and 8; <i>Zingarella</i> , a film; J. Massenet, <i>Manon</i> fantasy; J. Brodil, <i>Serbian songs</i> ; C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Dance macabre</i> ; J. Mass- enet, <i>Phaedra</i> Overture	
23 and 24 March 1917 Oujda (Morocco) Gonzales cinema	Grand symphonic concert ⁹⁶	
28 March 1917 ⁹⁷ Oujda Gonzales cinema	I part: Film; A. Dvořák, <i>Carnival</i> Overture; G. Char- pentier, <i>Impressions d' Italie</i> No. 5; P. I. Tchaikovsky, Symphony Op. 64 in E minor; A. Dvořák, <i>Slavonic Dances</i> Nos. 1–3; II part: Film; N. Rimsky-Korsakov, <i>Spanish Capriccio</i> ; J. Urban, <i>Serbian songs</i> ; P. I. Tchaikovsky, <i>The Queen of Spades</i>	For Serbian Red Cross

Republic Square	D. Pokorni, <i>Slavonic March</i> ; C. Gounod, <i>Solemn March</i> and <i>The Queen of Sheba</i> ; Wesley, <i>Parisian Waltz</i> ; G. Verdi, <i>Il Trovatore</i> fantasy; II part: C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Samson et Dalila</i> , grand fantasy; J. Brodil, <i>Belgrade and Its Surroundings</i> ; C. Gounod, <i>Faust</i> (excerpts); V. Rendla, <i>Admiral Guépratte's March</i>	
1 April 1917 ⁹⁸	P. Mascagni, <i>Cavalleria rusticana</i> Overture; J. Massenet, <i>Manon</i> (selection); A. Dvořák, <i>Slavonic Dances</i> ; G. Charpentier, <i>Impressions d'Italie</i> Nos. 1–3; P. I. Tchaikovsky, Fantasy from <i>The Queen of Spades</i> ; J. Brodil, <i>Serbian songs</i> ; A. Ponchielli, <i>La Gioconda</i> ; A. Dvořák <i>Carnival overture</i>	Charity concert for Serbian Red Cross
1 April 1917 ⁹⁹	Francheschini, <i>Maréchal Joffre</i> ; A. Adam, <i>Si j'étais roi</i> Overture; A. Corbin, <i>Valse Santiago</i> ; D. Pokorni, <i>Potpourri of Russian songs and dances</i> ; C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Samson et Dalila</i> fantasy; J. Urban, <i>Serbian Dances</i> ; J. Offenbach, <i>The Tales of Hoffman</i> , selections; V. Nigl, <i>General Moinier's March</i> ¹⁰⁰	
13 May 1917	Garden party	
31 May 1917 ¹⁰¹ Bizerte	Petrović, <i>On the Banks of the Sava</i> , march; G. Verdi, Potpourri from <i>Il Trovatore</i> ; Berger, <i>Amours</i> , a waltz; J. Brodil, Potpourri from <i>Gypsy Songs</i> ; J. Massenet, <i>Werter</i> ; Finale; V. Rendla, <i>Recollections from Tunisia</i> , a waltz; A. Thomas, Potpourri from <i>Mignon</i> ; T. Powell, <i>American March</i>	
4 June 1917 ¹⁰² Garibaldi Theater, Bizerte	Italian national anthem and anthems of allied nations, with orchestral accompaniment; <i>Italian Spring</i> (drama). II part: G. Verdi, <i>Aida</i> (excerpts); gymnastics and choral show; ballet	Charity concert for the Society for Aiding Families of Italian Soldiers
30 June 1917 ¹⁰³ Camp Nador ¹⁰⁴	French and Serbian national anthems	St. Peter's Day and King's birthday; first concert of Music School cadets

<p>13 July 1917¹⁰⁵ Garden of the Garibaldi Theatre, Bizerte</p>	<p>Serbian and anthems of other allied countries</p>	
<p>23 August 1917¹⁰⁶ Garibaldi Theatre, Bizerte</p>	<p>J. Offenbach, <i>Orpheus in the Underworld</i> Overture; T. Powell, <i>Gondolier, an American Intermezzo</i> ‘; F. Tarrega, <i>Arabian Serenade</i>; P. I. Tchaikovsky, <i>Eugene Onegin</i> Fantasy; S. Gastaldon, <i>Forbidden Music</i>; L. Delibes, <i>Pais de fleurs sur ballet</i>; A. Ponchielli, “Dance of the Hours”, <i>La Gioconda</i>; Jones, <i>San Toy</i> (selection); C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Le Rouet d’Omphale</i>, symphonic poem; <i>Gladiators</i> (march)</p>	<p>“Proceeds from the concert will be used for the acquisition of scores and reparation of instruments”</p>
<p>26 August 1917¹⁰⁷ Garden of Grand Hotel, Bizerte <i>Grand symphonic concert</i></p>		<p>Raising money for scores and instruments</p>
<p>14 October 1917¹⁰⁸ Bizerte <i>Journée de l’Armée d’Afrique et de Troupes Coloniales</i> Grand symphonic concert (Slavic music)</p>	<p>Rachmaninoff, Prelude; A. Dvořák, <i>Slavonic Dance</i> No. 2; S. S. Mokranjac, <i>Three Heroes</i> (lyrics by Brzak); D. Pokorni, “Na pendžeru/Sous le fenêtre”, <i>Popular Songs</i>; * M. Moskowsky, <i>Serenade</i> Op. 15; M. I. Glinka, <i>Kamarinskaya</i>; Nedraľ, <i>Slovak Rhapsody</i>; A. Dvořák, <i>Symphony From the New World</i></p>	<p>*Soloist: Pelle Desforges</p>

18 February 1918 Rosini Theatre, Algiers	G. Verdi, <i>La Traviatta</i> *	Italian and Serbian Red Cross *Foreign soloists Tenor: Rouland, Opéra Comique Soprano: Elisa Giusti Baritone: Beppino Trenta Maria di Prima Tulio Piemontese
? Grand symphonic concert	Franceschini, <i>Marche Joffre</i> ; A. Corbin, <i>Valse Santiago</i> ; J. Offenbach, <i>The Tales of Hoffmann</i> , selections; D. Pokorni, <i>Potpourri of Russian Songs and Dances</i> ; J. Massenet, <i>Manon</i> fantasy; J. Brodil, <i>Serbian Songs</i> ; P. I. Tchaikovsky, <i>Eugene Onegin</i> potpourri; V. Nigl, <i>General Moinier's March</i> ¹⁰⁹	Serbian Red Cross
April 1918	Parade, military marches, and popular pieces	April feast in Bizerte in honour of French and Serbian Red Cross
22 June 1918 ¹¹⁰ Municipal Theatre, Bouni, Algeria Grand evening	J. Offenbach, <i>Orpheus in the Underworld</i> ; F. Santeliquido, <i>Le Parfum des Oasis Sahariennes</i> ; G. Montéhus, <i>La Croix de Guerre</i> ; M. Rastell, <i>Les Tamarin</i> ;* V. Rendla, <i>Echo de 'Serbie</i> ; M. Heillingé, <i>Scènes alsaciennes</i> , Massenet; M. Rique Marbot, <i>Danse Mimei</i> ; <i>La Coup Emposonné</i> ;** C. Saint-Saëns, <i>Danse macabre</i> ; H. Celli, <i>Farfalla</i> *** Nebdal, <i>Slovak Rhapsody</i> ; national anthems of France and Serbia.	*Piano and voice, Orlande and Lavergne **Mrs. Cadot accompanied by orchestra ***Sung by Mrs. Orlando with orchestra
22 August 1918 ¹¹¹ Garibaldi Theatre, Bizerte Charity event	P. Mascagni, <i>Cavalleria rusticana</i> , Overture...	<i>Société Musulmane et de la Société l'Hopital Israélite de Bizerte</i>

(Footnotes)

⁷¹ NLS, ADP, “Grand concert symphonique par Orchestre a Corde Serbe sous la direction de M. le capitaine Pokorny” [sic! – spelling errors in the source], R-291, IV/2.

⁷² The programme erroneously switched the names of Wieniawski and Leoncavallo, which the present table rectifies.

⁷³ NLS, ADP, R-291, IV/3.

⁷⁴ NIS, ADP, R-291, IV/4.

⁷⁵ Cf. Pejčić, op. cit., 135.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Napred, I (1916), 253, 3. Two previous issues of the daily Napred also contain translations of Pokorni’s article about this concert from L’Echo d’Alger. The most important excerpts from reviews of these concerts published in the Algerian press and translated in Napred are quoted in Gordana Krajačić, op. cit., 57–60.

⁷⁸ But this composition is not mentioned in the programme (NLS, ADP, R-291, IV/5). The article on the tour (cf. Napred, I, 252, 3; 253, 3) quotes reviews from the Algerian press and mentions the composition Kamarinskaya by M. I. Glinka, which I could not find in the printed programme notes. Pokorni also left in his archives a detailed description of the Algerian journey and mentioned Glinka’s piece as the penultimate item that evening (NBS, ADP, R-291, I/3).

⁷⁹ Napred, I, 1916, 253–255, 3.

⁸⁰ According to Pokorny’s notes, the same programme as that of the concert held in Algiers on 3 October 1916 (NLS, ADP, R-291, “Naša vojna muzika u Oranu” [“Our Military Music in Oran”], I/1, 10).

⁸¹ Cf. note 81 about the Glinka piece performed in this concert.

⁸² NLS, ADP, R-291, I/1, 10.

⁸³ The composer is not mentioned, but it would be reasonable to suppose, following the logic of previous concerts, that they again performed this popular piece by Urban.

⁸⁴ Pokorni also translated a review by Giles Abekassis from Le ‘Petit Oranais for the daily Napred (NLS, ADP, R-291, I/1, 11–13); cf. Napred, 252, I, 3.

⁸⁵ Autumn has Come, My Rose Has Blossomed and My Sweetheart. There is evidence that Jovan Urban composed his Serbian St. George Songs for a wind ensemble in Corfu in 1916.

⁸⁶ NLS, ADP, R-291, IV/6. In his detailed account of the journey to Constantine, Pokorni states that before this evening concert at the theatre, a daytime concert was held on the promenade (cf. NLS, ADP, R-291, I/3, “U Konstantini i Bonu” [“In Constantine and El Bouni”], 11).

⁸⁷ The programme has “Zaspala devojka” [“The Sleeping Maiden”], a ballet, presumably Tchaikovsky’s The Sleeping Beauty.

⁸⁸ Now Menzel Bourguiba.

⁸⁹ Predrag Pejčić, op. cit., 136.

⁹⁰ Presumably V. Rendla, who is mentioned in subsequent sources as the author of this piece, although in the programme for this concert his name does not appear.

⁹¹ No shelf-mark; decorated by a hand-drawn scene suggesting the concert may have been for the benefit of destitute children.

⁹² L'Echo d'Alger, 10 March 1917.

⁹³ This piece was dedicated to general Božidar Terzić, Serbia's then Minister of War. I have not been able to trace the composer of this piece, but presumably he was a member of the BCD.

⁹⁴ NBS, ADP, R-291, IV/13.

⁹⁵ Northeast Morocco, near Algerian border.

⁹⁶ Only the poster survives. It can be conjectured that the next concert, of 28 March, at the same hall might have been a reprise of the concerts of 23 and 24 March.

⁹⁷ NBS, ADP, R-291, IV/11.

⁹⁸ NBS, ADP, R-291, IV/9.

⁹⁹ NBS, ADP, R-291, IV/10.

¹⁰⁰ Presumably an error in the programme, so that instead of V. Vigl as the program reads, the composer of General Moinier's March should be Vićeslav Nigl.

¹⁰¹ "Najava koncerta" ["Concert Announcement"], *Napred*, II, 394, 2

¹⁰² "Hronika: Svečana predstava" ["Current Affairs: Festive Performance"], *Napred*, II, 397, 3.

¹⁰³ "Hronika: Petrovdanska svečanost" ["Current Affairs: St. Peter's Day"], *Napred*, II, 421, 2.

¹⁰⁴ Today Jebel en Nador or Jabal an Nazur near Bizerte.

¹⁰⁵ "Sinoćni koncert" ["Last Night's Concert"], *Napred*, II, 488 (14 July 1917), 3.

¹⁰⁶ "Hronika: "Koncerat Vojne Muzike" ["Concert of Military Music"], *Napred*, 467, II, 3, 23 July 1917, 3.

¹⁰⁷ "Hronika: Koncerat", *Napred*, II, 441, 3; "Hronika: Koncerat Vojne Muzike" ["Current Affairs: Concert of Military Music"], *Napred*, II, 445, 3.

¹⁰⁸ NLS, ADP, R-291, IV/7

¹⁰⁹ Cf. note 82 and the second concert of April 1917.

¹¹⁰ NLS, ADP, R-291, IV/16.

¹¹¹ NBS, ADP, R-291, IV/17.



Concert at the Bizerte promenade. The Band of the Cavalry Division, 1917.



The front page of the concert programme, 1 Apr. 1917 – the caricature of Dragutin Pokorni by R. Barbel

Handwritten: P 291/iv/2

VILLE DE SFAX

THEATRE MUNICIPAL

Samedi 6 Mai 1916, à 9 heures très précises

SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE DE

de MM. KLEPPER, Vice-Consul de France
Achille CHATEL, Vice-Président de la Municipalité
et du Commandant d'Armes

AU PROFIT DES

CROIX ROUGES FRANÇAISE ET SERBE

+  **+**

GRAND

CONCERT SYMPHONIQUE

PAR

l'Orchestre à Cordes Serbe

sous la direction de M. le Capitaine F. POKORNY



SFAX — IMPRIMERIE DE LA DÉPÊCHE — SFAX

Grand concert symphonique par l'Orchestre à Cordes Serbe sous la direction de M. le Capitaine F. Pokorny : Ville de Sfax, Theatre municipal, Samedi 6. Mai 1916. à 9 heures très précises.



Serbian Military Orchestra in Bizerte, 1917.



The portrait of Dragutin Pokorni dated 19 Feb. 1901.



The programme of the Cavalry Regiment Orchestra's concert in Algiers
of 3 October 1916