

# Beethoven's Anniversary in Sarajevo in 1927

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## ABSTRACT

In 1927, Europe marked the centennial of the death of one of its greatest composers, Ludwig van Beethoven. At the same time, Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) was building the foundations of its musical institutions and trying to follow up with the more advanced cultural centers of the new state, Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Belgrade. The main feature of Bosnian musical life of the time (1918–1941) pertains to the establishment of the new musical institutions such as the National Theater (Narodno pozorište) and the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra (Sarajevska filharmonija), the fundamental institutions of musical culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina even today. This paper aims at providing an insight into the presence of Beethoven's works in concert repertoires in Sarajevo (1918–1941), especially of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra but also to point out the special occasion of Beethoven's anniversary in 1927. The Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra was the only musical institution of this kind, and the most important musical society for the development of musical culture of the time; consequently, the research is based on the analysis of the society's concert repertoire and reviews from the daily newspapers.

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## KEYWORDS

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Ludwig van Beethoven, Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra

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## 1. INTRODUCTION: THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

The turbulent period that began at the end of World War I and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had a strong impact on all aspects of social and cultural life in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter referred to as Bosnia). After forty years of Austro-Hungarian rule (1878–1918), Bosnia became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. Since musical culture is always related to the political and social context, which in the case of Bosnia has mostly been unfavorable due to frequent transition periods in its political history, it is important to introduce a discussion on Bosnian music from the historical context – from the Ottoman period when Sarajevo as we know it today was founded until the first Yugoslav state.<sup>1</sup>

The Ottomans made the first raid into Bosnia in 1384 but ultimately occupied it in 1463. Bosnia under the Ottoman Empire (1463–1878) was divided into military-administrative districts or *sanjaks*. In 1580 a wide area that covered the territory of modern Bosnia and some surrounding areas of Croatia and Serbia were granted the status of a constituent province called an *eyalet*.<sup>2</sup> The Bosnian eyalet was governed by a *vizier* and managed through a network of junior *pashas* and local judges. Conditions in Bosnia were similar to those in other conquered areas of Europe, except in one respect – a large part of the native population converted to Islam. The cities of Sarajevo and Mostar were significant urban centers that enjoyed a high degree of autonomy for elected officials. During this period numerous buildings, mosques, bridges, and other significant architectural monuments of Ottoman culture were built and numerous works of poetry, philosophy, and theology were written.<sup>3</sup> The Ottoman rule left significant traces in the practice of Bosnian folk music. Its influence was crucial in the development of instrumental, spiritual as well as urban music practice.<sup>4</sup>

The Bosnian eyalet as a border area of the Ottoman Empire was affected by wars waged during the period by the Ottoman army at its border regions. The population, exhausted by wars and increasing tax levies, led numerous anti-government uprisings. One of them began among Christian peasants in the Nevesinje area of Herzegovina in 1875 and extended beyond the territory of the Bosnian eyalet when Serbia, together with Montenegro declared war on the Ottoman Empire in 1876. The following year Russia did the same.<sup>5</sup>

Following the end of the Serbo-Turkish War in 1878, other major European powers intervened at the Berlin Congress to balance Russia's new influence in the Balkans. Congress decided that Bosnia, though under Turkish sovereignty, would be occupied and governed by

<sup>1</sup> The periodization of the history of music in Bosnia and Herzegovina is based on its political history and includes the following periods: 1) Ancient music up to the settlement of Slavs; 2) Music in medieval Bosnia, 3) Music during the Ottoman rule (1463–1878); 4) Music during the Austro-Hungarian rule (1878–1918); 5) Music between the two world wars; 6) Music during World War II as a transitional period; 7) Music from 1945 to 1992; 8) Music during the 1992/95 war as a transitional period; and 9) Music after 1995. See Ivan ČAVLOVIĆ, *Historija muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Muzička akademija, 2011), 21.

<sup>2</sup> Noel MALCOLM, *Bosna: kratka povijest*, transl. by Zlatko CRNKOVIĆ and Senada KRESO (Sarajevo: Buybook, 2011), 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 146–148 and 196–197.

<sup>4</sup> See Tamara KARAČA BELJAK and Jasmina TALAM, “Ottoman Influence on the Folk Music Tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *Musicological Annual* 45/1 (2009), 117–127.

<sup>5</sup> MALCOLM, *Bosna*, 245–248.



Austro-Hungary. In 1878, Austro-Hungarian troops seized control of Bosnia, overcoming strong resistance from local forces.<sup>6</sup> The occupation was the beginning of the well-conceived policy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in whose plans Bosnia had an important place; Bosnia was a wealthy source of natural resources (ore and forestry) but also a strategically important area in its foreign policy. By implementing various political, administrative, economic, social and cultural reforms, the Empire strove to secure and strengthen its position as a great European superpower.<sup>7</sup>

In the process of the new regime's consolidation, Sarajevo remained the administrative center, and its internal social, economic and cultural transformation began to attract particular attention. Cultural life had also undergone significant changes. Upon the occupation by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878 Bosnia moved from the oriental to the Western European cultural circle. Following the Austro-Hungarian settlers' needs, musical life was gradually shaped under the Western musical canon. It implied the formation of a musical public, construction of concert venues, establishment of the concert as a public musical event, beginnings of musical journalism and publishing. The formation of a musical infrastructure influenced the beginning of the processes of accepting the "new" culture by the local population.<sup>8</sup> The first actual results of this "process" were achieved in the period between the two world wars: the establishment of the first musical institutions, activity by the first local professional musicians and the development of concert life.

In 1908 Bosnia was fully annexed by Austria-Hungary. The decision created a diplomatic crisis lasting many months but had a beneficial effect on Bosnian politics, such as the introduction of a Bosnian parliament with limited powers in 1910.<sup>9</sup> The tension was heightened by the First Balkan War (1912–1913), in which Serbia drove Turkish forces out of Kosovo, Novi Pazar, and Macedonia. In May 1913 the Austro-Hungarian Government declared a state of emergency, dissolved the parliament, closed down Serb cultural associations, social democrats, and workers' unions, and suspended the civil courts.<sup>10</sup> The crisis was triggered by the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia one month later precipitating World War I. Bosnia was under Austro-Hungarian military rule throughout World War I. At the end of the war, Bosnian politicians followed the political leaders of Croatia and Slovenia in shedding Habsburg rule and joining in the creation of a new South Slav state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929) with Belgrade as the capital.

Within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1941), the territory of Bosnia was the object of several administrative and territorial divisions aimed at establishing a centralized state. This several-decade-long process did not take into account its centuries-old historical, political and economic heritage, and therefore Bosnia in particular suffered considerable harm in the process.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See Mustafa IMAMOVIĆ, *Historija Bošnjaka* (Sarajevo: Bošnjačka zajednica kulture Preporod, 1997), 351–353.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 345–346.

<sup>8</sup> Lana PAČUKA, *Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918)* (PhD dissertation, University of Sarajevo, 2014), 271.

<sup>9</sup> MALCOLM, *Bosna*, 275–280.

<sup>10</sup> Vlado AZINOVIĆ, "Bosna i Hercegovina u državnoj zajednici jugoslavenskih naroda," in *Istina o Bosni i Hercegovini. Činjenice iz istorije Bosne i Hercegovine*, ed. by Adil KULENOVIĆ (Sarajevo: Altermedia d. o. o., Narodna i univerzitetska biblioteka BiH, 1991), 59.

<sup>11</sup> See AZINOVIĆ, "Bosna i Hercegovina," 61–79.



Since 1918 Sarajevo gradually lost the potency of the administrative and political center. With the adoption of The Vidovdan Constitution on June 28, 1921, The April laws in 1922, after which the country was divided into 33 areas (six of them in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and the abolition of the provincial government in Bosnia on February 25, 1924, Sarajevo's administrative potency was reduced to the level of the headquarters of the Sarajevo area. After the establishment of the 6 January Dictatorship in 1929, Sarajevo became the provincial headquarters of Drina Banovina (Drina Banate). In the period of the first Yugoslav state, Sarajevo was not a center of political power, although due to its socio-political and cultural-historical heritage, as well as to the enthusiasm of few cultural workers, it remained the administrative and cultural center of Bosnia.<sup>12</sup>

Political changes affected all segments of life. The poor and uneducated population was particularly threatened since it suffered the consequences of political instability and growing social and economic problems. Like some other state units, Bosnia entered the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as an underdeveloped region, and the dependence of culture on poor economic circumstances was rather prominent.

Musical culture in this period rested upon the experiences of musical practices during the Austro-Hungarian period, which was within the Yugoslav state gradually aligned with cultural centers such as Zagreb, Belgrade, and Ljubljana.<sup>13</sup> This period witnessed the first steps in the process of an institutionalization of musical life: the most significant institutions like the National Theater in Sarajevo (founded in 1919, officially started to work in 1920) and Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra (1923).<sup>14</sup>

## 2. THE ROLE OF THE SARAJEVO PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA IN THE CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF SARAJEVO (1918–1941)

The establishment of the Sarajevo Philharmonic in the summer of 1923 was one of the most important events in the development of the musical culture of Sarajevo in the period between the two world wars. It was founded by the so-called Friends of Music which was a temporary committee and the founders submitted a request for the approval of the rules of the society to the Police Directorate in Sarajevo on June 26, 1923. The statute of the Sarajevo Philharmonic

<sup>12</sup> See IMAMOVIĆ, *Historija Bošnjaka*, 349–393.

<sup>13</sup> During this period, Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana were economic, political and cultural centers with the most intense cultural life. There were many new cultural institutions that formed the backbone of musical life such as: the Academy of Music in Zagreb (Muzička akademija, 1921); Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra (Zagrebačka filharmonija, 1920); Zagreb Quartet (Zagrebački kvartet, 1919); Zagreb Madrigalists (Zagrebački madrigalisti, 1930); Belgrade Opera (Beogradska opera, 1920); Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra (Beogradska filharmonija, 1923); Academy of Music in Belgrade (Muzička akademija in Belgrade, 1937); Conservatory of Music of Glazbena Matica in Ljubljana, since 1926 State Conservatory, and since 1939 Academy of Music (Konzervatorij Glasbene matice, 1919; Državni konzervatorij, 1926; Akademija za glasbo, 1939); Ljubljana Philharmonic Orchestra (Ljubljanska filharmonija, 1935). See Sanja MAJER-BOBETKO, *Glazbena kritika na hrvatskom jeziku između dvaju svjetskih ratova* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 1994), 29; Sonja MARINKOVIĆ, *Istorija srpske muzike* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2008), 88; Dragotin CVETKO, "Slovenska muzika. Umjetnička," in *Muzička enciklopedija*, vol. 3, ed. by Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ (Zagreb: Jugoslovenski leksikografski zavod, 1977), 385.

<sup>14</sup> See Fatima HADŽIĆ, "Institutional Framework of Music Activities in Sarajevo in the Period Between the Two World Wars," *Musical Annual* 49/1 (2013), 79–95.



Orchestra was approved by the Provincial Administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina on July 6, 1923, allowing its official activities.<sup>15</sup>

The Sarajevo Philharmonic performed symphonic concerts and chamber music and also organized the concerts of national and international guest ensembles and artists.<sup>16</sup> According to the Society's statute, its main goal was "fostering and promoting folk music and music art in general and the enrichment of musical taste."<sup>17</sup> During the 18 years of activity in the interwar period, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra was led by five conductors: Alexander Lukinič (cond. 1923/1924), Eduard Křenek (1924/1925–1926/1927), Beluš Jungić (1927/1928–1935/1936), Max Unger (1936/1937), and Oskar Danon (1938/1939–1941).<sup>18</sup> The Society was also regularly supported by kapellmeisters of the military orchestra stationed in Sarajevo, like Josef Rožďalovski (Rožďalovský; 1923/1924–1926/1927) and Josip Majer (1937/1938).<sup>19</sup> Many well-known

<sup>15</sup> Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Holding "Pokrajinska uprava," sign. PU, 18/92/33.

<sup>16</sup> The establishment of the Sarajevo Philharmonic was encouraged by the success of eight concerts organized by the Philharmonic Association of the District School of Music (Filharmonijsko udruženje Oblasne muzičke škole) during the 1922/1923 academic year. The participants were school teachers and guests, among them some renowned Yugoslav and foreign artists such as violinist Petar Stojanović and pianists Ćiril Ličar and Paul Weingarten. See Fatima HADŽIĆ, *Muzičke institucije u Sarajevu (1918–1941): Oblasna muzička škola i Sarajevska filharmonija* (Sarajevo: Muzička akademija, Institut za muzikologiju, 2018), 151–155.

<sup>17</sup> Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Holding "Pokrajinska uprava," sign. PU, 18/92/33.

<sup>18</sup> Alexandar Lukinič (1875, Brandýs nad Labem – 1942, Lovosice) was educated at the Prague Conservatoire. From 1921 to 1926 he worked in Sarajevo as a piano and cello teacher at the District School of Music, Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra conductor and a solo cellist. Eduard Edo Křenek (1895, Vienna–1960, Dubrovnik) studied at the conservatories in Vienna and Brno. From 1924 to 1927 he worked in Sarajevo as a conductor of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, a violin teacher at the District School of Music, and a conductor of the Jewish Choral Society Lira. Beluš Jungić (1892–1968, Sarajevo) returned to Sarajevo upon completing his cello studies at the State Academy of Music in Zagreb and worked as a teacher at the District School of Music, conductor of the Orchestra of the National Theater in Sarajevo and Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. He was a solo cellist and the conductor of different amateur choral societies. After World War II, he worked as a manager of the Department of Folk Music, conductor of the Folk Orchestra and music producer for folk music at Sarajevo Radio and Television. He was the principal and a teacher at the city's elementary music school. Max Unger (1888, Središće on Drava–1962, Maribor), studied composition and piano at the conservatories in Prague and Vienna. He worked as a conductor of Slovenian Opera (Slovenska Opera) and as a part-time teacher at the Conservatory, led the Opera and Philharmonic Orchestra in Osijek, worked as a military bandmaster of the Navy Orchestra in Montenegro (Tivat, Boka Kotorska), and became the conductor of the Philharmonic Society in Šibenik (Filharmonijsko društvo). From 1934 to 1937, he worked in Sarajevo as the conductor of the National Theater and the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra in the 1936/1937 season. In 1938, he held the position of conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra in Split. Oskar Danon (1913, Sarajevo–2009, Belgrade) took private piano classes with Ljubomir Bajac and began conducting in the First Men's Real High School (Prva muška realna gimnazija). From 1932 to 1938 he attended the Prague Conservatoire (Pražská konzervatoř), where he studied piano and then conducting with Metod Doležil (choral) and Pavel Dědeček (orchestral). He continued his studies in conducting with Václav Talich and Bruno Walter (1936), and composition with Jaroslav Křičko and Josef Suk, also at the Prague Conservatoire. At the Charles University (Univerzita Karlova), he studied musicology and was granted a PhD in music aesthetics in 1939. Upon completing his studies, Danon returned to his native Sarajevo, where he worked as the conductor of the National Theater, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra (1938/1939–1941), the Jewish Choral Society Lira (1940) and Serbian Choral Society Sloga (1940). Additionally, he founded and managed the Collegium artisticum, a section of the Sarajevo Philharmonic. He worked in Sarajevo until the outbreak of World War II, when he joined partisans together with a group of Sarajevo intellectuals. In 1944, he was appointed the conductor of Belgrade Opera, and his subsequent life and professional path were related to this city.

<sup>19</sup> Though Josef Rožďalovski's/Rožďalovský's place and time of birth are unknown, he is described as one of the "fellow countrymen" in the list of significant Czechs who worked in Sarajevo. See Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Holding "Češka beseda," sign. ČB, 1931. Besides working as a military kapellmeister, he was



musicians performed with the Sarajevo Philharmonic, such as pianists Paul Weingarten (Austria), Josef Jiránek (Czechoslovakia), Aleksandr Borovskij (Russia), violinist Jaroslav Kocian (Czechoslovakia), Czech ensembles Zika String Quartet and the Brandl-Trio. In addition to their own concerts, the Sarajevo Philharmonic had guest performances at the events of other cultural associations in Sarajevo.<sup>20</sup>

Regardless of the successful concert activities, the management board of the Sarajevo Philharmonic failed to provide a permanent government subsidy.<sup>21</sup> Throughout this period, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra struggled with difficulties, occasionally threatening the complete suspension of its activities. For instance, there were problems concerning the formation of an orchestral ensemble, the frequent changes of conductors, and the lack of a permanent concert audience that, along with the financial crisis, became a chronic problem which was particularly pronounced in the last ten concert seasons.<sup>22</sup> By its composition and way of activity, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra remained a semi-professional ensemble until its re-establishment in 1948.

### 3. BEETHOVEN'S WORKS IN THE REPERTOIRE OF THE SARAJEVO PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA

From its establishment to the outbreak of World War II, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra performed approximately 80 chamber, soloist and symphonic concerts.<sup>23</sup> Beethoven's compositions were performed at 34 concerts. Compared to other frequently performed works by composers such as Antonín Dvořák and Bedřich Smetana with 28 performances each, Beethoven's works were the most often present in the repertoire. The Overture to *Egmont* was the most frequently performed of Beethoven's compositions with five performances between 1925 and 1940.

employed as a trombone teacher at the District School of Music in Sarajevo in the period between the two world wars. Josip Majer (1888, Horosedli, the Kingdom of Bohemia–1965, Sarajevo) lived and worked in Sarajevo from 1934 until his death. He worked as a military kapellmeister, composer, conductor of the National Theater orchestra, and after World War II as a teacher at the State Music School (Državna muzička škola) and City Elementary Music School (Gradska niža muzička škola) in Sarajevo.

<sup>20</sup> The Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra has been a frequent guest at annual social gatherings and concerts of Sarajevo national cultural societies like the Serbian Prosvjeta, Muslim Gajret, Croatian Napredak, Jewish Lira and others.

<sup>21</sup> At the very beginning, the management board submitted a request for financial support to the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Belgrade, but the application was refused. All expenses were covered by the income from membership fees and a share of net income from musical productions, gifts and bequests; occasional support was provided by the Provincial Administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. See HADŽIĆ, "The Social Context of the Sarajevo Philharmonic's Activities in the Period between the Two World Wars," in *Music in Society*, ed. by Fatima HADŽIĆ (Sarajevo: Musicological Society of FB&H, Academy of Music in Sarajevo, 2014), 47–50.

<sup>22</sup> HADŽIĆ, *Muzičke institucije*, 188–203.

<sup>23</sup> The analysis includes an exhaustive list of concerts organized by the Sarajevo Philharmonic since its establishment in 1923 until 1941. However, there is insufficient information about the numerous occasional guest performances by ensembles and soloists of the Sarajevo Philharmonic at concerts and events organized by other institutions and associations. About these performances, we mostly learn through the press, which rarely lists the entire concert programs. Regardless of this fact, the scarce information at our disposal does not indicate that the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra performed some of Beethoven's works at these concerts. For the full list of works performed from 1923 to 1941 see HADŽIĆ, *Muzičke institucije*, 256–278.



It was followed by Romance in F Major op. 50 for Violin and Orchestra with four performances in the same period, and Piano Concerto in C Minor and Romance in G Major op. 40 for Violin and Orchestra with three performances each (see the *Appendix*).

Additionally, Beethoven was the only composer to whom three concerts were dedicated, in 1927, 1936 and 1939. A concert of Beethoven's works was organized on November 10, 1936, with the following program:

Symphony No. 5 in C Minor op. 67  
Piano Concerto in E-flat Major op. 73  
Overture *Egmont* op. 84

Klemens Menšik<sup>24</sup> played piano, and the conductor was Maks Unger (see *Plate 1*). The program of the concert on October 25, 1939:<sup>25</sup>

Overture to *Coriolan* op. 62  
Piano Concerto in C Minor op. 37  
Symphony No. 2 in D Major op. 36  
(Matusja Blum,<sup>26</sup> piano; Oskar Danon, conductor)

The concert repertoire of the Sarajevo Philharmonic was created following the preferences of the conductors and the policy of the management board, as well as in line with the financial and performing resources. The society tried to select works of proven artistic value, and possible deficiencies of the repertoire were the result of performers' low potential. Gathering an ensemble that could perform symphonic pieces was a particular challenge in an environment that lacked a great number of professional musicians of different profiles. Conductors strove to fulfill artistic requirements that the Sarajevo Philharmonic set as a priority in its work and as a special task of the society. However, the limited performing capacities restricted the possibility of introducing new pieces in the concert repertoire, which was the main reason for several repeated performances of a single piece such as the Overture to *Egmont*.

The Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra's conductors chose technically not too demanding pieces; therefore, the repertoire included single performances of Beethoven's Symphony Nos. 1,

<sup>24</sup> Klemens/Clemens/Klement Menšik/Menshik/Menshik (1890, Vienna–1971, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA) studied piano at the Music School of Těšín (Kingdom of Bohemia). He arrived in Sarajevo in 1911 as an employee of the Regional Government. In the Austro-Hungarian period, he worked as a conductor of the Männergesangverein, also as an accompanist and pianist. Between the two wars, Menšik was considered one of the most significant musicians in Sarajevo, being a longtime piano teacher at the District School of Music, a member of the Philharmonic Association of the District School of Music, a soloist of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra and a very active piano accompanist for local and visiting musicians. Upon the end of World War II, he moved to Australia and, in 1951, emigrated to the United States of America.

<sup>25</sup> See Mirsad PINJO, *Sarajevska filharmonija u periodu 1923–2000* (MA thesis, University of Sarajevo, 2003), 394.

<sup>26</sup> Matusja (née Goldštajn) Blum (1914, Chisinau, Moldavia–1998, Sarajevo) was a pianist and piano teacher. She began the piano in her native town. She came to Sarajevo from Prague in 1939, upon completing the master class at the Prague Conservatory, and began the career of a pianist and music pedagogue. After World War II, she worked as a professor at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo, where she served as a dean for two terms. She educated many renowned pianists and piano pedagogues. She was awarded the Republic Prize of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1984) for her artistic and pedagogic activity.



**Plate 1** Poster and program of the Sarajevo Philharmonic concert on November 10, 1936  
 Reproduced by kind permission of the Museum of Literature and Theater Art  
 of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Muzej književnosti i pozorišne umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine),  
 Sarajevo, Holding: Ostavština Bogdana Milankovića, Album-spomenica Sarajevske filharmonije

**НАРОДНО ПОЗОРИШТЕ  КРАЉА ПЕТРА II  
У САРАЈЕВУ**

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Претстава 51 Ванредна 6

**SARAJEVSKA FILHARMONIJA**  
PRIREĐUJE

**u utorak, 10 novembra 1936,**

# SIMFONIJSKI KONCERT

RASPORED:

*Ludvig van Beethoven*

Op. 67 *5 Simfonija c-mol*  
Allegro con brio  
Andante con moto  
Allegro

Op. 73 *Koncert Es-dur za klavir*  
uz pratnju orkestra  
Allegro  
Adagio un poco mosso  
Rondo: Allegro

Op. 84 *Egmont Uvertira Geteovoj tragediji*

Dirigent: Maks Unger Solist: Klemens Menšik

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**Početak tačno u 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> časova u veče.**

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РЕПЕРТОАР: Среда, 11/XI, Ревизор. (Бачка. Гостовање гђе Вере Греч и г. Поликарпа Павлова, чланова Московског художественог театра).

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**ЦЕНЕ МЕСТА:** Ложе у мезанину Дин 200—; Ложе са стране Дин 100— (поједина места Дин 25—);  
 УКУЉЧИВО СА ТАКСОМ  
 Фотеља Дин 25—; Паркет I—III Дин 20—; Паркет IV—VIII Дин 15—; Партер I—III  
 Дин 10—; Партер IV—IX Дин 5—; Балкон Дин 10—; Страјње Дин 350.

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Улазнице се могу добити сваког радног дана на позоришној благајници од 9 до 12 часова пре подне, и од 3 часа по подне до почетка претставе

Државна филхармонија у Сарајеву — П. дн. 1465 1936/37.



2 and 5. Other larger musical forms in the repertoire included Piano Concerto in C Minor with three performances, Piano Concerto in E-flat Major with two performances, Violin Concerto, two Romances for Violin, as well as three overtures: *Coriolan*, *Egmont* and *Prometheus*. Other Beethoven works in the Sarajevo Philharmonic's repertoire included chamber and solo pieces, mostly for piano (piano sonatas; see the *Appendix*).

#### 4. BEETHOVEN'S CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

Beethoven's anniversary in Sarajevo was marked by two concerts of the Sarajevo Philharmonic,<sup>27</sup> a concert by the District School of Music (Oblasna muzička škola), as well as by writings in several newspaper and journal articles.

The chamber music concert of the Sarajevo Philharmonic took place on April 3, 1927 as a Sunday matinée in the hall of the Imperial Cinema. The following Beethoven works were performed at the concert:

String Trio in G Major op. 9

Piano Sonata in C Major op. 53

Scottish/Irish Songs for Soprano, Violin, Cello and Piano (*Lochnagar*; *Der treue Johnie*; *Charlie*; *Ach, dürft' ich meinen Patrick frei'n*; *Lore am Tore*; *Duncan Gray*)

Piano Trio in D Major op. 70 no. 1

Performers included Eduard Křenek, violin; Vilim Kmoch,<sup>28</sup> viola; Jovan Mokranjac,<sup>29</sup> cello; Hella Regel,<sup>30</sup> piano, and Rosa Meitner, soprano.<sup>31</sup>

The press gave favorable reviews of the concert, pointing out the successful work of the Philharmonic in its striving to maintain "our city's spiritual life at a certain cultural level."<sup>32</sup> Accompanying the positive opinion of the performance itself, criticism referred to the selection of program which "could have been better," since the performed pieces were those of "lesser significance," "insufficiently representative."<sup>33</sup> The reviews emphasized the very good attendance

<sup>27</sup> The Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra also marked the 100th anniversary of Bedřich Smetana's birth (1924), the 100th anniversary of Franz Schubert's death (1928), and the 25th anniversary of Antonín Dvořák's death (1929). Museum of Literature and Theater Art of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Holding: Ostavština Bogdana Milankovića, Albumspomenica Sarajevske filharmonije, Concert programs.

<sup>28</sup> There are no details on the place and year of birth and death. According to available sources, Vilim Kmoch was a student of the District School of Music and a member of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra.

<sup>29</sup> Jovan Mokranjac (1888, Prokuplje–1956, Belgrade), a Serbian cellist and music pedagogue, completed his studies at the Hochschule München (today Hochschule für angewandte Wissenschaften München). He worked as a teacher at the Serbian Music School (Srpska muzička škola) in Belgrade. He was a concert and chamber musician, one of the founders and a longtime member of the Belgrade Philharmonic and soloist with the Belgrade Opera orchestra. Upon the establishment of the Music Academy in Belgrade, he became an assistant professor for cello. In Sarajevo, he briefly worked as a member of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra.

<sup>30</sup> There are no data on the place and year of birth and death. According to available sources, Hella Regel (later Hella Křenek, married to conductor Eduard Křenek) worked as a pianist and piano teacher at the District School of Music.

<sup>31</sup> No biographical details on Rosa Meitner were found.

<sup>32</sup> N. N. [Petr.], "Koncert Sarajevske Filharmonije," *Pregled* 1/18 (1927), 12.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*



at the concert, the “cherry-picked and attentive audience,” and the particular significance of the concert that marked the anniversary of the death of the “greatest musical genius of all times,” which was celebrated “by the entire cultural world.”<sup>34</sup>

Having in mind the limited performing abilities of the ensembles, the organization of these types of concerts required ‘an extreme effort on the part of the organizers in the selection of program, which was supposed to cover major works by the composer. Being aware of these circumstances, the press appreciated the efforts by the Sarajevo Philharmonic and described the concert program which consisted of chamber and solo pieces, as a program which “reveals the organizer’s fine taste.”<sup>35</sup>

Reviews of musical events were an occasion to inform readers on composers and works, and therefore newspaper writings often had an educational character. Due to the small number of regular concertgoers,<sup>36</sup> events such as this one contributed to “raising general culture.”<sup>37</sup> The marking of Beethoven’s anniversary was thus assessed as a “success, which our music-poor Sarajevo can be proud of as a first-class cultural achievement,” although “our people still know very little about Beethoven and do not appreciate him a lot, which we should not be exactly proud of.”<sup>38</sup>

Sarajevo dailies noted that the anniversary was marked later than in other cultural centers. According to these writings, reasons for tardiness were related to certain difficulties with program selection due to the non-existence of a permanent orchestral ensemble and insufficient wind section.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the symphony concert took place a month later than the first concert of chamber music. The concert was held on May 4, 1927 in the hall of the Imperial Cinema, starting at 9 p.m., as the last symphony concert in the 1926/1927 season (see *Plates 2 and 3*). The program included the following works:

Symphony No. 2 in D Major op. 26 (Josef Roždalovski, conductor)

Piano Concerto in E-flat Major op. 73 (Klemens Menšik, piano; Eduard Křenek, conductor)

Overture to *Egmont* op. 84 (Eduard Křenek, conductor)<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Museum of Literature and Theater Art of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Holding: Ostavština Bogdana Milankovića, Album-spomenica Sarajevske filharmonije. Newspaper article (Bogdan MILANKOVIĆ, “Proslava stogodišnjice smrti L. fon Betovena”).

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Authors of writings on musical events regularly report the number of audience members, and their composition or behavior during the concert. Quite often, they highlight the issue of a lack of a concert audience.

<sup>37</sup> Museum of Literature and Theater Art of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Holding: Ostavština Bogdana Milankovića, Album-spomenica Sarajevske filharmonije. Newspaper article (Dr. Milan MARAKOVIĆ, “Komorni koncerat. Uz Beethovenovu proslavu”).

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., newspaper article (Dr. M[ilan] M[ARAKOVIĆ], “Koncerat filharmonije: Svršetak Beethovenove proslave”).


<sup>40</sup> Ibid., concert program.



**Plate 2** Programs of the chamber and orchestral music concerts of the Sarajevo Philharmonic on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Beethoven's death on April 3, 1927

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38. Koncert.



Концертна  
сезона 1926/27.

У  
Ш  
О  
С  
Т  
Т

VI. Koncert.

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**САРАЈЕВСКА ФИЛХАРМОНИЈА**

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Proslava 100-godišnjice smrti  
**L. van BEETHOVEN-a**  
**Komorni Koncert**

у Импераил-Нину у недељу 3. априла 1927.  
у 11 sati prije podne.

**РАСПОРЕД**  
LUDWIG van BEETHOVEN:

1. Gudalački trio G-dur op. 9/I.  
Adagio-Allegro con brio  
Adagio cantabile  
Scherzo-Allegro  
Presto
2. Sonata C-dur op. 53. za klavir (Waldstein sonata)  
Allegro con brio  
Introduzione: Adagio molto  
Rondo: Allegretto molto-Prestissimo
3. Škotske pjesme za sopran, klavir, violinu i čelo
  1. Lochnagar
  2. Der treue Johnie
  3. Charlie
  4. Ach, dürft' ich meinen Patrick frei'n
  5. Lore am Tore
  6. Duncan Gray
4. Klavirski trio D-dur op. 70/I. (Geistertrio)  
Allegro vivace e con brio  
Largo assai ed espressivo  
Presto


**Sudjeluju:**

Ggja Rosa Meitner, sopran. Ggjica Hella Regel, klavir.  
G. Edo Křenek, violina.  
Gg. Vilim Kmoch, viola. Jovan Mokranjac, čelo.

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Naredna priredba: Proslava 100-godišnjice smrti  
L. v. Beethoven-a. Orkestarski koncert.

**Plate 3** Programs of the chamber and orchestral music concerts of the Sarajevo Philharmonic on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Beethoven's death on May 4, 1927  
 Reproduced by kind permission of the Museum of Literature and Theater Art of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo

39. Koncert.  Концертна сезона 1926/27.  
 VII. Koncert.

**САРАЈЕВСКА ФИЛХАРМОНИЈА**

Proslava 100-godišnjice smrti  
 L. van BEETHOVEN-a

**III. Orkestarski Koncert**  
 у Империл-Нину у сриједу 4. маја 1927.

Sudjeluje:  
**KLEMENS MENŠIK**

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**РАСПОРЕД**  
 LUDWIG van BEETHOVEN:

- II. Simfonija D-dur op. 36.  
 Adagio molto — Allegro con brio  
 Larghetto  
 Scherzo. Allegro  
 Allegro molto
- Koncert Es-dur op. 73. za Klavir uz pratnju Orkestra  
 Allegro  
 Adagio un poco mosso  
 Rondo. Allegro
- Egmont, Uvertira op. 84.

Dirigent:  
 gg. J. ROŽDALOVSKI, E. KŘENEK

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Početak u 9 sati na večer.

The press stressed the “decent” performance of the orchestra and the excellence of pianist Menšik.<sup>41</sup> The concert was well-attended and conducted by Roždalovski and Křenek. When comparing the conductors’ performance, the critique found fault with Roždalovski for “a lack of élan” and occasionally a poor choice of tempo in the symphony, also with Křenek’s “too academic” interpretation of the concerto and overture. Menšik’s pianistic performance was assessed as technically confident, with a “serious and experienced” interpretation characterized by the “openness of tone.”<sup>42</sup> Weaknesses in performance indicated the worsening of conditions in the Sarajevo Philharmonic.<sup>43</sup>

The District School of Music joined the celebration of Beethoven’s anniversary.<sup>44</sup> The *Memorial Concert for the 100th Anniversary of Ludwig van Beethoven’s Death* was held on April 10, 1927 in the Imperial Cinema, as a Sunday matinée.<sup>45</sup> School teachers performed the following program:

Violin Sonata in F Major op. 24 (Eduard Křenek, violin; Klemens Menšik, piano)

Piano Sonata in C-sharp Minor op. 27 no. 2 (Menšik)

*Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur* (Ladislav Pešek,<sup>46</sup> voice; Ljubomir Bajac, piano<sup>47</sup>)

*In questa tomba oscura* (Pešek, Bajac)

Piano Trio in B-flat Major op. 11 (Franjo Topić,<sup>48</sup> violin; B. Jungić, cello; Klemens Menšik, piano)

Piano Concerto in C Minor op. 37, mov. 1 for two pianos (Menšik and Jelka Đurić<sup>49</sup>)

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., newspaper article (Dr. M[ilan] M[ARAKOVIĆ], “Koncertat filharmonije: Svršetak Beethovenove proslave”).

<sup>42</sup> N. N. [Petr.], “Koncert Sarajevske Filharmonije,” 12.

<sup>43</sup> The first crisis began after the 1926/1927 season. A lack of funds and disagreements in the Board postponed the Sarajevo Philharmonic’s work indefinitely. During the 1927/1928 season, care of its work was assumed by the District School of Music, which saved the season by organizing four concerts. See HADŽIĆ, *Muzičke institucije*, 188–189.

<sup>44</sup> The District School of Music founded in 1920 was the first and only institution of exclusively music education of the period that set up the Western European model of music education and signified the beginning of the systematic development of music schooling in Bosnia. See Fatima HADŽIĆ, “Osnivanje i djelatnost Oblasne muzičke škole u Sarajevu (1920–1941),” *Muzika: Journal for Music Culture* 22/1 (2018), 6–31.

<sup>45</sup> Since its establishment, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra was closely related to the work of the District School of Music and without its personnel and organizational help its survival would have been very difficult. Both institutions had mutual musical staff and joint administration. Dr. Bogdan Milanković was a longtime manager of both institutions. See HADŽIĆ, “The Social Context,” 45–50.

<sup>46</sup> Ladislav I. Pešek (1893, Bohemia – ?) received his education in Bohemia. In Sarajevo, he worked as a teacher of music and solo singing. He was also a choir leader and concert singer.

<sup>47</sup> Ljubomir Ljubo Bajac (1890, Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina – 1951, Kasindol, Bosnia and Herzegovina) studied music in the private school of music of F. Matějovský in Sarajevo, Vienna, and Budapest. In Sarajevo, he worked as a choir leader and music teacher. He left a small compositional oeuvre.

<sup>48</sup> Franjo Topić (1881, Lysá nad Labem, Bohemian Kingdom – 1937, Sarajevo) gained his music education at the Music Conservatoire in Prague, where he graduated in violin in Ferdo Lacher’s class. In Sarajevo, he worked as a choir leader, music teacher and was Sarajevo Philharmonic concert master from 1926 until his death.

<sup>49</sup> Jelka Đurić (1898–1983, Sarajevo) was educated at the Conservatory in Zagreb and privately in Prague. In Sarajevo, she worked as a music teacher. After World War II she was the principal of the School of Music, led children’s choirs, was involved in music critique and served as head of the music department of Radio Sarajevo and cultural advisor for the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



**Plate 4** The second page of the concert program on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Beethoven's death organized by the District School of Music on April 10, 1927  
Private archive of Maja Ilić, Bogdan Milanković's granddaughter, Amsterdam  
Reproduced by her kind permission

## ЛУДВИК ФАН БЕТОФН

Б. се родио у Бону 1770. г. од холандских предака са очеве и немачких с материне стране. Дед Лудвик му се доселио из Антверпена у Бон, где је деловао као дворски капелник, а отац Јохан био је тенориста дворске капеле. Ни један од ове двојице не бијаше композитор, али зато је већ млади Б. показивао необични импровизаторски дар. Његови родитељи су за рана приметили ту велику надареност и већ са једанаестогодишњим децом Б. они покушавају да привукују концерте. Са дванаест година Б. је знао свирати на памет читав „Добро угођени клавир“ великога Ј. С. Баха и у истој доби он једном замењује свога учитеља у дириговању оркестра. Из тога времена датирају његове прве сонате без ознаке опуса, али тек у двадесетичетрtoj години он пише „опус 1.“ Б. је до те године неуморно учио и усавршавао се и познато је, да је он већ као зрео човек и славни композитор студирао код Салиерија вокалну композицију и код Крајцера виолину. Та његова темељност рада — Б. беше одише велики стваралачки геније да би се могло говорити о његовој музичкој учености — огледа се и у његовим недостижним делима. 1792. на препоруку и уз стипендију грофа Валдитајна он иде у Беч да постане учеником славнога Хајдна и у том граду живи до своје смрти. Тадашњи Беч беше један од првих музичких центара читавога света, јер баш у оно доба су тамо деловали великани као Моцарт и Хајдн, и у том граду Б. налази сву моралну и материјалну помоћ за стварање својих бесмртних дела. Премда он убрзо постаје љубимцем најодличнијих ондашњих музичких кругова (он две године станује код грофа Лихновскога), њега отима од људскога друштва једна тешка, неизлечива и за једног музичара најтрагичнија болестица: Б. од тридесете године даље почиње нагло да губи своје чуло слуха и са 38 година он постаје човек, с којим се тешко може разговарати, а последњих осам година његова живота с њим се може опћити само писмено. Та грозна и неизлечива његова болест загорчала му је потпуно живот, отргла га је од друштва и потпуно га усамљила. Но Б., један од највећих хероја човечанства, није клонуо духом, с мушком снагом он трпи и покорава се својој судбини, али из те очајне и страшне борбе излазе његова дела, излазе музички споменици, који ће трајати доклегод буде човечанство имало смисла за музичку уметност. Премда врло снажне телесне конституције и душевно свеж и крепак он умире 26. марта 1827. од водене болести, последице упале плућа. — Кад се узме у обзир Бетовнова велика радност, он квантитативно није много писао, али кад уочимо садржајну разноликост и савршени размер садржине и облика, увидећемо, да је Б. не само најдубљи музички мислилац, већ и највећи уметник, један од највећих уметника у опште. Тајна тога неизмерног уметничкога блага не лежи једино у необичној стваралачкој снази и устрajности генија, већ и у томе, што су његова дела и његов живот били једно, што је он био искрени и најоданији раб своје уметности, своје религије. Он годинама у себи носи своје музичке мисли, живи с њима, развија их у себи и већ потпуно зреле он их употребљава за грађење монументалних храмова своје религије дајући им на папиру њихов коначни облик. — Свака уметност садржи већ сама у себи свој посебни развитак и Б. нужно наставља посао својих великих претходника у изграђивању музичке уметности, али он ју је одвео као нико до њега ни после њега до таквих висина, да она постаје потпуно независна од речи и од икоје друге уметности, он од ње заправо ствара симфоничку музику у најеминентнијем смислу речи, он у њој ствара општечовечанске вредности, независне тако речи и од времена и од места. Стога је и његов највећи део рада посвећен инструменталној музици, најпосебној да пренио идејну садржину његових поема у стварни свет звукова. — Основни тип којим се он служио, је од његових претходника наслеђена и од њега знатно разграђена и до крајњих граница величанствености његове концепције проширена соната. Мање више све његове сонате и концерти, његова камермузика дела као и све његове симфоније су праве драме и трагедије, то су читаве епопеје написане најлепшим симфонијским језиком, који може да разуме сваки онај, који у себи носи чисто и непоковарено срце и који искрено тежи, да себе учини бољим човеком.

Др. Б. М.

Both the organizers and the press used events of this kind to inform and educate the audience and readers on European composers and their works. Together with reviews of the performed concert, writings in dailies informed readers on the composers and works.<sup>50</sup> The reviewers provided short biographies of the composers and overviews of their works, and they also discussed the importance of their works in the context of European culture. In this sense, it is interesting to see the poster for the concert of the District School of Music supplemented with a fairly long text about the composer signed by the school principal, dr. Bogdan Milanković<sup>51</sup> (see *Plate 4*).

The most interesting example is given by the journal *Pregled*, one of Sarajevo's most prominent periodicals of the time dealing with topics in politics, economy, science, culture, and literature.<sup>52</sup> The thirteenth issue of *Pregled* for 1927 published several articles about this event. The first text entitled "Ludvig Van Betoven" by Bogdan Milanković gives a brief account of the composer's life, emphasizing the importance of his oeuvre in the history of music.<sup>53</sup> There are also brief notes about the composer's famous quotes on the arts and music entitled: "Betovenove misli" (Beethoven's thoughts),<sup>54</sup> and "Betoven u muzici" (Beethoven in music),<sup>55</sup> as well as Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk's<sup>56</sup> quote on Beethoven.<sup>57</sup> Except for the slightly longer Milanković text, these were very short articles. Nevertheless, the topic of the issue was highlighted by the cover page with Beethoven's picture (see *Plate 5*).<sup>58</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Museum of Literature and Theater Art of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Holding: Ostavština Bogdana Milankovića, Album-spomenica Sarajevske filharmonije, Newspaper article (Dr. Milan MARAKOVIĆ, "Kornorni koncert: Uz Beethovenovu proslavu").

<sup>51</sup> Dr. Bogdan Milanković (1885, Dalj, Croatia – 1966, Sarajevo), a doctor of Romance philology, took his Ph.D. degree in Vienna. He studied music, violin, and piano, privately during his high school education. Milanković pursued Roman Studies at the University of Vienna, where in 1909 he was promoted to Doctor of Philosophy in Roman Philology. Out of a total of eight semesters, he attended six in Vienna, two in Paris. During that time he attended private music lessons. In Sarajevo, he worked as a teacher of French and Italian in a high school. Though without any formal musical education, Milanković was one of the key figures of musical culture between the two world wars. From 1922 to 1941, together with his job as a high-school teacher, he worked as a principal and teacher in the District School of Music and was a founder and the first chairman of the Sarajevo Philharmonic. He was also involved in music journalism, and his work as a music writer became prominent after World War II, when he became a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti). He received state awards for his books *Osnovi pijanističke umetnosti* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1952) and *Violina, njena istorija i konstrukcija* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1956).

<sup>52</sup> Launched as early as 1910 by renowned and competent intellectuals of a younger generation, the journal *Pregled* was published under Austro-Hungarian rule for only two years. It was re-launched in 1927 and continued to be published until 1941. See N. N., *Bibliografija "Pregleda:" 1910-1912, 1927-1941* (Sarajevo: Narodna biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine, 1967), 5.

<sup>53</sup> Bogdan MILANKOVIĆ, "Ludvig Van Betoven," *Pregled* 1/13 (1927), 8.

<sup>54</sup> N. N., "Betovenove misli," *Pregled* 1/13 (1927), 8.

<sup>55</sup> N. N., "Betoven u muzici," *Pregled* 1/13 (1927), 11.

<sup>56</sup> Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850, Hodonin – 1937, Prague), Czech politician, philosopher, and sociologist, and the first president of Czechoslovakia (until 1935).

<sup>57</sup> Tomáš GARRIGUE MASARYK, "O Betovenu," *Pregled* 1/13 (1927), 11.

<sup>58</sup> *Pregled* 1/13 (1927), 1.



Plate 5 Cover page of the journal Pregled on April 3, 1927

729 ...ethana ...ko, Benbaša

ПОШТАРИНА ПЛАЋЕНА У ГОТОВОМ.

# ПРЕГЛЕД

ЧАСОПИС ЗА ПОЛИТИЧКИ И КУЛТУРНИ ЖИВОТ

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Год. I. Сарајево, 3. априла 1927. Број 13.

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Бетовн (1770—1827).

**ИЗ САДРЖАЈА :**

Јован М. Јовановић: Наш спор с Италијом.  
 Др. Богдан Миланковић: Бетовн.  
 Др. Ј. Тановић: Питање изједначења судија.  
 М.: Шумска привреда у Босни и Херцеговини.  
 Гама: Земљораднички кредит.  
 К. Чапек: Политичка звер.

Из мемоара Пере Креце.  
 Прикази: Југословенски Одбор Др. Н. Стојановића (Хрват).  
 Историја руске литературе А. Погодина (Е. З.).  
 К. Страјнић, Светосавски Храм (Ј. А. К.).  
 Привредни преглед, — Наука, — Филм, — Фелтон, — из часописа.



## 5. FIDELIO IN SARAJEVO

Ljubljana Opera performed Beethoven's *Fidelio* during its second tour to Sarajevo in 1927 and, according to the available data, this was the only performance of this opera in Sarajevo in the interwar period.<sup>59</sup> The performance of *Fidelio* in the year of Beethoven's anniversary has not been particularly commented on by the press. The performance of the opera was conducted by Mirko Polič,<sup>60</sup> while the soloists were Marja Žaludová (Leonora), Ivanka Ribič (Marzelline), Pavao Holodkov (Don Pizarro), Julij Betetto (Rocco), Zdeněk Knittl (Florestano), Drago Zupan (Don Fernando Minister), and Leopold Kovač (Jaquino).<sup>61</sup> Since there was no permanent opera ensemble within the National Theater in Sarajevo (Sarajevo Opera was established only in 1946), Sarajevo audiences only had the opportunity to listen to opera works during tours by the opera houses from Osijek, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Belgrade, and Vienna, visiting Sarajevo a few times in this period. This was the only way to at least partially fill in the evident lack of a concert life in Sarajevo in terms of operatic performances.<sup>62</sup>

## 6. CONCLUSION

After the centuries-long Ottoman rule and occupation by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bosnian culture found itself in the Western European circle. In the specified period, Sarajevo gradually changed its appearance from the Ottoman to a Western-type of city. These changes characterized as Europeanization, modernization or Westernization are reflected in the physical changes of the city and in the (new architecture), political, but also social and cultural life.

In the period between the two world wars, the Bosnian musical practice of the Western European type was still "new," so the formation of a substantial local audience that could respond to "the sender's message" with "adequate reception" was a lengthy process of accepting the new forms of musical practice. However, the first results of this process in Sarajevo were evident: the establishment of the first Western-type music school partly subsidized by the state, the foundation of the National Theater, the activities of the first professional national musicians and further development of concert life. The forms of institutional musical activities also emerged, though the path to professional music criticism was still a long way off since the first professional critics in the daily press in Bosnia and Herzegovina would only show up in the post-World War II period. However, it is possible to point out certain specifics of the issue on the basis of

<sup>59</sup> During its first tour from April 17 to 22, 1926, Ljubljana Opera performed the operas *Aida* and *Rigoletto* by Verdi, *Tosca* by Puccini, *Boris Godunov* by Musorgsky, and *Der Fliegende Holländer* by Wagner. During the tour in May 1927, the company performed Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*, Bizet's *Carmen*, Verdi's *Un ballo in maschera*, Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, and Beethoven's *Fidelio*. N. N., "Gostovanje Ljubljanske Opere," *Pregled* 1/20 (1927), 10–11. According to the available sources, it was also the only performance of the opera *Fidelio* in Sarajevo to this day.

<sup>60</sup> Mirko Polič (1890, Trieste – 1951, Ljubljana, Slovenia), was a conductor and composer. He studied composing at the Conservatory Giuseppe Verdi in Trieste. In the Slovenian Theater in Trieste, he staged opera performances. He was a conductor at Osijek Opera (1914–1923), secretary and conductor of Zagreb Opera (1923–1924) and Belgrade Opera (1924–1925), conductor and director at Ljubljana Opera (1925–1939) and Belgrade Opera (1939–1941), and manager of Ljubljana Opera (1945–1947).

<sup>61</sup> "Gostovanje Ljubljanske Opere," *Pregled* 1/20 (1927), 10–11.

<sup>62</sup> See HADŽIĆ, *Muzičke institucije*, 41–50.



the earlier writings on music. Their role was not only to inform or critique but also educate the readers, therefore, with general information on the concert event they often provided information on composers' biographies, their works and sometimes their importance in the history of European music.

The Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, the only musical institution of the kind, performed several dozen concerts. Beethoven's works had a special place in its repertoire as the most numerous and most often performed. However, the performing capacities of the semi-professional orchestra restricted the repertoire to the technically easier works. The writers of newspaper articles emphasized the importance of performing Beethoven's works, and especially the importance of performing them in the year marking his anniversary. Beethoven's centennial anniversary was marked by two concerts of the Sarajevo Philharmonic and a concert by the District School of Music. Although Ljubljana Opera staged *Fidelio* while performing in Sarajevo there was no information to suggest that this event was connected with the anniversary.

According to the press writings, Beethoven was understood as a symbol of European art and culture which the "new" Bosnian music culture looked up to. The marking of the anniversaries of great European composers, such as the Beethoven centennial in 1927, had a symbolic significance. The occasional concerts of the kind were understood as the connection between Sarajevo and Bosnia and recent cultural happenings in other European cultural centers.

## APPENDIX

### BEETHOVEN'S WORKS IN THE REPERTOIRE OF THE SARAJEVO PHILHARMONIC

Piece	Op.	Performances
<i>Fidelio</i> , Leonore's Aria	op. 72	Feb. 19, 1928
<i>In questa tomba oscura</i>	WoO 133	Dec. 5, 1926
Menuetto for Violin and Piano (arr. by Willy Burmeister)		Apr. 6, 1924
Overture to <i>Coriolan</i>	op. 62	Oct. 25, 1939 Feb. 26, 1941
Overture to <i>Egmont</i>	op. 84	Jan. 18, 1925 May 4, 1927 Nov. 10, 1936 June 8, 1937 Dec. 4, 1940
Overture to <i>Prometheus</i>	op. 43	Feb. 17, 1924 Feb. 9, 1933 Jan. 16, 1935
Piano Concerto in C Minor	op. 37	March 29, 1925 May 7, 1930 Oct. 25, 1939
Piano Concerto in E-flat Major	op. 73	May 4, 1927 Nov. 10, 1936



Piano Sonata in A-flat Major	op. 110	Apr. 15, 1928
Piano Sonata in C Major	op. 53	Apr. 3, 1927
Piano Sonata in C Minor	op. 13	Jan. 16, 1935
Piano Sonata in C-sharp Minor	op. 27 no. 2	Oct. 11, 1930
Piano Sonata in D Minor	op. 31 no. 2	Apr. 1, 1928
Piano Sonata in F Minor	op. 57	Nov. 10, 1925
Piano Trio in B-flat Major	op. 11	Nov. 25, 1923
Piano Trio in D Major	op. 70 no. 1	Apr. 3, 1927
Piano Trio in E-flat Major	op. 1 no. 1	Jan. 20, 1924
Romance in F Major for Violin and Orchestra	op. 50	Dec. 17, 1925 Jan. 3, 1926 Dec. 15, 1929 May 2, 1935
Romance in G Major for Violin and Orchestra	op. 40	Dec. 17, 1925 Jan. 3, 1926 May 2, 1935
Scottish/Irish Songs for Soprano, Violin, Cello, and Piano: <i>Ach, dürft' ich meinen Patrick frei'n;</i> <i>Charlie;</i> <i>Der treue Johnnie;</i> <i>Duncan Gray;</i> <i>Lochnagar;</i> <i>Lore am Tore</i>	WoO 153/16 WoO 157/3 op. 108/20 WoO 156/2 WoO 156/9 op. 108/25	
String Quartet in D Major	op. 18 no. 3	Nov. 17, 1925
String Trio No. 1 in G Major	op. 9	Apr. 3, 1927
Symphony No. 1 in C Major	op. 21	Oct. 25, 1925
Symphony No. 5 in C Minor	op. 67	Nov. 10, 1936
Symphony No. 2 in D Major	op. 36	Oct. 24, 1923 May 4, 1927 Oct. 25, 1939
Variations and Fugue in E-flat Major for Piano	op. 35	Nov. 23, 1924
Violin Concerto in D Major	op. 61	Feb. 16, 1930 Feb. 26, 1941
Violin Sonata in A Major	op. 47	Apr. 6, 1924
Violin Sonata in C Minor	op. 30 no. 2	Oct. 19, 1924
Violin Sonata in D Major	op. 12 no. 1	March 22, 1931
Violin Sonata in F Major	op. 24	Apr. 15, 1937

